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AN APPRAISAL OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN LEBANON

by

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## ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to appraise the labor movement in Lebanon as an agency of social and economic change. It is concerned primarily with analyzing the structural and functional features of the labor unions in the country, and with determining the role these unions have played in the relationships between government, management, and labor in Lebanon. The paper is guided by the propositions that labor unions have not succeeded to any great degree in fulfilling the aims of a labor movement, and that an analysis of their organization, goals, and functions will provide clues to the reasons for their relative failure.

The first part of the study was devoted to constructing a theoretical framework within which the analysis may be carried out. This part of the study contains three chapters. In the first, the general problem was stated and reference was made to the methods to be used in studying it. Following this, a description of the structural and functional features which approximate the typical Western labor movement was drawn. The purpose here was to provide a tool of analysis, a "model", with which the Lebanese movement may be compared.

This was followed by a chapter dealing with the theoretical approach to a study of unions in a developing country. It was proposed that the classical or traditional theories of labor movements, stressing the belief that a capitalistic society breeds a free labor movement, are not sufficiently broad to be used satisfactorily outside the highly industrialized,

capitalistic countries of the West. Instead it was proposed that unions in a developing economy should be viewed in a framework envisioning the process of industrialization as calling forth some means of establishing a system of rules by which the worker is related to his job and to society. These rules can be established, not simply by free unions forcing their views on the employer, but rather by any one or a combination of three possible contenders: government, management, and labor. Several factors which will affect the outcome of this process in an underdeveloped country were also considered. These are the phenomena of unemployment and under-employment, worker ignorance of the aims of unionization, management opposition to unions, potential sources of conflict between labor and government, and the imitative nature of trade unions in countries just emerging from a traditional social system.

The remainder of this paper was dedicated to describing and analyzing the labor movement in Lebanon from the point of view of these theoretical considerations. To accomplish this, an historical survey of the labor movement was made in Chapter IV. This survey includes the history of labor legislation in Lebanon and the relative effect on its content that is exercised by government, management and unions. This was followed by the historical development of unions and union federations, from before World War I to the present. Finally, the historical role played in the development of industrial relations by the three major contestants was discussed. It was shown in this discussion that the major influence on legislation has been that of the government, and it has also played a large role in industrial relations. Labor-initiated disputes in Lebanon are generally economic in nature and they have been, on the whole,

unsuccessful.

Following this historical survey, the organization, internal administration, goals, attitudes, and functions of present-day unions was discussed. This part of the study was based primarily on interviews of labor union leaders in Beirut. The description of these features of Lebanese unions was accompanied by a comparison of them to the features of labor movements in the West, as they were described in Chapter II.

An attempt was then made to identify the major weaknesses of the labor movement as shown by the preceding discussions. These weaknesses are to be found first in certain organizational and administrative features of the unions. Unions have developed in such a way that they are small and disorganized, and the unity of labor's voice and efforts are impaired. Second, the unions have also failed to place enough emphasis on the need to organize and recruit new members. Third, and more fundamentally, the main weakness in the labor movement is seen to be the failure of the unions to win the fundamental right to carry on collective bargaining. This failure is a result of the government's unwillingness, up to the present, to allow the unions to operate on a truly free and independent basis, as well as the adamant opposition of management. The unions, for their part, have not concentrated on winning the basic rights of union and job security. They have concentrated instead on securing economic gains, goals which are actually secondary to, and flow from the attainment of the basic goal, recognition of the union as the bargaining agent for the workers.

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AN APPRAISAL OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN LEBANON

PART I: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### General Problem.

Trade unions have existed in Lebanon since before World War I. These unions led a precarious existence, having only the old Ottoman law of associations as a legal basis. During the period of the mandate, the French added to this law only the provision that trade unions must confine their membership to workers engaged in the same or similar trades. It was during the mandate period, however, that a system of labor legislation began to be constructed. On the 9th of September 1934 the Code of Contracts and Obligations, with a special section providing for damages in cases of wrongful termination of employer-worker contracts, went into effect. In May 1937 this section of the law was amended to provide dismissal pay for workers whose jobs were terminated. A law regulating the employment of women and children was promulgated on 27 April 1935. Industrial accident compensation in certain specified industries became a law on 4 May 1943. Minimum wage laws were passed under the impetus of wartime inflation in 1941, 1942, 1943, and 1945. This series of laws dealing with industrial relations reached its apex, and the old but shaky trade union movement won the formal and legal right to organize, with the adoption of the Lebanese Labor Code in September, 1946.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A summary of these developments is contained in Joseph Donato, "Lebanon and Its Labor Legislation," International Labour Review (January, 1952), pp. 64-92.

It is important to note that, while this date may seem to be very recent, the right of Lebanese unions to organize was given full legal status only thirteen years after the similar right was won by American labor with the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933. Even then, the NIRA was declared unconstitutional in 1935, and the right to organize and bargain collectively was not finally nailed down until the passage of the Wagner Act in that year. Moreover, from the point of view of the stage of industrial development, unions have appeared in Lebanon, as well as in other Arab countries, at a comparatively early date. These unions have the advantage of having before them the examples and models of a large number of successful trade union movements throughout the Western world, not to mention the aid and encouragement of the International Labor Organization (ILO) and various international confederations.

However, despite their appearance and the granting of full legal status at comparatively early dates, and the assistance of sympathetic international organizations, Lebanese unions seem not to have progressed as well as might be expected. Writing in 1933, the same year that saw the passage of the NIRA act in the United States, two observers described the condition of workers in Lebanon.<sup>2</sup> They depicted the relations between employers and workers as being "settled in accordance with customs that have been practiced for centuries". Terms of employment were arranged on an individual basis, contracts were verbal, and disputes that resisted settlement were referred to Sheikhs, Imams, priests, municipalities, trade

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<sup>2</sup>Fuad Abu-Izziddin and George Hakim, "A Contribution to the Study of Labor Conditions in the Lebanon," International Labor Review XXVIII, Nr. 5, November 1933. (Bound reprint.)

guilds (where they existed), political leaders, or "other influential persons".<sup>3</sup> But because these methods tended to favor the employer, the need for collective action was increasingly felt. Few unions appeared, however, and those that did tended to be weak and ineffective. The reasons for this failure were described as follows:

The workers are largely illiterate and bound by traditional modes of thought and action; they do not appreciate the advantages of organization, and are not prepared to make immediate sacrifices for the sake of ultimate benefits, a state of mind for which their poverty is also partly responsible. Finally, organization work is hindered by the difficulty of holding public meetings, and attempts at organization frequently fail by reason of the lack of the cooperative spirit and the petty jealousies of members and leaders.<sup>4</sup>

Except for the fact that the Labor Code implicitly grants the right to hold public meetings, much of what was written in 1933 apparently could apply to conditions existing today. Almost thirty years after the above words were written, another observer noted the high incidence of fatalism and extreme individualism on the part of the members of the Lebanese industrial labor force.<sup>5</sup> Asked why they had chosen their present jobs, "their answers were concentrated on chance or predestination". Rarely did they seem to try to improve their working conditions or even to provide funds for the future, in the hope "that God will manage their affairs". Nor did they "cooperate with each other for their mutual benefit".<sup>6</sup> Such sentiments can hardly support the idea of a trade unionism which views itself as a worker-

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Usamah Ali Tabbarah, "Industrial Labor in Lebanon." Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Business Administration, American University of Beirut, 1961.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 47-49.

originated movement to seize what is rightfully theirs and to alter by collective action the conditions of their lives and work.

Examples can be cited which indicate that Lebanese unions are indeed hampered by apathy, extreme individualism, and lack of growth. One incident involved a labor union leader who, despite the fact that he could read and write Arabic, had not even read the Labor Code.<sup>7</sup> One observer who attended many union meetings in the 1951-52 period noted the lack of attendance and participation in meetings by the rank and file, and wrote that "at no time was it ever noticed that any one of them participated in a debate on a controversial point".<sup>8</sup> The unions seem to be perennially short of funds even though all collect dues and receive grants-in-aid from the government. As early as 1952, a competent observer pointed out the paternalistic method with which the Labor Code was enforced and the heavy dependence of the unions on political patrons and sponsors. He also noted the two main deficiencies of the Labor Code itself, namely the lack of a fair and effective social security system and the failure to provide for meaningful collective bargaining.<sup>9</sup>

Another weakness in the Lebanese labor movement is an apparent lack of growth. In 1952, six years after the issuance of the Labor Code, the number of union members was estimated to be 28,297.<sup>10</sup> In 1956, the number

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>8</sup>Edward W. Samuell, Jr. "A Contribution to the Study of Lebanese Labor Syndicates." Unpublished Master's Thesis, Arab Studies Department, American University of Beirut, 1952, p. 15.

<sup>9</sup>Robert J. Lampman, "The Lebanese Labor Code of 1946," Labor Law Journal (July, 1954), pp. 491-503.

<sup>10</sup>Samuell, op.cit., p. 6.



of union members was said to be 25,000, representing 20% of the labor force.<sup>11</sup> At the end of the year 1957, the U.S. Department of Labor estimated a total of 21,478.<sup>12</sup> Figures collected by a student in 1959 indicated a total of 24,315.<sup>13</sup> The very confusion of the figures and the difficulty of amassing them, as noted by these and other sources, point to certain deficiencies of organization and administration, faulty record keeping, and a desire to inflate figures for reasons of prestige. The latter point would lead one to think that prestige must then have been low to begin with, and needed a boost. The main point, however, is that membership in Lebanese trade unions stagnated, or perhaps even fell, during the decade after 1950.

Given such features, it becomes of paramount significance to assess the structural and functional aspects of the labor movement as an agency of economic and social change. The general problem of this research, then, will be an attempt to appraise the trade union movement in Lebanon.

#### Significance of the Study.

It is a fundamental assumption of this study that some means must be adopted in an industrializing economy to reintegrate social groups

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<sup>11</sup>Kurt Grunwald and Joachim O. Ronall, Industrialization in the Middle East (New York: Council for Middle Eastern Affairs Press, 1962) p. 32.

<sup>12</sup>Willard A. Beling, Pan Arabism & Labor (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960) p. 13, based on U.S. Dept. of Labor, Office of International Labor Affairs, Directory of Labor Organizations, Asia and Australasia (Washington, 1958).

<sup>13</sup>Benjamin T. Hourani, "Unionism in the Lebanese Labor Law of 1946," Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Political Studies & Public Administration, American University of Beirut, 1959, pp. 54-57, 59-62.

whose position in society is being uprooted through modernization. Various Lebanese governments, both during the mandate period and since independence, have found it necessary to legislate with regard to employment of women and children, industrial accidents, minimum wages, and other inevitable problems associated with industrialization. One need not belabor what has long been recognized as a universal tendency, i.e., that industrialization involves some drastic transformations in the social structure. Among other things, it involves a large scale shift from rural to urban areas, and hence the weakening of some of the traditional forms of association. As a process of change, industrialization is apt, in one way or another, to destroy some of the established interests and loyalties. The trade union, which has been described as "one of the most appropriate agencies for the integration of urban masses whose old bonds have been disrupted with the removal of the workplace from the home",<sup>14</sup> can contribute towards alleviating these problems. Although trade unions in the past have often gained a reputation for promoting industrial strife, in recent years scholars, economists, and statesmen have come to see the "tremendous potentiality for promoting social stability" inherent in trade unionism.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the success or failure of the labor movement in an industrializing society will have great consequences, not only in regard to the economic improvement of the working classes, but in regard to the society as a whole.

The fact that some Lebanese workers have felt the need to organize themselves into unions indicates that there exists among them some

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<sup>14</sup>Morroe Berger, The Arab World Today (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1962), p. 104.

<sup>15</sup>Walter Galenson, ed., Comparative Labor Movements (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952), p. IX.

awareness of this problem. The government has also indicated its recognition of the problem through a long series of laws in the industrial relations field and through its decision to promote and foster a labor movement, which is a major implication of the 1946 Labor Code. Given the fact that some means is needed to provide for social reintegration of Lebanese workers and that both workers and government have shown their awareness of this requirement, and that both seem agreed that a labor union movement is the answer to this problem, it would seem that this movement should be progressing in Lebanon. As pointed out in the previous section, however, it seems that Lebanese unions suffer from serious defects in motivation, organization, function, or status which prevent them from increasing their membership, power, and prestige.

If, by all appearances, the trade union movement seems to lag, it would seem useful to inquire into the reasons for this lack of progress and to attempt to discern the factors which contribute to it. Several studies, some of which are quoted above, have been made of Lebanese unions. All of these studies, however, have been only descriptive in nature or have dealt with but certain aspects of the problem. No comprehensive analysis of the structure and functions of the union movement have been made with a view towards determining its success or failure as a whole. The purpose of this study, then, is to analyze the growth and present condition of the Lebanese labor movement in order to arrive at a judgment regarding the degree of success it has enjoyed. If, as at first glance seems true, this degree of success is limited, an attempt should be made to pinpoint the specific areas in which the movement has

failed and the reasons for these failures.

Methodology.

It is proposed that this inquiry be conducted in the following manner. First, it is intended to construct a typology of a labor movement by outlining its usual structure and functions. This model will perforce, given the writer's background, be based primarily on the example of the American labor movement. However, to avoid formulating a "model" on what is after all a single and rather unique example, the labor movements in other countries will also be considered. It is then proposed to consider the theoretical approaches to the study of the labor movement, beginning with the "classical" theories of Selig Perlman, Frank Tannenbaum, and Sidney and Beatrice Webb. To these will be added the current approaches to labor union theory which are being advanced in the light of experience gained in non-Western, non-Capitalistic countries. It is hoped to arrive through this method at a workable theoretical approach to the study of Lebanese trade unions.

In what is considered to be the main contribution of this study, the growth, development, and present condition of the Lebanese union movement will then be analyzed in the light of this theoretical approach and in comparison to the model typology constructed below.<sup>16</sup> The purpose of this comparison is to determine, if possible, wherein a successful and an apparently unsuccessful union movement differ. By this method it is hoped to arrive at valid conclusions and possible remedial

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<sup>16</sup>The description of the present condition of labor unions in Lebanon will be based primarily on data collected through interviews of union leaders in the Beirut area. A complete description of the procedures followed in the collection of this data is contained in Appendix 1.

suggestions in regard to the failure of the Lebanese union movement.

Propositions.

This study then will be guided by the following propositions:

1. The trade union movement in Lebanon has so far failed to a significant degree to achieve its goals as an economic pressure group or instrument of power, i.e., as the bargaining agent for its members. Because of this, the union movement has not been able to contribute towards reintegration of social groups whose place in society has been disrupted through industrialization.
2. This failure to achieve their goals is traceable to one or a combination of deficiencies in the motivations, structure, functions, or status of labor unions.
3. The deficiencies in the Lebanese union movement can be ascertained through an analysis of its motivations, structure, functions and status in comparison with those of successful labor movements. This comparison must be made in the light of a modern theoretical approach to the study of unions which will take into account the present state of industrialization of Lebanon and its economic and social systems.

## CHAPTER II

### THE ORGANIZATION, STRUCTURE, AND FUNCTIONS OF LABOR UNIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to construct a typology of a labor movement based on the examples provided by the trade unions existing and functioning in the United States and Western Europe.<sup>1</sup> It is hoped to arrive by this means, at the essential elements which approximate the characteristics of an "ideal" labor movement. In other words, it will be an attempt to identify some of the structural and functional prerequisites of the trade union, those features or elements without which it ceases to function as a labor movement. Naturally, the intention here is not an attempt to offer a general theory of labor movements. The field, as it is, is over-saturated with such attempts. Rather our task is to construct a model which will serve as a tool of analysis by which the Lebanese labor movement may be evaluated. Our objective is then more in the nature of applying existing theories to the Lebanese case rather than developing a new conceptual scheme altogether. In this manner, the similarities and differences between the Lebanese unions and the model in regard to organization, structure, administration, goals, and functions

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<sup>1</sup>Western models have been chosen because the West is the original home of the union movement and has provided the inspiration for the new trade unions of the developing countries. "Trade unions" exist in the Communist bloc as well, but the term "union" is used in much the same way as "democracy", i.e., it means something vastly different from the ordinary connotation. The Communist control and use of unions in non-Communist countries is also very greatly different from the function of a union in a Communist country. In both cases, however, they are aberrations.

may be assessed with more ease. Any major differences noted, particularly in regard to the essential characteristics, should then provide clues as to why Lebanese unions have not enjoyed greater success in influencing the society in which they exist. With the realization that such differences may be accounted for by social and economic conditions differing greatly from those prevailing in the West, they will be considered in the light of a theoretical approach to the study of unions in developing countries. This theoretical approach will be considered in Chapter III.

In this chapter, the first topic to be considered will be the organization and structure of labor unions. This will include the levels of organizations, the types of organizations, and the means of recruiting members and administering them. The goals of labor unions will then be considered, to be followed by a study of the means by which these goals are attained, i.e., the functions of a union. The secondary means used to supplement these major functions will follow. The process of maturation in unions will then be discussed. Finally, these points will be summarized in an attempt to outline the essential characteristics of a labor union from the point of view of its structure, goals, and functions.

## I. ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE

### Levels of organization.

There are usually three significant levels of union government. These are (1) the federation, which is composed of (2) national (in the U.S. "international") unions, which in turn are made up of (3) local unions.<sup>2</sup> Between the national and the local unions a fourth level often intervenes, the function of which is to supervise a group of locals in a specific geographical area.<sup>3</sup>

#### 1. The Federation.

The federation is the highest level of union organization. It is defined as "an organization of unions of workers which serves as their spokesman and through which the union acts on matters which concern more than one trade or group of workers".<sup>4</sup> The federation executes several functions for the benefit of its member unions.<sup>5</sup> The first of these functions is the maintenance of relations between itself and its member unions, on the one hand, and among these constituent unions themselves, on the other. This latter service consists primarily of the determination of the jurisdictional boundaries of its affiliated unions. It also assists in organizing new workers, both on its own behalf and on behalf of the

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<sup>2</sup>The national unions in the U.S. often contain Canadian locals, hence the title "international". The two terms will have identical meanings in this paper.

<sup>3</sup>Jack Barbash, The Practice of Unionism (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956), p. 45.

<sup>4</sup>E. W. Bakke and Clark Kerr, Unions, Management, and the Public (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949), p. 167.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.; Barbash, op.cit., pp. 50-51.



internationals. Secondly, it acts as the voice of the labor movement. It is the primary mouthpiece in labor's attempts at political education and in lobbying for legislation. It also serves as the labor movement's representative in international affairs, including relations with such organizations as the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). Thirdly, the federation performs such staff functions as research, legal aid, and public relations. The American federations have also served as parent organizations to local unions for which no international union existed.

In some Western countries, the functions of the federation end here. In the United States, it is important to note that the federation is "made up of autonomous (not subordinate) international unions".<sup>6</sup> With only very minor exceptions neither the American Federation of Labor (AFL), the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), nor the combined AFL-CIO have carried on strikes or engaged in collective bargaining. Nor have they had any control of these activities on the part of their member unions. True, an international can be expelled for failure to acknowledge jurisdictional determinations or because it is under Communist or racketeer control. However, although it would probably rather remain within the fold, an international can exist outside the federation. So despite the fact that the federation can exercise expulsion, it depends rather on moral sanctions to get conformity.<sup>7</sup>

The matter of federation powers varies widely, however. It can be stated that "the dominant tradition in the American labor movement is that

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<sup>6</sup>Barbash, op.cit., p. 46.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 51-52.

of absolute autonomy of the affiliated unions",<sup>8</sup> and this may be said of Great Britain, also. In Great Britain, the "increasing participation of government in economic affairs has shifted emphasis from industrial to political action" which has caused the Trades Union Congress (T.U.C.) to grow steadily in "moral authority". Nevertheless, a "trade union in affiliating to the T.U.C. does not yield up any part of its autonomy".<sup>9</sup> In Scandinavia, on the other hand, the federations exercise more power, but again in varying degrees. In Denmark, the federation may recommend strikes and it carries out certain collective bargaining functions. The Swedish federation carries out such negotiations to an even greater extent, and in Norway, the federation virtually dictates policies to its affiliates.<sup>10</sup> In Holland and Germany, as well, federations exert more power than is the case in the Anglo-Saxon countries.<sup>11</sup>

In many instances, the federation will have a counterpart on the state [U.S.] or département [France] level, and on the city level. In the United States, these organizations are set up as pictured in the following diagram:

Nation	AFOFL	CIO
State	State Federation of Labor	State Industrial Union Council
City	Federation of Labor; Central Labor Union; or Central Trades & Labor Council	Local Industrial Union Council

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<sup>8</sup>B. C. Roberts, Unions in America: A British View (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959), p. 61.

<sup>9</sup>Allan Flanders, "Great Britain," in Walter Galenson, ed. Comparative Labor Movements, (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952), pp. 30-31.

<sup>10</sup>Walter Galenson, "Scandinavia," in Galenson, op.cit., pp. 128-32.

<sup>11</sup>Roberts, op.cit., p. 61.

The constituent units of these groups are the locals of international unions affiliated to the federation. The relationship between them and the member unions is similar to that prevailing in the federations, but the state and local bodies exercise no jurisdictional function. They perform the same duties as the federation but on the appropriate local level only and are subject to the federation. Their influence will vary with the local political climate and the personalities of leaders involved. Their complexion will reflect the predominant union(s) in the area, e.g., the Auto Workers will dominate the Detroit Industrial Union Council.<sup>12</sup>

The British counterparts of these organizations are the trades councils, but they are much less important in Great Britain which is smaller and more homogeneous than the United States.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, the French departmental federations (unions départementales) are even more important than the American state bodies as they figure very prominently in collective bargaining, which is often carried out on a département basis.<sup>14</sup>

## 2. The International Union.

The next level of labor organization is the national or "international" union. This is perhaps the most important organizational level in nearly all Western countries. In the words of Florence Peterson, the international unions are "the autonomous, self-governing units of the labor movement".<sup>15</sup> The international unions have perhaps their greatest

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<sup>12</sup>Barbash, op.cit., pp. 53-55.      <sup>13</sup>Flanders, op.cit., pp. 34-36.

<sup>14</sup>Val R. Lorwin, "France," in Galenson, op.cit., pp. 369-70.

<sup>15</sup>Florence Peterson, American Labor Unions: What They Are and How They Work (Rev. ed., New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952), p. 63.

importance in the United States, where they constitute "the heart of the American labor movement",<sup>16</sup> and in Great Britain. Only perhaps in Norway do they assume lesser importance than the federation.

The major areas in which the international union operates are collective bargaining, internal union government, and in the business management of union affairs. There are usually two departments within the international headquarters, the operating department and a staff of experts. The operating department comprises the elected union leadership and is responsible for the administration of the union, its finances, organization of new members, bargaining with employers. In short, it is responsible for the myriad functions of a labor union. The staff conducts research to be used by the operating department, carries out educational programs, publishes the union newspaper, gives legal advice and conducts insurance and welfare programs.<sup>17</sup>

In most cases the international union exercises more of those functions which are peculiar to a labor union and in this sense it is more powerful than the federation. Despite the fact that local unions often precede the international in point of time, the power relationship between the international and its locals is also in favor of the international. "The widening areas of markets, the increasing mobility of workers, the inauguration and conduct of strikes with the object in view of preventing unwise and inexpedient action and of limiting the number of suspensions [of work] to be conducted and financed at a given time and several other factors enter into this shift in power and control"

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<sup>16</sup>Barbash, op.cit., p. 55.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 55-56; Peterson, op.cit., p. 65.

from locals to internationals.<sup>18</sup> Among the other factors contributing to this accumulation of power at the national or "international" level is the financial expediency of standardizing the administration of benefits, as well as standardizing admission fees, dues and other means of income. The international is also in a better position to conduct organizing campaigns and it contributes a great deal to the protection of locals by controlling and financing strikes, bonding officers, conducting audits, and publishing journals for the education of members and officers.<sup>19</sup>

### 3. The Local Union.

The third major level of labor organization is the local union. The local, as it is usually called in America, is the subordinate unit of the international and it will cover a specific territory, the bases and size of which will vary greatly. In the United States, for example, local unions may be formed on a craft, plant, or multiplant basis or on the basis of branch of industry, nationality and racial groups, or geographical areas. In other words, there is no set basis for the establishment of local unions. This confused picture is true of Great Britain and France, also, where locals may be set up in a trade or industry, usually on a city-wide basis, but often a larger geographical area; or in a plant in the case of a large employer.<sup>20</sup> The most that can

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<sup>18</sup>Harry A. Millis and Royal E. Montgomery, The Economics of Labor, Vol. III; Organized Labor (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945), p. 257.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., pp. 257-59. In Scandinavia, where internationals and federations monopolize most functions, even the handling of grievances, locals are quite weak. Galenson, op.cit., p. 121.

<sup>20</sup>Flanders, op.cit., pp. 12, 40; Lorwin, op.cit., p. 366.

be said of local union organization is that it is based on an adjustment to the "exigencies of organizing, the maintenance of organization, and effectiveness in collective bargaining".<sup>21</sup>

As stated above, the local union generally is less powerful vis-a-vis the international. This is not always the case, however. In addition to such intangible factors as personalities of leaders, the scope of the market for which bargaining is carried on is the major determinant in this relationship. If the scope of the market is beyond the local area, it tends to encourage a stronger international in relation to subordinate units. Thus, the great industrial unions--steel, autos, rubber--tend to fall in this category. However, building and printing trades unions, for example, "functioning in what are essentially local markets", tend to be more free of international union domination.<sup>22</sup>

One more point should be made regarding the influence and importance of the local union. As Florence Peterson has written:

Most generally it is the local union that deals with the employers for their members although the parent organization may assist in particularly difficult or important situations. To the union member, his local is his point of contact with the other organized workers in his trade or industry; it is the agency to which he expresses his demands for better working conditions and seeks settlement of his grievances, and through which he participates in the broader political and economic programs of his union.<sup>23</sup>

It has been pointed out often that the local is important because it is "the only basis on which the union can operate effectively in handling everyday plant problems" in each individual workplace. But, elaborating on what Peterson has written, "It has seldom been pointed out that this

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<sup>21</sup>Barbash, op.cit., p. 57.      <sup>22</sup>Ibid., pp. 57-58.

<sup>23</sup>Florence Peterson, op.cit., p. 78.

provides simultaneously a real and vital entity with which the individual can identify himself in a psychological sense." The member, in other words, can develop loyalty to a local--he sees it as "a close operating reality rather than a distant impersonal entity".<sup>24</sup>

#### Structural Features.

Turning from the three most important levels of union organization, it is now possible to consider some of the structural features of the labor union. Structure refers to the job basis or jurisdiction upon which a labor union is based. The concept of jurisdiction is very important to the labor movement. It answers the fundamental question: "Who is eligible to join a specific union?"; or, more importantly: "Which workers may a union organize?" Jurisdiction, then, is "the job territory within which a union organizes and engages in collective bargaining".<sup>25</sup> As applied to an international union in the United States, jurisdiction means "the detailed specifications of the occupations, skills, operations, jobs, or industries--as the case may be--to which it asserts an exclusive claim for purposes of organizing and bargaining".<sup>26</sup> The jurisdiction claimed by a union will be set forth in varying detail in its constitution or charter. However, there exists the likelihood of considerable variance in the jurisdiction a union specifies and that which it exercises in fact.

The kind of jurisdiction a union will claim and exercise will depend on several factors, such as ideology of union leaders and the influence of government regulative bodies. The two most important factors, however,

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<sup>24</sup>Robert Dubin, Working Union-Management Relations: The Sociology of Industrial Relations (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958), p. 82.

<sup>25</sup>Barbash, op.cit., p. 87.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

are technology and the business organization of the industry. Advancing technology will tend to eliminate skilled workmen and level out the skill differences among manual workers. Mass production industries will then tend to force unions to include all workers in a particular plant or industry in one union. The type of business organization prevalent in an industry will also play a part. The local, individualistic nature of the construction industry, for example, tends to favor craft unions in the building trades, whereas the multi-industrial nature of General Motors and Ford (autos, aircraft, farm implements, etc.) is partially the reason that the United Auto Workers is a multi-industrial union.

As might be surmised from the preceding paragraph, the issue of jurisdiction gives rise to one of the basic divisions in union organization, the issue of "craft" versus "industrial" unions. At one time, the question of whether workers should be organized on the basis of their craft or their industry was a critical one in the history of trade unions. This history is well-known, however, and it is sufficient to point out here that the result is that few unions are purely craft or purely industrial. Indeed, it is possible to identify many intervening types. There are craft, multi-craft, trade, semi-industrial, industrial, and multi-industrial unions in all labor movements.<sup>27</sup>

That the craft-vs-industrial conflict has lost its former significance through the course of time can be seen in the American labor movement. Generally speaking, the AFOFL is craft-oriented and the CIO is industrial-oriented. In reality, each contains unions of all types. The practical

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., pp. 88-91; Millis, op.cit., pp. 243-45; Flanders, op.cit., p. 14.



significance of the controversy can be seen in the representation petitions submitted by each federation to the National Labor Relations Board seeking to have one of its affiliates recognized as bargaining agent in specific instances. Although the CIO requested industrial-type bargaining more often than the AFofL, actually both federations requested this type in a majority of their petitions. As Barbash has written, "it is the probability of winning the representation controversy that influences a union's choice of appropriate bargaining unit rather than a doctrinaire concept of structure". The rhetoric of the old controversy notwithstanding, "there is nothing dogmatic about the structural responses most unions make to changing conditions".<sup>28</sup> The trend has been away from pure craft unionism, however.

In England much of the same pattern is exhibited. There unions began with the skilled craftsmen, but in the twentieth century the outstanding developments in trade union structure have been "(1) the growth of the laborers' unions into great general unions which do not restrict their membership by occupation or industry; (2) the evolution of the craft unions by virtue of opening their membership to the semi-skilled and unskilled workers; (3) the growth of non-manual workers' unions...[and] (4) the welding of this complex...into industrial federations for the purpose of collective bargaining".<sup>29</sup>

One of the points brought up in the preceding paragraph may be mentioned in more detail while discussing structure. In most labor movements the first unions appeared among craftsmen. Spreading out from this base, unions came to be found generally among all types of manual workers,

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<sup>28</sup>Barbash, op.cit., p. 92.

<sup>29</sup>Roberts, op.cit., p. 17.

the so-called "blue collar" workers. With the rise of large-scale industry and technology, unions began to appear among non-manual, or "white-collar" workers. This type of union is more common in Europe. In Great Britain, 20% of organized labor is in this class, while in Germany, Austria, and Scandinavia an even higher percentage is found. In the United States, on the other hand, with a proportionately smaller number of eligible workers enrolled in unions, only 15% are "white collar" workers.<sup>30</sup>

One final point may be made in regard to jurisdiction. Probably more than any other issue, it has caused a great deal of conflict within the labor movement. It has led to inter-union rivalry which has been more bitter and ruthless in the United States than anywhere else. There are two types of conflict bound up with jurisdiction.<sup>31</sup> The first is a jurisdictional controversy, that is, a struggle "over which union's members are entitled to the work". An example of this may be a dispute between Carpenters and Hod-carriers as to who will remove wooden forms from settled concrete. A second type of controversy is one over representation, or the question as to "which union will represent a group of workers". An American example of this type was the struggle between the United Electrical Workers (UE) and the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) to gain the allegiance of workers in various companies after the IUE was expelled from the CIO because of its domination

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 11; Flanders, op.cit., pp. 20-21. Many observers see as the greatest challenge to organized labor in American society the necessity for it to interest white collar workers in unionism. See, for example, Roberts, op.cit., pp. 9-15.

<sup>31</sup>The following discussion is based on Barbash, op.cit., pp. 87-121, in which numerous examples are given.

by Communists.<sup>32</sup>

As mentioned above, conflicts over jurisdiction and representation have been particularly vehement in the United States, where strikes, violence, "scabbing", and collusion with employers have been all too frequently in evidence.<sup>33</sup> In Europe this has not been the case. Despite the intricate "scramble of craft, industrial, and general unions" in Britain, for instance, British unions have not experienced the "jurisdictional warfare" common in America.<sup>34</sup> This is true because "in Europe, the problem of jurisdictional struggles was largely settled by the unions either adapting industrial unionism outright, as in Germany, or, as in Britain, by a willingness on the part of rival organizations to compromise their claims". This may be a result of the "basic differences in the two societies". In Britain, which "is older and smaller and has a more homogeneous, settled population, social relations are less sharp and compromise and tolerance are more easily achieved". One may easily question this analysis, but what is unquestionable is the fact that in both countries the same techniques were utilized to settle disputes (hearings by the TUC and the AFofL or CIO), but apparently they worked better in England.<sup>35</sup>

#### Administration.

So far only the levels and bases of union organization have been

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<sup>32</sup>The present writer, as a high school student, witnessed this struggle as it evolved in the General Electric plant located in his home town. The IUE was successful in this fight.

<sup>33</sup>For a description of tactics sometimes used in these conflicts see Walter Galenson, "Rival Union Tactics," in Bakke and Kerr, op.cit., pp. 139-43, taken from W. Galenson, Rival Unionism in the United States (New York: American Council on Public Affairs, 1940), pp. 40-52.

<sup>34</sup>Barbash, op.cit., p. 105.

<sup>35</sup>Roberts, op.cit., pp. 21-23.

discussed. It will now be necessary to consider how these unions are organized and administered. In order for a union to be born, grow, and prosper, it must be organized by someone who consciously goes about the task. As Bakke and Kerr have described the process:

Possibly a group of workers facing a common problem might simultaneously come to a unanimous awareness of the nature of their difficulty, a consensus as to what remedy was needed, and the conviction that a trade union would supply the remedy. It is possible, but not probable.... The conclusion that a union is the answer to the need of the group is likely to occur, initially at least, to a single individual or at most to a small group of workers. They will have to sell the idea to the rest.<sup>36</sup>

In the early days of unions in a given country, the initiative for organization is likely to come from within the workplace. Once a union appears in a particular trade or industry, the initiative to enroll unorganized workers in the union will usually come from the union itself. In order to succeed in this endeavor, two things must be present. First, there must be some unrest or dissatisfaction on the part of the workers. This discontent must then be exploited in a planned and intelligent manner. This usually requires a trained organizer who will use personal contacts, appeals to influential figures in the community, leaflet distribution, and countless other tactics to win over the workers and counteract the usual employer resistance.<sup>37</sup>

Once the workers have been recruited into the union, it is usually necessary on the part of the leadership to struggle to maintain their

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<sup>36</sup>Bakke and Kerr, op.cit., p. 83.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 83-112; Barbash, op.cit., pp. 36-44. See also Bernard Karsh, Joel Siedman, and Daisy M. Lillienthal, "The Union Organizer and His Tactics: A Case Study," in Jack Barbash, Unions and Union Leadership: Their Human Meaning (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), pp. 83-98.

interest and enthusiasm for the union. Low levels of meeting attendance and participation are the rule in American unions.<sup>38</sup> This phenomenon has been described by Millis and Montgomery:

Elections, strike votes, and bitterly fought contests induce large attendance at meetings; usually nothing else does after an organization becomes well established, and frequently ballots on elections and strike votes are taken otherwise than at meetings. On other occasions than those mentioned, an attendance of 25 per cent is regarded by the typical union as unusually good. Frequently it is much smaller, even less than 5 per cent. Most unions are governed most of the time by a limited number, because the majority function only intermittently or spasmodically.<sup>39</sup>

Nor is this a feature peculiar to the United States. In Great Britain, too, "it has been customary...to bemoan the poor attendance at local meetings".<sup>40</sup> This state of affairs is even more pronounced in France, where workers are usually very reluctant indeed to pay their low dues, and where the "very concept of union membership is not a clear one". Some pay systematically, some occasionally, and still others exhibit "purely electoral allegiance" upon the rare occasion that an issue or election interests them.<sup>41</sup> This seemingly important failing is probably not as serious as it may seem at first glance, however. The Hotel and Restaurant Workers of America have claimed "that poor meeting attendance is no measure of solidarity in the local" nor of determination to win demands and make sacrifices. Routine business is boring, so as long as "things are going smoothly", as Barbash writes, and a grievance system is established in the workplace to care for "dissatisfactions and gripes", the membership is usually content to "let the active 5 per cent run

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<sup>38</sup>Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, pp. 64-66; Peterson, op.cit., p. 83.

<sup>39</sup>Millis and Montgomery, op.cit., pp. 246-47.

<sup>40</sup>Flanders, op.cit., p. 40.

<sup>41</sup>Lorwin, op.cit., pp. 371; 373.

the organization".<sup>42</sup>

Indifference or lack of participation may be excusable. The union, however, is often faced with problems of a disciplinary nature which may involve both the members or the union in bringing charges against each other. For this reason, the union must have some means of enforcing discipline. This system must take into consideration two sometimes contradictory principles. The union, as a "fighting institution", must be able to protect itself from demoralization in the ranks, but as a democratic institution it must provide a system to grant the accused a fair hearing. The two major classifications of union offenses are "(1) violation of union rules and discipline relating to strikes and working standards in the shop; (2) breaches of loyalty, frequently referred to as 'conduct unbecoming a union member'".<sup>43</sup> Penalties may include fines, suspensions, disqualification from holding office, and expulsion.

Insuring a fair hearing is accomplished through a system of appeals and checks and balances. On the whole, this system has worked quite fairly in the American unions.<sup>44</sup> The "typical judicial procedure" has been described by Barbash:

Charges are brought against a member in his local union. A trial committee is designated to hear the charges and it reports back to the local meeting, which then votes on whether to accept the report of the committee and the penalty to be inflicted. The convicted member then has a line of appeal which typically runs according to a sequence consisting of the international president, the executive board, and ultimately the international union convention.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, p. 66. <sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>44</sup>Barbash, Unions and Union Leadership, pp. 14-15, in an extract from Philip Taft, The Structure and Functions of Unions (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), pp. 238-46.

<sup>45</sup>Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, p. 68.

Under American laws, the accused may also have recourse to the regular courts if he thinks he has been denied due process of the law.

A union must finance its activities, and free unions depend on several sources of funds. In all cases, the chief source of funds is the dues paid by members.<sup>46</sup> Dues in the American unions are usually quite low; according to Philip Taft "in most unions the monthly dues can be earned in less than two hours of work".<sup>47</sup> In Britain they are generally even lower than in the United States, but in Scandinavian countries they are generally higher, with the size of the union's welfare programs being the main determining factor.<sup>48</sup> In France, dues are probably lower than in any of the other countries mentioned. It has been said that "the French worker...is ready to die on the barricades, but not to pay dues".<sup>49</sup> This jibe is true in that not only are dues very low but they are not usually systematically paid.<sup>50</sup>

In addition to dues, unions sometimes depend on assessments, which in the United States are of some importance. Assessments are special contributions required of members to build up the union treasury, often in anticipation of a strike.<sup>51</sup> In most unions, initiation fees are charged but they are usually small or nominal and they are often waived during organization drives. In some craft unions initiation fees are

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>47</sup>Quoted in Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, p. 78; See also Peterson, op.cit., pp. 107-08.

<sup>48</sup>Flanders, op.cit., pp. 92-93; Galenson, op.cit., p. 133.

<sup>49</sup>Lorwin, op.cit., p. 371. <sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 372.

<sup>51</sup>Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, p. 78.

quite high, such as in the printing trades wherein they range from \$30 to \$35 and the building trades wherein they go as high as \$87.50.<sup>52</sup> In European unions assessments are rare, and initiation fees are usually nominal or non-existent.

The purpose of dues and assessments is primarily to provide revenue to conduct the day-to-day business of the union. In addition, a well-filled treasury, of course, is also a sign to management that the union is ready and able to strike. Initiation fees too are a source of revenue but they also serve another purpose, acting often as a sort of "equity payment" in the eyes of old-timers to give the newer workers a stake in the union which the older ones have earned over a period of years. Doubtlessly they have also served as a "restrictive device in keeping down membership...when union membership is a requirement for getting the job", a condition which exists mainly in the United States.<sup>53</sup>

This has accounted for the methods of obtaining funds. How are they spent? The following is a breakdown, in percentages, of a typical annual budget of the Machinists' Union of America:<sup>54</sup>

32.5	Organizing	1.5	Legal expenses
21.9	Benefits to members	1.5	Annual convention
14.5	Administrative expenses	1.3	Research
13.2	Strike benefits	.8	Educational
6.1	Publications	.3	Miscellaneous
4.4	Affiliation fees (to federation)	.2	Political
1.8	Donations		

On the local level, the major items of expense are usually the salary of

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid., the reasonableness of dues and salaries in most unions is attested to by Philip Taft. See extract in Barbash, Unions and Union Leadership, pp. 12-14.

<sup>53</sup>Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, p. 79.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.; Peterson also mentions organizing as the main expense of most unions. Peterson, op.cit., p. 104.



a full-time officer and clerical help plus payments to members who are shop employees and who have spent some of their regular working time on union business. Salaries of officers in some international unions have reached very high figures, but on the whole they are modest enough, particularly on the local level, a condition which is even more pronounced in Europe.<sup>55</sup>

The instruments of union government on all three levels of organization are similar. In the federation, these are the convention, the highest lawmaking body, an executive board consisting of members from each affiliated international, and an executive committee, chosen from the board, which acts as a steering committee. The international will typically have a convention and an executive board, which is usually made up of representatives chosen on a geographical basis and which is the focal point of collective bargaining. The local union is governed chiefly by the regular meeting and by an executive board, composed of the local's officers.<sup>56</sup>

On the local level there are two officers of particular note, the business agent and the steward. The business agent is often the only salaried officer of the local, and, although found in many types of unions, he is most conspicuous in the building trades. He is the full-time administrator of the union, being its organizer, strike leader, dues collector, grievance adjuster, meeting caller, price setter on piece rates, and generally the "most important cog in local union

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<sup>55</sup>Peterson, op.cit., p. 105; Flanders, op.cit., p. 38; Galenson, op.cit., p. 133; Lorwin, op.cit., p. 372.

<sup>56</sup>Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, pp. 60-64.

administrative machinery and government". In the mass production industries, this type of position will sometimes be filled by the union president, but usually in such cases, grievance and bargaining committees are formed to fulfill these functions.<sup>57</sup>

The steward fulfills some of the functions of the business agent in unions operating in shops and factories. Usually elected by the members in each department or plant, he is strictly speaking not an officer of the local. His job is "to see that union conditions are maintained in the shop. Unless there is a check-off arrangement,<sup>58</sup> he may also collect dues. His chief function...is to handle the grievances which members have against their employers or foremen".<sup>59</sup>

The question of just how democratic union politics and administration are, or can be, has been brought up many times. Democracy as a two-party or multi-party system is almost unknown:

Most unions, in most countries, are not based upon a party system...members have a right in their individual capacity to elect their leaders and to decide issues of policy by majority rule, but not to combine in any organized group to exercise these functions. Many unions in America, Britain, and elsewhere, have rules specifically designed to prevent their members from forming factions or parties.<sup>60</sup>

The problem faced by unions is to reconcile the brotherhood and egalitarianism of their origins, which would seem to indicate a need for "town hall"

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<sup>57</sup>Millis and Montgomery, op.cit., pp. 250-53.

<sup>58</sup>The check-off, peculiar to the U.S., is an arrangement by which the employer deducts union dues from the worker's pay and turns it over to the union.

<sup>59</sup>Florence Peterson, op.cit., p. 82.

<sup>60</sup>Roberts, op.cit., pp. 33-34. The only American exception to this rule is the International Typographical Union, which maintains a two-party system.

democracy, and the requirements of a union functioning in a mass production society and the necessity of presenting a solid front to the employer.<sup>61</sup> Although the outer trappings of democratic forms are present in the meeting and convention, the union member, through lack of time or knowledge, delegates considerable authority to his officers. As a result "the actual government is commonly pretty much that of leaders and a relatively small group of active followers".<sup>62</sup> Even so, "the closer the level of union government is to the rank and file...the more intense its politics are". Consequently, turnover of officers in the local is much more common than in the international or the federation.<sup>63</sup>

Before leaving this discussion of union organization and structure, it is necessary to say a few words about leadership and leaders. Leaders will have a profound effect on the labor movement. The schism in the American labor movement which saw the rise of the CIO was as much a result of the influence of the personalities of John L. Lewis, David Dubinsky, and Sidney Hillman as it was a result of the craft-vs-industrial union controversy.<sup>64</sup> Not only do effective leaders have a great influence, they are also hard to come by. In the United States, more so than in Europe, many able leaders graduate into some other calling: private business, politics, or even the service of the employer on a

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<sup>61</sup>Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, pp. 82-84; Galenson, op.cit., pp. 36-39.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 84; Millis and Montgomery, op.cit., p. 246.

<sup>63</sup>Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, p. 371.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., pp. 113-20. See especially p. 115, where John L. Lewis is quoted as saying that in all his years of activity in the AFofL, he "never achieved the chairmanship of a standing committee in the American Federation of Labor".

managerial level.<sup>65</sup> The difficulty of developing new leaders has been the subject of recent discussion. The intensely political nature of unions means that an aspiring leader must fight his way up--and some competent men will not consent to do this. Being politicians, the existing leaders will seek to squash any potential rivals almost by reflex action. Most, if not all, leaders must also come up through the ranks if they are to resist the political charge of being a "johnny-come-lately" who has never experienced the sweat of the job. Particularly in mobile societies, the ranks may not contain men of the necessary caliber. Also there is a tendency to identify a union with its leader, so that an attack on the incumbent can be easily construed as an attack on the union.<sup>66</sup>

One final word may be said on the qualities a good union leader should possess. He must have a "sensitivity to the immediate needs of his constituents" and he must recognize "that the union is a political organization".<sup>67</sup> As Barbash describes him he should be a "good trade unionist":

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<sup>65</sup>Millis and Montgomery, op.cit., p. 250. The present writer was hired during a school vacation by a company personnel officer who had been a union secretary and shop steward. This man had once been the union's most effective bargainer but had become instead the company's best negotiator. The surprising thing in all this is that he was not resented by the workers, who rather admired him as a shrewd but honest man who could look out for himself. The fluidity of class lines is still a reality in the U.S. and no stigma is attached to one who rejects Eugene Debs' desire to rise with his class, but not from it.

<sup>66</sup>The New York Times, International Edition, 26 February 1963, p. 1.

<sup>67</sup>Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, p. 368.

The good trade unionist makes no pretensions to a coordinated philosophy, but does his union job well because he believes it is worth doing for its own sake. The good trade unionist is honest, devoted to his job and thinks in terms of a labor movement rather than in terms of his own union alone.<sup>68</sup>

The same author quotes an unpublished report used in a steward-training program of a certain union which describes the "good trade unionist". The description will fit the good member, to a great extent, as well as the good leader. The "good trade unionist":

1. Recognizes a picket line.
2. Does not discriminate between color, race, creed, sex, or minority groups.
3. Patronizes union labor.
  - A. Advertising to other workers the benefits of belonging to a labor organization.
  - B. Unifying effect in labor movement.
  - C. Shows spirit of mutual aid.
4. Shows management he profits from unionism.
5. Does not report another worker to employer.
6. Abides by majority decision.
7. Does not carry internal union disputes to public.
8. Keeps union affairs from management.
9. Is sure information about union is complete and correct before it is released to members.
10. Settles disputes and grievances between members within the union.
11. Organizes the unorganized. Every unorganized worker retards the progress of organized workers.
12. Participates in civic affairs.
13. Brings the principles of unionism to the public.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 373.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., pp. 373-74.

## II. GOALS AND FUNCTIONS OF LABOR UNIONS

An attempt was made in the preceding section to survey some of the structural features of trade unions in general. As a tool of analysis, our "model" will not be complete without a similar consideration of the goals and functions of unions as agencies of social and economic change.

### Goals.

The goals toward which labor unions work can be divided into three groups: (1) wages and related issues; (2) control of job opportunities, which includes union and job security; and (3) status in the workplace and the community. The British Trades Union Congress in a public report issued in 1944 described its major goals as follows:

The first of these is unquestionably that of maintaining and improving wages, hours, and conditions of labor....

Secondly, the Trade Union Movement is concerned with the opportunities which exist for the worker to obtain work....

Thirdly, the Trade Union Movement exists to extend the influence of work-people over the policies and purposes of industry and to arrange for their participation in its management....<sup>70</sup>

The identity of the first goal mentioned in this report and our first category above is obvious. The second and third goals are included in our second category. Underlying the desire for maximizing job opportunities, raising wages, and gaining a voice in management policy is the desire for improved status.

The first group of goals, expressed as wages and related issues, means that labor unions are dedicated to achieving higher wages and shorter hours for their members, as well as such other benefits as paid vacations,

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<sup>70</sup>Quoted in Flanders, op.cit., p. 44.

health and welfare benefits, pensions, and sometimes profit sharing with the company. These are the most widely known objectives of labor unions and indeed are often thought to be the only ones. Another mistaken idea about these goals, stemming from the famous statement of Samuel Gompers, is that this type of goal is summarized simply in the word "more". In reality, however, this "more" is conditioned by several other factors.<sup>71</sup>

Among these factors are the following:

- (1) Status. The interests of status which arise from differences in skill affect union wage policy. An acceptable balance between diverse categories of skills must be maintained.<sup>72</sup>
- (2) Economics of wage policy. Unions will demand wage increases in boom periods of the business cycle to keep up with the cost of living, and will fight decreases in slack times in order to maintain purchasing power. The effects of wage rates on the employer's competitive position are also a consideration.
- (3) The union's social policy. Such demands as "equal pay for equal work" for women workers or ethnic and racial groups would be an example of social policy.

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<sup>71</sup>Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, pp. 124-43.

<sup>72</sup>A noteworthy example of how status considerations affect demands is afforded by a strike being carried on in Sweden at the time of this writing. A group of nearly 400 white collar workers and foremen in the State Wine and Liquor Authority went out on strike to gain another week of paid vacation annually. The reason for this demand was that these white collar workers "have long had more vacation time than industrial workers but now the workers are about to draw abreast by getting a fourth week. The white collar employees and foremen want to maintain their vacation lead". The New York Times, International edition, 18 March 1963, p. 4

(4) The impact of technology. Increased technology will raise problems of the methods of wage determination and of the displacement of manpower which will affect demands.

Despite the publicity given to union goals in the field of wages and related issues, they in fact are probably not the most important or most basic of these goals. The more obvious targets of "more pay for less time expended under [more] desirable conditions" are actually gained through the pursuit of such fundamental goals as "achieving continuous employment opportunities", attaining union influence over those operations of the business firm which affect employment, and influencing government policies in favor of employment security and protection of unions.<sup>73</sup>

These considerations comprise the second group of goals mentioned above, which are referred to as union security and job security. Technically speaking, "union security...means a contract provision under which union membership is a condition of employment".<sup>74</sup> The demand for such a provision stems in part from the strong feeling against the "free-rider", "free-loader", or "hitch-hiker", as he is variously called, who does not join the union but enjoys the benefits it wins. (This type of individual seems to be found more in individualistic America than in Europe.) Over and above this, however, are reasons tied up with the institutional nature of a labor union:

A union, like all other social institutions, is subject to growth or decline. Its vitality and strength depend in large part, but not entirely, on the degree to which it meets its members' specific needs. In order to get and maintain

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<sup>73</sup>Dubin, op.cit., pp. 90-95.

<sup>74</sup>Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, p. 156.



rights for workers, the union itself needs to be strong. The union as such therefore, attempts to achieve sovereignty, to obtain rights for itself as an organization. These rights may be described as institution-building devices. They improve the union's power to implement the rights obtained for the workers.<sup>75</sup>

In the United States these feelings have spawned several types of contractual agreement between the union and the employer in which union membership is more or less stringently a condition of employment.<sup>76</sup> In Great Britain, however, the voluntary nature of the union movement has caused the union to rely "primarily on its own strength and not upon legal sanctions to reduce the number of nonunionists". However, there is a "silent and unseen" compulsion to join a trade union.<sup>77</sup> The major weapon of this compulsion is known colloquially as being "sent to Coventry"--in which a nonunionist or a disloyal unionist finds himself absolutely cut off from all communication with his fellow workers. In Scandinavia, the high rates of unionization have enabled the unions to attain security "without the necessity of such devices as the closed shop or the check-off".<sup>78</sup> The important point to be noticed here is that by one means or another a union seeks to gain its own institutional security in order to pursue its goal of participating in all management decisions which affect employment.

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<sup>75</sup>Bakke and Kerr, op.cit., p. 112.

<sup>76</sup>These types of union security arrangements are important only in the U.S. context and a discussion of them is not included here. They include the closed shop, the union shop, the preferential shop, maintenance of membership clauses and the check-off, which has been mentioned above (see Note 58). A full discussion of these arrangements can be seen in Bakke and Kerr, op.cit., pp. 113, 119-20.

<sup>77</sup>Flanders, op.cit., pp. 24-25.

<sup>78</sup>Galenson, op.cit., p. 132.

Closely associated with union security is the issue of job security. Job security is the sum of all the devices and efforts the worker exerts through the union to gain some control over his job and to protect his equity in it. This issue becomes increasingly important in well-developed and highly technological economies in which automation causes fear of worker displacement by machines.<sup>79</sup> Job security is enhanced through two major devices, seniority and working rules. Seniority is defined as the "length of service of employees in a specified unit for the purpose of determining the order in which workers will be laid off, promoted, transferred, or rehired". Work rules are the complex of regulations covering such matters as size of work crews, limitations on working outside one's job classification, etc., which are designed to protect the worker from arbitrary action in regard to the contents of his job.<sup>80</sup>

Thus far, we have considered the first two categories of goals, wages and control of job opportunities. Underlying both of these categories is the desire for improved status in the workplace and the community. Control of job opportunities and a voice in management decisions affecting the workforce tend to raise the status of the worker in the workplace. Higher wages and shorter hours give him the opportunity to play a more prestigious role in the community as a whole. The sum of the specific means by which he realizes the first two goals, then, will contribute to the realization of this third goal.

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<sup>79</sup>See Time, LXXXI, No. 9, 1 March 1963, pp. 13-17, especially page 16, for a contemporary discussion of this point.

<sup>80</sup>Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, pp. 160, 168; Peterson, op.cit., pp. 162-64.

Functions.

If the major goals of labor unions are the improvement of wages, hours, and working conditions, increased control over the job through implementation of union and job security, and improving the status of their members, their main functions are the activities by which they seek to obtain these goals. In the free unions of the West, these main functions are collective bargaining, strikes, and political action. It is important to note that all of these functions aim toward the same goals, and, to paraphrase Von Clausewitz, the use of strikes and political action is collective bargaining carried on by other means.

Collective bargaining, stated simply, is the process of negotiations carried on by unions and management to arrive at mutually acceptable provisions in regard to the conditions of employment. Other ideas also enter into the concept of collective bargaining. As Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Ruttenberg have written: "Collective bargaining is an instrument for workers and owners, through unions and management, to solve their problems directly without recourse to government".<sup>81</sup> In other words, collective bargaining is a free process, involving only the two concerned parties. It has been extremely rare in the United States for the government to interfere in these negotiations or even to arbitrate them when they break down.<sup>82</sup> In Europe, government interference in these negotiations is much more common, especially in France

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<sup>81</sup>Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Ruttenberg, "Principles of Union-Management Relations," in Bakke and Kerr, op.cit., p. 396.

<sup>82</sup>Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, p. 204.

and Norway.<sup>83</sup> Even in the United States there has been a tendency in recent years for government to become involved in collective bargaining, but this trend has been opposed by both unions and management.<sup>84</sup>

The importance of collective bargaining cannot be overemphasized. Even in situations wherein the government takes some part in negotiations, it is the raison d'être of the trade union. Speaking of the British unions, a scholar has described it as the "chief activity" of the union and the "main concern" of the membership.<sup>85</sup> As expressed by Walton H. Hamilton, "in general collective bargaining is the activity about which trade unions are built up.... Accordingly, the extent of effective employment of collective bargaining is the extent of successful unionism; the history of collective bargaining is inseparable from the history of organized labor".<sup>86</sup>

Having considered the nature and importance of collective bargaining, it is now possible to examine the process itself. In this examination the objects of union and management, and the determinants and scope of

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<sup>83</sup>Lorwin, op.cit., p. 377; Galenson, op.cit., pp. 140-41; Flanders, op.cit., pp. 54-64.

<sup>84</sup>A recent magazine article pointed up the fears of government intervention in industrial relations. George P. Shulz, Dean of the University of Chicago's Business School, in discussing the dangers of government intervention, said: "If the President hangs out his shingle, he's going to get all the business." James Hoffa, controversial President of the Teamster's Union, said of government intervention in his colorful style: "You don't have no unions with compulsory arbitration." Of arbitration reward he said: "The truth don't lie in the middle of anything. The truth is the truth." Time, LXXXI, No. 9, 1 March 1963, p. 17.

<sup>85</sup>Flanders, op.cit., p. 46.

<sup>86</sup>Walter H. Hamilton, "Collective Bargaining," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman, III (1933), p. 629.

the process will be considered. The objectives of management and unions in collective bargaining have been described by Frederick H. Harbison and John R. Coleman. According to their observations, management goals are as follows:<sup>87</sup>

- (1) Preservation and strengthening of the business enterprise.
- (2) The retention of effective control over the enterprise.
- (3) The establishment of stable and "businesslike" relationships with the bargaining agents.
- (4) The promotion of certain broad social and economic goals, [such as preserving free enterprise].
- (5) The advancement of personal goals and ambitions.

On the other hand, union goals are seen as the following:<sup>88</sup>

- (1) The preservation and strengthening of the union as an institution.
- (2) The carrying out of the formal purpose of the union to get "more" for the membership.
- (3) The acquisition of a greater measure of control over jobs to implement the first two objectives.
- (4) The pursuit of certain broad social and economic goals, [such as more equal distribution of wealth].
- (5) Fulfillment of personal goals and ambitions of the leadership.

Obviously, these objectives are contradictory and both sides will be forced to compromise their goals. It may be instructive to inquire what determines which side will succeed in pressing its goals to the more satisfactory conclusion. The major determinants of the outcome of collective bargaining are (1) the strength, discipline, and leadership of the union, and (2) the attitude of management.<sup>89</sup> The second point is important because it is the union which is the interloper in industrial relations and the extent to which management acquiesces in its existence

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<sup>87</sup>Frederick H. Harbison and John R. Coleman, Goals and Strategy in Collective Bargaining (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), pp. 7-12.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., pp. 12-17.

<sup>89</sup>Peterson, op.cit., p. 146; Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, pp. 208-09.

and presence at the bargaining table is a major factor in collective bargaining. In some instances unions and management get along better than others, which, given the similarity of aims held by most individuals on both sides, must be explained by the different means adopted to pursue these goals.<sup>90</sup> Depending on the response of management, the relationship between the two adversaries can be of several varieties, based on the amount of cooperation existing on both sides.<sup>91</sup> The type of relationship will be affected by such environmental forces as the economic, political, and legislative climate in which the two sides operate and as well as the institutional and individual personalities of the parties, and their size. (Generally, the larger the firm and union, the more difficult to effect close cooperation between them.)<sup>92</sup>

The scope of collective bargaining varies considerably in Western countries. In the United States, collective bargaining "as an instrument of job regulation at the plant level" has been carried further than in European countries, and United States contracts cover a wider range of issues.<sup>93</sup> A typical contract in America will cover union and job security, hours, wages, holidays, vacations, seniority rules, health and safety, work standards, management rights, and even provisions covering military service of employees, bulletin boards, and the union picnic!<sup>94</sup> Many of these

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<sup>90</sup>Harbison and Coleman, op.cit., p. 18.

<sup>91</sup>Harbison and Coleman describe these relationships as "armed truce", "working harmony", and "union-management cooperation", which are characterized respectively as an orderly "struggle for power" in which both parties are convinced that their objectives are in conflict; as a "means of working together"; and as "joint action to...improve the competitive position of the firm". Ibid., pp. 20, 53, 89.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., pp. 140 ff.      <sup>93</sup>Roberts, op.cit., p. 77.

<sup>94</sup>The main headings of a Rubber Workers' contract signed in 1954 make interesting reading. See Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, p. 123.

provisions, most notably those dealing with union security, are not found in European contracts, except in the case of France.<sup>95</sup>

Once a contract has been signed, there is usually some procedure adopted to administer it. As Barbash has described it, "collective bargaining is a continuous process involving negotiation, the emergence of a collective agreement, and the administration of the agreement".<sup>96</sup> The administration of the contract boils down to the handling of grievances on the job, which is "perhaps the single most important function of modern unionism".<sup>97</sup> Grievances are simply disagreements over the interpretation of the contract, and each contract will contain procedures for resolving them.<sup>98</sup> The "capstone" of this procedure is usually some form of arbitration. Otherwise, the possibility that some grievances cannot be resolved must be compensated for by permitting strikes during the term of the contract. In the United States, strikes over contract interpretation are rare, and in fact are usually illegal. The point is that some means must be at hand to settle grievances which resist solution. This will either be arbitration or the use of force.

Collective bargaining as a means of settling issues can break down. When this happens, unions may proceed to exercise their second function, the strike. The threat of force is an essential part of bargaining:

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<sup>95</sup>Flanders, op.cit., pp. 47, 70; Lorwin, op.cit., p. 379.

<sup>96</sup>Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, p. 181. <sup>97</sup>Ibid., p. 191.

<sup>98</sup>For a description of such a procedure see Peterson, op.cit., pp. 174-87; Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, pp. 181-92. It should be pointed out that besides arbitration and strikes, the contract may be administered and grievances handled through such means as mediation, conciliation, and fact-finding by neutral parties or government agencies.

the union's right to strike and the employer's effective right to say no to union demands are central to the collective bargaining process. If the union cannot strike or threaten to strike, and if the employer is not free to say no to union demands, then neither side can bargain in any meaningful way.<sup>99</sup>

Put in other words, the "residual power" of management and workers to get favorable terms is their ability to withhold jobs or labor.<sup>100</sup>

The reasons that trouble often arises in union-management bargaining is that, unlike other forms of negotiation in which "rights and obligations are similar and stable", in bargaining over employment terms, "the rights themselves are frequently at issue".<sup>101</sup> The relationship between strikes and the bargaining process is shown in the following quotation:

The strike is not an end but a means. It is an alternative technique when more reasonable, safer, orderly and socially sanctioned ones fail. The basic causes of strikes are not wages, hours, working conditions, and union recognition. These are issues. The causes are found in the failure to achieve the ends sought by arrangements and rules alternative to strikes.<sup>102</sup>

It goes without saying that the breakdown in the bargaining process may result from attitudes, mistakes, or intransigency on either the side of labor or management.

There are differences in industrial strife in Europe and America.

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<sup>99</sup>Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, p. 181. The absence of strikes in Scandinavia because of the existence of a series of friendly Labour governments has begun to worry some union leaders there who fear what may happen if the government changes hands and the strike weapon has atrophied. Galenson, op.cit., pp. 164-65.

<sup>100</sup>Bakke and Kerr, op.cit., p. 398.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid., p. 399.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., p. 400. A comprehensive list of the reasons for the resort to force is found on pp. 401-02.



Most strikes in the United States are over changes in a new contract. Once it is signed, however, it is generally upheld by both sides. In Britain, strikes never occur over a new contract but rather over interpretation of one already in effect. This is because in Britain industrial compacts "are not legally binding contracts" but are more like "gentlemen's agreements". (In the U.S., they are "legal documents, written in precise language" and capable of interpretation by arbitrators.)<sup>103</sup> This difference, however, does not invalidate the claim that force is resorted to only when attempts to negotiate disagreements by more orderly means fail.

The use of force, however, does not exhaust the union's response to the collapse of bargaining. A second alternative is available: the use of politics. The main difference in the way strikes and politics are used is that a strike is usually the response to an immediate, pressing situation. Political action is usually geared to long-term goals and the improvement of labor's standing in the bargaining process over a long period of time. Generally speaking, in using politics, "unions pursue a strategic goal of maximizing their legislative influence in the interests of labor-favoring legislation".<sup>104</sup> They seek, in other words, laws favoring union organization, protection of new and weak unions, minimum wages, health and safety measures, social security, etc. Put in simple terms, "unions are concerned with government at all levels because there is scarcely a phase of wages, hours, working conditions, labor-management relations, union functioning, and the general social and economic welfare which government does not affect in one way or another".<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup>Roberts, op.cit., pp. 97-98.      <sup>104</sup>Dubin, op.cit., p. 94.

<sup>105</sup>Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, p. 246.

In utilizing political action as a means to achieve goals, labor unions have followed two basic patterns. One is the formation of labor parties, as was done in Europe, and the second is through non-partisan political activity, which has been the case in the United States.

In Scandinavia, "the trade unions and the socialist parties...are two facets of a homogeneous movement". It is in these countries that the first type of political action has reached its highest point of development. However, even though the parties are financially dependent on the unions, they still are not controlled or dominated by them.<sup>106</sup> In Britain, neither the Party nor the unions are under the complete domination of the other, and there is a "clear division of function" between them. Even when a Socialist Government is in power, "the British trade unions are on the whole 'with but not of' the state".<sup>107</sup> France "developed the most extreme philosophy of trade union self-sufficiency and independence of the political parties". However, the success of the Communists in seizing control of the CGTU led towards a closer identification of parties and unions.<sup>108</sup> The point to be made here is that although unions may form political parties they are not, even when their party is in power, a part or tool of the government. They usually can bring as much pressure to bear on the government or party as that to which the latter may subject the unions.

In Europe, a combination of the multiparty system, comparatively high

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<sup>106</sup>Galenson, op.cit., pp. 155-56.

<sup>107</sup>Flanders, op.cit., pp. 90-97. Only 80 of 660 British unions, representing 6 out of 10 million workers are affiliated to the Labour Party. The two do not always agree, as happened in 1950, when the Unions broke with the Socialist government over wage restraints. Roberts, op.cit., p. 124.

<sup>108</sup>Lorwin, op.cit., pp. 399-400.

union membership, and ideological commitments have encouraged the formation of labor parties. The few attempts to do this in the United States have failed:

The traditional American method has come to be support of individual candidates on their records, but refusal to form an alliance with either dominant party or to organize a third party. The usual methods of lobbying have also been employed. It was assumed that organized labor had neither sufficient membership nor enough public respect to permit it to form a successful third party, and that if such a party was attempted, the other two parties would be antagonized.<sup>109</sup>

This policy was first set forth by the AFofL Convention of 1901 under the leadership of Samuel Gompers. The federation declared at that time:

The partisanship of Labor is a partisanship of principle. The American Federation of Labor is not partisan to a political party, it is partisan to a principle, the principle of equal rights and human freedom. We, therefore, repeat: Stand faithfully by our friends and elect them. Oppose our enemies and defeat them; whether they be candidates for President, for Congress, or for other offices...<sup>110</sup>

This policy has not been carried out to the letter, however.

Samuel Gompers may have been right in insisting that the unions could best prosper by simply looking out for their members interests and that no alien ideology could motivate American workers, but he was wrong in believing that the unions could remain neutral. As a result, "in theory the American unions still maintain their neutrality, but in practice they throw their weight behind the Democratic Party".<sup>111</sup> As George Meany, president of the AFofL-CIO said, "we find that we get support for the things we are interested in more from the Democrats than we do

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<sup>109</sup>Bakke and Kerr, op.cit., p. 204.

<sup>110</sup>Quoted in Bakke and Kerr, op.cit., p. 215.

<sup>111</sup>Roberts, op.cit., p. 119; see also Dubin, op.cit., pp. 94-95.

from Republicans".<sup>112</sup> Even so, unions are only "one contending element" in the party and the ties are much less close and informal than they are in Europe.<sup>113</sup>

A final point must be made in regard to political activity. In Europe and the United States as well, unions have maintained an independence of action and through their own strength can usually hold their own in the face of party or government action. They have, in other words, remained free.

In addition to the major function of collective bargaining, strikes, and political action, unions often carry out several activities in the fields of education, welfare, and community activities.<sup>114</sup> The practice is more widespread and intense in Europe than in the United States, where "the magnitude of such activities, whether measured by the numbers of unions or membership affected, is still quite small".<sup>115</sup> These activities are not essential functions of a labor union, but they do serve to point up the gains a union has made and to bind the worker more closely to his union.

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<sup>112</sup>Quoted in Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, p. 254.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid., p. 259.

<sup>114</sup>Peterson, op.cit., pp. 110-44; Millis and Montgomery, op.cit., pp. 323-36; Dubin, op.cit., pp. 72-79.

<sup>115</sup>Barbash, The Practice of Unionism, p. 300.

### III. THE DEVELOPMENT OF MATURITY IN TRADE UNIONS

In the previous section we discussed the goals and functions of labor unions. Before leaving this subject it will be useful to mention briefly the dynamics of the application of functions for the achievement of goals. For it is apparent that the character of a union movement is likely to change. Generally, it will change more or less in proportion to the success it achieves in exercising its functions.

The trade union has been described as "a conflict organization, with separate traditions, loyalties, and leadership, which is intent upon improving the union's prestige and power".<sup>116</sup> It is observable, however, that the trade union's characteristic of being a "conflict organization" will tend to mellow over a period of time. Unions resort to force for various reasons,<sup>117</sup> but with the passage of time, provided management comes to accept the union, militancy will decline.

It has been observed in the United States that, as collective bargaining goes on, both unions and management tend to give up their earlier hostility. Three developments are then likely to occur: (1) the bargaining process becomes increasingly professionalized, (2) more attention is placed on administration and enforcement of the agreement, and (3) there is less use of the strike weapon.<sup>118</sup>

Besides these changes in labor-management relations, the union is likely to develop in the direction of moderation. This phenomenon has

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<sup>116</sup>Richard A. Lester, As Unions Mature (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 14.

<sup>117</sup>See Bakke and Kerr, op.cit., pp. 401-02, for a list of these reasons.

<sup>118</sup>Lester, op.cit., p. 120. See also Harbison & Coleman, op.cit., pp. 3-5.

an internal as well as an external aspect. Internally, the major change is in leadership. In new unions, the more emotional and militant leader will appear. As stable bargaining relations are built up, however, the successful bargainer and administrator will tend to take over the reins of the union. There is also a change in the union's external relationships. The gaining of social acceptance and participation in community affairs will assist the trend towards conformity and moderation.<sup>119</sup>

Through this process, then, the union becomes less militant and more moderate. The societal function of the union has been described as follows:

By guiding workers' discontent into orderly channels for its relief and by competing with other organizations for the representation of workers' varied interests, unions perform a beneficial role in a democratic society. Unions, by aiding in the reconciliation of conflicting interests, contribute to constructive social change.<sup>120</sup>

The process of maturation and social acceptance permit the union to fulfill this societal function in a less belligerent manner, thus avoiding the potentially harmful resort to force.

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<sup>119</sup>Lester, op.cit., pp. 106-07; Millis and Montgomery, p. 248.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

#### IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A labor movement usually exhibits three levels of organization, the local union and the national or "international" union being the two most important levels. In addition the various national unions will combine into federations which will have varying amounts of power, but which generally do not dictate policy to its affiliated national unions. The basis of organization of the local will vary considerably. The national union will most often have a set jurisdiction whose basis will be a craft, trade, industry, or occupation, but this jurisdiction, like the organizational basis of the local, is quite flexible. In the more highly developed countries, unions have begun among manual workers, who everywhere still predominate in the labor movement, and later spread to non-manual "white-collar" workers.

Organization of unorganized workers requires a conscious effort on the part of unions and the leadership. Once workers are enrolled, they tend to allow leaders and a small group of activists to run the union on a day to day basis, but in a strong union, the membership is ready to fight for its major goals. Unions are usually self-financed, depending upon dues to carry on their activities. One of the most important factors in union success or failure is the quality of leadership, and good leaders are hard to develop.

The main function of a labor union is to bargain with the employer on behalf of its members, to replace individual bargaining with collective bargaining. Even in cases where the government has a certain role to perform in this process, bargaining is essentially a confrontation between the employer and the workers, represented by the union. When this process fails,

unions resort to the use of force--the strike. This process is aided through political action, by which the unions seek to improve the political climate for the existence of the labor movement and to enhance the opportunities to achieve its goals. The major goal of a labor union is to gain some control over management activities which affect the job. This goal may be expressed in terms of seeking union and job security, but union security may be obtained other than through contractual means. In addition, unions have the goals of increasing wages, lessening hours, and improving working conditions, but these are secondary to, and flow from, the basic goal of winning some control over the job.

Finally, we have seen that unions are likely to change with the passage of time, becoming less militant in proportion to the success they enjoy in achieving their goals and exercising their functions. This development is characterized by changes in the internal structure of the union, which becomes more institutionalized and bureaucratic, and in its external relationships in the community as a whole.



### CHAPTER III

#### AN APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF LABOR UNIONS IN LEBANON

It should be pointed out at the outset that the purpose here is not to construct a new theory of the labor movement, of which an abundance already exists. Rather, our objective is to survey the classical and modern approaches to the study of trade unions in an attempt to arrive at a theoretical framework in the light of which the Lebanese labor movement may be considered.

In order to accomplish this, several classical theories of the labor movement will be mentioned. This will be followed by a critique of these theories based on some recent writings in the field of industrial relations. A more contemporary theory of labor will then be considered. As proposed by Clark Kerr and Abraham Siegel, this theory is flexible and broad enough to encompass a variety of labor organizations, and not necessarily those peculiar to "capitalistic" or highly industrialized societies. Finally, the chapter ends with a consideration of some of the special aspects of an underdeveloped economy which may affect the organization of a labor movement in general.

## I. CLASSICAL THEORIES OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

One of the earliest theories of the trade union movement was that of Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Studying the labor unions of Great Britain early in the 20th Century, the Webbs came to the conclusion that the labor movement grew out of the workers' concern with the deterioration of their economic lot or its stabilization at a low level. This deterioration is caused by the competition for jobs and the overwhelming economic power of the employer. The concern of the workers over their low wages, long hours, and bad working conditions, strengthened by their sense of powerlessness as individuals in the face of the employer, causes them to turn to collective action. By this means, they are able "to confront the employer on something like equal terms and also to reduce the evil consequences of competition for jobs".<sup>1</sup>

The basic cause of the movement lies in the nature of capitalism.

As the Webbs wrote:

In all cases in which Trade Unions arose, the great bulk of the workers had ceased to be independent producers, themselves controlling the process, and owning the materials and the product of their labour, and had passed into the condition of lifelong wage earners, possessing neither the instruments of production nor the commodity in its finished state.<sup>2</sup>

The proximate cause of the labor movement, however, is the decline in real wages caused by job competition and the alliance of government and industry

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<sup>1</sup>Eugene V. Schnieder, Industrial Sociology (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1957), p. 337.

<sup>2</sup>Sidney and Beatrice Webb, The History of Trade Unionism (Revised Edition, extended to 1920; London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1935), p. 26.

enforcing the market theory in a laissez-faire society. This is borne out by the fact that the first unions began among journeymen whose standards of living began to slip because of the loss of power on the part of the guilds and the change in outlook of the government. The guilds began to lose out to the merchant-capitalist in the 16th century, but the government stepped in and protected their interests. It was in the late 18th and early 19th century in Britain that the government was converted to laissez-faire by the business interests and the stage was set for trade unionism.<sup>3</sup>

To the Webbs, then, the ultimate goals of the working class are confined to the classical area of trade-unionist interest: economic interests and the conditions of work.

Selig Perlman.

Writing a quarter century after the Webbs and from the vantage point of American trade unionism, Selig Perlman came to a slightly different conclusion. For Perlman, the labor movement was explained by the workers' need to gain a measure of control over their jobs. By studying the work rules with which unionized workmen surround their jobs, he saw that they were designed to control the number of workers and the hours worked, to divide the work when it was scarce, and to protect the job against technological change. This could reflect only "a consciousness of scarcity on the part of the workingman--a feeling that job opportunities are a limited and scarce commodity which must be protected at all costs".<sup>4</sup>

Faced with the scarcity of jobs, and either unable or unwilling to take advantage of economic opportunities outside the laboring force, the

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Schnieder, op.cit., p. 333.

worker is led inevitably to unionism. This "breeds a desire in the worker to 'own' the precious, scarce commodity, the job".<sup>5</sup> To secure this control, all the workers must strive together in unison, i.e., they must organize themselves. Improvements in wages and related issues are important to the worker, but the desire for these improvements merely reinforces the drive for job control, from which all other benefits flow. No matter what policy labor adopts, "its ultimate aims are limited to the control and ownership of the job, within the framework of the existing social order".<sup>6</sup>

For Perlman then, the ultimate aims of the labor movement are defined largely by the workers' "scarcity consciousness". In this sense, the movement in the first place attempts to control job opportunities; and secondly, it seeks to improve the working conditions. By and large, the trade union movement as envisaged by Perlman is basically "job conscious".<sup>7</sup>

Frank Tannenbaum.

Writing in 1952, Frank Tannenbaum described the cause of trade unionism as the loss, on the part of workingmen, of status in an organic society. The worker is seen as "driven by a sense of alienation from both job and society, striving to create or recreate a collectivity in which he will be related by the solid ties of status to employer, to fellow worker, and to job".<sup>8</sup> The union is developed as a means to secure this goal.

Tannenbaum began by describing the old guild system of production in which there were tightly-knit social groups, with well-defined social rights

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 334.

<sup>7</sup>For a more detailed consideration of Perlman's ideas, see: Selig Perlman, The Theory of the Labor Movement (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1949).

<sup>8</sup>Schnieder, op.cit., p. 334.

and duties. This system dissolved under the impact of the machine and industrialism. The workers lost the tools of production and the land. Cut off from society, his labor viewed as a commodity and a cost of production, the worker found his lot intolerable. He sought "bread and butter" improvements in organizing, "but these aims were merely part of his larger aim: to recreate a community, to play a significant part in the 'drama' of life, to live within a common framework of shared values".<sup>9</sup> This whole process, then, Tannenbaum describes as the "Re-creation of the Community".<sup>10</sup>

Seeking to re-establish the community, the worker found the basis for it in the workplace. The mill, shop, or mine served as the focal point around which the new society could be constructed. As Tannenbaum put it: "The original organizer of the trade union movement is the shop, the factory, the mine, and the industry. The agitator or the labor leader merely announces the already existing fact."<sup>11</sup> The union then returns to the worker the society he felt he lost through the introduction of industrialism. It also "gives him a fellowship, a part in a drama that he can understand, and

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 335.

<sup>10</sup>Frank Tannenbaum, A Philosophy of Labor (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p. 58.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 60. Perlman agreed that the union movement must await the factory system. He saw the guild system separated in time from the factory system by an intermediate stage in which work is contracted out to "sweatshop" operators in the service of a merchant distributor. He showed that unions in the U.S. did thrive under this arrangement, and that they needed to wait until the 1890's and a real factory system to become effective. See excerpt from his A History of Trade Unionism in the United States (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1937) in E.W. Bakke and Clark Kerr, Unions, Management, and the Public (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1949), pp. 22-25. The Webbs disagreed on this point, however. Webbs, op.cit., p. 26.

life takes on meaning once again because he shares a value system common to others".<sup>12</sup>

Thus, like Perlman, though for different reasons, Tannenbaum is inclined to consider the limited economic aims of the labor movement as subsidiary to certain underlying psychological tendencies in accounting for the emergence of unionism.

#### Critiques of the classical theories.

These three very influential theories of the labor movement stress one or another motivating factor to explain the rise of unions. The Webbs stress economic deprivation, Perlman stresses the need for job control, and Tannenbaum stresses the need for status and the re-creation of an organic society. In recent times, however, it has become clear that these motives cannot be so easily separated and that one may not be overwhelmingly more important than another. In other words, the question of causes is too complex to be limited to any one motive.

All of these various motives are likely to be found contributing to union organization. As Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Ruttenberg have written, "workers organize into labor unions not alone for economic motives but also for equally compelling psychological and social ones."<sup>13</sup> Economically, workers seek, through unionization, an adequate standard of living and a certain amount of job and wage protection. Psychologically, unions serve "the personality needs of freedom of action, self-expression, and creative outlets". Socially, they provide "the ties and bonds of group

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<sup>12</sup>Tannenbaum, op.cit., p. 10.

<sup>13</sup>Quoted in Bakke and Kerr, op.cit., p. 49.

relations and community life".<sup>14</sup> Thus, the various motives described in the classical theories are seen to be intertwined and interwoven in a complex manner which defies efforts to single out any one as decisive.

The intricacy of this problem is also pointed out by Eugene V. Schnieder, who sees the role and personality of each worker as conditioning his response to unionism.<sup>15</sup> The rank and file member will be motivated by the feeling of scarcity and by the downward pressure on wages. The union will also compensate for the psychological feeling of powerlessness he experiences as a worker. The union activist, although sharing these feelings of the rank and file member, will also be motivated by a desire for status. He will try "to compensate for the low status of the worker's role through playing a role which does confer prestige and distinction, at least within his own world".<sup>16</sup> Union leaders and careerists, on the other hand, will be inspired not only by economic motives, a feeling of scarcity, and a desire for improved status, but also perhaps by ideological considerations and a drive for power. The main point of this discussion, then, is that the "classical" labor theories stress a single motivating force in union organization. It would appear, however, that in reality we must postulate a number of motivating forces, all affecting different personalities in different ways. Within any union organization members will be found whose motives for joining a union range from the purely economic to the ideological.

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>15</sup>Schnieder, op.cit., pp. 342-49. <sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 346.

## II. A MODERN THEORY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

In the previous section, certain objections were raised in regard to the forces motivating union organization described in the classical theories of the labor movement. It was argued that these motives are complex and that they affect the various types of union members in different ways. These motives, however, are only the connecting links between two more fundamental facts. They seek to explain the impulses which serve to elicit a certain response to a certain challenge. Two noted scholars of industrial relations, Clark Kerr and Abraham Siegel, have called into question the basic challenge and response assumed in the classical theories.<sup>17</sup>

According to Kerr and Siegel, "traditional theory may be said to start with the simultaneous specification of 'challenge' and 'response' and with the postulate that the relationship between the two shall constitute the core of further investigation".<sup>18</sup> The traditional theories more or less ignore pre-industrial society and stress labor organization in modern industrial society almost exclusively. Even more significantly, "the crucial theoretical emphasis rests almost invariably upon the capitalist form" of industrial society.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, in all of the traditional analyses of labor organization, capitalism is assumed to be the challenge.

Being agreed on the nature of the challenge, the traditional theories

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<sup>17</sup>Clark Kerr and Abraham Siegel, "The Structuring of the Labor Force in Industrial Society: New Dimensions and New Questions," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, VII (January, 1955), pp. 151-68.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.



also posit the same response: a labor movement. Moreover, this labor movement is seen as one that "is structured by, of, and for the worker, controlled and guided by the needs and demands of the worker; it is, in sum, the consequence of organizational propensities which inhere in the industrial work force and which sooner or later congeal into a 'labor movement'".<sup>20</sup>

The relationship between the challenge of capitalism and the response of the labor movement is usually looked at from the point of view of the worker. The labor movement "is seen as the vehicle which the worker builds and controls to transport him from the evil to the good society".<sup>21</sup> In other words, the purpose of labor organization is taken to be the attainment of a society in which the worker is happy and no longer alienated. In the words of Kerr and Siegel, "each of the traditional analyses offered a teleology centering around the labor movement protesting the abuses of capitalism and moving towards the final good society".<sup>22</sup>

The traditional theories are thus agreed in their basic assumptions of challenge, response, and purpose. As pointed out in the first section of this chapter, however, they diverged considerably in specifying the essential elements in liberal capitalism which were the proximate causes of the labor response. Most traditional analyses can be classified under one of several of the more important elements which have been singled out by the theorists. The first of these elements is "the minimization of the material standard of life" where "the worker...is confronted with the actual or threatened deterioration of his economic lot or with failure to receive

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 154-55.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

his fair share".<sup>23</sup> Such diverse scholars, thinkers, and labor leaders as the Webbs, Karl Marx, John R. Commons, and Samuel Gompers have stressed this element. A second element which has been singled out by the labor theorists is the loss of moral status in an organic and whole society, for which the labor movement compensates the worker. This element is stressed by Tannenbaum and others.<sup>24</sup> Still others, led by Selig Perlman, cite the loss of independence, initiative, and choice in the face of capitalistic control of the means of production. Still others regard unionism as "an outgrowth of a lack of faith in the self-regulatory efficacy and justice of the liberal capitalist society", or a part of the "bureaucratization of economic life", or as a part of social disorganization and the "growth of group antagonism".<sup>25</sup> This divergency in connecting links between the challenge and the response does not, however, affect the basic assumptions of capitalism breeding a labor movement whose goal is the good society.

Alternative propositions in the theory of Kerr and Siegel.

This concern on the part of labor theorists with capitalism and the labor movement is caused by the "historical conjuncture of capitalism and industrialization".<sup>26</sup> Up until the 20th century, industrialization had been accomplished only under capitalist auspices. But in this century, industrialization has occurred in many countries of the world under circumstances differing greatly from the capitalist model. Russia and Japan are both examples of industrialization differing greatly from the British

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 157.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 158.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 160.

and American experience. The contemporary theorist of labor must then accept as his "challenge" not capitalism, but the more general phenomenon of industrialization.<sup>27</sup> For "from industrialization springs the genus of our subject matter--an industrial labor force and its role in society; from the capitalist sire derive only particular species".<sup>28</sup>

In this modern view, then, the challenge of capitalism is replaced by the more inclusive challenge of industrialization. What then is the response? Industrialization on the material level demands real capital formation and mechanization. On the institutional level, which concerns us here, it "must find appropriate arrangements to permit the inception of the process in the first place [and] to nurture and sustain it once conceived".<sup>29</sup> As far as the work force is concerned, this requires the evoking of "a web of rule which relates the workers to one another and to the productive process".<sup>30</sup> The response to industrialization, then is the establishment of "a complex body of working rules which governs the conduct of the industrial work force".<sup>31</sup> These rules will cover recruiting, training, and locating of workers, as well as the time and pace of work and the amount of pay. It will seek to minimize revolt, provide an ideological orientation and check the insecurity of the individual inherent in an industrial order. The common denominator is not, then, a "labor movement" but rather an attempt "to define by a web of rule some structured role for the labor force".<sup>32</sup> This may be accomplished without

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 161.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 162.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 163.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 164.

a trade union movement as well as with it.

There are three contestants for the job of establishing the web of work rules.<sup>33</sup> They are the employer, the worker, and the state. (The "worker" is not on a parity with either employer or state, and should be understood in terms of a worker organization, a union.) Any of these groups may establish the work rules singly or in combination with one or the other, or both, of the remaining contenders. Given the fact of three contenders, there are seven possible systems for the establishment of work rules.

The first three might be termed monistic, in the sense that the rules are set primarily by one contestant. First, the employer may set the rules. This can be done paternalistically as in pre-war Japan or it may follow a system of worker self-dependence as in 19th century England. Second, the union may exercise the rule-making prerogatives. This may take the form of worker cooperatives. Third, the state may exercise these prerogatives, as is the case in Russia.

The next three systems could be called dualistic. Fourth, power may be shared by the employer and the union. This was the case in the United States prior to the recent rise of government interest. Fifth, the employer and the state may be partners. The state in this case may favor the workers, as in Mexico and Argentina, or the employer, as in Nazi Germany. Sixth, the state and the union may share power in the rule-making process, as in the nationalized industries of Britain.

Finally, in what can be termed a pluralistic system, the state, the employer, and the union may share equally in the process of establishing

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<sup>33</sup>The following discussion is based on Ibid., pp. 165-67.

the web of rule. Scandinavia, and recently the United States, exemplify this system. It should be noted that all three of these participants are independent entities, each having power to share in the process.

A free labor movement may be identified as one which, on its own initiative and through its own power, exerts a definite force upon the establishment of the rules governing the labor force. Contrary to the traditional theories, it becomes apparent that not all of the systems described above include a free labor movement as part of the response. We may diagram these seven possible systems and indicate those which would include a free union movement:

TYPES OF RULE-MAKING SYSTEMS IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

MONISTIC, rules set by:	Free Unions
1. Employer	No
2. Union	Yes
3. State	No
DUALISTIC, rules set by:	
4. Union and Employer	Yes
5. State and Employer	No
6. State and Union	Yes
PLURALISTIC, rules set by:	
7. Union, Employer, and State	Yes

In those systems in which free unions do not exist, the employer and/or the state may be paternalistic. This does not, however, guarantee the privileges given to labor, privileges that become rights under a system with free unions. It should be noted that the second system is historically almost non-existent. This means that, for practical purposes, only in systems 4, 6, and 7 can there exist a free union movement. It is

assumed, of course, that in these three systems there is a genuine cooperation between free entities and that they are not euphemisms for one of the other systems.

With such considerations in mind, it becomes necessary to construct a theoretical approach to the study of labor unions in developing countries. Rather than the challenge of capitalism evoking the response of a labor movement, it is necessary to think instead in terms of industrialization, evoking a system of working rules. The establishment of this web of rules, may or may not be accomplished with the help of a free union movement.

### III. PROBLEMS OF UNIONS IN A DEVELOPING ECONOMY

In the previous section, we indicated that some adjustments must be made in the underlying suppositions of the traditional analyses of the labor movement. Rather than the challenge of capitalism inevitably evoking the response of a free union movement, we saw that it was necessary rather to think in terms of industrialization bringing about the establishment of a web of rules governing the emerging industrial work force. To these basic theoretical considerations we must add several other factors which affect the unions in an underdeveloped economy.

#### Size of industrial work force, unemployment, and management opposition.

Being in the early stages of industrialization, underdeveloped economies confer several disadvantages upon the establishment and growth of trade unions. First among these disadvantages is the size of the industrial work force. Industrial workers, particularly those in modern industries, are the one "most susceptible to organization", but they are invariably a minority group.<sup>34</sup> In addition, unemployment and underemployment are endemic characteristics of the underdeveloped economy. A large pool of unused labor is a constant threat to unions, as it constitutes a ready and willing source of strikebreakers. Beyond this, however, high levels of unemployment are "antithetical to the cause of unionism" because the working-man, having secured a job, will be reluctant to jeopardize it.<sup>35</sup> That he may be jeopardizing his job by engaging in union activity flows

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<sup>34</sup>Walter Galenson, ed., Labor in Developing Economies (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 2

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

from the fact that the employer "is generally not adverse to using his economic power to keep out" the unionism that "he regards as an alien, radical force".<sup>36</sup> Management opposition can be highly detrimental to unionization even in developed countries. In relation to the United States experience, Jack Barbash has written that "labor organization could not successfully persevere where large aggregates of business power were in belligerent opposition to unionism and where the relationship between business and government was such that the latter took active part in the general onslaught against unionism".<sup>37</sup> As indicated by the last part of this statement, the position of the government in regard to unionism is also crucial. This subject will bear more detailed discussion.

Government and unions: sources of conflict.

Unions in developing countries may find themselves accepted or prohibited by the government. Although outright prohibition is unusual, unions may or may not be free and independent even when permitted to exist. From the point of view of this paper, a free union movement is judged to be a positive good. Also from the institutional viewpoint of the union, of course, independence is a requisite characteristic of a labor movement. Underlying the idea of a labor movement is "the fundamental principle that the movement cannot properly submit to domination by organized political, religious, governmental and employer power groups. External domination of this kind is regarded as incompatible with a free labor movement".<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>Jack Barbash, The Practice of Unionism (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956), p. 8.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 406.



The underdeveloped country will have two choices in the type of unions it will have. In the first instance, the interests of labor as well as other groups will be considered as subordinate to the interests of the state. The unions will be charged with maintaining discipline and improving productivity, but perhaps apart from distributing welfare funds, they will fulfill no economic function and exert no wage pressure. On the other hand, unions may be allowed to exist independent of state and employer influence.<sup>39</sup>

Even in cases where free unions are allowed, however, they will often find that, as happened in the United States, "organizational progress is usually feasible only when the government steps in to provide protection".<sup>40</sup> No matter what ideological predisposition the government has towards unions, however, chances are that the two will soon be in conflict. As expressed by Felicia Deyrup:

if organized labor is to obtain improved conditions and wages...from economies still in the early phases of industrial growth, it must resort to political as well as economic means, and when labor enters the political field it finds government deeply involved in the various aspects of economic growth. It is this involvement of government with economic growth that leads to strained relations between the government and organized labor in underdeveloped countries.<sup>41</sup>

When a government is involved in economic development, vital issues like price stabilization, capital formation, market development, and many other problems become of immediate concern. Labor problems, as a result,

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<sup>39</sup>Galenson, op.cit., pp. 9-10.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>41</sup>Felicia J. Deyrup, "Organized Labor and Government in Underdeveloped Countries: Sources of Conflict," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, XII (October, 1958), p. 107.

may not receive the necessary attention they deserve. Such negligence may easily generate conflicting and hostile relations between the parties concerned. The main areas in which conflict is likely to develop is in the pressure of wage demands on inflation and capital formation. Too much wage pressure by unions is liable to bring disaster in either of these areas.<sup>42</sup> As Walter Galenson expressed it, "wage determination is too closely geared to growth potentialities to be left to bilateral settlement" and government influence will usually be against wage increases.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, it is most probable that

a serious conflict of interest between government and labor will persist in these countries so long as serious efforts towards development are being made, and that therefore organized labor's position in these economies...will tend to resemble those in advanced countries only after the major aims of development have been achieved.<sup>44</sup>

#### Imitation of the West.

Labor organizations have appeared and gained acceptance in underdeveloped countries comparatively much earlier in the process of development than they did in the West. This is partially explained by the fact that Western developments provided a model to imitate. As Felicia Deyrup observed:

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., pp. 108-11. The problem of the formation of capital without serious dislocation and deprivation in the field of consumer wants has never been solved. Early Capitalism and Communism alike literally wrung their real increase in capital from the backs and brows of the workers. It was a less bitter process in the U.S. perhaps, although even there it was far from pleasant, because the vast wealth of a rich and untapped continent provided a "free" source of capital and the frontier provided a safety valve.

<sup>43</sup>Galenson, op.cit., p. 6.

<sup>44</sup>Deyrup, op.cit., p. 104.

Organized labor in underdeveloped countries owes this strategic advantage of open recognition by society to the labor movements of economically advanced countries and to the whole tradition of liberal Western political and social philosophy, for knowledge of the practical achievements of Western labor movements and the intellectual influence of the Western philosophy have percolated throughout underdeveloped countries.<sup>45</sup>

This mimetic nature of the labor movement may not be an unmixed blessing, however. In reaction to the political and military encroachments of the West, the Western nature of the labor movement may give it a bad name. It has been observed among Iraqi workers, for example, that unions and collective bargaining were often viewed as Western "and therefore suspect" innovations.<sup>46</sup> More fundamentally, unions may have been formed simply in imitation of Western forms, to surround the society with the trappings of modernity, without a deep-seated and consciously felt need on the part of the workingmen. If this is the case, the lack of real motivation on the part of members will weaken and perhaps destroy the labor movement. In other words, abuses must be felt and the remedy of unionism hungrily sought, to assure the proper ideological élan necessary to sustain union growth.

When labor unions come into existence in societies psychologically unprepared for them, collective bargaining is apt to suffer. Since collective bargaining, as described in Chapter II, is an essential function of a trade union, this will result in serious dislocations within the labor movement. As Walter Galenson, a scholar of comparative labor

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<sup>45</sup>Deyrup, op.cit., p. 107.

<sup>46</sup>George L. Harris, ed., Iraq: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture ("Country Survey Series"; New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1958), p. 176.

movements, observed:

A viable system of collective bargaining takes many years to develop. It requires the establishment of attitudes of mutual forbearance, and the realization by employers that they are playing a game rather than seeking the extinction of their opponents. For successful collective bargaining, there must be at least approximate equality of bargaining power, and the willingness of the parties to forget the lacerations caused by the bargaining process. These ingredients are rarely to be found in underdeveloped countries. The bargaining power of trade unions is apt to be political rather than economic; they can cause demonstrations and riots, and alarm the government into action with the urgency of their demands, but they lack the ability to run sustained work stoppages.<sup>47</sup>

Trade unions in underdeveloped countries will usually differ in still another way from those in the West. "In Asia, Africa, the West Indies, and other countries where trade unionism is a very modern phenomenon," B.C. Roberts points out, "organization did not take root first among skilled craftsmen."<sup>48</sup> Unionization began first among teachers, government clerks and railroad and port workers. It was these groups that had settled employment and employers, and issues to be settled. They also had the social skills necessary to form continuous associations for collective action.<sup>49</sup> This phenomenon is probably explained by the imitative nature of trade unions in these areas. The fact that imitation plays a large role in this process also explains this predominance of white collar unions in contradiction to what was

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<sup>47</sup>Galenson, op.cit., p. 6.

<sup>48</sup>B.C. Roberts, Unions in America: A British View (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959), p. 11.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 12. Felicia Deyrup also notes that unions in underdeveloped areas are strongest among transport, white collar, and government employees, along with factories and mines. Western experience was that the latter areas would show much greater unionization. Deyrup, op.cit., p. 105.

said above concerning industrialization. These white collar workers will organize, although they do not feel the deprivations of industrialization, because they are aware of Western institutions and imitate them.

Summary.

It can be seen from the foregoing discussion that the so-called "classical theories" of the labor movement will not be satisfactory as a framework for studying unions in a country such as Lebanon. Rather than looking for some single subjective motivating force for joining unions, it is necessary rather to anticipate a complex interweaving of motives. Any one of these could be a sufficient motive for unionization.

It has also been pointed out that it is necessary to postulate a different "challenge" and "response" in industrial relations than the traditional idea of capitalism begetting a labor movement. Thus, we have proposed that industrialization is the challenge and that it will evoke as a response the establishment of a "web of rules" to govern the labor force. A free trade union movement may or may not be a vital part of this process.

It has been further pointed out that the size of the industrial work force, unemployment, management opposition, and governmental interference will have adverse effects on unions in underdeveloped countries. The imitative nature of unions in developing economies may also be a source of weakness. The possibility of imitation may also cause some adjustment in the postulating of industrialization as the basic cause of unionization.

PART II: THE LEBANESE LABOR MOVEMENT

## CHAPTER IV

### THE LEBANESE LABOR MOVEMENT IN ITS HISTORICAL SETTING

In Part I of this study an attempt was made to identify the structural and functional features of a typical labor union movement. The purpose in constructing this model was to provide ourselves with a tool of analysis by which the Lebanese union movement might be evaluated. It seemed obvious, however, that some differences between the model and the actual Lebanese labor situation might be explained by environmental differences in the societies which nurtured them. For this reason, certain theoretical considerations were put forth, in the light of which this comparison might be made. The traditional theories of the labor movement were rejected as not being of a sufficiently universal nature to be used outside the Western, capitalistic society from which they emanated. In their place we have proposed that industrialization will call forth some means of relating the new work force --no longer artisans or members of a family enterprise--to the job and to society in general. Of basic concern in this process is the proposition that a free labor movement is not an inevitable outgrowth of industrialization. It may or may not exist and its role in determining "the web of rules" by which the work force is organized may vary. Several factors which may influence the role of the labor movement in a developing economy were then pointed out.

The following chapters, in which the historical development and

present situation of the Lebanese labor movement will be sketched and compared to our model, will be approached with these observations in mind. Along with a descriptive account of the labor movement, an attempt will be made to answer several questions suggested by the theoretical considerations presented in the previous chapter. Among these, the following are particularly pertinent to the Lebanese case:

- (1) Which of the three contenders--labor, management, or government--has been mostly responsible for "rule-making" in Lebanon, i.e., which of the parties or combinations has exhibited the most initiative in the history of labor legislation?
- (2) Among which occupational groups did unionization first occur in Lebanon, among manual or white-collar workers?
- (3) What have been the historical sources of industrial conflict involving labor, management, and government?
- (4) Has a process of maturation occurred in Lebanese unions, involving changes in structure, tactics, and strategy of collective relations?
- (5) Has the attempt been made to apply the Western concept of unionism wholesale, or have attempts been made to adapt it to local needs and circumstances?

To find the answers to such questions, this historical survey will be concerned with three main topics. First, the history of labor legislation in Lebanon will be considered, particularly those laws dealing with union organization and supervision. Second, an historical survey of union and federation development will be presented. Third, the nature and pattern of labor-management relations will be outlined, with particular



emphasis on the more recent period.

## I. LABOR LEGISLATION IN LEBANON

From the Ottoman period to 1946.

Prior to the imposition of the French Mandate, there existed very little labor legislation in Lebanon and Syria. Strikes and unions in industries run by the government or by concession companies were forbidden by a law promulgated on 9 August 1909.<sup>1</sup> The formation of workers' organizations was subject to the provisions of the Law of Associations of 16 August 1909, and a Law of Corporations dated 7 May 1912.<sup>2</sup> The "associations" covered by the former law were any permanent, non-profit groups coming together to unify the efforts of its members to attain certain goals. These associations did not require previous licensing, but it was necessary that the government be informed of their existence. The law also set up detailed requirements concerning the membership and administration of these associations. The Law of Corporations abolished the office of Shaikh of the craft (Shaikh Kār). It provided in his place an elected group of from six to twelve members, called a "niqāba", that was charged with caring for the needs of the craft, dealing with the employer, and providing aid and benefits to its member craftsmen. The view of the French mandate government on these laws seems accurate. Generally speaking,

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<sup>1</sup>Law "Ta'tīl al-Ashghāl," 22 Rajab 1327 A.H./9 August 1909. Text in Yūsuf Šāder, Majmū'at al-Qawānīn, Vol. II (Beirut: Al-'Ilmiya Press, 1929), p. 418.

<sup>2</sup>Law "Qānūn al-Jam'iyat," 29 Rajab 1327 A.H./16 August 1909, text in Ibid., p. 408. Law "Ta'līmāt al-Niqābāt," 20 Jumād al-awwal 1330 A.H./7 May 1913, text in Ibid., p. 424. The word niqābāt (s. niqāba) is here translated as "corporation" rather than "union" or "syndicate". The latter meaning has been reserved for later organizations. The associations envisaged by this law were more like the old guilds than a modern union, as indicated by the discussion following in the text.

the Ottoman laws foresaw associations of owners of tools, or of heads of individual crafts, in a kind of "paternal syndicate", rather than unions of workers in the modern sense.<sup>3</sup>

These laws were not strictly applied and there was no great need felt to regulate conditions of work. Industrial establishments were small and they were run on the same patriarchal basis as the rest of the society. The workday began at sunrise and continued to one hour before sunset, but there was a two hour rest at midday. One day a week (Friday, Saturday, or Sunday, depending on the worker's religion) was set aside as a day of rest. Contracts were verbal and in case of a dispute, arbitration was "legally in the hands of the Corporative Committee of each craft, but in practice it [was] exercised by the Municipality, the Chamber of Commerce, or the head of the community". There were also arbitration committees composed of the mayor, the Imam, and other notables which would meet to hear disputes upon the request of one of the parties involved.<sup>4</sup>

The mandatory power was not eager to change this situation by proposing new legislation. Several times in the first years of the Mandate, it indicated its belief that minimum wage laws and statutory compensation for accidents suffered on the job would be premature and harmful. It pointed out that the strength of the employers and the "precarious" employment conditions prevented the workers from joining together in defense of their interests and that any attempt by the

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<sup>3</sup>France, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rapport Sur la Situation de la Syrie et du Liban, 1924 (Geneva: League of Nations, 1925), p. 49. This series will hereinafter be referred to as France, Rapport, with appropriate year and page reference.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 44-46.

administrative authority to further such organization would be met "by defiance".<sup>5</sup> (Though it is not explained how this defiance could be more fearsome than that which met some of the government's repressive political actions, culminating in a bloody revolt a year after this was so piously written.) The government also expressed the belief that the subject of work contracts was "particularly delicate", and the system of individual, verbal contracts consecrated by centuries of practice, would not yield to legislative restrictions.<sup>6</sup>

This attitude on the part of the Mandate Government may elicit some sympathy, but it is hard to escape the feeling that local apathy was merely an excuse for the politically preoccupied government's inaction in the social field. Some observers, closer in time to the period under discussion, seemed to indicate such a belief.<sup>7</sup>

Nevertheless, the mandate period was not entirely devoid of labor legislation. However, the new decrees which were issued in regard to labor organization were not conspicuously liberalizing in their effect. The first of these decrees, issued in 1926, amended the Ottoman Law of Associations by empowering the cabinet to dissolve by decree those associations failing to meet its stipulations.<sup>8</sup> On December 29th, 1934, Qarār 294 LR was promulgated, limiting associations of workmen to persons

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 49. <sup>6</sup>France, Rapport, 1926, p. 129.

<sup>7</sup>See Fuad Izziddin and George Hakim, "A Contribution to the Study of Labor Conditions in the Lebanon," International Labor Review, XXVIII (November, 1933), p. 11, where they write: "The lack of interest of local authorities has been advanced as a reason for the inaction of the Mandatory Government."

<sup>8</sup>Amendment to the Law of Associations, dated 26 May 1926, in Republic of Lebanon, Majmū'at Qawānīn wa Marāsīm Hukumat al-Jumhūriyat al-Lubnāniya, May 1926 - January 1929, Book 1 (Beirut: Adab Press, 1931), p. 270.

practicing the same or similar trades.<sup>9</sup> A former official of the Lebanese Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs has written that this decree was issued "in order to encourage the beginnings of industrialization and the growth of trade unionism".<sup>10</sup> It would seem rather that the intent of the decree was to limit rather than encourage the growth of unions. At any rate, this provision, incorporated in its entirety into the Labor Code of 1946, has contributed to keeping unions small in size.

In the 1930's other laws regulating working conditions were promulgated. On October 11th, 1934, a new Code of Obligations and Contracts, the provisions of which were made public eighteen months previously, came into effect.<sup>11</sup> The new Code covered the conditions of agreement and dissolution of work contracts, provided for indemnities in case of wrongful termination of the contract, and made the employer responsible for accidents in the workplace. On May 27th, 1937, this law was amended to provide severance pay for dismissed workers in the amount of one month's pay for each year of service over five years.<sup>12</sup> The promulgation of this amendment is of special interest because it is the first example of the working force affecting the contents of labor legislation in Lebanon. The amendment was made when the Keriacus and Zeheir Bank unexpectedly closed its doors and dismissed its employees without warning. The political agitation stirred up by the

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<sup>9</sup>Republic of Lebanon, Ministry of Justice, Al-Majmū'at al-Hadītha lil-Qawānīn al-Lubnāniya, Vol. II (Beirut: Šāder Press, 1954), Section "Jam'iyāt wa Ijtima'āt," p. 9.

<sup>10</sup>Joseph Donato, "Lebanon and Its Labor Legislation," International Labor Review, XLVII (January, 1952), p. 75.

<sup>11</sup>France, Rapport, 1932, p. 156; 1934, p. 160.

<sup>12</sup>France, Rapport, 1937, p. 164.

dismissed employees resulted in the severance pay provisions being added to the law.<sup>13</sup>

A law regulating the work of women and children was passed on April 17, 1935.<sup>14</sup> The law applied to women and girls of all ages and to boys less than sixteen years old. It forbade their working in certain specified industries, regulated their hours of work, and made provisions for maternity leave for women. This law, which had been in preparation for at least nine years,<sup>15</sup> appears to have come about as a response to the urgings of the International Labor Organization, which tried to stimulate the Lebanese authorities, through the Mandates Commission, to legislate for the protection of female and child labor.<sup>16</sup> The government experienced some difficulty in enforcing this law, even in regard to the child labor provisions.<sup>17</sup>

A series of minimum wage laws, including a family allowance plan, were promulgated during the war years. The only other important labor legislation initiated prior to the issuance of the Labor Code was an

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<sup>13</sup>Benjamin T. Hourani, "Unionism in the Lebanese Labor Law of 1946," Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Political Studies and Public Administration, American University of Beirut, 1959, p. 13.

<sup>14</sup>France, Rapport, 1935, p. 163. The principle provisions of the law are outlined and summarized on p. 164 of this issue. The entire text appears as Annex 2, pp. 211-215.

<sup>15</sup>It is mentioned in 1926 as being under preparation. France Rapport, 1926, p. 130.

<sup>16</sup>Hourani, op.cit., p. 15.

<sup>17</sup>Parents were said to complain and object when children were forced to leave a job. France, Rapport, 1937, p. 164.

industrial accident compensation law.<sup>18</sup> This law, passed on 4 May 1943, "shows a good deal of careful thought, but could scarcely be called a model workmen's compensation law".<sup>19</sup> It provides coverage in only nine listed employments of a hazardous nature and does not require that the employer take out accident insurance, although apparently it is the usual practice to do so. The law stipulates that all medical expenses resulting from accidents on the job must be borne by the employer. It also provides for cash benefits, worked out in terms of fractions and multiples of wages, for temporary or permanent disabilities or fatalities. For these benefits the employer is also liable.

The Labor Code of 1946 and related legislation.

The most important piece of labor legislation in Lebanon is the Labor Code of September 23rd 1946.<sup>20</sup> The following discussion will contain a brief summary of the law and related legislation, a critique of some of its provisions, particularly in regard to union organization and activity, and a consideration of the factors that influenced its adoption.

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<sup>18</sup>Qarār 25/ET, 4 May 1943. Republic of Lebanon, Official Gazette (1943), p. 11099. See also Donato, op.cit., pp. 79-81. Minimum wages were set by decrees issued on 15 December 1941 (Qarār 125/NI), 27 August 1942 (Qarār 204/NI), 12 May 1943 (Qarār 29/ET), and by laws issued on 4 October 1944 and 12 May 1945. See, respectively, Official Gazette (1941), p. 9142; (1942), p. 10,249; (1943), p. 11,127; (4 October 1944), p. 1; (1945), p. 342.

<sup>19</sup>Robert J. Lampman, "The Lebanese Labor Code of 1946," Labor Law Journal, (July, 1945), p. 495.

<sup>20</sup>English translations of the Code are found in the following: International Labor Office, Legislative Series, 1946, Lebanon 1; in Edward W. Samuell, Jr., "A Contribution to the Study of the Lebanese Labor Syndicates". Unpublished Master's Thesis, Arab Studies Department, American University of Beirut, 1952; and in the Middle East Law Review, I (1958-59), pp. 557-83. Summaries are found in Lampman, op.cit., pp. 491-93; and in Paul Klat, "Labor Legislation in Lebanon," Middle East Economic Papers, 1959 (Beirut: Economic Research Institute, American University of Beirut, 1959), pp. 69-82.

In its 114 articles the Labor Code covers the following topics: general provisions and definition of terms (Arts. 1-9; 112-114); the nature and terms of the employment contract (Arts. 10-20); regulation of the employment of women and children (Arts. 21-30); detailed regulation of working hours and leaves (Arts. 31-43) of salaries and wages (Arts. 44-49), and of release from service and indemnities (Arts. 50-60); protection of workers from accidents and disease (Arts. 61-66); the establishment of working rules (Arts. 67-76); the establishment of a system of compulsory arbitration (Arts. 77-82); the establishment and regulation of employers' and workers' syndicates (Arts. 83-109); and the establishment of local employment offices (Arts. 110-111). These regulations are intended to cover all workers except agricultural and government employees, domestic servants, and the family-employed (Art. 8).

It will be noted that strikes are nowhere mentioned in this list. Indeed the words "strike" and "lockout" do not even appear in the Labor Code. They are covered, however, by the Penal Code of 1943. The Penal Code prohibits strikes by government employees (Art. 340), strikes having a political motive (Art. 341), strikes or lockouts in transportation, communication, and water and electric utilities (Arts. 342-343). Any other type of strike is then implicitly recognized as legal. An amendment of February 11th 1947 (Art. 344) provided penalties for failure to carry out decisions of the labor courts which were established by Articles 77-82 of the Labor Code.<sup>21</sup>

The Labor Code was modified and implemented by decrees published in 1949 and 1952. In February, 1949 cases brought up to the labor courts

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<sup>21</sup>Salīm Abī Nawār, Majmū'at al-Tishrī' al-Lubnānī, Part 4, Nr. 8 (Beirut: n.p., 1962), pp. 35-36.



which involved a sum greater than LL500 were made subject to appeal, a procedure prohibited by the original Article 81 of the code. This was modified three months later to apply to cases involving sums of more than LL1000.<sup>22</sup> On 3 April 1952 Qarār No. 7993, dealing with the organization, internal administration, and activities of trade unions, was published.<sup>23</sup> This decree regulates in detail most aspects of internal union administration. It contains detailed provisions concerning record-keeping, finances, and electoral procedures. With regard to this last subject, the decree provides that elections are to be held under the direct supervision of the chief of the Trade Union Department of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

A detailed discussion and critique of the Labor Code and its related legislation need not detain us here.<sup>24</sup> Rather, our remarks here will be mainly confined to those sections of the law dealing with trade unions. It would be worth mentioning, however, that several defects in the law have been noted. The subject of dismissal pay, for example, has been attacked by both management and labor. Employers have objected to the "unfair and uncertain cost" of the indemnity.<sup>25</sup> It has been charged that the practice

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<sup>22</sup>Lampman, op.cit., p. 499.

<sup>23</sup>Qarār 7993, 3 April 1952, Official Gazette (1952), Part 1, p. 322. It is interesting to note that it took a full five and one-half years for this implementing legislation to be published.

<sup>24</sup>Several such critiques have been published. Among them are Lampman, op.cit., passim, especially pp. 491-95; Arthur E. Mills, Private Enterprise in Lebanon (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1959), pp. 130-33; ILO, Report of the Committee on Freedom of Employers' and Workers' Organizations, Appendix 2, Supplement (Geneva: Governing Body of the ILO, 1956), pp. 27991.

<sup>25</sup>Lampman, op.cit., p. 500.

of paying an indemnity for dismissal is harmful to industry and it results in "labour not giving of its best and often seeking dismissal merely to draw the indemnity".<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, union supporters have objected to the abuses of the law on the part of the employers, who have used the indemnity and dismissal procedures as a means of preventing workers from joining unions.<sup>27</sup> Another major deficiency in the law is the lack of a funded social security system "which will be surely financed, independently and efficiently administered...and which will not burden the employer with uncertain costs, nor unfairly prejudice the employees' employment opportunities".<sup>28</sup>

It is also apparent that, in many respects, the provisions of the law have not been adequately enforced. As early as 1948, it was observed that many regulations, including those protecting women and children were not being implemented.<sup>29</sup> The president of the Textile Workers, Lebanon's largest union, has charged that the Labor Code has remained "ink on paper". He pointed out particularly the laxity in inspection of working conditions in factories, the intolerable length of time taken by the labor courts in disposing of grievances, and illegal but unpunished management pressures

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<sup>26</sup>Sir Alexander Gibb, The Economic Development of Lebanon (Beirut: Republic of Lebanon, 1948), p. 145.

<sup>27</sup>Salīm Qazaḥ, "Al-Tanzīm al-'Umāli fī Lubnān," Al-Thiqāfat al-'Arabīya, V (Nrs. 3-4, 1962), p. 63.

<sup>28</sup>Lampman, op.cit., p. 494. A social security plan is now under study by the Lebanese government. For a comprehensive study of this proposed scheme see Marwan Iskander, Social Security for Lebanon: An Economic Study (Beirut: Dar al-Tali'h, 1962 (?)). This is based on a Master's Thesis accepted by the American University of Beirut in 1962.

<sup>29</sup>Gibb, op.cit., p. 144.

on workers.<sup>30</sup> Violations of the code in regard to wages, hours, vacations, sick leave, family allowances and dismissal pay apparently are rather frequent and workers who join unions or lead strikes are often dismissed on false charges.<sup>31</sup>

It is, however, the provisions concerning the formation and administration of labor unions with which this study is mostly concerned. The Labor Code provides that "in every trade category, employers and workers have the right to form private syndicates" (niqābāt). The objectives of these syndicates, or unions, are "confined to matters tending toward the protection and encouragement of the trade, the raising of its standards, the defense of its interests, and...its advancement in all economic, industrial, and commercial aspects". (Arts. 83-84). They are expressly prohibited from taking part in politics or in assemblies or demonstrations with political connotations (Art. 85). The union may not organize persons practicing different trades, being confined to a jurisdiction specified by the government. Of this point it has been written that "even in a highly industrialized country, this condition would serve to keep unions small; in Lebanon it insured that they would remain minute".<sup>32</sup>

Moreover, these organizations must be licensed by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (Art. 87). Applications for licenses are submitted, in triplicate, to the Trade Union Department of the Ministry,

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<sup>30</sup>Taufīq Salūm Abū Khalīl, "Mustaqbal al-Ḥarakat al-Niqābiya fī Lubnān," Al-Thiqāfat al-'Arabiya, V (Nrs. 3-4, 1962), p. 44.

<sup>31</sup>Usamah Ali Tabbarah, "Industrial Labor in Lebanon". Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Business Administration, American University of Beirut, 1961, pp. 70-85, 91-92.

<sup>32</sup>Mills, op.cit., p. 131.

along with the proposed by-laws of the union and the police records of the founding members. One copy of this application is sent to the Ministry of the Interior where "the truthfulness of the intentions of those applying to organize" is investigated. The final decision to grant or deny the license lies with the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, and there is no appeal of this decision. If the application is approved, one copy is returned to the union and the transaction becomes official when the decision is published in the Official Gazette.<sup>33</sup>

The application of this provision has come under fire on two counts. First, applications for licenses have sometimes undergone undue and unexplained delays. Two unions in Tripoli waited two years for an answer to their application. The Stablemen's Union of Beirut also waited two years for an answer to its application and obtained it only by resorting to a strike at an opportune moment (the attendance of visiting royalty at the Beirut race track).<sup>34</sup> Secondly, the ILO has charged that "the administrative authorization is discretionary in character".<sup>35</sup> It must be admitted that most often this "discretion" has been directed against Communist unions, but the fact that freedom of association is limited by this article and its mode of application is a constant danger to a free union movement. One example of the use of this administrative power was the dissolution of Mustafa 'Arīs' Ittihād al-Niqābāt in January 1948 and the closing of the offices of the printers' union, of which he was the president. Applications for a federation license for the Ittihād al-Niqābāt were turned down, presumably because it was dominated by Communists. When 'Arīs protested

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<sup>33</sup>The description of this procedure is from Hourani, op.cit., pp. 65-66.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 67-68.

<sup>35</sup>ILO, op.cit., p. 281.

to UNESCO, he was arrested, tried, and imprisoned for one year.<sup>36</sup>

All internal affairs of the unions are subject to close supervision by the government. The Social Affairs Ministry has the power to participate in making internal rules and regulating finances and membership status of individuals. It can also dissolve a union leadership for failure to meet its obligations or the commission of acts outside its powers. One example of the exercise of this authority was the dissolution of the executive council of the Tailors' union in 1957.<sup>37</sup> The official reasons given were neglect of books and registers and the charge that the council had "exceeded its competence". The president of the union at the time the officers were turned out was known to be a Communist.<sup>38</sup> Admittedly, the victim of these powers held beliefs at least as inimical to trade union freedom as the procedures which ousted him. However, this should not blind the observer to the realization that such powers of a purely administrative, non-judicial nature, and subject to no appeal, put the freedom of the labor movement in grave jeopardy. In fact, Lebanon was one of the countries to which the ILO's Committee on Freedom of Association "recommended the reexamination...of their existing legislation relating to trade unions in the light of the Freedom of Association Conventions" adopted by the ILO.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Lampman, op.cit., p. 500.

<sup>37</sup>Qarār 17233, 19 September 1957, Official Gazette (1957), Part 2, P. 879.

<sup>38</sup>Hourani, op.cit., p. 88.

<sup>39</sup>C. Wilfred Jenks, The International Protection of Trade Union Freedom (London: Stevens & Sons, Ltd., 1957), pp. 506-507. Lebanon has never ratified the following Conventions of the ILO: The Right of Association (Agriculture) Convention, 1921; The Freedom of Association and the Protection of the Right to Organize Convention, 1948; and the Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949. ILO, op.cit., p. 290; ILO, Industry and Labor 1956-1961.

Thus, the provisions of the law relating to labor unions are characterized by paternalism and repression. Government powers are strong enough, if fully exercised, to rule out any attempts at private rule making. A great many issues left to collective bargaining in other countries are regulated by law. Moreover, although given the right to organize, nowhere are unions given the explicit right to carry on collective bargaining. The almost unlimited role of government has been discussed very pointedly by Robert J. Lampman:

The Lebanese have shown concern for the possible dangers of free labor unionism to national security and political stability, and have shown but limited faith in the constructive possibilities of the combination of free collective bargaining and a limited role for government. In this sense the code prescribes a role for government reminiscent of the corporate state. It suggests that the government will play a part analogous to that assumed by the employer who promotes company unionism. If we can characterize legislation in terms of the alternatives it forecloses, the Lebanese Labor Code is notable in that it forecloses none for the government. It is a blank check for governmental administration of all phases of labor management relations.<sup>40</sup>

The weaknesses of this legislation has evoked numerous calls for its revision. It may be instructive to inquire into the changes which are being proposed at the present time. A draft law amending Title Four (Arts. 83-106) of the Labor Code is now under discussion in government circles.<sup>41</sup> This bill would permit formation of unions by "persons practicing one trade, similar trades, or trades common to one production" (Art. 83). The new Article 84 restricts the aims of unions "to looking after the material and social

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<sup>40</sup>Lampman, op.cit., p. 494.

<sup>41</sup>Republic of Lebanon, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, "Draft Law Amending Title Four of the Labor Code Dated 23 September 1946 on Unions". An English translation of this draft bill, Translations Serial #6064, type-script, is found in the files of the U.S. Labor Attaché, American Embassy, Beirut.

interests of its members and to matters which tend to raise the standard of the trade" from the technical and economic point of view. This article does omit, however, the old injunctions against political activity.

The provisions concerning licensing of unions and the required contents of their by-laws are essentially identical to the provisions of the present Code and of Decree 7993 of 1952. The new Code reaffirms the freedom to join or not to join a union. It goes further than the old law, however, in specifying that anyone violating this or any other trade union freedom will be considered as contravening the law and subject to punishment, as well as nullifying any contract or agreement containing provisions waiving these rights. On the other hand, articles laying down conditions of membership, administration of unions, and finances retain for the government its presently existing powers of involvement and interference.

Unions retain the right to form federations and the specific powers of unions are itemized (Art. 103). These include the right to open union employment offices; to manage or contribute money to laboratories, schools, training centers, etc., conducting studies designed to further the interest of the trade; to contribute to cooperatives; and "to enter into a contract with other unions, associations, or establishments of various kinds".

Although it is apparent that in effect these proposed changes would not appreciably lessen the government role, the last point mentioned in the previous paragraph would seem to indicate that perhaps the failure of the old law to guarantee the right to bargain collectively is to be corrected. Another draft law under consideration by the government is indeed designed to do just that.<sup>42</sup> This draft bill on "Collective Contracts" would permit

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<sup>42</sup>Republic of Lebanon, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, "Draft Law on collective Work Contracts". An English translation of this draft bill.

collective agreements between a union, a group of unions, a single federation, or a group of federations of employees on the one hand, and an employer or corresponding group of employers on the other (Art. 1). The union must prove that it represents 60% of the employees concerned to gain recognition as the bargaining agent (Art. 3). However, once the agreement is signed it is to apply to "all employees even though they are not members of any trade union" (Art. 13). The law also would specify means of renewal and amendment and it deals with the specification of the time period to be covered by the contract (Arts. 7-12).

The tendency for the government to reserve a large role for itself in labor-management relations is exemplified by the fact that a copy of each contract must be deposited in the Ministry, and it must be published in the Official Gazette before it is considered binding (Arts. 5-6). Another, more curious, intrusion of governmental power is contained in Article 14, which permits the expansion of contract provisions which have been in effect for one year to cover all employers and employees in a particular trade, in specified categories of trades, or in a certain geographical area. This may be accomplished upon the request of the unions, the employers, or "pursuant to the wish of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs". Such a power could conceivably be used to assist unions in the face of recalcitrant employers, but it seems a rather sweeping and dangerous weapon whose effects are almost incalculable.

Title Two of this proposed law establishes mediation and arbitration procedures to settle "disputes concerning the practice of union freedom, wages, and conditions of work", as well as "negotiations and reconsideration of the provisions of collective contracts" (Art. 34). Compulsory arbitration



goes into effect automatically if mediation fails to find a solution within a specified time period. Severe penalties are provided for conducting strikes or lockouts while mediation or arbitration is in process, or for refusal to carry out the arbitration award (Arts. 63-65).

This last point contains the possibility of destroying any progress toward the instituting of collective bargaining in Lebanon. Article 34 of the proposed law states that either the employer or the union may seek the mediation of the Chief of the Labor Service in disputes that resist settlement. However, it goes on to state that the "Minister of Labor and Social Affairs may take this initiative" himself. If the Minister can enter any and all disputes, if mediation is followed automatically by compulsory arbitration, and strikes are forbidden while this process is followed through, the net effect is that strikes may be outlawed through administrative fiat. As we noted in Chapter II of this thesis, collective bargaining is meaningless without the right to withhold jobs or labor. The government would in effect have the power to dictate the terms of every labor contract in Lebanon. Apparently this point was noted by the unions and they have made their opposition known. The most recent proposals by the government would give the Minister the right to "take the initiative" in bringing disputes to mediation only when they involve independent government agencies such as the Railway, the Electric Office, and the Regie.<sup>43</sup>

This consideration of existing laws and proposed changes indicates that the Lebanese government still maintains an attitude of paternalism towards unions. The obverse of this attitude, however, is control. There

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<sup>43</sup>Based on information obtained in an interview with an official in the Office of the U.S. Labor Attaché, American Embassy, Beirut, 25 April 1963.

seems to be no reason to challenge the judgment of Yusif A. Sayigh, written in 1958, that while the government is concerned with the welfare of the workers, it also exhibits a "great reluctance to let labour 'mature' and look after its own interests through the development of the labor movement and the emergence of strong unions enjoying the power to bargain collectively under certain conditions and to go on strike when necessary".<sup>44</sup>

It is apparent, then, that Lebanese labor legislation is characterized by the strong, almost unlimited, role reserved in it for the government. It may be instructive to carry this inquiry a bit further to determine the sources of these laws and the role played by government, management, and labor in their adoption.

It has already been shown by others that the provisions of these laws bear strong resemblance to laws passed by the British and French in the Mandated Territories and to Egyptian labor laws.<sup>45</sup> It has been noted above that some provisions in the Labor Code were word by word transplants of laws issued by the French mandate government. The code also bears a strong resemblance to the "Labour Code for French Overseas Territories of December 15, 1952".<sup>46</sup> The role played by the ILO in securing passage of the female and child labor act in 1935 has already been mentioned. The lack of any indigenous awareness of and reaction to labor problems on even a small scale is brought out by the fact that little attention seemed to be given to these problems by Lebanese intellectuals. A study of "57 popular and learned journals", all written in Arabic, showed that

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<sup>44</sup>Yusif A. Sayigh, "Management-Labor Relations in Selected Arab Countries: Major Aspects and Determinants," International Labor Review, LXXVII (June, 1958), p. 534.

<sup>45</sup>Lampman, op.cit., p. 496-97. <sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 495, n. 16.

between 1870 and 1950 only 26 articles appeared dealing with labor problems.<sup>47</sup> In short, most observers share the opinion that "there is no evidence that this legislation has been the result of conscious and deliberate public opinion; instead it seems to have been imposed from above".<sup>48</sup>

It should be pointed out, however, that labor activity, especially in the form of strikes which helped to arouse public concern, did contribute to the passage of the Labor Code. During 1946, a series of "well-organized, spirited, and hard-hitting strikes" arose from disputes involving, among others, the port, Bank of Syria and Lebanon, railway, tramline, electricity company and tobacco workers.<sup>49</sup> The tobacco workers strike was marked by the killing of a girl worker and the injury of twelve others by the police. The Communist-led Ittihād al-Niqābāt staged a demonstration demanding passage of the code and various newspapers, journals, and committees joined in calling for the legislation.

On the other hand, it seems that neither employers nor workers, and especially the latter, had much influence on the contents of the law. In March 1946 a group of workers from concession companies, which included Jean Tweini, still active as president of the Regie Tobacco Workers' Union, demanded "approval of the Labor Code as the federation of Lebanese unions

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 497.

<sup>48</sup>Hourani, op.cit., p. 27; See also Lampman, op.cit., p. 497. Both authors refer to A. H. Hourani's opinion that social reform was due in Syria and Lebanon to government action rather than a body of public opinion. A.H. Hourani, Syria and Lebanon (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 82.

<sup>49</sup>Lampman, op.cit., p. 497. For an account of strikers returning to work on the promise of passage of the Labor Code, see the newspaper Bairūt, 21 May 1946, p. 2.

amended it" (kamā 'adalahu).<sup>50</sup> A delegation of merchants and industrialists submitted a memorandum to the cabinet in June, 1946 complaining that they had not been able to study the draft of the Labor Code.<sup>51</sup> Workers also called for withdrawal of the bill from Parliament in order that they might study it.<sup>52</sup>

Robert J. Lampman made a survey of the parliamentary debates leading to adoption of the Code which shows that most changes made on the floor of the Chamber were directed away from the workers' demands. Thus, 32 amendments were proposed to the law, of which 22 were adopted. Of the 32 amendments offered, fourteen were technical in nature, five were "liberal", i.e., favoring workers and unions, and thirteen were "conservative", or favorable to employers or government interests. An amendment excluding government employees from the provisions of the Code, for example, was adopted. An amendment making labor court decisions subject to appeal, on the other hand, was rejected. As far as trade union rights were concerned, "apparently there were no amendments offered in the area of syndicate organization and supervision, nor was there any statement favoring an affirmation of the rights of voluntary association".<sup>53</sup>

Labor union protests over their inability to affect legislation were much more pronounced during discussion and adoption of Decree No. 7993 in 1952. One such protest by the Jāmi'at federation resulted in two of its leaders being arrested.<sup>54</sup> On 4 April 1952, a group representing concession

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<sup>50</sup>Bairūt, 2 March 1946, p. 3. The federation referred to was apparently the "labor front" which is discussed below, p. 102.

<sup>51</sup>Bairūt, 5 June 1946, p. 3. <sup>52</sup>Bairūt, 27 June 1946, p. 3.

<sup>53</sup>Lampman, op.cit., p. 499.

<sup>54</sup>Newspaper Al-'Amal, 19 April 1952, p. 2.

company workers, as well as the bank and hotel workers, protested the adoption of laws concerning labor without an opportunity on their part to study them and make suggestions concerning them.<sup>55</sup> The United Unions federation (Al-Niqābāt al-Mutahida) on several occasions demanded that unions be permitted to study all draft bills concerning labor and called for the strengthening of trade union freedoms and the repeal of Decree No. 7993 "which restricts these freedoms and which exceeds what is stipulated in the Labor Code".<sup>56</sup> The decree was finally challenged in the Conseil d'État, the highest Lebanese court, by the Hotel, Restaurant, and Coffee House Workers and by the Railway Workers, as being excès de pouvoir. In both cases, however, the government was upheld.<sup>57</sup>

There have been examples in the past twenty years in which unions have been called upon to assist in formulating policies concerning labor and industrial relations. For example, a committee was formed in the Ministry of National Economy in 1943 to look after the economic interests of the country. The President of the Commercial Employees Union served on this committee as a representative of labor organizations.<sup>58</sup> Again in 1958 a committee was formed "to study disputes arising between employers and workers", on which all the legal federations as well as independent unions were represented.<sup>59</sup> Neither of these committees seem to have had

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<sup>55</sup>Al-'Amal, 4 April 1952, p. 2.

<sup>56</sup>Al-'Amal, 4 May 1952, p. 7. See also the article by Muhammad Mazhar in Al-'Amal, 4 May 1953, p. 10.

<sup>57</sup>Hourani, op.cit., pp. 94-95.

<sup>58</sup>Qazah, op.cit., p. 61.

<sup>59</sup>Qarār No. 59, 2 November 1958, Official Gazette (1958), Part 2, p. 780.

much influence on the course of events, however.

By way of summary, it would seem apparent that labor legislation in Lebanon is characterized by an almost all-pervading role for government in union formation and in labor-management relations. Moreover, it is apparent that government has been on the whole much more responsible for the establishment of a "web of rules" governing the work force than either of the other possible contenders, labor and management. We may then answer the first of the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter by identifying government, despite the strivings and protests of labor unions, as being, so far, the major, if not only, determining force in the structuring of the work rules governing the labor force in Lebanon.

## II. THE FORMATION OF UNIONS AND FEDERATIONS IN LEBANON

### Unions before the passage of the Labor Code.

The first trade union to be established in Lebanon is generally agreed to be a union of printers organized by one Ḥanna al-Biṭrānī in 1912.<sup>60</sup> Apparently there was also an organization of railway employees dating back to pre-World War I days.<sup>61</sup> The economic dislocation caused by the war led to some labor unrest, and the employees of the Damascus-Beirut-Aleppo Railway were among those who went on strike, and enjoyed some success in realizing their demands.<sup>62</sup> There was also some interest exhibited in labor problems as witnessed by the fact that a certain Professor Būlos al-Khaulī traveled to Washington in 1919 to attend a "workers' congress".<sup>63</sup> There was even an attempt by Anis al-Hānī in 1921 to form a "Labor Party" but this effort enjoyed no success.<sup>64</sup> The only other labor organizations to be found were a few old-style "corporations" of the guild type which remained active in some trades

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<sup>60</sup>Charles Abi Ṣa'ab, "Al-Tanẓīm al-Niqābī al-Lubnānī: Kayfa Bad'a wa Kayfa Tatawwara wa Kayfa Yathibu?", Al-'Amal, 30 April 1950, p. 5. See also Al-'Āsima (Official Gazette of Faisal's kingdom in Damascus), No. 35, Thursdāy 17 Ramadān 1337 (12 June 1919), p. 1.

<sup>61</sup>Qazah, op.cit., p. 61.

<sup>62</sup>Al-'Āsima, No. 70, Monday 4 Safar 1338 (28 October 1919). See also the article from this gazette mentioned above, note 60.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., No. 60, Monday 27 dū al-Hija 1337 (22 July 1919).

<sup>64</sup>Ṣa'ab, op.cit.

even into the post-war period.<sup>65</sup>

There was a renewed wave of interest in labor organizations during the period 1926-27 when the railway workers' and printers' unions were revived. Several other unions sprung up, among them unions of cooks, tobacco workers, car drivers, carpenters, and barber-shop workers.<sup>66</sup> These unions, organized under the Ottoman Law of Associations, led a precarious existence and usually fell dormant after a short time. Only the automobile drivers showed much staying power and they were apparently inspired and assisted by political figures who used them as a tool for political agitation.<sup>67</sup> Even the printers' union, representing a trade with the longest history of organization and enjoying the dynamic leadership of the Communist Mustafa 'Arīs, was defunct by 1932, owing to internal dissensions. It apparently did not conduct the spirited printers' strike of 1933 which saw the press rooms of the L'Orient newspaper wrecked.<sup>68</sup> Not only did these few feeble attempts at unionization

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<sup>65</sup>A description of the workings of the weavers' organization in Aleppo, an example of this type, is found in France, Rapport 1937, pp. 27-28. The weavers worked on a contract basis for patrons. All workers and patrons were organized in one group headed by a Shaikh Kār. Workers were represented by a chief (ra'īs), of which there were eight in Aleppo, one of whom was designated as Shaikh al-ra'īs. If a worker had a complaint, he took it to his ra'īs, who pleaded his cause with the patron. In the (allegedly rare) cases when he failed to receive satisfaction the ra'īs would inform the other weavers and they would refuse to work for that particular patron until satisfaction was forthcoming. The ra'īs usually set up his "office" in a cafe and apparently had little success in collecting the dues which were supposed to be paid monthly. It was claimed that this organization did keep a "real equilibrium" between patrons and workers.

<sup>66</sup>Qazah, op.cit., p. 61. The term "union" is used here, but their legal title was "association".

<sup>67</sup>France, Rapport 1934, p. 31.

<sup>68</sup>France, Rapport 1933, p. 31; Izziddin and Hakim, op.cit., p. 5.



fail, but the old guilds or corporations in Lebanon ceased to function by the middle 1930's. Despite its abolition by the law of 1912, there were still a few crafts with a Shaikh Kār. However, the title was more honorary than meaningful, and there was a consequent crowding of the crafts and lowering of standards. In sum, by 1936 there was no guild organization left in Lebanon and Syria.<sup>69</sup>

The sorry state of unions during this period was partly a result of government policy. As a contemporary observer wrote:

On numerous occasions groups of workers have shown a desire to organize, but official barriers stand in the way of such attempts. The authorities (and particularly the Lebanese Government) have shown themselves to be stubbornly opposed to labor organization either by dissolving already existing unions on the least provocation, or by refusal to authorize the formation of new ones.<sup>70</sup>

This general attitude held true until the beginning of World War II, except for a short period of relative freedom while the Blum Popular Front government was in power in France. As the mandate period drew towards its close, a chapter in the story of union organization in Lebanon also ended. In 1939, with the attack on Poland, the High Commissioner dissolved by decree all associations, unions, and political parties. Trade unions were not allowed to resume functioning until permitted to do so by the British and Free French who occupied the country in September 1941.<sup>71</sup>

During World War II a large number of unions came into existence. By 1943 they had organized themselves into two competing groups. The

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<sup>69</sup>George Hakim, chapter on "Industry" in Sa'id B. Himadeh, ed., The Economic Organization of Syria (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1936), p. 170.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 172.

<sup>71</sup>Samuell, op.cit., pp. 3-4.

first of these, the Ittihād al-Niqābāt, was composed of fifteen unions and was dominated by its Communist affiliates. There was a second group, less formally organized, that operated under the designation of the "Labor Front".<sup>72</sup> As we noted above, both of these groups took part in the agitation and discussions that accompanied the passage of the Labor Code. One of the primary features of the Code is the licensing and fostering of labor unions and it was with its passage that the official history of unionism in Lebanon may be said to have begun.

#### Unions since 1946.

After the passage of the Labor Code, there was a rush to organize and license unions according to its provisions. Within the first year, a total of 42 such permits were issued.<sup>73</sup> At the same time, the government, pursuing a policy of reducing the influence of Communism in the labor movement, refused permission for the Ittihād al-Niqābāt to function as a federation, although the Communist-dominated unions within it did receive licenses. The government did, however, permit the establishment of a new federation, the "League of Unions of Workers and Employees in the Lebanese Republic" (the Jāmi'at).<sup>74</sup> The Jāmi'at eventually came to

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<sup>72</sup>The Ittihād al-Niqābāt contained the unions of printers, carpenters, construction workers, shoemakers, upholsterers, tailors, bakery workers, private car drivers, pharmacists assistants, barbershop workers, tannery workers of Beirut, tannery workers of Mashghara, tramway workers and employees, cooks, and the hotel, restaurant and coffee house workers. The "labor front" included the commercial employees, the Bank employees, the Port Company employees, the taxi-drivers, and the railway employees and workers. Qazaḥ, op.cit., pp. 62-63.

<sup>73</sup>Based on decisions published in the Official Gazette, 1947.

<sup>74</sup>Qarār No. 5598, 25 February 1948, Official Gazette (1948), p. 143. It should be noted here that in Lebanese trade union terminology, "worker" means manual worker and "employee" refers to a white-collar worker. The Arabic terms are 'āmil (pl. 'ummāl) and mustakhdim (pl. -ūn) or muwazzaf (pl. -ūn).

represent 44 active unions but it began to break apart in 1952.<sup>75</sup>

The government policy to isolate the Communists in the labor movement was quite successful. However, the Jāmi'at paid for this victory by falling under the almost absolute control of the Bishāra al-Khūrī regime. Shaikh Khalīl al-Khūrī, son of the Lebanese chief of state, was honorary president of the federation. The head of the Trade Union Department in the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs was Ḥabbīb Naḥḥās, former personal secretary of the president of the Republic. Between these two men, the government, through a judicious use of money and pressure, was able to control the internal politics and external activity of the federation. An example of the success of the drive against Communism, coupled with political domination, is provided by one of the major craft unions. It had come under the control of Communists in 1943 and the unsuccessful efforts to unseat them resulted in many workers leaving the union. In 1947, Khalīl al-Khūrī, allegedly through the liberal use of money, was able to get the Communists voted out of office. However, the new president was considered a lackey of the government. The workers were said to be disappointed because they disliked the Communists on the one hand, and the new president on the other.<sup>76</sup> The

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<sup>75</sup>Based on material in Samuell, op.cit., pp. 7-9. The unions which eventually came to form the United Unions federation were forced into the Jāmi'at in 1950, but broke away in 1952. (See below, p. 104.) For the period 1950-52, then, the Jāmi'at reached its apex of strength, including most unions in Lebanon with the exception of the handful of die-hard Communist unions in the illegal Ittihād al-Niqābāt and some independents. There was also in existence a federation known as the Ittihād al-Naql, which included both trade unions of drivers and associations of garage and truck owners, which gave it a character somewhat different from a true trade union federation.

<sup>76</sup>Based on the interview of the present head of the union in question. The interview was one of those which form the basis of Chapter V, and which were to be treated in confidence. Divulgence of the name of the union and its president would be a breach of this confidence and is withheld for this reason.

last years of the al-Khūrī regime also saw the drivers' unions under the influence of Henri Fir'awn, leader of the pro-government Constitutional Bloc. He was challenged in this field by 'Abdullah Yāffī, another prominent politician.<sup>77</sup>

This political interference in the labor movement did not go unnoticed or unresented. The effort to resist this political control contributed to the ultimate weakening of the Jāmi'at. The first group of unions to break away from the Jāmi'at were the Bank, Railway, Tobacco, Electric Office, and Beirut Port unions. These unions had resisted joining the Jāmi'at and had applied for a license to federate as early as 1948.<sup>78</sup> The request was refused and they ultimately gave in to government pressure and joined the Jāmi'at in 1950. Undoubtedly, the reluctance of these unions to join the Jāmi'at was based partly on the objection to the political control exercised over the League by the Bishāra al-Khūrī regime. Indeed, this was the usual reason given in public.<sup>79</sup> However, there was another side to this question. The original schism culminating in the establishment of the United Unions was led by Gabriel Khūrī, president of the Bank Employees' Union. The founding unions of the federation were composed primarily of white-collar workers, and the federation to this day is overwhelmingly white-collar in

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<sup>77</sup>Samuell, op.cit., pp. 51-53. Also based on an interview held on 29 April 1963 with a person having several years of experience in the Lebanese union movement. Because of certain opinions he expressed, the respondent asked to remain unidentified. By way of credentials, however, he has been a president of a union, served on the executive council of a federation, and is now in a position dealing with, but not directly in, the Lebanese labor movement. Identified hereinafter as Interview, 29 April 1963.

<sup>78</sup>Article by Muhammad Mazhar in Al-'Amal, 4 May 1953, p. 10.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

nature. There existed, apparently, a certain amount of bad feeling between the craft unions of the Jāmi'at and these white-collar unions, resulting from the inevitable divergence of opinions and interests based on the social and educational levels of the two groups. The white-collar workers were known derisively as "hatters", i.e., those who wore hats. These underlying antipathies led to personal differences among the union leaders and they were eager to terminate the relationship forced upon them by the government.<sup>80</sup> At any rate, a few months after the al-Khūrī regime was ousted in the "Rosewater Revolution" of 1952, these unions were granted a license to organize as the "United Unions of Workers and Employers" (UUEW).<sup>81</sup>

When this split occurred, the labor movement in Lebanon was composed of two legal and one illegal federation. The Jāmi'at included 21 unions and an estimated membership of 16,847. The United Unions had six affiliated unions with 5,600 members. The Ittihād al-Niqābāt, though illegal, represented five unions and 3,250 members.<sup>82</sup> The last-named federation was a founding member of the World Federation of Trade Unions, whose first meeting in Paris in 1945 was attended by Mustafa al-'Arīs. The Jāmi'at, on the other hand, joined the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions at its founding congress in 1949. The United Unions were to remain

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<sup>80</sup>Interview, 29 April 1963.

<sup>81</sup>Qarār No. 116, 4 November 1952, Official Gazette (1952), Part 2, p. 556.

<sup>82</sup>Samuell, op.cit., pp. 7-9. These membership figures, however, are almost certainly too high. The government estimated union membership in 1955 as only slightly more than 18,000. See ILO, op.cit., p. 279.

unaffiliated to any international organization for the time being.<sup>83</sup>

The labor movement was soon to undergo two more schisms, however. The first of these came about through the breakaway of a group of unions centered in Tripoli, North Lebanon. On 3 February 1954, the commercial employees, barbershop workers, tailors, and shoemakers unions of Tripoli were granted a license to form "The Federation of Unions of Employees and Workers in North Lebanon" (FUNL).<sup>84</sup> It was soon joined by several new unions, chartered in the period 1954-56; among them was its largest affiliate (550 members) the Machinists' Union of the North. The reasons for the establishment of this federation were purely geographical and political. The unions of the North, prompted perhaps by sectional pride, decided that Lebanon's second largest city deserved to have its own federation. In addition, the leaders of the FUNL, such as Midḥat Kūsā of the Tailors' and Mustafa Ḥamzī of the Machinists' are supporters of Rashīd Karame, the North's leading political figure. They apparently felt that they could more easily render their political support to Karame if they were not entangled with the numerically far superior Beirut unions.<sup>85</sup>

The next split to occur in the labor movement came about in 1953 when 'Abd ul-Majīd Mehio, president of both the Machinists' Union and the Jāmi'at, lost a bid for re-election to the federation presidency. Angered by this failure, he withdrew his union from the Jāmi'at. The unions of barbershop workers, vegetable merchants' workers, kerosene

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<sup>83</sup>Willard A. Beling, Pan-Arabism and Labor ("Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs," No. IV; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 47-48. The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), founded in 1945, is a Communist-dominated international federation of labor unions. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is an organization founded by mainly European and American unions that withdrew from the WFTU in 1949. The Maghrib unions, as well as others in the Arab World, are members of the ICFTU.

<sup>84</sup>Qarār No. 11, (3 February 1954), Official Gazette (1954), Part 2, p.96.

<sup>85</sup>Interview, 29 April 1963.

vendors, tailors, printers and the employees of the customs clearing agents followed suit. (Some of these were to return later to the Jāmi'at.) The new group was licensed to form a federation, known as the "Federation of Independent Trade Unions" (Mustaqila), on 28 May, 1954.<sup>86</sup>

In addition to these considerations of a personal, professional, and domestic political nature, another factor arose in 1956 to divide the labor movement. This was the establishment of the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU). This confederation was founded on the basis of Arab nationalism, being dominated by the fundamental concepts of the unity of the Arab nation, and the mission of labor to promote that unification.<sup>87</sup> Two Lebanese labor groups were founding members of the ICATU, the Mustaqila and the Federation of the North. Two others, the Ittihād al-Niqābāt and the Jāmi'at also participated in the early meetings of the ICATU. However, the Communist federation was later barred because of its formal affiliation to the WFTU. The Jāmi'at leadership apparently pledged its support to the new international group, but upon its return to Beirut it was ousted from office and its pledge repudiated. The issue of affiliation to ICATU remained a sore point for several years but it was tempered somewhat when the Mustaqila protested against the ICATU's interference in the Lebanese

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<sup>86</sup>Qarār 74, 28 May 1954, Official Gazette (1954), Part 2, p. 342. Mehio replaced Abū Ḥassan al-Massī as president of the Machinists' Union, and was, like his predecessor, one of the principal collaborators with the Bishāra Al-Khūrī regime within the Jāmi'at. Samuell, op.cit., p. 52. See also Hourani, op.cit., p. 55. Confirmed by interview, 29 April 1963. It is interesting to note that Mehio was voted out of office after the fall of his political patrons, one of whom, the Minister of Labor and Social Affairs, was legally responsible for overseeing elections. Mehio was later expelled from the Machinists' Union.

<sup>87</sup>Beling, op.cit., p. 23.

political troubles of 1958. The problem has, however, continued to cause some friction.<sup>88</sup>

Eventually, a reaction set in to this series of debilitating quarrels and schisms. It was realized that such occurrences had weakened the unions, and the visits by labor leaders to the United States under Point Four sponsorship also helped to spread the idea of the need for unity.<sup>89</sup> Unable to reunite the several federations which had separated for real, though often unfortunate, reasons, the labor movement took advantage of the Lebanese genius for compromise and proposed a new idea. Suggested first by the Jāmi'at, the proposal of uniting the federations into one general confederation soon took hold. In this way, the voice of the movement might be united, but the individual groups might maintain their identity. The UUEW and FUNL indicated their interest in the proposal. To settle the question of membership in international bodies, the supporters of the proposed confederation agreed to accept any federation as a member, regardless of whether it was affiliated to the ICFTU or the ICATU. The confederation itself would refrain from joining any international trade union organization.<sup>90</sup>

On 1 May 1958, in a ceremony held in the Normandy Hotel, the Jāmi'at, UUEW, and FUNL were granted a license to form the "General Labor Federation in Lebanon" (Al-Ittihād al-'Umālī al-'Ām fī Lubnān). It was

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<sup>88</sup>Ibid., pp. 47-48.

<sup>89</sup>Interview with U.S. Labor Attache, 25 April 1963. A total of 39 Lebanese union leaders have traveled to the United States under this program.

<sup>90</sup>Beling, op.cit., p. 48.



specifically stipulated that other unions or federations were also free to join the new confederation.<sup>91</sup> However, the outbreak of the 1958 political crisis prevented the actual formation of the new group. The realization of the goal took several years as problems were worked out and the confederation did not begin to function until after a committee was formed to effect its organization on 4 March 1962.<sup>92</sup> The Ittihād al-'Ām is now functioning and striving to realize its proclaimed goals, which are "to merge the workers' ranks and unify the voice of the workers of Lebanon...to raise the level of union activity and to prevent the influencing of the Lebanese union movement by political tremblings, partisan traditions, and hateful confessional fanaticism".<sup>93</sup>

Not all of the unity problems of the Lebanese union movement have been solved, however. At the same time that the general confederation was being set in motion, another split was developing. The UUEW, in addition to joining the confederation, applied for membership in the ICFTU in 1961.<sup>94</sup> Four large and stable unions then broke away to form their own group, "The Federation of Labor Unions in Lebanon" (FLUL). The new federation, included the Railway Employees and Workers, the Regie Tobacco Employees and Workers, the IPC Refinery Workers, and the Beirut Office of Electricity and Public Transport Employees and Workers.

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<sup>91</sup>Interview, U.S. Labor Attache, 25 April 1963. See also the article in Al-Hayāt, Lebanese daily, 12 March 1959, p. 5. At the time of this writing, the Mustaqila is apparently preparing to become affiliated to the Confederation.

<sup>92</sup>Qazah, op.cit., p. 63.

<sup>93</sup>Al-Safā', Lebanese daily, 28 April 1963.

<sup>94</sup>It was accepted in 1962.

Application for a federation license was made on 27 December 1961, but has so far been refused by the government. The move on the part of these unions to withdraw from the UUEW came on the heels of the latter's decision to join the ICFTU. Certain Socialistically-minded leaders of the splinter group, such as Hanna 'Isa of the IPC workers and Asad 'Aql of the Beirut electric office, claimed that this decision was incompatible with their ideas, and this has been the reason mentioned in public for the split. However, it appears that there were also personal objections to what was claimed to be the "dictatorial" tendencies of the UUEW president, Gabriel Khūrī, of the Bank Employees' Union.<sup>95</sup>

It is apparent from this survey that the labor movement in Lebanon has been plagued by grave problems that have damaged its solidarity and dissipated its strength. These problems have arisen often because of petty jealousies, political interference, and a failure on the part of leaders and members to identify themselves with the labor movement as a whole. On the other hand, the efforts toward unity in recent years indicate a growing awareness that faults must be corrected and old ways of doing things discarded for a more mature approach toward trade union organization and activities. In its annual Labor Day announcement, the UUEW indicated this growing awareness of the needs of Lebanese unions when it made the following statement:

We declare frankly that the union movement in Lebanon is today at the crossroads. Either it shakes from its back the dust of foolishness and improvisation and uproots the ways of the old traditional school or it will be afflicted with apathy, petrification, paralysis, and inevitable gradual death. The era of improvisation has died, and the era of

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<sup>95</sup>Interview, 29 April 1963; Qazah, op.cit., p. 63.

science and technology has taken its place.

For this reason, it is incumbent upon us today, more so than at any other time in the past, to avoid the occasions of divisiveness and dissention...and to forget our personal interests for the sake of the common good and to arm ourselves with a spirit of sacrifice and a sense of responsibility...<sup>96</sup>

At this point an attempt may be made to answer the second question that was posed at the beginning of this chapter. This question was concerned with the occupational groups among which unions in Lebanon began. The first labor organizations in Lebanon were formed generally among manual workers, particularly among skilled and semi-skilled workers. Thus we have seen that the first unions were established by printers, railway workers, drivers, tobacco and barbershop workers, and carpenters. It was also observed, however, that these unions were not long-lasting. It was indicated in Chapter III that it might be expected that unions in underdeveloped countries will begin among white-collar workers. Although it would seem that this was not the case in Lebanon, certain qualifications will be made regarding this point in the following chapter.

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<sup>96</sup>Al-Safā', 28 April 1963.

### III. LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS IN LEBANON UNDER THE LABOR CODE

An historical survey of the Lebanese union movement would not be complete without some consideration of the course of labor-management relations and the role played by the unions in this field. It should be pointed out that there is an almost complete lack of statistical information on this subject except for some recent work referred to later in this section. For the first decade after the issuance of the Labor Code one must rely only on broad generalizations of contemporary observers who have looked into the major strikes of the period.

Strikes, which actually are a measure only of disputes that get out of hand and are not a complete reflection of the entire picture of labor-management relations, seem to have been concerned on the whole with "bread-and-butter" issues. The Railway workers, for example, struck in 1948 and 1950 for year-end bonuses equal to one month's pay, the so-called "Thirteenth Month Principle", which can be viewed as a dispute over wages. Wages, hours, and working conditions were the issues of a hotel employees strike in 1951. A protracted dispute over working hours agitated the bakery industry in the same year. One exception to this general rule was an IPC workers' strike in 1949 that resulted from dismissal of workers, i.e., over the issue of job security.<sup>97</sup>

Another noticeable aspect of these strikes was the important role played by government and politicians in their settlement. This period was the hey-day of government control of the union movement and it is reflected in the strike history of the time. Unions often actively sought

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<sup>97</sup>Samuell, op.cit., pp. 32-43.

the help of government. "Even the smallest groups," wrote one observer, "continued to negotiate directly with cabinet ministers and the President of the republic, apparently almost completely by-passing the labor court machinery."<sup>98</sup> Not only was the Ministry of Social Affairs, the cabinet, and the president involved in these settlements, but the "informal mediation" of deputies was also evident, as in the railroad strike of 1953.<sup>99</sup> This aspect of the union movement led one observer to comment that "labor unions--even though not formally so--are in fact company unions and government unions". Because the employer was strong enough to defy the unions, government allied itself with labor so as to avoid social unrest, but it expected the unions to be "docile" in return.<sup>100</sup>

At least one part of legislation concerning strikes was tested during this period as to its moral validity (its legal validity is probably beyond question). The occasion was a strike of telephone employees in 1952, an act which is illegal according to Article 342 of the Penal Code. The strike, over the issue of wages, was remarkable for the spirit shown by girl operators, who "were not easily dissuaded by either the personal appeal of the Prime Minister or the appearance of the police, denying the request of the former and throwing rocks at the latter".<sup>101</sup> In pursuit of the law, however, the police ejected the strikers from the telephone company premises, injuring some in the process, and they were replaced at the switchboards by army technicians. A protest

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<sup>98</sup>Lampman, op.cit., p. 502. See also Paul J. Klat, "Labour Legislation in Lebanon," Middle East Economic Papers, 1959 (Beirut: Economic Research Institute, American University of Beirut, 1959), p. 78.

<sup>99</sup>Hourani, op.cit., pp. 108-09. <sup>100</sup>Sayigh, op.cit., p. 530.

<sup>101</sup>Lampman, op.cit., p. 501.

was filed with the ILO by the Trade Unions International of Postal, Telegraph, Telephone and Radio Workers on 3 August 1953, claiming that the right of the workers had been violated. The Lebanese government, in its reply to the ILO inquiry, stated that the strike was unlawful and the use of army technicians was in the public interest. The ILO's Committee on Freedom of Association decided that the allegations were not supported by adequate proof that workers' rights had been violated. The case was then dropped. The government had exercised restraint in applying the law, claiming that no workers were dismissed, fined, or imprisoned, as they might have been according to the Penal Code, and all were returned to duty.<sup>102</sup>

As we noted above, the foregoing observations have been based only on general surveys of strike activity, particularly those strikes which "made headlines". Some more meaningful conclusions may be drawn from an empirical study on industrial relations in Lebanon. Generally speaking, accurate statistical data is lacking in practically every phase of this subject. Fortunately, however, a study has been made of industrial disputes in the period 1955-1960 upon which conclusions may be based in a more scientific manner.<sup>103</sup>

It may be instructive to inquire first into the sources of labor disputes. The study mentioned above shows that a total of 4,309 disputes were brought before the Conciliation Board of Beirut, Ministry of Labor

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<sup>102</sup>ILO, op.cit., p. 287.

<sup>103</sup>Samir G. Khalaf, MS now under preparation on Managerial Ideology and Industrial Conflict in Lebanon. Hereinafter cited as Khalaf MS.

and Social Affairs, in the period 1955-1960.<sup>104</sup> The party bringing these disputes to the Conciliation Board were indentified as follows:

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TABLE 1.

SOURCE OF COMPLAINTS BEFORE BEIRUT CONCILIATION BOARD

<u>Plaintiff</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Management	2248	52.2
Individual Workers	1408	32.8
Groups of Workers	292	6.8
Unions	232	5.3
Others*	129	2.9
TOTAL	4309	100.0

\*Usually government inspectors.

Source: Khalaf MS

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It will be observed immediately that more complaints are issued by management than labor, reflecting the weak position of the latter and its fear of antagonizing management. The fact that labor-initiated complaints are usually the work of individuals or groups of workers reflects the relatively weak role of unions. In addition, there has been no significant increase of union activity in this field over the years, as shown by the following table.

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TABLE 2.

PERCENTAGE OF UNION-INITIATED DISPUTES, 1955-1960

<u>1955</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1960</u>
9.6%	4.9%	2.3%	4.9%	8.5%	4.1%

Source: Khalaf MS

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<sup>104</sup>Khalaf, MS, p. 224. These disputes took place in the following

While unions have not assumed a greater role in labor-management disputes, it is apparent that such disputes have been on the increase. Table 3 shows the number of disputes brought up to the Beirut Conciliation Board on a yearly basis.

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TABLE 3.

NUMBER OF DISPUTES ON YEARLY BASIS

<u>1955</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>Unk.</u>
208	744	691	467	1077	1015	107

Source: Khalaf MS

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The sharp drop in disputes in 1958 was, of course, affected by the political events of that year. On the whole, however, the tendency in the number of disputes is upward. This probably reflects the fact that more recourse to the Board has been made, but it also indicated the "mounting dissatisfaction of industrial workers in general".<sup>105</sup>

There is a relationship between the types of issues involved in these disputes and the fact that a high percentage of them are management-initiated. The issues involved in the 4,309 disputes are shown in Table 4.

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industries: Food and Beverages, Furniture and Carpentry, Mechanics, Textiles, Leather and Tanning, Printing and Paper, Cement and Tiles. It should be noted that unions exist among workers in most of these industries.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., p. 223.



TABLE 4.

TYPES OF ISSUES INVOLVED IN DISPUTES 1955-60

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	
Ultimatums	1605	37.3	
Indemnities	658	15.2	
Dismissal	601	13.9	
Wages	204	4.7	
Violation of Labor Code	194	4.5	
Negligence	183	4.2	
Allowances (Family)	148	3.5	
Annual Leave	146	3.4	
General Grievances	137	3.2	
Working Hours	128	3.0	
Strikes	117	2.7	
Breach of Contract	99	2.3	
Absenteeism	49	1.2	
Damages to Equipment	22	0.5	
Violence	18	0.4	
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>4309</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

Source: Khalaf MS

"Ultimatums" are warnings sent by management, through the Conciliation Board, to a worker or group of workers. They serve as a formal and legal registering of displeasure on the part of the employer. Their most important function, however, seems to be that they are often used in favor of management's case in future disputes before the arbitration councils. These ultimatums make up the bulk of the 52.2% of disputes initiated by management. The controversial nature of indemnities<sup>106</sup> is reflected in the fact that they represent the second most frequent issue in labor disputes. It will also be noticed that the "bread and butter" issues such as wages, hours, allowances and leaves each account for only a relatively small number of disputes, ranging from 3.0% to 4.7% of the total. As these are often the

<sup>106</sup>See above, page 85.

types of issues most likely to call forth collective action, it is a reflection of the small role played in these disputes by unions.

Further light is thrown on the role of unions by a consideration of strike issues. A study was made of 66 strikes occurring during the period July 1960-June 1961 as reported in two leading Beirut newspapers.<sup>107</sup> Since many strikes involve more than one issue there were a total of 104 issues at stake in these strikes. Of the 104 issues, 50% were found to involve wages, hours, and fringe benefits. Working conditions (work loads, job security, factory conditions, etc.) made up 42.3% of the total. A surprising 5.7% of the issues involved inter-union or intra-union claims such as jurisdiction. Unreported issues accounted for the remaining 2.0%. In relation to the total of 66 strikes, 78.7% of them included disputes over wages and related issues. Working conditions were involved in 66.6%, and inter-union and intra-union disputes were present in 9.1% of the strikes.<sup>108</sup> The issues of union recognition and bargaining rights were not present in any of the 66 strikes.

The most obvious fact apparent from this analysis is that these strikes were predominantly economic in character. This undoubtedly indicates that the financial position of workers is precarious and that they are preoccupied with this aspect of their employment conditions. There is some question, however, that this preoccupation may also stem from certain psychological conditions as well. It has been observed, for instance, that discontent often continues even after wage increases

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<sup>107</sup>Khalaf MS, p. 232.

<sup>108</sup>Since more than one issue is often involved in a strike the total percentage exceeds 100%.

have been granted. Thus it seems that this concern with wages may also represent "unverbalized strivings for dignity, security, social approval, or vague hostilities toward managerial authority, and the entire industrial discipline".<sup>109</sup>

In relation to this point, we have mentioned already that the labor union may serve as a means of re-integrating industrial workers into society when industrialization upsets more traditional relationships. Psychological considerations aside, a strong union is an excellent means of striving for wage increases, which is apparently the major goal of Lebanese workers. It is interesting to note that not one of the 66 strikes mentioned above was concerned at all with the issue of union recognition or strengthening of the union bargaining position. Perhaps the workers consider the Labor Code as being a satisfactory guarantee of union rights. However, it seems quite clear that this is not exactly the case. Management opposition to unions, which will be discussed more fully in the following chapter, is strong and real. As we indicated above in Chapter II, the maturity of a union movement depends a great deal on the degree of acceptance of the union by management. It was also mentioned that "union security" is a primary goal of labor unions, based on the realization that other benefits flow ultimately from this basic achievement.<sup>110</sup> The first step in this entire process is for the union to be recognized by management as the bargaining agent for the workers. As we have seen, however, the strikes studied above showed a total absence of issues concerning union recognition, union security, and the strength of its bargaining position.

The relative strength of management and labor can be seen by

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<sup>109</sup>Khalaf MS, p. 233. <sup>110</sup>See above pp. 36-37; 49-50.

evaluating the results of the strikes. The outcomes of the 66 strikes are shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5.

STRIKES: TERMS OF SOLUTION

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Met all of workers' demands.	-	-
2. Compromise: management met some of workers' demands.	16	24.2
3. Postponement: committee formed to study workers' demands.	20	30.3
4. Suspending workers on strike.	12	18.2
5. Refused to meet workers' demands.	18	27.3
	<u>66</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
TOTAL	66	100.0%

Source: Khalaf MS

Not one of these strikes, as shown by the preceding table, could be considered a complete victory for labor. Indeed, less than one-quarter of them enjoyed any real success at all. A full 45.5% were complete failures, with the workers being suspended or ignominiously filing back to work with their demands unmet. To add to this picture of unsuccessful strike action, it should be noted that postponement, the outcome of almost another third of the strikes, "is not so much an effort in fact-finding as a diplomatic way of shelving and eventually forgetting the sources of conflict".<sup>111</sup> Indications are that this is no new development, as examples go back to at least 1950.<sup>112</sup> Strikes in Lebanon seem then to be more a

<sup>111</sup>Khalaf MS, p. 235.

<sup>112</sup>See, e.g., Samuell, op.cit., pp. 33-34 on the 1950 Railway Workers' strike.

demonstration of protest than a test of bargaining power and economic strength. They seem only to serve two functions at best. First, they may serve as a means to get industrialists at least to consider labor's demands. Secondly, by bring public attention to their problems, they sometimes succeed in "securing certain palliatives for the workers".<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>113</sup>Khalaf MS, p. 229.

#### IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

We began this chapter by posing several questions concerning the labor movement in Lebanon. The first of these questions was concerned with roles played by government, management and labor in establishing the "web of rules" governing the conduct of the work force. It has already been indicated that government has been the prime mover in setting up these rules. It was also apparent that insofar as the organization and operation of labor unions is concerned, these rules are characterized by a certain amount of paternalism accompanied by repressive controls and powers of intervention. The second of these questions involved the occupational groups among which unions in Lebanon were first formed. It was pointed out that, in contradiction to theoretical considerations which had been proposed in Chapter III, the first unions were found among skilled and semi-skilled manual workers. However, it was further pointed out that a final judgment on this question would be postponed until certain other considerations were put forth in Chapter V.

Our third question involved the sources of industrial conflict involving labor, management, and government. The survey of labor-management relations presented above shows that management plays a large role in initiating disputes, and government has played a large role in settling them. A very high percentage of industrial disputes result from peculiarities in the Labor Code, so that the issues of management ultimatums and indemnity payments predominate as sources of conflict. Strike issues are overwhelmingly economic in nature, and labor has shown no regard for the issues of union security and bargaining rights. It was also apparent that labor has been notably unsuccessful in carrying out strikes to a

favorable conclusion. Given the amount of government power in industrial relations and the predominantly economic nature of strike issues, there seems to be no reason to suspect that government has acted any differently than was theoretically proposed in Chapter III. In that chapter (pp. 69-70 above) it was mentioned that governments in developing economies would tend to oppose wage increases in the hope of preventing inflation and of improving opportunities for capital formation. The Lebanese government has not interfered directly to reject wage demands, but neither has it seemed to assist the workers in obtaining wage increases. At any rate, the sum effect of the solutions of labor disputes has been more favorable to management and to investment and capital formation than to wage increases.

Our fifth question, concerning the adaptation of Western concepts of unionism to the Lebanese situation must await further consideration in the next chapter. Question number four, concerning the maturation of unions as exemplified by changes in structure and in tactics and strategy in industrial conflict, likewise cannot be answered completely as yet. However, certain preliminary observations might be made now. We have stated that the process of maturing requires at least a basic acceptance of the union as a bargaining agent. The consideration of a "Collective Contract" law is a step towards realization of this goal, but it is still in the talking stage. Management opposition may have an adverse effect on this process regardless of the law. The small role played by unions in initiating industrial disputes and the sorry record of strike successes would seem to indicate that conditions are not ripe for the appearance even of the beginnings of a mature, business-like and reasonable union movement.

## CHAPTER V

### STRUCTURAL AND FUNCTIONAL FEATURES OF LABOR UNIONS IN LEBANON

In Chapter IV we discussed the labor movement of Lebanon in its historical setting. This discussion included a consideration of labor legislation and the role played by unions in its formulation. It also included sections on the historical background of the labor movement and on labor-management relations in Lebanon. In this chapter, we will be concerned first with the organization of Lebanese trade unions. This will include a discussion of the growth and external organization of the labor movement, as well as the membership of unions, their size, and their structure. This part of the chapter will be based primarily on an analysis of basic material compiled by the United States Labor Attaché in Lebanon.

The next part of the chapter will deal with the leadership, internal administration, goals, and functions of the trade unions now operating in Lebanon. An attempt will be made to compare these features to those of Western trade unions as described in Chapter II. The material for this part of the study is based on interviews of a sample of forty union presidents in Beirut.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A description of the procedures followed in conducting these interviews is contained in Appendix I.



I. ORGANIZATION, MEMBERSHIP, SIZE, AND STRUCTURE

Organization.

Since the passage of the Labor Code in 1946, a total of 118 unions have received licenses to organize from the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. Of these 118 unions, 87 are functioning today.<sup>2</sup> Thus, 31 of the trade unions founded in Lebanon during this period have failed to survive. The attrition rate, as a result, comes up to 26.3%. Some idea of the pattern of growth can be seen in Table 6, which shows the number of unions founded in Lebanon since 1945.

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TABLE 6.

GROWTH OF TRADE UNIONS IN LEBANON

<u>PERIOD:</u>	<u>1945-50</u>	<u>1951-55</u>	<u>1956-60</u>	<u>1961-62</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>LICENSES ISSUED:</u>	55	27	29	7	118
<u>UNIONS STILL FUNCTIONING:</u>	34	25	22	6	87

Sources: Based on the Official Gazette 1945-62, and directory compiled by U.S. Labor Attaché.

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The two major periods of organizing activity were in 1947, when 26 of the unions in existence were founded, and again in 1954-55, when 18 were founded. The first period, of course, marks the rush to organize after the Labor Code was issued. This period also shows the highest number of failures, as the

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<sup>2</sup>The figure of 118 licenses issued is based on a survey of the Official Gazette, 1946-1962. The total of 87 unions still functioning is based on material prepared by the U.S. Labor Attaché, American Embassy, Beirut, for inclusion in the forthcoming new edition of the U.S. Labor Department's Directory of Labor Organizations, Asia and Australasia. This material is in typewritten form in the office of the Labor Attaché.

first glow of enthusiasm was enough to get unions started but not enough to see them through the later years. The second period of high organizing activity, 1954-55, was marked by the appearance of several taxi drivers' unions and a number of unions in North Lebanon. The latter were established after the formation of the Federation of Unions of North Lebanon (FUNL) in 1954.<sup>3</sup>

The unions of Lebanon followed the normal pattern of organization by combining themselves into federations. As pointed out in Chapter IV, however, the history of labor federations is marked by splits and secessions. To counteract this centrifugal tendency, a new confederation has been formed. The present state of organization on the federation level is shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7.

LABOR FEDERATIONS IN LEBANON

<u>NAME</u>	<u>NO. OF UNIONS</u>	<u>MEMBERSHIP</u>
General Labor Confederation in Lebanon	52	20,915
League of Unions (Jāmi'at)	20	6,000
United Unions (UUEW)	17	10,915
Federation of North Lebanon (FUNL)	15	4,000
Federation of Independent Trade Unions (FITU)	12	3,610
Federation of Labor Unions (FLU)*	7	2,995
Federation of Labor Unions in Lebanon (FLUL)*	4	3,675
Unaffiliated unions	12	5,485
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>36,680</u>

\*Not legally recognized as federations.

Source: Based on directory compiled by U.S. Labor Attaché.

<sup>3</sup>There was an almost complete standstill in union organizing activity in the years 1948-1952, the last years of the Bishāra al-Khūrī regime, followed by a burst of such activity soon afterward. There is probably a relationship between the degree of political control exercised by that administration over the union movement and the apathy towards organizing. However, no proof can presently be offered for this contention.

Membership and size of unions.

Table 7 also shows the membership figures for each federation and for the labor movement as a whole. The difficulty of collecting statistical data in Lebanon is well known, and the total of 36,680 members, it must be emphasized, is an estimated figure.<sup>4</sup> Most members are organized into one of the constituent unions of each federation, although the Jāmi'at, the FUNL, and the FLU contain a total of 1,830 members-at-large.<sup>5</sup> A recent estimate indicates that there is a total of 156,000 employed persons in Lebanon working in pursuits other than agriculture or government service. This includes 75,000 in industry, handicrafts and construction, 53,000 in commerce, transportation and banking, and 28,000 in other services.<sup>6</sup> Based on these figures, 25.8% of the work force in Lebanon is organized into trade unions.

Labor unions in Lebanon are generally quite small in size. Table 8 shows the distribution of unions according to the number of members.

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<sup>4</sup>This total is the estimate of the U.S. Labor Attaché and is based on a careful consideration of reports and information provided by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs and by the Unions themselves, as well as personal observations. The unions generally claim a higher membership than they are credited with here.

<sup>5</sup>These members-at-large resemble the federation locals in the United States (Ch. II, p. 13), but on a smaller scale. They are usually workers who have no union to which they might adhere or who refuse to join a particular union on political or ideological grounds, usually because the union in their trade is Communist (or not Communist). Interview, U.S. Labor Attaché, 25 April 1963.

<sup>6</sup>Institut Internationale de Recherche et de Formation en Vue du Developpement (IRFED), Étude Préliminaire sur Les Besoins et Les Possibilités du Developpement au Liban, 1959-1960, Vol. I, Part 1, p. 13. This total excludes employers and the self-employed.

TABLE 8.

DISTRIBUTION OF LEBANESE UNIONS BY SIZE OF MEMBERSHIP

<u>MEMBERS</u>	<u>NO. OF UNIONS</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
200 or less	44	50.6
200-500	24	27.7
500-1000	10	11.5
1000-1500	8	9.1
1500-3500	1	1.1
	<u>87</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
	TOTAL	

Source: Based on directory compiled by U.S. Labor Attaché

Besides the fact that most businesses or industries in Lebanon are small in size, several reasons may be advanced for the prevalence of small, even minute, unions. First, there is the tendency for unions in the same trade or industry to be established on geographical or political lines, rather than on a craft- or industry-wide basis. Thus, there are several taxi drivers' unions, each in a specific geographical area, such as Beirut, Mount Lebanon, Tripoli, and the Biqā'. There are two taxi drivers' unions in Beirut alone, a holdover from the political rivalry of Henri Fir'awn and 'Abdullah Yāffi. The carpenters, tailors, and the bakery, barbershop, and construction workers are organized on political lines (Communist vs. anti-Communist) or on a geographical basis (Beirut, North Lebanon, Sidon). The tile workers' union was established by a group that withdrew from the Communist-dominated construction workers when they were unable to oust the Communist leadership.<sup>7</sup>

A second reason for the predominance of small unions is the tendency

<sup>7</sup>Interview with president of the Tile Workers' Union.

for workers to organize separate unions in related trades. This is done even though the potential membership in each might be very small, so that the union must remain diminutive. This tendency comes about either through a very strict interpretation of the Labor Code provision permitting organization only in the same or similar trades or through a real or imagined divergence of status or interest. Thus, grocery workers and vegetable merchant workers have separate unions, as do the cinema workers and the projectionists in Beirut. As another example, the Airline Companies' Union was formed, after several unsuccessful tries, even though attempts were made to bring these workers into the Travel, Tourism and Transport Union.

A third reason is the fact that employees and workers in the several oil companies and in certain independent government agencies have been organized on a "house" or company basis. The oil industry, rather than having one national union with "locals" in each company, is organized on a basis of one union per company. Among independent government agencies, electric company workers in North and South Lebanon are in separate unions. To these a fourth reason may be added. It has already been pointed out that disputes have existed within the union movement over the divergent interests of "employees" and "workers". Such disputes have led to splits within unions that were originally composed of both types of members. This is true in the cases of the Mobil Oil and Shell companies, in which "employees" and "workers" are now separate "house" unions. Labor unions in the same industry, then, are broken up into separate house unions and then further broken up into smaller unions within the company. This reflects a deeply rooted tendency in Lebanese culture to differentiate between occupations on the basis of a stigma associated with manual jobs.

An employee is often considered debased in status if he associates with a worker engaged in a purely manual type of employment.

From the point of view of size of membership, a handful of larger unions dominate the labor movement. Table 9 shows that the 15 largest unions account for 18,700 members. In other words, 17% of the unions in Lebanon represents 53.6% of the total trade union membership.

TABLE 9.

FIFTEEN LARGEST UNIONS IN LEBANON

<u>NAME OF UNION</u>	<u>NO. OF MEMBERS</u>
1. Textile Workers' Union (UUEW)	3500
2. Bank Employees' Union (UUEW)	1500
3. Hotel Establishments' Employees' and Workers' Union (UUEW)	1300
4. Teachers' Union (Unaffiliated)	1200
5. Airline Companies' Employees' and Workers' Union (UUEW)	1200
6. Beirut Office of Electricity and Public Transport Employees' and Workers' Union (FLUL)	1200
7. Hotel, Restaurant and Coffee Shop Workers' Union (FLU)	1150
8. Railway Employees' and Workers' Union (FLUL)	1150
9. Beirut Port Company Employees' and Workers' Union (Unaffiliated)	1050
10. Regie (Tobacco) Employees' & Workers' Union (FLUL)	1000
11. Taxi Owners' and Drivers' Union (Beirut) (Unaffiliated)	1000
12. American University of Beirut Employees' and Workers' Union (UUEW)	1000
13. Machinists' Union (FITU)	900
14. Commercial Employees' Union (Jāmi'at)	800
15. Shekka Cement Company Employees' and Workers' Union (UUEW)	750
TOTAL	<u>18700</u>

Source: Based on directory compiled by U.S. Labor Attaché

Structure.

The identity of the larger organizations also has some bearing on the structure of unions in Lebanon. Structure, as pointed out in Chapter II, is concerned with the jurisdiction exercised by the trade union. Although the dividing line between them has become blurred, it is customary to think of structure in terms of organization on the basis of craft or industry. The haziness of the division and the nature of business enterprise in Lebanon makes it difficult to classify unions on such a basis. However, a careful consideration of the nature of the individual unions in Lebanon leads to the conclusion that, of the 87 existing unions, 36 are craft or craft-oriented, and 32 can be considered as industrial unions. The remaining 19 unions represent a peculiarity of structure in the Lebanese union movement. This is the house or company union, a type of structure generally rejected in labor movements of the West.<sup>8</sup>

"House unions" have lent a distinctive stamp to the labor movement. Their prominence has even led some observers to recommend them as the type of union best suited to Lebanon.<sup>9</sup> There seems to be two reasons for their importance. First, they have often succeeded in organizing a higher

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<sup>8</sup>In this analysis, "craft unions" include not only such obvious examples as carpenters and tailors, but also craft-oriented unions such as the stablemen and drivers. It also includes professional and semi-professional groups such as teachers and pharmacists' assistants. "Industrial unions" include unions of employees and/or workers working in more than one establishment (e.g., airline companies), and such groups as the textile workers, bank and hotel employees, construction workers, and customs clearing agents. "House unions" are easily identified. The railway workers' union has been included as a house union although it might be considered an industrial union. Since "company union" is usually used as a derogatory term to describe a management-dominated union, the term "house union" has been preferred in this paper.

<sup>9</sup>See, e.g., Salīm Qazah, "Al-Tanzīm al-'Ummāli fī Lubnān," Al-Thiqāfat al-'Arabīya, V (Nos. 3-4, 1962), p. 62.

percentage of workers than many craft and industrial unions. For this reason, although they function in one establishment alone, they are often among the larger unions.<sup>10</sup> A reconsideration of Table 9, above, shows that of the fifteen largest unions in Lebanon, six are house unions. These are the Shekka Cement Company, American University, Tobacco, Port Company, Railway, and Electric Office and Public Transport Unions. Industrial unions, which generally should be the larger ones, have an equal number among the top fifteen. Craft unions account for only three (Machinists, Taxi Drivers, and Teachers). A second reason for the prominence of house unions is the fact that they appear in such establishments as the railroad, port, and tobacco companies, which are of special governmental and public concern. This is true also of unions in the foreign-owned oil companies, which, though smaller, share in this concern. This type of "house" union has a special relationship to the government, either directly as a public service, or because of their foreign ownership. Consequently, their activities receive more publicity and press coverage than the activities of the craft-oriented and industrial unions.

Another aspect of organization and structure which is of some interest is whether the union includes manual or non-manual workers. It was pointed out in Chapter II that in Western countries unionism developed first among

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<sup>10</sup>This statement may seem contradictory to the preceding discussion about house unions in the oil companies. However, the point there was that oil companies could have been organized on a national basis, but instead they were organized on a house basis, and are quite small as a result. There are 1,445 workers in oil companies divided into eight unions, an average of about 180 members each. None of the oil company unions are among the larger ones in Lebanon, and they constitute a specific exception to the point now being made. The railroad, port, tobacco and cement company unions could not have been organized on other than a house basis as was possible for the oil companies.



skilled craftsmen and then spread to semi-skilled and unskilled workers. It finally spread among white-collar workers as the growth in size of business establishments and technological change reduced the status and comparative wages of non-manual workers. However, it was also indicated in Chapter III that in underdeveloped areas it might be expected that unions, through a process of imitation on the part of persons with better educations and more highly developed social and organizational skills, will arise rather among non-manual, white-collar workers.

In the historical survey of the Lebanese union movement, we saw that the first unions appeared among skilled and semi-skilled craftsmen before the adoption of the Labor Code in 1946. Within the first two years of the Code's existence, a total of 33 of the presently existing unions had been organized and licensed. Of these unions, 22 were composed strictly of manual workers. While this would seem to indicate that the Lebanese experience more nearly approximates that of Western countries than what may be expected in a developing economy, certain other considerations must be noted.

There are actually three types of unions in Lebanon when considered in terms of manual versus non-manual workers. This is due to the fact that several Lebanese unions contain both of these types of workers. In Lebanese terminology, they include both employees and workers.<sup>11</sup> Although the mixed unions will often have a majority of manual workers, they are usually dominated by the non-manual employees, who are better educated, better endowed with the necessary organizational and administrative skills,

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<sup>11</sup>See Chapter IV, note 74, p. 102, for the technical difference in these two terms.

and are able to meet with management on a more nearly equal footing. A survey of Lebanese unions will show that there are sixteen white-collar unions with a total of 5,755 members and nineteen predominantly white-collar mixed unions with a total of 11,400 members. Thus there are 35 white-collar and mixed unions with a total of 17,155 members, almost one-half the total union membership in Lebanon. The remaining 52 unions are of a strictly or predominantly manual nature and have only a slightly larger aggregate membership of 17,695. Table 9 above shows that only three of the fifteen largest unions are composed of manual workers, the Machinists, Beirut Taxi Drivers, and the Textile Workers. Three others, the Commercial and Bank Employees and the Teachers Union, are white-collar. The remaining nine unions are of the mixed type.<sup>12</sup> From this discussion it is clear that employee and employee-dominated unions, as was anticipated in the theoretical discussion in Chapter III, play a much larger role in the labor movement of Lebanon than is the case in Western countries where they have been the last to be organized and where they still remain a marked minority among organized workers.

Another aspect from which the organization and structure may be considered is the type of establishments and industries in which unions appear. Table 10 shows the number of unions in commerce and services, industry, and transportation and utilities.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Throughout this paragraph the three hotel, restaurant, and coffee house unions are considered as mixed unions. However, two of them, the Communist union and the one in Tripoli, do not contain the phrase "employees and workers" in their official titles.

<sup>13</sup>For purposes of this discussion, industry includes manufacturing, construction, extractive industries, printing, and oil companies. Commerce and services includes banking, hotels, cinemas, clerical pursuits and such services as barbering and tailoring. Transportation and utilities includes government and privately owned public transport companies and utilities, as well as the several taxi unions.

TABLE 10.

TRADE UNIONS AND ECONOMIC SECTORS

<u>ECONOMIC SECTOR</u>	<u>NO. OF UNIONS</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>MEMBERSHIP</u>	<u>%</u>
COMMERCE & SERVICES	43	49.4	14,420	41.3
INDUSTRY	29	33.3	11,745	33.6
TRANSPORTATION & UTILITIES	15	17.3	8,685	25.1
TOTAL:	87	100.0	34,850*	100.0

\*1830 members-at-large unclassified

Source: Based on directory compiled by U.S. Labor Attaché.

The concentration of unions and membership in the commercial and service sector is unusual. However, it is to be expected in Lebanon where that sector plays so important a part in the economy as a whole. Lebanon's role as banker, summer resort, tourist center, and entrepôt of the Middle East is reflected in the size and importance of its bank, hotel, airline, and port unions.

International affiliations.

One final aspect of the organization of the labor movement in Lebanon may be considered here. This is the matter of affiliation to international organizations. It was pointed out in the preceding chapter that this topic has caused some difficulties among the various federations and unions, but it seems to have been settled now to everyone's satisfaction, at least for the time being. At present, most of the federations are affiliated to an international body of some sort. The General Labor Confederation, however,

in order to enhance its chances of reuniting all the federations in Lebanon, has agreed not to join any international group. The newly-organized and unrecognized Federation of Labor Unions in Lebanon (FLUL) also remains unaffiliated. It will be recalled that this group of unions broke away from the United Unions (UUEW) when the latter joined the ICFTU and this action is often cited as the cause of the breakaway. Several individual unions have also joined international organizations representing the workers in their particular trade or industry. A complete list of federations and unions with international affiliations is contained in Table 11.

The affiliation of these unions and federations to international groups should not be viewed simply as a matter of politics within the labor movement and on the international level. The ICFTU, ICATU, and the various industry-based international federations to which the individual unions belong can and do supply technical, organizational, and financial help to their constituent unions. Through conferences, seminars, tours, and

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TABLE 11.

LEBANESE FEDERATIONS AND UNIONS IN INTERNATIONAL BODIES

<u>NAME</u>	<u>Federations</u>	<u>INTERNATIONAL BODY</u>
League of Unions ( <u>Jāmi'at</u> )		International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
United Unions (UUEW)		" "
Federation of North Lebanon (FUNL)		International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions
Federation of Independent Unions (FITU)		" "
Federation of Labor Unions (FLU)		World Federation of Trade Unions

(Table 11)

Individual Unions

Mobil Oil Employees' Union (UUEW)	International Federation of Petroleum Workers
Mobil Oil Workers' Union ( <u>Jāmi'at</u> )	" "
LEPCO Employees' & Workers' Union (UUEW)	" "
Commercial Employees' Union ( <u>Jāmi'at</u> )	International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, and Technical Employees
Private Car Drivers' Union ( <u>Jāmi'at</u> )	International Transport Workers' Federation
Printing & Bookbinding Workers' Union ( <u>Jāmi'at</u> )	International Graphical Federation
Hotel Establishment Employees' & Workers' Union (UUEW)	International Union of Food & Allied Workers
Machinists' Union (FITU)	International Metalworkers' Federation

Source: Based on directory compiled by U.S. Labor Attaché

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publications, they can help to improve the administrative and organizational aspects of its member unions. This guidance, if well taken and applied with a judicious adaptation to peculiar Lebanese circumstances, can contribute a great deal to the improvement of the labor movement in Lebanon.

## II. LEADERSHIP, ADMINISTRATION, AND FINANCES

### Leadership.

One of the most important aspects of the trade union movement is the type and caliber of leader that will arise to give it voice and direction. In the following discussion, two factors should be kept in mind. First, the conclusions described below are based on a survey of forty union presidents operating in the Beirut area. It is believed, however, that this sample is representative of Lebanese unions in general, being drawn from each federation having affiliates in Beirut and representing a cross-section of manual and white-collar, commercial, industrial, and transport, and employees' and workers' unions.<sup>14</sup> Second, in the remaining sections of this chapter, many questions will be discussed concerning simple facts and figures. Others, however, will concern attitudes and goals and these will also reflect some of the characteristics of union leadership in Lebanon, and should be read with this in mind.

One of the first questions asked of the respondents was their age. The answers, as shown in Table 12, indicate that union leaders in Lebanon are usually mature individuals, but are not of an advanced age. This fact is of some interest as it indicates a departure in the trade union movement from the traditional patriarchal and elder-oriented nature of Middle Eastern culture. This is probably a reflection of the changing conditions in a modernizing society and the fact that trade unions are an innovation designed to replace traditional patterns of social relationships. This relative youthfulness of trade union leaders could also be taken as a promising feature since a younger generation is usually more receptive to change and innovating ideas.

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<sup>14</sup>A full description of the sample is contained in Appendix I.

TABLE 12.

CLASSIFICATION OF UNION LEADERS BY AGE

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
20-29 years	2	5.0%
30-39 years	16	40.0%
40-49 years	12	30.0%
50-59 years	7	17.5%
60-69 years	1	2.5%
Unknown	2	5.0%
TOTAL	<u>40</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

The respondents are also drawn from the whole range of religious faiths in Lebanon. It might have been expected that more Sunni Muslims might have been included because of their large numbers in Beirut, from which the entire sample was drawn. As shown by Table 13, however, Christians predominate as leaders in the union movement. Six of those listed as of unknown religious sect refused to answer the question. The remaining four were Communists who claimed to profess no religion.

TABLE 13.

CLASSIFICATION OF UNION LEADERS BY RELIGION

<u>Religion</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Maronite	12	30.0%
Greek Orthodox	11	27.5%
Sunni Muslim	4	10.0%
Shi'a Muslim	2	5.0%
Druze	1	2.5%
Unknown	10	25.0%
TOTAL	<u>40</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

With regard to education, no clear pattern can be discerned. However the respondents included a rather high proportion of college or university graduates. As expected, college graduates were found in the white-collar or white-collar dominated unions, while those with no formal education were in unions of manual workers.<sup>15</sup> Table 14 shows a breakdown of union presidents interviewed according to their educational level.

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TABLE 14.

CLASSIFICATION OF UNION LEADERS BY EDUCATION

<u>Degree or certificate attained</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
None	6	15.0%
Elementary	7	17.5%
Secondary	7	17.5%
Technical	11	27.5%
College or university	8	20.0%
Unknown	1	2.5%
TOTAL	40	100.0%

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The respondents were also asked what type of job they held before becoming a union leader and the manner in which they attained their position in the union. All of those interviewed were working in the trade or the company when they became the president of the union. Again reflecting the large role played by white-collar unions in the labor movement, fourteen

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<sup>15</sup>Although the respondents were asked specifically what degrees or certificates they had attained, it was felt that a few of those claiming to have received technical or vocational training were actually in possession of no certificates as such, but had rather received informal training in their jobs.



individuals indicated that they had held jobs of an executive nature in their companies. Many of these, however, had risen through the ranks, having held non-executive jobs at first. The manner in which they became union officers was almost always by virtue of having been one of the founding members of the union. Thirty of the 40 leaders interviewed had been among the founders who received the original license to organize the union. Most of the remainder were either nominated during elections or asked by the members to run for office. One, however, was candid enough to admit that he had been hand picked by the management and was in fact not very popular among the workers.<sup>16</sup>

More light is thrown on the nature and quality of leaders by an examination of the reasons the respondents gave for deciding to found the union or to accept office in it. Table 15 shows the types of answers given to the question of motivations in becoming union officers.

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TABLE 15.

MOTIVATING FACTORS AMONG UNION LEADERS

<u>Factor</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Poor working conditions, low wages, unjust treatment, etc.	23	57.5%
Ideological reasons	10	25.0%
Workers' request	5	12.5%
Status	1	2.5%
Management support	1	2.5%
TOTAL	<u>40</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

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<sup>16</sup>The union in question has numerous employees who deal with the public and handle money. The union president was once head of the company's "secret inspection section", which checks on the workers' job performance and honesty. The union also derives LL500 per month from the management. The union was the only example found of a true "company union" in the derogatory sense, but it is an extreme one by most criteria.

Several examples of answers given will be quoted to explain these categories further. The person counted as being most interested in status of the employees, for example, stated the following: "I still believe that the union preserves the employee's dignity (karāma)." The term was used by this particular respondent several times in his interview. Another, although he gave wage levels and working conditions as the major motive in seeking office, also spoke of the "technical responsibility" of his highly skilled occupation which he felt the employers were not taking into full account. Those who became union leaders upon the request of the members often gave answers reflecting certain other conditions prevalent in the labor situation in Lebanon. An example is one who replied that "they asked me to be the president of the founders' committee because they were afraid".

More than fifty-seven per cent of the respondents referred to low wages or to unjust treatment as motives in becoming leaders. Some of these were quite eloquent in this regard. The following response, as recorded by the interviewer, shows the depth of feeling on the part of many union officers:

We found the employers' attitude to be always the same. They used to say: "The biggest among you, I will crush." The worker...had no value at all. He had no seniority rights, the older he was the less he received. [He had] no protection, no security. Anytime we asked for higher wages, they said **there** was no money at [their] disposal, while the money at their disposal was uncountable. I felt it necessary to become a member of the executive committee, because I realized how grave the situation was, and what was needed.

Ideological responses, which accounted for 25% of the motivating factors cited, are typified by such individuals as the one who replied that "my love of the union and the workers is in my blood". Another stated that

he considered it his "mission...to serve the union movement in particular and society in general". In some cases, ideological considerations went hand-in-hand with concern over working conditions. This was usually a matter of anti-Communism. One union president was apparently the prime mover in establishing his union after trying unsuccessfully for five years to oust the Communist leadership of another union to which his fellow craftsmen might have adhered.

The next several questions asked of the respondents were designed to get some indication of their level of training in union affairs and the time spent in conducting these affairs. Table 16 shows the number of years union leaders have spent in their office.

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TABLE 16.

LABOR LEADERS: TENURE OF OFFICE

<u>Years</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1 or less	2	5.0%
1 to 4	7	17.5%
5 to 8	11	27.5%
9 to 12	6	15.0%
13 to 16	5	12.5%
over 16	9	22.5%
TOTAL	<u>40</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

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In view of the fact that the labor movement is officially only seventeen years old, it is apparent that union presidents generally have had long experience in office. Many of those with more than sixteen years service

actually were active well before 1946, some going back as far as the 1930's. The length of service in the union movement on the part of many leaders is closely related to the fact that most of them were among the founders of the union. This also reflects the universal tendency often observed among most union organizations, i.e., the tendency of labor leaders to perpetuate their positions once in office--a fact which is reminiscent of Michel's "Iron Law of Oligarchy".

Practically all of the respondents indicated that they work part-time at union affairs. Three who claimed to work full-time apparently were referring to the fact that they were constantly engrossed in the union's and the workers' problems. ("Even in bed," as one replied, "I talk to the workers.") The real paid, full-time union official is apparently rare in Lebanon, if he exists at all.

Although labor leaders must fulfill their duties after their regular job hours, a rather high proportion have had the opportunity to study or observe the union movement in countries outside Lebanon and have received training of some type in union affairs. Sixty-five per cent of those interviewed have had the benefit of formal training courses, conferences, seminars or tours. These activities have been conducted under the auspices of Point Four (a fact mentioned previously in Chapter IV), or of the ICFTU, the ICATU, the ILO, or other international labor bodies. Other respondents claimed to have studied the labor movement or union affairs on a personal basis.

All of the respondents claimed to read books, pamphlets, or newspapers dealing with the union movement regularly. Nine of those interviewed, however, gave what were considered unsatisfactory answers to the question designed to test this response. Those who were able to give an answer to

the test question that gave a reasonable level of confidence in their claim most often listed the pamphlets, booklets, and circulars of one of the international bodies or Lebanese labor federation newspapers as their reading material. One respondent, who seems quite articulate and dedicated by virtue of his interview responses and the fact that he has made speeches and published articles on trade unionism in Lebanon, listed as the material he was then reading studies of the social security laws of France, England, and the United States and publications of the ILO on the same topic. That he was not alone in naming social security legislation as his most recent concern reflects the interest of some leaders in the current discussions on this matter in Lebanon. The interviewer's comments concerning another respondent also reflected favorably on the dedication of some labor leaders. He noted that although the respondent had little education, "he strives hard to educate himself, especially in labor affairs". He also reported seeing his library, "filled with hundreds of pamphlets and books about the labor movement and labor affairs". That this particular individual was an exceptional rather than a typical example is due partly, no doubt, to the fact that Lebanese union leaders must confine their activities only to the hours when they are not working at their regular jobs.

An attempt was made to determine the motives for the establishment of the union. It was hoped to gain some idea of the motivation of the rank and file in unionization, as opposed to the motivation of union leaders alone. Most of the answers centered around the standard desire for improvements in wages, hours, working conditions, obtaining "workers' rights", or the like. Several isolated cases of more explicit reasons arose, but not enough to establish any clear pattern. Some examples of these were the

insufficiency of the Labor Code, the desire to help stabilize the industry, and, in one union, a particular dispute involving job security.

One type of response did manifest itself several times, however. Although it did not provide the kind of answer regarding motivation it was hoped to gain through this question, the point is worth mentioning as it illustrates a particular feature of the Lebanese union movement that should be brought out. This characteristic is that the labor movement is, by and large, anti-Communist. Several unions, e.g., the Hotel Establishments' Employees' and Workers' Union (UUEW) and the Tile Workers' Union, were set up consciously and explicitly to counteract Communist-dominated unions in the same field. The Tannery Workers' Union in Beirut was established because "the social institution of feudalism was transmitted to the factory", and the union was the only means seen to secure the workers' rights and at the same time "to save him from the exploitation of the Communist Party".

Later in the course of the interview the respondents were asked what qualities they thought a good union leader should possess. Because of its relationship to the present discussion, this matter will be considered at this point. When asked to describe these qualities in their own words, they stressed the following, which are listed in order of frequency: loyalty, moderation, patience and willingness to work hard, absence of political ambitions or connections, absence of private interests, faith in unionism, and competence and administrative ability. Some less frequently mentioned qualities were courage, flexibility, and understanding of the workers' problems. Only one person thought that the desire to organize new members was worth mentioning.

The respondents were then asked to judge the importance of several

other qualities. The consensus of opinion on these qualities are shown in Table 17.

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TABLE 17.

LABOR LEADERS' OPINION OF CERTAIN LEADERSHIP QUALITIES

<u>Quality</u>	No. of respondents considering the quality to be:		
	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Important</u>	<u>Unimportant</u>
Identifies with and supports the labor movement	38	2	--
Defies Management	18	4	18
Does not report another worker to the employer	31	2	7
Abides by majority decision	37	2	1
Does not carry internal union disputes to the public	35	4	1
Keeps union affairs from management	35	4	1
Settles disputes and grievances between members within the union	34	5	1
Exerts every effort to organize the unorganized workers	29	9	2
Participates in civic affairs	14	18	8
Has political influence and connections	4	5	31

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It can be seen from the above that labor leaders do not see political activity and a "hard line" against management as necessarily desirable functions of a good union leader. The qualities described above and the manner in which they were judged reinforce their contention to believe in a moderate, patient, discreet, and apolitical union leader. It should be

observed, however, that exerting efforts to organize new workers was hardly mentioned at all when the respondents were asked to identify a good leader's qualities in their own words. Even when the suggestion was made, the desire to organize was not as highly rated as other, actually less important, qualities.

Before passing on to the next section, we may now consider some of these findings in the light of the considerations put forth in Chapters II and III. The first point to be noted is that although the union leaders interviewed showed a considerable range in motivation, the major factor in inspiring unionization in Lebanon seems to be the classic one of low wages, long hours, and bad working conditions. Ideological motives were cited often enough to fit in with our theoretical propositions, but there was a complete lack of reference to the matter of job security and the desire to gain some control over management decisions affecting the labor force. There was almost no reference to improvement of status, but this factor underlies the others, as pointed out in Chapter II, and it can be expected to remain, on the whole, unverbaliized.

In at least one respect, union leaders in Lebanon have exhibited characteristics similar to their Western brothers. This is in their staying-power as union officers and their awareness of the political nature of the union's internal structure. As we have seen, union leaders are apt to stay in office for long periods of time, and founding members usually continue in office from the beginning. The sensitivity of leaders to the political nature of union office is shown by the storms that have blown up over union and federation elections and to the conception held by these individuals of what being a good union leader entails. Lebanese union leaders, like their



Western counterparts, are also drawn from the ranks of the workers in their particular trade, industry, or company. Unions do not go outside the working class for their leadership. There is a high percentage of union presidents who hold regular jobs of an executive nature, but this is explained by two factors prominent in the labor movement. The first of these is the high proportion of white-collar unions in Lebanon. The tendency for Lebanese business to be conducted on a family basis contributes to preventing these white-collar workers from identifying themselves with high-level management as do workers in similar jobs in the United States, for example. Secondly, union leaders holding executive positions are the rule in oil companies and independent government agencies such as the railroad and the electric office workers. The fact that in these companies the top ownership is either foreign or ultimately governmental would also tend to lessen the feeling of identification of white-collar workers with management.

The point at which Lebanese and Western union leadership differs most obviously is in the fact that Lebanese union presidents are invariably able to work only part-time at union affairs. Unlike his Western counterpart, the Lebanese union president must keep working at his regular job and run the union after hours. For this drive and dedication they deserve credit, but it would undoubtedly redound to the union's benefit if at least one full-time, paid officer were available to administer the union. As will be observed later, some union leaders cite lack of time as one of their major problems. This condition is undoubtedly a result of low dues, difficulty in collecting them, and the small membership of most unions in Lebanon. The size of unions is probably the most critical factor, as a full-time, paid official is in effect supported by the membership. Even the larger unions

do not have a broad enough base, at prevailing wage rates, to support a full-time officer in this way. Another point of difference between Western and Lebanese union leaders is that the latter put much less emphasis on the need to organize new workers.

Internal organization.

It has already been pointed out that the Lebanese labor movement does include the highest level of union organization, the federation. It has also been mentioned that at the next level--the national union--Lebanese unions bear some resemblance to the system prevailing in the West but that these unions are never national in scope and many are organized simply on a company basis.

Due to the size of unions and the prevailing pattern of business organization, the next level of organization, the local, is not found in Lebanon. Only six of the respondents indicated that their unions had any type of organization below what may be called, for lack of a more appropriate term, the national union level. The Carpenters', Tile Workers', Tannery Workers', and Hotel Establishments Employees' and Workers' Unions have a representative or a council of representatives in each shop, factory, or hotel which they have organized. The Machinists' Union has a special council for its members in the Biqā' valley and the Railway Workers have local organizations in its main centers such as Rayak and Beirut.

Of the unions considered in this survey, 27 represent workers in more than one workplace (i.e., either in separate shops, factories or establishments or in separate departments of large single firms). Twenty-one of these unions do have a union representative of the nature of a steward in

each of these workplaces. The duties and powers of these representatives differ somewhat in each union but they are responsible for much the same things as their counterparts in Western unions, as indicated in Table 18.

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TABLE 18.

DUTIES OF UNION STEWARDS\*

<u>Duty</u>	<u>No. of stewards fulfilling function</u>
Handling of grievances	16
Collection of dues	14
Supervision of contract	14
Organizing new members	12

\*Based on 21 unions utilizing the services of Stewards

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Some stewards are responsible for all of these duties while others are not. In addition, several respondents pointed out that they serve as connecting links between the members and the top union leadership, handing down information and directives from above and transmitting complaints and problems from below.

Relationships between the union and the federation follows the pattern existing in Western countries. All of the unions surveyed considered the union as the center of policy planning and execution with regard to wages, working conditions, grievances, and strikes. As one union president stated it, "the decisions of the union may or may not be approved by the federation". Several respondents stated, however, that they sought the advice of the federation, particularly in decisions regarding the strike. The services mentioned most often as being rendered by the federations included mediation

with other unions, with the government in matters concerning labor and the union movement as a whole, serving as the public spokesman for the movement, and rendering legal aid. A few mentioned the help of the federation in setting union jurisdiction and in organizing. These were usually relatively new unions and apparently were referring to assistance given them by the federation in establishing the union. One respondent, however, charged the federation with failing to help his union in its organizing difficulties with a rival Communist union. Educational and financial help is also rendered to affiliates as well as support during strikes. The federation also supplies office space, meeting rooms, and building services to many unions that might be unable to provide themselves with these necessities. In order to provide these facilities, the federations depend upon a subsidy from the government which varies in size from year to year. The UUEW does collect affiliation fees from its member unions, but the fee is waived when the unions are young and their treasury is low. Some members of the Jāmi'at also pay a set fee into the federation treasury.

Problems of jurisdiction and representation between unions in Lebanon are not very common. Jurisdictional disputes, i.e., those over who will do the work, do occur as indicated by the survey of labor-management relations made in Chapter IV.<sup>17</sup> Representation disputes, i.e., those concerned with which union will represent the workers, also occur. They are much less common than in the United States and the Lebanese experience in this regard resembles the European more closely. Only four respondents indicated that they had any problems with rival unions (invariably the rivals were Communist-dominated). Of these, three admitted to resorting to force--strikes,

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<sup>17</sup>Page 118, above. Jurisdictional and representational disputes were present in 9.1% of the strikes considered in the survey.

threats, etc.--in meeting these problems. It has already been mentioned that one union felt that the federation had failed to render it full support in this struggle.

Membership and recruiting.

The size of unions in Lebanon has already been discussed and individual estimates of union membership are contained in Appendix 5. This section will be concerned with the types of members found in the unions surveyed and the means of recruitment. Of the 40 unions considered, five were employee unions, sixteen were composed of manual workers, and nineteen included both types. Percentages of employees in eighteen mixed unions are shown in Table 19.<sup>18</sup> The nineteenth mixed union, the Railway Employees' and Workers' Union, gave no figures in answer to this question, claiming that although it contained both types, they were all considered as "workers".

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TABLE 19.

"EMPLOYEES" IN MIXED UNIONS\*

<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of Unions</u>
up to 20%	4
20-40%	5
40-60%	2
60-80%	6
80-100%	1
	<hr/>
	TOTAL 18

\*Based on 18 unions containing both "employees" and "workers"

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<sup>18</sup>Percentages are quoted instead of exact numbers because of the difficulty of determining the exact number of members in each union.

The two unions in the middle classification were both small unions with an exact number of members and both were divided evenly, with 50% in each category. Thus it would appear that the mixed unions in Lebanon are fairly evenly divided as to the percentage of manual and white-collar workers they contain. However, leadership, for reasons already discussed, seems to be drawn largely from the employee side.

The respondents were also asked if their unions contained any women members. Twenty-five out of 40 unions surveyed indicated that this was the case. The percentage of women members in these unions is shown in Table 20.

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TABLE 20.

WOMEN MEMBERS IN LEBANESE UNIONS\*

<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. of unions</u>
up to 5%	9
5-10%	3
10-20%	7
20-30%	1
30-40%	2
40-50%	1
50-60%	1
60-70%	0
70-80%	1
TOTAL	<u>25</u>

\*Based on 25 unions containing women members

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Generally speaking, women make up a small part of the total membership. In

some unions, however, they predominate. The union reporting the largest percentage of women members was the Tailor Shop Workers' Union, followed by the Regie Tobacco Workers and the Mental Hospital Union. The role of women in the history of labor in Lebanon has been noteworthy. The telephone strike of 1952 was remarkable for the spirit shown by the girl operators. The girl tobacco worker killed in the 1946 Regie strike has served as an unofficial martyr of the union movement.

The union presidents interviewed overwhelmingly declared in favor of women's participation in the union. As one stated, "there is no difference between men and women". At least two presidents insisted that there be women on the executive council, for, in the words of one, "since women have gained their rights, let them defend their rights". Another expressed his satisfaction with the recent election of a woman to the Lebanese Parliament. Only one of those voicing approval of this question qualified his answer. He insisted that women work and participate in the union only if they receive equal pay for equal work in relation to men, so as not to jeopardize male employment. He might have added that unionization was perhaps the best way to insure that such is the case. Of the four respondents voicing disapproval of women participating in unions, one, a Christian, admitted that his opinion might change in the future. Only one respondent, a Muslim, reacted with great feeling against the proposal, so that the interviewer felt him to have been "offended" by the question.

Many unions make a conscious effort to recruit new members. Fifteen of those surveyed, however, indicated that they take no action in this regard, and simply wait for new members to join. Twelve mentioned that members were expected to "talk up" the union and attempt to induce

non-members to join. Twenty unions claimed to utilize special organizers, sometimes in addition to the word-of-mouth method. In most cases, these "special organizers" were the union officers or those representatives fulfilling the functions of a steward. Most of the union presidents claimed to have some sort of organizing program in effect, ranging from recruiting "pep talks" at the regular meetings to bulletins, circulars, lectures and articles in the union paper. Generally speaking, this phase of union activity seems to be approached much more casually in Lebanon than is the case in Western countries. This does not mean, however, that those leaders who make little or no formal effort to recruit and organize new workers are not interested in increasing membership. Their attitude is best summed up by the respondent who declared that "actions are the best [means] to convince them of the benefits of the union".

An attempt was made to determine the major problems unions face in recruiting members. The categories of response and their frequency are shown in Table 21.

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TABLE 21.

MAJOR PROBLEMS IN RECRUITING MEMBERS

<u>Problem</u>	<u>No. of unions citing problem*</u>	<u>Percentage*</u>
Worker ignorance, indifference or apathy	18	45.0%
No problems encountered	11	27.5%
Fear of management	10	25.0%
Opposition of management	10	25.0%
Others	9	22.5%

\*Columns do not total 40 and 100% because some respondents cited more than one problem.

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Responses other than worker indifference, fear of management, and management opposition included such complaints as lack of government support, the transient nature of the work force in a particular occupation and competition of foreign workers. Affectivity on the part of the worker, the reluctance to give up something now (e.g., union dues) in order to gain a greater benefit in the future, was cited in only one instance. This particular respondent listed as his major recruiting problem "the Oriental nature of the worker, which deters him from participating in any activities if he is not sure to get an immediate benefit".

Table 21 would seem to indicate that worker ignorance of union aims ranks as the major problem confronting unions in their attempts to increase membership. Only if "fear of management" and "management opposition" are counted together does it seem to be challenged. It was mentioned in Chapter III that unemployment and underemployment would be a major obstacle to union development. This obstacle would manifest itself in the worker's fear to do anything to antagonize the employer, the one able to provide that scarce commodity, the job. The economy of Lebanon is characterized by high levels of unemployment and underemployment. There is a large reservoir of underemployed persons in rural areas that is drawn to Beirut and other cities to seek better job opportunities. With this army of the unemployed at his back, it was expected that the Lebanese worker would show fear of management to a higher degree. This point was brought into better perspective by the following question.

To provide further evidence of the problems that labor union leaders encounter in recruiting members, the respondents were asked to rank three suggested problems according to their relative importance, based on their

own experience. When presented with this choice, the respondents favored workers' fear of management as the main problem in recruiting members, as shown in Table 22.<sup>19</sup>

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TABLE 22.

PROBLEMS IN RECRUITMENT OF MEMBERS

	<u>Ranked 1st</u>	<u>Ranked 2nd</u>	<u>Ranked 3rd</u>	<u>Weighted* Total</u>
Workers fear employers	24	10	1	1 (93 points)
Workers do not understand union aims	12	23		2 (82 points)
Workers do not want to pay dues		1	33	3 (34 points)

\*Weights have been assigned on the basis of 3 points for first choice, 2 points for second, and 1 point for third.

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Management indifference or opposition to unions in Lebanon has already been shown and documented by studies made in 1957 and in 1960. In the first of these studies, it was shown that a manager often "would present a favorable attitude toward unions as a means of protecting workers' interests but then he would add that while this is true in other parts of the world, it is not the case in Lebanon".<sup>20</sup> Of 68 business managers interviewed in this study, twenty gave favorable responses to unions in general but only six were favorably inclined towards unions in Lebanon.<sup>21</sup> A comparison of

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<sup>19</sup>As some respondents ranked only one or two problems none of the columns total 40.

<sup>20</sup>Samir G. Khalaf, "Management Attitude Toward Human Relations in Industry." Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Sociology, American University of Beirut, 1955, p. 106.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 106, 109.

attitudes and social classes in Beirut, made in 1960, showed that managers of large businesses were well below the Beirut average in favorable attitudes toward unions. As might be expected, the attitudes of managers and of workers were almost diametrically opposed. Whereas 80% of semi-skilled and unskilled workers and 73.3% of white-collar and skilled workers were favorably inclined towards unions, only 18.4% of business managers felt so. When asked if government ought to strengthen unions, the affirmative replies were 95% and 88.9% in the workers' categories, respectively, while only 15.8% of the businessmen answered favorably.<sup>22</sup> Given these attitudes among representatives of management, it is apparent that there is sufficient reason to believe that "fear of management" and "opposition of management" should be among the major causes of recruiting problems in Lebanese unions.

Membership dues and union expenditures.

Although reluctance to pay dues is not considered a major problem by those most directly involved in the labor movement, many unions experience difficulty in collecting them. Almost all the unions surveyed indicated that their dues were LLL.00 or less per month. Only four white-collar unions reported dues of more than LLL.00, and one other charged a percentage of the monthly salary. Despite the generally low dues, twenty-one, or slightly more than one-half, of the unions surveyed indicated that they had problems in dues collection. Usually the unions that admitted that they experience such problems were manual workers' unions representing workers in more

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<sup>22</sup>Leila H. Ghandour, "The Relationship of Attitude to Social Classes in Beirut, Lebanon." Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, American University of Beirut, 1960, pp. 49, 51.

than one establishment. "House" unions and white-collar unions indicated generally that their members paid dues on time. Surprisingly, it was discovered that two unions, the Railway Workers and the Beirut Electric Office Unions, had a "check-off" system by which the management deducted union dues from the worker's pay and turned it over to the union. All of the unions surveyed charged dues, even though they might have been quite low. In addition to dues, many depend upon social affairs, lotteries, and sometimes voluntary contributions to supplement their income. Three unions, the Railway Workers, the Regie and the Tramway, received substantial amounts of aid from management. The unions affiliated to federations, of course, receive the benefits of the government subsidy provided directly to the federation.

The money that is collected is spent on several categories of expenses. These included organizing, benefits to members, administration, strike benefits, affiliation fees, legal expenses, charitable contributions and occasionally, education and political activities.<sup>23</sup> A few unions have medical plans for their members, and medical expenses account for the largest share of their expenses. With the exception of these few unions, the respondents indicated that their major expenses were administrative costs, benefits to members, affiliation fees, and legal expenses. The major categories of expenses are shown in Table 23.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>The union that listed "political activity" as one of its expenses was referring to the publication and distribution of anti-Communist pamphlets. The union is one of those faced with a rival Communist union in the same trade.

<sup>24</sup>The table shows the categories of expense most frequently cited. Respondents were not limited in the categories they could cite so none of the columns will total 40.

TABLE 23.

MAJOR EXPENDITURES OF LEBANESE UNIONS

<u>Expense</u>	Frequency of citation by rank:			
	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>	<u>Weighted* Total</u>
Administrative expenses	20	8	5	1 (81 points)
Benefits to members	4	13	11	2 (49 points)
Affiliation fees	6	3	3	3 (27 points)
Legal expenses	1	6	10	4 (25 points)

\*Weights have been assigned on the basis of 3 points for first choice, 2 points for second, and 1 point for third.

Only about one-third of the unions polled claimed to spend any money on organizing or attempting to organize new members. None of them listed this category as a major expense. Most unions pay out some money to their members during strikes, but the most common practice is to ask for their regular wages during the strike as part of the strike demands. Sometimes this attempt is unsuccessful. One union, which listed strike benefits as its second major expense, noted that often they are unable to force this demand on management. Another mentioned that the government paid part of the sum asked when the employers rejected their claim. The uncertain results of this approach was summed up by one union president who said: "I don't have any idea how we will manage when it (a strike) happens."

Rank and file participation.

The next phase of internal administration about which the union leaders were asked was rank and file participation in the union's affairs. The

respondents were asked who usually makes the policy decisions in the union. Rather than insisting that it was the rank and file in order to enhance the democratic image of the unions, practically all of the persons interviewed named the officers or the executive council as the policy makers for the union. Only two claimed that the ordinary members made the basic decisions in general meetings, although six others gave them a share in such decisions, after the officers. Several pointed out that decisions to strike were always taken to the membership before they were carried out.

Union leaders, in general, claimed a high amount of enthusiasm and participation of the ordinary members in union affairs. However, viewed in the light of the frequency with which worker indifference and ignorance of the union's aims was cited as a major problem, and the fact that officers usually make the decisions, it is believed that these estimates are somewhat high. A solution to this seeming contradiction would be difficult to prove, but perhaps a clue is provided by the response of one leader, who claimed that enthusiasm ran high when "material benefits" were at stake. If union members show a high degree of spirit and solidarity in pursuing wage demands or in threatening strikes, but low enthusiasm for day to day union business, they would greatly resemble their Western counterparts. Table 24 indicates the leaders' estimates of enthusiasm for the union. In a similar spirit, the respondents claimed a high level of attendance at most union meetings and activities. Even though their estimates may have been too high, there was a definite tendency to claim higher attendance for election meetings and strike meetings than for regular meetings and social affairs. This is to be expected and would correspond to the experience in Western countries.

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TABLE 24.

LEADERS' ESTIMATE OF RANK AND FILE ENTHUSIASM

<u>Degree of Enthusiasm</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
High enthusiasm	24	60%
Moderate enthusiasm	12	30%
Low enthusiasm	4	10%
No enthusiasm	--	--
	<u>40</u>	<u>100%</u>

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Disciplinary problems.

Twenty-four unions, or 60% of the total surveyed, admitted that disciplinary problems arise within the union. Most unions have some procedures set up to try members for offenses against the union. The types of punishments that can be imposed for these infractions presented an interesting pattern. The device most frequently resorted to was warnings or persuasion. Suspension from office for officers is also used and members can be expelled for repeated violations. As might be expected in light of the difficulties encountered in dues collection, none of the unions reported the use of fines. One union practiced the device common in Great Britain, "sending him to Coventry", i.e., cutting off the violator from all social contact with the members. The absence of fines and the heavy reliance on warnings are indicative of the difficulties faced in recruiting and keeping members and the tendency for members to be interested in the union only in times of crisis. The leadership appears reluctant to use punishments that might reduce the number of members or give them an excuse to quit

the union.

General observations.

Before going on to the goals and functions of Lebanese unions, we may here summarize this discussion of internal organization, recruiting of members and administration and compare these matters to our Western model.

The major difference in organization between Lebanese unions and those in the West is the absence of an organizational level comparable to the local. Although many unions represent workers in different workplaces, only a handful had established a definite organizational framework in these various establishments. This fact is explained by the small size of both the membership and the usual business establishment. Most unions do have a special representative, similar to the steward in Western unions, who oversees union activities in the workplace. A small number of unions have neither locals nor stewards.

Relationships between the federations and the "national unions" are generally comparable to the situation prevailing in the West. The "national unions" set their own policy on wages, grievances, strikes, and working conditions but depend on the federation for advice in these matters, particularly in regard to strikes. There are two main differences in union-federation relationships as they exist in Lebanon and the West. First, Lebanese federations generally render little or no organizing help to unions. This is partially explained by the low level of importance given to organizing new members, at least in comparison to Western thinking on this subject. The second major difference is that the federation provides



offices and meeting rooms for its affiliates. More properly expressed, the unions either pool their financial resources or take advantage of the government subsidy and establish offices through the federations in one central location. The financial resources of most unions are too meager to accomplish this by themselves. Although the federations are supposed to render support to their affiliates in cases of organizing difficulties or rivalries with other (usually Communist) unions, in a few reported instances this support has been weak and ineffectual. In return for such support that unions do enjoy from the federation, they usually pay dues, determined on variable bases. Many small and financially weak unions, however, have their dues waived until the condition of their treasuries improve.

Jurisdictional and representational disputes are happily rare in Lebanon, and in this they resemble the European union movements more so than the American. Disputes of this nature that do arise generally involve a struggle against rival Communist unions. This situation is due undoubtedly to the provisions of the Labor Code, which give the government a hand in determining jurisdiction. The government has, however, given licenses to more than one union in a particular trade on some occasions. In the cases where the second union is Communist-dominated, this practice, combined with the seeming reluctance of the federations to challenge the Communists, has resulted in the inability to wipe out completely the Communist influence that does exist.

The labor movement in Lebanon is characterized by a relatively high percentage of white-collar members. This characteristic is not only apparent in terms of sheer numbers, but it also makes its presence felt

by virtue of the influence that white-collar employees have on the labor movement in general. The white-collar worker is apparently easier to recruit than the manual worker, which is probably a result of the fact that he is more liable to be aware of the benefits of unionization than the manual worker. It was also proposed that business organization in Lebanon, with its stress on family ownership plus the existence of foreign-owned companies and governmental interest in some unionized establishments, would tend to lessen the identification of white-collar workers with management to a greater degree than is usual in the West.

Despite the traditional values of Middle Eastern society, remarkably little opposition to membership of women in unions was found. Being an innovation in themselves, it is to be expected that trade unions would challenge the traditional values which might be losing their force and appeal because of the very changes that bring forth the establishment of unions.

Although many unions make a deliberate effort to increase their membership, there is generally much less stress on this phase of union activity than is the case in the West. This is brought out not only by the types of programs followed in recruiting but also by the fact that little or no money is used to further this end. Many unions utilize special representatives from among their ranks to organize new members, but there are apparently no professional union organizers even on the federation level.

The major problems Lebanese unions face in recruiting members are the opposition of management and the resultant fear of workers to join the union, and the lack of understanding of the union and its aims on the part

of the worker. The indifference and apathy of the workers is probably more pronounced than in the West, but it has been pointed out that management opposition is a universal problem faced by unions, and one which has a very great effect on the success or failure of the labor movement. It would seem, however, in Lebanon that the initial breakthrough in gaining at least a type of "armed truce" between management and the union as the recognized bargaining agent for the workers has not yet been accomplished on a significant scale.

Union finances in Lebanon are based on the collection of dues. They must be kept small, however, and most unions resort to social affairs or lotteries to raise money. There are difficulties faced in the collection of dues, but two unions have managed to solve this problem by instituting a form of the check-off. Some unions also receive financial support from the company, an extremely rare phenomenon in the West. The major difference noted in the expenditure of funds is the relatively low amount of money used for organizing purposes, a point which has already been discussed. Another weakness in financial planning, due no doubt to the precarious financial conditions of the unions, is the lack of strike funds. The present system of demanding pay during a strike will lessen the effectiveness of the strike weapon.

It was felt that the union leaders' estimates of member attendance at meetings and the level of enthusiasm within the unions were too high. Most frankly admitted, however, that union officers made most of the decisions affecting union policies and activities. Coupled with the fact that special occasions, such as elections and strike meetings, elicit a higher degree of response on the part of the members, this would indicate

that Lebanese unions have undergone the same experience as their Western counterparts in this regard. In unions, as well as in most other groups and societies, a hard core of activists usually direct their affairs.

Like the unions of the West, Lebanese unions face disciplinary problems and most have established some means of dealing with them. No attempt has been made here to judge the effectiveness or fairness of these procedures, which would be extremely difficult for an outsider to do. It has been noted, however, that the small size of unions and the difficulties in recruitment limit the means used to enforce discipline. Warnings and persuasion are the main techniques employed. Even if disciplinary forms were found to be inadequate from the point of view of justice, the reluctance to impose strong punishments redounds to the offender's benefit.

III. GOALS AND FUNCTIONS OF LEBANESE UNIONS

Goals.

The final points about which union leaders were questioned revolved around the goals of the Lebanese labor movement and the preferred means to accomplish them. It will be recalled that the major goals of Western unions are usually considered to be the improvement of wages and working conditions, the gaining of some control over job opportunities, and improvement of the workers' status. The respondents were first asked to describe their goals in their own words and were permitted to list as many as they desired. The results of this question are shown in Table 25.

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TABLE 25.

GOALS OF LEBANESE UNIONS

<u>Goal</u>	<u>Frequency of mention</u>
Improvements in Wages and related issues	23
Improvements in status and security	13
Political goals	6
Improving national output	6
Control over job opportunities	1

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The first category requires no further explanation. Those responses stressing the social standing of the worker and the stability of his situation were considered to be concerned with status and security. An example of this type of response is the one of a manual workers' union president who identified the main goal of his union as being to "stabilize the worker's conditions and to preserve his dignity so that he can be an effective member

of society". Another union president stressed the desire "to eliminate hostility between workers and employees". Political goals included the desire to modify existing laws and, in one case, to elect labor representatives to Parliament. It was felt that the goal of improving national output should be considered separately to avoid confusion, although in its broadest sense this has political connotations. An example of this type of response was provided by an oil company union president, who identified as his union's major goal the attempt "to educate the workers so that they feel their responsibility in national output and to make them good citizens". Political goals and increasing national output, it should be pointed out, are in reality only a means to an end. This end may be any one or a combination of the major goals that have been postulated as the proper ones for unions, i.e., improving wages and status, and gaining some control over the job.

In order to reduce the goals of Lebanese unions to these three fundamental points, the respondents were then asked to rank the three in order of importance. By this means it was hoped that those listing any other goals in the previous question would reach beyond these stated goals and show their appreciation of these basic considerations. The union leaders interviewed ranked their goals as indicated in Table 26.

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TABLE 26.

UNION LEADERS' RANKING OF BASIC TRADE UNION GOALS

(37 leaders responding)

<u>Goal</u>	<u>Ranked 1st</u>	<u>Ranked 2nd</u>	<u>Ranked 3rd</u>	<u>Weighted* Total</u>
Improving wages & related issues	19	15	3	1 (90 points)
Improving status of workers	16	15	6	2 (84 points)
Increasing control over the job	2	7	28	3 (48 points)

\*Weights have been assigned on the basis of 3 points for first choice, 2 points for second, and 1 point for third.

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In line with the reasons given above for forming unions and for the acceptance of office by their leaders, it is obvious that the major goal of Lebanese trade unions is improving wages, hours, working conditions and related issues. That this is so is not surprising. What is surprising, however, is the almost total disregard for gaining some control over the job and management decisions affecting it. The one union leader who claimed job control as a major goal, without being prompted by the second question considered immediately above, showed a fine appreciation of this question. He saw as his major goal the desire to gain "equal responsibility in the work in relation to the employer". He stated further "that no one understands the worker's problems except the worker, and every enterprise without the participation of the worker does not realize [its] real aim". He saw job control as a means of improving the worker's loyalty to his job and of increasing production, as well as improving the worker's material returns from the job. It would appear, however, that he stands almost alone in this appreciation.

Despite the apparent lack of concern with control over the job, many unions have agreements with the management concerning matters effecting job security. In not all cases were these agreements written but were described at times as being "mutual understandings" or "gentlemen's agreements". Twenty-five unions, for example, claimed to have an understanding with management over job rights. Another twenty unions enjoyed seniority rights and eleven, in occupations to which it applies, had an agreement on the size of work crews. There were other means cited to control job opportunities. The American University of Beirut, for example, is pledged to advertise all job openings to union members before hiring any new outside help to fill them.

Thus it is apparent that some consideration has been given to the problem of job control. What is surprising, however, is that the unions seem to give very little importance to this point. They do not seem to consider it a major goal, and many of their gains in this field seem almost like an afterthought. Given the chronic shortage of employment opportunities in Lebanon, it would seem that union members would express more interest in this point. From the point of view of labor-management relations, job control agreements can add a measure of stability by giving the worker a stake or equity in the job, thereby increasing his loyalty to the firm. There is a chance that management would be more receptive to such concessions than it has shown itself to be toward the demands for higher wages. All of these matters aside, the union that can make gains to protect the worker's job will gain a more loyal and dedicated member.

#### Functions.

When asked the means they preferred to realize their goals, the union leaders exhibited a high degree of industrial statesmanship. The most frequently cited means was collective bargaining. This was followed, in second place, by unity and intelligent leadership, and finally by the understanding and help of the government. Only two union leaders, one a Communist, cited political work as a desired function of labor unions. Very few even considered the strike as a means to achieve their aims, and practically all of these qualified the answer by identifying it as a "last resort". When given the opportunity to rank collective bargaining, strikes, and political action, the answers again stressed collective bargaining as the most desirable means, as shown in Table 27.



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TABLE 27.

PREFERRED MEANS OF ACHIEVING UNION GOALS

<u>Means</u>	<u>Ranking 1st</u>	<u>Ranking 2nd</u>	<u>Ranking 3rd</u>	<u>Weighted* Total</u>
Collective Bargaining	34	6	--	1 (114 points)
Strikes	3	27	10	2 (73 points)
Political Action	3	7	30	3 (53 points)

\*Weights have been assigned on the basis of 3 points for first choice, 2 points for second, and 1 point for third.

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In ranking these three functions, most of the respondents refused even to consider the third choice, political action. Very frequently the respondent replied that "I don't believe in it", when asked this question. Had these replies not been counted in the table at all, this means would have been even further behind the other two. The predominant feeling on strikes was reiterated in this question also, as many respondents placed strikes second but still referred to them as a last resort. It should be stressed that not all of those listing collective bargaining as their preferred means to achieve goals were able to use this means effectively. These questions reflect the attitudes of the unions, not the actual labor-management situation.

This is brought out by replies to later questions. Only one-half of the unions surveyed, for instance, had any sort of agreement or contract with the employer to recognize the union as a bargaining agent. Several felt that such an agreement was unnecessary because of the guarantees given to the union by the Labor Code, but others cited the insufficiency of the Code in this regard. As pointed out in the previous chapter, in the discussion about

labor legislation, the Code guarantees the union the right to exist but does not guarantee it any bargaining rights. The poor record of strike successes also bears out the inability of many unions to win this right for themselves. In addition, the constant reference to managerial opposition indicates that Lebanese unions have not come far in the use of collective bargaining.

Many Lebanese unions carry out some of the secondary functions of trade unions. The Electric Office and Tramway Workers have a medical plan for the workers. Thirteen unions claimed to have training programs for union officers and members and a like number conduct general educational programs. The Printers' Union of the Jāmi'at, for example, has an English-teaching course for its members. Most of the unions surveyed conducted social affairs, often as a means to produce revenue. A few indicated their desire to have such programs and activities in the future. The four recognized federations publish newspapers or bulletins and a few individual unions, such as the Jāmi'at Printers and the Private Car Drivers, issue monthly or bi-monthly publications. A list of federation publications is contained in the following table.

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TABLE 28.

PUBLICATIONS OF LEBANESE LABOR FEDERATIONS

<u>Federation</u>	<u>Publication</u>
League of Unions ( <u>Jāmi'at</u> )	<u>Al-'Awāssif</u> (with UUEW)
United Unions (UUEW)	<u>Al-'Awāssif</u> (Arabic) and <u>La Gazette</u> (French)
Federation of North Lebanon (FUNL)	<u>Al-'Āmil</u>
Independent Unions (FITU)	<u>Sawt al-'Āmil</u>

Source: Directory Compiled by U.S. Labor Attaché

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General Problems.

The remaining inquiries directed to the union leaders involved their attitudes toward current questions, the problems they encounter in running the union, and their attitude concerning union-government relations. Their responses to these questions give some idea of the current thinking in Lebanese unions and will help to characterize them.

The first of these questions dealt with mechanization. It was expected, given the current controversy over "automation" in Western countries and the employment problem in Lebanon, that there would be a great deal of opposition to this process. However, it was found that most unions have a mature attitude toward the problem. Three respondents considered the question non-applicable in their case. Of the remainder, 27 indicated their willingness to cooperate in increased mechanization if management would retrain any displaced workers. Four leaders did not even add this qualification. Only six declared that they would completely resist any such attempts. This attitude is related to the opinion expressed several times that unions should help increase national output. There seems to be a high level of realization among union leaders that Lebanese industry must improve its productivity to compete in world and internal markets. As one leader expressed it, "we need machines".

Suggestions have been made recently in labor circles that a "Labor Party" be formed in Lebanon. The respondents were asked if they favored this move. Table 29 shows the responses given to this question. Those favoring formation of a political party usually stressed that it might be a good way to achieve labor's goals, but they often insisted that it must be a totally new party, unrelated to any others. A few of those expressing

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TABLE 29.

LABOR ATTITUDES TOWARD FORMATION OF A LEBANESE "LABOR PARTY"

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Unfavorable	26	65%
Favorable	12	30%
No answer	2	5%

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an unfavorable attitude toward such a venture thought that it might be possible in the future. Most respondents, however, were adamant in their opposition. "Everything is corrupted and spoiled," as one put it, "when politics interferes in it." Others pointed out the religious factor in Lebanese politics and expressed the fear that the unity of the labor movement, such as it is, would disintegrate completely because of this point if it entered politics. The fear for the unity of the labor movement and the solidarity of its ranks was best expressed by the union president who pointed out that one "cannot ride two horses".

The respondents were also asked to name the major problems they had faced in running the union and to rank several suggested problems. The problems most frequently mentioned have a familiar ring. In order of frequency, the major problems cited were: management opposition; lack of government support and cooperation; worker ignorance of union aims; poor labor legislation and the inability to change it; lack of guarantees for the union; and lack of time to fulfill duties of leadership. In regard to this question, it should be pointed out that "worker ignorance of union aims" has a somewhat different connotation. Here the reference seems to

be to men who are already members, so the problem differs from those met in recruiting. Many leaders spoke of the need for patience and for listening to the workers and their problems. This point was summed up by the leader of a new union who said that "because of the workers' ignorance of the union's aims, they demand many impossible things". The conflict seems to be the one faced by most union leaders: militant opposition of management on the one hand, and the danger of losing membership and support if spectacular, or at least demonstrable and concrete, gains are not made.

The familiar trio of problems were most frequently ranked high when the respondents were asked to list several suggestions in order of importance. Management opposition and lack of government support were almost equally assessed in first place. These were followed by worker ignorance and apathy. Low public support and the lack of good leaders were far behind and in that order.

The frequent citation of management opposition as being among the major problems of Lebanese unions seemed to throw serious doubt on the validity of the labor leaders' estimates of the state of union-management relations. Table 30 shows the response to this question.

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TABLE 30.

LABOR LEADERS' ESTIMATE OF UNION-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

<u>State of relations</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Bad	4	10.0%
Fair	13	32.5%
Good	23	57.5%
TOTAL	40	100.0%

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These high estimates are made slightly more plausible when it is considered that six of those who claimed that relationships were good indicated that they had improved from being bad at first. This applied also to one leader who indicated that relationships were now fair. However, when all things are considered it cannot be helped but to conclude that these judgments represent too rosy a picture of the state of union-management feelings. The only factor which may serve to explain this phenomenon is that it was generally the white-collar and mixed unions under white-collar leadership that considered relationships as being good. Of the seventeen unions that gave a rating of "bad" or "fair" on this point, fourteen were unions of manual workers. This divergence of opinion, being so marked, is probably one reason for the "employee" and "worker" difficulties that have troubled the labor movement in the past.

The final question asked of the respondents dealt with the actions they thought the government should take in their favor. The actions most often mentioned were as follows, in order of frequency cited: passage of the Social Security Law; changing current labor legislation; enforcing the Labor Code more stringently and strengthening the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs; and providing free education and low-cost housing. Less frequently, they asked for the establishment of a training school for union members and leaders, the encouragement of industry, and the passage of the "Collective Contracts" Law.

The concern with social security, housing, and education reflects the basic wage bias of Lebanese union thinking. Rent and education for children were among those items whose high costs caused great hardship to the workers,

as one respondent described the situation.<sup>25</sup> With regard to the necessity for changing current legislation and the passage of both the Social Security and Collective Contracts Laws, many respondents stressed the desire for the government to take into consideration the suggestions advanced by the unions.<sup>26</sup> When referring to stricter enforcement of the Labor Code, the respondents had in mind the provisions pertaining to the inspection of working conditions, not in regard to union organization.

General observations.

In comparing the attitudes of Lebanese unions concerning goals and functions to those prevailing in the West, the most fundamental difference noted is the relative lack of consideration for the control of job opportunities and the recognition of union bargaining rights. Although some unions have contracts, and although job security provisions are included in some agreements, Lebanese union leaders tend to view their entire operation in "bread and butter" terms. In choosing means to achieve their goals, Lebanese unions are almost unanimous in stressing their preference for collective bargaining, while holding the right to strike as a reserve weapon. However, when asked what the government might do to help unions, the passage of the Collective Contract Law was well down on the list, again losing out to issues involving items related to the amount of wages received.

Generally speaking, labor attitudes in regard to union functions are

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<sup>25</sup>The other item of high cost mentioned was medical treatment.

<sup>26</sup>One respondent mentioned that the Collective Contract Law was "very good", but he had noticed that it, in effect, denies the right to strike, a point upon whose modification he insisted.

on a high level of industrial statesmanship. Except for their preoccupation with wages, which would tend to harden management opposition, Lebanese unions favor moderate means for achieving their goals that should be given more appreciation by the employers and the government. Strikes and political action are well behind the desire for collective bargaining rights. Even in their attitudes toward a political "labor party" the Lebanese unions lean more toward the American system than the European, from which the individualistic Lebanese entrepreneur should take heart. The qualities they thought union leaders should possess were also moderate and well-meaning.



#### IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Before passing on to the next chapter we may now refer again to the questions concerning the labor movement that were posed at the beginning of Chapter IV. It will be recalled that, in answer to the first of these questions, we have identified the government as the prime source of labor legislation despite the efforts of unions to affect the content of laws dealing with the labor force. The second of these questions dealt with the occupational groups among which unions in Lebanon began. In Chapter IV, it was pointed out that the first unions in Lebanon appeared among skilled and semi-skilled manual workers, as they did in the West. However, we have seen in the present chapter that unions of white-collar workers make up a disproportionate share of the Lebanese labor movement. They also are generally more successful and less disenchanting, and they tend to lend a characteristic stamp to the movement that masks the discontent of the manual workers' unions. That white-collar unions will have more success in attracting members, who will be more aware of the aims and benefits of unionization, fits in with the theoretical considerations proposed in Chapter III of this study. The third question asked was concerned with the sources of industrial conflict in Lebanon. We have already seen that management plays a larger role in initiating labor disputes than do unions, and that government has been active in their settlement. It was also observed that labor-originated disputes and strikes have been concerned almost exclusively with economic issues, and little regard has been shown by the unions for the issues of union security and bargaining rights.

Thus far, two questions have been left unanswered. The first of these,

question number four, was concerned with the maturation of unions as exemplified by changes in structure and in tactics and strategy in industrial conflict. A completely satisfactory answer to this question is still not within our grasp. However, certain observations may be made. The answers given during the interviews of labor leaders show that there is a gap between the potential state of maturity of Lebanese unions and that which they enjoy in fact. We have seen that labor disputes are on the rise in Lebanon and that strikes are a common occurrence.<sup>27</sup> There is adequate reason to believe, however, that this condition could be greatly improved if the attitudes of management and government were changed. The discussion of the proposed Collective Contract Law indicate that government has moved closer toward the conception of a free union acting as a bargaining agent. Certain features of the law, however, could be used as an effective denial of the right to strike, a denial which would be fatal to a really free bargaining process. The continuous refrain in the questionnaires referring to management opposition indicates that employers have not changed their position greatly. At the same time, the responses of union leaders would seem to indicate that basically their outlook is moderate. Collective bargaining is far and away the approved method of settling disputes. Moderation is an accepted quality of union leaders. Strikes are almost invariably considered a "last resort". Political action is not held in high favor. The militant firebrand is not found among union leaders. There is every reason to believe that, given the opportunity,

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<sup>27</sup>See pp. 116 ff., above.

Lebanese unions could mature and play a moderate but essential role in establishing and administering the "web of rules" governing the labor force. For their part, however, union leaders have not shown enough concern for the issues of union security and bargaining rights. Passage of the Collective Contracts Bill is far down on the list of actions they would like the government to take to assist the union movement. There seems to be too much clamor for higher wages and shorter hours, for Social Security and public housing. The constant demand for wage increases can only frighten management and stiffen its resistance to the union. Perhaps more concentration on the basic issue of union recognition and bargaining rights, and on job security, would result in a more favorable atmosphere for union development.

The final question posed dealt with the adaptation of Western concepts of unionism to the Lebanese situation. This question is complicated by the fact that it is necessary to pass a judgment on what should and what should not be changed in the process of adaptation. In other words, in appraising the adaptation or non-adaptation of certain concepts, it will be necessary to determine whether or not a change has been made, and whether or not it should have been made. With this consideration in mind, we may consider this problem from two major points of view, (1) organization and administration, and (2) goals and functions.

In relation to the aspect of organization, the first major difference between the Lebanese labor movement and that of the West is the absence, or near absence, of the "local union" level of organization in Lebanon. Considering the size of business establishments in Lebanon, it was probably necessary that this be so. Closely related to this aspect is the prominence

of the "house" union. There obviously can only be one "house" union in the cement industry and in the railway industry as only one establishment exists in Lebanon in each of these industries. On the other hand, the formation of separate unions on a geographical basis is a divisive factor that might have been avoided if truly "national unions" were established with locals in each particular area. In this way the union movement could more easily unify its voice and still maintain the local organization, close to the individual worker.

One innovation in the Lebanese labor movement that has caused it some trouble is the establishment of "employees' and workers' unions" on a house basis. Divergences in outlook and interest have caused some of these unions, small to begin with, to break up into even smaller fragments. A closer adoption of the national and local union system prevailing in the West would be advisable from the point of view of union strength and effectiveness. A case in point is the oil industry, which might be better organized with two national unions in oil producing and distributing companies, one for "employees" and one for "workers". Local organizations or councils, such as are utilized in the hotel and restaurant industry, could be established in each company.

In summary of this point, then, we may say that in some respects Lebanese unions have made judicious adaptations in Western concepts of organization. In other respects, however, the unity and strength of labor could be better served if the labor movement followed more closely the Western model. Generally, the changes that might be made would be on the order of unifying the unions at the national level, and strengthening the local organization.

In regard to the internal administration of the unions, the major weakness has been the failure to follow the lead of Western unions in their concern for organizing new members. The Lebanese union approach to this matter has been far more casual than that in the West. In the face of financial problems, for example, the unions have not come up with a really satisfactory answer to this problem.

In the field of goals and functions, the most noteworthy aspect of this problem is again a matter of the failure to adopt or grasp a vital concept. This is the fact that the unions have not shown sufficient concern for union and job security and have focused almost exclusively on wages and related issues. The demand for "more" is understandable in a low-wage country, but present tactics have not been very successful in obtaining it. More concentration should be placed on achieving the basic goal of true recognition.

Thus, in answering our fifth question, we must say that Lebanese unions have in some respects over-adapted Western concepts to fit the Lebanese situation. Some of the adaptations seem necessary at present. In other cases, however, a closer approximation to the Western model would serve to strengthen and unify the labor movement in Lebanon.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As one can easily infer from all the previous discussions, the labor movement in Lebanon is a large, complex, and almost completely unstudied subject. Almost all of the many topics discussed in these chapters could bear an intensive examination in their own right. Many questions have been treated only summarily or have been omitted because of the difficulty of obtaining reliable and useful data in a reasonable period of time. Many other problems concerning the inner workings and politics of the labor movement would require their examination by persons with a first-hand knowledge and experience of the labor movement. What has been attempted here is a preliminary survey of some of the major aspects of the union movement, in an effort to build up at least the beginnings of the mass of empirical data required to tell the whole story of the unions of Lebanon. The material that has been collected and described in these pages will permit us, however, to fulfill our stated purpose of making an appraisal of the effectiveness to date of the labor movement in Lebanon and of offering certain remedial suggestions that might help to improve its performance.

The labor movement in Lebanon has experienced only little success in achieving most of its aims. So far it has not been able to exert much influence on the nature and content of the laws governing the labor force. The effects it may have on the proposed Social Security and Collective Contract Laws and on the suggested amendment of the Labor Code remain to

be seen. To date, however, its influence has been relatively insignificant despite its many efforts to gain a voice in the preparation of legislation. Although some unions have reported an improvement in their relations with management, indications are that no significant breakthrough has been made in the adamant opposition of management, particularly on the part of manual workers' unions. Although numerically the labor movement has witnessed a persistent increase in its size, the intensity of organization has barely exceeded 25%. This is a low proportion by almost any yardstick. Also the movement does not appear to have made significant gains in industrial relations. The incidence of conflict, in spite of the expected maturity of labor unions and their increasing integration into society, seems paradoxically on the increase. While this is so, the results of such collective action has not been favorable to labor. Several factors, institutional and otherwise, have already been suggested which may account for this peculiar feature of the labor movement in Lebanon.

As has been alluded to earlier, the development of any labor movement depends ultimately upon the contributions or the efforts made by the three possible contestants for setting the rules in structuring the labor force. By and large then, the success or failure of the labor movement in Lebanon depends upon the roles and attitudes of the government, management, and labor unions themselves.

An attempt has been made while presenting this material to point out those attitudes or activities on the part of the parties concerned which have helped to weaken or to restrict the potential influence of the labor movement. By way of conclusion, these attitudes and actions will be briefly considered below.

The role of government.

The government in Lebanon has been, to a large degree, more concerned with controlling and policing the union movement than it has been with nurturing and encouraging it. It has shown a stronger tendency to enforce the provisions of the Labor Code applying to union organization than it has shown in enforcing the provisions applying to management observation of minimum standards in work conditions. The attitudes of union leaders would seem to indicate that labor unions could be a responsible and constructive partner in the maintenance of stable and just relations in an industrializing and modernizing economy. To this end, probably the greatest contribution the government could make would be to grant to unions the free and true right to bargain collectively for its members. Over the years, the government has seemed to become more willing to allow unions to operate freely, but its concern for controls and safeguards still crops up in newly proposed legislation. It would be hoped that the trend toward a more liberal view will continue.

The role of management.

Management, for its part, has shown little desire to relax its opposition to unions. Nor has it shown much appreciation of the potential value of some sort of cooperation with the union. A recognized union, with a written contract, able to guarantee a decent wage and a certain amount of job security to its members, can be an ally in stabilizing the labor conditions in the firm. The beginning of equitable and mutually advantageous union-management relations lies in the initial acceptance of the union by management. Formal recognition of labor unions by law is no guarantee that they are actually



accepted as bargaining agents in the industrial community. Rather than using the Labor Code as a device to threaten and coerce the worker, management must go beyond its actual letter and give adequate support to the union. By bringing the union into labor-management relations as a partner it can serve the interests of the labor force and its own long term interest as well.

The role of the unions.

Not all of the troubles faced by unions come as a result of the attitudes of government and management. Labor union leaders need not wait for action on the part of these other groups to improve their own situation. The unions have shown encouraging signs of their appreciation of the need for unity in the labor movement after a dismal and desultory start. Welcome efforts have been made toward unification of the labor movement on the federation and inter-union level. There is room for unifying the workers and organizing them into larger, more viable, and stronger unions. Unions in the same or similar trades that have proliferated on a geographical or "house" basis might look to the possibility of merger. Autonomy can be assured by use of the system of "locals" organized into single national unions of greater bargaining strength.

Already existing unions could also pay more attention to the possibilities of organizing practitioners of trades or occupations similar to their own, rather than having such groups organize into small and weak individual unions. The whole matter of organizing new members should receive more attention. Although most unions could not afford the services of trained organizers, the federations might be able to do so. Use of such personnel, in planned and systematic organization drives, would probably

have more effect than all of the lectures, pamphlets, articles, and "pep talks" that now make up the bulk of organizing and recruiting efforts.

The attitude of Lebanese unions to goals and functions also requires comment. It is understandable that the unions should be concerned with the "bread and butter" issues that have an immediate appeal to the worker. There is, however, an almost complete lack of appreciation of the basic necessity for job security and a measure of control over job opportunities. More emphasis on this goal would not only be beneficial to the worker's material interests but it would also help to alleviate the fear and distrust of the employer who is now faced with a continual demand for wage increases.

Job security is closely related to the issue of union security, which is in turn tied to the question of union functions. The desire for union security is the desire to have the union recognized by the employer. It is recognized for a specific purpose--to represent the workers collectively in dealing with management. In its basic meaning then, union security does not mean the recognition by government and management of its right merely to exist but rather their recognition of its right to carry on collective bargaining. The unions have shown a great deal of appreciation for the desirability of a free system of collective bargaining. They have shown, however, much less enthusiasm for working to insure this right. The proposed laws on social security and low-cost housing have stirred up much more interest than the one on "Collective Contracts". The unions would do well to concern themselves to a greater degree with gaining, consolidating, and insuring this basic right. They would then probably find it easier to realize their stated goal of a higher living standard for the Lebanese working man and woman.

## APPENDIX 1

### METHODOLOGY

The material contained in Chapter V of this paper, including that dealing with administration, leadership, goals and functions of Lebanese unions, as well as some of the material on organization and structure, was obtained through formal interviews with union leaders in Beirut. These interviews were conducted through the use of scheduled questionnaires (Appendices 3 and 4) prepared on the basis of the model structural and functional features of labor movements as presented in Chapter II. An attempt was made to incorporate "check questions" into the questionnaire in order to raise the level of confidence in the accuracy of the answers given by the respondent, particularly in regard to questions that might reflect upon the competence and initiative of the respondent. Most of the questions were formulated as "closed questions", requiring only a simple answer in order to facilitate recording and analysis and to assure a minimum uniformity in categories of answers. Other questions were of the "open end" type, permitting the respondent to answer in his own words. This type was used particularly when the questions were meant to draw out ideas and attitudes rather than simple facts or figures.

It was discovered during the interviewing that a few questions were usually misunderstood by the respondents and adjustments were made to accommodate this fact. Question 22, dealing with the idea of jurisdiction and structure, was found to be an extreme example of this type. It became

apparent that the English terminology of "craft" and "industrial" union was confusing in its Arabic translation. This is particularly so because of the nature of the labor movement in Lebanon with its accent on "house" unions. For these reasons, Question 22 was not tabulated.

One further aspect of the interviewing is deserving of mention. The bulk of the interviews were conducted in the weeks immediately preceding the Labor Day holiday on May 1st. This fact was advantageous in that the respondents were more likely to be thinking of, and willing to talk about, such more philosophical ideas as goals and methods of labor unions. Many were also eager, because of the approaching celebration, to present their views and to be given a hearing about their problems and prospects. On the other hand, however, the time of the year also led some respondents to speak in lofty but bland generalities. This fact forced the interviewers to probe at greater length and with more difficulty to get more concrete and meaningful answers to some questions.

The interviewing was done in Arabic by a team of three Lebanese university students, except for a few conducted by the writer in English. A minimum of instruction was given the interviewers on the organization, goals, and functions of labor unions. Several pre-tests were conducted prior to the beginning of the actual interviewing of the labor leaders.

It was hoped that the sixty union presidents operating in Beirut could be interviewed so that they would then constitute both "universe" and "sample" for this study. However, the fact that all of these persons must work a full-time regular job as well as administer the union after hours made it impossible to contact and interview all of them. To facilitate the initial approach to the respondents and to assure them of the nature and

intent of the study as well as to identify the interviewers, letters were sent to them beforehand through the Vice-President of the American University of Beirut explaining the project (Appendix 2). However, even then some leaders seemed reluctant to submit to questioning.

A total of 40 interviews were finally conducted. Respondents were drawn from each federation operating in Beirut. Eighteen unions from the industrial, 18 from the commercial, and four from the transportation sectors were among those surveyed. They also included a sample of white-collar, manual, and mixed unions. The latter were almost equally divided between those with majorities of employees and those with majorities of workers. The unions ranged in size from the Sweet Shop Workers with 50 members to the Textile Workers with 3500 members. The sample also included fourteen "house" unions, as well as 14 industry-oriented and 12 craft-oriented unions. It was felt that this cross-section of unions represented as fair a sample of the labor movement as could be obtained by attempting to devise a "scientific sample", the proper basis of which is almost impossible to determine, given the many variables of size, structure, affiliation, and economic sector which would need to be considered.

مكتب الرئيس

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

CABLE ADDRESS: AMUNOB

بيروت في ١٨ نيسان سنة ١٩٦٣

حضرة

بعد التحية والاحترام ،

تعنى دائرة علم الاجتماع في الجامعة الأميركية في بيروت باعداد دراسة علمية ، باشراف أحد أساتذة الدائرة ، عن الحركة النقابية في لبنان وتنظيمها وأهدافها ومهامها ، لما لها من شأن متزايد في تطوّر البلاد الاقصادى والاجتماعي .

ولما كان القائمون على هذه الدراسة ، يفتقرون الى المعلومات الموثوق بها ، فقد رأوا أن يتصلوا بأعضاء الهيئات النقابية الذين يستطيعون تزويدهم بما يحتاجون اليه من معلومات ، وبفضل خبرتهم الواسعة .

ومن أجل ذلك اعدوا سلسلة من الأسئلة ، يرجى أن يتفضل رؤساء الهيئات النقابية في لبنان بالاجابة عنها ، وعيدوا الى أحد الطلاب المتقدمين في دائرة علم الاجتماع ، في الاتصال بسيادتكم في مقابلة لا تتجاوز الساعة ، للظفر بالردود المرجوة ، اذا سمحتم بذلك .

ورجاءنا معقود على أن تتكرموا بالاسهام والمساعدة في اعداد هذه الدراسة الموضوعية ، مع العلم بأن المعلومات الواردة في الاجابات على سلسلة الأسئلة تبقى مكتومة ولا تستعمل الاّ اساسا للتحليل العلمي . ويسرني ، بالنيابة عن دائرة علم الاجتماع في الجامعة ، أن أقدم سلفا بأجزل الشكر .

وتفضلوا بقبول الاحترام

فؤاد صروف

نائب الرئيس

دائرة علم الاجتماع  
الجامعة الاميركية في بيروت

دراسة في نقابات العمال في لبنان

اسئلة

- ١ - معلومات اساسية : قبل ان نسألك اسئلة معينة تتفق مع نقابتك ، الرجاء تقديم بعض المعلومات عن نفسك .
  - ١ - ا = اسم النقابة \_\_\_\_\_
  - ب = مركز المجيب في النقابة \_\_\_\_\_
  - ٢ - عمر المجيب . \_\_\_\_\_ سنة
  - ٣ - دينه . \_\_\_\_\_
  - ٤ - الشهادات المدرسية .  
لا شهادات لديه \_\_\_\_\_  
ابتدائية \_\_\_\_\_  
ثانوية \_\_\_\_\_  
فنية او مهنية \_\_\_\_\_  
كلية او جامعة \_\_\_\_\_
  - ٥ - اذكر بعض الوظائف التي شغلتها قبلما اصبحت عضوا في النقابة .

٦ - كيف اصبحت عضوا في هيئة النقابة ؟

٧ - لماذا قررت ان تصبح عضوا في هيئة النقابة ؟

٨ - كم سنة مضى عليك وانت عضو في هيئة النقابة ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ سنة

٩ - هل تعمل في شؤون النقابة كل الوقت او بعضه ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ كل الوقت

\_\_\_\_\_ بعض الوقت

١٠ - هل سنحت لك الفرصة لتدرس او تتتبع او تلم بحركات النقابات

العمالية خارج لبنان ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ نعم

\_\_\_\_\_ لا

١١ - ان نعم ، ما هي المناسبات التي تمكنت من انتهازها ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ تدريب نقابي رسمي برعاية اتحاد عمالي عالمي ما



من مثل "الاتحاد العالمي للنقابات العمالية الحرة"

او "الاتحاد العالمي للنقابات العمالية المصرية"

او "الاتحاد العالمي لنقابات العمال"

او "منظمة العمال العالمية"

\_\_\_\_\_ تدريب غير رسمي برعاية احدى الهيئات المذكورة سابقا

\_\_\_\_\_ دراسة ومطالبات خاصة .

١٢ - هل لك المام بالكتب والمنشورات المتعلقة بالنقابات العمالية ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ نعم

\_\_\_\_\_ لا

١٣ - ان نعم ، فهل لك ان تسمي آخر كتاب ، او كراس ، او مقال قرأت ؟

٢ - تاريخ النقابة :

١٤ - ايمكنك ان تذكر لي شيئا عن تاريخ نقابتك ، متى تأسست ؟ ومن

اسسها ولماذا ؟

متى ؟

من اسسها ؟

لماذا ؟

٣ - تنظيم النقابة : اود ان اوجه اليك بعض الاسئلة عن طريقة تنظيم نقابتك .

١٥ - كيف تنظم نقابتكم ؟ هل عندكم منظمات محلية في كل مكان للعمل ،

ام ان كل اعضاءكم ينتمون مباشرة الى منظمة مركزية واحدة ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ عندنا منظمات محلية .

\_\_\_\_\_ منظمة مركزية واحدة .

١٦ - هل تتسبون الى اي من اتحادات العمال الوطنية او العالمية ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ نعم

\_\_\_\_\_ لا

(السائل : اذا كان جواب السؤال ١٦ نفيًا اعمل الاسئلة التالية

وانتقل الى القسم الرابع السؤال ٢٢)

١٧ - واذا كان ايجابيًا ، الى اي اتحاد من الاتحادات الوطنية او العالمية

تتسبون ؟

العالمية

الوطنية

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

١٨ - اذا كنتم تتسبون الى اتحاد وطني ، فهل تضع نقابتكم او الاتحاد

القرارات بصدد سياسة النقابة فيما يتعلق بالاجور ، والاضراب ،

وظروف العمل ، والتذمرات .

الاتحاد

النقابة

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

الاجور

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

الاضراب

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

ظروف العمل

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

التذمرات

١٩ - ما هي الخدمات التي يوفرها الاتحاد لنقابتم ؟

(السائل : اقرأ الاسئلة التالية )

\_\_\_\_\_ هل يحمل الاتحاد على مراقبة نوع العمال الذين

ينضمون الى نقابتم ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ في حال تعرضكم لصعوبات او مشاكل مع نقابة اخرى ،

هل يتوسط الاتحاد بينكم وبين تلك النقابة ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ هل يساعد الاتحاد في تنظيم اعضاء جدد ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ هل يساعد الاتحاد في معالجة شؤونكم مع الحكومة بان

يحثها على اقرار القوانين التي هي ( في ) مصلحتكم او

ان يقدم اليها مطالب نيابة عنكم ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ هل يمدكم بالمساعدة القانونية او يقوم بالبحوث لكم في

المسائل الاقتصادية ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ هل تعرض وجهة نظر الحركة العمالية على الجمهور ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ هل تقدم اية خدمات اخرى ؟ عينها :

٢٠ - هل تدفع نقابتم مقابل هذه الخدمات اية رسوم الى الاتحاد ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ نعم

\_\_\_\_\_ لا

٢١ - فان كان الجواب ايجابيا ، فعلى اي اساس يحدد المبلغ الذي

تدفعون ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ على اساس عدد الاعضاء

\_\_\_\_\_ او رسم محدود معين

\_\_\_\_\_ تبرع طوعي او (اختياري)

\_\_\_\_\_ او اي اساس آخر

٤ - الهيكل النقابي : والآن اود ان اسألك بعض الاسئلة عن نقابتكم ونوع العمال  
المنتسبين اليها .

٢٢ - حسب ميثاقكم ، اي نوع من العمال الذين يحق لهم الانضمام الى  
نقابتكم : العمال اصحاب ذات الحرفة او المهنة ، او الذين يشتغلون  
لمنظمة صناعية/عينية ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ المهنة او الحرفة

\_\_\_\_\_ الصناعة

\_\_\_\_\_ كلاهما

٢٣ - هل هناك نقابة اخرى تسمى الى تنظيم نفس نوع العمل ، مثلا ،  
هل هناك نقابة في اتحاد منافس يضم نفس نوع العمال الذين في  
نقابتكم ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ نعم

\_\_\_\_\_ لا

٢٤ - اذا كان الجواب ايجابا ، هل تجابهون صعوبة مع تلك النقابة فيما  
يختص بتنظيم عمال جدد ؟ وهل تحاول تلك النقابة ان تسحب  
اعضاء منكم ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ نعم

\_\_\_\_\_ لا

٢٥ - اذا كان الجواب ايجابا ، ماذا تفعلون تجاه هذه المشكلة ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ أ تجربون المهادنة

\_\_\_\_\_ أ تستعينون بالاتحاد

\_\_\_\_\_ هل استعملتم القوة من نوع ما ، كالاضراب او التهديد

او غير ذلك ...

٢٦ - هل تضم نقابتكم من المستخدمين او العمال او من كليهما ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ المستخدمين فقط

\_\_\_\_\_ العمال فقط

\_\_\_\_\_ كليهما

٢٧ - اذا كانت تضم مستخدمين وعمالا معا ، ما هي النسبة المئوية

تقريبا لكلتا الفئتين من مجموع الاعضاء ؟ وبعبارة اخرى ، كم هو

عدد الاعضاء في نقابتكم من المستخدمين النير اليدويين ، وكم

هو عدد العمال اليدويين ؟

النسبة المئوية

العدد

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

مستخدمين

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

عمال

٢٨ - هل تضم نقابتكم اعضاء من النساء ؟

نعم \_\_\_\_\_

لا \_\_\_\_\_

٢٩ - اذا كان الجواب ايجابا ، فكم هو عدد النساء في نقابتكم تقريبا ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ العدد

\_\_\_\_\_ النسبة المئوية

٣٠ - ما هو موقفكم تجاه اشتراك المرأة في نقابات العمال ؟

٥ - ادارة النقابة : والآن احب ان اسألك عن ادارة نوابتكم والطريقة التي تدار بها شؤونها .

٣١ - كيف تعملون على تنظيم اعضاء جدد ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ تنتظرون الاعضاء الجدد ان ينضموا دون ان تقوموا بأى عمل من جانبكم .

\_\_\_\_\_ تتكلمون على اعضاء النقابة بجذبون الذين يعملون في نفس الحرفة او المهنة الذين ليسوا اعضاء بعد .

\_\_\_\_\_ ترسلون مندوبين خاصين للتحدث الى الافراد والجماعات من العمال ليحاولوا اتناعهم لينضموا الى النقابة .

٣٢ - هل تقومون بأى برامج تعليمية ، او دعاية او اعلان ، لاقناع العمال بقيمة عضوية النقابة ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ نعم

\_\_\_\_\_ لا

ان نعم ، فماذا تفعلون مثلا ؟

٣٣ - ما هي المشاكل التي تواجهون في محاولتكم لضم الاعضاء ؟

٣٤ - بين البعض المشاكل التالية . فكيف تصنفونها ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ لا يفهم العمال اعداد النقابة

\_\_\_\_\_ يخاف العمال من اصحاب الاعمال

\_\_\_\_\_ ليس عند العمال مال لدفع اشتراكاتهم

٣٥ - ما هو مبلغ الاشتراك المفروض على كل عضو ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ شهريا

٣٦ - هل تواجهون اية صعوبات في جمع الاشتراكات من الاعضاء ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ نعم

\_\_\_\_\_ لا

٣٧ - ما هي مصادر الاموال التي تعتمدون عليها في تمويل نقابتكم

ونشاطها ؟

النسبة المئوية :

\_\_\_\_\_ اشتراكات الاعضاء

\_\_\_\_\_ تبرعات اخرى (عين)

٣٨ - على اية بنود تصرف الاموال ؟ (السائل : اقرأ الابواب التالية )

\_\_\_\_\_ تنظيم عمال جدد

\_\_\_\_\_ مساعدات للعمال (مثلا : دفع تكاليف الجنازات ، مساعدات

بطالة ، الخ .)

\_\_\_\_\_ مصاريف ادارية في مركز النقابة

\_\_\_\_\_ مساعدات وقت الاضراب

\_\_\_\_\_ رسوم انضمام الى الاتحادات

\_\_\_\_\_ تبرعات خيرية

\_\_\_\_\_ مصاريف قضائية

\_\_\_\_\_ تعليم

\_\_\_\_\_ مصاريف سياسية  
\_\_\_\_\_ ابواب اخرى (عين)

٣٩ - اى باب من الابواب السابقة يستهلك اكبر قسط من المصاريف من  
جانبيكم ؟

- \_\_\_\_\_ ٠ ١  
\_\_\_\_\_ ٠ ٢  
\_\_\_\_\_ ٠ ٣

٤٠ - كيف تموضون عن المال الذى يخسره اعضاؤكم عندما تضربون ؟  
\_\_\_\_\_ تطالبون صاحب العمل ان يدفع وانتم مضربون كجزء من  
مطالب الاضراب .

- \_\_\_\_\_ تدفعون مساعدات عن الاضراب من خزينة النقابة .  
\_\_\_\_\_ تتركون اعضاءكم ان يهتموا بأمورهم خلال الاضراب .  
\_\_\_\_\_ تتبعون اية طريقة اخرى (عين) .

٤١ - فى ادارة شؤون النقابة ، من من الهيئات التالية تحدد عادة خطة  
العمل ؟ (السائل : اتراً الابواب) :

- \_\_\_\_\_ اعضاء هيئة النقابة  
\_\_\_\_\_ المجلس الاستشارى  
\_\_\_\_\_ الاعضاء العامون فى الاجتماعات النمامية

٤٢ - هل تمثل نقابتكم عمالا فى اكثر من مكان عمل واحد ؟



نعم \_\_\_\_\_

لا \_\_\_\_\_

٤٣ - ان نعم ، هل لديكم شخصا او وكيلًا نقايًا معينًا ليمثل النقابة  
في كل من امكنة العمل هذه ؟

نعم \_\_\_\_\_

لا \_\_\_\_\_

٤٤ - ان نعم ، ما عي وليفته ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ يجمع الاشتراكات .

\_\_\_\_\_ يعالج تدمرات الاعضاء وشكاواهم ضد ادارة العمل .

\_\_\_\_\_ يهتم بالعمل على تنفيذ الاتفاق مع الادارة .

\_\_\_\_\_ يضم العمال المستخدمين جديدا الى النقابة .

\_\_\_\_\_ امور اخرى (عين) :

٤٥ - ما مبلغ الحماس والاهتمام اللذين تجدهما بين اعضاء النقابة العاميين ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ حماسا بالنا

\_\_\_\_\_ معتدلا

\_\_\_\_\_ قليلا

\_\_\_\_\_ لا شيء

٤٦ - ما رأيك بمواظبة الاعضاء على حضور اجتماعات النقابة واشتراكهم في

نشاطها وبرامجها ؟ (السائل : اقرأ الانواع وعدد المرات .)

اجتماعات الاجتماعات الانتخابية	اجتماعات الاجتماعات الاجتماعية	اجتماعات الاجتماعات الدائمة	اجتماعات الاجتماعات الاجتماعية
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

كلها تقريباً

معظمها

نصفها تقريباً

قليلاً منها

عدم حضورها تقريباً

٤٧ - ما هي النسبة المئوية من اعضاء نقابتكم التي تشترن اشتراكاً فعلياً في شؤون النقابة ؟  
\_\_\_\_\_ بالمئة

٤٨ - هل تقوم في نقابتكم مشاكل مع الاعضاء تتعلق بالانضباط ، كخرن انظمة النقابة والاغلاق بالولاء ؟  
\_\_\_\_\_ نعم  
\_\_\_\_\_ لا

٤٩ - ان نعم ، هل تتخذون اجراءات معينة او جلسات تأديبية تمكّنون المتهم فيها من ان يدافع عن نفسه ؟  
\_\_\_\_\_ نعم  
\_\_\_\_\_ لا

٥٠ - ما انواع العقوبات التي تفرضونها في مثل هذه المظلفات ؟  
\_\_\_\_\_ غرامات

\_\_\_\_\_ توقيف عن العضوية او عن عضوية الهيئة في حال كون المخالف عضواً فيها  
\_\_\_\_\_ الحرمان من اى منصب  
\_\_\_\_\_ الطرد من العضوية  
\_\_\_\_\_ الانذار

\_\_\_\_\_ لا تفرض عقوبات  
\_\_\_\_\_ غير ذلك (عين)

٥١ - ما هي الصفات او بعضها في رأيك التي تميز القائد النقابي  
المفضل :

٥٢ - بين البص الصفات التالية التي يجب ان يتحلّى بها القائد النقابي .  
فهل تعتبرونها هامة جدا او هامة نوعا ما او غير هامة ؟  
(السائل : اقرأ الاقتراحات التالية) :

هامة جدا هامة غير هامة

\_\_\_\_\_ يتميز بتأييده لحركة العمال ويساند قضايهم .

\_\_\_\_\_ يتحدّى الادارة .

\_\_\_\_\_ لا يشي لصاحب العمل باى عامل آخر .

\_\_\_\_\_ يلتزم قرار الاكثية .

\_\_\_\_\_ لا يجرّ خلافات النقابة الداخلية الى الجمهور .

\_\_\_\_\_ يحتفظ بشؤون النقابة عن الادارة .

\_\_\_\_\_ يحل الخلافات والمنازعات بين العمال ضمن النقابة .

\_\_\_\_\_ يبذل كل جهد في سبيل تنظيم العمال الغير منظمين .

\_\_\_\_\_ يشترك في الشؤون الاهلية والمدنية .

\_\_\_\_\_ ذو نفوذ وعلانات سياسية .

- ٦ - الاعداف والمهام : اود الآن ان اسأل عن اعداف نقابتكم والوسائل التي تتخذونها لتحقيق ذلك .
- ٥٣ - في رأيكم كقائد عمالي ، ما هي الاهداف الرئيسية لحركة العمال ؟

- ٥٤ - ذكر بعض القادة العماليين الآخريين الاهداف التالية ، فكيف تصنفونها ؟
- \_\_\_\_\_ تحسين الاجور ، والساعات ، وظروف العمل .
- \_\_\_\_\_ مراقبة فرص العمل اى اكتساب صوت للعمال في قرارات الادارة التي تؤثر في القوة العاطمة .
- \_\_\_\_\_ تحسين وضع العمال في مكان العمل وفي المجتمع .
- ٥٥ - بأى الوسائل يمكن هذه الاهداف ان تتفد تنفيذاً فعّالاً في بلد كلبنان ؟

- ٥٦ - ذكر بعض قادة العمال الوسائل التالية ، فكيف تصنفونها ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ المساومة الجماعية

\_\_\_\_\_ الاضراب

\_\_\_\_\_ العمل السياسي

- ٥٧ - هل تقوم نقابتكم بالنشاطات التالية ني سبيل اعضاءها ؟  
\_\_\_\_\_ هل عندها برامج تعليمية لتدريب الاعضاء واطباء عميئة  
الادارة على شؤون النقابة ؟  
\_\_\_\_\_ هل عندها برامج تعليمية ذات صفة عامة ؟  
\_\_\_\_\_ هل لها نشاط اجتماعي ؟  
\_\_\_\_\_ هل تشترك في امور المجتمع والشؤون المدنية : ( حملات  
للسلامة والامن ، احتفالات عيد الاستقلال ، حملات لجمع  
المال ، الخ ، الخ )
- ٥٨ - ما هو الموقف الذي تتخذه نقابتكم تجاه التطور الفني ( التكني )  
كاستعمال الآلات الجديدة لتوفير العمل والتي قد تؤدي الى  
تعطيل العمل عن العمل ؟  
\_\_\_\_\_ تقاومها كلياً  
\_\_\_\_\_ تتعاون كلياً  
\_\_\_\_\_ تتعاون في وضع آلات كهذه اذا جرب صاحب العمل  
مخلصاً ان يوفر اعمالاً اخرى للعمل الممزولين  
\_\_\_\_\_ لا حول لها ولا قوة في ان تعمل شيئاً بهذا الصدد
- ٥٩ - ان قانون العمل يضمن لكم الحق في تنظيم نقابة . ولكن بالاضافة  
الى هذا الضمان هل عندكم اى ترتيب مسبق او اتفاق كتابي مع  
اصحاب العمل للاعتراف بوجود النقابة وبحقوقها ؟  
\_\_\_\_\_ نعم  
\_\_\_\_\_ لا
- ٦٠ - ان كان الجواب نفياً ، فهل ترون من الخير ان يكون لديكم اتفاق  
كهذا وهل تحاولون ان تحصلوا على اتفاق كهذا ان ظننتم ان  
في استطاعتكم ذلك ؟  
\_\_\_\_\_ نعم  
\_\_\_\_\_ لا

==== ولماذا ؟

٦١ - هل لديكم اى نوع من الاتفاقات مع اصحاب الاعمال فيما يتعلق بالامور التالية :

\_\_\_\_\_ حقوق التقديمية

\_\_\_\_\_ حجم زمر العمل

\_\_\_\_\_ حماية حقوق الحامل في عمله

\_\_\_\_\_ اية انظمة او قوانين اخرى معدة لحماية العامل في عمله

٦٢ - في حالة النزاع او التذمرات بين عضو النقابة وصاحب العمل فما هي الاجراءات الاكثر فعالية في اعتقادكم في سبيل تسوية ذلك ؟

\_\_\_\_\_ الاضراب

\_\_\_\_\_ الوساطة من قبل فريق محايد ، كمكتب العمل او الشؤون

\_\_\_\_\_ الاجتماعية

\_\_\_\_\_ التوفيق من قبل فريق محايد

\_\_\_\_\_ التحكيم

\_\_\_\_\_ المساومة الجماعية

٦٣ - كيف تسيرون نقابتكم مع اصحاب الاعمال ؟ هل ترون بان العلاقات بين

النقابة والادارة كانت :

\_\_\_\_\_ سيئة

\_\_\_\_\_ مستدلة

\_\_\_\_\_ حسنة

٧ - اسئلة عامة : اخيرا اود ان اوجه بخص الاسئلة عن المشاكل التي تواجهها

نقابتكم في القيام بنشاطاتها .

٦٤ - هل تعتقدون بان في تأليف حزب عمال سياسي كجبهة عمالية منظمة ،  
كما اقترح مؤخرا ، تخدم اهداف العمال ومصالحهم خدمة افضل في  
لبنان ؟

نعم \_\_\_\_\_

لا \_\_\_\_\_

لماذا ؟ =====

٦٥ - من خلال خبرتكم كقائد نقابي ، ما هي المشاكل وال عراقيل التي  
واجهتم ؟

٦٦ - ذكر غيركم المشاكل التالية ، فكيف تصنفونها ؟ (السائل : اقرأ الابواب  
التالية ) :

معارضة الادارة \_\_\_\_\_

عدم تأييد الحكومة \_\_\_\_\_

عدم عطف الرأي العام \_\_\_\_\_

قوة عمالية امية او فائدة الشعور \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ عدم وجود قيادة فعّالة

٦٧ - ماذا تعتقدون بان على الحكومة ان تعمل من اجل نقابات

العمال ؟



DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY  
AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

A STUDY OF LABOR UNIONS IN LEBANON

QUESTIONNAIRE

- I. BACKGROUND DATA. Before asking you any specific questions pertaining to your union, I would like to get some information about yourself.
1. a. Name of Union: \_\_\_\_\_  
b. Position of respondent in union: \_\_\_\_\_
  2. Age of respondent.  
\_\_\_\_\_ years.
  3. Religion.  
\_\_\_\_\_
  4. Educational certificates attained.  
\_\_\_\_\_ None.  
\_\_\_\_\_ Elementary.  
\_\_\_\_\_ Secondary.  
\_\_\_\_\_ Technical or vocational.  
\_\_\_\_\_ College or university.
  5. Name some of the jobs you held before you became a union officer.

6. How did you become a union officer?

7. Why did you decide to become a union officer?

8. How long have you been a union officer?

\_\_\_\_\_ years.

9. Do you work at union affairs full-time or part-time?

\_\_\_\_\_ Full-time

\_\_\_\_\_ Part-time

10. Have you had any opportunities to study, observe, or get acquainted with labor union movements outside Lebanon?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes.

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

11. If yes, of what opportunities were you able to take advantage?

\_\_\_\_\_ Formal trade union training under the auspices of a federation or an international confederation or organization such as the ICFTU, the WFTU, or the ILO.

\_\_\_\_\_ Informal training under the auspices of any of the above.

\_\_\_\_\_ Personal study or readings.

12. Are you familiar with any books or literature pertaining to labor unions?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes.

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

13. If yes, can you tell me the name of the last book, pamphlet, or article you read?
- 

II. HISTORY OF THE UNION

14. Could you tell me something about the history of your union, such as when it was founded, by whom, and why?

When?

By Whom?

Why?

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE UNION. I would now like to ask you some questions about the way your union is organized.

15. How is your union organized? Do you have local organizations in each place of work, or do all your members belong directly to one central organization?

\_\_\_\_\_ Have locals.

\_\_\_\_\_ One central organization.

16. Are you affiliated to any of the national or international labor federations?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes.

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

/INTERVIEWER: IF ANSWER TO QUESTION 16 IS NO, SKIP TO SECTION IV,  
QUESTION 22/

17. If yes, with what national or international federations are you affiliated?

National

International

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

18. If you are affiliated with a national federation, does your union or the federation formulate policy decisions concerning wages, strikes, working conditions, and grievances?

Union

Federation

Wages

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Strikes

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Working  
Conditions

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Grievances

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

19. What services does the federation provide to your union?

/INTERVIEWER: READ THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS/

\_\_\_\_\_ Does it exert control over the kind of workers that are to be included in your union?

\_\_\_\_\_ In case you have difficulties with another union, does it mediate between you and the other union?

\_\_\_\_\_ Does it help to organize new members?

\_\_\_\_\_ Does it assist in dealing with the government, by urging the passage of laws you favor or by presenting demands to the government on your behalf?

\_\_\_\_\_ Does it provide legal aid or carry on research for you in economic matters?

\_\_\_\_\_ Does it present the viewpoint of the labor movement to the public?

\_\_\_\_\_ Does it provide any other services? Specify:

20. In return for such services, does your union pay any dues to the federation?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes.

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

21. If yes, on what basis is the amount you pay determined?

\_\_\_\_\_ Per capita.

\_\_\_\_\_ Set fee.

\_\_\_\_\_ Voluntary contribution.

\_\_\_\_\_ Other.

IV. STRUCTURE. Now, I would like to ask you a few questions about your union and the kind of workers which belong to it.

22. According to your charter, what kind of workers are entitled to join your union: workers possessing the same craft or trade, or those working for the same industrial organization?

\_\_\_\_\_ Craft or trade.

\_\_\_\_\_ Industry.

\_\_\_\_\_ Both.

23. Is there any other union that seeks to organize the same kind of workers? For example, is there a union in a rival federation that includes the same kind of workers as your union?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes.

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

24. If yes, do you ever have any difficulty with this union in regard to organizing new workers? Does it ever try to take members away from you?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes.

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

25. If yes, how do you go about meeting this problem?

\_\_\_\_\_ Try to compromise.

\_\_\_\_\_ Seek help of federation.

\_\_\_\_\_ Have you ever used force of any kind, such as strikes, threats, etc.

26. Is your union composed of employees or workers or both?

\_\_\_\_\_ Employees only.

\_\_\_\_\_ Workers only.

\_\_\_\_\_ Both.

27. If it contains both employees and workers, what percentage of your total membership, would you estimate, belongs to each category? In other words, how many of your members are non-manual employees and how many are manual workers?

	Number	Percentage
Employees	_____	_____
Workers	_____	_____

28. Does your union contain any women members?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes.

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

29. If yes, about how many women members do you have?

\_\_\_\_\_ Number.

\_\_\_\_\_ Percentage.

30. What is your attitude toward the participation of women in labor unions?

V. ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNION. Now I would like to ask you about the administration of your union and the way you conduct its affairs.

31. How do you go about organizing new members?

\_\_\_\_\_ Wait for new members to join without taking any action to recruit them.

\_\_\_\_\_ Depend on union members to attract other non-members working in the same craft or industry.

\_\_\_\_\_ Send special representatives to talk to individuals and groups of workers to try to convince them to join the union.

32. Do you carry on any educational programs, propaganda, or publicity designed to convince workers of the value of union membership?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes.

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

Probe: If yes, what, for example, do you do?

33. What problems do you encounter in your attempts to recruit members?

34. Others have identified the following problems. How would you rank them?

\_\_\_\_\_ Workers do not understand union objectives.

\_\_\_\_\_ Workers are afraid of the employers.

\_\_\_\_\_ The workers do not have the money to pay dues.

35. What is the amount of dues each member is supposed to pay?  
\_\_\_\_\_ per month.

36. Do you encounter any difficulties in collecting dues from members?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes.

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

37. What sources of funds do you depend upon for financing union activities?

Percentage

\_\_\_\_\_ Membership dues.

\_\_\_\_\_ Government subsidies.

\_\_\_\_\_ Other sources (Specify).

38. On what items is this money spent? /INTERVIEWER: READ FOLLOWING CATEGORIES./

\_\_\_\_\_ Organizing new workers.

\_\_\_\_\_ Benefits to members, (e.g., paying funeral expenses, unemployment benefits, etc.)

\_\_\_\_\_ Administrative expenses in union headquarters.

\_\_\_\_\_ Strike benefits.

\_\_\_\_\_ Affiliation fees to federations.

\_\_\_\_\_ Donations to charities.

\_\_\_\_\_ Legal expenses.

\_\_\_\_\_ Education.

\_\_\_\_\_ Political.

\_\_\_\_\_ Others (Identify).



39. Which of the preceding items involve the heaviest expenditures on your part?

1. \_\_\_\_\_

2. \_\_\_\_\_

3. \_\_\_\_\_

40. How do you compensate for money your members lose if you go on strike?

\_\_\_\_\_ Demand pay from employer while on strike as part of strike demands.

\_\_\_\_\_ Pay strike benefits from the union treasury.

\_\_\_\_\_ Let your members take care of themselves during a strike.

\_\_\_\_\_ Others (Specify).

41. In administering the affairs of the union, which of the following bodies usually determine your line of action? /INTERVIEWER: READ CATEGORIES./

\_\_\_\_\_ Officers of the union.

\_\_\_\_\_ Advisory board.

\_\_\_\_\_ Rank and file members through the regular meeting.

42. Does your union represent workers in more than one workplace?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes.

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

43. If yes, do you have a person or steward appointed to represent the union in each of these workplaces?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes.

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

44. If yes, what are his duties?

- \_\_\_\_\_ Collect dues.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Handle grievances and complaints of members against management.
- \_\_\_\_\_ See that the agreement with management is carried out.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Recruit newly hired workers into the union.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Others (Specify).

45. How much enthusiasm and interest do you find among the members of the rank and file of the union?

- \_\_\_\_\_ Too much enthusiasm.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Average.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Little.
- \_\_\_\_\_ None at all.

46. How about attendance and participation of members in union activities, meeting, and programs? /INTERVIEWER: READ CATEGORIES AND FREQUENCIES./

	<u>Regular Meetings</u>	<u>Social Meetings</u>	<u>Election Meetings</u>	<u>Strike Meetings</u>
Almost all	_____	_____	_____	_____
Most	_____	_____	_____	_____
About half	_____	_____	_____	_____
Little	_____	_____	_____	_____
Almost none	_____	_____	_____	_____

47. Generally speaking, what percentage of your union members do you think are active participants in union affairs?

\_\_\_\_\_ Per cent.

48. Do problems with members of a disciplinary nature arise in your union, such as violations of union rules and breaches of loyalty?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes.

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

49. If yes, do you have any specific proceedings or hearing in which the accused is able to defend himself?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes.

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

50. What kinds of penalties can you impose for such violations?

\_\_\_\_\_ Fines.

\_\_\_\_\_ Suspensions from membership or from office in the case of officers.

\_\_\_\_\_ Disqualification from holding office.

\_\_\_\_\_ Expulsion from membership.

\_\_\_\_\_ Warnings.

\_\_\_\_\_ Do not impose any penalties.

\_\_\_\_\_ Others (Specify).

51. In your opinion, what are some of the qualities which mark or identify a good union leader?

52. Some others have identified the following characteristics of good union leaders. Would you consider them to be very important, somewhat important, or unimportant? /INTERVIEWER: READ THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS./

Very Important	Important	Unimportant	
_____	_____	_____	Identifies with and supports the cause of the labor movement.
_____	_____	_____	Defies management.
_____	_____	_____	Does not report another worker to the employer.
_____	_____	_____	Abides by majority decision.
_____	_____	_____	Does not carry internal union disputes to the public.
_____	_____	_____	Keeps union affairs from management.
_____	_____	_____	Settles disputes and grievances between members within the union.
_____	_____	_____	Exerts every effort to organize the unorganized workers.
_____	_____	_____	Participates in civic affairs.
_____	_____	_____	Has political influence and connections.

VI. GOALS AND FUNCTIONS. Now I would like to ask you about the goals of your union and the means you use to realize them.

53. In your opinion as a labor leader, what are the main goals of the labor movement?

54. Some other labor leaders have mentioned the following goals.  
How would you rank them?

\_\_\_\_\_ Improving wages, hours, and working conditions.

\_\_\_\_\_ Control of job opportunities, i.e., gaining some voice for the worker in management decisions affecting the laboring force.

\_\_\_\_\_ Increasing the status of workers in the workplace and in the community.

55. Through what means could these goals be most effectively accomplished in a country like Lebanon?

56. Some other labor leaders have mentioned the following means.  
How would you rank them?

\_\_\_\_\_ Collective bargaining.

\_\_\_\_\_ Strikes.

\_\_\_\_\_ Political action.

57. Does your union conduct any of the following activities for its members? /INTERVIEWER: READ THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS./

\_\_\_\_\_ Does it have educational programs to train officers and members in union affairs?

\_\_\_\_\_ Does it have educational programs of a general nature?

\_\_\_\_\_ Does it have social activities?

\_\_\_\_\_ Does it participate in civic and community affairs (safety campaigns, independence day celebrations, fund drives, etc.)

58. What attitude does your union take towards technological change, such as the introduction of new labor saving machinery that may put your members out of work?

\_\_\_\_\_ Resist it completely.

\_\_\_\_\_ Cooperate completely.

\_\_\_\_\_ Cooperate in installing such machinery if the employer tries to provide other jobs for displaced workers.

\_\_\_\_\_ Have no opportunity or power to do anything about it.

59. The Labor Code guarantees you the right to organize a union. But in addition to this guarantee, do you have any systematic arrangement or written agreement with employers to recognize the existence and rights of the union?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes.

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

60. If no, would you consider it a good thing to have such an agreement and would you try to get one if you thought you could?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes.

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

Probe: Why?

61. Do you have any kind of agreement with your employers concerning any of the following:

\_\_\_\_\_ Seniority rights.

\_\_\_\_\_ Size of work crews.

\_\_\_\_\_ Protection of a worker's rights to his job.

\_\_\_\_\_ Any other rules or regulations designed to protect the worker in his job.

62. In cases of disputes or grievances between the union and the employer, which of the following procedures do you think are most effective in settling them?

\_\_\_\_\_ Strikes.

\_\_\_\_\_ Mediation by neutral party, such as Bureau of Labor and Social Affairs.

\_\_\_\_\_ Reconciliation by a neutral party.

\_\_\_\_\_ Arbitration.

\_\_\_\_\_ Collective Bargaining.

63. How well does your union get along with employers? Would you say relations between the union and management were:

\_\_\_\_\_ Bad.

\_\_\_\_\_ Fair.

\_\_\_\_\_ Good.

VII. GENERAL. Finally, I would like to ask you a few questions about the problems your union faces in carrying out its activities.

64. Do you think that through the formation of a political labor party as an organized labor front, as has been suggested recently, the goals and interests of labor will be better served in Lebanon?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes.

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

Probe: Why?

65. In your experience as a labor leader, what problems and obstacles have you encountered?

66. Others have mentioned these problems. How would you rank them?  
/INTERVIEWER: READ THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES./

\_\_\_\_\_ Management opposition.

\_\_\_\_\_ Absence of government support.

\_\_\_\_\_ Unsympathetic public opinion.

\_\_\_\_\_ Illiterate or apathetic labor force.

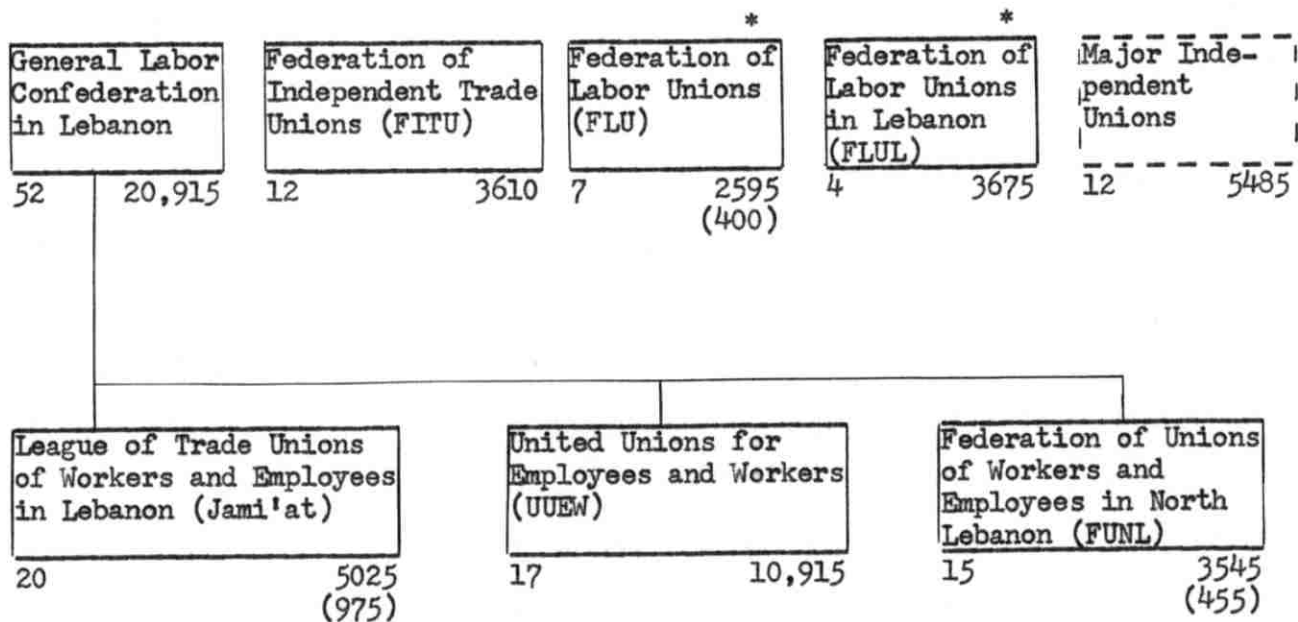
\_\_\_\_\_ Lack of effective leaders.

67. What do you think the government ought to do for labor unions?



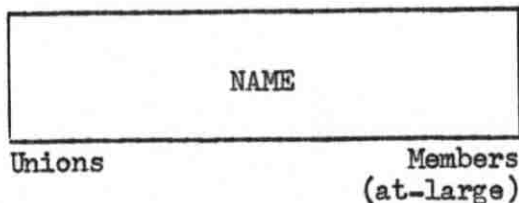
APPENDIX 5: ORGANIZATIONAL CHARTS OF LEBANESE LABOR UNIONS

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART: LABOR FEDERATIONS IN LEBANON

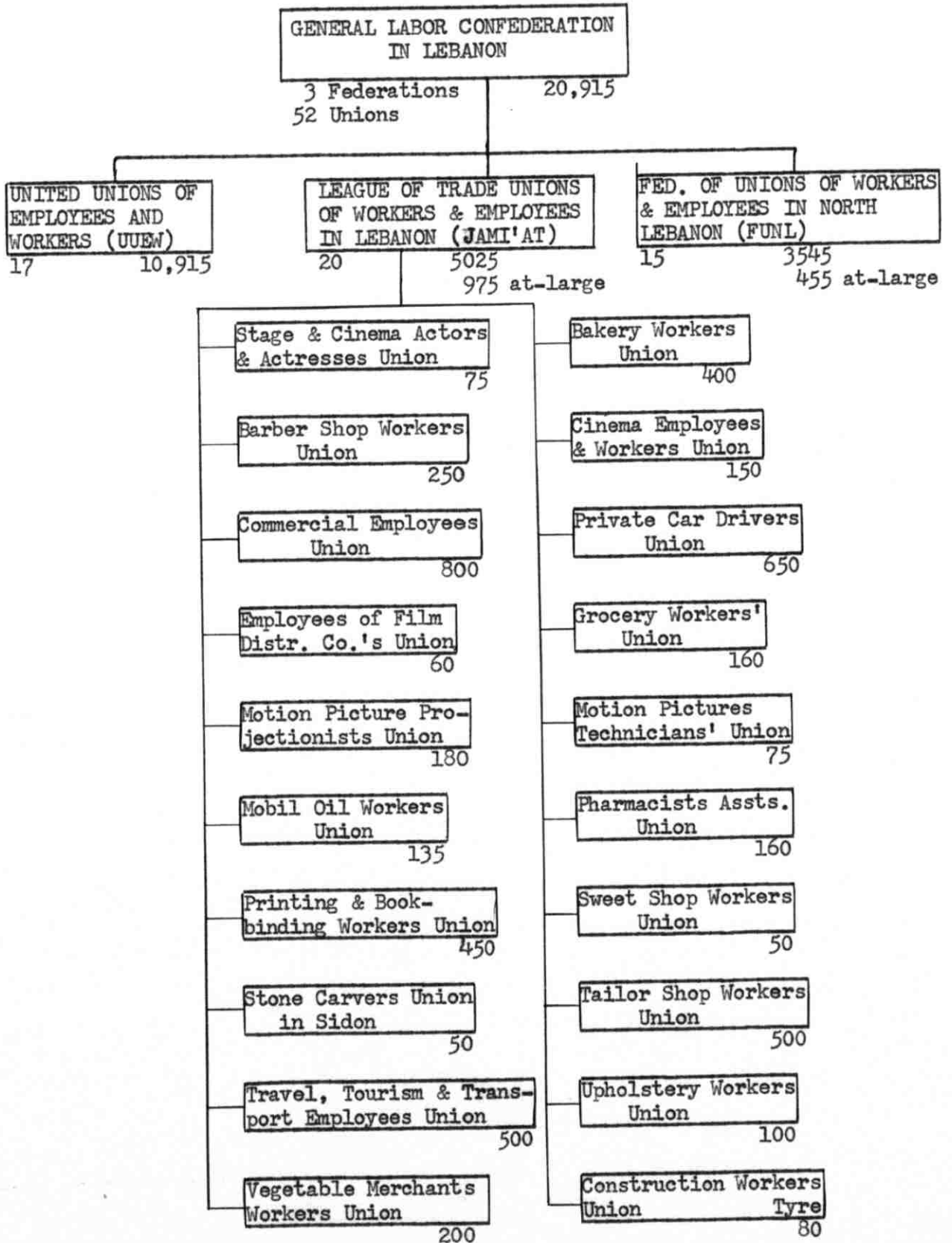


\*Not legally recognized as Federations

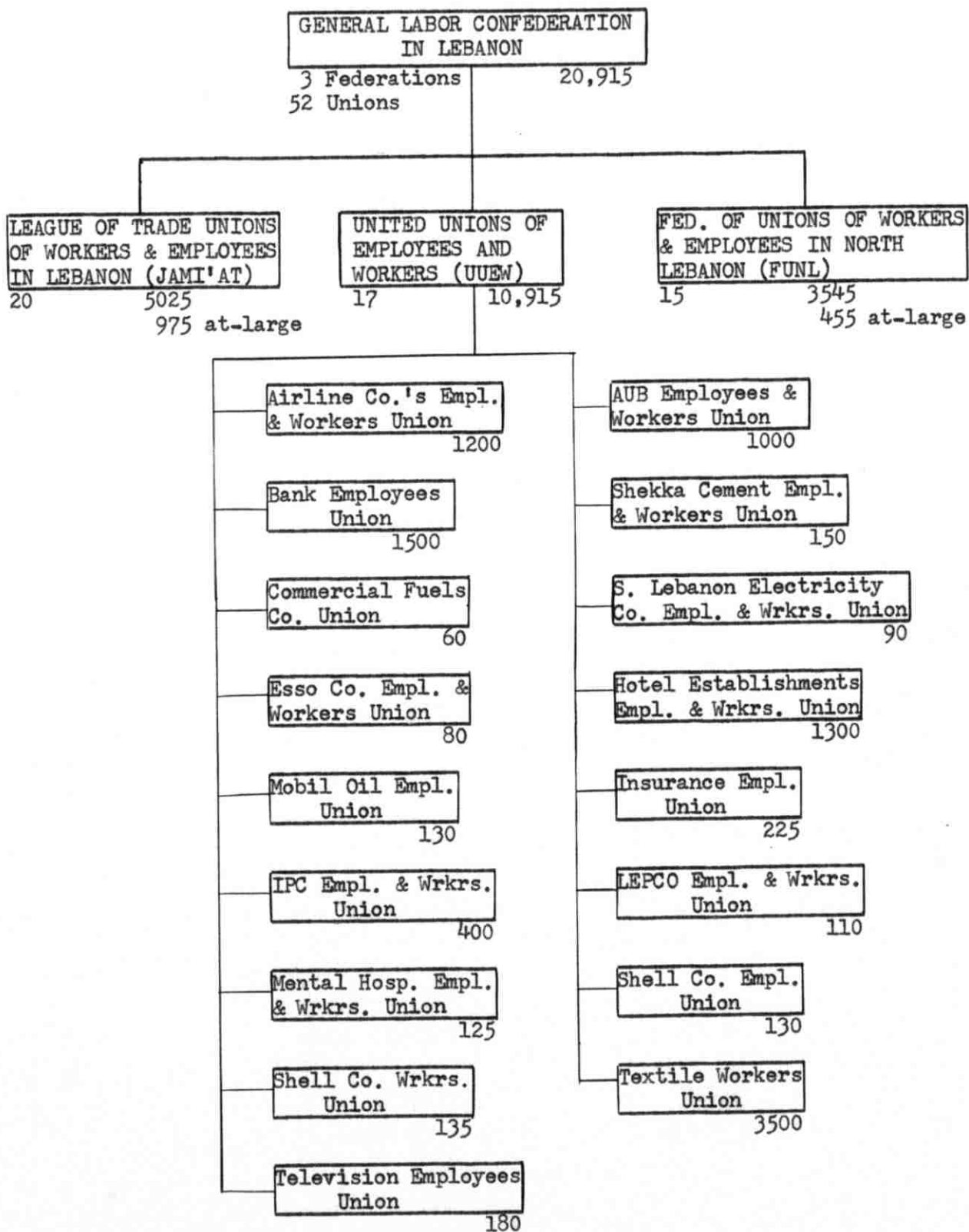
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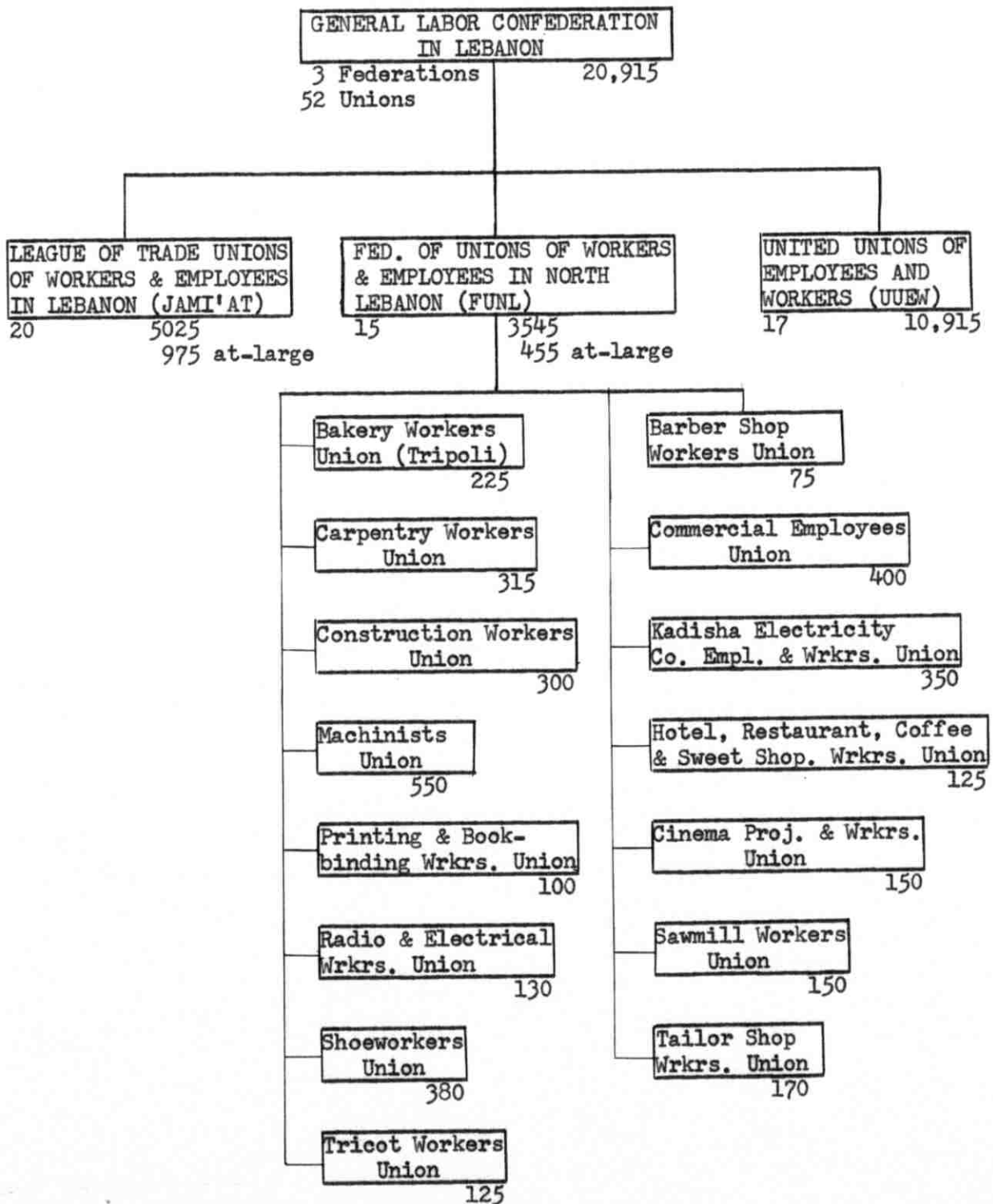
ORGANIZATIONAL CHART: LEAGUE OF TRADE UNIONS OF WORKERS & EMPLOYEES IN LEBANON (JAMI'AT)



ORGANIZATIONAL CHART: UNITED UNIONS OF EMPLOYEES AND WORKERS (UUEW)

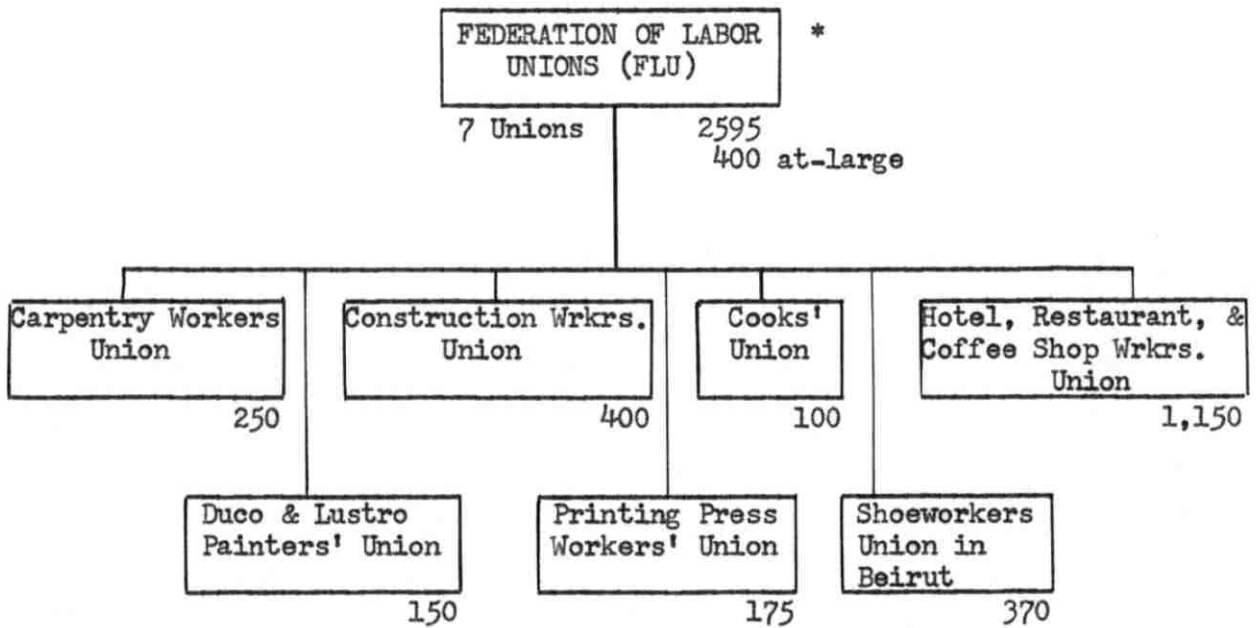


ORGANIZATIONAL CHART: FEDERATION OF UNIONS OF WORKERS & EMPLOYEES IN NORTH LEBANON (FUNL)



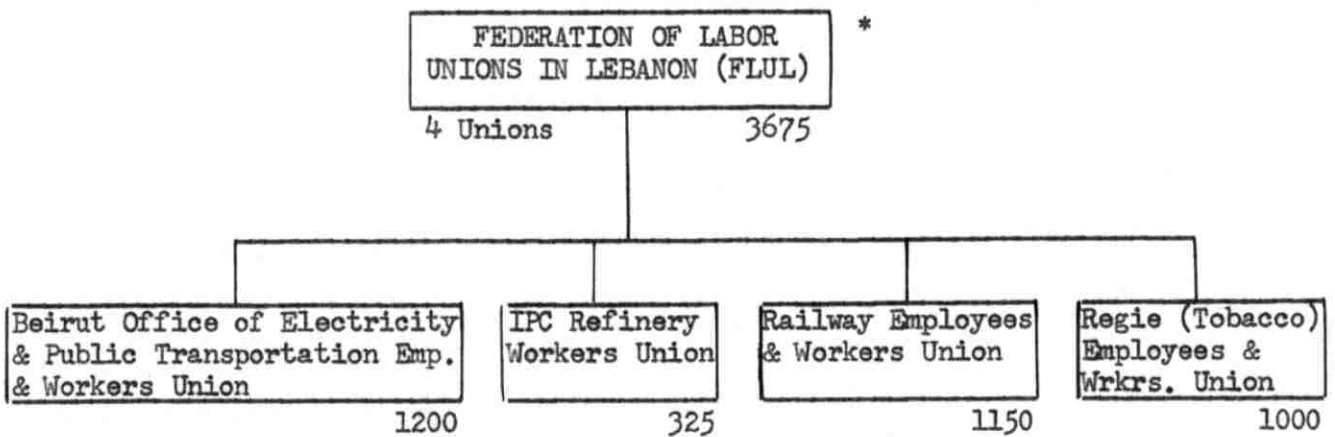


ORGANIZATIONAL CHART: FEDERATION OF LABOR UNIONS (FLU)



\* Not legally recognized as a federation.  
Application submitted 1958

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART: FEDERATION OF LABOR UNIONS IN LEBANON (FLUL)



\*Not legally recognized; formed 1962 by former affiliates of UUEW.

UNAFFILIATED UNIONS IN LEBANON

<u>Name of Union</u>	<u>Membership</u>
Actors and Actresses in the North	75
Hotel Dieu Hospital Workers' Union	200
Port Company Employees' and Workers' Union	1050
Tannery Workers' Union (Mashghara)	125
Drivers' (Sā'iqūn) and Owners of Taxi Cars' Union (Beirut)	600
Taxi Owners' and Drivers' (Sawwāqūn) Union (Beirut)	1000
Taxi Owners' and Drivers' Union of the <u>Biqā'</u>	300
Taxi Owners' and Drivers' Union (Mount Lebanon)	600
Taxi Owners' and Drivers' Union of Tripoli	245
Teachers' Union	1200
Wireless Employees' Union	50
Tailor Workers' Union (Sidon)	40
TOTAL	<u>5485</u>



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