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**AN ANALYSIS OF MILITARY UNIONIZATION IN
AUSTRIA, DENMARK, AND SWEDEN**

Joseph P. Mockaitis, et al

**Air Force Institute of Technology
Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio**

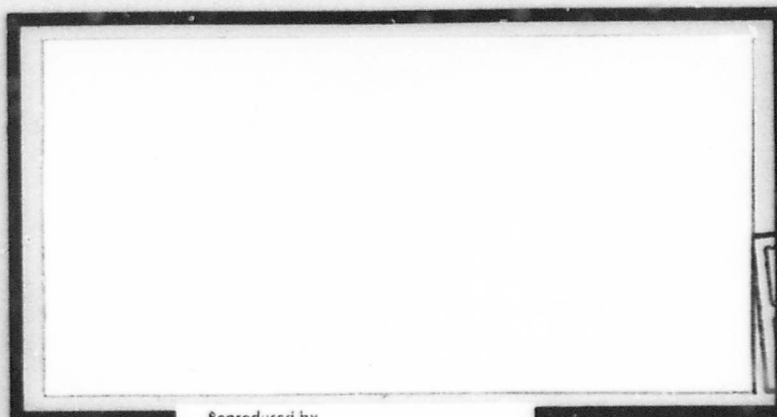
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Military Labor Unions	Military Unions		
Austrian military	Servicemen's Unions		
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**AN ANALYSIS OF MILITARY UNIONIZATION
IN AUSTRIA, DENMARK, AND SWEDEN**

A Thesis

**Presented to the Faculty of the School of Systems and Logistics
of the Air Force Institute of Technology
Air University**

**In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Science in Logistics Management**

By

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September 1972

**Approved for public release;
distribution unlimited**

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Captain Joseph P. Mockaitis

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and approved in an oral examination, has been accepted by the undersigned on behalf of the faculty of the School of Systems and Logistics in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN LOGISTICS MANAGEMENT

Date: 15 September 1972



Committee Chairman

PREFACE

The purpose of this thesis was not to advocate the formation of a military union in the Armed Forces of the United States, but rather to investigate foreign military unions to determine their advantages, disadvantages, and limitations.

The reader is cautioned about the difference in attitude and acceptance of unions as a way of life between the United States and the countries of Austria, Denmark, and Sweden. While conducting interviews, especially in the Swedish and Danish Embassies, one fact became increasingly clear to the authors, it was difficult to compare foreign labor unions and labor practices with their counterparts in the United States. In contrast to the U.S. industrial labor movement which is often characterized by misunderstanding and sometimes outright hostility towards management, foreign labor unions stress reasonableness and cooperation with their corresponding employer organizations at the national level. In Denmark and Sweden, for example, there appears to be a balance of power at the national level between the trade union confederation on the one hand and the employer confederation on the other. This balance of power is characterized by self-regulation, with government intervention only in time of crisis or national emergency. No such parallel exists here in the U.S.

Grateful appreciation is given to the personnel of the Austrian, Danish, and Swedish Embassies for their excellent support in the way of time and effort to provide us with books, pamphlets, articles, and interviews. Special thanks to our advisor Lt Colonel Quinn for his interest, confidence, patience, and guidance with this thesis topic. Also not to be forgotten is the help, patience, confidence, and endurance that Brigitte Mockaitis has shown during the past year. Her German translations were especially helpful in analyzing the military union of Austria. Last and definitely not least we wish to give a tremendous vote of thanks to our typist, Joyce A. Clark for her outstanding typing and cooperation. Her constant availability and her fast response in completing drafts and the final thesis were especially appreciated.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Problem Statement

During the 20th century, there has been a trend toward unionization of an ever increasing number of employees. In the United States, a new high of 19.4 million union members was reached in 1970. (9:22) This union growth has been most apparent in the public sector among school teachers, postal workers, federal, state, and city employees and in both blue-collar and white-collar fields. (9:26) The traditional boundary for union activity in the public sector has been the military. In recent years, however, even this boundary has been crossed in a number of foreign nations. Active military unions now exist in West Germany, Norway, Austria, Denmark, and Sweden. (14:8) With the prospects of an all volunteer armed force, military labor unions could well become a reality in the U.S. There currently exists in the U.S. an extreme shortage of available information concerning military unions. Specifically, little information is available concerning possible limitations that must be placed on military unions to maintain the necessary order and discipline for an effective armed

force. Also, little information is available on the advantages and disadvantages of military labor unions. This present lack of information could create serious problems for military managers should unions become a reality within the armed forces of the U. S.

Background

Three separate aspects of the organized labor movement point toward the future possibility of military labor unions in the United States. These aspects are of a historical, foreign, and legal nature. The historical trend of the labor movement has been toward unionization of an ever increasing number of employees. Foreign precedent for military unionization has been established by several European nations. Thirdly, legal right to form unions and engage in collective bargaining may be guaranteed by the Constitution. (11:584)

Organized labor in the private sector of the American economy can be traced from the seventeenth century to the present. The first labor movement occurred in 1636 when a group of fishermen, in what is now Maine, protested against their wages being withheld. However, this and other early labor movements were spontaneous incidents rather than continuing group efforts. (3:63) The first actual union, an organization of carpenters, was founded in Philadelphia in 1791. In 1794, two more unions were formed and several others came into being in the succeeding decades. These were trade unions, comprised of workers in a single occupation or closely related occupations. With

the advent of the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century, industrial unions (comprised of all classes of workers in a given industry) began to grow.

The organized labor movement further widened during the latter part of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century when union federations were formed. These federations were national in scope. With the passage of the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act in 1935, the right of employees to form unions and engage in collective bargaining was firmly established in the private sector of the U. S. economy. As a result of the Wagner Act and other favorable legislation, organized labor experienced its greatest gains during the last three decades. (5:691-694)

Organized labor in the public sector of the U. S. economy is of somewhat more recent origin. Until early in the twentieth century, federal employees were generally denied the right to form unions. However, a persistent campaign by the postal employees resulted in the passage of the Lloyd-La Follette Act by Congress in 1912. Although this act extended the right to form unions to only postal employees, its principles were made generally applicable to all federal workers. (6:459) The right of employees of the federal government to form unions and engage in collective bargaining was further clarified by Executive Order Number 10988 in 1962. Union growth in the public sector has been rapid during recent years. Membership has increased from approximately 1 million public employees in 1960 to

more than 2.3 million in 1972. (9:22)

Upon first thought and consideration, the logical boundary for union activity in the public sector would appear to be the military. Not only is order and discipline crucial to military operations, but to allow a member of the military to strike would defeat the main purpose of the military, which is to stand guard over the national interests. Foreign experience has indicated, however, that with certain limitations, unionization is compatible with military discipline. (11:589)

A military union has existed in Denmark since 1922. Military unions were established in Norway and West Germany in 1957 and 1958 respectively. Of more recent origin, military unions were formed in Sweden in 1965 and in Austria in 1967.

In addition to these foreign precedents, military unions could be allowed by Congress or by the Courts through interpretation of the Constitution. Under Section 8 of the U. S. Constitution, Congress has the power to make rules to govern the military forces. A logical extension of this power could be to create approval for military unions. Also, a recent court decision asserted that the right of public employees to organize is an aspect of the right of free speech guaranteed by the Constitution. This argument could be applied to the military since members of the military are also public employees.

(11:590)

Thus, historical, foreign, and legal developments point toward possible unionization of the U. S. military establishment. As a result

of these developments foreign military unions should be investigated to determine their organization, operation, problems, advantages, disadvantages, and limitations. To date few research efforts have been conducted along these lines. A research study by Ronald V. Grabler under the direction of James L. Quinn of the Air Force Institute of Technology, School of Systems and Logistics, analyzed the military unions of Norway and Germany. This study indicated that the Norwegian and German Unions have effectively bargained for wages as well as for other benefits such as insurance, disability payments, and pension plans. Foreign unions were also involved in raising the prestige of military careers. (48:44) The limitations placed on the German and Norwegian unions include the following: no right to strike, no control in combat operations, and no right to interfere with the operation of military justice. (48:46)

Daniel P. Sullivan published an article "Soldiers in Unions-- Protected First Amendment Right?", which addressed the legal aspects of a U. S. military union based on his study of foreign unions and court decisions in the U. S. Mr. Sullivan concluded that unionization of the military in the form of a unilateral, non-binding grievance procedure, used in restricted areas and kept within proper bounds, would appear to be permissible under recent practices and legal developments. (11:590) With this limited amount of material available to the military manager, additional studies and research are needed to narrow the present information gap.

This thesis will be an extension of the Grabler research in an effort to provide additional information concerning military unions.

Scope

This study was concerned with the present military unions of Austria, Denmark, and Sweden; the possibility of military unions in the U. S. armed forces; and the lack of available information for the military manager regarding these unions. For the purpose of this study, a labor union is defined as any organization of any kind, or any agency or employee representation committee or plan, in which employees participate and which exists for the purpose; in whole or part, of dealing with employers concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours of employment, or conditions of work.

(2:70)

The study was not to decide whether or not the U. S. should have unions in the military, but to make available to the military manager information that will increase his understanding and insight into military unions. This study was limited to an analysis of the operation and organization of the three foreign military unions mentioned above. The advantages and disadvantages of each military union are presented and discussed along with the limitations that presently exist in the foreign military unions studied.

Objectives

The objectives of this thesis were:

1. To analyze the organization and operation of foreign military unions in order to determine their advantages, disadvantages, and limitations.
2. To relate these findings to the current U. S. military establishment in order to provide the military manager with additional information concerning military unions.

Research Questions

The following research questions were addressed in this thesis:

1. What are the advantages and disadvantages of a military labor union to a military member?
2. What are the advantages and disadvantages of a military labor union to a military manager?
3. What limitations are imposed upon military unions?

Research Methodology

The basic approach of this study was to accumulate available information on the history, operation, and organization of the existing military labor unions of Austria, Denmark, and Sweden.

Nature and Sources of Data

The available information concerning military labor unions was gathered from several sources. Literature was obtained from the respective countries, their union representatives, and the respective embassies of each country. Periodical literature was used in lieu of books, since, to the authors' knowledge, no books have been published on the subject of military unions. Periodical literature from the period 1966 to 1972 was used to provide the most current view possible on military affairs in Austria, Denmark, Sweden, and the United States. An additional source of information was a parallel study of the military labor unions of West Germany and Norway, conducted by Ronald V. Grabler. His study provided a valuable bibliography and much related material.

Personal interviews of embassy personnel, representing the military and labor organizations of Austria, Denmark, and Sweden were conducted. The information from these interviews was used to clarify and enhance the information gained through review of available literature.

The following embassy personnel were interviewed: Danish Embassy--one field grade and one company grade officer (both union members), two non-commissioned officers (one union member and one non-union member), one civilian (Financial Secretary); Swedish Embassy--one field grade officer (union member), and one civilian

(Labor Attache); Austrian Embassy--one company grade officer (non-union member), and two non-commissioned officers (one union member and one non-union member).

A final source of information was booklets and pamphlets published by the Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. These publications provided explanation and information on the history, operation, and organization of the labor unions in Austria, Denmark, and Sweden.

Data Collection

To gain the information necessary to address the research questions, several methods of data collection were employed. These methods include the following: structured interviews, computer search of bibliographical files, library research, correspondence, and review of printed material received from both the U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the countries of Austria, Denmark, and Sweden.

Interview guides containing pertinent open ended questions were used during interviews with labor representatives and military personnel from the countries studied. Computer searches of bibliographical files were conducted by the Defense Documentation Center and the Defense Logistics Studies Information Exchange. Library research was conducted primarily in the Main Technical Library of the Air Force Institute of Technology, the Branch Library of the School of

Systems and Logistics, the Dayton Public Library, and the Wright State University Library. Copies of booklets and pamphlets published by the labor unions, embassies, and governments of Austria, Denmark, and Sweden were requested and received. This literature plus periodical literature and printed material from the Department of Labor were collected and divided into five categories of information.

Organization of Data

All information collected was divided into five main categories. The first category contained historical data concerning the military unions of Austria, Denmark, and Sweden. Included in this category were facts about the background of the respective countries, their governments, and their military forces.

The second category contained current information regarding the military unions, their present membership, and new developments that have affected these unions during the past five years.

The advantages and disadvantages of the present military unions in Austria, Denmark, and Sweden were included in the third category.

The fourth category contained information concerning the imposed limitations on military union activities. These included both self imposed and government imposed limitations.

The fifth category included information about the U. S. , its military, and recent developments that could influence union formation, operation, and limitations.

Application of Data

The background information and historical data in category one were used to describe the origin, evolution, and organization of the respective foreign military labor unions. This was done for all three countries in order to compare the unions with each other. From category five data, the background and historical development of labor unions in the United States were analyzed in order to compare and contrast this information with foreign union evolution, organization, and operation.

The information from category two was used to describe the advantages and disadvantages of military labor unions. Both the good and bad aspects of the established union organizations were analyzed to show what benefits and problems the U. S. military might face with the advent of a military union.

The limitations of military union activity in each country were presented from category four material.

Relation of Analysis to Research Questions

The information collected and analyzed by category was used to address the research questions raised by this study.

What are the advantages and disadvantages of a military labor union to a military member? This question was addressed in Chapters II, III, and IV by describing the background, organization, and current

operation of military unions in Austria, Denmark, and Sweden.

Through a discussion of the purposes and accomplishments of foreign military unions, the advantages and disadvantages of union membership were further explained in Chapter V.

What are the advantages and disadvantages of a military labor union to a military manager? This research question could not be answered. The reasons for this are discussed in Chapter V.

What limitations are placed upon military unions? This question was addressed in Chapters II, III, and IV by describing the limitations imposed upon the Austrian, Danish, and Swedish unions. Chapter V contains a further discussion of union limitations.

CHAPTER II

AUSTRIA

Introduction

The Federal Republic of Austria is a land locked country in the south central part of the European peninsula, covering an area of approximately 32,400 square miles, with a total population slightly under 7.5 million people. (32:1) It has common frontiers with West Germany and Italy (NATO nations) and with Hungary and Czechoslovakia (Warsaw Pact nations). Austria's estimated Gross National Product (GNP) for 1970 was \$14,300,000,000. Its defense budget for 1971 was \$170,138,000 or approximately 1.2% of its GNP. (13:75)

In order to foster a better understanding of how military unions fit into the Austrian framework of society, the first section of this chapter briefly describes the Austrian military establishment and the second section describes the evolution of unionization in Austria after 1945.

Austrian Armed ForcesHistory of the Armed Forces

In 1955, the Austrian State Treaty was signed by France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Austria. This act gave Austria its freedom and sovereignty and allowed Austria to become an independent republic absolved of any responsibility for World War II. No limitations were placed on the size of Austria's armed forces although the treaty does prohibit nuclear weapons, missiles, and artillery with a range of more than thirty kilometers. In the same year, the Austrian Parliament adopted a constitutional law declaring Austria's permanent neutrality, thereby precluding the country from joining military alliances and from granting military bases to foreign powers.

Upon the departure of the occupation forces in 1955, the Austrian military consisted of the B-Gendarmerie--a total of 7,500 men, a force which was created in 1950 in response to an unsuccessful Communist coup d'etat during that year. In January 1956, the organization of the Federal Army (Bundesheer) and the Federal Ministry for National Defense came into being. Conscription requiring all able bodied men to serve in the Federal army was also introduced. The Hungarian revolution in 1956 provided impetus to the newly formed army. This as well as numerous natural disasters, so common in an alpine nation, helped the Bundesheer gain acceptance and support from

the war-weary population. (8:52-55)

Current Force Structure

The missions of the Austrian Army are to secure the Austrian frontiers, to protect the constitutional institutions, and to assist in natural disasters. Further, since 1966, a battalion of volunteers has been kept available for commitment to any UN request for assistance.

The Austrian Federal President is the supreme commander of the armed forces. Among his specific powers is the right to extend the length of required military service in extraordinary circumstances, as he did during the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia. He may also order a partial or full mobilization in times of internal crisis or external threat. However, Parliament reserves the right to declare war.

The Federal Government sets broad defense policy, but actual command authority is exercised solely by the Defense Minister. Advising the government on defense policy is a fourteen-man National Security Council which consists of members from all three parties in Parliament, one high Defense Ministry Official, the senior officer of the armed forces, and key ministers. (8:55) The armed forces of Austria total 48,350 members, with an Army of 44,000, and an Air Force of 4,350 as an integral part of the Army. Austria does not have a Navy. (13:75)

All Austrian males were once required to complete nine months

of military service but, as of 1971, this requirement was reduced to six months. Career or professional military enlist for three, six, or nine year intervals, but after nine years of service they are considered permanent and stay on until age sixty at which time they may voluntarily retire or stay until age sixty-five at which time they must retire. Career or professional military, both officers and non-commissioned officers, have the option of being union members of the Austrian Trade Union Federation (ATUF). (35)

Unionization in Austria

The Austrian Trade Union Federation (ATUF) (Oesterreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund) was founded on April 15, 1945, in Vienna, immediately after cessation of the hostilities of World War II. The founders had to start from "scratch," as under the Nazi-rule in Austria (1938 to 1945) the former free and democratic trade unions had dissolved and all their assets seized by the Nazis. For the new Federation the founders chose the principle of industrial organizations, as they considered it most practical and most suitable. The Federation consists of 16 industrial unions. (50:1) All military members are considered to be government employees, who are represented by one of the sixteen industrial unions. Since the formation of the military, its members have been allowed to join this union. Until 1967, the military did not take a very active part in the union. The reason for this inactivity was primarily because older, higher officers did not condone

union activity within the military. Furthermore the union did not represent the military as a body nor was it prepared to handle military differences and peculiarities in organization and operation. In 1967, however, a separate section within the Government Employees Union was formed and run by the military to represent military interests.

(35)

Trade Unions

Austria has a unified labor movement in which more than 1,500,000 members, who constitute two-thirds of the wage and salary earners, are organized in sixteen industrial unions. The sixteen unions bargain separately, but overall trade union policy and social and legislative matters are handled by the strong, highly centralized Austrian Trade Union Federation. Although the Federation is officially neutral in party politics, its membership is organized in three political factions, with sixty-five to seventy percent Socialists, ten percent Christian-Social who belong to the People's Party, and seven percent Communist. The remaining members adhere to splinter parties or are independent. The political strength of the ATUF is demonstrated by the fact that out of the 165 members of the National Assembly, forty-one are paid trade union officials and forty others are trade union members -- a total of eighty-one out of 165 members or forty-nine percent of the Assembly membership. (32:25)

The sixteen trade unions which comprise the ATUF and the

membership of each are shown in Appendix A. Since Austrian railroads, telephone, and telegraph services are government operated, membership in public employe's unions is relatively high, approximately 441,000 or twenty-nine percent of the total membership.

(32:26)

The highest authority of the ATUF is the Trade Union Congress, which meets not less than every four years. Delegates who represent the sixteen constituent unions elect the Presidium, which consists of the President, first and second Vice Presidents, and several Secretaries which administer ATUF business. An Executive Board is the governing body between meetings of the Congress. The Audit Commission of seven members, also elected by the delegates, supervises adherence to the statutes and execution of the resolutions of the Congress, and audits the accounts and finances of the ATUF and member unions.

The Executive Board calls meetings of the General Council as needed for consideration of policy problems. The General Council is composed of the Executive Board, the Audit Commission, representatives of the sixteen unions, the secretaries and editors of the ATUF, editors of trade union journals, and the chairmen and secretaries of the provincial executive boards.

The headquarters of the ATUF in Vienna contains a Department for Women's Affairs and a Department for Youth Affairs. Seven service divisions deal with finance, education, press, economic policy,

social welfare, radio and publicity, and youth welfare. As part of its services to members the ATUF maintains youth and educational hostels, and vocational training schools. The structure of the ATUF is shown in Appendix B.

Within the limits of standards set by the ATUF, each of the sixteen unions is organized on the basis of its own needs into trade groups, sections, branches, subgroups, and factory groups. On a geographical basis the unions have provincial districts and local bodies.

The ATUF avoids involvement in political matters. However, since sixty percent of all economic activity in Austria is in the public domain, nearly every action of labor has political implications and almost every political action concerns labor. Thus, trade union attitudes on political issues are generally represented in Parliament by the Socialist Party, and collective bargaining issues, especially those on wage-price relations, are generally discussed with management in the Wage Price Commission.

The national interest is a constant consideration in labor-management deliberations and disagreements. Although strikes have occurred in each of the past ten years, they have generally been of local significance and short duration, averaging eight to twenty-four hours. (32:26) Austria has no laws concerning strikes. Hence, the question whether strikers may be discharged is academic, since in

practice the conditions under which strikers return to their jobs depend on the outcome of the strike. It is a source of political dispute whether public employees have the right to strike; public employees, however, including police and customs guards, went on strike in 1962 without legal consequences. (32:33)

Public employees in Austria include not only those who work in the administrative agencies of the Government on the Federal, provincial, and local level but also employees of Federal monopolies and Federal services. To be eligible for a Civil Service appointment, an individual must be an Austrian citizen, of good character, and must have special educational qualifications. Appointments become permanent after four years of service and qualification achieved by examination. Salaries are based on a complex pay classification system which groups all civil servants in the following eight pay classes: General administrative; skilled craftsmen; judges, prosecutors, and court personnel; university teachers; other teachers; school administration; police and guards; and military career officers and soldiers. Each of these pay classes has one or more subdivisions described as service classes, utilization groups, and salary grades. Promotion to the next higher grade is automatic in two year intervals, except in the cases of unsatisfactory efficiency ratings or failure to pass required tests. (32:24)

Employer Organizations

Just as there are unions for workers, there are management organizations for employers. The Chambers of Business (Kammern der Gewerblichen Wirtschaft) are created by law to represent the interests of companies and independent businessmen of commerce, industry, and the crafts. The Chambers of Business represent the interests of their members in labor law matters and foster measures designed to maintain labor peace. In addition, they prepare reports and recommendations on labor relations, accident prevention, social insurance, housing, food, supply, and education. The Chambers of Business are organized geographically and have six divisions--trades, industry, commerce, money, credit and insurance, and tourism. Membership in the appropriate chamber is compulsory. There are, in addition to the compulsory Chambers of Business, a number of voluntary management associations. Management's role in the economic life of Austria has become that of partnership with labor rather than of control.

(32:30)

Social Legislation

Social legislation in Austria is well developed. An important part is the comprehensive social insurance. All earners of wages or salaries are automatically insured in cases of sickness, work accident, unemployment, and old age (pension). In all branches of social insurance the insurance premiums are paid jointly by employers and

employees; only the premiums for work accident insurance are paid in full by employers.

The yearly paid vacation for workers and salaried personnel is regulated by law. The minimum vacation is twelve work days a year and rises up to thirty work days a year after longer employment. A General Collective Agreement between the ATUF and the Central Employees Federation (the Federal Chamber of Commerce and Industry) has since January 1, 1967, further increased the minimum to eighteen work days a year.

The basic conditions of employment (hours of work, giving notice, and protective measures) are regulated by laws for all workers and salaried employees. Special regulation exists for some occupations, like workers in agriculture, domestic workers, civil servants, etc. In Austria the weekly hours of work have also been fixed at forty-five hours a week by a General Collective Agreement of January 28, 1959. (50:5)

Military Branch of the Government Employees Union

Since 1968 the Government Employees Union has had a branch of the union designated for the career military officers and non-commissioned officers. This action allowed the soldier to belong to a union that had union officials elected by military members to represent the military man. Since this event, the military membership in the Government Employees Union has increased and has been estimated to

be as high as sixty-six percent of all officers and seventy-five percent of all non-commissioned officers. (34, 35, 36) All benefits, rights, and privileges enjoyed by members of the Government Employees Union also apply to the military.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Military Union Membership

The union has gained benefits for the members. Some of the recent improvements include pay raises and increased vacations. Also, allowances for military service including uniforms and field training have been gained.

No serious disadvantages of union membership could be found. In the past, union membership was unfavorably regarded and discouraged by older, higher ranking officers. However, at the present time this is no longer considered a deterrent to union membership. (34, 35, 36)

Limitations on Military Union Activities

The union activities are limited to economic and welfare matters. Military affairs of training, justice, security, assignment, etc. are not union matters. During periods of national emergency and when national interests are jeopardized the union cannot get involved, according to Austrian law. Members of the Government Employees Union are permitted to strike but the military does not consider the right to strike their privilege. In interviews with three Austrian soldiers, all felt that the right to strike was given up when they put on

the uniform. (34, 35, 36)

Summary

When Austria gained its freedom and sovereignty in 1955, it declared permanent neutrality. The military force then consisted of only 7,500 men; today it totals 48,350.

In 1945, at the end of World War II, Austria formed the Austrian Trade Union Federation (ATUF), consisting of sixteen industrial unions. The ATUF represents two-thirds of all the wage and salary earners in Austria including the military.

An employer organization, the Chambers of Business, was created by law with mandatory membership for companies and independent businessmen of commerce and industry. This organization represents the interests of its members in labor law matters and fosters measures designed to maintain labor peace. In effect, the ATUF and the Chambers of Business form a partnership to control the economic life of Austria.

Since 1967, the military forces have had a military branch in the Government Employees Union of the ATUF. Military and civilian members of the Government Employees Union are entitled to the same rights and privileges. The only apparent difference is that the military does not feel they have the right to strike. Austrian law does not prohibit the military from striking--it just appears as a self-imposed rule or unwritten understanding among all military.

CHAPTER III

SWEDEN

Introduction

Sweden is a country covering approximately 174,000 square miles of land area with a population of slightly over 8 million people. (7:498) Sweden's estimated Gross National Product (GNP) for 1970 was \$31,200,000,000. Its defense budget for 1971-72 was \$1,192,000,000 or approximately 3.8% of its GNP. (13:76)

In order to foster a better understanding of how military unions fit into the Swedish framework of society, the first section of this chapter briefly describes the Swedish military establishment and the second section describes the evolution of unionization in Sweden.

The Swedish Armed Forces

Swedish defense is a part of the country's security policy, the goal of which is to remain unaligned in peace time and neutral in war time. The aim of the armed forces expressed by the Swedish government and Parliament is as follows:

. . . The Armed Forces shall work to maintain peace and freedom. The Armed Forces shall therefore have such strength, composition and readiness that an attack against Sweden would demand such great resources and sacrifices and take such a long time that the advantages that might be gained by such an attack could not reasonably be estimated as worthwhile. (29:5)

The Armed Forces are organized into three services: Army, Naval Forces (Navy and Coast Artillery), and Air Force. The Army consists of 12,500 regulars, the Naval Forces 4,700, and the Air Force 5,800. The total strength of the Armed Forces is 23,000 regulars with 50,300 conscripts. (13:76) The King and the Swedish Parliament exercise supreme command over Sweden's defense, both in wartime and in peace. During peacetime the Minister of Defense is responsible for matters concerning the coordination of defense activities. In wartime, however, this responsibility is assumed by the Prime Minister. The Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces is responsible to the Minister of Defense for operational matters concerning defense of the homeland. Sweden itself is divided into six military regions, each with a Commanding General who reports directly to the Supreme Commander. These Commanding Generals direct all military operations within their respective regional command areas. (30:6)

Sweden has compulsory military service for men between eighteen and forty-seven years of age. About ninety percent of officers and non-commissioned officers as well as private soldiers are conscripts. Basic training for most conscripts is for eight to eleven

months and the total period of training is twelve to sixteen months. Conscripts selected for officer or non-commissioned officer training receive an eleven to eighteen month basic training program and serve a total of fourteen to twenty-four months. About 50,000 men receive basic training each year. After this basic training, personnel are then assigned to operational units. In addition, about 100,000 men receive refresher training each year. The goal of this training system is to create integrated units which can be mobilized rapidly and be ready for combat immediately after mobilization. (30:9)

Swedish Unionization

Sweden is a highly unionized country with over ninety percent of its blue-collar and over seventy percent of its white-collar workers organized. Although, the first trade union dates from 1869, the movement did not gather momentum until the 1880s. With the establishment of the LO (the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions) in 1898, unionism acquired the structure it still has today. Organized management took its present shape in 1902 with the formation of SAF (the Swedish Employer's Confederation) (22:1-2) Union power is derived from its right to strike and employer power from its right to impose a lockout. With both workers and employers organized on a national level in Sweden, a balance of power seems to exist between labor and management.

In 1906, SAF and LO came to an agreement that each collective bargaining arrangement was to contain a clause reading as follows:

. . . Subject to other provisions of this agreement, the employer is entitled to direct and assign the work, to hire and dismiss workers at will, and to employ workers whether they are organized or not. (22:1)

In return, the employers promised that the right to organize would not be violated.

In the early 1930s the white-collar workers also began to organize. The most important white-collar central organization, TCO (the Swedish Central Organization of Salaried Employees), was founded in 1944. A second central organization in this section, SACO (the Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations), was formed in 1943. TCO and SACO organize employees in both public and private service. Even though collective bargaining in the public sector has been continuous since the 1940s, civil servants were not given the right to strike until 1966. In that year, collective agreements were also introduced regulating the terms of employment for civil servants. (22:1)

Employer Organizations

The largest employer organization is SAF (Swedish Employers' Confederation) with over 23,000 member firms. SAF has forty-three affiliated employer associations covering different industries, such as the Swedish Engineering Employers' Association and the Federation of Swedish Building Employers. The individual firm has a double affiliation--it is part owner of SAF and a member of a trade association.

Each part owner pays annual dues to SAF, a part of which is transferred to its insurance fund. If a part owner is struck, he is compensated at 0.025% of his annual payroll for each weekday the strike lasts. SAF's primary task, however, is to represent the employers at negotiations with the trade unions.

The private sector of the labor market contains other employer organizations. The most important of these are the Swedish Agricultural Employers Association, the Swedish Shipowners Association, the Cooperative Labor Negotiating Association, and the Collective Bargaining Board for State-Owned Enterprises.

In the public sector the State is represented by SAV (the National Collective Bargaining Office). Concerning the blue-collar unions, SAV in practice acts on behalf of the state. In principle, however, the union agencies of the State negotiate themselves, with SAV restricted to an advisory role. Concerning the white-collar unions, SAV is the representative of the State. SAV negotiates with the four unions, which under an agreement since 1965 and in accordance with the government's long term policy, are the only bargaining units authorized to represent State employees. There are some very small organizations with which SAV refuses to enter into collective agreements. (22:2)

Trade Unions

The leading organization for blue-collar workers is LO

(Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions), which has a membership of 1.7 million covering more than ninety percent of the manual workers in Sweden. LO has twenty-nine affiliated national unions. Most of the national unions are structured by industry rather than craft, a pattern which must be seen in relation to how the employers are organized. Ever since 1909, when the country was hit by a disastrous general strike, LO has endeavored to match the employer structure whenever possible to achieve maximum strike potential. Industrial unionization confers administrative advantages to the employers as well as to the unions, since the coverage of a collective agreement is determined by the firms and employer association involved rather than by the union and its organizational structure. As is SAF, LO is a tightly knit, highly centralized organization. With regard to strikes and other direct action, the ultimate statutory power to decide rests with LO.

The dominant top organization for white-collar workers is less centralized. TCO neither has the right to order a strike nor to deny an affiliated union the right to strike. Affiliated with TCO are twenty-three unions with a combined membership of 720,000. About seventy percent of the Swedish white-collar workers are organized.

The TCO affiliates belong to several specialized bodies. Thus, the TCO unions whose members work for the State form the Civil Servants' Section (TCO-S). TCO-S acts as bargaining and contracting party with the National Collective Bargaining Office. Similarly, the unions

whose members work for municipalities are affiliated with the Council of Municipal Employees (TCO-K). In bargaining matters of a general nature TCO-K is empowered to reach binding agreements with the municipalities.

Another top organization, SACO (the Confederation of Professional Associations), has slightly more than 108,000 members and is organized along craft lines according to occupations. SACO also organizes self-employed professionals such as doctors, dentists, and lawyers, who together make up about seven percent of the membership. Half the members are state employees, which means that SACO negotiates with the National Collective Bargaining Office for about 50,000 members. SACO is more tightly knit than TCO. Under its statutes an affiliate may be ordered to participate in a strike if this is deemed to have great importance for SACO.

A fourth organization, SR (the National Federation of Government Officers) is small compared to the others, with some 19,000 members. SR primarily organizes commissioned officers in the armed forces and higher ranking officials of the postal service and the railways.

The national unions form the backbone of Swedish unionism. Powerful and viable locals do exist, but one of the things that sets the Swedish scene apart from unionism in other countries is that the reins have so largely remained with the national unions. Decisions on strikes

and other union action are usually made by the national union board. A national union also controls the purse strings. Benefits are paid from funds only when strikes are decided in due order. (22:2-3)

Military Unionization in Sweden

Having discussed unionism in Sweden and the country's current military establishment, let us now look at the military unions themselves. As with most unions in Sweden, the military unions are a part of the larger national unions. The Union of Swedish Officers (SOF) is a part of the National Swedish Federation of Government Employees (SR). The Swedish Union of Warrant Officers (SUOF) belongs to the Central Organization of Salaried Employees, Civil Servants Section (TCO-S). The Union of Non-Commissioned Officers in the Defense Force (FUF) also belongs to TCO-S, as does the Union of Civil Servants in the Defense Force (FCTF). Physicians, lawyers, teachers, and civil engineers belong to the Central Organization of Swedish Professional Workers (SACO). (52:2)

All military members with the exception of draftees can belong to their respective military unions. Draftees usually maintain their membership in unions in the private sector of the Swedish economy while on active duty. SOF membership is 4,700 officers, almost one hundred percent of all officers on active duty. (51:1) SUOF membership is 5,792 Warrant Officers. FUF membership is 9,217 Non-Commissioned Officers. (31:135) Although not identical, union

organization is similar for officers, warrant officers, and non-commissioned officers. Therefore, only the organization of the SOF will be explained in detail.

Military Union Organization

Active union members of the Union of Swedish Officers are assigned by the union board to local officers societies. These societies number around one hundred and most are attached to a certain military installation. For some officers (commissariat, general staff, ordnance, fortification) there are special corps societies, the members of which work at a number of various installations. Three societies for naval officers also have members which work at a number of different installations.

Members of the union are registered as regular members of an officers' society--local society or corps society. Members of corps societies are extra members of the particular officers' society at their working place. An extra member has the same rights as a regular member with the exception that he has no right to vote concerning questions to be dealt with at the Union Assembly. A member who is serving in another assignment than his ordinary one can join the work of the union in the society established at his new assignment. Registration into another society is made as a rule if the work at a new assignment is to last more than six months.

The supreme voting medium of the union is the Union Assembly

which takes place every three years. Every Officers' Society may send a representative to the Union Assembly. Societies with more than one hundred members have the right to send one extra representative for each additional one hundred members.

The activities of the union are guided by the board of the Union, which is made up of sixteen members. According to the rules, the three defense forces and the common corps for the defense must be represented by at least one member on the Board. The election of the board for the Union Assembly is prepared by a committee which tries to distribute the posts on the board so that different parts of the country as well as officers of different age, belonging to different defense forces, different categories of troops, and different lines of training may be represented.

The union board has a secretariat at its disposal. The secretariat consists of four ombudsmen (of whom one is first ombudsman and head of the secretariat, and one secretary of the union as well). These ombudsmen are chosen from active and retired officers who belong to the union. The secretariat also consists of five persons for secretarial work, bookkeeping, registration of members, and so forth. The union also has a special advisor for legal aid to union members. (51:1-2)

Advantages and Disadvantages of Union Membership

Among the advantages and services gained from union membership are grievance procedures, judicial aid, and life insurance plans.

The union has been effective in achieving improvements in pay, vacation, per diem, pension, and working conditions. These benefits are in keeping with the object of the union which is to safeguard the interests of the members in everything connected to their financial circumstances.

As far as individual union members are concerned no serious disadvantages of union membership were found. The Swedish people consider belonging to a union a natural and fundamental right of all individuals. The one possible serious disadvantage to the State is the disruption of military peacetime activities which would result if the military took advantage of their right to strike. The right to strike does not apply in wartime and there is currently a discussion as to whether or not the military will retain the right to strike even in peacetime. (43)

Limitations on Military Union Activities

The limitations on union activities include no involvement in military training or tactics of war and no involvement in promotions. As stated previously the union exists strictly to promote economic and welfare issues. (43)

Summary

Sweden is a neutral country whose military forces exist for defense of the homeland in case of attack by a foreign power. Sweden's

philosophy of defense centers around a small number of regulars in the Army, Navy, and Air Force and a large ready reserve. In keeping with this philosophy only thirty-two percent of Sweden's forces are regulars with the remainder being conscripts on a yearly basis. Sweden considers union membership a fundamental right of all individuals. The country as a whole is very highly unionized and it comes as no great surprise that unions also exist within the military. Military unions have been effective in gaining economic and welfare benefits for military personnel. The only possible disadvantage of the military unions is possible exercise of their right to strike. Viability of this right for military members is being discussed at this time. As a result of these talks, this right to strike may eventually be modified or eliminated.

CHAPTER IV

DENMARK

Introduction

Denmark is a country covering approximately 16,600 square miles of land area with a population of almost 5 million people. Denmark's estimated Gross National Product (GNP) for 1970 was \$16,000,000,000 and its defense budget for 1971-72 was \$410,000,000 or 2.6% of its GNP. (13:70)

In order to foster a better understanding of how military unions fit into the Danish framework of society, the first section of this chapter briefly describes the Danish military establishment, and the second section describes the evolution of unionization in Denmark.

The Danish Armed Forces

Denmark maintained a neutral status in world affairs up to World War II at which time the country was occupied by German forces from 1940 to 1945. Political developments after the war led to Denmark's abandonment of her traditional policy of neutrality in 1949 at which time she joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

In the forward to Denmark's Defense Act of 1960, it was stressed that the country's geographical position rendered it particularly important for military forces from the Army, Navy, and Air Force to be ready to offer immediate resistance to a sudden attack on Denmark. In recognition of this, Danish defense forces have been organized with the primary object of fighting a holding action until allied assistance can come to their support.

The framework for the organization of Denmark's defense force is determined by law. The supreme political authority is vested in the Minister of Defense. Under the Minister of Defense is the Chief of Defense, who is either a general or an admiral. A Defense Staff, made up of officers from the three armed services, assists the Chief of Defense. The general course of daily work (including training of personnel, planning, budgeting, and cooperation between the Army, Navy, and Air Force) is discussed and coordinated in a Defense Board. The Defense Board consists of the Chief of Defense, the Chief of the Defense Staff, and the commanders-in-chief of the three armed services. (54:29-31) The Army consists of 24,000 active duty personnel, the Naval Forces (Fleet and Coastal Defense units) 6,500 personnel, and the Air Force 10,000 personnel. (13:71)

The Danish Constitution states that it is the duty of every man capable of bearing arms to contribute to the defense of the country. Universal military service is thus in force in Denmark, with call-up

occurring between eighteen and fifty years of age. Young men undergoing training or engaged in studies can apply for postponement of their military obligation until a later date. Compulsory military service is for a period of twelve months. (54:29) Volunteers enlist for a period of either three or five years. If not promoted to the position of Senior Sergeant by age thirty-two, enlisted personnel must leave active service. Promotion to Senior Sergeant allows the non-commissioned officer to remain in service until the mandatory retirement age of sixty-five. Commissioned officers also serve until age sixty-five, when they must retire. (39)

Danish Unionization

Introduction

Characteristically, the Danish Labor Movement has followed very largely the same pattern of development as the Norwegian and Swedish labor movements. The term labor movement is applied in Denmark by tradition to the Social Democratic Party, the trade unions, and a number of cooperative undertakings founded and operated in the interests of the working class. (10:185)

History of Danish Unionization

Trade Unions. --The first Danish trade unions were established in 1869 after the English and German pattern. During the following decade their number increased and reached almost seventy trade

unions. Many of these trade unions were, however, soon dissolved, and only a few of those surviving enjoyed prosperity during this first period, which was characterized by persecution and political adversity. It was not until 1890, and particularly after 1895, that the trade unions were able to consolidate their position.

At the outset, the trade unions were exclusively militant organizations. Their purpose was through active conflict to secure from the employers better working conditions for their members. This is understandable in view of the fact that in many places of work there were numerous good reasons for discontent with the working conditions.

(19:4)

At the time, it was a common situation that the workers were unable to earn enough to support their families. They started to create sick benefit associations which gradually also began to work for improved social conditions. These efforts proved generally unsuccessful, and the workers found out that instead of acting individually they had to unite even further to promote their interests. (28:3)

An important step towards complete realization of the idea of organization was the amalgamation of the unskilled workers in the Danish General Workers' Union (Dansk Arbejdsmands Forbund), which took place in 1896. The development was sealed two years later by the establishment of the Danish Federation of Trade Unions (Landsorganisationen i Danmark, Desamvirkende Fagforbund), affiliating the thirty-eight various national and twenty-five local unions. (19:5)

Employers Organization. -- Even a long time before the workers organized in 1898, the employers had started to organize. It soon became obvious that the employers could not remain passive in the face of the organizational advance by the workers. The year 1885 saw the establishment of the Association of Manufacturers in the Copenhagen Metal Trades (Foreningen af Fabrikanter i Jernindustrien i Kobenhavn), with the object of providing a collective counterpart to the trade unions. Other industries followed suit. In 1896, the first national federation of employers was formed. At the end of 1898 it merged into the present organization, the Danish Employers' Confederation (Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening). (19:5)

In 1899, after the employers joined together to form the Danish Employers Confederation, a trial of strength took place between the worker and employer organizations. The dispute, starting as a rather limited strike for better wages and working conditions, ended in a major lockout which lasted for four months, during which time the rural population lent material support to the militant urban workers. Without real victory for either party, the dispute led to the "September Agreement" (Septemberforliget), affirming the right of employers to manage and to discharge employees but recognizing the trade union movement as an equal partner and giving the two central organizations the right to conclude collective agreements binding on all their members. This "industrial constitution" is the basis of the labor relations system that

has developed in Denmark during the twentieth century. (10:185-6)

Present Union Structure

As of December 31, 1967, there were sixty-two national trade unions affiliated with the Danish Federation of Trade Unions (called since 1959, Landsorganisationen i Danmark, or LO). Their combined membership was 844,000. Unaffiliated with the Danish Federation of Trade Unions were eight unions having about 47,000 members.

The great majority of Danish unions are craft unions, requiring several years of training as a qualification for membership. About 40,000 workers are organized in industrial unions. One result of craft organization is the formation of relatively large unions of unskilled general workers; about 250,000 men belong to the Danish General and Semi-Skilled Workers' Union (Dansk Arbejdsmands-og Specialarbejderforbund) and about 55,000 women to the General Union of Women Workers (Kvindeligt Arbejderforbund).

A number of white collar unions are affiliated with the Danish Federation of Trade Unions, of which the biggest is the Shop and Office Workers' Union (Handels-og Kontorfunktionaerernes Forbund, or HK), with 128,000 members. About 150,000 salaried workers are organized in the Joint Council of Danish Public Servants' and Salaried Workers' Organization (Faellesradet for Danske Tjenestemand-og Funktionaerorganisationer, or FTF), and about 50,000 in other unions.

Danish workers are thus highly organized. The degree of

organization in most trades affiliated with the Danish Federation of Trade Unions is ninety-five to one hundred percent, the chief exception to this being shop and office workers, farm workers, and domestic workers.

The Danish trade unions are closely identified with the Social Democratic Party. A few small unions are dominated by the Communist party and Socialist People's party, the influence of these two parties being otherwise mainly confined to certain branches in Copenhagen. There are no trade unions associated with national minorities or religious organizations.

Collective agreements between the Employers' Federation and the Danish Federation of Trade Unions normally run for two years. To establish new agreements the individual unions first negotiate on general matters of wage increases, holidays, and social and training questions on behalf of the combined membership.

If the central organizations fail to agree, the Government Conciliator (Forligsmanden) endeavors to mediate. Should he fail, the result is a dispute or parliamentary intervention. In several cases, mediation proposals put forward by the Government Conciliator and rejected by members of one of the central organizations in a ballot, have been declared law.

Disputes connected with renewals of agreements--called "interest" disputes--are settled on the same lines. Disputes due to

breach of agreement or involving interpretation--called "legal" disputes--are settled either by bipartite negotiation or, in the event of failure to reach agreement, by the Industrial Court (Arbejdsretten), in which workers and employers are represented equally. The president and vice-president of the Industrial Court are legally trained judges appointed by representatives of the two central organizations.

The negotiating machinery is based on the September Agreement of 1899, with its superstructure of rules and regulations derived from seventy years of practice. In 1960, however, a new basic agreement was introduced, replacing the September Agreement but resting, generally speaking, on the same principles. (10:186-8)

Military Unions in Denmark

Since 1922, career military personnel have had the right to join organizations which at the national level discuss with the Minister of Defense such things as working conditions and payment of benefits. These groups [military unions] combine fraternal and labor relations functions. In the matter of wages, discussions are held with both the Minister of Defense and the Minister of Economics. (47:1) All military personnel, with the exception of draftees, are eligible to belong to military unions. In fact union membership is automatic unless a military member states that he does not want to belong. (39)

Military Union Organization. --The military unions are organized separately from those in the private sector of the Danish Economy.

For officers, separate national unions exist within the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force with local societies at each military installation.

(38) A joint union exists for non-commissioned officers and other volunteers, with members from the Army, Navy, and Air Force belonging to the same national union. Again, local societies exist at each military installation. (37) Monthly dues are required of officers and non-commissioned officers for union membership.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Union Membership. --The primary purpose of the Danish military union system is to negotiate improvements in pay and working conditions. The unions negotiate special pay for overtime, additional uniform requirements, and other inconveniences. (38) Among the other advantages and services gained from union membership are legal assistance, grievance procedures, and insurance plans (both life and disability).

Interviews with Danish officers and non-commissioned officers revealed no serious disadvantages to union membership. From a commander's point of view, the union is another organization with which the commander must deal effectively to accomplish the assigned mission. This was not, however, considered a serious disadvantage. (40)

Limitations on Union Activity. --The limitations on military union activity include no power over how the military runs itself and no power to interfere in strictly command matters. All military personnel, union members, and non-members alike, must obey orders. A final and most important limitation on union activity is that union members

have no right to strike. (40)

Summary

Denmark is a NATO country whose military forces exist for defense of the homeland until allied assistance can be obtained to suppress an attack by a foreign power. The Danish policy of universal military service is in keeping with their philosophy that every man capable of bearing arms should contribute to the defense of the country. Denmark's labor force is highly unionized and unions with the military have existed since 1922. Military unions have been effective in negotiating higher wages, better working conditions, and other benefits for career military personnel. No serious disadvantages were found concerning union membership. Military unions are not allowed the right to strike.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION: ADVANTAGES, DISADVANTAGES, AND LIMITATIONS

The military unions of Austria, Denmark, and Sweden exist for the same basic reasons as unions everywhere--to organize for the purpose of improving wages and working conditions. Once organized, most unions are able to offer additional benefits, services, and improvements but often at a cost, monetary or otherwise. In Austria, Denmark, and Sweden the military unions have been in existence since 1967, 1922, and 1965, respectively. Membership in the military unions of Austria, Denmark, and Sweden is not required as it is in the military union of Norway. (45:14) Therefore, many of the advantages, improvements, and benefits resulting from union activities are shared by the non-union military members. In spite of this fact union membership in all cases is well above fifty percent of the eligibles.

Research Question One

What are the advantages and disadvantages of a military labor union to a military member?

Discussion. --Research question one was addressed in Chapters II, III, and IV. Since their formation, the military labor unions of all three countries studied have been successful in gaining increases in pay and allowances and improved working conditions. In Sweden, specific improvements were made for union members and the military through increases in pay, per diem, the number of days for annual vacation, and pension. Additional services and benefits available to union members only are grievance procedures, judicial aid, and life insurance through the union organizations. An additional benefit for some officers gained through union membership is the fraternal aspect through the special corps societies of such specialties as commissariat, general staff, ordnance, and fortification.

The Danish military union has succeeded in attaining improvements in wages and working conditions for its members and the military. Improvements through union efforts for the military have been special pay for overtime, allowances for supplemental uniforms required for certain positions/specialties, and working hours. Services and benefits not available to non-union members are legal assistance, membership for non-commissioned officers in the non-commissioned officers' mess, grievance procedures, life insurance, and disability insurance.

The Austrian Government Employees Union of which the military union is a part, has gained monetary improvements in the form of a pay raise, and allowances for military uniforms and field training.

An additional gain for the military has been an increased annual vacation. Many of the benefits normally associated with union efforts are, in Austria, provided by the State. Social legislation provides insurance for sickness, work accident, unemployment, and old age pension. The Austrian Trade Union Federation, which includes the military, has been largely instrumental in bringing about a streamlining of the social insurance legislation. Advantages and benefits that military union members do enjoy over non-union members are vacation travel plans and use of union recreation facilities.

All three countries studied are highly unionized and accept union membership as a necessary way of life. An additional advantage common to the unions is the grievance procedure, which for the military union member provides an additional avenue for communicating his problems or desires, which is not available to the non-union member.

The disadvantages of the military unions studied do not appear to be any different than those associated with belonging to any other union. All three military unions require dues which are usually considered nominal.

When Austria's military union was first formed, one disadvantage of membership was that high ranking officers discouraged participation in union activities. These senior officers did not feel that there was a place in the military for a labor union. Nevertheless, today's union membership for officers is over sixty-five percent of the eligibles, while union membership for non-commissioned officers is

over seventy-five percent. (34, 35, 36) One disadvantage of union membership given by a non-union member as his reason for not joining the union was that he would have to declare a political party affiliation. (34)

The union member who also holds a command position might consider having to deal with the union a disadvantage. However, two of the officers interviewed had command experience and they indicated that the union could be of assistance to them in their position and not a serious disadvantage, if at all. (40, 43)

A Danish union member indicated that he, as a security guard for the Danish Embassy, was only one of a very small number to hold such a position. He found that, because of the relatively small number of embassy security guards within the union, the union failed to respond to his needs in processing a grievance he had. (37)

The Swedish military man does have a disadvantage in being a union member, as revealed in the public sector strike of 1971. In this strike the military, as an innocent bystander, was used by the government in a threatened lock-out in order to break the strike. Since Swedish military unions are part of the unions for private and public sector workers, it is possible for the military to be involved in a strike, as an innocent bystander, two ways. One way would be for the civilian portion of the union to strike and ask the military to show union support by striking sympathetically for the union cause. The second form of involvement is in a lock-out as was threatened by the government in the

public sector strike of 1971. In either instance the military union may not even have an interest or concern in the reasons for striking, but because of their position become involved either as a tool for the union or the government.

Summary. -- The military unions of Austria, Denmark, and Sweden have a common purpose of improving wages and working conditions. The unions have generally accomplished these objectives as well as having provided other benefits, services, and advantages. Each country's union differs from that of the other countries' unions, but they all have a common goal for which they have achieved success. The disadvantages of union membership vary from minor individual problems to major involvement in strikes and lock-outs.

Research Question Two

What are the advantages and disadvantages of a military labor union to a military manager?

Discussion. -- The assumption made in structuring this research question was that a similar pattern of eligibility for union membership existed in the public and private sector of a nation's economy. Specifically, this pattern was that "workers" were eligible for union membership and that "managers" were not eligible for union membership. This assumption immediately posed a problem of definition. In the military, who were considered workers (eligible for union membership) and who were considered managers (ineligible for union membership)?

The answer to this question was hoped to be found during the research effort. What was revealed, however, was that the original assumption made about union eligibility was incorrect.

The traditional manager-worker separation for union membership does not exist in the public sector or in the military. Instead, union leadership negotiates with the government for pay and other benefits as opposed to the private sector where union leadership negotiates with company management. The typical management versus union confrontation which occurs in the private sector simply does not occur in the public sector where managers are also union members. In the public sector and the military, all employees could be considered "workers" in the union sense of the word. Thus, all permanent employees are eligible for union membership.

Even though military unions negotiate with the government, they also interact with military commanders on such matters as grievances. Thus, a better research question to address this problem could have been "What are the advantages and disadvantages of a military union to a military commander?" Only two of the foreign officers interviewed, however, had command experience. Although some inferences may be drawn from these interviews concerning how a commander views the union in his command role as opposed to his member role, not enough evidence became available to restructure research question two in this manner. Thus, as the original assumption upon which research

question two was based was found to be incorrect, so too is research question two. Therefore, research question two is invalidated and will not be addressed in this thesis.

Summary. --In the military, no manager-worker pattern of eligibility exists for union membership. Military managers can also be union members. Advantages and disadvantages of union membership are thus the same for military managers and military members. Research question two is therefore a restatement of research question one. Research question two is thus invalidated and will not be separately addressed in this thesis.

Research Question Three

What limitations are imposed upon military unions?

Discussion. --Research Question Three was addressed in Chapters II, III, and IV. Governments in Austria, Denmark, and Sweden imposed certain limitations on military union activity in each of their respective countries. Union activity was generally limited to economic and welfare matters. Military union activity and power were suspended by law in times of war or national emergency. Unions were generally restricted from interfering in military operations, tactics of war, training, security, military justice, and other matters of a strictly command nature. In all cases, military personnel eligible for union membership were limited to career and professional military members. In no cases were conscripts or draftees permitted military union membership. In

addition, time limitations were placed on military union officials for conducting union activities during duty hours. (36)

Limitations on the right to strike ranged from Sweden where no restrictions existed, through Austria where strikes were not specifically prohibited, to Denmark where strikes were not allowed. The right to strike will be discussed further in the latter sections of this chapter.

Summary. -- The limitations of military unions were of the same basic nature for all three countries with the exception of the right to strike. The purpose and union activity of the military unions was strictly for the economic and welfare interests of its members. Unions are not allowed to interfere in military matters, and union activity during times of national crisis is prohibited. The right to strike limitation ranged from forbidden in Denmark, through not specifically forbidden in Austria, to permitted in Sweden.

Differences in Union Concept Between Europe and the United States

Although all unions have essentially the same goals, their methods of achieving these goals may be quite different. Unions in the private and public sectors of the United States economy, for example, resort to strikes which result in many more working days lost than their European counterparts. In 1969, there were 211.1 working days lost per 1000 inhabitants in the U. S. due to labor disputes. This contrasts with 16.1 days lost in Austria, 13.8 days lost in Sweden, and

12.3 days lost per 1000 inhabitants in Denmark. (See Appendix C.) These figures illustrate that more strikes occur in the U. S. , or that the strikes which do occur are of a longer duration, or both. Nonetheless, unions in the U. S. are clearly more strike-oriented than their European counterparts.

In addition, European unions exist side by side with strong employer organizations. This has resulted in a balance of power between these two groups at the national level. Although all governments usually reserve the right to intercede when labor disputes are serious and appear irreconcilable, government intervention in Europe appears to be much less frequent than in the U. S. These differences in union concepts are important from the standpoint that military unions in Austria, Denmark, and Sweden have taken on the character of the public and private sector unions in their respective countries.

Public Sector Strikes in the United States

Even though strikes by unions in the public sector of the United States economy are forbidden by law, strikes have nonetheless been used to achieve union goals. In March 1970, postal workers in the U. S. violated federal law and conducted a nationwide strike. By this withdrawal of services, the postal union eventually achieved its demand for higher wages. The strike was settled and mail carriers returned to duty. (45:47)

In addition, policemen in New York City went on a six-day strike

in January 1971. A skeleton force of police did remain on duty to respond to emergencies, however. Again, this strike took place within a group of civil servants who were not allowed to strike. Thus, even though unions in the U. S. may be forbidden by law the right to strike, this is not to say that all strikes will be precluded. (45:48)

Public Sector Strike in Sweden

A serious strike occurred in the public sector of the Swedish economy in 1971. The strike began in January of that year when 2500 municipal level administrators walked off their jobs. The situation escalated when 200 key personnel of the government administered railroad system went on strike and thus halted state railroads. The union strategy was to strike with as few key personnel as possible in order to halt essential services and at the same time to conserve union strike funds. To counter this strategy, the Government responded with a lock-out of teachers and other government employees. By early March, about 50,000 civil servants were on strike or had been locked out of their jobs.

A further possible escalation of this situation occurred when the Government threatened to lock out 3,000 military officers. (This threat was not quite as serious as it might seem, however, since the Supreme Commander of the Swedish Armed Forces was allowed to designate non-essential personnel for this lock-out.) This lock-out, however, never took place. The Swedish Government intervened in the

strike situation and ordered a six week cooling-off period while all employees returned to work. A complete settlement was finally reached in June 1971. The Swedish Central Organization of Salaried Employees (TCO) in conjunction with the Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations (SACO) have submitted a proposal to the government National Collective Bargaining Office which would limit the right to strike for certain government employees, military officers included. A final decision has not yet been made concerning this proposal. (42, 12:72)

This strike in Sweden illustrated the possible consequences of allowing a military union the right to strike. If a union has the right to strike, the corresponding employer organization (whether it be company management or the government) has the right to impose a lock-out. As a result, even though the military union never exercises this strike option, the employer (in this case the government) could threaten to or actually impose a lockout on military members. If carried out, this lock-out could have serious adverse effects on a country's national security. If military unions themselves exercised the right to strike, this would compound the possible threat to national security.

The Role of the Military

The United States military, with its worldwide location of forces and the number of activities in which it is involved, is never in a situation where life and death of many people is not of major concern. The

use of the military force to achieve national objectives in time of crisis must always be available to a nation if it wishes to survive. Knowing that its military is always ready if needed to achieve these objectives provides a certain degree of confidence and strength to its leaders in dealing with such crises. This confidence would be seriously shaken or eroded were a military union allowed the right to strike within our armed forces.

A country's military force is a deterrent to attack and keeper of the peace. When all else fails in keeping order and discipline within a country, this responsibility usually falls to the military. When the situation gets out of hand, the courses of action normally taken are to call out the national guard and to declare martial law. The numbers, depth and breadth of experience, and expertise of the military enable it to sufficiently perform service functions in most all crisis situations ranging from civil disturbances, to mail delivery disruptions, to national disasters.

Indeed, it is one thing for the military to take over positions abandoned by civil servants who might be on strike, but it is quite another for civilians to man Navy ships and fly Air Force bombers if the military went on strike. The technical expertise required by the military, coupled with the exclusive training and coordination necessary to maintain an effective force, cannot be duplicated by the civilian personnel force in sufficient numbers to be meaningful.

As was pointed out by Ronald V. Grabler in his own thesis on military unionization, E. Wight Bakke of Yale predicted:

. . . the use of the strike by public servants is not going to be legitimized, but the strike or some other form of reduction or withdrawal of services having the same impact is going to be used extensively nevertheless.¹

Bakke concluded that:

. . . the record of successes by public employees who have resorted to strikes encourages confidence that, notwithstanding its illegality, it is a method that gets results.²

Grabler cited Professor Bakke's remarks to illustrate the new found power of public sector employees in the use and application of the strike and to conclude that "the fact that strikes are prohibited by law has virtually no meaning." (45:49)

The military unions studied in this thesis appear to have taken on the character of their civilian public and private sector unions, even though military unions are of a later formation. If this is true, that the character of the civilian public and private sector unions is carried over or reflected in military unions, then one can question what a U. S. military union would be like.

¹E. Wight Bakke, "Reflections on the Future of Bargaining in the Public Sector," Monthly Labor Review, July 1970, p. 21, cited in Ronald V. Grabler, Military Unions: An Analysis of Unionization in Norway and Germany as It Relates to the United States. (Wright-Patterson AFB, Ohio: Air Force Institute of Technology, 1971), p. 48.

²Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This research study has revealed that a union can operate within a military environment and that military forces can function with a union.

Findings

Sweden is a highly unionized country which views union representation as a fundamental right of all individuals. With this in mind it comes as no great surprise that military members are also represented by unions. A balance of power exists in the Swedish labor market between national unions on the one hand and national employer organizations on the other. The interaction between these two power structures is one of mutual cooperation and understanding. Thus, government regulation and intervention in labor activities are held to a minimum. These aspects of the Swedish labor market make Sweden unique when compared to other nations such as the United States. As a result, even though Swedish military unions have the right to strike, it is unlikely that they would ever exercise this right and place the country

in a defenseless position. Nevertheless, the strike of 1971 demonstrated some hostile overtones which were out of character with previous labor relations. This strike demonstrated the possibility that hostile labor negotiations could spill over from the private to the public sector of the Swedish economy. Having realized this possibility and the adverse consequences which could result concerning national security, talks are now being held to determine whether or not the military should retain the right to strike.

Swedish military unionization has nonetheless been effective in gaining economic and welfare benefits for its military forces. Improvements in pay, vacation, per diem, pension, and working conditions have been achieved through union effort. Services gained from the union take the form of grievance procedures, judicial aid, and life insurance plans.

In many respects Danish unionization and labor relations followed the Swedish pattern. Denmark is also a highly unionized country with a similar balance of power situation existing between the national trade unions on the one hand and the national employer organizations on the other. Danish military unions, however, are of much earlier origin (1922) than Swedish military unions (1965). Also, the Danish labor market is characterized by more government intervention and labor legislation. Danish military unions are specifically forbidden the right to strike. Like Sweden, however, Danish military unions have been effective in gaining economic and welfare benefits for their military forces.

Much the same as Denmark and Sweden, Austria is also highly unionized. Labor legislation and Government involvement in Austrian union activities appears to be greater than that of either Denmark or Sweden. The Austrian Trade Union Federation controls employee labor relations with the employer organizations (industry and trade associations) at the national level. These employer associations do not appear to be as highly organized as the employer organizations in Denmark and Sweden. Austria's military union was formed in 1967 and has been effective in gaining economic and welfare benefits for its military forces. Military union members enjoy the same rights and privileges as their civilian counterparts in public service. The Austrian military is not specifically denied the right to strike but it is widely agreed that they will not strike--and history has borne out this fact.

Conclusions

Unions in Austria, Denmark, and Sweden, as well as the United States, developed to give the union member a voice in determining fair wage levels and working conditions. Beyond this point, however, the similarity between European and U. S. unionization ends. The general atmosphere of mutual trust and cooperation which characterizes labor negotiations in these foreign countries seldom exists here in the U. S. In both the private and public sector of the U. S. economy, unions resort to strike action much more frequently than do their European counterparts. (See Appendix C for workdays lost due to labor disputes).

Although the goals of all unions may be similar in nature, methods of achieving these goals are quite different between the U. S. and European unions.

As stated previously this study has revealed that a union can operate within a military environment and military forces can function with a union. This is not to say, however, that all unions are compatible with their nation's military forces. The philosophy of union operation within Austria, Denmark, and Sweden has been one of avoiding strikes in order to minimize government intervention. This union philosophy has proven compatible with the military operations in each of these countries. Even though the military unions in Sweden have the right to strike and the union in Austria is not specifically forbidden the right to strike, it is highly unlikely that this strike option would ever be exercised.

In the U. S., however, union management seldom hesitates to exercise the right to strike in order to achieve its goals. It is doubtful that union philosophies such as exist within the U. S. would be compatible with the mission of our military forces. Even if a U. S. military union were denied the right to strike, this is not to say that all strikes would thereby be precluded. The history of strikes in the public sector of the U. S. economy, where strikes have been forbidden by law, attests to this fact. The same situation would likely occur within the military forces; i. e., although denied, strikes would probably occur--a situation that could not be tolerated within a military force which must

maintain continuous operational readiness to deter an attack by a foreign power.

An additional consideration indicating that unions might not find acceptance within our armed forces is the fact that in the U. S., economic and welfare benefits have traditionally been provided to military forces by the Congress. In recent years legislation has been enacted which links military and civil servant pay increases, this in effect, has provided the military a share in the advantages accruing from union activity in the public sector of the U. S. economy.

In the final analysis, based on the differences in union philosophies in the U. S. and the European nations studied, it is doubtful a union could exist within the Armed Forces of the U. S. without exercising the strike option, whether or not this option is permitted by law. In addition the benefits provided by Congress in recent years are considered equal to or greater than those that could have been provided by a military union.

Recommendations for Study

The depth of this analysis was restricted by the limited number of foreign military personnel who were available for interview. A further restricting factor was the lack of translated descriptive military union material and translating facilities. This suggests the possibility of further research taking place within the countries studied,

where foreign military personnel for interview and adequate translating facilities would be available.

Additional research should be conducted along the lines of:

"What are the advantages and disadvantages of a military union to a military commander?" This is considered worthwhile because a military commander's decisions can be influenced by union activity.

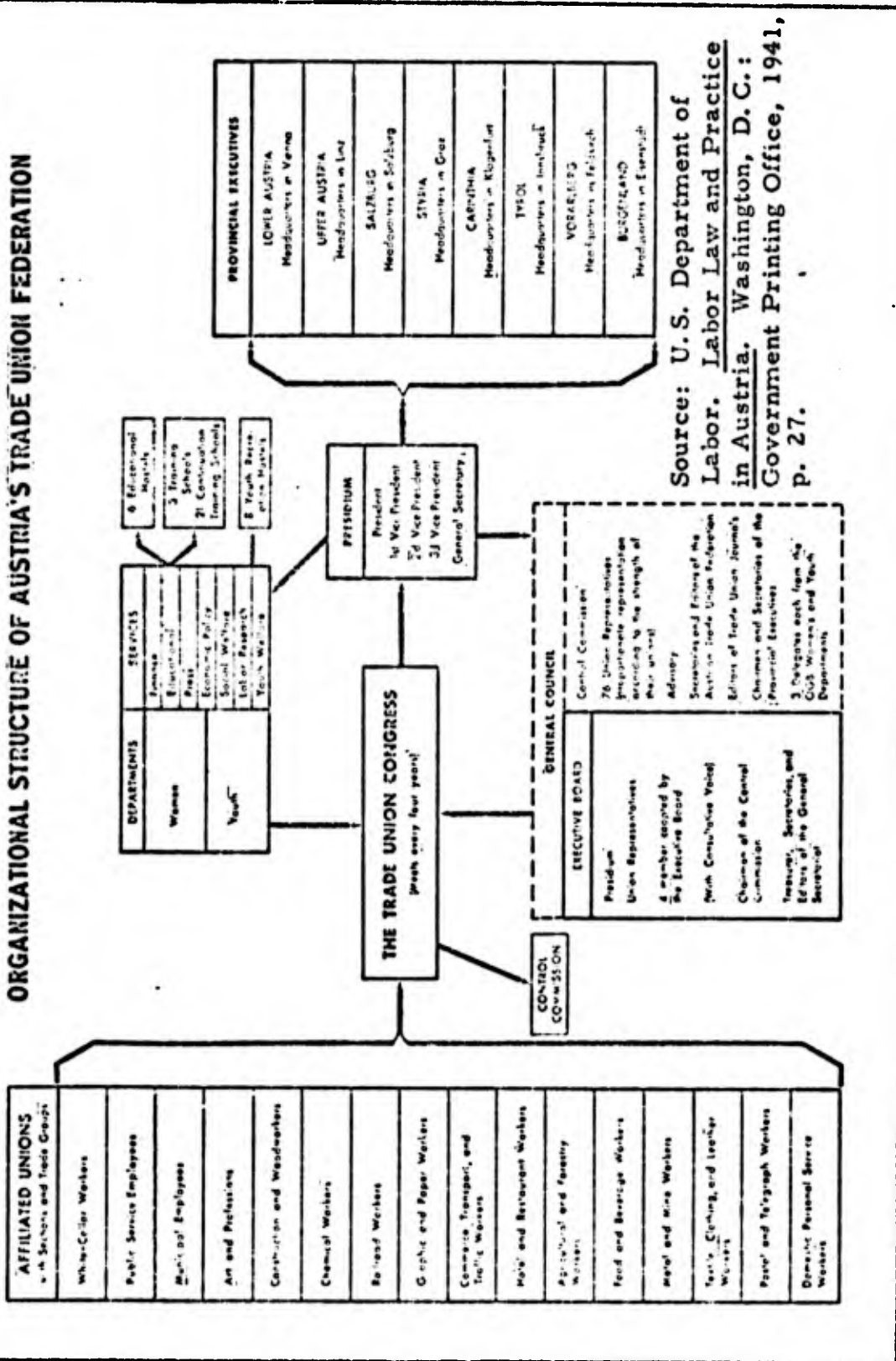
And, finally, the right to strike option by military unions in Sweden should be closely watched to determine its eventual fate.

Sixteen Industrial Unions of the
Austrian Trade Union Federation
and Membership
As of 1 January 1970

1. Clerical Commercial & Technical Employees (in Private and Nationalized Undertakings)	262,500
2. Public Employees (in State and Provincial Governments)	127,500
3. Municipal Employees	134,900
4. Employed Artists, Musicians, and Free Professions	16,100
5. Building and Wood Workers	190,000
6. Chemical Workers (Chemicals, Glass, Rubber, Plastics, Paper)	67,000
7. Railroad Personnel	119,500
8. Printing and Paperworking	25,000
9. Employees in Transport, Traffic, and Commerce (Manual)	27,000
10. Employees in Hotels, Restaurants, Cafes, etc.	16,500
11. Workers in Agriculture and Forestry	41,500
12. Food, Drink, Tobacco, and Canning Workers	51,500
13. Metal Workers and Miners	281,000
14. Textile Clothing and Leather Workers	77,500
15. Postal and Telegraph Personnel	59,500
16. Personal Service Workers	<u>20,500</u>
ATUF MEMBERSHIP (TOTAL) As of 1 January 1970	1,517,500

Source: Der Österreichische Gewerkschaftsbund, Translated by
Eligite Meckaitis. (Vienna: Österreichischer Gewerk-
schaftsbund, 1970), pp. 13-14.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF AUSTRIA'S TRADE UNION FEDERATION



Source: U. S. Department of Labor, Labor Law and Practice in Austria, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1941, p. 27.

Working Days Lost Due to Labor Disputes, 1969

	<u>In Thousands</u>	<u>Per 1,000 Inhabitants</u>
USA	42,900	211.1
United Kingdom	6,850	123.3
France	2,220	44.1
Fed Rep of Germany	250	4.3
Belgium	160	16.6
Sweden	110	13.8
Denmark	60	12.3
Austria	114 ¹	16.1 ¹

Source: Fact Sheets on Sweden, Labor Relations in Sweden, December 1971.

¹The only figures available for Austria are for 1961 and they indicate: ". . . The number of manhours lost through strikes in 1961 was 911,000 with 38,000 workers involved. The average duration was just short of 24 hours." That would equate to 111,000 working days and 16.1 working days per 1,000 inhabitants. U.S. Department of Labor Pamphlet, Labor Law and Practice in Austria, 1963, p. 31.

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