

interpretation. But the fact is that over a period of time, since the passage of the Wagner Act in 1935, court interpretation has brought those words to mean actually that when you sit down to bargain you are going to bargain about anything the union thinks affects the worker directly or indirectly. And believe me, this gets to be quite a variety of things.

You get into things that may have doubtful legality, like a discussion of prices; you get into things like your advertising budgets; the funding of your welfare plans; what you are doing in research and whatnot; and you have to talk about these things because they do have a very real effect on the worker; how well or how badly you do them. So, let us assume that when you sit down at a bargaining table today the union is going to talk about anything they want to talk about, and you are either going to talk about what they want to talk about, or you can keep your lawyers busy in the courts for awhile.

The subject matter being that broad you will find that in any bargaining at the first session you will have a list of demands that's as long as this room. This is sort of like the form of a Greek tragedy. You go through this thing at every bargaining for the simple reason that the union makes every demand that any of their members have asked for. So that, if the demand is turned down--as they know it will be and you know it will be--when they go back to their members and the members say, "What about this demand," they say, "Management turned it down." And no matter how ridiculous it is they will throw it on the table once, because they have found out that if they do not throw it on the table and come back to their constituency, and the constituents say, "What happened to this demand?" and the union says, "Well, we didn't make it because we thought it was silly," they will say, "Well, how in hell do you know that management wouldn't have given it to you?" And they do not know unless they have thrown it on the table.

So, usually the first day you go through this act. They make all the demands; you reject them all; and then the next day you get down to talking business. Now, this has to be. As I say, it is a form that has arisen.

Now, when you get into the bargaining itself, what are the areas that you can generally look to for conflict, and what are the areas where the odds are that there will be no conflict? The first place, and the greatest place for conflict, is the fight over who controls