

# ENHANCING TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP: LESSON FROM THE PAST EXPERIENCE

## MENGUKUHKAN KEPIMPINAN KESATUAN SEKERJA: PENGAJARAN DARI PENGALAMAN LALU

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**Abstract:** *Leadership in the trade union is an important factor in determining the successful function of the union to the members. With true characteristics, leader of union can unify their members and working together to achieve their goals. Union leader also have an important role to create a good spirit within the members. All this can be achieved if the person was selected as a leader have a right attitude and willing to do a sacrifice. By defining the attitude, this paper will examine the experience of union leader who has a characteristic in pursue their goals. The true experiences are involved with two different actors. First actor is leadership in Western perspective in 1912 by focusing to Mr. Benjamin Kartz and Mr. David Kaufman. The second actor was Mr. Saito Yasuji represent the East Leadership in 1940. By focusing on qualitative method, this paper will explain what the attitudes and characteristics of leader in union are by elaborating the actors are mentioned above. Some of the finding shows all actors has a willingness to help others and strong aspirations to fight for their rights. These spirit and attitude should take as a lesson for the union leader today as an aspiration to function effectively during the union mobilisation and daily function.*



**Keywords:** Trade Union Leadership, Industrial Disputes, Industrial Relations, Leader Attitudes and Characteristics

### 1. Introduction

Trade union as an organization has a special function in representing their members. The leader in the union will determine how union could function effectively in achieving their goal. Members of the union will be satisfied with the leader which can provide a good service and is always willing to help when it's needed. These attributes finally will contribute to the support of the trade union members to their leader. Definition of trade union according to Salamon (1998: 85) may therefore be able to be defined as: "any organization, whose membership consists of employees, which seeks to organize and represents their interest both in the workplace and society and, in particular, seeks to regulate the employment relationship through the direct process of collective bargaining with management."

Most trade unions today are challenging due to the declining numbers of workers who are voluntary registered as a union active member. The total numbers of members registered in the trade union will increase the power of the union in representing all members. To achieve that objective, one of the vital elements is the union is leadership. Good leadership has an important role in strengthening the union by creating a strong attitude and aspiration. Based on that, this paper will explain the attitudes and characteristics of leaders in union by focusing the experience (history). This approach has a similarity with research by Knowles (2007) which focuses on trade union leader's biography to explain the leadership in trade union. Knowles (2007) wrote:

"The leadership of trade unions is a much-neglected aspect in the field of contemporary leadership studies despite the growing importance of the role as these organizations struggle to survive in the current political and economic climate extant in most Western countries. By employing a methodology which uses a series of biographical case studies of leaders to examine the leadership in a single trade union, this article evaluates the significance of union leadership and demonstrates the importance of historical context in leadership study. It also shows how leadership and the organization's environment inter-connect to shape the way unions develop over time together."

Some of the findings show all actors have a willingness to help others and strong aspirations to fight for their rights.

## **2. Leadership**

Leaders need a leadership to manage and to function effectively during the process of achieving the union aims and goal. Many approaches can be used to defined and explained leadership, such as a behavioural approach. Newstrom and Davis (1997: 200) in defining leadership wrote:

"The process of influencing's and supporting, others to work enthusiastically toward achieving objective. It is the critical factor that helps an individual or groups identify its goal and then motivates and assists in achieving the stated goals. The three important elements in the definition are influence/support, voluntary effort, and goal achievement. Without leadership, an organization would be only a confusion of people and machines, just as an orchestra without a conductor would be only musicians and instruments. The orchestra and all other organizations require leadership to develop their precious assets to the fullest."

Several factor or criteria can be applied to determine a type of leadership. These criteria will include the total pattern of explicit and implicit leader's action as seen by employees. It represents a consistent combination of philosophy, skills, traits, and attitudes that are exhibited in a person's behaviours. First criteria are distinction between a positive and negative leadership. In explaining this kind of leadership, Newstrom and Davis (1997: 200), explained:

"Positive and negative leaders, there are differences in the ways leaders approach people to motivate them. If the approach emphasizes rewards-economic or otherwise-the leader uses positives leadership. Better employee education, greater demands for independence, and other factors have made satisfactory employee motivation more dependent on positive leadership. If emphasis is placed on penalties, the leader is applying negative leadership. This approach can get acceptable performance in many situations, but it has high human costs. Negatives leaders act domineering and superior with people. To get work done, they hold over their personnel such penalties as loss of job, reprimand in the presence of others, and a few days off without pay. They display authority in the false belief that it frightens everyone into productivity. They are bosses more than leaders."

This is an explanation in term of the Manager as a leader in any organization, but it still can be applied by the trade union leader. By practicing the positive leadership, will enhance the attitude of the trade union members. Besides that, the way in which a leader practices the power also established a type of leadership style. According to Newstrom and Davis (1997:205),

“Styles of leadership are autocratic, participative, and free-rein leaders. Each of the style has its benefits and limitations. A leader often uses all three styles over a period, but one style tends to be dominant one. An illustration is a factory supervisor, who is normally autocratic, but she is participative in determining vacation schedules, and she is free rein in selecting a department representative for the safety committee. The first style of leadership was an autocratic style. Autocratic leaders centralize power and decision making in them. They structure the complete work situation for their employees, who are expected to do what they are told and not to think for themselves. The leader takes full authority and assumes full responsibility. Autocratic leadership typically is negative, based on treats and punishment, but it can appear to be positive, as demonstrated by benevolent autocrat who chooses to give some rewards to employees. Some advantages of autocratic leadership are that is often satisfying for the leader, permit for quick decisions, allows the use of less competent subordinates, and provides security and structure for employees. The main disadvantage is that most employees dislike it, especially if it is extreme enough to create fear and frustration. Further, it seldom generates the strong organizational commitment among employees that leads to low turnover and absenteeism rates.”

The second was a participative leader. These types of leaders tend to decentralize authority. Participative decisions are not unitarily, as with the autocrat, because they arise from consultation with followers and participation by them. The leader and group are acting as a social unit. Employee are informed about conditions affecting their jobs and encouraged to express their ideas and make suggestions. The general trend is toward wider use of participative practices because they are consistent with the supportive and collegial models of organizational behavior.

Beside that, the third style include the free- rein leader as explain by Newstrom and Davis (1997:207):

“The last style is a Free-rein leader which thence to avoid power and responsibility. They depend largely on the group to establish its own goals and work out its own problems. Group members train themselves and provide their own motivation. The leader plays only a minor role. Free-rein leadership ignores the leader's contribution in approximately the same way autocratic leadership ignores the group. It tends to permit different units of an organization to proceed at cross-purposes, and it can degenerate into chaos. For it reasons it is not normally used a dominant style but is useful in those situations where a leader can leave a choice entirely to the group.”

In generally people who want to be leader need a special skills and traits. It will determine either people are choosing to be leader willing to lead their members in effectively or not. According to Newstrom and Davis (1997: 203);

"The current research on leadership trait suggests that some factor do help differentiate leaders from non-leaders. The most important traits are a high level of personal drive, the desire to lead, personal integrity, and self-confidence. Cognitive (analytical) ability, business knowledge, charisma, creativity, flexibility, and personal warmth are also frequently desired."

### **3. Trade Union Leadership**

Trade unions as an organization and social unit also need a leader. It's a very important factor in assuring the rights of the workers will be better and good conditions. Good leadership also will maneuver the strength of the trade union. Finally, it can be a factor in winning or losing in the bargaining process.

Aminuddin (2008:6) has provided criteria for an effective and successful trade union leadership. The criteria are:

"Effective and successful trade unions need leadership. Leadership is about serving your followers. Serving your fellow-workers requires sacrifice. Leadership is also about power and struggles to attain power. Internal conflicts and squabbles are inevitable. Yet, these conflicts must never be allowed to dominate the trade union's agenda. When you join a trade union, you should be aware of the sacrifices made by workers in the past, especially in the early days of trade unionism when the whole weight of society was against workers and their struggle."

All the criteria mentioned above are useful and should be applied by every trade union leader to be effective and successful. With these characteristics, the leader will carry the responsibility and function accordingly. According to Aminuddin (2008: 6), the function of leader is.

"Leaders create other leaders. Leaders have personal humility. Leaders are coaches, mentors, and followers of other leaders. Leaders must be passionate and self-less. When they are, they can be proud that they are following in the footsteps of great trade union leaders before them such as the Tolpuddle Martyrs and the Matchgirls of London.<sup>1</sup> Leaders of trade unions will not amass great wealth. But if they do what they must do, they will leave a legacy which will be appreciated by all workers, now and in the future. Leaders need to have a strong sense of direction. They must decide where they want their organization to be in five years' time. They must decide how to get to that destination. They must decide who is going to do what. What drives the future? Is it a repeat of the strategies and tactics of the past? No! The future is driven by innovation. Leadership and power are twins. There is no leadership without power and he who has power can lead others if he chooses to use his power. Still, many people are wary of the effects of power on individuals. Sir William Gladstone, prime minister of England in the 1870s said, "We look forward to the time when the power of love will replace the love of power. Then will our world know the blessings of peace."

Union leaders also need a special attitude and good spirit. According to Ramasamy (2008:12) leader in trade union should have:

"Strongly believe in the need for greater solidarity, have a clear sense of purpose, urgency and direction, be highly ethical and be seen as being one, be knowledgeable, inquisitive and well-informed, be dynamic, dedicated, and have the will to protect the interests of labor, including the vulnerable groups such as women and migrant workers, ensure that democratic practices prevail within the movement, be honest, and have integrity and sincerity<sup>1</sup>."

Some of these characteristics had been practices by leaders in USA. Streissgurth (1998) compiled the biography of a few union leaders in the USA and concluded them as legendary Labor Leaders in US which are present in Table 1.

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<sup>1</sup> The summary of this story can be read in appendix 1 and 2. They are related to what a union leader had been done to the union.

**Table 1. Legendary Labor Leader in US.**

No	The Leader	Trade Union	Aspiration and Achievement
1	Samuel Gompers 1850-1924 <i>(Granddaddy of the Labor Movement)</i>	Cigar makers International Union {CIU}	I want to live for one thing alone-to have a better labor movement in America and in the world than I found in it when I entered, as a boy, the...struggle for the right"
2	Eugene V. Debs {1855-1926) <i>Socialist Worker</i>	American Labor Union (ARU)	Explaining " <i>I am for Socialism because I am for humanity,</i> " He devoted his life to ending the " <i>slavery of industrial work</i> "
3	William D. "Big Bill" Haywood • 1869-1928 <i>(One Big Union Leader)</i>	Local66 Western Federation of Miners {WFM) Industrial Worker of the World {IWW)	Willing to do whatever it took to seize power for workers. That imposed him " I despite the law".
4	Mary "Mother" Jones {1830-1930) <i>(Miners' Angel)</i>		Famous for her battles with mine owners, her want " <i>there are no limits to which the power of privilege will not go to keep the workers in slavery</i> "
5	John L. Lewis {1880-1969) <i>Labor Baron</i>	United Mine Workers {UMW)	Always zealous in his attempt to "organize the unorganized"
6	A. Philip Randolph {1889-1979) <i>Service not Servitude</i>	Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters	A hero of civil rights and labor struggles, he knew change did not come easily. " <i>Freedom is never granted; it is won,</i> " he declared. " <i>Justice is never given, it is exacted</i> ".
7	Jimmy Hoffa {1913-1975) <i>Strong-Arm Labor</i>	International Brotherhood of Teamsters {IBT)	He explained "The firsts people that hire hoodlums and gangsters are employers,"  "And so, if you're going to stay in the business of organizing the unorganized, then you better have a resistance."
8	Cesar Chavez (1927-1993) <i>Nonviolent Crusader</i>	National Farm Workers Association (NFWA)	No one had ever created a successful farm workers union, but he was able to organize agricultural labourers' because " <i>when we take on fight, we take it on to the end</i> "

Sources: rearranged from Streissguth. T. (1998).

Table 1 presents the characteristics of a leader which included aspirations, and achievement by legendary union leader in USA from various trade or occupation, such as farmer, mining, Car Porters, and cigarette. Streissgurt (1998) had created a special name (image) for each leader based on their contribution during the time of leading the union. For example, Samuel Gompertz (1850-1924) is labeled as a "Granddaddy of

Labour Movement" for the reason of having been pioneering in labour union and also the aspiration and goal about the future of union. Gompez said; 11/ want to live for one thing alone-to have a better labor movement in America and in the world than I found in it when I entered, as a boy, the...struggle for the right". This proof that to be a leader in trade union, the desire, aspiration and hope very important to perform the responsibility and carried out any task. It also will contribute to getting and encouraging people (workers) to actively joined the union.

#### **4. The Declining of Trade Union Membership**

Trade union membership has an important role to create a strong movement of union in workplace. In the current situation, trade unions around the world are facing a big challenge by the declining of membership. They're many factors which contributed to this phenomenon such as the process of globalisation. This process according to Ramasamy (2008: 2):

"Trade unions all over the world are under attack by the very forces, drivers and consequences of globalization. Barber (2003), the TUC General Secretary in UK, argues that increasing global economic competition and capital mobility, rise of cross-border production networks combined with outsourcing, neo-liberal economic policies, rapid pace in technological innovation, privatisation, contraction of the manufacturing sector and expansion of the services sector, changes in production processes, and growing employer resistance to unionization have reduced the number of "organisable" workers, exacerbated difficulties in union organizing and adversely affected membership commitment to unionism. Weak enforcement of labour laws also contributes to union membership inertia."

The impact of declining in membership will impact the density of trade union and the decline in density can be attributed to a few reasons: the inability of trade unions to organise new establishments. It can be attributed in part to lowered worker interest and stiffened management opposition to unionism, unfavourable changes in the political and legal environment for collective bargaining and by management actions such as creating additional pseudo managerial posts. It can be argued that much of the decline in Malaysian trade union density is also due to increased management resistance to new unionism and reduced worker interest in unions, induced by a tougher economic environment abetted by a more pro-employer legal environment. (Ramasamy, 2008:2)

#### **Strengthening Union by Strengthening Leadership**

How the union will be strengthened by strengthening the leadership? As a 'driver' for their union, leader has an important role to define a goal and what a strategy should been taken to win the support from their members? Hyman (1999:4) in focusing the important of ideology, mentioned about this problem:

"Hence the evident material problems facing trade unions cannot be separated from less tangible problems of ideology. To resist the hostile forces ranged against them, unions must mobilize countervailing power resources; but such resources consist in the ability to attract members, to inspire members and sympathizers to engage in action, and to win the support (or at least neutrality) of the broader public. The struggle for trade union organization is thus a struggle for the hearts and minds of people; in other words, a battle of ideas. "

According to Ramasamy (2008:10) union leadership is related to commitment:

"Unions' leadership is a commitment, a commitment to the cause of improving the livelihood and protecting the rights of the hundreds of thousands of workers." In this context, some questions that need to be addressed to union leaders at include; i) Are

leaders doing enough? ii) Do all members attend and participate actively in meetings regularly? iii) Are all resolutions/action plans successfully implemented?, iv) Are there mid-point reviews, or feedback mechanisms in place to monitor the progress of the various action plans implemented?. This entire question needs to be responded by the leaders and plan to answers.

Linda Mathew as a President of IBEW Local 1613 in United State of America say about true leadership is not about power over people, it is about power with people.

"My elected position as president comes with constitutional authority, but that authority does not make me a leader. I am a leader because members share my vision for our future. Before anyone can become a leader, with or without a role of authority, they must prove themselves to be worthy of leadership. The people who surround you daily may not think about your attributes, but they will watch what you do, and through this observation they know who you really are. This insight will be used to determine if you are a self-serving individual motivated by ego or greed, wishing to succeed at someone else's expense or an honorable and trusted leader whose vision they will share and who's direction they will follow.

Leadership is often a difficult role. Risks must be taken, and errors will be made. But we must learn from our mistakes and continue to move forward, for there is no greater joy in true leadership than building an organization with an environment that allows both the organization and its people to prosper and excel.

#### **4.1. True Experience: An Historical Explanation**

In most of the time, trade union will exist as an institution to move and 'voice up' matter collectively. The raise of labour organization impacts of the development process of industrialism and capitalism. Salamon (1998: 86) in explaining the process, says that process can be seen as a social response to the advent of industrialization and capitalism. The earlier, largely agrarian, semi-feudal society relied primarily on a 'benevolent' state and trade guilds to provide limited protection for peasant and artisans. The development of new society based on the principle of a paid contractual relationship between employer and employee, the emergence of a ranged of industrially based wage-earning classes, together with the withdrawal of the state from the determination of the terms of the new relationship, required employees to create new institutions for their collective protection. The drawing together of individual, as 'employees', into similar circumstances within new industrial organizations provided the focus for their collective interest.

The patents of process are similarly both in new and old Development Country, and whatever conditions and situations the impact often similar. Based on this premise, the meaning of 'true experience' in this paper refer to the experience of people which are contributed their life in representing others to pursue their interest. This experience is differentiated based on the location (country), time (year happened) and culture. Their spirit and struggle show that some of the characteristics discuss above applied and also there has a strong aspiration to see a changes in their life.

##### **Experience 1**

The first experience was in Western perspective, during the year 1920 in United State of America. The leaders are Mr. Benjamin Kartz and Mr. David Kaufman. During the interviewed session in 1977, Karts are 75 years old while Kaufman are 78 years old. Gottleb (1997: 1) in introduction to the leader, write:

"This is about the man who stood on the picket line early on that blistering cold November morning, worked until midnight, trudged up the steps to the top of the butcher shop for the meeting at 1.00 a.m. This is to receive he union recognition. These men are the real builders. They did not erect statues of themselves, write books, poems, or compose songs. They built, instead, an institution, an institution of progress

while having to sacrifice blood, respect, and love of their peers. I found Mr. Katz and Mr. Kaufman most exciting and invigorating."

Kaufman was born in 1895. He came from a poverty-stricken home that was poor to the extent that bread we ate supplied from the Yeshiva in my town in the Ukraine. The bread, He shall never forget, was covered with green colouring which could cause ptomaine poisoning. We would take some garlic and wrap it around the sides of the bread, and with a glass of milk we would call it meal. Meat once a month was luxury. I do not exaggerate when I say that starvation is what existed in my home. (Gottlieb 1977:4)

Finally, Kaufman comes to America in 1912. The reason he comes to America was to get a new environment for life. Kaufman says:

"I come to America because in Czarist Russia there was tyranny and discrimination against not only Jews, but peasants. I came here because this was the country of opportunity for those who wanted to work and study, but I encountered disappointment. I came here in 1912 and there was discrimination against women, and that I did not like because there was supposed to be equality among all men. So, I protested to my brother and asked him how could this exist? How could they play women against women?" (Gottlieb 1977:6)

The stories are similarly with Katz. He also born in poor family and finally comes to America for a better of life. In explaining the background of their family; Kartz saying that.

"It seems that I was born socially and economically minded. My father was a cabinet maker in a town which was poor and not enough people there could afford to have furniture made by a trained cabinet maker. We move to Vilna and the labor movement there was economically and politically established already. In 1901 the place where my father worked had an economic strike. In those days you were not allowed to strike in Russia, of course, and you could not have any meetings without a permit. "So, the people who were on strike would discuss the situation in our apartment. I can still see them sitting around the table with the shades drawn down the windows. I remember that they would have to come to the house one by one. Although only nine years old, something like this has deep effect upon someone like myself I came to America on April 7, 1910, and went to work for Singers on April 22. I don't have to tell that exploitation there was terrible. There was no union in the factory where I worked even though it was in an industrial town and other unions existed in the other industries. In 1910, summer, the clockmakers had a general strike and we participated by helping to collect strike money by going door to door to get money". (Gottlieb, 1970:3).

There are finally working together to build a union call 1199.

#### **4.2. Affort in Building Union**

To build union, Kartz actively participated in strike at a time he only 18 years old. Kartz says, "I become a member of the Jewish-speaking branch of the Socialist Party. During the strike I was captain of a district and had to distribute the weekly socialist paper at 3.00 or 4:00 in the morning. We would have to put the paper under the door while they were sleeping, or else rocks and bricks would meet us". (Gottlieb, 1970:7)

Mr. Kartz also joined the "Executives Board of Workmen's Circle. In 1911 he became a member of the Workmen's Circle, which gave him a bigger crowd among the Jewish people in which to mingle and influence. There was a fight in the Workmen Circle of which I was a part, between the young and the old, but it was a fight between conservatives and the more radical. I was finally elected to the executive board and helped turn it upside down. We wanted lectures. Both actors also have an important intention in education. Mr. Kaufman had learned economics and philosophy, which that combination of the subjects brought her into Marxism. He found Marxism to be the positive philosophy and he began to understand



the function of the capitalist states-exploiting labor, surplus value, and the accumulation of wealth. We have the upper capitalist strata, the lower strata, and then the most exploited working class. Property divides them. For the exploited there is no alternative than to come together and join the organization of their choice that will try to improve their lot from that which exists in the status quo. (Gottlieb, 1970:12)

### **Struggle with 1199**

The spirit to build the union exists from the strong desire and philosophy. Even most of the workers are Black and Puerto Rican, there are willing to form the union. In asking why that they do, Kartz saying it's because of the philosophy. According to Kartz "We were not content as so many trade unions are only bringing benefits of prosperity and high standards to only its members, but we devoted our strength and resources to organize other workers today, in the midst of prosperity, were exploited and impoverished". (Gottlieb, 1970:15)

That drives him to sacrifice and face a lot of sacrifices and difficulties. For Kartz the meaning of struggle is involved both subjective and objective meaning as mentioned below:

"I have in mind when I say struggle, the subjective as well as the objective. Subjectively, it is the struggle to survive as well as to exist. Objectively, it is what is being done to bring about the environment personal struggle can be reduced, so that you can enjoy life more comfortably. To achieve personal improvement, I can see the only way to do so is to improve upon the society of which I am part and not separate. The struggle must go on until the working class organizes as a class, takes hold of the means of production and distribution, produces not for profit, but for use. Then the worker will be emancipated. To me, the union is a bridge across which the working class will ultimately march to a socialist order of life which will do away with the exploitation of man by man, which will do away with class relationships and a new civilization where property does not transcend human life, but life transcending property will emerge." (Gottlieb, 1970:13)

### **The Aspiration**

Aspiration<sup>2</sup> has an important role to move the leader and to stand with the right. Some aspirations are related to how they create a strategy when it deals with the action that has to be taken in achieving the goal. According to Kartz:

"There are times when you must be violent to achieve your aims. There are probably over 100 families affected by every strike. There are times when you do not want to be violent, but when you know that your wife and kids are home waiting for the money and the food and you haven't got it, and there is a chance that you can get it, and there is only one person who is in your way, then you have to get rid of that one person." (Gottlieb, 1970:16)

They also know what their wants and what are their limits, as mentioned by Kartz (Gottlieb, 1970:16):

"The worker never asks for a raise when he is satisfied. He only asks for a raise when he is dissatisfied. The fact of the matter is that whenever we negotiate a contract, the owner always says that he will have to close the store. He never closes! Another thing, suppose I am a man behind the counter doing business. I do a better job if I am satisfied rather than dissatisfied".

But when it comes to fighting, the leader has own definitions. For Kartz fighting has meaning of fight until the end. Kartz says that:

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<sup>2</sup> The act of aspiring of a ardently desiring; strong wish; high desire

"When it comes to fighting for the worker I will fight like hell. There was a time when the boss gave us the weekly wage and made a mistake. We were supposed to get time and one-third if we had to work overtime if another clerk got sick. But if for any other reason, it is time and one-half. The boss had been out for a few days and when he came back, he only paid us time and one-third. I helped him open the store one day and told him," Mr. Schmidt, you did not give us the right pay. Let me tell you right from the beginning that it is not a matter of money but principle. According to the contract, we are entitled to time and one-half". "Oh no, you are wrong" he said. (Gottlieb, 1970:17)

For Kaufman, the aspiration was how he investigates the union. My aim is to make a bridge between 1199 and society. I feel that as a matter of future development, it would be necessary to create a liaison. (Gottlieb, 1970:15). Kaufman also mentioned "as far as a worker is concerned, it does not matter what nationality he is, what religion, what color. The worker is my brother. (Gottlieb, 1970:28)

## **Experience 2**

The second experiences are Eastern perspective in 1940, a Japanese Story in Sabah. The person is Mr. Saito Yasuji. According to Saito, He was the main leader of the labor conflict which occurred in a Japanese Abaca (Manila hemp) estate of Tawau, Sabah, in 1940. Now he lives in his hometown in Fukushima-ken, north-eastern part of the Honshu Islands, which was formerly regarded as one of the poorest rural areas in Japan.

Saito has inspiration from many sources such as from reading a book. He said "In my younger days I liked books on struggle very much. "Mein Kampf" by Hitler, "My Autobiography" by Mussolini, "Count Monte Cristo" by Dumas and so on were books which I had read eagerly and were quite useful in this case. (Saito, 1992:263). Finally, Saito decide to migrate under the Japanese Government sponsor. Before embarking from Japan all the workers are required to attend a lecture. When attending the lecture, Saito has a bad experience. Saito Said:

"We attended lectures on immigration for about 10 days at the Ijuh Kyohyohsho (Training Centre for Immigrants) in Kobe. When the ship left the port, we were compelled to seal on the form renouncing our citizenship. Then our passports were taken away and all our money, except pocket money to be expended on the ship, was confiscated. Furthermore, my legal seal was taken away. We lost our human rights. I thought I had been reduced to the status of a slave" {Saito, 1992:260}

After arrived in Tawau and send to the Manila Hemp Estates, Saito found that a term and condition of work are different from what are promises by the Japanese Government. These contributed to a resistance to work and starting to struggle for better conditions of work. Mr. Saito also has an aspiration to fight for their rights. The fight starts when he personally must work while having a health problem. After fighting with the estate officer, Saito inspired other workers by saying:

"You are all slaves who are not even as free as the oxen or horses. Oxen or horses have freedom to bite or kick. Let us unite and destroy these takobeyas (asylum), to regain our powers and rights as human beings and to ensure that the promises of the Ministry of Colonization are implemented. We should organize ourselves and send as much hemp and rubber as possible to the Empire of Japan which is suffering from a lack of raw materials now". (Saito, 1992:260)

Before their build a team of workers representative, Saito has successfully united the workers to join the representation. In explanation the event, Saito {1992:260} saying these:

"At 2 a.m., we went over the mountain singing war songs. At 4 a.m. we reached the Mukim. The residents had gathered at the Mukim Tiger office after being informed of our arrival. At our meeting, we were to sign the petition. I signed it with blood by cutting my little finger. I also spoke of the commitment to our cause. "Please sign it as

if it were signed in your own blood. Once signed, we are all comrades. Those who dare to betray comrades will be treated as our common enemy. You have five minutes to make up your mind. Those who are satisfied with the company had better leave within this time."

Even if action is taken by Mr. Saito based on her aspiration, he actually success to lead other workers in joining the action to protest. Those give a big impact for the entire workers to aware their rights for better condition. Finally, the spirit of union is created and ready to bargain with their employer. After the workers have signed the petition with their blood, Saito leads the representative of workers to negotiate with the management. Saito said:

"Seven people, three each from Mukim Tiger and Mukim Table (another settlement area) and I, became the leaders of the newly formed group. I was to direct the operation as the 'President.'" After having formed our group, we decided to gather at Table primary School at 4 p.m. the next day. All of us from Mukim Tiger took rice-balls and few other simple meals cooked by the housewives of Mukim Tiger before we left there at 10 a.m. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, we saw leaping red flames near primary school. I thought our members had stocked a signal fire to encourage ourselves. I gave an address and following my order they sang and marched proudly to the company office. We arrived there at about 6 p.m. To show their respect to the 'President', the commander ordered them "Eyes right". (Saito: 1992: 263)

One moment when they must struggle to get a better condition of work, they have to fight. There must struggle in purpose to sending their Petition to the employer. The writer mentioned:

"All the senior management staff including the Manager had assembled in the office. We presented our petition sealed with blood. We asked them to recognize all the claims unconditionally. The Manager was trembling. Reading the petition in a sonorous voice, I asked them "Do you understand? If you do, you must recognize it". The Manager replied, 'As our headquarters are in Tokyo, please let us decide the matter on the spot.'" I replied, "it doesn't matter. If you break your promise, we have no alternative but to return to Japan." (Saito, 1992:263)

As a result, for negotiation Saito said "After the negotiation, I reported the results to our members who waited for us outside the office. "Our requests have been granted. Our wages will be doubled. Your debts have been written off. All the deposits passbooks will be renewed. We will work hard, live a civilized life, and become independent farmers, each owning 20 ha. As promised by the Ministry of Colonization. Let's unite and work harder!" (Saito, 1992:263).

## 5. Discussion

Two experiences discuss before are reality of what a leader in union had been done for their union. All the actors have a special attitude and strong aspiration to fight for their rights. There are ordinary people with a strong desire to see changes in their life. Their also brave and have a strong spirit. Their will fight if there must fight, and sacrifice what their must achieve their goals.

The contribution of these leaders is how there are willing to help others. These spirits are contributed by their aspiration to see a change in their life. Mr. Kaufman and Kartz had sacrifice and destroyed the discrimination of white and black people,

"I do not speak for myself. I am on social security, and I don't get a pension from the union. The union does not, nor should it, give me money for something that I did not pay in. So, I will not look for it. I cannot achieve financial achievements. For if I did, I would fall into the same class as a lot of our labour opportunists and fakers, where conventions have their pay always raised. By virtue of their financial positions, they

become inventors, stockholders, and they are part and parcel of the establishment. If I thought the leadership was corruptible, I would expose them. I have faith in our leadership, honest and dedicated leadership". (Gottlieb, 1970:27)

Another similarity among the leaders is the concern about their life in the future. It will determine what the hope is waiting for the workers in the future. For Kaufman and Kartz, they always see that workers must unite and work as a brother. Katz saying that "As far as a worker is concerned, it does not matter what is nationality he is, what religion, what colour. The worker is my brother"(Gottlieb, 1970: 28). For Saito, the futures are "work hard, live a civilized life and become independent farmers, each owning 20 ha. As promised by the Ministry of Colonization."

Another aspect of the leaders is always looking what are the constraint and problem of their members. According to Kaufman, constrain for the union today (during the interview) are people with mortgaged often difficult to committed herself to union. Kaufman says:

"The American working-class today is not a class anymore. It was class when they had to fight for a piece of bread. But now they have their own homes; they are mortgaged; they have their own cars; that is mortgaged too; they have colour television; but that too is mortgaged. When the union talks of strike, he begins to think, I owe so much, and so much on the car, and I have to pay the mortgage on the house, and pay for the television, and if I stay out a week so much will be lost so it is not worth it. He is middle class or lower middle class. (Gottlieb, 1970:22)

All these characteristics are useful and will be alternatives for union leaders today as an aspiration for them to work and function effectively. As the conclusion, leadership is about give and serves others. Leaders should be prepared to sacrifice and struggle, as mentioned by Aminuddin (2008):

"Leadership is about serving your followers. Serving your fellow-workers requires sacrifice. Leadership is also about power and struggles to attain power. Internal conflicts and squabbles are inevitable. Yet, these conflicts must never be allowed to dominate the trade union's agenda. When you join a trade union, you should be aware of the sacrifices made by workers in the past, especially in the early days of trade unionism when the whole weight of society was against workers and their struggle."

## **6. Conclusion**

Leadership is about serving others by some act of leading others to achieve the goal. The privileged to lead come with different responsibilities and the hope of many people. In case of trade union as explain in this paper, all the three leaders: Mr. Kartz, Mr. Kaufman, and Mr.Saito experience a different reality with some attitude. They are willing to sacrifice themselves and have an aspiration to achieve in the future. Event this story happening hundred years ago, it's still relevant today which different stage of society development. Based on that, every leader in trade union need to practice and learn the lesson in they mobilisation and daily activities of union. We should not repeat if they are the mistake and willing to united and move together for the better of the future.

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## **Appendix 1**

### **Story of Tolpuddle Martyrs**

Do you know the story of the Tolpuddle Martyrs? What can you tell your comrades about the matchgirls' strike? The Tolpuddle Martyrs were a group of village labourers in a small village in England in the 1830s. Life was tough for agricultural labourers in those days so a few workers got together and established a Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers. The local authorities, afraid that these workers might create problems for employers, ordered the arrest of six of their leaders on the charge of "administering an unlawful oath and participating in an unlawful assembly".

They were found guilty and sentenced to seven years transportation (banishment) to the penal colony of New South Wales, Australia. There was a huge outcry at the severity of this punishment which was eventually withdrawn. Did these workers intend to be martyrs for the trade union cause?

No! Did they wish to be heroes? No! But they did what they had to do. They were committed to improving their lot whatever the consequences.

### **Story of 1888 Matchgirls**

The 1888 matchgirls' strike is another historical example of workers who did what they had to do to improve their working lives. At the Bryant and May match factory in the East End of London, three workers were fired for talking to a journalist about their working conditions. The remaining workers then went on strike. What was the employer's response? First, they threatened to re-locate the factory to Norway, then they tried to put pressure on the strikers by saying that they would import workers from Glasgow, Scotland to replace the striking workers.

In the newspaper, the Managing Director stated that the company had friendly relations with the workers but they, the workers, were being instigated by socialist outsiders. The workers stayed on strike for three weeks. A mediation meeting was eventually arranged by the London Trades Council at which the company conceded to nearly all the strikers' demands. Did these matchgirls plan to be heroes? No! They did what they had to do.

These are very old stories. Why tell them now, in the 21st century? Because workers today need to make the same sacrifices and show the same commitment that these workers did more than 100 years ago. It does not mean that a lot of workers has not improved. It has. Nevertheless, dedication and sacrifice are still required.

Sources: Maimunah Aminuddin, (2008: 12)

## **Appendix 2**

### **1199**

Who We Are

Our Proud History.

1199 started out as a union of pharmacists-and today is America's oldest pharmacy union. We are more than 6,500 pharmacists, pharmacy techs, front end workers, cashiers and shift supervisors who work in

retail drugstores like Rite- Aid and Pathmark. We also have members at HIP and many who work in hospital pharmacies across the metropolitan area.

Our newest members will be you, thousands of Eckerd and Brooks employees whose drug stores will soon become Rite Aid.

#### Professional Standards

1199 pharmacists are committed to upholding the highest professional practices and standards in the industry. Our union has a "Professional and Technical Department," which focuses specifically on issues that are important to pharmacists and other healthcare professionals. In fact, we have a "Pharmacy Committee" that is made up of retail and hospital pharmacists, together.

Our committee runs excellent continuing education seminars that are nationally accredited. The committee also prioritizes what the union's legislative agenda should be and tracks key trends in the industry. If you are interested in receiving THE MONITOR, the newsletter for 1199 professionals, go to our website, learn more and sign up today.