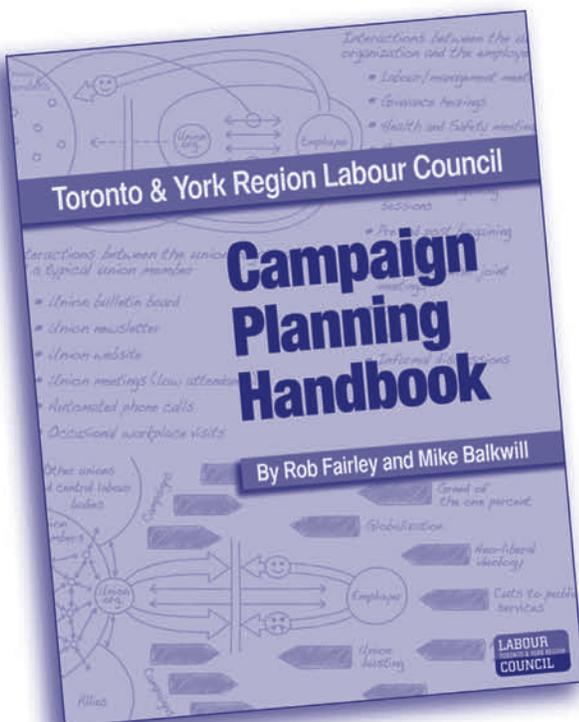


Preparing local unions for powerful campaigns

Achieving a “State of Readiness”

By Rob Fairley



This discussion paper was written for use with the *Toronto & York Region Labour Council Campaign Planning Handbook*. The handbook can be downloaded at www.labourcouncil.ca

Introduction

Labour and our allies have shown time and time again that we can effectively mobilize union members and work in coalitions to fight-off our adversaries. But attacks by employers, governments and global corporate interests are now more aggressive than anything we have seen in living memory, and often come with very little warning. There are no longer any limits when it comes to the goals of anti-labour forces, and their tactics are increasingly ruthless.

Although many union members are demonstrating remarkable willingness to fight, labour is finding it increasingly hard to win. This calls for a re-assessment of the tools we use to engage in key struggles. The Labour Council is developing the concept of achieving a “state of readiness” in our unions in response to these challenges.

Definition of a State of Readiness

A union in a state of readiness is prepared to respond effectively, on short notice, to a major attack or labour dispute. Taking stock of what may be required to win a future strike, lockout or other campaign provides insight into what is required for achieving a state of readiness.

In planning for a state of readiness, we are asking ourselves, “When we wake up one morning and find that we are facing a major attack, perhaps the fight of our lives, what are all the things we wish we’d done in preparation?”

The suggestions listed below apply directly to local unions although they may prove useful to other labour bodies. The term “local union” is used in this article although such bodies have various names and roles in different unions. Plans to establish a state of readiness will, of course, vary greatly from local to local.

Hopefully, each local union has the benefit of effective strategic direction and co-ordination, as well as resources, from the senior bodies of its union and from central

labour bodies. If not, securing that support becomes part of the process of achieving a state of readiness.

Much detail has been omitted from this document in the interests of keeping it brief. Some locals are already doing much of what is suggested below or more.

The suggestions below are drawn from their example. Hopefully, a critical discussion of this document will improve it.

Please note, there are references in this article to planning exercises in the Toronto & York Region Labour Council Campaign Planning Handbook. The Handbook may be downloaded from www.labourcouncil.ca

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BUILD A STATE OF READINESS → **Challenge denial**

- 1 Raise the bar, at all levels in our movement, in terms of our awareness of the scale of the assault on us and in terms of the strategies and tactics being used against us. Overcoming denial is always a challenge and unfortunately is a huge obstacle today.

BUILD A STATE OF READINESS → **Shift attention and resources**

- 2 Shift leadership attention and union resources – less preoccupation with the familiar day-to-day maintenance functions of our unions and more focus and commitment of resources to meeting the attack. Political action committees and local activists alone cannot meet the challenge. All leaders, from the most senior leaders in central labour bodies through union stewards in the workplace must make resistance to the attack their number one priority. To use an old saying, let’s not spend the next five years “rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic”.

See the Power Mapping Exercise, Appendix 4, in the Labour Council Campaign Planning Handbook.

BUILD A STATE OF READINESS

Win a commitment to strategic planning by the Local Executive Board

Consider these steps:

- 3** Create a safe environment in which strategic planning, by the Local Executive Board, can take place and differences can be aired respectfully. If a safe environment cannot be established, things are likely to get dysfunctional and ineffective in the crunch.
- 4** In the planning session, take the time to fully assess the situation in which the local finds itself. Survey the terrain. Identify and reflect on forces working for and against the interests of the local. (The stronger our political analysis of the forces impacting us, the stronger the foundation of our campaigns.) Identify both threats and opportunities.
See the Timeline Exercise, Appendix 1, and the Force Field Analysis Exercise, Appendix 2, in the Labour Council Campaign Planning Handbook.
- 5** Reflect on the extent to which the fate of the local is tied to the fate of other working people. Determine what the local can contribute to building a stronger labour movement and to building the political power of labour.
- 6** Study all aspects of your employer's operations, financing, customers/clients, suppliers etc.
- 7** Develop an in-depth, up-to-date knowledge of the sector/community in which the members of the local work. Become "a player" in the sector/community where possible. Weigh in on the public debate on issues related to the sector/community.
- 8** Develop a shared assessment of the threats facing the local, a shared resolve to defend the membership, and a comprehensive plan to win.
- 9** Reflect on the viability of the local – does it have the size, the bargaining power and the resources

to win? Is co-ordinated bargaining, a merger or restructuring in order?

- 10** Plan to achieve an appropriate level of self-reliance so that the local can function in the crunch. Demands on the local often soar in the crunch and at the very time when staff resources are sometimes stretched thin.

BUILD A STATE OF READINESS

Win support within the local

Consider these steps:

- 11** Discuss the Local Executive Board's strategic plan with the steward body, union committees and local activists. Make it clear that the Local Executive Board cannot overcome the unfolding attacks without the active support of the steward body, activists and members. Engage them in defining what a state of readiness in the local should look like and win them to playing a role in achieving it.
- 12** Lead by example. When members of the Local Executive Board and members of the Steward Body are engaged in campaigns, they can bring members with them.
- 13** The foundation of the union's power is the membership. Develop a union structure (in the workplace where possible) which connects with members through two-way personal contact, not just via print and electronic communications. Ongoing personal contact with members is key to overcoming member disconnect and engaging them in union campaigns.
See the Spectrum of Member Support, Appendix 3, in the Labour Council Campaign Planning Handbook.
- 14** Identify systemic barriers, such as racism, which are obstacles to members in the union and/or in the workplace and work to overcome these barriers.
- 15** It is very hard to mount resistance from a standing start. Put the local in a perpetual campaign

mode in which it is always engaged in campaigns directed at the employer, various levels of government and/or other external targets. For every external campaign (outside the local), mount an internal campaign which engages the membership.

- 16** Identify current issues and battles being fought by others which have strategic importance. (Determine where "the front" is.) Participate in the campaigns of our allies, in campaigns which are defending working people, both unionized and non-union. Provide active, ongoing support.
- 17** Review the local's allocation of attention and resources. Ensure that routine functions which generate little gain (including interactions with the employer) receive no more attention and resources than absolutely necessary. Ensure that the work of achieving a state of readiness receives the full attention of the union leadership and every possible resource.

See the Power Mapping Exercise, Appendix 4, in the Labour Council Campaign Planning Handbook.
- 18** Study the tactics of the employer that are designed to distract and pre-occupy union leaders and divide them from their membership – and develop counter measures.
- 19** Study tactics of the employer that are designed to win the hearts and minds of the members – and develop counter measures.
- 20** Develop an assessment of the value of the work of the members of the local and their contribution to the community, in preparation for public campaigns. Develop materials which communicate the value of their work to the public, especially in the public sector. (A backgrounder which summarizes the union's position can be very useful to draw on in the crunch.)
- 21** Determine how to take and maintain the high moral ground. In the public sector in particular, act as visible, credible champions of the public interest in the sector in which we work.

- 22** Win the membership to the importance of maintaining the high moral ground. Explain the terrible cost of losing it. The union cannot win strikes and other campaigns with tactics that are driven by anger alone. We must win members to fighting smart – avoiding tactics which offend/inflame the public.
- 23** Reflect on the composition of the union membership and local leadership. Is the diversity of the community reflected? Work to overcome deficiencies. Identify ways in which the employer's hiring policies may be discriminatory or otherwise failing to meet the needs of diverse communities. Develop ties with newcomer communities.

BUILD A STATE OF READINESS

Win the support of senior bodies in your union

Consider these steps:

- 24** Win support for the local's plans from senior bodies of your union
- 25** Engage senior union bodies in preparing for campaigns which extend beyond the local. Corporate campaigns (in the private sector) and broad campaigns to defend public services require extensive research and co-ordination – much more than can be provided by a local union.

BUILD A STATE OF READINESS

Political action

Consider these steps:

- 26** Ensure that the local's closest allies in government are kept informed of the union's concerns. Protect the local's relationship with its political allies as much as possible – even when there is public disagreement with them.

- 27** Provide active support to the local's political allies.
- 28** Build and maintain relationships with the political centre, with a long term goal of winning a measure of support from them and a short term goal of making them less dangerous to the local. Avoid political isolation.
- 29** Lobby even the local's opponents in government, with the goal of reducing their hostility to the local.
- 30** Establish a practice of watching political developments relevant to the local and getting out in front of issues whenever possible.
- 31** Recognize the limits of the power of persuasion. Commit to organizing on the job and in our communities to build power.

BUILD A STATE OF READINESS

Allies and coalitions

Consider these steps:

- 32** Identify the local's allies (organizations and individuals) in the labour movement, in social movements and in community organizations. Pay special attention to outreach to marginalized communities. There is always a spectrum of allies - from our closest, most reliable labour allies to allies with whom we have less common interest and history.

See the Spectrum of Allies and Opponents Exercise, Appendix 6, in the Labour Council Campaign Planning Handbook.

- 33** Strengthen central labour bodies. They are labour's primary coalition (of unions from both the public and private sectors) and often work with community groups. Ensure that the local has sought diverse allies in diverse communities.
- 34** Develop and maintain relationships with the local's allies and provide support to them.

Develop allies by supporting them when they need support. If we wait until crunch time to look for allies, it is too late.

- 35** Establish/join coalitions which address issues relevant to the local. Strengthening ongoing campaigns beyond the local (such as corporate campaigns and public services campaigns) is valuable "readiness" preparation.

BUILD A STATE OF READINESS

Secondary targets

NOTE: Secondary targets are people who are not allies but are people with whom we have some influence and are people who have influence with our opponents. For example, unions fighting electricity privatization warned business owners about the cost of private power and encouraged them to speak out against privatization. Business owners are not labour allies, but the unions were able to get them to act in a way that strengthened the unions' efforts. Secondary targets can be very important because they broaden the sources of pressure on a target.

Consider this step:

- 36** Identify, research and where appropriate make contact with secondary targets who might be players in a future engagement.

See the Secondary Targets Illustration, Appendix 5, and the Spectrum of Allies and Opponents Exercise, Appendix 6, in the Labour Council Campaign Planning Handbook.

BUILD A STATE OF READINESS

Prepare for known threats

Consider this step:

- 37** Prepare fully for known threats/challenges. In preparation for collective bargaining, for example, get the local into a full state of readiness for a strike (even if a strike seems unlikely). Conducting

comprehensive strike planning (getting the members fully on board, establishing picket teams, preparing the community for a possible strike, etc.) strengthens the local at the bargaining table, makes a strike less likely and, in the event that a strike is necessary, makes the strike much stronger.

See the Timeline Exercise, Appendix 1, in the Labour Council Campaign Planning Handbook.

BUILD A STATE OF READINESS

Research

Consider this step:

- 38** Determine what research the local will need in the crunch and secure it. Research can play an important role in many aspect of union work. Research can be very time consuming and can be hard to get in a hurry. That’s why it is important to be in a state of readiness regarding research.

BUILD A STATE OF READINESS

Training

Consider this step:

- 39** Ensure that there is adequate relevant training for union officers and activists, training that is designed to advance the local’s plans.

BUILD A STATE OF READINESS

Resources

Consider this step:

- 40** Identify and secure the resources (financial and other) needed to support the local’s efforts. It may be necessary to revisit the union’s spending priorities.

BUILD A STATE OF READINESS

Campaign materials

Consider this step:

- 41** Develop draft messaging and materials in advance so that they can be finalized and issued at short notice.

BUILD A STATE OF READINESS

Mode of operation

Consider this step:

- 42** Develop a mode of operation (a way of operating) in which the local engages in an inclusive cycle of planning, implementation and evaluation.

See Implementing a Campaign Plan, page 12, in the Labour Council Campaign Planning Handbook.

Your comments about this discussion paper are welcome. Please address them to:
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Please visit www.labourcouncil.ca to download copies of the Campaign Planning Handbook and the State of Readiness discussion paper (also available in French).

Planning for a State of Readiness seminars are available through the Labour Education Centre.

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Toronto & York Region Labour Council*

Campaigns That Win!

Since its inception, the labour movement in Toronto has tackled tough issues - and powerful adversaries. We have succeeded time and again by building campaigns that are disciplined and strategic. We have proven that we can effectively change the outcomes, even when the odds seemed against us. In recent years, Labour Council and its affiliates working with community and political allies have:

Stopped the privatization of \$19 billion of public water assets.

Derailed the privatization/contracting out agenda of the Lastman regime.

Helped elect a progressive majority at the Toronto School Board whose defiance strategy triggered a critical political crisis for the Harris regime.

Engaged in a protracted fight to protect community schools from closure.

Stopped the privatization of Hydro One.

Partnered with the Hotel Workers union in a powerful continent-wide struggle for justice.

Led the mass campaign for the \$10 minimum wage, resulting in a 28% wage increase for hundreds of thousands of low wage workers in Ontario.

Launched the Made In Canada Matters campaign to ensure that TTC vehicles were built here in Ontario instead of off-shore.

Defeated the attempt by Walmart to impose itself in the film industry district – one of the few times they have been stopped anywhere.

Organized mass resistance against the Ford budget cuts.

Led the campaign to stop the closing of public libraries.

Resources for Labour

The Toronto & York Region Labour Council is pleased to offer a wide variety of educational material about unions and labour issues. They are available from the Labour Council office (council@labourcouncil.ca, 416-441-3663).

The Handbook, Map and About Unions Brochure can be downloaded at labourcouncil.ca.



Campaign Planning Handbook

Campaigns are all about power. Understanding the power relationships that shape our world and learning how to better create our own power is at the heart of effective campaign planning.

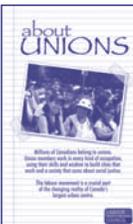
Today we are facing the resurgent drive of global capital to change the rules of the post-war “social contract” between business and labour. Economic restructuring, technological change and deregulation pose serious challenges to us all. Workers who were excluded from the post-war “social contract” are being hit the hardest.

Relying on past practice will not be sufficient to protect living standards, working conditions and public services. A key part of rebuilding the power of our movement is improving our ability to plan and wage effective campaigns.



Toronto Labour History Walking Tours Map

Mapping our work - Toronto’s rich and dramatic history of working people - the unions we organized, and the key battles we have waged and won has largely been buried in official histories of the city. Mapping Our Work is a way to bring some of our union history into the light of day. The map includes three walking tours, each covering a different time period and area.



About Unions

Since the First Nations peoples gave Toronto its name – a gathering place – this city has been built by immigrants and their descendants. Each new generation of immigrants discovered both opportunity and one vital lesson: that they needed to have unions in order to raise living standards for themselves, their families and their communities. This 8 page primer is perfect for students and new member orientation kits.



The Spirit Of Our Movement

What better gift to share than the beautiful images of our labour movement in action. The Spirit of Our Movement is a 100 page volume of photographs by John MacLennan, with a moving personal essay by Winnie Ng, interspersed with brief stories from our 140 year history. Cost is \$12 each, or \$10 when you order five or more.



Video - Breaking Barriers, Linking Struggles

A 24 minute video by Glen Richards tells the story of equity struggles and achievements by the Toronto labour movement and its anti-racism activists.

Telling Our Stories

A Million Reasons

Winning the \$10 Minimum Wage! Kristin Schwartz chronicles the inspiring story of the campaign that led to a 28% increase in Ontario’s minimum wage. Labour Council led a powerful coalition whose work benefited hundreds of thousands of low-wage workers across Ontario.

Walking On Sunshine

Former Labour Council President Linda Torney recounts the huge organizing effort that went into the Metro Days of Action, when Toronto shut down and a quarter million people took to the streets in 1996.

Through The Eyes Of Workers Of Colour

A history of equity struggles in the labour movement written by Salome Lukas and Judy Vashti Persad. It focuses on the period from 1970-2003 in greater Toronto to tell the story of the contribution of workers of colour and the anti-racism struggle in Canada’s largest urban centre.