LABOR-MANAGEMENT TODAY

INSIDE AMERICA'S INDUSTRIAL WORLD

with

LOUIS F. BUDENZ

This is a fourth of a series of timely articles on labor-management relations by Mr. Budenz, former editor of the Communist newspaper, The Daily Worker, who has returned to the Catholic Church. He is now professor of economics at Fordham University.

IV. The Job of Job Evaluation

If you make a visit to any modern manufactory — whether it be a plant of General Foods, General Motors or General Electric — the impress of management's hand is clearly to be seen. This is to be noted, for instance, in the various "systems" and schemes for ending "wage inequalities" by the series of devices running from "job analysis" to "job evaluation."

NO HEADACHES have been greater for management than the sore spots among the workers growing out of different rates of pay for relatively the same operation. And yet, almost every large plant has had hundreds of such conflicting pay rates in effect at one time or another. They arise from the rush of production needs, from the decision of a foreman under stress to create a new function and give it a new name and a new scale. To meet some of these difficulties, job analysis—the examination of the anatomy of the job—has been hit upon.

Scientific management, through Dr. Frederick Taylor and the Gilbreths did not bring this device into being for this purpose alone. There are many other good and solid reasons for job analysis, for knowing exactly the type of skill, strain, and circumstances in detail which go into a given job. Without competent steps along this line it is scarcely possible to recruit workers intelligently for the jobs to be filled or to select the applicants with any degree of success.

"If the character of the job is not known by management, how in the world can a worker be advised of the kind of work it is or the right worker be obtained?" So the argument runs. And it is not an uncommon experience for concerns to report that as a result of job analysis, the discovery was made that several hundred names are used for correlated jobs that could fit into 30 or so standard classifications

BUT JOB ANALYSIS — this "process of critically evaluating the operations, duties and relationships of the jobs," as one personnel authority calls it—is the opening door for that rating of jobs which is now included in "job evaluation." It is this practice which Boris Shiskin, the economist for the American Federation of Labor, has just declared to be "a management tool," and which he also states "has come into increasingly wider use."

While concerned with the discontent that arises from wage inequalities, management is interested in job evaluation for a further reason: that along with "merit rating" of the employes it provides a sort of "cost accounting" of wage and salary determination. Since costs and their control play such a large part in our partly competitive system, this makes job evaluation popular indeed in management's ranks. It is no wonder that we see it, in various forms, introduced into most of our large corporations.

To make a pretty long story short, all such plans today fall into one of four classes. The first of these is the ranking method, under which jobs are allotted to certain ranks in accordance with their relative difficulty and responsibility. It was the earliest introduced, though not the most widely used now. Secondly, there is the grading method, such as has been used conspicuously by the Westinghouse Electric Corporation. Here grades of work are first set up—such as "unskilled," "skilled," "interpretative," "creative," and the like. Then the varying jobs are put under their respective grades or catefories. The third is the factory-comparison method, created by Eugene J. Benge and introduced on the Philadelphia Transit Company's lines when the late Thomas E. Mitten was the controlling force there. In this complicated arrangement, at least five factors that enter into work are taken into consideration — mental requirements, skill requirements, physical abilities needed, responsibility and working conditions. Then, their position in each of 25 key jobs is set out by giving to them certain weightings. Then, the division of the wage paid for each job into these different factors is made, in order to have a basis for judging the payment of other tasks and work.

THE INTRODUCTION of the monetary scale into this business of factor comparisons has been widely criticized. As a result, there has developed the much-used method of job evaluation. Here, among other things, each factor is divided into degrees. Thus, under "education required," the first degree would be "ability to read and write." The second degree would be "grammar school education or equivalent." And so on to a sixth degree which would distinguish a college graduate. Each degree is given a point rating, and the points thus total up the specific standing of each job. Thus, experience would rate higher in points than education alone. The sixth degree in education would, let us say, get 90 points. The sixth degree in experience most likely, then, get 150 points—that being the rating of say over six years of experience.

From the position of the job —after all the factors were considered and the points totaled— the salary or wage of the job would be set.

This point method is recommended by the National Electrical Manufacturers Association and the National Metal Trades Association. It is used by the General Foods Corporation, the Wright Aeronautical Corp., United States Steel and other large organizations.

THE AFL ECONOMIST points out that the system has many serious defects—in that, for example, it bases itself on the studies of the relative worth of jobs in a single plant or company, that it is frequently arbitrary in its standards, that it is unnecessarily complicated and that it tends to shut out labor from effective participation.

This does not lead to a negative attitude on the part of the AFL spokesman. He insists that labor must show that a simpler and more effective method of dealing with the job evaluation problem can be carried out in collective bargaining. Beyond that, if labor is confronted with the introduction of a job evaluation plan by management, it should be prepared to take a positive position and have its own program in readiness. In a final eventuality the union can even accept the plan with the reservation that labor must have a voice at each step in its development.

There is much more to this tale than just this. Enough has been outlined, though, to take notice of a definite management development. Even here we observe that labor puts itself in the picture by emphasizing that it must have a place at the "council table" in working out any plans affecting job standards and wage scales.

NEXT WEEK: "RISE OF THE LEGITIMATE UNION."

Holyday Becomes Holiday

Lisbon — (NC) The Portuguese Parliament has passed a law making December 8, the feast day of the Immaculate Conception, a public holiday

A LOOK AT LABOR

By A. C. Tuohy

THE T-H ACT

The Watch-Dog Committee of Congress has recently issued a report on the operation of the Taft-Hartley Act for the first six months. The report is a glowing one. It claims that the new labor law has produced labor peace. It also states that the law does not need to be changed.

The Taft-Hartley Act undoubtedly has had some good effects. But it is difficult to say with certainty what those good effects are. Certainly, since last June there has been a dimunition of jurisdictional strikes. The Act has not been used to settle these jurisdictional disputes, so the country still does not know whether the NLRB can effectively arbitrate such disputes. But the new law has encouraged unions and employers to settle these disputes without, the intervention of the government.

In addition, the Taft-Hartley Act has ben responsible for labor unions taking stock of their public responsibilities. Labor leaders have been more conscious of the public aspects of their policies than ever before. Beyond these two gains, it is difficult to estimate what other good effects the Taft-Hartley Act has had on labor peace, the "watch-dog" committee to the contrary notwithstanding.

THE LACK OF STRIKES during the past nine months can hardly be traced to the Taft Hartley Act, ever though Congress would like to take the credit. Most labor agreements were renewed prior to the Taft-Hartley Act. Strikes, therefore, will occur, if at all, only after this coming August. Furthermore, labor leaders know well that strikes will only add to our inflationary troubles. The strikes will come only when the rank and file demand strikes. Only then will we be able to determine what contribution the Taft-Hartley Act makes to the settlement of these strikes.

The elimination of Communists from the CIO is credited to the Taft-Hartley Act. It is true that most union officials have signed the affidavits. But it cannot be maintained that the anti-Communist affidavits have strengthened the hand of Phil Murray in cleaning out the Communists. Phil Murray himself has refused to allow the officials of his own steel union to sign the affidavits.

If the CIO has been able to deal more stringently with the Communists within its ranks during the past few months, it is due more to the Communist party line than to the Taft-Hartley Act. The party line opposes the Marshall Plan and supports Henry Wallace with his third party. The CIO is opposed to this line. Murray has been able to use the CIO policy to beat the Communists down but he has only been able to act tough with those Communists who are hired by the national CIO.

THE INTERNATIONAL UNIONS of the CIO are outside of the control of Murray. Murray cannot and will not "fire" international union officials. As a matter of fact, Communists who hold such positions have frequently been able to sidestep the Taft-Hartley affidavits. They merely change their constitution to have themselves removed as "union officials." This means that they do not have to sign the affidavits, even though they do not give up one iota of their power.

On the other hand, the Taft-Hartley Act threatens to destroy one of the best unions in the country, the International Typographical Union. It has reduced foremen and supervisors to positions of servitude in American industry. It has encouraged some employers to evade their collective bargaining responsibilities.

The next year might well bring into full light the significance of the Taft-Hartley Act for collective bargaining. A recession and interpretation by the courts are necessary to determine the workability of the Taft Hartley Act. Already a federal court has declared unconstitutional that provision of the Act which prohibits unions from making expenditures in connection with a federal election. The court declared that the political bar interfered with the right of unions to free speech and free assembly. Time alone will tell whether the unions were right when they called the new labor law a "slave labor act."

April Mission Intention

New York — (NC) —The April mission intention of His Holiness Pope Pius XII will be "That the Social Order in China Be Preserved from Atheistic Communism," it has been announced here by Bishop Thomas J. McDonnell, Auxiliary of New York and national director of The Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

The Coming Russian Terror By Stanislaw Mikolajczyk

INSTALLMENT 12

(Editor's Note: In this week's installment Stanislaw Mikolajczyk reveals Russia's behind-the-scenes maneuvering at the Potsdam Conference—how the Communist leaders of Poland made territorial demands on Germany in the hope that rejection by the United States and Britain would convince the Poles that Russia was their "only friend.")

Immediately after I reached the comparative safety of my Krakow hotel, after running a gamut of machine-gun bullets on the third day of my return to Poland as a minister of the Communist-dominated Provisional government, I protested to the governor of the province.

"I can do nothing," he said. "There is nothing anyone can do about the Security Police."

I had contacted my mother as soon as I returned to Poland, and I soon flew to Poznan to see the dear old lady. It was our first meeting since the day I left in August, 1939, to join the Polish Army that was about to be attacked by both Hitler and Stalin

ON JULY 1 I spoke to 50,000 more in Theatre Square in Warsaw. It seemed an appropriate time to joggle Stalin's memory:

"How right Stalin was when he told me that Russia and Poland are not enough—that they must be allied to Great Britain, France, and the Slav nations and live in friendship with the U. S. A.," I said, "We Poles want to live as a free and independent people in the closest alliance with our neighbor Russia. You have shown well enough how you value the free strength and independence of our country."

The next day a friend of mine brought me a Communist booklet, meant only for Communist eyes. It concerned me.

"We must not let this man get too far out in front," it ordered.

I THOUGHT the Potsdam Conference might enable the independent members of the Provisional Government to state their case to American and British Leaders. But whatever we were able to tell them was over-shadowed by concessions which the Russians later forced upon us.

My position was extremely difficult—there. Bierut and the others, acting on instructions from the Kremlin, set out to antagonize President Truman and Prime Minister Churchill and, after Churchill's defeat in the British general elections, Prime Minister Attlee.

The Provisional Government, demanding that the future western boundary of Poland be the Oder-Western-Neisse-Stettin Line expected a refusal from the Americans and British. The hidden meaning behind this was simple: if the U. S. and Britain refused to grant Poland the land in question, the Communist Polish Government could consider Yalta no longer valid.

STALIN FELT, too, that if the U. S. and Britain rejected the Polish demands, he could then say to the people of Poland "Russia is your only friend. The United States and Britain agreed to take the eastern part of your country from you and now do not wish to abide by their promises and give you land in the West in compensation."

He had one other thought in mind. The Red Army controlled that part of Germany which had been promised to us. If Polish government demands were rejected, the land would remain under the custody of Russia as long as the period of occupation lasted.

I warned the Americans and British about the hidden intention of the Communists, and urged them to agree to the frontier demand but at the same time to insist that the Provisional Government live up to its pledges concerning the independence of Poland.

I asked Mr. Truman also to remember that our elections-to-be must be held; that the Communist Poles were attempting to break the Yalta agreement only so that they could avert the "free and unfettered" election which Yalta had provided.

MR. TRUMAN and the British finally agreed that pending the Peace Conference this land in question should come under the administration of the Polish state. An agreement also was reached whereby Germans living in that territory would be moved into Germany proper. Thus Poland got the "right" to stop the Russians from stripping that area. But it is a "right" which the spurious Polish government has never had the courage fully to exercise.

At the time of the agreement concerning the German territory, the Polish government pledged once again to make the Polish people free and to hold the election "within a year."

At Potsdam it was further agreed that "The U. S. S. R. undertakes to settle the reparation claims of Poland from its own share of reparations."

Here is but one result of that decision:

In mid-August, 1945, after the Americans and British had left Potsdam, the Polish government was abruptly ordered by Stalin to come to Moscow for consultation.

There, Molotov told us that our share of the reparations which Russia planned to extract from Germany (15 per cent) would total $500,000,000.

"Poland is luckier than the Soviet Union," Molotov told us. "You get this amount in addition to the $6,000,000,000 you've already received."

"What six billion?" I asked, startled.

"Don't you understand?" he asked coldly. "Poland has given Eastern Poland to Russia. The Polish property left there totaled $3,500,000,000. You receive from Germany an area whose property is worth $9,500,000,000. So it is clear that you have gained $6,000,000,000. As for the Soviet Union, we are asking the U. S. A. and Great Britain for only $10,000,000,000 reparations from Germany, and they are raising obstructions!"

"Just a moment," I said. "You say the property in the new Western part of Poland is worth $9,500,000,000. But don't you remember that you've stripped it of its factories, railroads, plants, homes, livestock and everything else you could transport?"

Molotov scoffed, "Oh, that has only amounted to about $500,000,000," and abruptly adjourned the meeting.

RUSSIA'S ECONOMIC enslavement of Poland began at the command appearance of the Polish Provisional government in Moscow in August, 1945, only a month after the Americans and British had left the Potsdam Conference more or less content that they had insured the future freedom of our country.

On the second night of our Moscow "talks," three Polish Communists, who had been placed high in the provisional government by Stalin, agreed to give the U. S. S. R. a 51-per-cent share in the ownership and management of the properties we had acquired in the area which Potsdam had ruled must be administered only by the Polish government.

The Poles who bowed to this demand were President Bierut, Hilary Minc, Minister of Industry and Commerce, and Foreign Minister Zygmunt Modzelewski. They arrived back at our headquarters at 6 a. m., roaring drunk, and apparently pleased with their deal.

"I'll never agree to this," I told them, and then I received support from a wholly unexpected source Prime Minister Osobka-Morawski had not been invited to attend the session of the night before. The snub hurt his vanity. He strongly objected to the deal and, for once, Russia offered a counter-proposal.

It demanded 12,000,000 tons of Polish coal per year during the Red Army's occupation of Germany. That meant most of our coal. At first Molotov insisted that no charge be made for the coal, but after much argument it was agreed that Russia would pay the bare cost of mining it, which was between $5 and $6 a ton.

However, after Osobka Morawski officially signed the agreement we discovered that Minc had permitted the Russians to insert a clause whereby they had to pay only $2.25 a ton. We had been offered $12 a ton—later $16—by Denmark and Sweden.

I TOLD THEM that we had now agreed to pay the U. S. S. R. which should be paying us—the equivalent of $100,000,000 a year. Osobka-Morawski sneered, "You seem to forget how much Soviet Russia has done for us; how it liberated us and helped us."

"'Helped us!'" I shouted. "If Hitler had not attacked them they would still be the enemy of Poland and all the Allies."

But it was useless. The thing had been done. We were dismissed like vassals and told to go back to Warsaw.

My own Peasant Party had a rival of the same name, but Communist. And it was in this atmosphere of tremendous political disorder and bewilderment that I left Poland to attend the formation meeting of U. N.'s Food and Agricultural Organization in Quebec.

While in Quebec and later in Washington, where I saw President Truman briefly, I obtained considerable UNRRA aid for Poland. But first deputy Prime Minister Gomulka simultaneously ordered the start of the newspaper attacks on me as a "Trojan Horse," "servant of Capitalism," and "reactionary."

The chairman of my party, Wincenty Witos, died while I was abroad. Upon my return to Poland in November, 1945, I completed the task of reorganizing the Peasant Party so as to separate it from the Communist group of the same name. That job had begun in September at the annual meeting of provincial units of the party in Krakow.

THE DAY AFTER that September meeting, Wladislaw Kojder, a member of our executive committee, was dragged from his home by Security Police. His body was found in a nearby woods with 30 bullets in it. We were later able to establish full proof that Maj. Sobczynski, commander of the Security Police in Rzeszow, and the secretary of the Communist Party in Przemysl were responsible for the murder.

Upon my return to Warsaw after that Krakow meeting, I learned also that 500 members of the Polish Peasant Party—as we now called ourselves—had been arrested at Tarnobrzeg.

The inhuman suppression of the democratic forces which had been guaranteed to Poland by the Atlantic Charter, Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam had begun.

A bare summary of these arrests, killings and other examples of political terror, which I turned over to the Ambassadors of the Big Three as early as January, 1947, filled more than 400 pages.

WHEN THE REIGN of terror in Poland became known to the outside world, President Truman and Foreign Minister Bevin were among those who frankly called Poland a police state. Prime Minister Osobka-Morawski demanded that I denounce Truman and Bevin.

"You must tell them in a public statement that they lie; that we are not a police state," he ordered.

"But we are," I answered. "If you want to stop such talk, stop the cruel and inhuman activity of the Security Police. Remove the cause of their statements and you will not need to fear the consequences."

I was berated at the next Cabinet meeting. The worst of the abuse came from Osobka-Morawski, Jacob Berman, the so-called vice minister to the Prime Minister's office but in reality the head of the Polish Politburo, foreign minister Modzelewski and the Vice Minister of Justice, Leon Chajn. They infuriated me especially when they called me a "traitor" and "unpatriotic."

To hear Modzelewski denounce me was more than I could bear at this time.

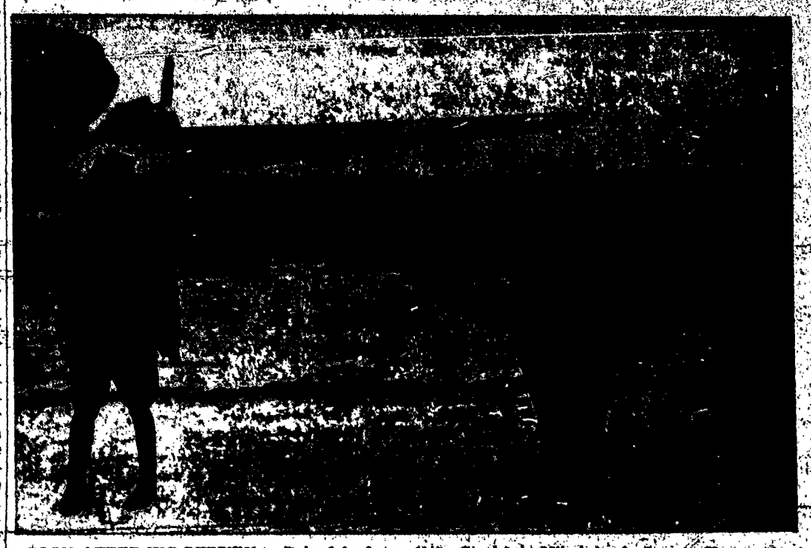
"You're a fine Pole," I shouted at him. "Your real name is Fischer and you were a citizen of Soviet Russia." I said a lot of other things before I was through. And I finished:

"But I have one thing to thank you for. Your attacks on me have had just the opposite effect from which you desired. The Polish people trust me."

I thought this a compelling conclusion, but Gomulka had an answer.

"What do we care what the people think?" he shrugged.

(Next week: The Communist Polish Government attempts to evade its duty to call a national election by staging a spurious "referendum.")



SOON AFTER HIS RETURN to Poland in June, 1945, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk flew to Poznan to see his mother, his first meeting with her since August, 1939, when he left home to join the Polish army. Here he is at the Poznan airport with Russian officials and Polish security police in the background. The Communists were beginning a campaign to discredit him.