



LABOR-MANAGEMENT TODAY

INSIDE AMERICA'S INDUSTRIAL WORLD with LOUIS F. BUDENZ

This is the fifth 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.

V. Rise of the Legitimate Union

Anyone who lived twenty years ago in the so-called "Middletown" of Indiana (Muncie) or the actual Middletown of Ohio would have been hard-pressed to find much...

the hard reached in World War I. Governmental coercion had been called upon in the early days of the republic by the employers. At the close of the Revolution our industries were small and the unions were few. Even those few were crushed in part through the conspiracy...

MANAGEMENT WAS in the saddle. Scientific management methods were in full bloom. "merit rating" of employees for instance being added to the evaluation of the respective jobs. The original idea of such devices was to make collective bargaining obsolete. Beyond that, management's continued hopes for new contacts with the working forces had led to an extension of employe representation (or company union) schemes under many names and forms. "Shop council," "friendship association," "good will club," "industrial democracy," "protective association," "employe industrial association" were among the titles given them in various plants. There was a big hullabaloo in their behalf, presenting them as new methods of workers' expression.

Man a management's uneasiness, even then, despite the much-advertised high wages of "prosperity," and the consequent sluggishness on the part of the workers in organization, was recorded in the continued use of the injunction in labor disputes. That legal weapon was accompanied by the notorious "yellow dog" contract, the agreement by the worker "in consideration of employment" not to join a union. "Welfare" talk by management was thus associated with the employment of governmental coercion to hold back self-organization.

Of course, the rise and growth of the "legitimate" unions had been a long and painful process — even up to

St. Patrick Beardless?

Washington — (NC) — A beardless statue of St. Patrick and a statuette of St. Brigit will be presented to "Fibber McGee and Molly" of radio fame as the 1948 awards of the Catholic Film and Radio Review. Here to consult with a Washington sculptor about the execution of the statues, Daniel E. Doran, executive chairman of the Catholic Film and Radio Guild, affirmed that research conducted by his organization has convinced its officers that St. Patrick did not have a beard.

tion had a profound effect upon the early growth of the permanent union movement. The right of voluntary association, so deeply imbedded in Catholic thought, was making its contribution to America.

The rising AFL movement in the early Nineties, however, began to run up against a serious obstacle—the injunction in labor disputes.

The injunction was, in the final analysis, a use of force or compulsion and did not serve to advance that "cooperative relationship" which management was beginning to seek for higher production purposes. The explanation that might have been made for its just existence was the infringement into the labor movement of "radical" elements. But although the IWW's and the Anarchists had made their bid for leadership of the American workers, they had not been successful. And the injunction was chiefly aimed at those unions which stood for collective bargaining.

ORIGINALLY DIRECTED, at least in theory, against violence in picketing and other like strike phases, the injunction was enlarged in time to cover "violations" of the yellow dog contract. The more attempt to organize the workers then became subject to a retraining order.

The existence of the injunction in the Twenties coincident with the "employe representation" plans was an anomaly; in itself it served to show that the company unions were not self-organization schemes at all. The resort to court action against "outside" organizations did not tend to bring about cooperative spirit, on which management had begun to count.

It is understood that the unions, on their part, opposed the injunction as vigorously as they could. The labor amendments to the Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914 curbed these court orders in labor disputes. But court interpretations and decisions cut down the possibilities for labor there; the injunction in effect remained as powerful as ever until the Norris-LaGuardia Act was passed in 1932.

AND SO IT was that in the early Thirties that the early labor finally found itself no longer handicapped by the court restraining order weapon in the hands of the employing interests. There was still the matter of unequal bargaining power—the corporate form of managerial organization against the individual worker. To adjust that difficulty and to protect collective bargaining, the National Labor Relations Act was adopted in 1935. That act did not legalize the unions, which had won legality before that time. It went further and now compelled employers to recognize this legal status of union organizations.

The purposes of the National Labor Relations Act are set down clearly in its declaration of policies. It declares collective bargaining to be necessary from the viewpoint of public policy, particularly in that it aids in bringing about wider purchasing power. Such an assertion was of value in the depression year in which the act was passed. And it is significant that the same declaration remains in the Labor Management Act of 1947, known as the Taft-Hartley Law.

With the NLR's creation went the extension of industrial unionism, thus bringing the "legitimate union" into the big basic industries where formerly the company union had flourished. Union membership leaped from 3,000,000 to 15,000,000 in a few years. And while management saw certain practices created or continued which were considered abuses, there also grew up out of this development the idea of Union-Management Cooperation. Indeed, President Philip Murray of the Congress of Industrial Organizations wrote a book, jointly with a noted engineer, devoted to that theme. And the United Steel Workers Union claimed its organization practiced that idea.

NEXT WEEK: "COLLECTIVE BARGAINING."

Coming Red Terror

How Stalin Stole the Polish Election

Installation 13

(Editor's Note: In this installment, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk reveals how a referendum is conducted in a police state — with Security Police destroying thousands of ballots marked contrary to Stalin's wishes — and how the Communists attempted to suppress the Polish Peasant Party by torture and murder.)

Since its "liberation" by the Red Army, Poland has had two experiences with balloting. From the time of the Atlantic Charter to Potsdam, the "free elections." But in Poland's case its only two attempts to vote freely have been frustrated by Communists.

Let us consider, first, the "Referendum" of June 30, 1946. This was primarily a pretext to avert that part of the Yalta agreement which called for a "free and unfettered" election in Poland. The Communist-dominated Polish Provisional government picked three questions on which the people could express their sentiments, and made certain that they were as innocuous as possible. The Government planned to take the results of the balloting and say to the United States and Britain, "You see, why should we be forced to hold an election? Everybody in the country agrees on these fundamental issues."

IT WAS apparent what the Reds were trying to do, so I told them that the Polish Peasant Party would boycott the Referendum. They knew that if we did just that, the world would know that there was something deeply suspicious about the Referendum. So, for promising not to invoke the party boycott, I received from the Provisional Government the open announcement that it would hold the called-for national election in the Autumn of 1946. (It was held in January, 1947.)

Here are the questions which were asked in the three-question Referendum: 1. Are you in favor of the abolishment of the Senate? 2. Are you for making permanent through the future Constitution the economic system instituted by the land-reform and nationalization of the basic industries with maintenance of the rights of private enterprise? 3. Are you for the Polish Western frontiers as fixed on the Baltic and on the Oder and Neisse?

I decided to vote "No" on the No. 1 question and urged the course upon my party as a "protest against political terror, against dissolving local units of the Polish Peasant Party, against false arrests and censorship." Our slogan was, "If you vote 'Yes' on the first question you are giving a vote of confidence to the provisional government."

As a matter of fact, I was a deputy Prime Minister of that government, but I prayed for the day when I might see it dissolved, for I was powerless to avoid tyranny imposed on its name. On the day of the Referendum the people of Poland went to the polls. They voted "Yes" overwhelmingly in response to questions No. 2 and No. 3.

BUT QUESTION No. 1 was the big issue. Commissions set up to insure a fair counting of the ballots were terrorized at gunpoint. Security Police in many sections seized the ballot boxes and carried them off. In Krakow, a group of "fellow travelers" assigned to count the ballots became so frightened at what the ballots showed that they simply ran from the central counting office, and independents took over, counted the votes, and sent the results to Warsaw before the "fellow travelers" returned to the place.

These results reached print in official announcements, which is the reason the Communist propaganda mills proclaimed Krakow a "reactionary town which must be punished."

Brave commissions were able to save their ballot boxes in sets of 14 of the 16 provinces of Poland. These boxes represented 2,805 districts. On the matter of question No. 1 they showed:

No 83.54% Yes 16.46%

The Provisional Government announced the "official result" after ten days. Their count on question No. 1, they said, showed:

No 32% Yes 68%

In the meantime I had been able to show foreign correspondents thousands of ballots, partly burned, which the Security Police had seized and thrown away — because they contained the word "No" in response to the first question.

The true result of the Referendum made the Communists in Poland much more determined to exterminate the Polish Peasant Party.

At first they attempted to infiltrate our membership lists by stealing membership cards during raids on our offices and forcing these upon known Nazi-colaborators and other scum—who, in turn, were ordered to join the Polish Peasant Party.

THEY HOPED through this to be able to dissolve us officially, in line with a Yalta Agreement clause which limited political parties in Poland to "democratic and anti-Nazi parties." I learned of this through secret channels



MIKOLAJCZYK

Cyrankiewicz was professedly a Socialist.

STALIN RULED at this meeting that no matter how many votes were cast in favor of Polish Peasant Party candidates it must be announced that we attracted only 10 percent of the total cast.

One of the Socialists spoke up and asked, "But what about the Americans and British? What will they do?"

"Don't worry about the Americans and British," Stalin said. "There will be no war about the elections. They will make a protest, but this will only be a paper protest."

"You will reject this protest and issue continuous propaganda to the effect that Mikolajczyk's party lost because he associated himself with the criminal underground, turned pro-German by opposing the new Western boundaries of Poland, is a conservative who wishes to back the capitalists and landowners, and is a foreign agent for foreign intelligence and capitalism."

"If you repeat these charges enough, some of the people in the United States and Britain will believe you, and they won't join in the protest their government will make."

Stalin then dismissed them, after ordering them to send him — secretly — the real figures on the election.

"I want to see how really influential you are in Poland," he told them.

These conscienceless stooges returned to Warsaw on the evening of August 30, 1946, a few hours before I left for Copenhagen to attend a meeting of U.N.'s Food and Agricultural Organization.

ON MY return from Copenhagen I sent Stalin a long memorandum, listing in detail the indignities being heaped upon us and warning him that

the Polish people were now holding the U.S.S.R. directly responsible for all their grief.

He did not answer, but we noticed that the measure on the Polish Peasant Party stepped up noticeably as the day of the election drew near.

On September 18, over my protests and those of the U. S. and British Governments, the Communist-nominated provisional Parliament secretly passed an election law which provided:

1. The western areas would have greater proportionate representation in the forthcoming elected parliament.

2. Any Poles suspected of previous collaboration with the Germans, or current collaboration with the criminal underground, would be deprived of the vote.

That sounded reasonable enough to the outer world, but we knew there was a secret side to each clause. We knew that a Member of Parliament would be chosen from every 20,000 inhabitants of the western areas (as opposed to one M. P. for every 120,000 in the more populous sections of Poland).

IN THE WEEKS before the election, more than 100,000 Poles were arrested by the Security Police. They were kept, half-clothed or naked, for days in frigid open fields for refusing to withdraw their names from lists proposing Polish-Peasant Party candidates for office.

One hundred and forty-two of our candidates were kept in prison throughout the normal campaign period before the election. One of these, Mr. Sztybel, a farmer in Silesia, was tortured to death in prison. Security police officials killed 126 members of our party during this reign of terror before the election.

Local offices of our party were demolished. Party automobiles were confiscated. Leaflets explaining to our people how to vote—the Reds had sent to different rules—were seized and the messengers imprisoned. The people were ordered, on election day itself to appear first at their factories or offices and then to the polling boxes. Armed guards stood in most polling places, trying to sway — at gunpoint — the decision of the people.

I CAST MY vote in a polling place on Marsalkowska Street in Warsaw. I stood in a group for two hours while Communists marched past and spat on me. Then one of my friends called several members of the town's press. When they appeared with their cameras the Communists led away the door of the polling place opened, and the line began to move.

An area of Poland inhabited by 5,342,000 people (22% of the total population) was not given alternate candidates because the only opposition — our list of candidates — had been ruled invalid. We were listed as 11 of the 43 constituencies in the country. This 78 of the 444 Members of Parliament named office in uncontested balloting.

But they still had to seal the election.

At the closing of the polls, the commissioners — acting on orders by the presence of the Security Police — systematically burned all those Polish Peasant Party ballots in excess of 10 per cent. Only 34 of the 5,300 Polish Peasant Party members who had been assigned, under the electoral law, to be present at the counting of the vote were permitted to remain and observe.

THREE of polling places where our members were permitted to watch the counting were specifically chosen by the Reds because they were certain that Communist candidates would enjoy large majorities in those precincts.

But even here, our majority was never lower than 85 per cent — and in some areas it reached 92 per cent!

It is official announcement, abiding by Stalin's ruling, stated that the Communist-backed candidates had attracted 80 per cent of the people's votes. We had attracted 10 per cent, by that statement, said.

And then, to their hot embarrassment, the Polish Communists were obliged to report secretly to Stalin that their efforts — which constituted the vilest fraud in recent history — had failed. They had to tell him that the Polish Peasant Party candidates had polled 14 per cent of all the votes cast.

That did a wholly terrified people gloriously prove their political maturity and their unquestionable determination to be free.

(Next week: The Revolution of post-election Poland.)

I CAST MY vote in a polling

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