



LABOR-MANAGEMENT TODAY INSIDE AMERICA'S INDUSTRIAL WORLD with LOUIS F. BUDENZ

This is the sixth 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.

VI. Collective Bargaining

"Around the conference table" was a phrase heard often from union representatives and champions in the days before the unions came into their present strong position. It was the expression by which they let the world know that the aim of labor was collective bargaining—the settling of hours, wages and working conditions by negotiations between union and management representatives, ending in labor contracts.

SO EXTENSIVE and intensive has collective bargaining now become—with tens of thousands of labor contracts in existence—that "around the bargaining table" is a phrase and procedure as familiar to management as to labor. Indeed, the exact type of table at which the negotiators meet—whether rectangular, round or pear-shaped—is now seriously discussed by some experts as playing some part in the ease with which negotiations are conducted. If that seems too nice an analysis of the conditions for successful collective bargaining, it is at least an indication of the close study now being given the whole process of working out labor contracts.

Considerable care is taken by both sides in most negotiations today, in the preparation of data for presentation in the conference. The employer is required by the National Labor Relations Act to bargain in good faith. This has been interpreted to mean that the company must not remain silent or sullen, then it must present either data to support its position or counter-suggestions to the union demands. In case it does not do this, it may be cited for an unfair labor practice under the Act's famous Section 8.

The union, since the Taft-Hartley Law, is also compelled to deal with the employer; un-

and some method of permanent arbitration. Many people do not yet appreciate how much "seniority rights" are bound up in the labor contract. Our courts have decided over and over that seniority has no other basis for its existence than in that contract. Management may as a matter of policy—to boost morale—grant promotions or arrange the process of lay-offs by seniority. This will only remain a practice which management can repudiate at any time unless it is embodied specifically in a labor contract. It is, in other words, the union contract which in actual practice under the decisions of our courts safeguards seniority.

As the American Law Reports declares (Vol. 142, page 1058): "Conceivably seniority rights may be created without the intervention of a labor union, as by statute or other governmental direction, custom, or by separate contract between the employer and the individual employee but in actual practice such rights stem almost exclusively from collective bargaining agreements." That is because the courts have held that seniority is not an inherent right, but is based on contract. It is the union agreement which is responsible for its origin.

It was in the railroad industry that seniority was first introduced on a wide scale—not only the last man hired being laid off first, but length of service also being a decisive factor in promotion. And it is in the many cases arising from the railroads, centered around the big layoffs of the 1930's, that the court decisions were made affirming the "contract" character of the right.

THE PROVISION of some clause in regard to seniority is now part of practically all union contracts. Originally dealing only with the protection of the workers longest at the job in case of lay-offs, it is now being extended gradually into the matter of promotions. Provisions are made, in various ways, for the oldest men in service having the first opportunity at the possibility of stepping ahead.

With the rise of interest concerning this precaution has gone an equal emphasis by labor on having a voice in the disciplining of the workers. The discharge of a worker now carries with it more than loss of job; it likewise forfeits the seniority standing built up by years of service, whatever they may be. Some courts, however, even held this seniority right to be a property right, all have agreed that it is a "valuable possession." To lose that possession by being discharged is a serious matter indeed.

The discharge and discipline of employees are subjects now included in a growing list of union contracts. It is granted that the employer has the right to discharge for "just cause" but provisions are made for safeguarding the rights of the worker to be heard. More and more contracts specifically set down the steps that shall be taken through the various stages of grievance machinery until in many contracts the matter comes before the permanent umpire or impartial chairman.

THE ARRANGEMENT for arbitration during the life of the contract is a familiar feature by now in union-management agreements. This arrangement as a rule covers much more than the subject of discipline, and in a number of industries, now has given rise to the permanent arbitrator or umpire, who sits as a tie breaker at the job and is paid both by union and employer's association.

One difficulty in many union contracts has been the lack of provision for graduation in offenses and punishments, leaving the arbitrator in the peculiar position of having to excuse the worker completely or discharge him for "just cause." This is the defect, the Ford Motor Company and the United Automobile Workers have now provided diverse penalties for differing offenses.

NEXT WEEK: "Pros and Cons of Union Shop."

Coming Red Terror

Russia's Plans for World War III Revealed

INSTALLMENT 14

(Editor's Note: Life in the police state that is present-day Russia is described by Stanislaw Mikolajczyk in this concluding installment. He also issues a warning to the democracies on Russia's plan to rule the world.)

Here, in the briefest possible detail, is what happened to Poland after Stalin and his Russian and Polish agents stole the Polish election of January, 1947.

As Stalin predicted, the Americans and British protested. And, as he demanded, those protests were ignored. Molotov bluntly told Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, U. S. Ambassador, that Russia would not enter into any Big Three agreement to investigate conditions in Poland "because that would constitute a violation of Polish sovereignty."

At first the Polish Peasant Party, which had been given 27 per cent of the Parliament's 444 seats (though in reality we had gained 74% of votes), agreed to boycott the first session. But then I realized that Parliament afforded us our only opportunity to speak our minds, and that perhaps some of our protests and sentiments might reach the outside world.

SO WE WENT to the opening of Parliament, and it chilled our blood to look at the faces of our "elected" colleagues. They were a motley crowd, often unknown in their own balliwicks.

My first setback in the new Parliament was the defeat of my motion that the election of the Speaker be secret. Then I rose to protest the wording of the oath which the new President would take. It made no mention of God.

"This parliament was chosen fraudulently and—in truth—has no right to elect a president," I said. It should be dissolved immediately and a truly free election held to replace it.

"In your draft of the oath of office which the president must take you have neglected mention of the Almighty. That is curious, in view of the fact that the Communists—during their campaign—frequently appeared in Church, frequently distributed campaign literature with the picture of the Blessed Virgin, lied that church bells sounded after the election in honor of the victory of the Communist—and now that you are entrenched, you turn your back on these religious aids."

The meeting was recessed for a short time for a star-chamber session in which we were not invited. When it reopened, it was announced that the words "So help me God" had been added to the oath. God's aid was now being invoked not for a free Poland but for Communist rule of Poland.

And the next day, the controlled press stated that Catholic and Communist members of Parliament had insisted that God's name be mentioned in the oath. My own speech was censored completely.

The Reds moved swiftly to bind Poland. They adopted a "Little Constitution" which set up a Council of State that would have full power when Parliament was not in session.

THE SYSTEM of taxation became so flexible that man's business or property could be appropriated by the state for "high taxes to pay taxes" even though he produced books and records to show he was correct in his payment.

Polish farmers who wished to purchase coal, clothes, fertilizer and other needs of life had to pay in grain. Many were driven out of business because they could thus no longer feed their stock, and their farms became state-owned. A farmer who operated an efficient farm, and thus was independent, was subjected to special taxation to break him.

Workers, who once were invited to strike against their employers, now learned that a striker was a "saboteur of the state" and would be punished by 10 years of hard labor.

Housing became a state matter, with chief preference thereafter assigned to State buildings, prisons, state-owned industrial plants and public housing, in the order named.

THE STATE COUNCIL removed the independence from universities including that of the 600-year-old University of Krakow. To become a college student in Poland today a youth must first pass two examinations on his knowledge of the current government, denounce me, and join a Communist youth group before he is assigned living space and a ration card.

Polish school books were destroyed and in their place new ones issued. Polish history books now begin with Pete, the Great Independent boys clubs, such as the old Socialist Tur, the Peasant Party's Wici and the Boy Scouts, have been "democratized" and put under the control of the Communist Youth movement.



STANISLAW MIKOLAJCZYK SAID THAT NO MATTER how many votes were cast in favor of the Polish Peasant Party, it must be announced that we attracted only 10 percent of the total cast. Stanislaw Mikolajczyk relates in this week's installment of "The Coming Russian Terror" in showing how the "free and unfettered" election was rigged. Above Stalin is shown with Josef Cyrankiewicz, general secretary of the corrupt Polish Socialist Party, who was to be made prime minister of the new government and a member of the Politburo.

150,000 men. At first, 10,000 of its officers were Red Army men. The training is mainly this. This has been reduced to 3,000. All important positions from chief of staff down through the echelons are held by Russian officers who have been ordered to become Polish citizens.

THE GREAT SCOURGE of the Polish people, the Security Police, numbers 230,000 men officially. Ninety thousand of these are stationed in Security Police offices through the land. About 100,000 members of the military arm of the police are a mobile striking force. Some 40,000 are plainclothesmen, and countless thousands are assigned as spies in homes, offices and factories.

There is, as I have said, no depth to which the Security Police torturers will not stoop. I would suggest that you re-read the stories of Dachau, Oswiecim and other Nazi torture camps. That form of sadism has been replaced by the Communist type.

In Poland today all political trials are handled by the military courts. They refuse to give the accused the advice of counsel, hand down verdicts which are not published, and the judges bring into court—before the first word of testimony is taken—the verdict itself.

The Catholic Church is the last bastion of truth and source of moral inspiration left in Poland. The Communist attack on it, which always existed beneath the surface, has come into the open. Pastoral letters are being censored.

Every priest is spied upon. Political prisoners are denied religious comfort before they are shot. Lesser known clergymen are being arrested. Cardinals Hlond and Sapieha have been denounced in military courts as helpers of the criminal underground and "foreign intelligenc."

The fight between the Church and the Communists is the last open struggle left in Poland today. Poland's independence, political parties have been exterminated. Its economic and social life has been sovietized. Its champions of independence have been liquidated or silenced by torture. The body of Poland has been cruelly crushed. Its heart and soul remain untrampled.

RUSSIA DECLARED war on the democracies of the world last April. The formal military phases of that war have not as yet appeared. They will not have to be used, if the secret Russian forces which are in every democratic country can win Russia's economic and political battles.

If the Red Army's civilian fighting forces which have swirled through the streets of France, Italy, Greece and other countries fail to achieve their primary objectives—strife, chaos and the "incident"—that would enable the Red Army to flood over Europe—they will try again. Recently those forces lost a battle, they did not lose a war. The immense machinery remains in motion.

As is its traditional plight, Poland felt the first repercussions of the new war.

In April, 1947, the Communist head of the Polish Security Police, the NKVD leader Stanislaw Radkiewicz, called a hurried meeting of province and district Communist leaders in Lodz and made formal announcement of the forthcoming conflict.

Until the day Radkiewicz spoke at Lodz it had been a criminal offense for a Pole to mention the possibility of a World War III. Greater behind the Iron Curtain—as well as Russia's 180,000,000—began to be prized mentally for the war and to be encouraged to speak of it.

By Stanislaw Mikolajczyk

French occupation forces in Germany will offer a token resistance but they will naturally be liquidated. We have military plans to take Europe in less than a fortnight.

"GREAT BRITAIN will remain neutral. It cannot endure another rocket war. The United States will declare war, but what does that matter? It is not prepared. It can have no offshore bases from which to attack the continent. We do not rule out the possibility of a negotiated peace with America."

By October 8, I was at last convinced—after 2½ years of a hopeless fight—that it was useless to try to continue the activities of the Polish Peasant Party. I presided over our last official meeting of the executive committee in Warsaw on that day, and we voted to suspend our efforts.

On October 18 I was informed secretly, from a source I knew and could trust, that the Communists would introduce a bill at the opening of Parliament which would deprive the three leaders of the Polish Peasant Party—Stefan Korzonak, Wincenty Bryls and myself—of our immunity to arrest. We were to be arrested, "tried" and shot. The verdict was already sealed. The death sentence had already been handed down by the Military Tribunal.

This last step was kicked from under the only democratic political force left in Poland—our right to speak in Parliament. We had been robbed in the elections, and now what was left of us would be silenced completely. Our deaths could only have produced demonstrations against the Government, which would have enabled the Security Police to do what they had longed to do—conduct a mass murder of independent-minded Poles and tighten the bonds of their control of the country.

So from the moment I learned that I would be arrested, I report which I took care to confirm by two other secret sources—I began making my plans to escape.

I did not escape to tell this story and to sound this alarm to the free peoples of the world who today—whether they realize it or not—are in grave peril from a determined enemy of mankind who is out to rule the world and crush from the human race its God-given rights.

The American, British and

Monstrance

Out of Hiding

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It was not until after the coronation that Bishop Applegate Neumann, Apostolic Vicar, revealed the history of the monstrance in which the Blessed Sacrament had been exposed since the early morning hours of the day before. On December 7, 1941, Pontifical Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament had been offered in the Cathedral at Agaña by Bishop Leo Olase, who was then Vicar Apostolic.

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