

# INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

## The Growth of Trade Unionism since 1913

### Introduction

IN February last <sup>(1)</sup> the International Labour Office published a report on trade unionism, under the title "The Growth of Trade Unionism during the Ten Years 1910-1919". The present article is designed to bring that report up to date and considerably to extend it, in the light of information now available for thirty different countries, referring more especially to the years 1913, 1919, and 1920.

In most cases the statistics here given are based on returns voluntarily made by the trade unions to their governments, or published in trade union or other periodicals. The figures for the countries, therefore, vary both in completeness and accuracy. In some countries the trade unions are centralised in great national federations, and in these cases the figures may be regarded as nearly complete. Unions which are not affiliated to the central organisation are generally small ones. In the case of other countries, where there are a number of isolated local organisations, the available information is far less reliable. From year to year, however, returns become more complete, arrangements for collecting trade union statistics improve, and omissions become less considerable. Thus the increase in membership which appears to have taken place in all countries must perhaps to some extent be attributed to the greater completeness of the returns.

The definition of the term "trade union" is somewhat difficult and varies from one country to another; an association which in one country would be called a trade union bears a different name in another. Account has here been taken rather of the idea than of the name.

In some years there are no available figures. In these cases approximate estimates have been made either from the figures of the preceding and following years, or from the calculations of the competent authorities of the country. All estimates contained in the following tables are, however, distinguished by a special sign (\*).

Generally speaking, but especially as regards belligerent countries, the figures referring to the years 1915 to 1918 are not of great value. Trade union statistics were almost everywhere disorganised by mobilisation. In some countries

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(1) Inter. Lab. Off. *Studies and Reports*, Series A, No. 17; price 10d.

mobilised members of the trade unions are omitted from the statistics, which thus show a great decrease in the membership; in other cases an attempt has been made to include them, but it has not been possible to arrive at such accurate results as formerly. Finally, some countries entirely ceased to publish figures of this kind during the war.

A summary of the general situation is first given, and is followed by a series of Notes on the separate countries.

### General Situation

It is not possible to make anything more than a rough comparison between the totals of membership in various countries, as the degree of accuracy of the figures differs very greatly. In all cases it is desirable to omit the figures for the years 1914 to 1918, as the effects of mobilisation differed greatly in the different countries. The following table gives the total trade union membership, as far as figures are available, in thirty countries for the years 1913, 1919, 1920.

TABLE I

|  | 1913             | 1919       | 1920         |
|--|------------------|------------|--------------|
| Argentina                                  | ( <sup>1</sup> ) | 476,000    | 750,000      |
| Australia                                  | 498,000          | 628,000    | 684,000      |
| Austria                                    | 260,000          | 803,000    | 830,000 *    |
| Belgium                                    | 200,000          | 715,000 *  | 920,000      |
| Bulgaria                                   | 30,000 *         | 36,000     | 36,000 X     |
| Canada                                     | 176,000          | 378,000    | 374,000      |
| Czecho-Slovakia                            | ( <sup>1</sup> ) | 1,301,000  | 2,000,000 *  |
| Denmark                                    | 152,000          | 360,000    | 400,000      |
| Finland                                    | 28,000           | 41,000     | 59,000       |
| France                                     | 1,027,000        | 2,500,000  | 2,500,000 X  |
| Germany                                    | 4,513,000        | 11,900,000 | 13,000,000 * |
| Greece                                     | ( <sup>1</sup> ) | 170,000    | 170,000 X    |
| Hungary                                    | 115,000 *        | 212,000    | 343,000 *    |
| India                                      | —                | 500,000 *  | 500,000      |
| Italy                                      | 972,000          | 1,800,000  | 3,100,000    |
| Japan                                      | —                | 247,000    | 247,000 X    |
| Netherlands                                | 189,000          | 457,000    | 683,000 *    |
| New Zealand                                | 72,000           | 83,000     | 83,000 X     |
| Norway                                     | 64,000           | 144,000    | 142,000      |
| Poland                                     | ( <sup>1</sup> ) | 350,000 *  | 947,000 *    |
| Portugal                                   | ( <sup>1</sup> ) | 100,000    | 100,000 X    |
| Roumania (former area)                     | 10,000           | 75,000 *   | 90,000       |
| Russia                                     | —                | 3,639,000  | 5,220,000    |
| Serbia (old)                               | 9,000            | 20,000     | 20,000 X     |
| South Africa                               | 5,000            | 60,000     | 60,000 X     |
| Spain                                      | ( <sup>1</sup> ) | 876,000    | 876,000      |
| Sweden                                     | 136,000          | 338,000    | 400,000 *    |
| Switzerland                                | 95,000 *         | 200,000 *  | 292,000      |
| United Kingdom                             | 4,173,000        | 8,024,000  | 8,024,000 X  |
| United States                              | 2,722,000        | 5,607,000  | 5,179,000    |
| Estimated total for the above 30 countries | 16,152,000 *     | 42,040,000 | 48,029,000   |

(<sup>1</sup>) Figures not available.

X Figures for 1919.

\* Estimates based on partial information.



The totals for these three years are not absolutely comparable. Only the total for 1919 is based on nearly complete information. For 1913 statistics are only available for 23 countries. To obtain an estimate for the 30 countries we have subtracted from the 1919 total the figures for countries concerning which we had no information in 1913. This gives us a total of 39,610,000 for 23 countries in 1919, as compared with 15,522,000 in 1913. The number had thus increased about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times. In this way we may estimate the 1913 figure for the 30 countries on the basis of the 1919 figure. The approximation we thus obtain is 16,152,000.

The third column of our table gives the membership in 1920. For those countries (9 in number) for which no statistics are available we have taken the figures for 1919, as there has probably been no considerable decrease in membership in any of them. These countries are marked by a  $\times$ . This gives us a total of 48,029,000 members in 1920, according to the most recent information, for all countries, a total which is probably not an over-estimate. When compared with 1919, the figure for this total shows an increase of nearly six million members in the course of a single year. When compared with the sixteen million members of 1913, it shows that by 1920 pre-war membership had trebled.

Among the countries where the increase has been greatest from 1913 to 1919, we must mention Austria and Belgium, in which membership has more than trebled. Japan, Russia, and Poland are in a somewhat peculiar position, for trade unions were not recognised by law in 1913 and therefore hardly existed at that period. In 1919, however, they already had a large membership.

The countries in which the trade union movement was most hampered by the war, namely, Germany, Austria, France, Hungary, Italy, and Czecho-Slovakia, have rapidly made up the deficiency since the Armistice. Their 1919 membership was at least double that for 1913, and their 1920 membership shows a further very considerable increase.

This very great increase in trade union membership may, as was stated at the beginning of this article, be partly attributed to the fact that trade union statistics are becoming more complete each year and thus reflect the real position more and more clearly. Allowance must also be made for a general increase in population, which plays a part in the increase of trade union membership (probably about 6% during the period). Nevertheless, the figures show a very great increase in trade union membership in the various countries of the world, more particularly in those which, since the Armistice, have undergone great political changes.

It is interesting to note further that, of the total of 42,040,000 members in 1919, 34,061,000 or 80% belong to European countries. Of the remaining 7,979,000 non-European members, 5,985,000

belong to the North American continent. A closer examination shows that the concentration of trade union membership in certain countries is still more marked; six countries, namely, Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States, Russia, France, and Italy, account in 1919 for no less than  $33\frac{1}{2}$  million trade union members, while the other 24 countries account for only  $8\frac{3}{4}$  million. If, moreover, we exclude Russia, where the trade union movement is of a quite peculiar nature, and Italy, where 60% of the members are agricultural workers, *métayers*, and small farmers, we find that the four great industrial countries, Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States, and France, include between them more than 28 million members, or 66% of the recorded world total of trade union membership in 1919.

### The Situation in Certain Countries

#### ARGENTINE

According to *El Socialista*, the General Confederation of Labour in the Argentine (*Federación obrera regional Argentina*), which is affiliated to the Amsterdam International, has developed in recent years as follows:—

|      |         |         |
|------|---------|---------|
| 1915 | 21,332  | members |
| 1916 | 41,124  | "       |
| 1917 | 158,796 | "       |
| 1918 | 428,713 | "       |
| 1919 | 476,203 | "       |
| 1920 | 749,518 | "       |

Great efforts were made last year to unite the trade unions representing the older industries with those representing new undertakings.

#### AUSTRALIA

Trade unions in Australia are very diverse in character, and range from a small independent association to large inter-State organisations which, in their turn, may be merely branches of a British or international federation. The following table gives the number and membership of trade unions.

TABLE II

|      | number of unions | membership |
|------|------------------|------------|
| 1914 | 712              | 523,271    |
| 1915 | 713              | 528,031    |
| 1916 | 705              | 546,556    |
| 1917 | 747              | 564,187    |
| 1918 | 767              | 581,755    |
| 1919 | 771              | 627,685    |
| 1920 | 796              | 684,450    |

The second class of unions described above, namely, inter-State unions, are by far the most important. In 1918 there were 95 federations organised on an inter-State basis, their membership being 469,147 or 81% of the total membership. There is no national federation of trade unions in Australia.

## AUSTRIA

The trade union movement in Austria has greatly increased in extent since the Revolution. The total membership at the end of 1919 was 802,871, or 12% of the whole population, a very high proportion.

(1) There are two great federations, of which the federation of Free Unions (*Freie Gewerkschaften*) is by far the most important, including, as it does, 772,146 members, or 96% of the total number of trade union members in the country. The Free Unions attained their greatest pre-war development in 1907. From that year they gradually diminished in size until 1916, then rose again almost to the pre-war level in 1918.

|      |         |         |
|------|---------|---------|
| 1907 | 501,094 | members |
| 1913 | 415,195 | »       |
| 1914 | 166,937 | »       |
| 1918 | 412,910 | »       |

These figures, however, are not comparable with those for 1919, owing to the great reduction of Austrian territory made by the treaty of St. Germain. If we subtract the members belonging to districts now separated from Austria as at present constituted, we obtain the following :—

TABLE III

|      | men     |                   | women   |                   | total    |
|------|---------|-------------------|---------|-------------------|----------|
|      | number  | percent. of total | number  | percent. of total |          |
| 1913 | 226,428 | 89.5              | 26,709  | 10.5              | 253,137  |
| 1914 | 128,961 | 87.9              | 17,581  | 12.1              | 146,542  |
| 1915 | —       | —                 | —       | —                 | 111,712  |
| 1916 | —       | —                 | —       | —                 | 108,739  |
| 1917 | —       | —                 | —       | —                 | 213,321  |
| 1918 | 214,094 | 72.6              | 81,033  | 27.4              | 295,127  |
| 1919 | 578,983 | 75.0              | 193,163 | 25.0              | 772,146  |
| 1920 | —       | —                 | —       | —                 | 800,000* |

Thus the membership in 1919 was three times as large as in 1913, and the proportion of women members had become one-fourth. It is interesting to note that even of the 477,000 additional members in 1919 (as compared with 1918), no less

than 112,000, or nearly a fourth (23.5%), were women. The increase in female membership is very great, for there were seven times as many women members in 1919 as in 1913, while in the same period the male membership was nearly trebled.

The total increase in 1919 as compared with 1918 is due to some extent (15%) to the affiliation of new unions, which, it should be noted, mainly represent non-manual workers (bank clerks, lawyers' and notaries' clerks, private and public administrative employees, technical workers, nurses, and others). The Free Unions which contributed most largely to this increase were as follows :—

TABLE IV

|  | member-<br>ship on<br>31 Dec. 1919 | increase as compared<br>with 1918 |            |
|--|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------|
|  |                                    | number                            | percentage |
| Transport Workers' Union                   | 54,075                             | 35,097                            | 185        |
| Union of Agricultural and Forestry Workers | 30,133                             | 29,380                            | 3,902      |
| Union of Commercial Employees              | 48,450                             | 26,752                            | 124        |
| Union of Metal Workers                     | 151,541                            | 26,453                            | 21         |
| Union of Hotel and Inn Employees           | 28,088                             | 25,243                            | 887        |

There is one final point to be noted. So great a proportion of the population of the new Republic of Austria is concentrated in the former capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire that 55 per cent. of the members of the trade unions are resident in Vienna.

(2) The *Christian Trade Unions (Christliche Gewerkschaften)* have a much smaller membership. In 1919 they included 30,725 members, of whom 14,360 were women (47% of the total). Since 1918 their membership, which was then 25,933, has increased by 18%.

## BELGIUM

The Belgian trade unions had about 200,000 members in 1913 to 14 and in 1920 had about 920,000. Thus their membership has increased to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  times what it was before the war. Belgian trade unionists represent 12% of the total population.

The unions are affiliated to two great federations :

(1) The *Commission syndicale du parti ouvrier et des syndicats indépendants*, which is by far the more important. In 1913 its membership was 128,759, in 1919 613,500, and in October 1920 720,000 (19th Trade Union Congress, Brussels).

The following table shows the growth of the principal groups of unions between 1913 and 1919, classified according to industry.

TABLE V

|                      | membership in |         |
|----------------------|---------------|---------|
|                      | 1913          | 1919    |
| Miners               | 18,546        | 117,000 |
| Metal workers        | 26,606        | 100,000 |
| Railway workers      | —             | 85,000  |
| Building trades      | 10,245        | 50,000  |
| Textile mills        | 21,500        | 50,000  |
| Factory workers      | 3,510         | 45,000  |
| Transport workers    | 4,705         | 40,000  |
| Quarries             | 14,885        | 21,000  |
| Diamond cutters      | 3,831         | 13,000  |
| Government employees | 3,205         | 12,000  |
| Tobacco workers      | 2,900         | 11,000  |
| Clerks               | 1,570         | 10,000  |
| Foodstuff industry   | 900           | 10,000  |

(2) The *Confédération générale des syndicats chrétiens et libres* has not grown so rapidly; it increased, however, from about 70,000 in 1913 to about 200,000 at the end of 1920.

Neither Federation published any membership figures for the war years.

## BULGARIA

The trade union movement has not attained any very considerable growth in Bulgaria. The total membership in 1919 was only about 35,000.

There are two Federations, each closely connected with one of the two wings of the Socialist party; the relations between them are, however, friendly.

(1) *The General Confederation of Labour*, which had 6,628 members in 1910, has almost doubled its membership, which in 1920 was 12,000.

(2) *The Confederation of Free Trade Unions*, which had only 4,016 members in 1910, has remained almost stationary, with some slight variations.

There is also the *Union of Employees in Public Administrations and Municipal Industries*, which is not so far officially attached to any political party, but is at present the strongest trade union organisation, with an estimated membership of 14,000.

The following table shows the growth of these three organisations, as far as figures are available:—

TABLE VI

|      | General<br>Confederation<br>of Labour | Federation<br>of free trade<br>unions | Union<br>of state<br>employees | Independent<br>unions | Total   |
|------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|---------|
| 1910 | 6,628                                 | 4,016                                 | 13,950                         | 4,615                 | 29,209  |
| 1911 | 7,428                                 | 3,727                                 | 13,685                         | 5,162                 | 30,002  |
| 1912 | 8,502                                 | 4,845                                 | —                              | —                     | 31,500* |
| 1913 | 5,350                                 | —                                     | —                              | —                     | —       |
| 1914 | 7,584                                 | 4,000                                 | —                              | —                     | 30,000* |
| 1915 | —                                     | 4,900                                 | —                              | —                     | 31,000* |
| 1919 | 12,000                                | 4,500                                 | 14,072                         | —                     | 35,500* |

\* Estimate.

## CANADA

The structure of trade unionism in Canada, is extremely complicated. The bulk of the organised workers in the Dominion are members of organisations whose jurisdiction covers the whole of the North American continent.

The number of trade unionists in Canada, as reported by the Canadian Government, shows a marked increase from 1913 to 1919, but a slight set-back in 1920.

|      |         |
|------|---------|
| 1913 | 175,799 |
| 1914 | 166,163 |
| 1915 | 143,343 |
| 1916 | 160,407 |
| 1917 | 204,630 |
| 1918 | 248,887 |
| 1919 | 378,047 |
| 1920 | 373,842 |

The distribution into different groups at the end of the years 1919 and 1920 was as follows:—

TABLE VII

|                          | 1919    | 1920    |
|--------------------------|---------|---------|
| International unions     | 260,247 | 267,247 |
| Non-international unions | 33,372  | 25,406  |
| Independent unions       | 8,278   | 31,189  |
| National Catholic unions | 35,000  | 45,000  |
| One Big Union            | 41,150  | 5,000   |
| Total                    | 378,047 | 373,842 |

(1) *International Unions.* The phrase "international unions" as used in Canada has a meaning different from that which it has in Europe ; it signifies unions which operate

over the whole North American continent. As seen from the above list, the bulk of organised labour in Canada is connected with "international" organisations. These are, for the most part, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor <sup>(2)</sup>. The total membership of these "international" organisations is published by the Canadian Government as follows:—

TABLE VIII

|      | in Canada | outside Canada |
|------|-----------|----------------|
| 1913 | 148,856   | 2,722,352      |
| 1915 | 114,722   | 2,860,265      |
| 1917 | 164,896   | 3,450,737      |
| 1919 | 260,247   | 5,607,360      |
| 1920 | 267,247   | 5,133,047      |

In the absence of further information, the figures of the members of "international" organisations outside Canada may be taken as roughly representative of trade unionism in the United States <sup>(2)</sup>.

(2) *Non-International Unions.* While the majority of organised workers in Canada are affiliated to one or other of the "international" organisations dealt with above, there are a number of what are termed non-international bodies. They are not a very powerful force, however, and in 1919 their total membership was only 33,372, which in 1920 sank still further to 25,406.

(3) *National Catholic Unions.* This is a movement of comparatively recent origin in Canada and is confined almost entirely to the Province of Quebec. The first Convention of the National Catholic unions was held in September 1918, and its membership, which is increasing, now stands at 45,000. They are entirely divorced from all connection with the "international" labour movement.

(4) *One Big Union.* This is an extremist body founded in March 1919. It is an attempt to alienate the workers from the "international" movement and form an independent organisation. Its membership, which was estimated at about 41,000 in 1919, has fallen heavily, and was not more than 5,000 in 1920.

*The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada* has offered considerable opposition to the efforts of the "One Big Union". It is the recognised head of the Labour movement of the Dominion in so far as legislative matters are concerned. It represents about one half of the organised workers of Canada and is especially representative of "international"

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(2) See note on the UNITED STATES below. p. 107.

trade unionism, the bulk of its membership being drawn from "international" organisations operating on the North American continent. Originally established in 1873, it was re-established, after lapsing for some years, in 1885. The membership of the trade unions affiliated to it is as follows:—

|      |         |
|------|---------|
| 1914 | 80,094  |
| 1915 | 71,419  |
| 1916 | 66,573  |
| 1917 | 81,687  |
| 1918 | 117,498 |
| 1919 | 160,605 |

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

The trade union movement in Czecho-Slovakia has increased in importance since the declaration of independence. The membership of the various organisations in 1919 was as follows:—

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| General Confederation of Czecho-Slovak Social Democratic Trade Unions | 727,055   |
| German trade unions in Czecho-Slovakia                                | 285,000   |
| Czecho-Slovak Socialist trade unions                                  | 211,932   |
| Czecho-Slovak Christian unions  | 77,000    |
|   | <hr/>     |
|   | 1,300,987 |

It is estimated that by the end of 1920 a total of over two millions must have been reached.

(1) *The General Confederation of Social Democratic Trade Unions (Odborové sdružení československé)* is the most important; it includes 56% of the total number of trade union members in Czecho-Slovakia. Its membership decreased considerably during the war, falling in 1916 to one-quarter of what it was in 1913. By 1918, however, the pre-war figure had already been exceeded, and a year later it had increased more than fourfold.

TABLE IX

|      | total membership | female membership |                    |
|------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
|      |                  | number            | per cent. of total |
| 1912 | 107,263          | —                 | —                  |
| 1913 | 104,574          | —                 | —                  |
| 1914 | 55,178           | —                 | —                  |
| 1915 | 31,407           | —                 | —                  |
| 1916 | 23,932           | 3,239             | 14.0               |
| 1917 | 42,728           | 6,468             | 15.0               |
| 1918 | 161,447          | 23,774            | 15.0               |
| 1919 | 727,055          | 194,665           | 27.0               |

Up to 1918 the female membership was only 14-15 % of the total; but in 1919 it suddenly increased eightfold to 195,000.

The most important Social Democratic unions at the end of 1919 were the following :—

|                                  |         |
|----------------------------------|---------|
| Agricultural workers             | 179,650 |
| Metal workers                    | 116,894 |
| Workers in the chemical industry | 77,887  |
| Miners                           | 65,197  |
| Railwaymen                       | 55,470  |
| Textile workers                  | 40,616  |

(2) *The Federation of German Trade Unions in Czecho-Slovakia (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund in der Tschecho-Slowakei)* stands second in point of numbers. Unlike the Magyar unions, which fused with the Czecho-Slovak unions in October 1920, the German unions persist in maintaining their independence. The membership has increased from 285,000 in 1919 to 400,000 in 1920.

(3) *The Czecho-Slovak Socialist trade unions (Ceskoslovenska Obec Delnicka)* in October 1919 had 211,932 members in 78 federations. In 1920 the membership was 352,267, including 51,807 women (15 % of total).

(4) *The Czecho-Slovak Christian unions* have the smallest membership; 77,000 members in April 1919.

## DENMARK

The trade union movement in Denmark has always been particularly well organised. It is centralised in a single Central Federation of Trade Unions (*Samvirkende Fagforbund*), which includes 75-80 % of the total trade union membership. This Federation works in close touch with the Social Democratic party. The following table shows in detail the growth of the trade union movement in Denmark.

TABLE X

|      | Total       | Unions affiliated to the Central Federation |                     | Independent unions |
|------|-------------|---|---------------------|--------------------|
|      |             | numbers                                     | percentage of total |                    |
| 1912 | 138,767     | 106,767                                     | 77                  | 32,000 (1)         |
| 1913 | 152,289     | 114,289                                     | 75                  | 38,000             |
| 1914 | 156,163     | 121,529                                     | 78                  | 34,634             |
| 1915 | 174,245     | 133,776                                     | 77                  | 40,469             |
| 1916 | 188,999     | 150,522                                     | 80                  | 38,477             |
| 1917 | 218,626     | 179,284                                     | 82                  | 39,342             |
| 1918 | 315,597     | 255,150                                     | 81                  | 60,447             |
| 1919 | 370,016     | 277,392                                     | 77                  | 92,624             |
| 1920 | 400,000 (1) | 300,000 (1)                                 | 75                  | 100,000            |

(1) Approximate.

The total number of trade union members has increased by 200 % since 1912. Increase has taken place in nearly equal proportions in the Central Federation of Trade Unions and in the independent unions. Between 1916 and 1918 the Central Federation seemed to be attaining a still greater preponderance in the total membership of the trade unions. In 1917 it included 82 % of all unionists. In 1919 to 1920, however, the membership of the independent unions showed a sudden increase, and the proportion was reduced to 77 % again. The following table shows the growth between 1912 and 1920 of such of the principal unions affiliated to the Central Federation for which as recent figures are obtainable.

TABLE XI

|                           | 1912             | 1914             | 1916             | 1918   | 1920             |
|---------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|--------|------------------|
| Day labourers             | 35,405           | 40,156           | 50,923           | 81,075 | 90,000           |
| Agricultural workers      | ( <sup>2</sup> ) | ( <sup>2</sup> ) | ( <sup>2</sup> ) | 30,000 | 30,000           |
| Forge and machine workers | 11,972           | 13,323           | 16,034           | 19,121 | ( <sup>1</sup> ) |
| Tailors                   | 3,618            | 4,415            | 6,560            | 12,800 | 13,000           |
| Carpenters                | 6,466            | 6,900            | 8,050            | 9,436  | 9,909            |
| Municipal employees       | 2,310            | 4,366            | 5,173            | 6,720  | 9,155            |

(1) Figures not yet available.

(2) Federation not yet formed.

Thus on the whole the increase was very regular.

Since 1918 the female membership has increased in about the same proportion as the total membership. In 1918 it was 16.4 % (41,869 members) of the total membership, and on 1 January 1920 it had only risen to 17.5 % (48,534 members) of the total.

The most important of the unions which are not affiliated to the Central Federation is the *Commercial Employees' Union*, which in November 1920 had 30,000 members. It has developed remarkably in the last three years, its membership increasing from 7,500 in 1917 to 20,000 in 1918.

There are two other independent unions, the *Syndicalist Union* and the *Christian Union*. The exact figures of their present membership are not available; in 1915 they had 5,200 and 3,200 members respectively.

## FINLAND

The Finnish trade unions are organised in a *General Confederation of Trade Unions* (*Suomen Ammattijärjestö*), which at present has about 60,000 members, including more than 12,000 women.

The following conspectus of membership shows the growth of the trade union movement in Finland.

|        |      |                |
|--------|------|----------------|
| End of | 1913 | 28,021 members |
| »      | 1914 | 30,870         |
| »      | 1915 | 30,150         |
| »      | 1916 | 41,804         |
| »      | 1917 | 160,695        |
| »      | 1918 | 20,780         |
| »      | 1919 | 40,677         |
| »      | 1920 | 59,470         |

## FRANCE

(1) The most important trade union organisation in France is the *General Confederation of Labour (Confédération Générale du Travail)*. Its membership has shown a marked tendency to increase in recent years, as the following conspectus shows.

|      |                 |
|------|-----------------|
| 1912 | 575,276 members |
| 1913 | 592,447         |
| 1914 | 861,162         |
| 1915 | 83,292          |
| 1916 | 167,582         |
| 1917 | 493,104         |
| 1918 | 997,558         |
| 1919 | 2,048,221       |

The 1920 figures are not yet available. No official statement of any kind on this head has yet been issued by the Confederation, but it would appear likely, from remarks made in the course of certain discussions, that the C.G.T. lost a large number of members after the 1920 strikes.

(2) *The Confederation of Christian Workers (Confédération des Ouvriers Chrétiens)* was founded in 1919. In May 1920 it claimed to have 140,000 members.

(3) *A National Confederation of Labour (Confédération Nationale du Travail)* has been formed, as a body which aims at increasing production and preventing continual strikes. Its membership is unknown.

If the other independent trade unions are also taken into account, the total number of trade union members in France in 1920 may be estimated at about 2½ million. No exact figures are, however, available.

## GERMANY

Even before the war the trade union movement in Germany had made great progress. This was further accelerated by the German Revolution.

There are several large federations of trade unions. They are as follows:—

(1) *Federation of Free, or Socialist Unions (Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund or Freie Gewerkschaften)*. This federation has considerably increased its membership in the last two years, as appears from the following figures referring to the principal unions and from table XIII:—

TABLE XII

|                      | June<br>1914 | June<br>1917 | June<br>1918 | June<br>1919 | June<br>1920 | December<br>1920 |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|
| Metal<br>workers     | 543,076      | 315,345      | 432,668      | 1,349,583    | 1,689,483    | 1,638,650        |
| Textile<br>workers   | 133,094      | 66,854       | 75,778       | 320,643      | 504,798      | 535,369          |
| Wood w'rs            | 190,053      | 77,729       | 94,418       | 309,544      | 401,322      | 378,975          |
| Building<br>workers  | 310,044      | 79,758       | 83,554       | 345,476      | 492,919      | 465,744          |
| Transport<br>workers | 227,910      | 59,005       | 69,906       | 421,491      | 593,417      | 585,942          |
| Factory<br>workers   | 207,710      | 92,822       | 115,790      | 502,040      | 667,954      | 646,931          |
| Total                | 1,611,887    | 691,513      | 872,114      | 3,248,777    | 4,349,893    | 4,251,811        |

A comparatively large part of this increase is due to the female membership. The number of women belonging to the Free Unions increased as follows :—

|      |           |             |       |                     |
|------|-----------|-------------|-------|---------------------|
| 1914 | 220,000   | women, i.e. | 14.6% | of total membership |
| 1918 | 400,000   | »           | »     | 13.8% » » »         |
| 1919 | 1,112,000 | »           | »     | 21.9% » » »         |
| 1920 | 1,688,000 | »           | »     | 21.0% » » »         |

The largest increase in female membership is found in the unions of the textile and metal industries, which include more than half a million women between them, or 30 % of the total female membership.

The Federation of Free Unions has just come to an agreement with the Federation of Unions of Salaried Employees ("Afa"), which has a membership of about 700,000. This agreement contemplates a close collaboration between the two federations. Negotiations are also in progress with the recently formed *Federation of Civil Servants' Associations* (*Deutscher Beamtenbund*), which already has a membership of 1,200,000. This new group will be in a position to hold joint congresses of the three organisations with a collective membership of nearly ten millions.

(2) The *Federation of Christian Trade Unions* (*Gesamtverband der Christlichen Gewerkschaften Deutschlands*) was founded in 1890. It developed principally in Westphalia and Bavaria. Its membership was 350,000 in 1912; after a temporary decrease during the war, it rose to 1,250,000 in 1920. In 1919 the Christian trade unions joined with the *Union of German Salaried Employees* (*Gesamtverband deutscher Angestelltengewerkschaften*, 500,000 members) and the *Union of State Employees* (*Gesamtverband deutscher Beamten- und Staatsangestellten-Gewerkschaften*, 420,000 members), to form a federation called the *League of German Trade Unions* (*Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*)<sup>(3)</sup>.

(3) See the International Labour Office *Studies and Reports*, Series A, No. 21.

In 1919 the League had 1,700,000 members and in 1920 it had 2,170,000.

(3) The *Hirsch-Duncker Unions* (*Deutsche Gewerkvereine*) have not developed at the same rate. Their membership, which was 106,618 in 1913, only increased to about 210,000 in 1920. They recently joined the *Federation of Salaried Employees* (*Gewerkschaftsbund der Angestellten*, 350,000 members) and the *Union of Railway Workers* (*Allgemeiner Eisenbahnerverband*, 90,000 members), to form the *Federation of Workers, Employees, and Civil Servants* (*Gewerkschaftsring deutscher Arbeiter-, Angestellten- und Beamtenverbände*), with a total membership of about 650,000.

(4) The *Independent Unions* (*Unabhängige Vereine*) and the *Economic Peace Unions* (*Wirtschaftsfriedliche Vereine*). Their membership has shown a tendency to decrease since the war; but the 1919 figures are not yet available, and it was in that year that the other federations made their decisive recovery.

(5) The *Unions of Salaried Employees*, grouped in various associations, include commercial employees, clerks, technical workers, etc. Their membership fell considerably during the war, but in 1918 they had very nearly regained their 1913 numbers. For 1919 and 1920 the information available is incomplete and from outside sources, and is not quite consistent; it seems, however, that they are still growing. The Civil Servants' Associations, which have already been referred to, are also steadily gaining strength, and are beginning to take a definite place in the trade union movement.

Generally speaking, the whole German trade union movement has made great progress. Although it lost half its members, as a consequence of the war and mobilisation, it received a great impetus after the Armistice, and trebled its 1912 membership.

The following table shows the progress of this growth in each of the groups, as far as comparable figures were available.

TABLE XIII

|      | Federation<br>of Free<br>unions | Christian<br>unions | Hirsch-<br>Duncker<br>unions | Independ.<br>unions | Unions of<br>Salaried<br>employees | Total       |
|------|---------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|-------------|
| 1910 | 2,128,021                       | 316,115             | 122,571                      | 390,725             | 793,690                            | 3,751,122   |
| 1911 | 2,421,465                       | 350,574             | 107,743                      | 456,050             | 859,505                            | 4,195,337   |
| 1912 | 2,583,492                       | 350,930             | 109,225                      | 522,484             | 887,990                            | 4,454,121   |
| 1913 | 2,525,042                       | 341,735             | 106,618                      | 598,510             | 941,343                            | 4,513,249   |
| 1914 | 1,502,811                       | 218,197             | 77,749                       | 372,434             | —                                  | 4,870,000*  |
| 1915 | 994,853                         | 162,425             | 61,086                       | 305,744             | 531,609                            | 2,055,717   |
| 1916 | 944,575                         | 178,970             | 57,666                       | 314,747             | 444,384                            | 1,940,342   |
| 1917 | 1,277,709                       | 293,187             | 79,113                       | 286,520             | 425,298                            | 2,361,827   |
| 1918 | 2,888,846                       | 538,559             | 113,792                      | 260,065             | 871,791                            | 4,673,053   |
| 1919 | 7,338,000                       | 1,000,770           | 189,831                      | —                   | —                                  | 11,900,000* |
| 1920 | 8,011,262                       | 1,250,000           | 350,000                      | —                   | —                                  | 13,000,000* |

(\*) Estimate.

As already stated, since 1919 new groups have been taking shape, with the aim of linking up the organisations of civil servants and employees with those of the manual workers. Three main groups are in course of formation, round three strong trade union tendencies. According to the most recent information available, the membership of these and other groups is as follows :

|   |           |                 |
|---|-----------|-----------------|
| Federation of Free Trade Unions (Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund)   | 8,000,000 | } 9,900,000 (1) |
| Federation of Civil Servants' Associations (Deutscher Beamtenbund)  | 1,200,000 |                 |
| Federation of Unions of Salaried Employees (Afa)  | 700,000   |                 |
| League of German Trade Unions (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund)   |           | 2,170,000       |
| Federation of Workers, Employees, and Civil Servants (Gewerkschaftsring deutscher Arbeiter-, Angestellten- und Beamtenverbände) |           | 650,000         |
| Independent unions  |           | 260,000         |
| Total   |           | 12,980,000      |

(1) Approximate figure ; group in course of formation.

## GREECE

The trade union movement in Greece is of quite recent date. Up to the end of the war the principal centres of the movement were Athens and Piræus, where 17 industries were organised. Additional unions have been formed almost all over the country, and the *National Federation of Trade Unions* in Greece held its first congress in November 1919, when about 170,000 workers were represented.

There also exist a certain number of "yellow" trade unions and a "Socialist group", to which 49 unions are affiliated. These, however, are all of a more local character.

## HUNGARY

Accurate statistics of trade unionism in Hungary are difficult to obtain at the present time, owing to the recent disturbances and the effect of the Peace Treaty, which reduced the population from 21 millions to 7 millions. There exist, however, two large trade union federations.

(1) *The Central Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions.* This was founded in 1890 by the setting up of a Trade Union Council, an organisation resembling the French *Confédération Générale du Travail*. Its membership from the year 1912 is shown below :—

|             |                 |
|-------------|-----------------|
| End of 1912 | 111,966 members |
| » » 1913    | 107,488         |
| » » 1914    | 51,510          |
| » » 1915    | 43,381          |
| » » 1916    | 55,338          |
| » » 1917    | 215,222         |
| » » 1918    | 721,437         |
| » » 1919    | 212,405         |
| » » 1920    | 152,441         |

Though not officially connected with the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, the members of the Federation are Social Democrats.

(2) *The National Federation of Hungarian Christian Social Trade Unions* was founded in 1906 ; it cannot be said to have developed to any great extent until the Revolution. In 1918 it had only eight organisations with 12,000 to 13,000 members. At the present time it is reported to have 42 organisations, with a membership of 190,000, a third of whom are railwaymen.

## INDIA

It was not until 1918 that the first regular workers' association was founded at Madras. Trade unions were formed among textile workers, railwaymen, tramway employees, and printing workers. The present membership is 17,000.

The first Indian trade union Congress took place in October 1920 with Mr. Lajpat Rai in the chair, and a permanent central organisation was set up in Bombay. The number of workers represented was stated to be 500,000.

## ITALY

In Italy, as in other countries, the trade union movement has grown enormously since the Armistice. Its distinguishing feature is the very considerable numerical proportion of agricultural workers. These workers have formed powerful unions, which are more closely associated with the industrial movement than in other countries. The total membership and proportion of agricultural workers in the trade union movement are shown in the following table.

TABLE XIV

|          | total membership | agricultural workers |                     |
|----------|------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
|          |                  | number               | percentage of total |
| 1913     | 971,667          | 468,969              | 48                  |
| 1916     | 701,405          | 446,843              | 63                  |
| 1919     | 1,800,000        | —                    | —                   |
| 1920 (1) | 3,100,100        | 1,833,877            | 59                  |

(1) Includes only members of the General Confederation of Labour and the Italian Confederation of Workers.

The principal trade union federations are the following :—

(1) *The General Confederation of Labour (Confederazione Generale del Lavoro : C. G. L.)* is the most important. It is closely connected with the Socialist party, and maintains the principle of the class war, but also claims to be working for the immediate improvement of working-class conditions.

Its rapid progress since the end of the war is shown by the following conspectus :—

|              |           |         |
|--------------|-----------|---------|
| 1913         | 327,302   | members |
| 1914         | 320,858   |         |
| 1915         | 233,963   |         |
| 1916         | 201,291   |         |
| 1917         | 237,560   |         |
| 1918         | 249,039   |         |
| 1919         | 1,159,062 |         |
| 1920 (Sept.) | 1,926,861 |         |

Of the total 1920 membership, 46 % were agricultural workers, and 43 % were industrial workers.

(2) *The Italian Confederation of Workers (Confederazione italiana dei Lavoratori: C. I. L.)* is a Catholic organisation. Its membership was about 100,000 before the war, and is now over a million, with a large preponderance of agricultural workers. The number of these, out of a total membership of 1,182,291 members in 1920, was as follows :—

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| 741,262 | members of unions of <i>metayers</i> and small farmers (63% of total) |
| 108,569 | members of unions of small working proprietors (9% of total)          |
| 94,961  | members of agricultural workers' unions (8% of total)                 |

944,792 agricultural workers of all kinds (80% of total).

Of the other members 11 % are workers in the textile industries, and the remaining 9 % are workers in various other industries.

(3) In addition to the two great Federations there are a certain number of isolated organisations. In 1910 these had a membership of about 200,000, which had decreased in 1916 to 158,754. Among them must be mentioned the *Italian Trade Union Federation (Unione Sindacale Italiana)*, founded in 1912, which had 120,000 members at the time of its formation.

(4) *The Federation of Independent Unions* was founded in 1920 to organise workers or unions which did not wish to be affiliated either to the C. G. L. or the C. I. L. The number of members is not yet known.

## JAPAN

Before 1918 there were already many labour organisations in existence in Japan, but, with the exception of the *Yuai Kai*, *Sinyu Kai*, and a few others, they were generally very small and their membership restricted to workers in one factory, one mine, or at most one locality. Their aims, too, generally consisted solely in establishing mutual aid systems.

During and after the war, especially in the years 1919 and 1920, great progress was made in the organising of labour.

According to the investigation made by the Department of Home Affairs through the police authorities, it is estimated that in January 1921 there were 671 unions with a membership of about 246,658, as shown in the following table:—

TABLE XV

|                                   | no. of<br>unions | no. of<br>members |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Porters and carriers              | 87               | 16,513            |
| Machine, tools, and metal workers | 75               | 56,064            |
| Chemical workers                  | 68               | 18,264            |
| Miners                            | 56               | 28,592            |
| Transport workers                 | 49               | 11,394            |
| Printers                          | 34               | 6,057             |
| Textile workers                   | 22               | 6,503             |
| Shipbuilding workers              | 12               | 16,895            |
| Seaf-men                          | 18               | 13,348            |
| Lumber and wood workers           | 34               | 6,709             |
| Miscellaneous and mixed unions    | 216              | 66,319            |
| Total                             | 671              | 246,658           |

Although these figures no doubt include not only the real labour unions but also simple mutual aid societies—owing to the difficulty in distinguishing one from the other in their real stages—the fact remains that the number of organisations has increased four times and the membership three times since the war. But they are still in their infancy; the majority have from 50 to 300 members and very few more than 10,000.

#### NETHERLANDS

Between 1914 and 1920 the membership of the Dutch trade unions almost trebled. The increase has become more marked each year, with the exception of 1914 to 15, when the war temporarily checked it.

TABLE XVI

|             | total membership | increase on<br>previous year |
|-------------|------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 Jan. 1912 | 169,100          | —                            |
| 1913        | 189,000          | 19,900                       |
| 1914        | 220,300          | 31,300                       |
| 1915        | 227,400          | 7,100                        |
| 1916        | 251,700          | 24,300                       |
| 1917        | 303,800          | 52,100                       |
| 1918        | 369,200          | 65,400                       |
| 1919        | 456,500          | 87,300                       |
| 1920        | 617,700          | 139,000                      |

There are five great national organisations:—

(1) *The National Secretariat of Labour* (*Nationaal Arbeids-Secretariaat*). This is the oldest established organisation of the kind in Holland. It lost a number of its adherents at the beginning of the twentieth century. The branches which seceded

at this time either remained isolated or became affiliated to the Christian unions. Its present membership is about 49,000, or 7.8 % of the total number of members of trade unions.

(2) *The Dutch Federation of Trade Unions (Nederlandsch Verbond van Vakverenigingen)*. The Federation is affiliated to the Amsterdam International. Its membership increased from 84,261 in 1914 to 262,196 in April 1920; it has thus trebled. Since that date there has, however, been a slight decrease, and the membership in July 1920 was only 248,968, including 18,000 women. Nevertheless, it still includes 40 % of the total number of trade union members in Holland, and is the largest organisation in that country.

(3) *The Bureau of Roman Catholic Trade Unions (Bureau voor de Romsch-Katholieke Vakorganisatie)* was formed out of several local Catholic unions. Its membership was 158,222 in October 1920, including 13,365 women.

(4) *The Federation of Christian Trade Unions (Christelijk Nationaal Vakverbond)*. Its membership was 6,000 in 1910, and is at present (July 1920) 76,130, including 5,286 women (7 %).

(5) *The General Federation of Trade Unions (Algemeen Nederlandsch Vakverbond)*. In 1914 the membership of this federation was only 4,000, but it greatly increased and was 39,900 in January 1920. This body shows the greatest proportional increase since 1919, as it quadrupled its membership in the course of that year, while none of the other organisations doubled theirs.

The following table shows the development of the five organisations during recent years, excluding candidates for membership awaiting election.

TABLE XVII

|      | Total   | National Secretariat of Labour (N.A.S.) | Dutch Federation of Trade Unions (N.V.V.) | Bureau of Roman Catholic Trade Unions (R. K. V.) | Federation of Christian Trade Unions (C. N. V.) | General Federation of Trade Unions (A. N. V.) |
|------|---------|---|---|--|---|---|
| 1912 | 169,100 | 6,200                                   | 52,200                                    | 16,400   | 7,800   | —   |
| 1913 | 189,000 | 8,100                                   | 61,400                                    | 21,100   | 7,900   | 2,800   |
| 1914 | 220,300 | 9,700                                   | 84,300                                    | 29,000   | 11,000  | 3,900   |
| 1915 | 227,400 | 9,200                                   | 87,600                                    | 35,300   | 12,300  | 4,700   |
| 1916 | 251,700 | 10,500                                  | 99,500                                    | 40,300   | 15,000  | 5,000   |
| 1917 | 302,800 | 14,300                                  | 128,900                                   | 54,900   | 20,500  | 5,600   |
| 1918 | 369,200 | 23,100                                  | 159,400                                   | 69,100   | 28,000  | 7,800   |
| 1919 | 456,500 | 33,600                                  | 190,900                                   | 91,800   | 46,300  | 10,500  |
| 1920 | 617,700 | 48,900                                  | 247,700                                   | 141,000  | 67,000  | 39,900  |

The most important organisations are the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions and the Bureau of Roman Catholic Trade Unions, which between them have about 65 % of the total trade union membership.

The independent unions show a decrease both absolutely and relatively. In 1914 they had about 92,000 members (27.4 % of the total trade union membership), while in 1920 they only had about 51,000 (8 %). Thus there is a clearly marked tendency towards affiliation to existing federations.

## NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand is one of the few countries where trade unionism has not shown any signs of increase, the membership at the end of 1918 being about the same as at the end of 1913. The following conspectus shows the number and membership of trade unions during the last six years. The figures seem very small in comparison with those of other countries, but it must be remembered that the total population of New Zealand is only about 1,200,000. The first substantial increase took place in 1919, when the membership rose from 71,447 to 82,553.

TABLE XVIII

|      | no. of unions | membership |
|------|---------------|------------|
| 1912 | 322           | 60,602     |
| 1913 | 372           | 71,544     |
| 1914 | 403           | 73,991     |
| 1915 | 389           | 67,661     |
| 1916 | 378           | 71,388     |
| 1917 | 382           | 72,873     |
| 1918 | 370           | 71,447     |
| 1919 | 380           | 82,553     |

## NORWAY

The trade union movement in Norway is strongly organised in a single *General Federation of Norwegian Trade Unions* (*Arbeidernes Faglige Landsorganisationen i Norge*), and no federations of any importance exist outside it. The pre-war membership has been more than doubled, although a slight decrease is noticeable in 1920.

|      |         |         |
|------|---------|---------|
| 1913 | 63,812  | members |
| 1914 | 67,604  | "       |
| 1915 | 77,968  | "       |
| 1916 | 80,628  | "       |
| 1917 | 98,912  | "       |
| 1918 | 107,542 | "       |
| 1919 | 143,956 | "       |
| 1920 | 141,543 | "       |

The most marked increase took place between 1918 and 1919 (36,000 members or 31 % of the 1918 membership). It was partly due to the affiliation of six additional unions with a membership of about 11,000 members; but the other unions also received a temporary influx of members. This was

followed in 1920 by an almost complete standstill; and in some cases the membership even showed a considerable decrease, as is shown by the following table of the principal unions.

TABLE XIX

|  | 1915   | 1916   | 1917   | 1918   | 1919   | 1920   |
|--|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Labourers                                  | 22,213 | 20,465 | 26,105 | 31,942 | 38,986 | 31,280 |
| Metal workers                              | 15,560 | 17,002 | 19,745 | 19,056 | 20,883 | 21,038 |
| Paper workers                              | 6,143  | 6,550  | 6,048  | 7,615  | 8,658  | 10,173 |
| Port and dock workers                      | 3,339  | 3,538  | 5,397  | 6,794  | 9,809  | 10,007 |
| Wood workers                               | 4,900  | 5,656  | 6,900  | 7,700  | 8,658  | 8,500  |
| Felling, sawing, and trimming<br>of timber | 3,459  | 3,516  | 4,063  | 4,325  | 5,466  | 5,696  |
| Sailors                                    | 1,900  | 1,707  | 1,453  | 2,150  | 4,479  | 4,254  |

## POLAND

The *Central Commission of Polish Trade Unions (Komisja Centralna Związków Zawodowych)*, which is one of the most important of Polish labour organisations, had already 350,000 members in June 1919, and in December 1920 428,700 members belonging to 46 unions.

According to figures supplied by the Ministry of Labour, the total number of Polish workers at present belonging to trade unions is 947,000. The following are the principal federations :—

|                      |                 |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| Agricultural workers | 150,000 members |
| Railwaymen           | 90,000          |
| Miners               | 60,000          |
| Metal workers        | 50,000          |
| Textile workers      | 40,000          |
| Building trades      | 20,000          |

Of this total, about 560,000 (59%) belong to the *Federation of Free Trade Unions of Western Poland*. This Federation is almost entirely constituted of free unions in districts which belonged to Germany before the war, and it maintains close relations with the German *Freie Gewerkschaften*.

The Ukrainian workers in Poland have also set up an organisation of their own, the *Union of Ukrainian Trade Union Organisations*, founded at the Lemberg Congress in January 1920. Its exact membership is not yet known. There also exist *Christian Trade Unions*, whose membership is stated to be about 50,000.

## PORTUGAL

The Portuguese *General Confederation of Labour (Confederação geral do Trabalho)* was founded in September 1919 at the Coïmbra Congress, where 100,000 members were represented. Among the affiliated unions is one representing masters in elementary schools.

## ROUMANIA

In old Roumania, which was essentially an agricultural country, trade unionism was little developed. Trade union membership was estimated at 8,500 in 1910 and had almost doubled in 1915. After the war a considerable development took place, and there are now 90,000 members.

|      |        |         |
|------|--------|---------|
| 1910 | 8,515  | members |
| 1912 | 9,708  | "       |
| 1915 | 16,700 | "       |
| 1918 | 16,000 | "       |
| 1919 | 75,000 | "       |
| 1920 | 90,000 | "       |

In new Roumania or Transylvania, the movement was fairly strong before the war. It was somewhat disorganised during the occupation of the country, but is now recovering, and there are already some 80,000 members grouped in 11 federations, of which the principal are as follows :—

|                       |        |         |
|-----------------------|--------|---------|
| Miners                | 30,000 | members |
| Railwaymen            | 16,216 | "       |
| Metal workers         | 10,216 | "       |
| Wood workers          | 6,000  | "       |
| Non-manual workers    | 5,200  | "       |
| Six other federations | 12,677 | "       |
| Total                 | 80,309 | "       |

## RUSSIA

Under the Czarist régime both trade unions and strikes were strictly prohibited, and such attempts as were made were summarily repressed. After the 1917 Revolution the trade union movement received a great and immediate impetus, and the conference of June 1917 represented about one and a half million members. The trade unions played an active part in the Bolshevik Revolution; and contributed largely to its success.

Russian trade unions have played a rather special part since the establishment of the Soviet régime. The main characteristics of the trade union movement in Russia at present are as follows.

(a) Union membership is in practice almost compulsory, although such compulsion is nowhere specified. In any case, the only union which can exist is the official one, which includes all classes and all shades of political and religious opinion.

(b) A union corresponds to a single industry, instead of combining all the members of the same craft. This fact is characterised by the tendency to substitute the names of industries for crafts in the names of the unions. The typical union by industry is that of the railway workers, who form

part of one and the same union, whatever may be their occupation, and whether they are manual or brain workers. As a general rule, such a union includes the whole working, administrative, and technical staff of a single industry.

(c) The unions take part in various degrees in the activities of the soviets; further, the central trade union organisations have what practically amounts to a share in the administration of the state; they have, for instance, more or less directly drafted all the regulations which fall within the scope of the Labour Commissariat (on wages, hours of work, etc.).

(d) The trade union unit is the factory committee. These factory committees, grouped by districts, or by localities when these are sufficiently important, form sub-sections of a union. These sub-sections in their turn form sections by departments (*gubernia*), or in special cases by smaller territorial areas. Finally, when a union includes all analogous trade union organisations for the whole of Russia, it has the title of "Pan-Russian". There are at present 32 of these.

Union membership has increased rapidly since 1917; the totals are as follows.

|  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| Third Trade Union Conference, June 1917      | 1,475,429 members |
| First Congress of Trade Unions, January 1918 | 2,539,000         |
| Second " " " January 1919                    | 3,638,812         |
| Third " " " January 1920                     | 4,320,000         |
| End of 1920                                  | 5,222,000         |

Of this total of over five millions, 69% belong to the seven principal unions in the following proportions :—

|                            |                   |
|----------------------------|-------------------|
| Transport (rail and river) | 1,387,974 members |
| Soviet employees           | 617,993           |
| Metal workers              | 526,172           |
| Textile workers            | 382,222           |
| Medical services           | 250,301           |
| Miners                     | 234,590           |
| Teachers                   | 204,739           |
| Total                      | 3,603,991         |

The growth of the different unions has been very varied; some unions have increased while others have diminished in numbers. This is shown by the following table.

TABLE XX

|                   | 1918    | 1919    | 1920    |
|-------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| Metal workers     | 286,131 | 544,527 | 526,172 |
| Textile workers   | 437,087 | 550,523 | 382,222 |
| Printing trades   | 43,928  | 71,988  | 56,298  |
| Hides and leather | 55,869  | 77,792  | 159,838 |
| Chemicals         | 48,279  | 72,436  | 126,907 |
| Clothing          | 54,228  | 70,851  | 104,188 |
| Food              | 59,197  | 98,472  | 184,571 |

## SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE KINGDOM

In 1910 there were 7,400 members belonging the *Central Federation* : in 1914, in spite of a temporary decrease due to the Balkan war, this figure was doubled, and in 1919 its membership was estimated at 20,000.

|      |        |         |
|------|--------|---------|
| 1910 | 7,400  | members |
| 1911 | 8,300  |         |
| 1912 | 5,000  |         |
| 1913 | 9,000  |         |
| 1914 | 14,300 |         |
| 1917 | 11,700 |         |
| 1919 | 20,000 |         |

In consequence of the important territorial changes which took place after the war, it is believed that the new Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom has 200,000 workers belonging to a central federation, the *Centralno radnicko syndicalno vijece*. The most important union is said to be that representing posts, railways, and other means of communication, which has 57,000 members.

## SOUTH AFRICA

The first annual congress of the *South African Industrial Federation* took place at Johannesburg in January 1921. This was the first meeting since the adoption of the new constitution, by the terms of which it is now constituted of five sections : (1) building ; (2) manufacture and general production ; (3) public utility services (municipal services, banks, distributive services, etc.); (4) Transport (communications) ; (5) mines. The Federation, which before it was remodelled had 5,000 members, now has 60,000.

## SPAIN

The trade union movement in Spain comprises three federations :—

(1) The *General Union of Workers* (*Unión General de Trabajadores: U. G. T.*) is affiliated to the Amsterdam International. Its membership was greatly reduced during the war, but is at present about 220,000. The following *conspectus* gives estimates of the membership calculated according to such information as was available.

|      |         |         |
|------|---------|---------|
| 1910 | 40,984  | members |
| 1911 | 80,000  |         |
| 1912 | 100,000 |         |
| 1913 | 128,000 |         |
| 1914 | 121,000 |         |
| 1915 | 76,000  |         |
| 1916 | 99,000  |         |
| 1917 | 90,000  |         |
| 1918 | 150,000 |         |
| 1919 | 211,000 |         |
| 1920 | 220,000 |         |

(2) The *National Confederation of Labour (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo: C. N. T.)* was founded in opposition to the U.G.T. The number of members represented at the Congress of December 1919 was 665,000.

(3) The *Catholic Agrarian Unions (Sindicatos Catolicos Agrarios)* have a very considerable membership, the exact figures of which are not known.

## SWEDEN

The Swedish trade unions are for the most part organised in a single *Central Federation of Swedish Trade Unions (Landsorganisationen i Sverige)*, which in September 1920 included 2,798 unions. There are a certain number of independent unions (about 700 in 1920), with a membership of about 11,000, which are not attached to the Central Federation. There is also a small syndicalist organisation (*Sveriges arbetares Centralorganisation*), with about 20,000 members.

The following table shows the changes in membership in recent years, both for all trade unions and for the Central Federation alone.

TABLE XXI

|      | All trade unions | Unions affiliated to the Central Federation |                    |
|------|------------------|---|--------------------|
|      | members          | members                                     | per cent. of total |
| 1913 | 135,977          | 97,252                                      | 72                 |
| 1914 | 140,503          | 101,207                                     | 72                 |
| 1915 | 150,805          | 110,708                                     | 73                 |
| 1916 | 188,569          | 140,802                                     | 75                 |
| 1917 | 243,777          | 186,151                                     | 76                 |
| 1918 | 302,185          | 222,185                                     | 74                 |
| 1919 | 338,990          | 258,996                                     | 76                 |
| 1920 | 400,000 *        | 280,029                                     | 70                 |

\* Approximate.

The development of the independent unions has been parallel with that of those affiliated to the Central Federation. The membership of both has increased about two and a half times between 1913 and 1919, while throughout the Central Federation has had a membership amounting to 72-76% of the total union membership in Sweden.

The influence of the movement among women workers has been gradually increasing; between 1913 and 1920 the number of women members of the Federation has increased sixfold, while that of men members has only doubled. Women members thus represented 11.7% of the total membership of the Federation in 1920, as compared with 5.4% in 1914. The increase has been most marked since 1917.

TABLE XXII

|             | Membership of Central Federation |                         |                    |
|-------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
|             | all members                      | women members<br>number | per cent. of total |
| End of 1913 | 97,252                           | 5,261                   | 5.4                |
| » 1914      | 101,207                          | 5,514                   | 5.4                |
| » 1915      | 110,708                          | 6,181                   | 5.6                |
| » 1916      | 140,802                          | 8,374                   | 5.9                |
| » 1917      | 186,151                          | 14,562                  | 7.8                |
| » 1918      | 222,185                          | 23,789                  | 10.7               |
| » 1919      | 258,966                          | 28,002                  | 10.8               |
| » 1920      | 280,029                          | 32,787                  | 11.7               |

The most important unions in the Federation in October 1920 were the Metal Workers' union with 70,560 members, and the Factory Workers' union with 51,257. The largest of the independent unions in June 1920 were the Railwaymen's Union (39,400 members) and the Seamen's Union (13,500 members).

#### SWITZERLAND

(1) In Switzerland the trade union movement is centralised in a single Federation, the *Federation of Swiss Trade Unions* (*Union Syndicale Suisse*), which at the present time consists of twenty federations of trade unions, representing 77% of the total number of Swiss trade union members.

The increase in the membership of the Federation is shown by the following table.

TABLE XXIII

|             | total membership | female membership |                   |
|-------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|             |                  | number            | percent. of total |
| 1 Jan. 1912 | 78,119           | 7,376             | 10.2              |
| 1913        | 86,313           | 8,487             | 19.8              |
| 1914        | 89,398           | 8,692             | 9.7               |
| 1915        | 74,675           | 7,451             | 10.0              |
| 1916        | 65,177           | 5,519             | 8.9               |
| 1917        | 88,648           | 10,876            | 12.2              |
| 1918        | 148,697          | 19,940            | 13.4              |
| 1919        | 177,143          | 26,647            | 15.0              |
| 1920        | 223,588          | 43,906            | 19.6              |

The Federation of Trade Unions has thus nearly trebled its membership since 1912, and the decrease during the war was much less than in certain belligerent countries. The female membership, which in 1912 was only 10.2 % of the total membership, had risen to 19.6 % in 1920. The number of women

members increased sixfold during this period, the increase being very clearly marked since 1917. The federations in which the female membership is most important are the following :—

|                                   | Number of<br>women<br>workers | Per cent.<br>of total<br>membership |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Textile industries (factories)    | 14,326                        | 60                                  |
| Textile industries (home workers) | 1,174                         | 42                                  |
| Commerce, transport, food supply  | 6,853                         | 36                                  |
| Paper and graphic arts            | 1,077                         | 38                                  |
| Metal workers and clock makers    | 14,617                        | 17                                  |

The general development of membership in recent years in the principal trade union federations is shown in the following table.

TABLE XXIV

|                                  | 1 Jan.<br>1916 | 1 Jan.<br>1917 | 1 Jan.<br>1918 | 1 Jan.<br>1919 | 1 Jan.<br>1920 |
|----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Metal workers and clock makers   | 21,321         | 35,730         | 62,826         | 74,366         | 84,847         |
| Railwaymen                       | 16,714         | 17,036         | 27,696         | 24,473         | 39,000         |
| Textile workers (factories)      | 4,194          | 5,584          | 12,448         | 15,221         | 23,991         |
| Commerce, transport, food supply | 5,452          | 7,602          | 10,090         | 13,193         | 19,043         |
| Wood workers                     | 3,824          | 4,942          | 7,943          | 10,407         | 11,829         |
| Municipal and state employees    | 2,389          | 2,908          | 5,310          | 7,116          | 7,765          |

(2) In addition to the above Federation there are the *Christian Unions*, which have a much smaller membership. In 1920 they had about 17,000 members.

(3) Mention must also be made of certain federations which have not joined any general federation. Their membership is shown by the following conspectus :—

|  |                |
|--|----------------|
| Union of Swiss Traders   | 35,000 members |
| Association of Swiss Postal, Telegraphic, Telephonic,<br>and Customs Employees | 8,000          |
| Association of Swiss Postal Officials  | 4,000          |
| Union Helvetia (Hotel and Boarding House Staff)                                | 4,000          |
|  | <hr/> 51,000   |

If we add these various figures, we obtain a total of 291,588 members of trade unions in Switzerland in 1920.

## UNITED KINGDOM

As in most other countries, the membership of trade unions in the United Kingdom has shown an enormous increase in recent years. The number of trade unionists has trebled since 1910 and doubled since 1914. The following table shows the membership in the chief groups of trades in each of the years 1914 to 1919.

TABLE XXV

|                                     | 1914                    | 1915  | 1916  | 1917  | 1918  | 1919  |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|                                     | membership in thousands |       |       |       |       |       |
| Building                            | 238                     | 234   | 231   | 259   | 324   | 437   |
| Mining and quarrying                | 865                     | 844   | 884   | 944   | 992   | 1,069 |
| Metal, engineering and shipbuilding | 563                     | 641   | 699   | 849   | 952   | 1,074 |
| Textiles :                          |                         |       |       |       |       |       |
| Cotton                              | 361                     | 355   | 355   | 382   | 403   | 442   |
| Other textiles                      | 84                      | 94    | 102   | 161   | 213   | 264   |
| Cleaning, dyeing, finishing, etc.   | 55                      | 64    | 75    | 87    | 91    | 104   |
| Clothing :                          |                         |       |       |       |       |       |
| Boot and shoe                       | 56                      | 65    | 72    | 81    | 91    | 107   |
| Tailoring and other clothing        | 47                      | 49    | 51    | 78    | 120   | 156   |
| Transport (land and water) :        |                         |       |       |       |       |       |
| Railways                            | 337                     | 385   | 425   | 499   | 530   | 624   |
| Other transport                     | 318                     | 304   | 313   | 326   | 376   | 508   |
| Agriculture and fishing             | 38                      | 26    | 29    | 59    | 130   | 203   |
| Paper, printing, etc.               | 93                      | 98    | 99    | 113   | 143   | 192   |
| Wood working and furnishing         | 64                      | 66    | 69    | 83    | 96    | 125   |
| Pottery, chemicals, etc.            | 22                      | 24    | 32    | 42    | 55    | 65    |
| Food, drink, and tobacco            | 32                      | 36    | 35    | 36    | 46    | 63    |
| Teachers                            | 126                     | 129   | 134   | 143   | 167   | 183   |
| Shop assistants, clerks, etc.       | 106                     | 111   | 120   | 150   | 193   | 267   |
| Miscellaneous                       | 95                      | 96    | 104   | 123   | 165   | 260   |
| General labour                      | 432                     | 523   | 589   | 815   | 1,205 | 1,491 |
| Employees of public authorities     | 244                     | 244   | 251   | 310   | 353   | 390   |
| Total                               | 4,176                   | 4,388 | 4,669 | 5,540 | 6,645 | 8,024 |

The total membership at the end of 1919 was a little over 8,000,000; of these 6,700,000 were men and 1,300,000 were women members.

The total estimated membership of all unions of 8,024,000 at the end of 1919 includes about 56,000 members of overseas branches of certain unions and a few thousands who are members of more than one association and are therefore counted twice. The net total in the United Kingdom would therefore be somewhat under eight millions.

The number of unions, on the other hand, has slightly increased during the last year and now stands at about 1,300. British unions are mostly local, although the greater part of the members are affiliated to a comparatively small number of national unions. The local union was the normal type of organisation in the United Kingdom down to about 1850, when the foundation of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers set up a "new model" of trade union structure.

Only two general trade union federations exist in the United Kingdom, the Trades Union Congress and the General Federation of Trade Unions.

*Trades Union Congress.* The Trades Union Congress was founded in 1868 and has met annually (except in 1914) since 1871. The number of unions affiliated to it and their membership is shown in the following conspectus.

TABLE XXVI

|      | no. of unions | no. of members |
|------|---------------|----------------|
| 1912 | 127           | 1,987,354      |
| 1913 | 135           | 2,217,836      |
| 1914 | 190           | 2,866,077      |
| 1915 | 192           | 2,677,357      |
| 1916 | 227           | 2,850,547      |
| 1917 | 235           | 3,082,352      |
| 1918 | 262           | 4,532,085      |
| 1919 | 266           | 5,283,676      |
| 1920 | 215           | 6,505,482      |

At its last congress in 1920 the total membership was over 6½ millions, or more than three-quarters of the whole strength of British trade unionism.

*General Federation of Trade Unions.* This Federation is a much smaller body, and was founded in 1899. It was hoped that all unions would ultimately join this Federation, but, as a matter of fact, only 43 societies affiliated, with a membership of 343,000. The membership has slowly grown, until in march 1920 134 unions were affiliated, with an aggregate membership of 1,480,000. Many unions are simultaneously affiliated both to the Trades Union Congress and to the General Federation of Trade Unions.

#### UNITED STATES

No accurate statistics exist as to the extent of trade unionism in the United States. By far the most important federation is the *American Federation of Labor*, which, however, extends over the whole North American Continent. The following conspectus shows the number of members of the Federation during the last six years :—

|           |                   |
|-----------|-------------------|
| 1914-1915 | 1,946,347 members |
| 1915-1916 | 2,720,702         |
| 1916-1917 | 2,371,434         |
| 1917-1918 | 2,726,478         |
| 1918-1919 | 3,260,068         |
| 1919-1920 | 4,078,740         |
| 1920-1921 | 3,906,528         |

The railroad workers' organisations form some very important trade union groups outside the American Federation of Labor. The membership of the principal railroad groups at the end of 1920 and beginning of 1921 was as follows :

|  |         |         |
|--|---------|---------|
| Order of Railway Conductors of America | 54,653  | members |
| Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers    | 84,000  | "       |
| " " Firemen and Enginemen              | 125,642 | "       |
| " " Railroad Trainmen                  | 188,000 | "       |
| Total                                  | 452,295 | "       |

Further statistics of the membership of trade unionism on the American continent can be found in the publications of the Canadian Government (see CANADA above). The 10th Annual Report on Labour Organisation in Canada states that the membership in the U. S. A. for 1920, "as secured from departmental records", is 5,179,227.

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# The Trade Union Movement

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## THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

**T**HE Executive Committee of the **International Federation of Trade Unions**, at its meeting on 18 May, passed two important resolutions bearing on the present dissensions within the labour movement and the need for unity. The first deals mainly with organisation.

The Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions strongly urges unity in the trade union movement. Just as each national trade union federation should be affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions, so each national craft or industrial union should affiliate both to its national trade union organisation and to its international craft or industrial federation. ...In order to achieve unity of view and action, the Executive Committee instructs the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions to meet the secretaries of the international craft federations at a special conference once a year.

The second resolution deals more explicitly with the rival claims of Moscow.

The Executive Committee, regarding the principle of unity as indispensable to working-class activity, and noting the destructive policy which the Third International of Moscow intends to pursue, declares that it cannot admit the right of trade union organisations to belong to two trade union Internationals at the same time<sup>(1)</sup>. Consequently, any organisation which adheres to the International, at once political and industrial, of Moscow, automatically places itself outside the International Federation of Trade Unions... All national trade union movements, as well as the international craft secretariats, are requested to apply these principles.

The withdrawal of the **American Federation of Labor** from the International Federation and the reasons given by Mr. Gompers for this action were noted in the preceding issue of the *International Labour Review* <sup>(2)</sup>. The reply sent to Mr. Gompers' letter by Mr. Oudegeest, the Secretary of the International Federation, has now been published. Mr. Oudegeest points out that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are mistaken on several points. In the first place "the complete autonomy of each national trade union federation" is not abrogated by the new constitution, which specifically states (Art. 3) that "the

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(1) Cf. p. 113 of this article (the French miners' resolution).

(2) *Inter. Lab. Rev.* Vol. II, No. 1. pp. 17, 18.

independence of the trade union movement of each country remains inviolate". Moreover, the American delegates themselves supported this clause when the new constitution was adopted at the Amsterdam Conference of July 1919. The subscription system, which is another of the reasons quoted by Mr. Gompers for withdrawal, was also supported by the American representatives on that occasion. The system, once adopted, can only be altered by a full International Congress; Mr. Oudegeest points out that a summons to such a Congress at the end of 1921 was despatched to Mr. Gompers on 22 April 1920. Mr. Gompers' third complaint had been to the effect that "the executive body of the Federation had committed the Federation to a revolutionary principle". Mr. Oudegeest here replies that the appeals and proclamations issued by the Federation must have been carelessly read. The Federation issued a demand for the socialisation of raw materials and the great public services; this has apparently been interpreted in the United States as a demand for universal socialism. Yet it might have been expected that proposals for some amount of socialisation would have found favour among supporters of the Plumb Plan League, of which Mr. Gompers is President. Again, the International Federation did not appeal for a general strike on 1 May, as Mr. Gompers alleges, but for a general demonstration of the unity of the working classes, such as has taken place in Europe for the last thirty years. In conclusion, Mr. Oudegeest states that the question whether the American Federation of Labor will or will not renew its affiliation is one of the deepest concern to the International Federation, and hopes that once more "the American labour movement will do its utmost to co-operate with the workers of Europe for the amelioration of the lot of the working classes" <sup>(3)</sup>.

The American Federation of Labor considered the question of re-affiliation at its Denver Convention 13 to 25 June, and voted against such action, reaffirming the earlier charges against the International Federation.

In the **Christian Trade Union movement**, in addition to the organisations of miners, textile, factory, railway, and agricultural workers previously mentioned <sup>(4)</sup>, Christian Internationals exist, or are in process of formation, among printing, food, tobacco, wood, metal, building, clothing, and non-manual workers. At the meeting of the Bureau of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, held in Rome on 4 and 5 May, it was decided to organise an international conference of Christian workers at Brussels in September to consider various important questions, among

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(3) Statement by Mr. Gompers at the Amsterdam Congress, July 1919.

(4) *Inter. Lab. Rev.* Vol. 11, No. 1. p. 21 and Nos. 2-3, pp. 32-33.

them several affecting women. The Executive Committee was instructed to get into touch with the International Labour Office on some points. It is also to draft a policy for the Federation, which will first be submitted to the affiliated organisations for criticism and approval, then discussed by the Executive Committee, and finally determined by the 1922 Congress <sup>(5)</sup>.

### NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

The National Confederal Committee of the **French General Confederation of Labour** met on 12 and 13 May at the request of the Executive Committee. It was argued that the disputes between the *minoritaires* (adherents of Moscow) and *majoritaires* have so hampered the activities of the leaders of the Confederation, that the Confederal Committee should pronounce a definite opinion both upon the internal discipline and the international policy of the C.G.T. After long and heated discussions covering most of the history of the C.G.T. since the strikes of May 1920, the *majoritaires* resolution was carried by 80 votes to 33. The following are extracts.

The National Confederal Committee notes the first disastrous results of the campaign of insult and dissension which has been carried on for many months, in spite of the various resolutions adopted at previous sessions of the Committee.

The policy of intolerance and obstruction organised by the opposition prevents the worthy and efficient discharge of the Confederation's functions, and precludes any hope of carrying out an energetic and constructive policy.

The National Confederal Committee, therefore, considers that direct consultation of the unions might have a decisive effect. The forthcoming Confederal Congress should not only determine the position and attitude of the trade union movement, but also propose practical and effective means of enforcing loyal compliance with decisions by means of such disciplinary measures as are called for by the principle of working-class unity.

The leaders of the Confederation asked that the date be advanced of the Confederal Congress fixed for September, in order that they might test the true feeling of the unions and discover whether they were acting in accordance with, or against, the wishes of the majority of members. This proposal was opposed, for practical reasons, by some of

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(5) It may be noted, in relation to the Christian trade union movement generally, that the French Confederation of Christian Workers, which now numbers about 800 unions, with a membership of 140,000, at its second national Congress on 15 May, discussed various questions of internal organisation, and in the main approved the Government's new social insurance scheme.

The German Christian Trade Union Federation (*Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*), it may also be noted, has now taken two of the steps decided on at its Essen Congress (cf. International Labour Office *Studies and Reports*, Series A, No. 21), namely to publish a daily paper (*Der Deutsche*) from 1 April onwards, and to establish a people's bank (*Bankverein für Deutsche Arbeiter* A. G.) with a capital of 10 million marks.

the *majoritaires*, as well as by the *minoritaires*, but was eventually adopted by 69 votes to 53. The Congress will therefore be held in July <sup>(6)</sup>.

In contrast with this, the **French Miners' Congress**, which was held at Metz from 23 to 28 May, reached complete unanimity on the two resolutions defining the attitude of the Miners' Federation to the international movement and to minority groups within the Federation.

## I

The Congress reaffirms the principle that the Federation of Miners remains outside all schools of political, philosophical, and religious thought... Consequently, all members have the right to profess any political, philosophical, or religious creed they please, and to adhere individually to any bodies of this kind, as they choose, outside the National Federation and the trade unions. They have no right, however, to form such bodies within the trade unions and the National Federation.

The Congress declares that no body may be formed within any union by unionists in opposition to that union, the National Federation, or the central national or international organisations to which they are affiliated; that no union affiliated to the National Federation may adhere as a body to political bodies, such as the Revolutionary Trade Union Committees, or to religious or philosophical groups; or at the same time to two national or international headquarters or federations <sup>(7)</sup>.

Any contravention of the preceding paragraph shall be regarded as a deliberate withdrawal of the offending unions, which shall be deemed voluntarily and of their own accord to have left the National Federation of Miners.

## II

The Congress considers it absurd, in a Federation such as that of the Miners, to juggle with the words 'reformist' and 'revolutionary', seeing that these two words are continually interchangeable in ordinary practice.

The Congress confirms the policy of preceding Congresses, and declares that the National Federation will continue its activities on the revolutionary principle invariably adopted by it on previous occasions in trade unionism, through free trade unionism independent of any party or section, and through the direct action of the International Miners' Federation.

In view of the fact that the leaders of the General Confederation of Labour have only carried out the decisions of the National Federal Congress, the Congress of Miners maintains its complete solidarity with the General Confederation and with the International Federation of Trade Unions, to which it is affiliated.

The Congress of the **Italian Federation of Chemical Workers**, meeting from 28 April to 3 May, passed an education resolution, advocating the training of trade union workers, members of control commissions, etc.; this work is to be undertaken by the trade union school already approved by the recent meeting of the National Council of the General Confederation of Labour <sup>(8)</sup>. The school is to provide specialised courses for

(6) Another struggle centred round the activities of the Confederation for the reconstruction of the devastated areas (cf. *Inter. Lab. Rev.* Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 49-50; Vol. II, No. 1, p. 24). A resolution approving these measures and condemning any appeal to force in the exaction of reparations was passed by 84 votes to 29.

(7) Cf. p. 110 of this article.

(8) Cf. *Inter. Lab. Rev.* Vol. II, Nos. 2 and 3. p. 33.

four classes of workers in the labour movement: organisers, co-operative workers, social insurance, factory inspection and similar officials, and members of works councils. During 1921, however, the school proposes to confine itself to the first class.

The *Sindacato Operaio*, the organ of the Italian Labour Union (*Unione italiana del Lavoro*), a recently formed federation of workers' unions of republican-reformist tendencies, gives the principal features of its programme [as follows.

Complete autonomy of the working class, independent of political parties and systems;

Direct action of the working class towards other classes and towards the public authorities, without any intermediary;

Representation of economic interests on elective bodies;

Absolute municipal autonomy;

Local political and administrative autonomy wherever national action is not essential;

Gradual abolition of state centralisation and the suppression of bureaucracy.

The British Union of Post Office Workers, which is an amalgamation of several former unions, met in Edinburgh on 10 and 11 May. The meeting noted with satisfaction the revival of the Postal Workers' International, whose representatives were present. Great determination was displayed to abolish sectionalism among the different classes of workers in the Union, and a resolution in favour of organising the postal services as an autonomous guild was passed. The expediency of the strike policy, which has only been in force since January 1921, was, after some discussion, reaffirmed.

A number of British trade unions have held their annual congresses during May, and at practically all of them the question of amalgamation came up in some form. The National Union of Clerks on 16 May considered the question of a working agreement with other unions enrolling the same type of worker. The National Union of Corporation Workers advocated amalgamation with some at least of the 180 unions catering for municipal workers. The Railway Clerks' Association decided in favour of a "cordial entente" with other railway unions, while maintaining complete autonomy. The United Vehicle Workers, already representing 200,000 members, meeting on 24 May, reported an amalgamation with two other unions, to be completed by next January. The Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades Federation opened its congress on 28 May, and admitted two new unions; its membership is now over a million and a half. It may be noted that both the railway clerks and the corporation workers decided to invest all their funds with the Co-operative Wholesale Society.

The German Federation of Shipwrights, meeting in congress from 9 to 12 May, also dealt with the question of amalgamation,

either with the wood or metal workers ; decision on the question was, however, postponed until the next congress. The Federation decided to negotiate arrangements with shipwrights' unions abroad for the transfer of members working out of Germany. In connection with the divisions within the union, the congress stated that, while the political opinions of members are in no way interfered with, the activities of the trade union must be regulated solely by union decisions and principles.

The **German Federation of Forestry Workers**, at its congress held at Jena on 15 and 16 May, put forward the demand for the nationalisation of all forests, on the ground that it was cheaper for the consumer, more advantageous to the state, and better for the workers ; in state forests the conditions of labour were regulated almost entirely by collective agreements, which was not the case in privately-owned forests. Other demands put forward were for wages on the same scale as those of other state employees ; for holidays proportioned to length of service ; and for recognition of forestry workers as skilled workers, entitling them to the same rights in social insurance as are enjoyed by workers of that class.



# PRODUCTION, PRICES, AND COST OF LIVING

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## Retail Price Fluctuations

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IN this article, as in those which have already appeared in the *International Labour Review* (1), a résumé is given of the most important information which it has been possible to collect on this subject. Table I on p. 118 gives index numbers of the retail prices of food in various countries arranged in alphabetical order. Table II on p. 119 gives cost of living index numbers, which, as a general rule, include food, clothing, heating, lighting, and miscellaneous items. The tables are similar to those appearing in the April number of the *Review*, but have been completed and brought up to date. Contrary to the arrangement adopted in the previous article, only the absolute maxima have been marked in heavy type. If, therefore, the maximum month is not included in the series, no heavy type figures will appear (2).

Index numbers are generally based on averages which give the different quantities of each article consumed in a given period by what is called a normal working-class family. This normal family consists as a rule of five persons, the father, mother, and three children, whose supposed age varies in different countries. Kuczynski's index number for Berlin and the index numbers for Paris and Sweden are, however, based on a budget for four persons; in the United States the number of persons included in a "normal" family is variable. The quantities allowed for in the typical budget are fixed according to observations made on a certain number of working-class families, or else according to theoretical calculations based, as regards foodstuffs in particular, on

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(1) *Inter. Lab. Rev., Retail Price Fluctuations, etc.*; Vol. I, No. 1, p. 91; No. 2, p. 53; and Vol. II, No. 1, p. 32.

(2) In the article in the April number of the *Review*, heavy type was used to mark maxima within the period covered by the table.

the number of calories which are necessary to support life. In most countries the prices recorded at various periods are then weighted according to these different quantities, on the assumption that the typical amounts consumed by the normal family have not changed since the beginning of the war. The total expenditure thus obtained is then converted into an index number.

It is clear that these figures do not measure exactly the cost of living. In the first place, they cannot include the whole expenditure of a family, and, in the second place, the family budgets on which they are based have been considerably modified in the course of the war, owing both to government restrictions and to changes in the cost of living itself; in other words, a change, let us say a rise, in the cost of living will itself modify the family budget, inasmuch as it induces *ipso facto* natural economies of quantities consumed. Index numbers calculated in accordance with post-war conditions of living show that the figures based on normal budgets assume too high an average consumption.

#### GENERAL SURVEY

Great caution is necessary in comparing the index numbers for different countries. The methods on which they are calculated, the number and importance of the markets under observation, the number and nature of articles taken into account, and the base period, all vary from one country to another. The results, therefore, are not strictly comparable. It is, however, possible to state that a fall has been observed in the index numbers of nearly all countries during the last few months. In Italy there was a rise in the index of the cost of living; this was due solely to the continued rise in prices of foodstuffs. In New Zealand there was a general rise until January. Since then, however, there has been a fall in the New Zealand foodstuffs index, which is the only index available for analysis since that month. As the course of price fluctuations varies so much from country to country, it becomes necessary to make a detailed examination of them for each country separately. This has been undertaken in the following Notes.

#### AUSTRIA

The Central Statistical Office has recently published figures relating to the minimum cost of existence for one month for a working-class family of four persons in Vienna. The budget is calculated theoretically every month, on the basis of market conditions and the standard of living. The figures for March 1921 are as follows:—

TABLE I. INDEX NUMBERS OF RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES  
(Base : July 1914 = 100)

|                               | Aus-<br>tralia | Austria      | Belgium<br>(c)        | Canada<br>(e) | Den-<br>mark<br>(f) | Finland      | France<br>(h) | Ger-<br>many<br>(i) | India         | Italy         | Nether-<br>lands<br>(j) | New<br>Zealand<br>(c) | Norway<br>(k) | South<br>Africa | Spain<br>(l)   | Sweden<br>(d) (m) | Switzer-<br>land<br>(d) (k)  | United<br>Kingdom<br>(d) (j) | U. S. A.<br>(c) |              |           |
|-------------------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------|---------------|---------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------|
| No. of towns or<br>localities | 30             | Vien-<br>na  | 1,028<br>bud-<br>gets | 60            | 100                 | 20           | Paris<br>320  | 200                 | Cal-<br>cutta | Rome<br>Milan | Amst-<br>er-<br>dam     | 25                    | 30            | 9               | Chief<br>towns | 40                | 23<br>(n)                    | 630                          | 51              |              |           |
| No. of items                  | 46             | 12           | 22                    | 29            | —                   | 37           | 13 (g)        | 13 (g)              | 15            | 46            | 36                      | 38                    | 27            | 59              | —              | 18                | 12                           | 50                           | 37              | 20           | 43<br>(o) |
| Base period                   | 1911           | July<br>1914 | Apr.<br>1914          | July<br>1914  | July<br>1914        | July<br>1914 | 1910          | 1910                | 1910          | July<br>1914  | 1st<br>half<br>1914     | 1st<br>half<br>1914   | 1913          | 1909-<br>1913   | July<br>1914   | 1910              | Apr.<br>1909<br>Mar.<br>1914 | July<br>1914                 | June<br>1914    | July<br>1914 | 1913      |
| (1)                           | (2)            | (3)          | (4)                   | (5)           | (6)                 | (7)          | (8)           | (9)                 | (10)          | (11)          | (12)                    | (13)                  | (14)          | (15)            | (16)           | (17)              | (18)                         | (19)                         | (20)            | (21)         | (22)      |
| 1914 July                     | 100            | 100          | 100                   | 100           | 100                 | 100          | 100           | 100                 | 100           | 100           | 100                     | 100                   | 100           | 100             | 100            | 100               | 100                          | 100                          | 100             | 100          | 100       |
| 1915 "                        | 131            | 181          | •                     | 105           | 128                 | •            | 120           | 123                 | 155           | 108           | 95                      | •                     | 114           | 112             | 123            | 107               | 107                          | •                            | 119             | 132          | 98        |
| 1916 "                        | 130            | 386          | •                     | 114           | 146                 | •            | 129           | 142                 | 210           | 111           | •                       | •                     | 117           | 119             | 153            | 116               | 113                          | 152                          | 141             | 161          | 109       |
| 1917 "                        | 126            | 622          | •                     | 157           | 166                 | •            | 183           | 184                 | 221           | 116           | 137                     | •                     | 146           | 127             | 203            | 198               | 127                          | 180                          | 179             | 204          | 143       |
| 1918 "                        | 181            | 1788         | •                     | 175           | 187                 | •            | 206           | 244                 | 240           | 121           | 203                     | •                     | 175           | 139             | 271            | 134               | 151                          | 258                          | 222             | 210          | 164       |
| 1919 "                        | 147            | 3037         | •                     | 186           | 212                 | •            | 261           | 289                 | 433           | 155           | 206                     | 310                   | 196           | 144             | 290            | 139               | 168                          | 318                          | 250             | 209          | 186       |
| 1920 Jan.                     | 160            | 4620         | 381                   | 206           | 251                 | 898          | 290           | •                   | 520           | 153           | 275                     | 412                   | 197           | 158             | 299            | 177               | 180                          | •                            | 238             | 235          | 197       |
| " Feb.                        | 162            | —            | 400                   | 212           | •                   | 909          | 297           | •                   | 588           | 154           | 299                     | 418                   | 199           | 160             | 297            | 187               | •                            | •                            | 231             | 233          | 196       |
| " Mar.                        | 163            | —            | 450                   | 215           | •                   | 915          | 339           | 319                 | 667           | 151           | 300                     | 406                   | 199           | 162             | 298            | 183               | •                            | 287                          | 234             | 235          | 196       |
| " Apr.                        | 173            | 5454         | 458                   | 215           | •                   | 920          | 358           | •                   | 756           | 151           | 310                     | 423                   | 200           | 162             | 305            | 183               | •                            | •                            | 231             | 246          | 207       |
| " May                         | 177            | —            | 444                   | 224           | •                   | 914          | 378           | •                   | 894           | 159           | 325                     | 445                   | 202           | 163             | 311            | 188               | •                            | •                            | 228             | 255          | 211       |
| " June                        | 187            | —            | 451                   | 228           | •                   | 926          | 369           | 379                 | 924           | 164           | 315                     | 458                   | 204           | 163             | 311            | 194               | •                            | 287                          | 235             | 258          | 215       |
| " July                        | 194            | 5570         | 454                   | 227           | 253                 | 982          | 373           | •                   | 1005          | 170           | 318                     | 445                   | 210           | 167             | 319            | 197               | 189                          | •                            | 239             | 262          | 215       |
| " Aug.                        | 194            | 5777         | 492                   | 221           | •                   | 1089         | 373           | •                   | 1041          | 167           | 322                     | 454                   | 212           | 171             | 333            | 196               | •                            | •                            | 229             | 267          | 203       |
| " Sept.                       | 197            | 6206         | 500                   | 215           | •                   | 1134         | 407           | 388                 | 1091          | 166           | 324                     | 468                   | 217           | 173             | 336            | 195               | •                            | 293                          | 248             | 270          | 199       |
| " Oct.                        | 192            | 6184         | 517                   | 213           | •                   | 1172         | 420           | •                   | 1323          | 165           | 341                     | 480                   | 219           | 177             | 339            | 197               | •                            | •                            | 246             | 291          | 194       |
| " Nov.                        | 186            | 7131         | 505                   | 206           | •                   | 1206         | 426           | •                   | 1421          | 161           | 361                     | 515                   | 214           | 176             | 342            | 196               | •                            | •                            | 236             | 282          | 189       |
| " Dec.                        | 184            | 8918         | 506                   | 200           | •                   | 1233         | 424           | 450                 | 1472          | —             | 375                     | 535                   | 202           | 179             | 342            | 198               | •                            | 286                          | 230             | 278          | 175       |
| 1921 Jan.                     | —              | —            | 493                   | 190           | 276                 | 1174         | 410           | •                   | 1520          | —             | 367                     | 573                   | 193           | 178             | 334            | 172               | —                            | •                            | 224             | 263          | 169       |
| " Feb.                        | 184            | —            | 484                   | 178           | •                   | 1107         | 382           | •                   | 1431          | —             | 376                     | 564                   | 193           | 175             | 308            | 165               | —                            | •                            | 221             | 249          | 155       |
| " Mar.                        | 181            | —            | 436                   | 172           | •                   | —            | 358           | 429                 | 1418          | —             | 386                     | 582                   | 193           | 169             | 299            | 160               | —                            | 247                          | 218             | 238          | 154       |
| " Apr.                        | —              | —            | 418                   | —             | —                   | —            | 328           | •                   | —             | —             | 432                     | 588                   | —             | 168             | —              | —                 | —                            | •                            | 211             | 232          | 149       |
| " May                         | —              | —            | —                     | —             | —                   | —            | —             | —                   | —             | —             | —                       | —                     | —             | —               | —              | —                 | —                            | —                            | —               | —            | —         |
| " June                        | —              | —            | —                     | —             | —                   | —            | —             | —                   | —             | —             | —                       | —                     | —             | —               | —              | —                 | —                            | —                            | —               | —            | —         |

(a) Monthly figures relate to average of month.

(b) Monthly figures relate to end of month.

(c) Monthly figures relate to the 15th of the month.

(d) Monthly figures relate to the 1st of the following month.

(e) Until December 1920 figures relate to 15th of month; after January 1921 to the 1st of the following month.

(f) Average of selected weeks in the half-year.

(g) 11 foodstuffs, together with paraffin and alcohol fuel.

(h) Quarterly index. From 1914 to 1919, index for the third quarter of each year.

(i) From 1915 to 1919 figures relate to November.

(j) From 1914 to 1919 figures relate to average for year.

(k) From 1914 to 1919 figures relate to June.

(l) Half-yearly figures give the average for the periods April-September and October-March.

(m) For 1916 index relates to December, for 1917 to September.

(n) Index of the Federation of Co-operative Societies; from 1914 to 1919 figures relate to the whole country.

(o) Until December 1920, 22 items.

\* No figures published.

TABLE II. INDEX NUMBERS OF THE COST OF LIVING IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES  
(Base: July 1914 = 100)

| Countries                      | Australia<br>(e) | Belgium<br>(c) (f) | Canada<br>(g)     | Denmark                 | Finland              | France<br>(h)        | Germany              | Italy                | New<br>Zealand<br>(c) | Norway<br>(k)           | Sweden<br>(l) (d)       | Switzerland<br>(d) (k) | United<br>Kingdom<br>(d) | U. S. A.                   |      |
|--------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|------|
| No. of towns or<br>localities  | 30               | 59                 | 60                | 100                     | 20                   | Paris<br>(i)         | Berlin<br>(j)        | Rome                 | 25                    | 30                      | 40                      | (m)                    | 630                      | 32                         |      |
| Groups of items<br>(see notes) | A. E.            | A. B. C. D. G.     | A. C. D. E.<br>G. | A. B. C. D.<br>E. F. I. | A. B. C. E.<br>J. K. | A. B. C.<br>D. E. F. | A. B. C.<br>D. E. F. | A. B. C.<br>D. E. F. | A. C. D. E.           | A. B. C. D.<br>E. F. I. | A. B. C. D.<br>E. F. I. | A. B. C. D. E.<br>F.   | A. B. C. D. E.<br>F.     | A. B. C. D. E.<br>F. G. H. |      |
| Base period                    | 1911             | Apr.<br>1914       | July<br>1914      | July<br>1914            | July<br>1914         | 1st half<br>1914     | 1913<br>-1914        | 1st half<br>1914     | 1909-13               | July<br>1914            | July<br>1914            | June 1912              | July<br>1914             | 1913                       |      |
| (1)                            | (2)              | (3)                | (4)               | (5)                     | (6)                  | (7)                  | (8)                  | (9)                  | (10)                  | (11)                    | (12)                    | (13)                   | (14)                     | (15)                       | (16) |
| 1914 July                      | 100              | 100                | 100               | 100                     | 100                  | 100                  | 100                  | 100                  | 100                   | 100                     | 100                     | 100                    | 100                      | 100                        | 100  |
| 1915 "                         | 119              | •                  | 97                | 116                     | •                    | •                    | •                    | •                    | 99                    | 107                     | 117                     | •                      | 113                      | 125                        | 102  |
| 1916 "                         | 115              | •                  | 102               | 136                     | •                    | •                    | •                    | •                    | 116                   | 113                     | 146                     | 139                    | 129                      | 148                        | 109  |
| 1917 "                         | 116              | •                  | 130               | 135                     | •                    | •                    | •                    | •                    | 146                   | 119                     | 190                     | 166                    | 155                      | 180                        | 128  |
| 1918 "                         | 118              | •                  | 146               | 182                     | •                    | •                    | •                    | •                    | 197                   | 128                     | 253                     | 219                    | 191                      | 203                        | 156  |
| 1919 "                         | 132              | •                  | 155               | 211                     | •                    | 238                  | •                    | •                    | 205                   | 133                     | 275                     | 257                    | 219                      | 208                        | 175  |
| 1920 Jan.                      | •                | 396                | 170               | 242                     | 819                  | •                    | •                    | 764                  | 263                   | 139                     | •                       | •                      | •                        | 230                        | •    |
| " Feb.                         | •                | 420                | 174               | •                       | 832                  | 623                  | 882                  | 293                  | 141                   | •                       | •                       | •                      | •                        | 230                        | •    |
| " Mar.                         | 143              | 445                | 176               | •                       | 840                  | 741                  | 1118                 | 296                  | 143                   | 288                     | •                       | 265                    | •                        | 232                        | •    |
| " Apr.                         | •                | 461                | 179               | •                       | 850                  | •                    | 1302                 | 306                  | 144                   | •                       | •                       | •                      | •                        | 241                        | •    |
| " May                          | •                | 471                | 187               | •                       | 854                  | •                    | 1367                 | 318                  | 146                   | •                       | •                       | •                      | •                        | 250                        | •    |
| " June.                        | 154              | 462                | 189               | •                       | 868                  | 341                  | 1056                 | 311                  | 147                   | 302                     | •                       | 270                    | •                        | 250                        | 214  |
| " July                         | •                | 453                | 190               | 262                     | 911                  | •                    | 842                  | 1125                 | 149                   | •                       | •                       | •                      | •                        | 255                        | •    |
| " Aug.                         | •                | 463                | 188               | •                       | 991                  | •                    | 795                  | 1069                 | 150                   | •                       | •                       | •                      | •                        | 261                        | •    |
| " Sept.                        | 165              | 471                | 186               | •                       | 1030                 | 363                  | 877                  | 1038                 | 152                   | 335                     | •                       | 277                    | 277                      | 264                        | •    |
| " Oct.                         | •                | 477                | 187               | •                       | 1063                 | •                    | 827                  | 1104                 | 154                   | •                       | 281                     | •                      | •                        | 276                        | •    |
| " Nov.                         | •                | 476                | 185               | •                       | 1085                 | •                    | 872                  | 1097                 | 155                   | •                       | •                       | •                      | •                        | 269                        | •    |
| " Dec.                         | 162              | 468                | 181               | •                       | 1103                 | 370                  | 916                  | 378                  | 157                   | 335                     | 271                     | •                      | 214                      | 265                        | 198  |
| 1921 Jan.                      | •                | 450                | 175               | 264                     | 1065                 | •                    | 1122                 | 374                  | 158                   | •                       | •                       | •                      | •                        | 251                        | •    |
| " Feb.                         | •                | 434                | 168               | •                       | 1013                 | •                    | 901                  | 1090                 | •                     | •                       | •                       | •                      | •                        | 241                        | •    |
| " Mar.                         | •                | 411                | 165               | •                       | •                    | 338                  | 901                  | 1035                 | •                     | •                       | 249                     | •                      | 206                      | 233                        | •    |
| " Apr.                         | •                | 399                | •                 | •                       | •                    | •                    | 894                  | 976                  | •                     | •                       | •                       | •                      | •                        | 228                        | •    |
| " May                          | •                | •                  | •                 | •                       | •                    | •                    | •                    | •                    | •                     | •                       | •                       | •                      | •                        | •                          | •    |
| " June                         | •                | •                  | •                 | •                       | •                    | •                    | •                    | •                    | •                     | •                       | •                       | •                      | •                        | •                          | •    |

Groups of items included in the budget:  
A. Food B. Clothing C. Fuel D. Light E. Rent F. Miscellaneous  
G. Household utensils H. Furnishing I. Taxes J. Newspapers K. Tobacco  
(a) Monthly figures relate to average of month.  
(b) Monthly figures relate to end of month.  
(c) Monthly figures relate to the 15th of the month.  
(d) Monthly figures relate to the 1st of the following month.  
(e) Figures relate to quarterly average.  
(f) The index is a simple arithmetic average.  
(g) Until December 1920 figures relate to the 15th of month; after January 1921 to the 1st of the following month.  
(h) For 1914 and 1919, figures relate to first half of year.  
(i) Official index, until January 1921 only 39 towns.  
(j) Kuczyński's index-numbers: cost of minimum of subsistence.  
(k) From 1914 to 1919, figures relate to June in each year.  
(l) For 1916, the December figure; for 1917, the September figure.  
(m) Index of the Union of Swiss Employers' Associations. Estimate for the whole country.  
• No figures published.

TABLE III

|                   | Expenditure |            | Index numbers<br>(Base: July<br>1914 = 100) |
|-------------------|-------------|------------|---|
|                   | July 1914   | March 1921 |   |
|                   | Kr.         | Kr.        |   |
| Food              | 72.73       | 8,201.42   | 11,300                                      |
| Clothing          | 36.21       | 5,582.00   | 15,400                                      |
| Fuel and lighting | 17.39       | 871.50     | 5,010                                       |
| Rent              | 20.00       | 40.00      | 200   |
| Miscellaneous     | 13.38       | 711.00     | 5,310                                       |
| Total             | 159.71      | 15,405.92  | 9,630                                       |

In Austria the increase in prices has been enormous. The general index number shows an increase of 9,500 per cent. as compared with 1914, i.e. prices are almost 100 times as high as before the war. The increase is thus 10 times greater than in Germany and in Finland, where prices have risen to almost 10 times pre-war level, and twice as great as in Hungary, where prices have increased to 50 times the pre-war level.

The increase in certain items has been even greater. The cost of clothing is 150 times, the cost of food, 110 times the pre-war cost. On the other hand, the items "fuel and lighting" and "miscellaneous" have risen less, while rents have only doubled.

As a result of the investigation, relating particularly to foods, which began in January 1921, it is possible to follow fluctuations in prices in recent months. The following table shows the estimated monthly expenditure for a working-class family of four persons.

TABLE IV

|  | 1921  |       |       |       |
|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|  | Jan.  | Feb.  | Mar.  | Apr.  |
|  | Kr.   | Kr.   | Kr.   | Kr.   |
| Food                                     | 3,972 | 4,520 | 4,872 | 4,675 |
| 10% extra for seasoning, beverages, etc. | 397   | 452   | 487   | 463   |
| Fuel for cooking of food                 | 426   | 490   | 540   | 554   |
| Total                                    | 4,795 | 5,462 | 5,899 | 5,697 |
| Index number (base: Jan. 1921 = 100)     | 100   | 114   | 123   | 119   |

It will be seen that a rapid rise took place in February and March (23% increase in two months), followed by a decline at a slower rate in April.

## BELGIUM

The index numbers of retail prices published by the Ministry of Industry, Labour, and Food continue to decline. The following table gives the index numbers for the most important towns, for 56 commodities in common use, classified in three groups.

TABLE V

(Base: July 1914 = 100)

|                                 | 1920    |         |         | 1921    |         |         |         |
|---------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
|                                 | 15 Oct. | 15 Nov. | 15 Dec. | 15 Jan. | 15 Feb. | 15 Mar. | 15 Apr. |
| Food (prime necessities)        | 495     | 499     | 496     | 471     | 447     | 412     | 397     |
| Other foods, household articles | 411     | 403     | 402     | 398     | 407     | 400     | 376     |
| Clothing, fuel, lighting        | 479     | 467     | 467     | 455     | 433     | 420     | 416     |
| Average for the four towns      | 476     | 478     | 476     | 456     | 437     | 413     | 399     |
| Average for the whole country   | 477     | 476     | 468     | 450     | 434     | 411     | 399     |

The fall is fairly general in the various groups; it is particularly marked in the case of the more important foodstuffs.

The weighted index number for 22 food items only also shows a fairly marked decrease.

## CANADA

Cost of living index numbers continued to decline steadily in April 1921, as shown by the following table.

TABLE VI

(Base: July 1914 = 100)

|                | 1920    |         |        | 1921   |        |        |
|----------------|---------|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
|                | 15 Nov. | 15 Dec. | 1 Jan. | 1 Feb. | 1 Mar. | 1 Apr. |
| Food           | 206     | 200     | 195    | 190    | 178    | 172    |
| Rent           | 137     | 137     | 137    | 137    | 137    | 138    |
| Fuel and light | 218     | 220     | 221    | 218    | 211    | 208    |
| Total          | 185     | 181     | 179    | 175    | 168    | 165    |

The decline is particularly marked in the case of foods. Rents, on the other hand, remained stationary for several months.

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Information relating to retail prices of the principal commodities in common use has been received from the Statistical Office of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The most important items are reproduced below. The index numbers are based on the results of an enquiry including all towns with more than 20,000 inhabitants.

TABLE VII

(Base: July 1914 = 100)

|   | 1921  |       |
|---|-------|-------|
|   | Jan.  | Feb.  |
| (I) <i>Food, fuel, paraffin, and soap</i> |       |       |
| Flour                                     | 1,875 | 1,431 |
| Potatoes                                  | 1,018 | 1,082 |
| Beef                                      | 1,183 | 1,026 |
| Milk                                      | 1,448 | 940   |
| Eggs                                      | 1,787 | 1,512 |
| Sugar                                     | 1,528 | 1,218 |
| Cabbages                                  | 1,269 | 1,854 |
| Coal                                      | 1,934 | 1,931 |
| Hard firewood                             | 1,446 | 1,335 |
| Paraffin                                  | 2,702 | 2,130 |
| Hard soap                                 | 3,277 | 3,067 |
| (II) <i>Clothes, boots, men's hats</i>    |       |       |
| Cotton material for clothes               | 2,180 | 2,168 |
| Rumburg cotton material                   | 6,775 | 5,854 |
| Flannel                                   | 4,808 | 4,430 |
| Calico                                    | 5,103 | 4,854 |
| Men's boots                               | 1,498 | 1,351 |
| Ladies' boots                             | 1,584 | 1,470 |
| Soft felt hats                            | 1,636 | 1,588 |

It will be seen that from January to February 1921 there was a fairly general decline in prices, chiefly in the case of food and fuel. The prices of certain articles continue to rise.

The rise above the pre-war level has been very considerable. In the first group, prices have increased, on the average, to from 10 to 20 times the pre-war level, in the second from 15 to 10 times. By far the largest rise in prices occurs in clothes.

# FRANCE

It will be seen from the following table that the fall in the index numbers of retail prices, published by the Committee of Enquiry into the cost of living in Paris, began in the first quarter of 1921.

TABLE VIII

(Base: 1st half of 1914 = 100)

|                   | 1920           |                |                |                | 1921           |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
|                   | 1st<br>quarter | 2nd<br>quarter | 3rd<br>quarter | 4th<br>quarter | 1st<br>quarter |
| Food              | 306            | 344            | 358            | 389            | 350            |
| Clothing          | 405            | 485            | 518            | 445            | 398            |
| Fuel and lighting | 200            | 296            | 349            | 349            | 319            |
| Rent              | 100            | 100            | 100            | 100            | 100            |
| Miscellaneous     | 356            | 444            | 510            | 510            | 510            |
| Total             | 295            | 341            | 363            | 370            | 338            |

Rents continued as before at the pre-war level. The item "Miscellaneous" remained stationary also, but at a very high level (five times the pre-war level). The three other items show a distinct decline, particularly marked in the case of clothing (23 per cent. as compared with the maximum reached in the third quarter of 1920). The general index number shows a fall of 9 per cent. as compared with the maximum, but is still 238 per cent. above the pre-war level.

The index numbers published by the Committees of Enquiry into the cost of living in other important towns in France also show a general decline. Unfortunately, the methods of collecting and estimating price quotations used in the various towns are not sufficiently uniform to allow exact comparisons to be established.

# GERMANY

The various index numbers of the cost of living published in Germany show that the fall continued during the month of April. The table below, giving the weekly cost in marks of maintaining a minimum standard of life for a family of four persons in Berlin (Kuczynski's index), indicates that

the fall was chiefly due to foodstuffs, clothing, and miscellaneous articles, the other groups (rent, heat, and light) having remained almost stationary.

TABLE IX

|                           | Aug.<br>1913-<br>July<br>1914 | 1920  |       | 1921  |       |       |       |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|                           |                               | Nov.  | Dec.  | Jan.  | Feb.  | March | April |
|                           | Marks                         | Marks | Marks | Marks | Marks | Marks | Marks |
| Food                      | 9.80                          | 136   | 146   | 141   | 133   | 129   | 121   |
| Clothing                  | 5.85                          | 70    | 70    | 70    | 70    | 63    | 63    |
| Heating and light-<br>ing | 1.90                          | 22    | 23    | 23    | 24    | 23    | 23    |
| Rent                      | 5.50                          | 9     | 9     | 9     | 9     | 9     | 9     |
| Miscellaneous             | 5.75                          | 79    | 82    | 80    | 78    | 74    | 65    |
| Total                     | 28.80                         | 316   | 330   | 323   | 314   | 298   | 281   |
| General index number      | 100                           | 1,097 | 1,146 | 1,122 | 1,090 | 1,035 | 976   |

In spite of a diminution of 25% on the maximum reached in April 1920, the general index is still almost ten times above the pre-war level. The articles showing the greatest rise in price in April 1921, as compared with 1914, were briquettes, sugar, and potatoes (15, 16, and 22 times 1914 prices respectively).

## HUNGARY

The *Pester Lloyd* has recently published retail prices in Budapest of a large number of commodities in common use. The most important of these are reproduced below. They should, however, be used with care, as no exact indications have been obtained as to the methods employed in their compilation.

The rise in prices appears to have been enormous in Hungary, as it has been in most other countries in eastern Europe. Prices of all commodities are at least ten times as high as before the war, and, in the case of some commodities, as much as one hundred times the pre-war level. The index numbers for March, which are given below, do not show the maximum, for in February and in March there was a fairly general decline as compared with the preceding months. The increase was particularly marked in the case of clothing, the March index numbers for which vary between 6,000 and 15,000 according to the articles, while in the case of food, fuel, and lighting agents, the index numbers vary for the most part between 1,000 and 8,000.

TABLE X

|                            | Units         | Prices         |                |                | Index<br>numbers<br>March 1921<br>(Base : July<br>1914 = 100) |
|----------------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---|
|                            |               | 1921           |                |                |   |
|                            |               | end of<br>Jan. | end of<br>Feb. | end of<br>Mar. |   |
| <i>Food</i>                |               | kr.            | kr.            | kr.            |   |
| Flour (average<br>quality) | per kg.       | 33             | 33             | 28             | 6,829   |
| Black bread                | "             | 3.50           | 3.50           | 5.50           | 1,167   |
| Beef (average<br>quality)  | "             | 120            | 96             | 76             | 3,800   |
| Potatoes                   | "             | 4.50           | 5.50           | 4              | 2,857   |
| Sugar (maximum<br>price)   | "             | 89.30          | 89.30          | 89.30          | 10,890  |
| Eggs                       | each          | 5.50           | 4              | 3              | 4,286   |
| Milk                       | per litre     | 18             | 16             | 15             | 5,357   |
| Tea                        | per kg.       | 200            | 200            | 180            | 1,800   |
| Barley                     | "             | 36             | 36             | 30             | 6,250   |
| Rice                       | "             | 66             | 46             | 30             | 8,333   |
| <i>Fuel and lighting</i>   |               |                |                |                |   |
| Coal                       | per quintal   | 138            | 138            | 138            | 3,485   |
| Wood                       | "             | 185            | 185            | 185            | 5,286   |
| Gas for lighting           | per cub. met. | 3              | 3              | 3              | 5,000   |
| Electricity                | per Kw.L.     | —              | 0.60           | 0.60           | 750   |
| <i>Clothing</i>            |               |                |                |                |   |
| Men's suits (winter)       | each          | 9,600          | 9,600          | 7,000          | 10,000  |
| Women's blouses            | "             | 600            | 600            | 480            | 6,857   |
| Men's shoes                | per pr.       | 1,200          | 1,200          | 1,080          | 7,200   |
| Men's shirts               | each          | 450            | 450            | 360            | 10,000  |
| Men's socks                | per pr.       | 70             | 70             | 60             | 8,571   |
| Women's stockings          | "             | 200            | 190            | 150            | 15,000  |
| Hats                       | each          | 650            | 650            | 450            | 6,923   |

## ITALY

The following table shows the cost of living index numbers at Milan, compiled in conformity with the methods approved by the Statistical Congress of Italian towns in July 1920.

TABLE XI  
(Base: July 1920 = 100)

|                   | 1920 |      | 1921 |      |      |      |
|-------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
|                   | Nov. | Dec. | Jan. | Feb. | Mar. | Apr. |
| Food              | 110  | 115  | 121  | 122  | 129  | 135  |
| Clothing          | 115  | 120  | 120  | 120  | 107  | 107  |
| Rent              | 129  | 129  | 129  | 129  | 129  | 129  |
| Fuel and lighting | 144  | 145  | 170  | 172  | 172  | 172  |
| Miscellaneous     | 100  | 111  | 124  | 124  | 124  | 124  |
| Total             | 113  | 118  | 124  | 126  | 128  | 131  |

It will be seen that the general index number continues to rise in Milan, as it does in most other Italian towns. This rise is due entirely to a fairly marked increase in the price of foodstuffs; all other items remain stationary (rent, fuel and lighting, miscellaneous), or even show a decrease (clothing). The stationary nature of the index numbers for items other than food, however, is due in part to the fact that prices are recorded only quarterly in the case of clothing and rents, and irregularly in the case of the two other items.

The town of Milan publishes two other series of index numbers for foodstuffs in common use. One relates to an average budget, based on the results of the enquiry of Professor Pugliesi in July 1913, and takes no account of the changes caused in every household by rationing and the high cost of living. The other endeavours to take these changes into account as far as possible by selecting in each month the cheapest articles, while at the same time maintaining a certain minimum standard of nutritive value. The results for the last six months are given in the following table.

TABLE XII  
(Base: first half of 1914 = 100)

|      |      | Budget unmodified | Budget modified |
|------|------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1920 | Nov. | 515               | 402             |
|      | Dec. | 536               | 417             |
| 1921 | Jan. | 573               | 399             |
|      | Feb. | 564               | 391             |
|      | Mar. | 582               | 428             |
|      | Apr. | 598               | 460             |

The unmodified budget shows a much greater increase than the budget modified to take account of present conditions. On the other hand, the temporary fall at the beginning of 1921 is much less marked in the unmodified budget than in the modified budget. In the former, the fall was only 1.4 per cent. as compared with the previous month, and applied to one month only (February 1921), while in the latter it amounted to 5.9 per cent. and covered two months (January and February 1921).

## NORWAY

The Norwegian Central Statistical Office publishes two series of quarterly index numbers, one based on the budget of a family of four persons with an income amounting to 1,500

kroner in 1914, the other on the budget of a family of six persons with an income of 3,000 kroner in 1914, therefore in easier circumstances. The following table gives index numbers for 1920 and the first quarter of 1921.

TABLE XIII  
(Base : July 1914 = 100)

|               | Family of 4 persons with<br>income of 1,500 kr. in 1914 |      |       |      |       | Family of 6 persons with<br>income of 3,000 kr. in 1914 |      |       |      |       |
|---------------|---|------|-------|------|-------|---|------|-------|------|-------|
|               | 1920  |      |       |      | 1921  | 1920  |      |       |      | 1921  |
|               | March   | June | Sept. | Dec. | March | March   | June | Sept. | Dec. | March |
| Food          | 298   | 311  | 336   | 342  | 299   | 303   | 315  | 342   | 348  | 304   |
| Clothing      | 322   | 336  | 345   | 348  | 308   | 323   | 336  | 347   | 349  | 309   |
| Fuel          | 437   | 518  | 658   | 620  | 410   | 516   | 611  | 784   | 705  | 405   |
| Lighting      | 220   | 220  | 249   | 249  | 254   | 230   | 230  | 262   | 262  | 266   |
| Rent          | 147   | 147  | 155   | 155  | 161   | 152   | 152  | 161   | 161  | 166   |
| Miscellaneous | 263   | 276  | 306   | 295  | 294   | 263   | 274  | 309   | 284  | 285   |
| Total         | 288   | 302  | 335   | 335  | 301   | 292   | 304  | 344   | 339  | 307   |

Generally speaking, the maxima were reached in the two series at almost the same dates. The greatest increase is in fuel, which later (March 1921) showed a very substantial and very rapid drop. The items in which the increase was least were rent and lighting, but the increase continued in March in these items, whereas all other items had begun to fall in price. The difference between the two series of index numbers is not very great. The increases, however, are slightly more marked in the budget of the family of six persons with an income of 3,000 kroner. This difference is particularly noticeable in the case of fuel, and is fairly marked in the item light; in the other items it is very small. The two general index numbers agree fairly closely, and show an increase of about 200 per cent. on the pre-war level.

## POLAND

The Official Committee to investigate the cost of living at Warsaw has recently published two series of index numbers of retail prices covering 12 food commodities and 4 other items (fuel, light, etc.) The first of these index numbers relates to families with a supplementary food card ("A" families), and the second to families without ("B" families). This card is given to the families of workers in establishments which employ more than five persons, and entitles the holder to certain commodities at less than market prices and less than the prices of the ordinary cards, or even to some articles which cannot be procured otherwise. The following table gives the two index numbers for the second half of 1920.

TABLE XIV  
(Base : June 1920 = 100)

|                            | 1920 |      |       |      |      |      |
|----------------------------|------|------|-------|------|------|------|
|                            | July | Aug. | Sept. | Oct. | Nov. | Dec. |
| <i>"A" Families</i>        |      |      |       |      |      |      |
| Food                       | 109  | 128  | 124   | 139  | 174  | 264  |
| Coal, wood, paraffin, soap | 108  | 133  | 138   | 138  | 135  | 172  |
| Total                      | 109  | 129  | 127   | 139  | 166  | 246  |
| <i>"B" Families</i>        |      |      |       |      |      |      |
| Food                       | 104  | 123  | 119   | 143  | 179  | 235  |
| Coal, wood, paraffin, soap | 108  | 133  | 138   | 138  | 135  | 172  |
| Total                      | 105  | 125  | 123   | 142  | 170  | 223  |

In both index numbers the rise is particularly rapid, being 123 and 146 per cent. in six months. It is much more marked in the case of food than in the other items. It should also be noted that the increase is greater for the "A" families with the supplementary food card than for the "B" families without this card. The explanation is that price reductions accorded to holders of these cards have decreased gradually from month to month, so that the situation of the "A" families has gradually become more nearly the same as that of the "B" families. The following table shows that, while the absolute daily expenditure of "A" families in December 1920 still was less than that of "B" families, the difference was decreasing steadily.

TABLE XV

| 1920  | daily expenditure on food |                        | difference in expenditure |  |
|-------|---------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|--|
|       | "A" families<br>Marks.    | "B" families<br>Marks. | in Marks.                 | as percent. of<br>the greater<br>expenditure |
| June  | 61.43                     | 72.04                  | 10.61                     | 14.7%  |
| Sept. | 76.27                     | 86.04                  | 9.77                      | 11.4%  |
| Dec.  | 162.18                    | 169.28                 | 7.10                      | 4.2%   |

It will be seen that in December a family with a supplementary card was practically in the same situation as a family without such card.

#### SWEDEN

Since the beginning of 1921 the cost of living index numbers published quarterly by the Swedish Central Statistical Office have fallen fairly generally, as is shown by the following table.

TABLE XVI  
(Base : July 1914 = 100)

|                   | 1920   |        |        |        | 1921   |        |
|-------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
|                   | 1 Jan. | 1 Apr. | 1 July | 1 Oct. | 1 Jan. | 1 Apr. |
| Food              | 307    | 287    | 287    | 298    | 286    | 247    |
| Clothing          | 345    | 370    | 390    | 390    | 355    | 295    |
| Fuel and lighting | 307    | 333    | 372    | 400    | 380    | 316    |
| Rent              | 130    | 130    | 130    | 155    | 155    | 155    |
| Taxes             | 160    | 290    | 290    | 290    | 290    | 372    |
| Miscellaneous     | 220    | 230    | 235    | 245    | 245    | 235    |
| Total             | 259    | 265    | 270    | 281    | 271    | 249    |

Taxes alone continued to increase, and on 1 April 1921 showed a substantial rise. On the other hand, the index numbers for the items "Fuel and lighting" and "Clothing", which had reached very high maxima, were falling very rapidly. The fall in the price of food appeared to be more marked on 1 April 1921. The general index number was 149 per cent. above the pre-war level.

#### SWITZERLAND

The results of several investigations into the cost of living in Switzerland have been published recently, and include *inter alia* an investigation by the Federal Statistical Office based on the budgets of 277 families in 1919, an investigation by the Zürich Statistical Office on the cost of living in Zürich, and an investigation by Messrs. Gigon and Mangold concerning the "minimum cost of existence" for food. The table given below shows the results of an investigation conducted by the Central Federation of Swiss Employers' Associations and applies to the whole of Switzerland.

TABLE XVII  
(Base : June 1912 = 100)

|                          | 1920   |        | 1921   |         |
|--------------------------|--------|--------|--------|---------|
|                          | 1 Jan. | 1 Oct. | 1 Jan. | 1 April |
| Food, fuel, and lighting | 237    | 254    | 236    | 224     |
| Clothing                 | 240    | 240    | 195    | 195     |
| Rent                     | 150    | 155    | 160    | 160     |
| Miscellaneous            | 180    | 190    | 190    | 185     |
| Total                    | 210    | 220    | 208    | 200     |

The index numbers for food are those published by the Federation of Swiss Co-operative Societies. They include cost of fuel and lighting. The index numbers for the other items have been specially calculated. It will be seen that there has been a fairly general decline since October 1920. Rents alone continued to increase until January 1921, after which they remained stationary.

In April 1921 the general index number was 100 per cent. above the pre-war level, thus showing a decrease of 10 per cent. on the October maximum. The fall was slightly less marked during the first quarter of 1921 than during the last quarter of 1920, being only 8 points instead of 12. This was due to the fact that during the last quarter the fall in the price of food slackened and the price of clothing remained stationary, whereas it had declined considerably in the previous quarter. This fairly marked slackening in the fall in prices in two important items (64 per cent. of the total expenditure) was not matched by any fall in the item "Miscellaneous"; rents, too, remained stationary.

#### UNITED KINGDOM

The cost of living index numbers published by the Ministry of Labour continued to show a decline in April, though it was less marked than in the previous months.

TABLE XVIII

(Base : July 1914 = 100)

|                    | 1920   | 1921   |        |        |        |         |
|--------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|
|                    | 1 Dec. | 1 Jan. | 1 Feb. | 1 Mar. | 1 Apr. | 30 Apr. |
| Food               | 282    | 278    | 263    | 249    | 238    | 232     |
| Clothing *         | 405    | 390    | 355    | 340    | 325    | 310     |
| Fuel and lighting* | 240    | 240    | 240    | 240    | 240    | 250     |
| Rent*              | 142    | 142    | 142    | 144    | 144    | 144     |
| Total              | 269    | 265    | 251    | 241    | 233    | 228     |

\* Approximate figures.

The general index number fell only five points in April, and is now 128 per cent. above the pre-war level. The price of clothing alone continues to fall regularly. At the end of April the fall in the price of food was slackening to a certain extent, while the prices for fuel and light continued to rise slowly.

UNITED STATES

The following table shows index numbers for retail prices of food in the United States, in continuation of the statistical tables published in Volume 1, Nos. 1 and 2, of the *International Labour Review*. As previously stated, the general index number since January 1921 has been based on 43 commodities, though separate index numbers are published for 22 articles only.

TABLE XIX  
(Base : 1913=100)

|                            | 1921 |      |      |      |
|----------------------------|------|------|------|------|
|                            | Jan. | Feb. | Mar. | Apr. |
| Sirloin steak              | 158  | 151  | 154  | 157  |
| Round steak                | 163  | 153  | 157  | 160  |
| Rib roast                  | 157  | 148  | 152  | 154  |
| Chuck roast                | 148  | 138  | 139  | 140  |
| Plate beef                 | 140  | 129  | 130  | 127  |
| Pork chops                 | 171  | 156  | 168  | 177  |
| Bacon                      | 171  | 166  | 155  | 164  |
| Ham                        | 180  | 179  | 181  | 183  |
| Lard                       | 141  | 131  | 124  | 116  |
| Hens                       | 200  | 201  | 203  | 202  |
| Eggs                       | 229  | 139  | 121  | 99   |
| Butter                     | 159  | 148  | 150  | 143  |
| Cheese                     | 175  | 171  | 176  | 169  |
| Milk                       | 183  | 173  | 171  | 167  |
| Bread                      | 193  | 189  | 188  | 184  |
| Flour                      | 203  | 197  | 194  | 179  |
| Corn meal                  | 173  | 167  | 160  | 153  |
| Rice                       | 137  | 121  | 113  | 106  |
| Potatoes                   | 176  | 153  | 147  | 135  |
| Sugar                      | 176  | 162  | 176  | 176  |
| Coffee                     | 129  | 126  | 125  | 123  |
| Tea                        | 133  | 131  | 131  | 129  |
| All articles combined (43) | 172  | 158  | 156  | 152  |

It will be noticed that in March the decline, which had been fairly regular in the preceding months, ceased almost entirely; the general index number fell only two points, and of the 22 commodities 11 showed a rise. In April the tendency to decline again became more marked; the general index number fell four points, and of the various items only meat continued to rise slightly (pork chops considerably); on the other hand, plate beef and hens, which had risen in March, dropped again. Butter and cheese also fell again, but sugar remained stationary, Eggs, potatoes, and flour, which had continued to fall steadily, showed a still more rapid decline in April.

## OTHER COUNTRIES

In the case of certain countries included in Tables I and II, detailed information has not been received as to variations in the index numbers for the different groups of articles. They have therefore not been dealt with separately. It may merely be stated that in AUSTRIA, the NETHERLANDS, NEW ZEALAND, and SOUTH AFRICA, the index numbers of retail prices of foodstuffs have continued to fall fairly steadily. As regards DENMARK, FINLAND, INDIA, and SPAIN, no information more recent has been obtained than that published in the previous article.

## SOURCES

|                 |   |
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| NEW ZEALAND     | <i>An Enquiry into Prices in New Zealand 1891-1919</i> .<br><i>Monthly Abstract of Statistics</i> , Jan. and Feb. 1921.<br>Telegraphic communication to the International Labour<br>Office from the Ministry of Labour, London.   |

|                |   |
|----------------|---|
| NORWAY         | <i>Meddelelser fra det statistiske centralbyra</i> , 1920-1921.   |
| POLAND         | <i>Miesiecznik Pracy</i> , Jan. 1921.   |
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| SPAIN          | <i>Boletin del Instituto de Reformas Sociales</i> , Feb. 1921.  |
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| SWITZERLAND    | <i>Schweizer Konsumverein</i> , 1920-1921.<br><i>Bulletin de l'Union centrale des Associations patronales suisses</i> , No. 10, 1921.         |
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| U. S. A.       | <i>Monthly Labor Review</i> , 1920-1921.<br>Telegraphic communication from the Bureau of Labor Statistics to the International Labour Office. |



# EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

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## Statistics as to Occupied Persons in the New Germany

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THE uncertainty as to the exact area of the new Germany has led to the postponement of the compilation of fresh official statistics on the occupations of the people, and, even if it were considered possible to undertake their collection by the end of 1921, the results would under no circumstances be available before the middle of the following year. An attempt has accordingly been made by the new official statistical review, *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, for January 1921, to estimate the distribution of the population by occupation at the end of 1920 on the basis of existing statistics and of published results of the census taken in October 1919.

The writer in *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, for the purpose of his estimate, takes the new Germany to include the areas whose future has not yet been settled ; i.e. the area under consideration is that of the Germany of 4 August 1914, less Alsace-Lorraine, the districts of East and West Prussia, of Posen and Silesia renounced without plebiscite, the first zone of Schleswig-Holstein, and the Eupen-Malmédy region. The latest pre-war census of occupations was taken in 1907, and its results for the area in question have been combined with those of the census of October 1919, using the latter especially for sex and age distribution. Some allowance has also been made for the fact that, on the date of the latter census, the majority of German prisoners of war had not yet returned. The increase in the population between 8 October 1919 and 31 December 1920, due to immigration and the recovery of a surplus of births over deaths, has also been taken into consideration.

The results of the calculation appear in table I. The figures given for 1907 are taken from the census of that year and refer to the old Germany. The comparison shows a slight shifting of the population from agricultural to industrial occupations and an increase in the proportion of civil servants. There has been a notable reduction in the number of dependants and domestic servants. In 1907 this group formed 51.5 per cent. of the population; in 1920 they were only 45.9 per cent. The decrease is probably only temporary, having been caused

TABLE I

| Group   | Occupied persons, including persons of independent means, etc. |            |            |           | Dependants and servants living with occupied persons |           |                  |                               |              |                               |
|---|--|------------|------------|-----------|--|-----------|------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|
|   | 31 December 1920   |            |            |           | 12 June 1907   |           | 31 December 1920 |                               | 12 June 1907 |                               |
|   | men  | women      | total      | per cent. | total  | per cent. | number           | per cent. of occupied persons | number       | per cent. of occupied persons |
| Agriculture and forestry                                    | 5,551,919  | 5,156,271  | 10,708,190 | 31.6      | 9,883,257  | 33.4      | 6,613,219        | 61.8                          | 7,797,919    | 78.9                          |
| Mining and industry   | 10,390,339   | 2,502,819  | 12,893,150 | 38.1      | 11,256,254   | 38.0      | 14,232,797       | 110.4                         | 15,130,283   | 134.4                         |
| Trade, commerce, etc.                                       | 2,876,295  | 1,100,777  | 3,977,072  | 11.7      | 3,477,626  | 11.8      | 4,485,487        | 112.8                         | 4,800,613    | 138.0                         |
| Domestic service (1) and various trades                     | 173,375  | 382,373    | 650,750    | 1.7       | 471,695  | 1.6       | 287,531          | 51.3                          | 321,053      | 68.3                          |
| Public services (excl. Army and Navy) and professions       | 1,516,187  | 336,027    | 1,852,214  | 5.4       | 1,087,336  | 3.7       | 1,523,916        | 82.3                          | 1,539,424    | 141.6                         |
| Total of occupied persons                                   | 20,513,115   | 9,478,269  | 29,991,384 | 88.5      | 26,176,168   | 88.5      | 27,142,950       | 90.5                          | 29,589,292   | 113.0                         |
| Persons of independent means, or of no specified occupation | 1,783,749  | 2,108,857  | 3,892,606  | 11.5      | 3,404,983  | 11.5      | 1,610,175        | 41.4                          | 1,769,720    | 52.0                          |
| Total   | 22,296,864   | 11,587,126 | 33,883,990 | 100.0     | 29,581,151   | 100.0     | 28,753,125       | 84.9                          | 31,359,012   | 106.0                         |

(1) Includes servants not living with their employers; those living with their employers are classed with dependants.

mainly by war conditions, i.e. the increased employment of women and the fall in the birth-rate. The proportion of women employed in 1920 was 18.5 per cent. of the population, as against 16.3 per cent. in 1907.

Table II shows the status of the persons engaged in the three chief groups of occupations. In order to obtain these figures, the proportions of the 1907 census have been applied to the estimates for the end of 1920 appearing in the first table.

TABLE II  
*31 December 1920*

| Group                    | Employers |           | Employees |         |                |           |
|--------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------|----------------|-----------|
|                          |           |           | Salaried  |         | Manual Workers |           |
|                          | men       | women     | men       | women   | men            | women     |
| Agriculture and forestry | 2,281,839 | 366,095   | 88,831    | 20,625  | 3,181,249      | 4,769,551 |
| Mining and industry      | 1,704,016 | 568,140   | 706,543   | 75,085  | 7,979,780      | 1,859,594 |
| Trade and commerce       | 865,765   | 291,706   | 480,341   | 93,566  | 1,530,189      | 715,505   |
| Total                    | 4,851,620 | 1,225,941 | 1,275,715 | 189,276 | 12,691,218     | 7,344,650 |

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## Statistics of the Unemployed

based chiefly on returns from workers' organisations

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THE table giving statistics of unemployment among trade union members in different countries, which was given in the *International Labour Review* for March (1), has been continued in the present issue and brought up to date.

It cannot be too strongly emphasised that these figures do not accurately represent the total amount of unemployment in the different countries. Authoritative statistical data for estimating with any degree of precision the number of unemployed in any country do not, in general, exist. Only in the United Kingdom, where the statistics cover almost the whole of the employed population, is there a record, approaching completeness, of the number of persons totally unemployed. In other countries it is impossible to state in general whether workers outside trade unions experience more or less unemployment than trade union members.

As regards under-employment or short time — the system under which workers work a reduced number of days per week or hours per day—even less reliable data exist. In fact, for most countries no statistics exist at all.

While these figures cannot be used as a measure of the total amount of unemployment in a country, still less can they be used for comparing the volume of unemployment between two or more countries. As shown in the January number of the *Review*, and in the *Notes* to the present table, the differences in the scope of the returns, in the definition of unemployment, and in the reliability of the figures, prevent any international comparison at the present time.

It is, however, possible to state that the extent of unemployment continued to increase rapidly during the earlier months of the year, in all countries except Germany, where there was even a slight decline. Generally speaking, the latest returns indicate a greater degree of unemployment than at any time since the outbreak of war.

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(1) *Inter. Lab. Rev.*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 87, *Statistics of the Unemployed*.

**STATISTICS OF NUMBERS UNEMPLOYED <sup>(1)</sup>**  
(To the nearest thousand)

|              | Australia       |                       | Belgium         |                       | Canada          |                       | Denmark         |                       | Germany         |                       | Massachusetts   |                       | Netherlands     |                       |                              | Norway          |                       | Sweden          |                       | United Kingdom  |                       |                 |                       |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
|              | Numbers covered | Percentage unemployed | Numbers covered | Percentage unemployed | Numbers covered | Percentage unemployed | Numbers covered | Percentage unemployed | Numbers covered | Percentage unemployed | Numbers covered | Percentage unemployed | Numbers covered | Percentage unemployed | Index number of unemployment | Numbers covered | Percentage unemployed | Numbers covered | Percentage unemployed | Numbers covered | Percentage unemployed | Numbers covered | Percentage unemployed |
| (1)          | (2)             | (3)                   | (4)             | (5)                   | (6)             | (7)                   | (8)             | (9)                   | (10)            | (11)                  | (12)            | (13)                  | (14)            | (15)                  | (16)                         | (17)            | (18)                  | (19)            | (20)                  | (21)            | (22)                  | (23)            | (24)                  |
| 1913 Average | 246,000         | 6.5                   | 77,000          | 2.7                   | *               | *                     | 117,000         | 7.5                   | 1,973,000       | 2.9                   | 175,000         | 6.3                   | 65,000          | 5.1                   | 5.0                          | 16,000          | 1.8                   | 55,000          | 4.4                   | 927,000         | 2.1                   | 2,041,000       | 3.6                   |
| 1914         | 269,000         | 8.3                   | 77,000          | 3.9                   | *               | *                     | 128,000         | 9.9                   | 1,635,000       | 7.2                   | 172,000         | 10.4                  | 76,000          | 16.2                  | 13.8                         | 16,000          | 2.4                   | 61,000          | 6.7                   | 970,000         | 3.3                   | 2,326,000       | 4.2                   |
| 1915         | 276,000         | 9.3                   | *               | *                     | 56,000          | 8.0                   | 134,000         | 7.7                   | 1,019,000       | 3.2                   | 170,000         | 7.7                   | 106,000         | 14.6                  | 12.0                         | 16,000          | 2.2                   | 62,000          | 7.8                   | 922,000         | 1.1                   | 2,078,000       | 1.2                   |
| 1916         | 290,000         | 5.8                   | *               | *                     | 105,000         | 1.9                   | 145,000         | 4.9                   | 818,000         | 2.2                   | 176,000         | 3.0                   | 132,000         | 5.8                   | 5.1                          | 17,000          | 0.9                   | 68,000          | 4.2                   | 943,000         | 0.4                   | 2,029,000       | 0.6                   |
| 1917         | 287,000         | 7.1                   | *               | *                     | 128,000         | 1.9                   | 160,000         | 9.2                   | 939,000         | 1.0                   | 189,000         | 4.2                   | 148,000         | 9.6                   | 6.5                          | 18,000          | 1.2                   | 87,000          | 3.9                   | 966,000         | 0.6                   | 3,622,000       | 0.6                   |
| 1918         | 300,000         | 5.8                   | *               | *                     | 164,000         | 1.4                   | 218,000         | 17.4                  | 1,245,000       | 1.2                   | 222,000         | 2.9                   | 190,000         | 10.0                  | 7.5                          | 18,000          | 1.9                   | 105,000         | 4.4                   | 1,108,000       | 0.8                   | 3,922,000       | 1.2                   |
| 1919         | 310,000         | 6.6                   | *               | *                     | 177,000         | 3.6                   | 296,000         | 10.7                  | 3,686,000       | 3.7                   | 259,000         | 5.3                   | 300,000         | 8.9                   | 7.7                          | 18,000          | 1.9                   | 121,000         | 5.5                   | 1,338,000       | 2.4                   | 3,721,000       | *                     |
| End of 1920  |                 |                       |                 |                       |                 |                       |                 |                       |                 |                       |                 |                       |                 |                       |                              |                 |                       |                 |                       |                 |                       |                 |                       |
| Jan.         | *               | *                     | *               | *                     | 173,000         | 4.0                   | 273,000         | 13.2                  | 4,765,000       | 3.4                   | *               | *                     | 379,000         | 10.6                  | 8.7                          | 19,000          | 2.4                   | 120,000         | 7.6                   | 1,564,000       | 2.9                   | 3,828,000       | 6.1                   |
| Feb.         | *               | *                     | *               | *                     | 181,000         | 4.0                   | 295,000         | 9.6                   | 4,859,000       | 2.9                   | *               | *                     | 397,000         | 8.5                   | 6.9                          | 19,000          | 1.9                   | 110,000         | 7.5                   | 1,539,000       | 1.6                   | 3,828,000       | 4.4                   |
| Mar.         | 329,000         | 5.6                   | *               | *                     | 171,000         | 3.1                   | 295,000         | 6.7                   | 4,994,000       | 1.9                   | 281,000         | 4.1                   | 404,000         | 7.7                   | 6.4                          | 19,000          | 1.5                   | 126,000         | 4.5                   | 1,567,000       | 1.1                   | 3,828,000       | 3.6                   |
| Apr.         | *               | *                     | *               | *                     | 182,000         | 2.5                   | 314,000         | 3.5                   | 5,027,000       | 2.0                   | *               | *                     | 398,000         | 8.0                   | 6.7                          | 18,000          | 1.3                   | 114,000         | 3.5                   | 1,561,000       | 0.9                   | 4,161,000       | 2.8                   |
| May          | *               | *                     | *               | *                     | 202,000         | 2.4                   | 304,000         | 2.8                   | 5,234,000       | 2.7                   | *               | *                     | 397,000         | 7.3                   | 6.2                          | 18,000          | 0.9                   | 121,000         | 2.9                   | 1,572,000       | 1.1                   | 4,161,000       | 2.7                   |
| June         | 343,000         | 6.2                   | *               | *                     | 194,000         | 2.1                   | 306,000         | 2.1                   | 5,556,000       | 4.0                   | 248,000         | 14.6                  | 407,000         | 5.9                   | 5.0                          | 18,000          | 0.7                   | 126,000         | 3.4                   | 1,603,000       | 1.2                   | 4,161,000       | 2.6                   |
| July         | *               | *                     | *               | *                     | 186,000         | 2.3                   | 310,000         | 2.1                   | 5,074,000       | 6.0                   | *               | *                     | 401,000         | 4.9                   | 4.2                          | 19,000          | 1.1                   | 125,000         | 2.8                   | 1,498,000       | 1.4                   | 4,197,000       | 2.7                   |
| Aug.         | *               | *                     | *               | *                     | 187,000         | 2.4                   | 304,000         | 2.4                   | 5,555,000       | 5.9                   | *               | *                     | 408,000         | 5.0                   | 4.2                          | 19,000          | 1.4                   | 134,000         | 3.0                   | 1,669,000       | 1.6                   | 4,197,000       | 2.9                   |
| Sept.        | 345,000         | 6.2                   | 118,000         | 5.8                   | 189,000         | 3.3                   | 308,000         | 2.7                   | 5,442,000       | 4.5                   | 225,000         | 16.4                  | 407,000         | 4.1                   | 3.3                          | 18,000          | 1.7                   | 151,000         | 2.9                   | 1,636,000       | 2.2                   | 4,197,000       | 3.8                   |
| Oct.         | *               | *                     | 263,000         | 6.4                   | 215,000         | 6.1                   | 315,000         | 3.6                   | 5,325,000       | 4.2                   | *               | *                     | 404,000         | 4.2                   | 3.2                          | 19,000          | 2.1                   | 142,000         | 4.3                   | 1,401,000       | 5.3                   | 4,197,000       | 4.1                   |
| Nov.         | *               | *                     | 498,000         | 7.2                   | 216,000         | 10.2                  | 317,000         | 6.1                   | 5,629,000       | 3.9                   | *               | *                     | 402,000         | 7.2                   | 5.2                          | 19,000          | 3.1                   | 147,000         | 7.0                   | 1,612,000       | 3.7                   | 11,200,000      | 3.7                   |
| Dec.         | 351,000         | 7.8                   | 546,000         | 17.4                  | 208,000         | 13.1                  | 311,000         | 15.1                  | 5,664,000       | 4.1                   | 297,000         | 29.2                  | —               | —                     | —                            | 19,000          | 6.5                   | 146,000         | 15.8                  | 1,535,000       | 6.1                   | 11,900,000      | 5.8                   |
| 1921 Jan.    | *               | *                     | 609,000         | 19.3                  | 198,000         | 13.1                  | 307,000         | 19.7                  | 5,751,000       | 4.5                   | *               | *                     | —               | —                     | —                            | 18,000          | 10.5                  | 155,000         | 20.2                  | 1,587,000       | 6.9                   | 12,000,000      | 8.2                   |
| Feb.         | *               | *                     | 621,000         | 22.7                  | 198,000         | 16.1                  | 304,000         | 23.2                  | 5,650,000       | 4.7                   | *               | *                     | —               | —                     | —                            | 18,000          | 13.1                  | 147,000         | 20.8                  | 1,534,000       | 8.5                   | 12,000,000      | 9.5                   |
| Mar.         | —               | —                     | 668,000         | 31.5                  | 207,000         | 16.5                  | 294,000         | 23.6                  | 5,779,000       | 3.7                   | —               | —                     | —               | —                     | —                            | 18,000          | 14.9                  | 165,000         | 24.6                  | 1,528,000       | 10.0                  | 12,000,000      | 11.3                  |
| Apr.         | *               | *                     | 617,000         | 31.2                  | 204,000         | 16.3                  | 294,000         | 21.7                  | 5,510,000       | 3.9                   | —               | —                     | —               | —                     | —                            | —               | —                     | 145,000         | 24.2                  | 1,339,000       | 17.6 <sup>(1)</sup>   | 12,000,000      | 15.0                  |

(1) See Notes on the opposite page. The Sign \* indicates no figures published, the Sign — indicates figures not yet received.

## NOTES TO TABLE

**Australia :** *Quarterly Summary of Australian Statistics.*

The quarterly figures show the number of persons who were out of work for three days or more during a specified week in each quarter; they include unions that do not pay unemployment benefit to their members. Trade unions of workers in permanent employment, such as railwaymen, or of casual workers, such as dockers, are excluded.

**Belgium :** *Revue du Travail.*

The figures are derived from the unemployment funds, and refer to the last working day of the month and include Short time workers.

**Canada :** *The Labour Gazette* for Canada.

The figures refer to the last working-day of the month, and only relate to unemployment due to economic causes. They include unions that do not pay unemployment benefit to their members. Revised percentages for 1920 have been published in the March Number of the *Gazette*.

**Denmark :** *Statistiske Efterretninger.*

The figures are derived from trade union reports combined with returns of the Central Employment Bureau. These are compiled every Friday, those shown being for the last Friday of the month. Only unions paying unemployment benefits to their members are included.

**Germany :** *Reichsarbeitsblatt.*

The figures refer to the last working-day of the last week of each month. Only unions paying unemployment benefit to their members are included.

**Massachusetts :** *Massachusetts Industrial Review.*

The figures refer to the last day of each quarter, and cover unemployment due to lack of work, lack of material, and unfavourable weather. They include unions that do not pay unemployment benefit to their members.

**Netherlands :** *Maandschrift van het Central Bureau voor de Statistiek.*

The figures are weekly averages over a period of four or five weeks. The index number of unemployment given in column 16 is the percentage which the total number of days of unemployment bears to the total number of working days (i.e. six times the number of workers). Unions that pay no unemployment benefit to their members are included.

**Norway :** *The Labour Gazette* for Great Britain.

The figures refer to the last day of the month and only cover a small proportion of the trade unionists of the country. They only include unions that pay unemployment benefit to their members.

**Sweden :** *Sociala Meddelanden.*

The figures refer to the last day of the month, and include unions that do not pay unemployment benefit.

**United Kingdom :** *The Labour Gazette* for Great Britain.

The trade union figures refer to the last working day of the month and only relate to unions that pay unemployment benefit. Trade unions of workers in permanent employment, such as railwaymen, are excluded. The figures under the Insurance Act give the number of persons totally unemployed whose unemployment books or out-of-work donation policies remain lodged at the unemployment exchanges on the last Friday of the month. The figures for October 1920 and April 1921 exclude coalmining.

# The State of Employment in April 1921

THE present article is a continuation of the one published in the May-June number of the *International Labour Review* on statistics of employment (1).

## CANADA

The table below shows the number of persons on the pay-rolls of some 5,000 firms reporting weekly to the Canadian Employment Service. A comparison is made with the position on 17 January 1920, the percentage in each case being respectively calculated for identical firms.

TABLE I

|               | No. of firms | employees |                                      |
|---------------|--------------|-----------|--------------------------------------|
|               |              | No.       | percent. of staff on<br>17 Jan. 1920 |
| 1921          |              |           |                                      |
| Third week of |              |           |                                      |
| Jan.          | 5,245        | 616,983   | 88.6                                 |
| Feb.          | 5,276        | 616,065   | 88.5                                 |
| March         | 5,151        | 599,236   | 86.5                                 |
| Apr.          | 5,321        | 609,946   | 85.9                                 |

During the four weeks from 26 March to 16 April the reports show a net decline in employment of 8,158 persons, the aggregate decline of 19,479 in the first two weeks being offset by a rise of 11,321 in the latter two weeks.

Lumber and its products reported additions to staff during all four weeks, largely a seasonal trend due to the re-opening of sawmills. Increases were recorded in telephones, local transportation, tobacco, fish canning and packing, and water transportation. Losses were sustained throughout the period by the textile, coal-mining, railway transportation, and rubber product groups.

## GERMANY

The returns of the sickness insurance funds show a further increase in the number of insured persons. The membership of the 6,731 funds, for which returns were published for 1 May

(1) *Inter. Lab. Rev.*, Vol. II, Nos. 2-3, p. 52.

1921, was 13,246,929 as against 12,919,834 on 1 April, an increase of 2.5 %. As other statistics, such as trade union returns <sup>(2)</sup>, dealing with the state of the labour market, indicate a decrease of employment, these figures should be regarded with caution. It should be remembered that changes in the state of employment are not immediately reflected in the insurance returns.

The above figures do not include sick persons unable to work, nor unemployed persons. Grouped according to the class of fund, the following table results.

TABLE II

| Class of fund | Funds | Men       |   | Women     |   |
|---------------|-------|-----------|---|-----------|---|
|               | No.   | No.       | percent. incr. (+) or decr. (—) on previous month | No.       | percent. incr. (+) or decr. (—) on previous month |
| Urban         | 2,030 | 4,936,131 | + 3.9   | 3,274,484 | + 1.9   |
| Rural         | 374   | 801,541   | + 1.9   | 827,349   | + 5.1   |
| Factory       | 3,563 | 2,272,605 | + 0.6   | 533,885   | + 1.4   |
| Guild         | 635   | 186,757   | + 5.0   | 61,467    | + 1.3   |
| Mining        | 129   | 346,448   | — 1.1   | 6,262     | — 0.3   |
| Total         | 6,731 | 8,543,482 | + 2.6   | 4,703,447 | + 2.4   |

The membership of the 2,404 urban and rural funds, including persons entitled to insurance and sick persons, is distributed as follows:—

TABLE III

|  | Membership on 1 May |           | percent. increase on previous month. |       |
|--|---------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------|-------|
|  | men                 | women     | men                                  | women |
| Agriculture and forestry               | 1,199,347           | 994,088   | 1.9                                  | 5.6   |
| Domestic service                       | 50,531              | 822,894   | 0.8                                  | 1.2   |
| Casual work                            | 38,627              | 57,142    | 1.7                                  | 0.4   |
| Home work                              | 57,132              | 122,205   | 4.6                                  | 3.5   |
| Other occupations (chiefly industrial) | 4,915,240           | 3,162,554 | 3.5                                  | 1.3   |

From the above two tables it would appear that the chief increase in employment apart from homework has been among women in agriculture and men in industry.

A classification of the returns of the factory sickness insurance funds by industry shows the following results, the sick and unemployed being excluded.

(2) See table, p. 38.

TABLE IV

|                                     | No.<br>of<br>funds | Membership<br>on 1 May |         | Percent. incr. (+) or decr. (—)<br>on previous month |        |                                  |        |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|---------|--|--------|----------------------------------|--------|
|                                     |                    |                        |         | 1 May compar-<br>ed with 1 April                     |        | 1 Apr. compar-<br>ed with 1 Mar. |        |
|                                     |                    | men                    | women   | men  | women  | men                              | women  |
| Agriculture, forestry,<br>gardening | 96                 | 13,695                 | 7,945   | + 1.2  | + 10.1 | — 0.1                            | + 16.7 |
| Metals and engineering              | 876                | 804,295                | 76,155  | + 1.0  | — 0.7  | + 0.5                            | — 0.6  |
| Electrical industry                 | 25                 | 69,188                 | 30,036  | — 0.7  | — 3.8  | — 0.1                            | — 0.9  |
| Chemicals                           | 122                | 101,637                | 14,678  | — 1.4  | + 0.4  | + 5.6                            | + 4.0  |
| Textiles                            | 823                | 128,016                | 158,994 | + 2.0  | + 1.0  | + 0.8                            | — 0.2  |
| Wood working                        | 103                | 17,876                 | 3,616   | + 1.2  | + 4.2  | — 0.8                            | — 2.9  |
| Foodstuffs                          | 306                | 45,938                 | 39,929  | — 0.3  | + 2.6  | — 1.4                            | + 1.3  |
| Clothing                            | 76                 | 10,887                 | 12,435  | + 1.7  | + 1.7  | — 0.1                            | + 1.8  |
| Building                            | 171                | 71,906                 | 2,286   | + 4.9  | + 3.8  | + 4.4                            | + 10.0 |

The chief improvement continues to be found in the building trade and among women in agriculture, but the increase in employment experienced during the previous month in the chemical industry was not continued. The textile, wood working, and clothing industries all show a slight rise, while employment in the electrical industry continues to decline.

## UNITED KINGDOM

Employment was still further reduced during the month of April owing to the national coal dispute, particularly in the coal-using industries, and in some cases, such as the manufacture of pig-iron, tin-plate, and pottery, it ceased almost entirely. The state of employment according to the returns of employers is compared in the tables below with the position a month ago and a year ago.

TABLE V  
SUMMARY OF EMPLOYERS' RETURNS  
(a) *Certain Mining and Metal Trades*

|                           | Workers<br>included<br>in the<br>returns for<br>April 1921 | April<br>1921                            | Incr. (+) or decr. (—)<br>as compared with a |                    |
|---------------------------|--|--|--|--------------------|
|                           |  |  | month<br>ago                                 | year<br>ago        |
| Iron mining               | *  | days worked<br>per week<br>by mines<br>* | days   | days               |
| Shale „                   |  |  | —  | —                  |
|                           | 3, 095   | 6.00                                     | —  | —                  |
| Pig-iron                  | —  | Furnaces in<br>blast<br>11               | No.<br>—100                                  | No.<br>—262        |
| Tinplate and steel sheet. | —  | Mills working<br>35                      | —101   | —464               |
| Iron and steel            | 42,390   | Shifts worked<br>(one week)<br>209,067   | Per cent.<br>—49.2                           | Per cent.<br>—69.4 |

\* Owing to the dispute in the coal mining industry almost all the iron mines were closed.

*(b) Other Trades*

|  | Number of workers             |                                |             | Total wages paid to all workers <sup>(1)</sup> |                                |             |
|--|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|--|--------------------------------|-------------|
|  | week ended<br>23 Apr.<br>1921 | incr. (+) or<br>decr. (—) on a |             | week ended<br>Apr. 23<br>1921                  | incr. (+) or<br>decr. (—) on a |             |
|  |                               | month<br>ago                   | year<br>ago |  | month<br>ago                   | year<br>ago |
| Textiles:                                  |                               | per cent.                      | per cent.   | £  | per cent.                      | per cent.   |
| Cotton                                     | 67,333                        | —11.0                          | —35.8       | 132,076  | — 6.7                          | —47.3       |
| Woollen                                    | 13,779                        | —14.3                          | —27.3       | 25,277   | —22.0                          | —48.4       |
| Worsted                                    | 29,237                        | — 6.1                          | —14.7       | 48,650   | —17.6                          | —39.0       |
| Linen                                      | 15,205                        | —23.8                          | —53.8       | 20,713   | —24.1                          | —59.5       |
| Jute                                       | 6,456                         | —18.7                          | —28.4       | 8,112  | —18.3                          | —55.3       |
| Hosiery                                    | 12,873                        | — 5.3                          | —31.7       | 21,363   | — 7.8                          | —44.5       |
| Lace                                       | 4,515                         | —11.3                          | —43.2       | 7,266  | —17.2                          | —59.5       |
| Other tex-<br>tiles                        | 13,297                        | — 3.6                          | — 6.6       | 23,274   | —19.0                          | —21.2       |
| Bleaching,<br>etc.                         | 20,538                        | — 7.8                          | —19.4       | 52,111   | —13.0                          | —42.9       |
| Total tex-<br>tiles                        | 183,233                       | —10.8                          | —31.3       | 338,842  | —13.3                          | —45.9       |
| Boot and<br>shoe                           | 50,182                        | — 1.1                          | —18.1       | 114,059  | + 3.1                          | —29.7       |
| Shirt and<br>collar                        | 11,800                        | — 6.1                          | —15.4       | 15,432   | —10.5                          | —29.8       |
| Ready-<br>made<br>tailoring                | 19,118                        | — 1.6                          | 24.7        | 30,849   | — 6.7                          | —35.4       |
| Paper,<br>printing<br>and book-<br>binding | 27,072                        | — 4.9                          | —11.4       | 79,519   | — 6.9                          | —13.1       |
| Pottery                                    | 8,110                         | —48.8                          | —47.9       | 17,067   | —56.7                          | —51.6       |
| Glass                                      | 6,656                         | —24.0                          | —43.2       | 20,019   | —29.8                          | —44.8       |
| Brick                                      | 5,066                         | —24.3                          | —19.2       | 17,326   | —25.3                          | —11.1       |
| Cement                                     | 9,462                         | —13.9                          | + 0.5       | 36,811   | —21.0                          | +12.7       |
| Food pre-<br>paration                      | 55,959                        | — 1.0                          | — 9.7       | 138,259  | — 5.7                          | — 8.1       |
| Grand total                                | 376,658                       | — 9.4                          | —25.1       | 808,183  | —2.3                           | —33.9       |

(1) Comparison of earnings is affected by changes in rates of wages.

## UNITED STATES

The Bureau of Labor Statistics publishes reports concerning the volume of employment in April 1921 from over 800 representative firms in 13 manufacturing industries and in bituminous coal mining, employing in all about 560,000 persons. Tables VI and VII below give a comparison of the figures with those of a year ago and a month ago.

TABLE VI

|                                    | Establish-<br>ment<br>report-<br>ing for<br>April<br>1920<br>and<br>1921 | Period<br>of pay-<br>roll | Number on<br>pay-roll in April |         | Per<br>cent.<br>of incr.<br>(+)<br>or decr.<br>(-) | Amount of pay-roll<br>in April |              | Per<br>cent.<br>of incr.<br>(+)<br>or decr.<br>(-) |
|------------------------------------|--|---------------------------|--------------------------------|---------|--|--------------------------------|--------------|--|
|                                    |  |                           | 1920                           | 1921    |  | 1920                           | 1921         |  |
| Iron and steel                     | 113  | ½ mon.                    | 189,170                        | 120,641 | -36.2  | \$ 13,870,483                  | \$ 6,406,764 | -53.8  |
| Automobiles                        | 47   | 1 wk.                     | 147,582                        | 85,802  | -41.9  | 4,936,309                      | 2,716,208    | -45.0  |
| Car-building<br>and repair-<br>ing | 59   | ½ mon.                    | 62,071                         | 43,438  | -30.0  | 3,899,467                      | 2,895,972    | -25.7  |
| Cotton mfg.                        | 58   | 1 wk.                     | 58,201                         | 57,968  | -0.4   | 1,229,967                      | 1,000,340    | -18.7  |
| Cotton finish-<br>ing              | 16   | "                         | 12,564                         | 11,728  | -6.7   | 296,494                        | 261,280      | -11.9  |
| Hosiery and<br>underwear           | 62   | "                         | 34,106                         | 23,137  | -32.2  | 707,266                        | 381,392      | -46.1  |
| Woollen                            | 52   | "                         | 52,290                         | 47,506  | -9.1   | 1,320,274                      | 1,075,626    | -18.5  |
| Silk                               | 45   | 2 wks.                    | 20,036                         | 17,985  | -10.2  | 972,293                        | 819,231      | -15.7  |
| Men's clothing                     | 47   | 1 wk.                     | 36,524                         | 28,400  | -22.2  | 1,278,315                      | 929,882      | -27.3  |
| Leather                            | 34   | "                         | 17,398                         | 10,230  | -40.9  | 458,804                        | 238,275      | -48.1  |
| Boots and<br>shoes                 | 86   | "                         | 72,962                         | 56,171  | -23.0  | 1,801,826                      | 1,311,456    | -27.2  |
| Paper making                       | 56   | "                         | 31,362                         | 23,702  | -24.4  | 849,170                        | 586,233      | -31.0  |
| Cigars                             | 56   | "                         | 17,681                         | 16,341  | -7.6   | 362,493                        | 305,075      | -15.8  |
| Coal (bitumin-<br>ous)             | 106  | ½ mon.                    | 24,714                         | 22,478  | -9.0   | 1,657,268                      | 1,276,620    | -23.0  |

Comparing the figures of April 1921 with those for identical establishments of April 1920, it appears that in all industries there were decreases in the number of persons employed. The largest decreases, 41.9 per cent. and 40.9 per cent., are shown in automobiles and leather. Iron and steel shows a decrease of 36.2 per cent., and hosiery and underwear a decrease of 32.2 per cent. The smallest decrease, 0.4 per cent., appears in cotton manufacturing. All fourteen industries show decreases in the total amount of the pay-roll for April 1921, as compared with April 1920. The most important percentage decrease, 53.8, is shown in iron and steel. Respective decreases of 48.1 per cent., 46.1 per cent., and 45 per cent., appear in the leather, hosiery and underwear, and the automobile industries. On the other hand, a comparison of the returns for the month of April with those for the previous month shows an increase in employment in eight industries out of the fourteen.

The largest increases in the number of persons on the pay-roll are 25.5 per cent. in automobiles and 22.3 in the woollen industry. Among the industries that show decreases may be noted car-building and repairing, 12.3 per cent.; paper making, 11.4 per cent.; and the leather industry, 11.3 per cent. In comparing April with March of this year seven industries show an increase in the amount of the pay-roll, and seven show a decrease. The most important increases are 55.7 per cent. in automobiles and 23.4 per cent. in the woollen industry. The chief decreases were recorded in the iron and steel industry, 20.4 per cent., and in bituminous coal mining, 15.9 per cent.

TABLE VII

|                               | Estab-<br>lish.<br>report-<br>ing for<br>March<br>and<br>April<br>1921 | Period<br>of pay-<br>roll | Number on<br>pay-roll in |               | Per<br>cent.<br>of incr.<br>(+)<br>or decr.<br>(-) | Amount of pay-roll<br>in |               | Per<br>cent.<br>of incr.<br>(+)<br>or decr.<br>(-) |
|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|--|--------------------------|---------------|--|
|                               |  |                           | March<br>1921            | April<br>1921 |  | March<br>1921            | April<br>1921 |  |
|                               |  |                           |                          |               |  | \$                       | \$            |  |
| Iron and steel                | 112  | ½ mon.                    | 131,965                  | 119,165       | - 9.7  | 8,016,149                | 6,384,265     | -20.4  |
| Automobiles                   | 47   | 1 wk.                     | 68,367                   | 85,802        | +25.5  | 1,744,588                | 2,716,208     | +55.7  |
| Car-building<br>and repairing | 60   | ½ mon.                    | 51,479                   | 45,150        | -12.3  | 3,418,414                | 3,032,022     | -11.3  |
| Cotton mfg.                   | 57   | 1 wk.                     | 57,003                   | 56,508        | - 0.9  | 988,568                  | 980,065       | - 0.9  |
| Cotton finish-<br>ing         | 15   | "                         | 11,148                   | 11,333        | + 1.7  | 245,729                  | 251,749       | + 2.4  |
| Hosiery and<br>underwear      | 61   | "                         | 22,891                   | 24,642        | + 7.6  | 378,621                  | 407,502       | + 7.6  |
| Woollen                       | 52   | "                         | 38,831                   | 47,506        | +22.3  | 871,666                  | 1,075,626     | +23.4  |
| Silk                          | 45   | 2 wk.                     | 16,998                   | 17,881        | + 5.2  | 773,411                  | 816,525       | + 5.6  |
| Men's clothing                | 51   | 1 wk.                     | 26,727                   | 28,603        | + 7.0  | 867,651                  | 937,023       | + 8.1  |
| Leather                       | 35   | "                         | 10,555                   | 9,365         | -11.3  | 225,680                  | 209,892       | - 7.0  |
| Roots and<br>shoes            | 85   | "                         | 55,590                   | 56,042        | + 0.8  | 1,324,674                | 1,305,620     | - 1.4  |
| Paper making                  | 59   | "                         | 27,670                   | 24,512        | -11.4  | 686,084                  | 609,778       | -11.1  |
| Cigars                        | 58   | "                         | 15,738                   | 16,612        | + 5.6  | 303,816                  | 309,461       | + 1.8  |
| Coal (bitumin-<br>ous)        | 56   | ½ mon.                    | 24,319                   | 21,810        | - 0.3  | 1,471,413                | 1,237,713     | -15.9  |

Returns of the state of employment in the United States are also published by the Employment Service of the Department of Labor. These are obtained from 1,424 representative firms employing as a rule more than 500 workers and situated in 65 principal industrial centres. The industries are classified under 14 heads. The following table shows the position at the end of April 1921, as compared with that at the end of the previous month and at the end of January 1921.

TABLE VIII

|  | Number on pay-roll |           |           | Perc. incr. (+)<br>decr. (-) in April<br>compared with |       |
|--|--------------------|-----------|-----------|--|-------|
|  | Jan. 31            | March 31  | April 30  |  |       |
|  |                    |           |           | March  | Jan.  |
| Food and kindred products                              | 137,444            | 129,688   | 125,725   | - 3.1  | - 8.5 |
| Textiles and their products                            | 223,705            | 238,542   | 247,137   | + 3.6  | +10.5 |
| Iron, steel and their prod.                            | 443,754            | 383,794   | 353,739   | - 7.8  | -20.3 |
| Lumber and its manufac-<br>ture                        | 24,018             | 24,599    | 23,496    | - 4.5  | - 2.2 |
| Leather and finished leather<br>products               | 39,385             | 43,185    | 45,236    | + 4.7  | +14.8 |
| Paper and printing                                     | 52,865             | 50,371    | 49,693    | - 1.3  | - 6.0 |
| Liquors and beverages                                  | 1,747              | 1,654     | 1,660     | + 0.3  | - 5.0 |
| Chemicals and allied products                          | 84,803             | 78,116    | 76,291    | - 2.3  | -10.4 |
| Stone, clay, and glass pro-<br>ducts                   | 15,102             | 14,378    | 13,921    | - 3.2  | - 7.8 |
| Metals and metal products<br>other than iron and steel | 79,664             | 76,282    | 74,574    | - 2.2  | - 6.4 |
| Tobacco manufactures                                   | 28,279             | 30,176    | 27,980    | - 7.3  | - 1.0 |
| Vehicles for land transpor-<br>tation                  | 93,852             | 142,878   | 174,864   | +22.3  | +86.3 |
| Railroad repair shops                                  | 63,118             | 57,584    | 53,616    | - 6.9  | -15.1 |
| Miscellaneous industries                               | 340,398            | 316,539   | 312,817   | - 1.2  | - 8.1 |
| Total  | 1,628,134          | 1,587,786 | 1,580,749 | - 0.4  | - 2.9 |

The comparison shows a very marked increase in employment in the manufacture of "vehicles for land transportation", 22.3 % since the previous month and 86.3 % since January. Increases have also been recorded in the leather and textile industries. The chief decreases were in the iron and steel industry, 20.3 % since January, railroad repair shops, 15.1 %, and the chemical industry, 10.4 %.

Yet another survey of employment in selected undertakings in the United States has been undertaken by the Federal Reserve Board. The enquiry covers establishments reporting 1,303,792 employees on the pay-roll on the date nearest 1 April 1921, and the results are published in the *Federal Reserve Bulletin* for May. In every district decreases in the number employed as compared with the preceding year were recorded. The total number on the date nearest 1 April 1920 was 1,737,717, so that the decrease during the year was 25 %. The decrease in the total amount of the pay-roll was from \$52,286,463 to \$36,726,380, or 29.8 %. The following table gives the returns classified according to industry.

TABLE IX

|                          | Number of employees on pay-roll |              |                                    | Amount of pay-roll |              |                                    |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------|------------------------------------|
|                          | 1920<br>Apr.                    | 1921<br>Apr. | per cent.<br>incr.<br>(+) dec. (—) | 1920<br>Apr.       | 1921<br>Apr. | per cent.<br>incr.<br>(+) dec. (—) |
| Textiles :               |                                 |              |                                    | \$                 | \$           |                                    |
| Cotton                   | 108,770                         | 88,884       | —18.2                              | 2,699,798          | 1,819,749    | —32.6                              |
| Wool                     | 26,727                          | 23,784       | —11.0                              | 772,745            | 609,972      | —21.1                              |
| Silk                     | 13,026                          | 11,683       | —10.4                              | 317,697            | 268,117      | —15.6                              |
| Clothing                 | 43,208                          | 33,417       | —22.6                              | 1,462,219          | 975,287      | —33.4                              |
| Boots and shoes          | 59,103                          | 45,950       | —22.3                              | 1,644,093          | 1,248,072    | —24.1                              |
| Lumber                   | 20,870                          | 15,063       | —27.8                              | 638,977            | 371,381      | —41.9                              |
| Building materials       | 21,052                          | 14,028       | —33.4                              | 697,185            | 416,665      | —40.2                              |
| » construction           | 21,305                          | 8,456        | —60.4                              | 471,246            | 211,481      | —55.1                              |
| Paper                    | 26,889                          | 24,261       | —9.8                               | 705,259            | 550,120      | —22.0                              |
| Meat packing             | 83,166                          | 64,532       | —22.4                              | 2,280,350          | 1,774,035    | —22.2                              |
| Iron and steel           | 168,751                         | 98,785       | —41.5                              | 6,019,819          | 2,714,773    | —54.9                              |
| Automobiles              | 84,845                          | 38,027       | —55.2                              | 3,085,754          | 1,135,616    | —63.2                              |
| Farm machinery           | 21,586                          | 13,555       | —37.2                              | 858,958            | 477,969      | —44.4                              |
| Electrical goods         | 50,588                          | 37,164       | —26.5                              | 1,557,510          | 1,062,521    | —31.7                              |
| Copper                   | 26,980                          | 16,640       | —38.3                              | 888,378            | 453,047      | —49.0                              |
| Oil                      | 22,643                          | 23,331       | + 3.0                              | 803,384            | 975,518      | +21.5                              |
| Rubber                   | 57,711                          | 20,798       | —64.0                              | 1,646,346          | 355,982      | —78.4                              |
| Printing                 | 14,202                          | 12,590       | —11.4                              | 479,738            | 441,762      | —7.9                               |
| Chemicals                | 12,813                          | 9,200        | —28.2                              | 465,055            | 238,081      | —48.8                              |
| Shipbuilding             | 32,453                          | 28,564       | —12.0                              | 1,005,161          | 1,038,729    | +3.3                               |
| Tobacco manu-<br>facture | 29,849                          | 24,282       | —18.6                              | 531,629            | 313,789      | —41.0                              |
| Public utilities         | 320,820                         | 300,360      | —6.4                               | 10,551,038         | 10,646,294   | + 0.9                              |

Apart from an increase in the case of oil, there were reductions in the number of employees in all industries, ranging from 6.4 % in public utility services to 64 % in the rubber industry. The decreases in building construction (60.4 %), in the automobile industry (55.2 %), and in the iron and steel industry (41.5 %) were also very heavy. The percentage reductions in aggregate pay-rolls were in most cases even larger than those in numbers employed. Increases were only shown in the oil industry (21.5 %) and in shipbuilding (3.3 %).

The considerable discrepancies that may be noted as between these three sets of returns can to a large extent be accounted for by differences in the method of classifying the industries.



# LABOUR CONDITIONS

## Some Index Numbers of Wages in the U. S. A.

### CHANGES IN TRADE UNION WAGE-SCALES 1907 TO 1920

THE following table, published by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics ('), shows in summarised form the changes in recent years in trade union wage-scales. The statements show, in the form of index numbers, the average rate of wages per hour, per week, and number of hours worked per week on full time. In each case 1913 is taken as the base=100. The wage figures are as of May each year for the following groups of occupations: bakers, building workers, enginemen and firemen, freight handlers, laundry workers, metal workers, printing and publishing, stone and granite cutters.

TABLE I

(Base: 1913=100)

|      | Rates<br>of wages per<br>hour | Full-time<br>hours per week | Rates of<br>wages per week,<br>full time |
|------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| 1907 | 90                            | 103                         | 92                                       |
| 1908 | 91                            | 102                         | 93                                       |
| 1909 | 92                            | 102                         | 93                                       |
| 1910 | 94                            | 101                         | 95                                       |
| 1911 | 96                            | 101                         | 96                                       |
| 1912 | 98                            | 100                         | 98                                       |
| 1913 | 100                           | 100                         | 100                                      |
| 1914 | 102                           | 100                         | 102                                      |
| 1915 | 103                           | 99                          | 102                                      |
| 1916 | 107                           | 99                          | 106                                      |
| 1917 | 114                           | 98                          | 112                                      |
| 1918 | 133                           | 97                          | 130                                      |
| 1919 | 155                           | 95                          | 148                                      |
| 1920 | 199                           | 94                          | 189                                      |

(') *Monthly Labor Review*, March 1921.

In order to give a comparison with the initial year, a table of index numbers computed from the same basic figures is given, with 1907 taken as the base=100.

TABLE II

(Base : 1907=100)

|      | Rates<br>of wages per<br>hour | Full-time<br>hours per week | Rates of<br>wages per week<br>full time |
|------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| 1908 | 101                           | 100                         | 101                                     |
| 1909 | 102                           | 99                          | 102                                     |
| 1910 | 105                           | 99                          | 104                                     |
| 1911 | 107                           | 98                          | 105                                     |
| 1912 | 109                           | 98                          | 107                                     |
| 1913 | 111                           | 97                          | 109                                     |
| 1914 | 114                           | 97                          | 111                                     |
| 1915 | 115                           | 97                          | 112                                     |
| 1916 | 119                           | 96                          | 116                                     |
| 1917 | 127                           | 96                          | 123                                     |
| 1918 | 148                           | 95                          | 142                                     |
| 1919 | 172                           | 92                          | 162                                     |
| 1920 | 222                           | 91                          | 206                                     |

It will be seen that the hourly rate of wages increased 99% from 1913 to 1920, or 122% from 1907 to 1920. The index numbers of full time hours per week decreased 6% from 1913 to 1920 and 9% since 1907. The index numbers for full time rates of wages per week, i.e. the earnings at the hourly rates for the full time hours per week, increased 89% in the period 1913 to 1920 or 106% from 1907-1920.

These index numbers are based on the minimum rates as provided in agreements between employers and trade unions. In some instances a considerable percentage of members are actually paid more than these collective agreements specify; the average wage received by trade unionists to some extent, therefore, exceeds the prevailing union rate. The following table shows for certain trades, for which data are available, the percentage of increase in rates of wages actually paid per week on full time in May 1920, as compared with 1913, in all cities reported. As in tables I and II, the figures are given in two forms, (a) the index number for 1920, compared with 1913 as a base=100, (b) the index number for 1920, compared with 1907 as a base=100.

TABLE III

|                         | Index Nos. of wages in 1920 |            |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|------------|
|                         | 1913 = 100                  | 1907 = 100 |
| <i>Baking trade</i>     |                             |            |
| Bakers                  | 234                         | 235        |
| <i>Building trade</i>   |                             |            |
| Bricklayers             | 173                         | 179        |
| Carpenters              | 192                         | 209        |
| Painters                | 190                         | 225        |
| Plumbers and gasfitters | 168                         | 187        |
| Masons                  | 180                         | 196        |
| <i>Metal trades</i>     |                             |            |
| Blacksmiths             | 189                         | 212        |
| Boiler makers           | 174                         | 200        |
| Moulders                | 206                         | 233        |
| Pattern makers          | 221                         | 246        |
| <i>Printing trades</i>  |                             |            |
| Bookbinders             | 204                         | 219        |
| Compositors             | 216                         | 244        |
| Machine operators       | 175                         | 190        |
| <i>Miscellaneous</i>    |                             |            |
| Granite cutters         | 189                         | 205        |

## WAGES OF MALE FARM LABOUR BETWEEN 1866 AND 1920

Table IV below gives the average rates of wages of male farm labourers in the United States in specified years, 1866 to 1920, as reported by the Department of Agriculture (\*). The average embraces all sections of the country.

For purposes of ready comparison with wage changes in other industries and with changes in the cost of living, index numbers have been computed for the years 1913 to 1920 inclusive; they are given in table V. Wages are quoted for workers engaged (a) by the month for a period of several months, (b) by the day during harvest time, and (c) by the day outside of the harvest season. A further sub-classification is made of workers boarded by their employers and of workers boarding themselves.

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(2) *Monthly Labor Review*, March 1921 and July 1920.

TABLE IV (\*)

|                                   | by the month |               | day labour at harvest |               | day labour not at harvest |               |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|---------------------------|---------------|
|                                   | with board   | without board | with board            | without board | with board                | without board |
|                                   | in dollars   |               |                       |               |                           |               |
| 1866                              | 17.45        | 26.87         | 1.74                  | 2.20          | 1.08                      | 1.49          |
| 1869                              | 16.55        | 25.92         | 1.74                  | 2.20          | 1.02                      | 1.41          |
| 1875                              | 12.72        | 19.87         | 1.35                  | 1.70          | 0.78                      | 1.08          |
| 1879                              | 10.43        | 16.42         | 1.00                  | 1.30          | 0.59                      | 0.81          |
| 1882                              | 12.41        | 18.34         | 1.15                  | 1.48          | 0.67                      | 0.93          |
| 1885                              | 12.34        | 17.97         | 1.10                  | 1.40          | 0.67                      | 0.91          |
| 1888                              | 12.36        | 18.24         | 1.02                  | 1.31          | 0.67                      | 0.92          |
| 1890                              | 12.45        | 18.33         | 1.02                  | 1.30          | 0.68                      | 0.92          |
| 1892                              | 12.54        | 18.60         | 1.02                  | 1.30          | 0.67                      | 0.92          |
| 1893                              | 13.29        | 19.10         | 1.03                  | 1.24          | 0.69                      | 0.89          |
| 1894                              | 12.16        | 17.74         | 0.93                  | 1.13          | 0.63                      | 0.81          |
| 1895                              | 12.02        | 17.69         | 0.92                  | 1.14          | 0.62                      | 0.81          |
| 1898                              | 13.43        | 19.38         | 1.05                  | 1.30          | 0.72                      | 0.96          |
| 1899                              | 14.07        | 20.23         | 1.12                  | 1.37          | 0.77                      | 1.01          |
| 1902                              | 16.40        | 22.14         | 1.34                  | 1.53          | 0.89                      | 1.13          |
| 1910                              | 19.21        | 27.50         | 1.45                  | 1.82          | 1.06                      | 1.38          |
| 1911                              | 20.18        | 28.77         | 1.49                  | 1.85          | 1.09                      | 1.42          |
| 1912                              | 20.81        | 29.58         | 1.54                  | 1.87          | 1.14                      | 1.47          |
| 1913                              | 21.38        | 30.31         | 1.57                  | 1.94          | 1.15                      | 1.50          |
| 1914                              | 21.05        | 29.88         | 1.55                  | 1.91          | 1.13                      | 1.45          |
| 1915                              | 21.26        | 30.15         | 1.56                  | 1.92          | 1.13                      | 1.47          |
| 1916                              | 23.25        | 32.83         | 1.69                  | 2.07          | 1.26                      | 1.62          |
| 1917                              | 28.87        | 40.43         | 2.08                  | 2.54          | 1.56                      | 2.02          |
| 1918                              | 34.92        | 48.80         | 2.65                  | 3.22          | 2.07                      | 2.63          |
| 1919                              | 39.82        | 56.29         | 3.15                  | 3.85          | 2.45                      | 3.12          |
| 1920                              | 46.89        | 64.95         | 3.60                  | 4.36          | 2.86                      | 3.59          |
| Index numbers (base : 1913 = 100) |              |               |                       |               |                           |               |
| 1914                              | 98           | 99            | 99                    | 98            | 97                        | 97            |
| 1915                              | 99           | 99            | 99                    | 99            | 97                        | 98            |
| 1916                              | 109          | 108           | 108                   | 107           | 109                       | 108           |
| 1917                              | 135          | 133           | 132                   | 131           | 135                       | 135           |
| 1918                              | 163          | 161           | 169                   | 166           | 178                       | 175           |
| 1919                              | 186          | 186           | 201                   | 197           | 211                       | 208           |
| 1920                              | 219          | 214           | 229                   | 225           | 247                       | 239           |

(\*) From the Reports of the Department of Agriculture.

## INDEX NUMBERS OF WAGES PER HOUR, 1840 TO 1920

In reply to many enquiries for a general wage index, that might be used for comparison with general index numbers of changes in cost of living and in wholesale prices, the Bureau of Labor Statistics has prepared the following table from all sources accessible <sup>(3)</sup>.

(3) *Monthly Labor Review*, February 1921.

TABLE V  
(Base: 1913 = 100)

| Index number |    | Index number |    | Index number |    | Index number |        |
|--------------|----|--------------|----|--------------|----|--------------|--------|
| 1840         | 33 | 1860         | 39 | 1880         | 60 | 1900         | 73     |
| 1841         | 34 | 1861         | 40 | 1881         | 62 | 1901         | 74     |
| 1842         | 33 | 1862         | 41 | 1882         | 63 | 1902         | 77     |
| 1843         | 33 | 1863         | 44 | 1883         | 64 | 1903         | 80     |
| 1844         | 32 | 1864         | 50 | 1884         | 64 | 1904         | 80     |
| 1845         | 33 | 1865         | 58 | 1885         | 64 | 1905         | 82     |
| 1846         | 34 | 1866         | 61 | 1886         | 64 | 1906         | 85     |
| 1847         | 34 | 1867         | 63 | 1887         | 67 | 1907         | 89     |
| 1848         | 35 | 1868         | 65 | 1888         | 67 | 1908         | 89     |
| 1849         | 36 | 1869         | 66 | 1889         | 68 | 1909         | 90     |
| 1850         | 35 | 1870         | 67 | 1890         | 69 | 1910         | 93     |
| 1851         | 34 | 1871         | 68 | 1891         | 69 | 1911         | 95     |
| 1852         | 35 | 1872         | 69 | 1892         | 69 | 1912         | 97     |
| 1853         | 35 | 1873         | 69 | 1893         | 69 | 1913         | 100    |
| 1854         | 37 | 1874         | 67 | 1894         | 67 | 1914         | 102    |
| 1855         | 38 | 1875         | 67 | 1895         | 68 | 1915         | 103    |
| 1856         | 39 | 1876         | 64 | 1896         | 69 | 1916         | 111    |
| 1857         | 40 | 1877         | 61 | 1897         | 69 | 1917         | 128    |
| 1858         | 39 | 1878         | 60 | 1898         | 69 | 1918         | 162    |
| 1859         | 39 | 1879         | 59 | 1899         | 70 | 1919(a)      | 184(a) |
|              |    |              |    |              |    | 1920(b)      | 234(b) |

(a) This index number applies to the spring of the year; subsequent wage-rates advanced.

(b) This index number applies to the summer of 1920, and probably represents the wage-peak of the year.

## The Adjustment of Wages to the Cost of Living

THE phenomenal rise in the cost of living since July 1914 has naturally brought in its train, throughout the years 1914 to 1920, successive demands from the workers for increased wages. When prices are rapidly rising, whatever the cause of the rise, wages usually lag behind; the result is labour discontent and strikes. When the first price increases began to be seriously felt, wage advances were generally secured by a rule of thumb method, but by the time the agreements had been concluded and put into force, a further rise in the cost of living had taken place, which led to new demands on the part of the workers. Prices moved so quickly that in many countries it became evident that, instead of new demands and negotiations every few months, a far better

and simpler system would be to adopt a sliding-scale, by which in the future wages would be increased or decreased automatically in accordance with ascertained changes in the cost of living. In many countries, the Government Statistical Departments periodically publish index numbers, showing the estimated changes in the cost of living for a normal worker's family (1), and this figure has generally been accepted by both employers and workers as the scale by which wages should be adjusted.

It is of interest to see how this principle is actually applied. The following Notes have been prepared, showing the principal schemes which are, or which have been, in force in certain important countries.

### AUSTRALIA

In Australia, statutory bodies exist for the establishment of minimum wages. Under the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act, a Basic Wage Commission was set up in 1919, to enquire into the actual cost of living at the present time, and to consider methods for an automatic adjustment of the basic minimum wage to the rise and fall in the purchasing power of the sovereign. The Commission, reporting in 1920, found the cost of living for a family of five varied from £5 6s. 2d. in Brisbane to £5 17s. 0d. in Sydney.

In New South Wales, the Industrial and Arbitration Act (Section 79 (1)) set up a Board of Trade, one of whose duties was to "make from year to year a public enquiry into the increase or decrease in the average cost of living" with a view to establishing certain minimum wages. When the first "living wage" judgment was delivered in 1914, it stated that "the labourer's wage should move up and down in accordance with the changes in the purchasing power of the sovereign as determined by the Commonwealth statistics". For 1914 the amount fixed was £2 8s. 0d. Since then it has been several times increased, and under the latest finding of November 1920 it is £4 5s. 0d. per week, 14s. 2d. a day, or ls. 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d. per hour; for women, it is half these amounts. As in New Zealand, these are minimum rates only, and "secondary minima" may be fixed for different industries, having regard to questions of skill, etc.

### AUSTRIA

By the Act of 8 November 1919 (*Besoldungs-Uebergangsgesetz*) a sliding-scale of salaries for Government servants was introduced, based upon the cost of living. This Act provides that, in addition to a fixed indemnity of 2,400 crowns, each civil servant shall receive a bonus fluctuating according to variations

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(1) Cf. *Retail Price Fluctuations* p. 116 of this Review.

in the official prices of flour, fats, and sugar, as calculated by comparison with the prices on 1 November 1919. The amount of bonus varies from 45 % to 75 % of the fixed bonus, according to the grade of the official and to locality.

The Metal Workers' Association of Vienna also entered into an agreement with the Employers' Associations in December 1919 for a sliding-scale of wages. Every two months a joint committee fixes the rate of increase or decrease according to the prices of certain articles of food and other necessities. For December 1919 and January 1920 the bonus was fixed at 33 % for men and 15 % for women and youths ; for February 1920 it was fixed at 53 % and 33 % respectively.

## BELGIUM

In the principal branches of industry the index number of retail prices published by the *Revue du Travail* is taken as the basis for adjusting wages to fluctuations in the cost of living. In the case of the mining industry the National Joint Mines Commission has passed the following regulations.

### *Adjustment of Wages to Fluctuations in the Cost of Living*

...*Article 4.* Wages shall vary according to the general average index number of retail prices of the Kingdom, published monthly by the *Revue du Travail*.

*Article 5.* Wages for the month of April 1920 shall correspond to the index number 420 (average general index number for the Kingdom on 15 February 1920, which is the first basic index number), and wages shall vary hereafter, in accordance with the following procedure :

Whereas the index number 445 of 15 March 1920 published in the *Revue du Travail* exceeded the basic index number by 5.95 per cent., i.e. by over 4½ per cent., wages shall be increased by 5 per cent. as from 1 June, and the wages thus increased shall correspond to the new index number 441, which is the index number 420 increased by 5 per cent.

Whereas the index number 461 of 15 April 1920 published in the *Revue du Travail* exceeded the previous index number 441 by 4.53 per cent., i.e. by over 4½ per cent., wages shall be increased by 5 per cent. as from the first Sunday in July, and the wages thus increased shall correspond to the new index number 463, which is the previous index number 441 increased by 5 per cent.

Thus, whenever the index number of the *Revue du Travail* exceeds the previous index number by at least 4½ per cent., 9½ per cent., or 14½ per cent., the wages in force shall be increased by 5, 10, 15 per cent., and so forth, and the new wages shall correspond to a new basic index number equal to the preceding index number, increased respectively by 5, 10, 15 per cent., and so forth.

*Article 6.* When the index number published by the *Revue du Travail* falls, wages and the index number may be decreased by an inverse process.

*Article 7.* If for any reason wages are not decreased when the index number of the *Revue du Travail* allows of a decrease, the basic index number shall not be changed, and the previous basic index number, in accordance with which wages have been adjusted, shall be taken as the basis for further fluctuations in wages.

*Article 8.* If there is to be an adjustment in wages, it shall begin as from the first Sunday of the third month following the date of the index number published by the *Revue du Travail*.

Collective agreements based on a similar principle, but differing in methods of application, were concluded in the boiler-making industry as from 22 November 1918, in the wood and furniture industry for the period from 1 March 1920 to 28 February 1921, by resolution of the National Committee for the wood and furniture industry, in the engineering industry, by agreement recorded by the National Committee for the engineering industry, in the leather industry (Verviers currying works), and also in a certain number of special cases, a list of which was published in the *Revue du Travail*.

Again, the Government has granted to its employees, whether manual or non-manual, permanent, provisional, or temporary workers, a cost of living bonus varying in accordance with the following regulation.

*Order of the Ministry of Finance dated 11 July 1920*

(43) The cost of living bonus shall increase or decrease according to the rise or fall in the level of prices, as recorded by the index numbers published periodically by the Ministry of Industry, Labour, and Food.

The increase or decrease shall be effected by thirds, corresponding to 60 units of the index number (average for the whole of the country).

Present rates of wages correspond to the index number 480.

## CANADA

The system of adjusting wages according to a cost of living index has been adopted in several cases on the Pacific Coast. The following are the chief instances.

*(1) Coal miners : Vancouver Island*

In January 1919 a Joint Commission of three (one miner, one manager, and the Fair Wages Officer of the Canadian Department of Labour) was set up, to determine every three months the change in the cost of living and to report the amount by which wages should be increased or decreased. The system adopted is to send out questionnaires to the shopkeepers with whom the miners are accustomed to deal ; from these is determined the percentage increase or decrease of prices of food on those of the previous quarter ; to this is added a further two-fifths of increase or decrease to cover a rise or fall in the price of clothing. This percentage is applied to the basic wage in order to adjust wages.

*(2) Gas workers : Vancouver Town*

An agreement in July 1918 between the Vancouver Gas Company and the Gas Workers' Union provided that wages should be adjusted every quarter in accordance with the cost of living index number published by the Canadian Government for British Columbia. As this index number

does not include clothing and other necessities, estimates for these were, by agreement, included by the Arbitrator. The figure arrived at for June 1919 was taken as a basis. For example, the official figures for food, fuel, lighting, and rent showed an increase for the standard family budget of 48 cents per week from June 1919 to September 1919. The Arbitrator estimated that clothing and other necessities cost an additional 32 cents, making a total of 80 cents a week. Allowing 44 hours work a week, the increase in wages was fixed at  $1\frac{3}{4}$  cents per hour, which was paid from October 1919.

### (3) *Shipbuilding Employees: Pacific Coast*

An agreement similar to that made on behalf of the gas workers was entered into in June 1918 by the shipbuilding unions and the employers. The prices published for the three cities of Vancouver, Victoria, and New Westminster were used for comparison, and allowances were made for clothing and other items not included in the official statistics.

## DENMARK

In Denmark, the regulation of salaries in accordance with the cost of living has been applied by law to all Government servants; in addition, an agreement entered into in April 1920 between the Danish Employers' Federation and the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions applies the same principle to a large body of workpeople.

### (1) *Government Servants*

The Act by which salaries are adjusted to meet changes in the cost of living is dated 12 September 1919. Its chief provisions are here summarised.

Information is obtained for the first week of January, April, July, and October as to prices of food, clothing, fuel, and light; information about rent is obtained once a year. The cost of a household budget is calculated for the two half-yearly periods, April-September and October-March. The results of these calculations govern salaries for the next six months. For the period October 1919 to March 1920, the bonus fixed was, for officials with family, 39 % of salary with a minimum of 702 kroner per annum; for other officials, 20 % of salary with a minimum of 360 kroner per annum. After March 1920 the bonus is calculated as follows: for every 3 % by which the cost of living calculated as above exceeds or falls below the cost of living figure for July 1919, the bonus is increased or decreased by 54 kroner per annum for employees with family, and 36 kroner for others. If man and wife are both entitled to bonus, the bonus is allotted to one only.

*(2) Private Employees*

By an agreement of 5 April 1920 between the Danish Employers' Federation and the Danish Trade Union Federation, it is provided that, if the official index number of the cost of living for 1 August shows an increase when compared with that for February, a bonus will be paid of 2 ore per hour for every 3 points of the increase.

## FRANCE

Apparently no general agreements exist in France by which wages are automatically regulated for an industry by reference to the official index numbers of prices published by the French Government. This is no doubt partly due to the fact that the only statistics published by the French Government for the whole country relate to prices of 13 common articles of food, and take no account of clothing, rent, coal, and other important items.

Numerous local committees have been established as a result of the Decree of 10 February 1921 setting up a National Committee and District Committees to follow the movements in the cost of living. At Lyons, for example, in consequence of new demands made in July 1919 for increased salaries to meet the increased cost of living, the employers and the book and printing trade proposed, with a view to avoiding future disputes, "that a joint committee of three employers and three workers should be set up to investigate the cost of living in order to establish a bonus". Similar committees for the clothing and cooperage industries have also been established in that city. At Nantes, Bordeaux, and Havre, joint committees exist in the mechanical construction and printing trades, and for dock labour. In addition, a large number of collective agreements in miscellaneous occupations provide for the setting up of committees to investigate the cost of living. Apparently, the figures of the cost of living established by these committees are used as a basis for augmenting wages, but not as a method for increases or decreases on an automatic system.

## GERMANY

At Flensburg a joint committee, composed of representatives of the Federation of Trade Unions and of employers' organisations in general, has been nominated for the purpose of establishing a sliding wage-scale to permit of wages being adjusted to fluctuations in the cost of living. This committee, of which the director of the Labour and Wages Office is chairman, has taken as basis in estimating the cost of living the weekly expenditure which had to be met by a normal individual in January 1920; the committee adopted as the corresponding wage basis the average hourly wage paid in the course of the same month to workers in twelve different

trades. The cost of living is revised monthly, in accordance with the results of enquiries in various official and private establishments, instituted by the Office. We give below a table showing

- (a) the weekly expenditure of a normal individual during the months of January, February, and March 1920;
- (b) the average hourly wages paid during these three months to workers in twelve different industries.

TABLE I

| (a)<br>Weekly expenditure        |            |             |             |             | (b)<br>Wages per hour |             |             |             |
|----------------------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|                                  | quantities | 1 Jan. 1921 | 1 Feb. 1920 | 1 Mar. 1920 | occupation            | 1 Jan. 1920 | 1 Feb. 1920 | 1 Mar. 1920 |
|                                  | grammes    | Marks       | Marks       | Marks       |                       | Marks       | Marks       | Marks       |
| Bread                            | 2,400      | 1.55        | 2.55        | 2.70        | Printers              | 2.90        | 3.20        | 3.53        |
| Meat (with food card)            | 180        | 1.50        | 1.50        | 1.50        | Bakers                | 2.50        | 2.80        | 3.13        |
| Meat (without food card)         | 70         | 1.15        | 1.15        | 1.15        | Binders               | 2.50        | 2.80        | 3.13        |
| Potatoes                         | 3,500      | 1.40        | 1.40        | 1.40        | Building workers      | 3.00        | 3.30        | 3.63        |
| Butter (with food card)          | 70         | 0.84        | 1.02        | 1.62        | Joiners               | 3.25        | 3.55        | 3.88        |
| Margarine (with food card)       | 180        | 4.74        | 3.92        | 3.35        | Tailors               | 2.60        | 2.90        | 3.23        |
| Sugar (with food card)           | 170        | 0.44        | 0.60        | 0.51        | Shoemakers            | 3.00        | 3.30        | 3.63        |
| Skimmed milk                     | 1 litre    | 0.35        | 0.35        | 0.70        | Coopers               | 3.00        | 3.33        | 3.63        |
| Fresh fish                       | 500        | 2.30        | 2.50        | 2.60        | Upholsterers          | 2.80        | 3.10        | 3.43        |
| Farinaceous foods and vegetables | 500        | 1.92        | 2.50        | 2.50        | Papermakers           | 2.70        | 3.00        | 3.33        |
| Total for food                   |            | 16.19       | 17.49       | 18.03       | Shipyards workers     | 2.70        | 3.00        | 3.33        |
| Gas                              |            | 1.56        | 1.83        | 2.31        | Transport workers     | 2.40        | 2.70        | 3.03        |
| Coal                             |            | 4.16        | 6.15        | 8.20        |                       |             |             |             |
| Wood (beech)                     |            | 1.25        | 1.30        | 1.40        |                       |             |             |             |
| Rent                             |            | 4.50        | 4.50        | 4.50        | Total                 | 33.35       | 36.95       | 40.91       |
| Taxes                            |            | 4.23        | 4.23        | 4.23        |                       |             |             |             |
| Boots                            |            | 4.50        | 5.00        | 6.00        | Average hourly wage   | 2.75        | 3.05        | 3.40        |
| Clothing                         |            | 6.00        | 6.50        | 7.50        |                       |             |             |             |
| Grand total                      |            | 42.39       | 47.00       | 52.17       |                       |             |             |             |

Whenever an increase in the cost of living is recorded, the average wage taken as the basis for calculation is increased in the same proportion; it should be noted, however, that it is only in the case of workers over 23 years of age that wages

follow exactly the fluctuations in the cost of living. Wages of workers from 20 to 23 years of age are increased in a proportion equal to five-sixths of the rise in the cost of living; in the case of women and workers under 20 years of age the proportion is reduced to five-tenths. The increase in wages is not calculated for each industry separately, but for the whole of the twelve groups which are taken as basis, so that the cost of living bonus is the same for all workers, whatever the group to which they belong. For example, the average minimum wage per hour of a worker over 23 years of age in January 1920 was 2.75 marks, while the weekly expenses of that same person, which were 42.39 marks in January, rose to 47 marks in February; the increase in the cost of living in one month was, therefore, 11 per cent. As a result of this increase, calculated according to the hourly wage given above, the workers were, therefore, entitled to the following increases in wages for every hour's work:—

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| workers over 23 years of age           | 30 pfg. |
| workers from 20 to 23 years of age     | 25 pfg. |
| workers under 20 and all women workers | 15 pfg. |

## NEW ZEALAND

In New Zealand the system of wage adjustment has been applied by the Arbitration Court, which is a statutory body for the settlement of industrial disputes. In 1919 an amendment was passed to the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, providing that the Court should have power to amend any award or industrial agreement in regard to wages to meet any alterations in the cost of living that may have taken place since the award or agreement, and a system of adjusting wages half-yearly was begun, on the basis of increased prices as published by the Government Statistician. These decisions apply only to legal minimum wages, and it is quite open to employers and workers to enter into agreements providing for the payment of wages higher than the minima established by the Arbitration Court.

## NORWAY

In Norway, according to *Arbeidsgiveren*, only one agreement has been entered into by the Norwegian Employers' Federation for regulating wages on a sliding-scale. This agreement referred to the railway service at Luossa-vaara and was drawn up in March 1919. To the basic wage is added 6.25 kroner per annum for each unit by which the cost of living index number published by the Norwegian Government exceeds 100. At the present time, when the cost of living index stands at 335 %, a bonus of 1,469 kroner ( $235 \times 6.25$ ) per annum is given. The bonus will entirely disappear if the cost of living falls to the pre-war level, i.e. if the index number falls to 100.

## POLAND

The attempt to make wages keep pace with the cost of living has been the most frequent cause of the industrial disputes which have occurred in Poland since the war. The Council of Ministers, by Decree dated 27 May 1920, set up a commission to study the rise in the cost of living of workers employed in industry and commerce. This commission was attached to the Central Statistical Office. It met every month, and on the bases of a family budget, drawn up by the Inter-Ministerial Commission, and of prices supplied by the Statistical Office, established the cost of upkeep of a working-class family. The results of its labours are published regularly in the official organ, the *Polish Monitor*, and thus enable industrial and commercial, as also state and municipal, establishments to adapt their wage-scales to the cost of living, and so enable workers and employers to arrive more easily at an understanding. At first the commission functioned only at Warsaw. A Decree, dated 14 September 1920 and published in the *Polish Monitor* of 11 October, has set up similar commissions at Poznan, Lodz, and Sosnowiec. These commissions are made up of one delegate each from the Ministries of Labour, Health, and Food, a representative of the local magistracy, two representatives of the workers' organisations, and one representative of the employers' organisations. The president of each commission is nominated by the director of the Statistical Office. Their work and procedure are similar to the Warsaw commission, but this latter exercises, in conjunction with the Statistical Office, a right of control and supervision over these local commissions.

## SWEDEN

An interesting scheme of adjusting wages to the cost of living is provided by the agreement made in June 1919 by the Swedish (private) railway employees. This provides not only for a fixed percentage increase based on the cost of living index number, but also for a fixed money addition to wages. In addition, an allowance is given for wife and for children under 15. This allowance also fluctuates with the cost of living. The complete scheme is given in the following table.

TABLE II

| Percentage increase in cost of living according to the official index number | Percentage increases on the ordinary salaries | Family allowance (a year) |                     | Extra allowance per day |                      |             |            |
|--|---|---------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-------------|------------|
|  |   | wife                      | each child under 13 | District I              | Districts II and III | District IV | District V |
|  | (1)   | (2)<br>kr.                | (3)<br>kr.          | (4)<br>kr.              | (5)<br>kr.           | (6)<br>kr.  | (7)<br>kr. |
| 172—163  | 50  | 90                        | 30                  | 2.70                    | 2.55                 | 1.95        | 1.70       |
| 162—153  | 47  | 75                        | 25                  | 2.50                    | 2.43                 | 1.86        | 1.63       |
| 152—143  | 44  | 60                        | 20                  | 2.43                    | 2.30                 | 1.77        | 1.55       |
| 142—133  | 41  | 45                        | 15                  | 2.30                    | 2.18                 | 1.69        | 1.48       |
| 132—123  | 38  | 30                        | 10                  | 2.17                    | 2.05                 | 1.60        | 1.41       |
| 122—113  | 35  | —                         | —                   | 2.09                    | 1.98                 | 1.56        | 1.39       |
| 112—103  | 32  | —                         | —                   | 1.72                    | 1.82                 | 1.44        | 1.28       |
| 102—93   | 29  | —                         | —                   | 1.73                    | 1.64                 | 1.30        | 1.15       |
| 92—83  | 26  | —                         | —                   | 1.55                    | 1.47                 | 1.16        | 1.03       |
| 82—73  | 23  | —                         | —                   | 1.37                    | 1.30                 | 1.03        | 0.91       |
| 72—63  | 20  | —                         | —                   | 1.20                    | 1.14                 | 0.90        | 0.80       |
| 62—53  | 17  | —                         | —                   | 1.02                    | 0.97                 | 0.77        | 0.68       |
| 52—43  | 14  | —                         | —                   | 0.84                    | 0.80                 | 0.63        | 0.56       |
| 42—33  | 11  | —                         | —                   | 0.66                    | 0.63                 | 0.50        | 0.44       |
| 32—23  | 8   | —                         | —                   | 0.48                    | 0.46                 | 0.36        | 0.32       |
| 22—13  | 5   | —                         | —                   | 0.30                    | 0.29                 | 0.23        | 0.20       |
| 12—3   | 2   | —                         | —                   | 0.12                    | 0.11                 | 0.09        | 0.08       |

The Government of Sweden has adopted a system of paying cost of living bonuses to its officials. Under this plan the percentage increase over the base period as shown by the official index number is reduced by  $\frac{1}{2}\%$  and the result is taken as the base figure (*grundtal*). This reduced percentage was applied to all salaries up to 85 kronor per month. On salaries between 85 and 1,250 kronor per month this percentage was applied to the first 85 kronor and 55% of this percentage applied to the remainder of the salary. For example, if the increase in the cost of living was estimated at 144%, a bonus of 128% was added to all salaries up to 85 kronor a month; a salary of 600 kronor received 128% on 85 kronor plus 70.4% on 515 kronor. Above 1,250 kronor, no bonus is paid on the salary in excess of that figure.

#### UNITED KINGDOM

In the United Kingdom a large number of agreements have been made between employers and workers for the regular and automatic adjustment of wage-rates in accordance with variations in the cost of living. The official statistics published each month by the Ministry of Labour are almost invariably taken as a basis; but in some cases it is arranged that the increases or decreases shall be flat-rate money amounts, in other cases the changes take the form of a percentage addition to the standard or basic

rates. The railway Agreement is an example of the former and the woollen industry Agreement an example of the latter.

The most important agreements for adjusting wages according to changes in the cost of living, in addition to those first mentioned, have been made by the bleaching and dyeing trade, the Civil Service, and the police and municipal services. Particulars of these Agreements are given below. It is estimated that nearly 1½ million workers in the United Kingdom are covered by agreements of this kind.

### *Railway Service*

For adult male workers engaged in the manipulation of traffic, Agreements made during the present year provide that, for each rise or fall of 5 full points in the Ministry of Labour index figure, there shall be an increase or decrease of ls. in weekly rates of wages ; but however great the fall in the index figure may be, wages are not to fall below certain fixed minima, which are generally at least 100 per cent. above the average pre-war rates of the respective grades. The necessary adjustments in wages are considered at meetings of the General Wages Board in March, June, September, and December, and are based on the index figure published by the Ministry of Labour in those months. The wage-rates established continue for the three ensuing months. In considering the index figure only multiples of 5 points are taken into account. Similar arrangements are made by Agreements covering the clerical staffs, and the supervisory and traffic control staffs, except that the increase or decrease for salaried persons is £5 a year, and for those paid at weekly rates 2s. a week (1s. 6d. in the case of female clerks), for every rise or fall of 5 full points in the index figure.

### *Woollen Industry*

Agreements arrived at by the National Wool (and Allied) Textile Industrial Council provide for the payment of a variable "cost of living wage", in addition to basic wages, to workers in Yorkshire engaged in woolcombing and carbonising, wool, mohair, and alpaca sorting, woollen and worsted spinning and manufacturing, and to warehousemen in the various sections. The "cost of living wage" for time workers is fixed at 145 per cent. on basic rates when the Ministry of Labour index figure stands at 145 per cent. above the pre-war level, with variations of 10 per cent. on basic wages for every rise or fall of 10 full points in the index figure above or below 145. The adjustments of wages take effect from the pay day in the month following the issue of the *Labour Gazette* in which the index figure shows variations of 10 points or more. The maximum basic rate on which the "cost of living wage" for time workers is calculated is 34s. 6d. per week,

or 80 per cent. of the actual basic wage, whichever is the greater. For piece workers the "cost of living wage" and the amounts of variation differ from those applicable to time workers. For such workers the "cost of living wage" corresponds to an index figure of 145, and the rise or fall for every variation of ten points is as follows.

TABLE III

|                              | "Cost of living wage"<br>for index figure<br>of 145 | Rise or fall for every<br>variation of 10 points<br>in index figure |
|------------------------------|---|---|
| (1)                          | (2)<br>per cent.                                    | (3)<br>per cent.  |
| Spinning and manufacturing   |   |   |
| male piece workers           | 119.783   | 8.261   |
| female piece workers         | 126.087   | 8.695   |
| Pressers and blanket raisers | 94.565  | 6.522   |
| Wool sorting (piece workers) |   |   |
| Colonial wool                | 105.000   | 7.240   |
| English                      | 115.500   | 7.960   |

The figures in the third column are those of the second divided by 145 and multiplied by 10. The bonus therefore disappears when the index figure falls to the pre-war level.

### *Bleaching and Dyeing*

In Yorkshire, the wages of workers employed in this industry are regulated under two Agreements, both of which provide that, when the Ministry of Labour index figure is 100 per cent. or more above pre-war level, the "cost of living wage" for time workers is the equivalent percentage on basis rates, and for piece workers it is a percentage equal to 80 per cent. of the index figure. When the increase in the index figure falls below 100%, there is to be a variation for time workers of 0.8426 per cent. for each rise or fall of 1 per cent. in the index figure, while for piece workers the "cost of living wage" is to be four-fifths of the percentage paid to time workers. Should the increase fall to 40 per cent., the scale is subject to reconsideration. The fluctuations under the scale are considered by a Reference Committee in October, January, April, and July, the index figure taken into account being that published in these months.

### *Civil Service*

A bonus scheme fluctuating with the cost of living was instituted in April 1920 for permanent government servants. As from 1 March 1920, when the official index number showed an increase of 130% over that of July 1914, the bonus was fixed at 130 per cent. on the first 35s. per week of ordinary remuneration, 60 per cent. on the next £108 15s. per annum,

and 45 per cent. on remuneration in excess of £200 and up to a total of £1,000 per annum. The total is increased or decreased by 1/26th of this bonus for every 5 full points of variation in the average index figure above or below 130. The revision takes place every four months up to 1 March 1921, and thereafter every six months, the index figure used being the average of those published for the preceding four or six months as the case may be.

### *Police Service*

In September last a committee appointed by the Home Secretary recommended the adoption of an arrangement whereby there should be granted to members of the police force in England and Wales a bonus varying with the Ministry of Labour index figure of cost of living. Under this arrangement the police forces are divided into three categories : (a) metropolitan police ; large borough forces and county forces in areas which are wholly or mainly industrial ; (b) forces of an intermediate character ; (c) county forces of the rural, or mainly rural, counties and small borough forces. It was provided that no "cost of living bonus" should accrue until the index figure has passed 130 for forces in category (a), 140 for those in category (b), and 150 for those in category (c); and that, for every 5 complete points by which the index figure exceeds these basic figures, increases in pay as non-pensionable bonus should be given, amounting, in the case of married men, to 2s., 1s. 10d., and 1s. 9d. for constables in forces in categories (a), (b), and (c) respectively, with 3d. extra for sergeants and 6d. extra for inspectors. For single men the bonus recommended is one half of that for married men. The bonus is to be assessed every six months, on 1 April and 1 October, the average of the index figures for the previous six months being taken as a basis. These recommendations have already been put into operation in a large number of police forces.

### *Municipal Services*

In London, a recommendation of the District Council of the Joint Industrial Council for Local Authorities (Non-Trading Services), which has been adopted by nearly all the authorities concerned within the London County Council area, provides that, when the Ministry of Labour index figure is at 140, a bonus shall be paid of 160 per cent. on wages up to 30s. a week, 70 per cent. on the next 50s., and 45 per cent. on the balance, if any. This bonus is subject to a variation of 1/28th increase or decrease for every 5 points of variation in the index figure from 140, such changes to take effect every three months, commencing from 1 May 1920.

### UNITED STATES

In the United States, relatively few examples exist of the automatic adjustment of wages to the cost of living. Con-

ditions vary so considerably from one part of the country to another, that national agreements such as those entered into between employers and employed in the United Kingdom, Sweden, and other countries are not usual. During the war, the Shipbuilding Wage Adjustment Board adopted a system of adjusting wages in accordance with the Bureau of Labor Statistics index number every six months, and many of the decisions of the War Labor Board contained provisions for increasing wages according to the rise in the cost of living. A large number of private firms also adopted the system, and in many cases the cost of living bonus was paid in a separate envelope, showing exactly how the amount was arrived at. This was known as the "H.C.L." (High Cost of Living) envelope, and the method was stated to be a great inducement to saving. In some cases Bradstreet's index number of wholesale prices was used; in others, index numbers published by the National Industrial Conference Board, and in others again the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics index number of food prices. However, it should be added that organised labour in America is opposed to the adjustment of wages on the basis of the cost of living. The American Federation of Labor, at its annual Convention in June of this year, condemned the practice.

One scheme adopted recently, in January 1921, by a municipality for payment of salaries in the various city departments is that of St. Paul, Minnesota. The chief provisions of the scheme are the following. Certain standard salaries are laid down for each grade, and these standards are deemed to be the adequate standard salary rates for living conditions such as prevailed in the year 1916. The cost of living is deemed to have risen 60 per cent. since 1916, and on all grades having a basic commencing salary of 75 dollars per month or under, an addition of 60 per cent. is added. For the grades above 75 dollars a smaller percentage is added, varying from 55% to 20% for the higher grade having a basic commencing salary of 250 dollars per month. These salaries remain in force until 1 January 1922, on which date, and on 1 January of each succeeding year, the percentages are to be revised according to the index number of the retail prices of food published by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. The average index number of the previous twelve months is taken, and from this is computed the average increase or decrease over the 1916 index number. This index number of food prices is then reduced by 20 per cent. to give the index number of the cost of living as a whole. If this latter resulting increase is higher or lower than 60%, an addition or deduction is made, as the case may be, in the additional percentages for salaries under 75 dollars a month, by increasing or decreasing the 60% to correspond with the new resulting increase and by revising the percentages for the grades above 75 dollars a month to correspond proportionately with the change made in the percentage for grades below 75 dollars a month.

## Conciliation and Arbitration in Collective Labour Disputes in France

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THE first French Act on conciliation and arbitration in collective labour disputes was promulgated on 27 December 1892. The Act merely organised a procedure, which it places at the disposal of the parties, furnishing them with the means of coming to an understanding, but without any compulsion. The 1892 Act is still the basis of legislation, but during the war special additional regulations were issued for factories declared to be munitions works.

Moreover, since the date of the passing of the 1892 Act, governments and parliament, feeling the need for something more, tried to introduce legislation of a compulsory character for conciliation procedure, which should apply to all industries, and even attempted to introduce compulsory arbitration for public establishments. Thus, during the last twenty years the Chamber has had before it a whole series of Bills and proposals, ending with the Bill introduced on 9 March 1920 by Messrs. Millerand and Jourdain. This Bill will shortly come up for debate.

The present article will review legislation now in force, such Bills and schemes of reform as were introduced or suggested between 1892 and 1920, and, thirdly, the 1920 Bill now before the Chamber, together with the counter-schemes which have since been put forward.

### CURRENT LEGISLATION

The main features of the Act of 27 December 1892 are the following.

It imposes no obligation on the parties to have recourse to the proposed conciliation and arbitration procedure before declaring a strike.

It sets up no permanent organisation; the conciliation and arbitration committees, whose constitution and functions it determines, are essentially temporary and *ad hoc* bodies.

For directing procedure and assisting the parties in their discussions, the Act calls in the magistrate (*juge de paix*) of the canton or of one of the cantons in which the dispute has arisen, apparently on account of the permanent character of the jurisdiction exercised by such persons and of the

conciliation functions which they already carry out in the civil actions coming under them. Such magistrate cannot, however, be chosen as arbitrator himself. He may intervene in two distinct ways, either on the demand of the parties or on his own initiative, but only when a strike has actually been declared. In the first case, employers, workers or employees submit to him, together or separately, personally or through their legal representatives, a statement in writing of their intention to have recourse to conciliation or arbitration, together with :

- (1) the names, descriptions, and addresses of the parties making the request or of their representatives;
- (2) the subject of the dispute;
- (3) the names, descriptions, and addresses of the parties to whom the proposal is to be notified;
- (4) the names, descriptions, and addresses of their representatives to a number not exceeding five.

This communication is acknowledged by the magistrate, who also notifies it within twenty-four hours to the other side. A failure on their part to reply within three days is treated as refusal of the proposal to arbitrate. An acceptance, on the other hand, must state the names, descriptions, and addresses of representatives. Thereupon the magistrate calls upon the parties to meet immediately as a conciliation committee. He must himself be present at such meeting and hold himself at the disposal of the parties for the purpose of directing the discussions. If an agreement is reached, he draws up a minute, which he causes the parties to sign. If not, he calls upon them to appoint their respective arbitrators or a common arbitrator. If they agree to have recourse to arbitration, their decision in writing, duly signed, is lodged with him. Where the arbitrators themselves fail to agree, they may nominate an umpire. In default of agreement in the choice of such umpire, the president of the Civil Tribunal proceeds to nominate one on the basis of a minute which the magistrate at once transmits to him.

The Act provides for a certain amount of publicity, and also exempts the disputants from certain charges, in order to make the procedure contemplated easier and to encourage its use.

Requests for setting the conciliation procedure in motion and the rulings of the conciliation committee or of the arbitrators must be notified to the mayor of each of the communes where the dispute has arisen; they are then publicly posted by him. All pertinent documents are exempt from stamp duty and registered without fee. The magistrate is also bound to deliver without fee to each of the parties a copy of the minute of conciliation or arbitration, the original of which he retains in his registry.

|        | No. of strikes | Cases of recourse to conciliation or arbitration | Percentage | Strikes settled directly or indirectly by conciliation and arbitration |   |                                 |                                |  |       | Strikes not settled by conciliation and arbitration |
|--------|----------------|--|------------|--|---|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|-------|---|
|        |                |  |            | Strikes terminated before formation of conciliation committee          | Arrangement after refusal of conciliation | Strikes settled by conciliation | Strikes settled by arbitration | Strikes abandoned or settled immediately after the refusal of conciliation | Total |   |
| 1893   | 634            | 109  | 17.90      | 13   | —   | 28                              | 5                              | 6  | 52    | 57  |
| 1894   | 391            | 101  | 25.83      | 8  | —   | 31                              | 2                              | 7  | 48    | 53  |
| 1895   | 405            | 85   | 20.74      | 4  | —   | 24                              | 3                              | 3  | 34    | 51  |
| 1896   | 476            | 104  | 21.86      | 7  | —   | 21                              | 1                              | 8  | 37    | 67  |
| 1897   | 356            | 88   | 24.71      | 9  | —   | 25                              | 5                              | 2  | 41    | 47  |
| 1898   | 368            | 94   | 25.54      | 2  | 4   | 18                              | 2                              | 4  | 30    | 64  |
| 1899   | 739            | 197  | 26.62      | 9  | 4   | 36                              | 6                              | 4  | 59    | 138   |
| 1900   | 902            | 234  | 25.94      | 14   | 10  | 60                              | 18                             | 4  | 106   | 128   |
| 1901   | 523            | 142  | 27.15      | 9  | 7   | 38                              | 8                              | 3  | 65    | 77  |
| 1902   | 512            | 107  | 20.89      | 6  | 5   | 32                              | 2                              | 2  | 47    | 60  |
| 1903   | 567            | 152  | 26.80      | 4  | 13  | 42                              | 2                              | 9  | 70    | 82  |
| 1904   | 1,026          | 247  | 24.07      | 4  | 13  | 108                             | 8                              | 8  | 141   | 106   |
| 1905   | 830            | 246  | 29.64      | 7  | 10  | 96                              | 8                              | 14   | 135   | 111   |
| 1906   | 1,309          | 302  | 23.07      | 13   | 10  | 94                              | 8                              | 5  | 130   | 172   |
| 1907   | 1,275          | 250  | 19.61      | 12   | 2   | 91                              | 10                             | 7  | 122   | 128   |
| 1908   | 1,073          | 182  | 16.96      | 12   | 15  | 46                              | 3                              | 4  | 80    | 102   |
| 1909   | 1,025          | 162  | 15.80      | 5  | 8   | 44                              | 4                              | 5  | 66    | 96  |
| 1910   | 1,502          | 278  | 18.05      | 14   | 9   | 112                             | 4                              | 4  | 143   | 135   |
| 1911   | 1,471          | 285  | 19.37      | 4  | 11  | 113                             | 5                              | 2  | 135   | 150   |
| 1912   | 1,116          | 169  | 15.14      | 9  | 5   | 53                              | 2                              | 5  | 74    | 95  |
| 1913   | 1,073          | 166  | 15.47      | 9  | 3   | 42                              | 4                              | 2  | 60    | 106   |
| 1914   | 672            | 103  | 15.32      | 7  | —   | 40                              | 5                              | —  | 52    | 51  |
| Totals | 18,245         | 3,803  | 20.87      | 181  | 129                                       | 1,194                           | 115                            | 108  | 1,727 | 2,076   |

Where the magistrate intervenes on his own initiative after tools have been actually downed, he must call upon the parties to acquaint him with the subject and the grounds of their dispute, and propose to them recourse to conciliation and arbitration. The disputants have three days in which to decide whether to accept the proposal. If they accept, the procedure is the same as that described above.

An enquiry into the working of the 1892 Act would seem to show that it has secured the avoidance or the termination of a certain number of strikes. In the table on the opposite page we give figures, taken from a report made by Deputy René Lafarge, on behalf of the Committee on Labour.

Apart from the procedure established by the Act, conciliation and arbitration have also been used during recent years by the initiative of the parties themselves. In the first place, in collective agreements between trade unions and employers, clauses for the setting up of permanent joint committees, to which disputes must be compulsorily submitted, have become more and more frequent. These committees are even sometimes charged with the periodic revision of wages to follow fluctuations in the cost of living. Thus, among the 301 collective agreements concluded during 1920 and analysed in the *Bulletin* of the Ministry of Labour, 48 provide for the setting up of joint committees; in addition, 45 of the agreements themselves were concluded after an already existing committee had considered the dispute. The disputants often show a preference for others than the magistrate as arbitrators. The following figures are available for 1920 :

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| Conciliation before a magistrate or arbitration on the basis of the Act of 27 December 1892 | 39 cases |
| Intervention by the Minister of Labour  | 13 "     |
| Intervention by the Factory Inspectors  | 40 "     |
| Intervention by the Prefect   | 6 "      |
| Intervention by the Sub-Prefect   | 12 "     |
| Intervention by the Mayor   | 4 "      |

It was stated above that during the war regulations for the prevention of collective stoppages of work in munitions factories were issued to supplement the Act. These regulations were embodied in a Decree of 17 January 1917, issued by the Minister of Munitions. They are now, so to speak, only of historical interest; they are however, the first attempt at compulsory conciliation in industry made by the public authorities in France. The principles embodied are as follows.

In each district a permanent conciliation and arbitration committee was established, consisting of at least two workers' representatives and two employers' representatives. When

to set up a workers' permanent representative body and to establish conciliation and arbitration procedure and included penal clauses. Mr. Millerand's Bill was referred to the Committee on Labour, but the Chamber dissolved before it came up for debate.

On 18 January 1917, Mr. Colliard reintroduced the report which he had presented on 27 December 1907 on behalf of the Committee on Labour, and which had never been discussed in the form of a proposed Bill. This proposal also came to nothing.

Finally, on 9 March 1920, the Prime Minister, Mr. Millerand, and the Minister of Labour, Mr. Jourdain, introduced the Bill for the amicable settlement of collective labour disputes in industry, commerce, and agriculture, which is shortly to come up for discussion in the Chamber.

### THE MILLERAND-JOURDAIN BILL

This Bill includes two distinct sets of provisions, for private and for public utility establishments respectively. It also provides various penalties.

#### *Private Establishments*

The Bill lays down :

- (1) that workers' representative bodies shall be established in factories employing at least twenty workers;
- (2) that permanent conciliation committees shall be set up, and recourse be had to the conciliation procedure established by the Act before any collective cessation of work;
- (3) that it shall be open to the parties to have recourse to arbitration.

The workers' representative bodies are not in principle permanent. The explanatory Memorandum indicates that these bodies have not met with unanimous support, either from the side of the employers or of the workers, and that it was not felt desirable to incorporate provisions of too controversial a character into a Bill intended to have an immediate effect. These bodies are, therefore, only appointed *ad hoc*. The members must be at least 21 years of age and have been employed in the establishment for a year; they must not exceed five in number in any one establishment, excepting only in establishments employing over five hundred workers of different trades; here each craft may have one additional representative. They are to be nominated by the workers whenever a difference arises liable to provoke a conflict of a collective character; the conditions of their

nomination are not otherwise defined in the Bill. The explanatory Memorandum states that a system of elections would complicate and delay action, and that in practice delegates arise spontaneously without any call for election. Representatives will demand an interview with the head of the establishment, who is bound to receive them, either personally or through his agent, within twenty-four hours of being notified; he must reply to any demand made by the representatives within twenty-four hours.

While giving to those representatives, whose appointment is made obligatory, temporary functions only, the Bill nevertheless leaves the parties free to establish permanent representative bodies if they so agree, or to maintain them if they already exist. Nomination methods, duration of mandate, and the intervals at which such representatives must be received, are to be fixed by internal regulations, which must be submitted by the head of the establishment to his staff and ratified by a majority of workers of 21 years of age and over, who have been in the employ of the establishment for six months.

The initial procedure thus defined by the Bill is in a certain sense preliminary to actual conciliation, which is a process taking place inside the works. In the explanatory Memorandum the proposer of the Bill emphasises the value of these conversations between employers and workers, "the want of which has been the most frequent cause of misunderstandings and of sudden ruptures". The action of the representative bodies is limited to disputes of an internal character in a particular establishment. The intervention of the trade unions is not admitted.

It has already been stated that, where an establishment employs less than twenty workers, or, otherwise, where a dispute extends to several establishments or to a whole trade, there is no obligation to resort to conciliation through workers' representative bodies. Again, it may happen that the conversations between such bodies and the employers fail to produce an agreement. In all these cases the Bill proposes to make obligatory the conciliation procedure defined in its second Part, entitled "Conciliators and Conciliation Committees". As stated in the explanatory Memorandum, this procedure is extremely elastic. There was no desire to confine the disputants to strict regulations. On the contrary, the idea was to create a system elastic enough to suit all cases and all trades. The Bill, therefore, merely "establishes principles, fixes general rules, leaving to the disputants the option of choosing in each case the system which may seem best suited to meet the special situation or the particular conditions of their trade". The disputants are able to choose between various agents of conciliation: conciliators, joint committees nominated by themselves, conciliation committees. In some cases the Bill even allows the magistrate's

intervention, as provided for by the Act of 1892. In a word, the only obligation which it imposes is that of attempting some form of conciliation before any collective cessation of work.

With a view to furnishing the disputants with the means of coming to an understanding, it has been thought desirable to set up permanent organisations, under the name of "conciliation committees". These committees are to be created either on the demand of one or more employers' or workers' organisations, or else, failing such demand, after consultation with the parties interested, by Decree of the Minister of Labour and the other Ministers concerned. They are to include an equal number of employers and workers; in the case of public utility undertakings they are, in addition, to include an equal number of representatives of the public interest, nominated by the Minister of Labour and any other Minister concerned. Members of these conciliation committees must be French nationals of at least 25 years of age, must have practised a trade or profession coming within the competence of the committee for at least a year, and must not have been sentenced to any penalty involving the loss of political rights. Here also the Bill limits itself to laying down general principles, leaving the method of application of such principles to particular cases to be determined by Decree. Accordingly, the Decrees establishing conciliation committees must determine:—

(a) their competence, whether limited to a trade, industry, branch of business, or even a single grade of workers, whether covering the whole country or limited to a district;

(b) methods of appointment and number of their members;

(c) methods of bringing disputes to their notice, periods within which, and conditions under which, the disputants or their agents shall be convened, and periods within which the committees shall deliver their decisions.

The conciliation procedure is organised as follows. The disputants may, for the purpose of composing their difference, apply to a person chosen by common agreement, or to two persons, one chosen by the employers and the other by the workers. If they cannot agree on the choice of such conciliators, they must apply to the conciliation committee, or, if no such committee exists, to the magistrate.

Whatever person or authority may be called upon to act as conciliator must, within forty-eight hours, summon the disputants or their agents, who must attend in answer to such summons, unless able to produce a valid excuse. At this stage the Bill recognises the right of the trade unions to take part in the discussion. "The parties or their agents may be assisted by the executive officers of those legally constituted employers' and workers' organisations of which they may be members".

It may also happen that third parties are called upon to take part in conciliation proceedings. This happens when the dispute has been submitted to a committee and the members of that committee are unanimously of the opinion that the solution arrived at should be applied to all establishments carrying on the same trade in the district. The establishments which had remained outside the conflict are then invited to appoint representatives to take part in the discussions. They are afterwards bound by the solutions adopted. If an agreement is reached, this is not embodied in a simple minute, as under the Act of 1892, but in a collective agreement. If no agreement is reached, a minute is drawn up stating that no settlement was reached; the parties are then free to resume their liberty of action. At this stage a strike may be declared.

Nevertheless, the disputants are still at liberty to have recourse to arbitration under the provisions of Part III. After the minute has been drawn up, the conciliator is bound to call their attention to this fact. Should they decide to try this last means of arriving at an amicable solution, they nominate their respective arbitrators. The latter may be chosen from the members of the conciliation committee; this is an important advance on the Act of 1892, which, as was stated above, deprived the magistrate of the right of acting as arbitrator himself. Should the arbitrators fail to agree, they nominate an umpire. Should they fail to agree on the choice of an umpire, such umpire must be nominated by the President of the Civil Tribunal, of the Court of Appeal, or of the Court of Cassation, according to the area affected by the conflict.

The arbitrators may make such enquiries, verifications, and inspections as they think proper. Valid decisions can only be given when every arbitrator is present. Arbitration awards are made public by such means as may be stipulated in the texts of the awards themselves, more especially by means of advertisement in the press and by posting on public notice boards.

### *Public Utility Undertakings*

The Bill lays down stricter regulations for these undertakings. They are compelled to have recourse not only to conciliation, but also to arbitration, a method which leaves the parties less free. This difference between arbitration and conciliation is emphasised in the report of Mr. René Lafarge; conciliation is an arrangement reached by the agreement, and expressing the united will, of the parties in dispute; arbitration has practically the character of a judicial decision, where the matter is taken out of the hands of the disputants, who are unable to exercise any

influence on the conditions of settlement, conditions which depend solely on the arbitrators, i. e. on third parties.

Section 17 of the Bill lays down that "in undertakings engaged in meeting public requirements and whose closing down would endanger the life or health of the public or the economic or social life of the country" arbitration must be compulsory, and that, until the arbitration award has been pronounced, no collective cessation of work can take place. In order to avoid any ambiguity, the Bill enumerates precisely the undertakings subject to this obligation. These are (1) railways, tramways, and other undertakings engaged in public transport by land, sea, or inland waterways ; (2) gas and electric works ; (3) fuel-producing mines ; (4) undertakings engaged in the distribution of water, light, or motor power ; (5) hospitals and similar establishments ; (6) in towns with more than 25,000 inhabitants, funeral undertakings, undertakings engaged in the removal of domestic refuse, and other services connected with the maintenance, cleansing, and draining of streets and with the public health.

The procedure is the same as in the case of voluntary arbitration, except that the publication of the arbitration award is necessarily effected through the *Journal officiel*. In addition to the obligation to resort to arbitration, the Bill stipulates that the employers must within six months submit for the approbation of the Minister, or set up, regulations determining the conditions of work and remuneration and pensions of their staff.

### *Penalties*

Part IV of the Bill provides various penalties against contravention of its provisions.

In the first place, the employer who obstructs the workers' representative bodies in the carrying out of their functions is liable to a fine of from 16 to 1,000 francs. The same fine is incurred by every person, being a party to a dispute which has been submitted to compulsory conciliation or arbitration, who, without being able to state a valid excuse, fails to obey the summons of the conciliators or arbitrators.

Any person, whether employer or employee, provoking a collective cessation of work forbidden by the Act, is liable to a fine of from 16 to 10,000 francs. In the case of establishments subject to compulsory arbitration, imprisonment for a period of from six days to one month may be imposed in addition. For persons ordering a collective cessation of work the penalty is more severe, amounting to a fine of 20,000 francs where private establishments, and three months' imprisonment where public utility undertakings, are involved. In addition, the offenders are liable for damages on account of the unjustifiable breach of their employment contract.

Finally, Part V of the Bill provides a more severe penalty for cases in which, in public utility undertakings, collective cessation of work takes place before recourse to arbitration, notwithstanding the provisions of the Act. It authorises the Government in such cases to requisition the premises, material, and staff, and to adopt all such other means as may be necessary for carrying out the services furnished by such undertakings.

In addition to the provisions contained in the Bill just summarised, mention must also be made, in reference to public utility undertakings, of the special arbitration clauses included in the Bill for the organisation of the French railways, which was voted by the Chamber on 18 December 1920 and by the Senate on 9 July 1921. This Bill establishes a central body for railway administration to manage lines whose running is in the public interest; this body is a Superior Council, constituted of representatives of the railway companies, representatives of the staff, and representatives of the public interest. In addition to its general functions, this Superior Council plays the part of an arbitration tribunal for all disputes arising between one or more railway systems and their staff as to staff regulations, work regulations, wages, or pension institutions. Where arbitration is in question, the railway companies are represented on the Superior Council by their Director alone, who, like the staff representatives, has merely a consultative voice. These clauses of the railway Bill involve compulsory arbitration, and further compel the disputants to have recourse to a permanent arbitration tribunal.

The Bill was referred to the Committee on Labour, which had also to examine the proposals subsequently laid on the table of the House, the first, dated 28 April 1920, by Messrs. de Cassagnac, Forgeot, and supporters, relating to compulsory arbitration in the public services, the other, dated 20 May 1920, by Mr. Fleury Ravarin, for organising the right to strike. The first of these two proposals relates only to the public services; it reproduces the main features of the Government Bill on compulsory conciliation and arbitration in services carried on under a monopoly or concession; in public services directly carried on by the state, the Departments, or the communes, it absolutely prohibits all concerted cessation of work. But it is above all in the matter of penalties that this proposal introduces a new principle. It provides in effect, where the cessation of work has been provoked or ordered by the officers of a trade union, that such union officers shall be jointly and severally liable for the fines imposed, and that the union shall be dissolved. In addition, those of its members who are responsible for the cessation of work shall be deprived, for a period varying from three to ten years, of the right to vote or to stand for the various appointments and bodies representatives of labour, such as office in a trade union, membership of a workers' representative body, membership

of a committee of counsel (*Conseil de prud'hommes*), of a labour council, or of other similar bodies.

Mr. Fleury Ravarin's proposal is narrower in scope, and aims simply at regulating the right to strike. It provides that a strike may only be declared as a result of a ballot by the workers, and that it may only be continued with the approval of those involved, who shall renew their decision once a week. Mr. Fleury has recently returned to this proposal in the form of an amendment to the Government Bill. He would leave the present text of the Bill untouched, but would add to it a Part III*b*.

The Committee on Labour of the Chamber considered these Bills, Mr. René Lafarge presenting his report on behalf of the Committee on 30 July 1920. The text as approved by the Committee differs slightly from the original text of the Bill. The original text made it compulsory to set up workers' representative bodies in establishments employing at least twenty workers; the text proposed by the Committee raises this minimum to fifty. It also defines the term "establishments employing at least fifty workers" as being an establishment "which during more than ten weeks in a year employs at least fifty workers or employees of all ages and of either sex."

Methods for appointing the permanent representatives are also laid down; they are to be elected on a system of proportional representation similar to that adopted in parliamentary elections. The Committee further allows the employer forty-eight hours, instead of only twenty-four, to reply to demands put forward by the representative body, and lays down the conditions under which the punitive right to requisition may be exercised.

Finally, following the proposal of Messrs. Cassagnac and Forgeot, the Committee has made an important addition to that part of the Bill which relates to penalties; any person condemned to any penalty under the proposed Act will be excluded for five years and, in the case of a second or later offence, for ten years, from the right to vote or to stand for any appointment or body representative of labour; trade union organisations may be declared civilly responsible for penalties pronounced against their representatives under this head. Further, persons provoking or ordering the non-execution of a requisition will be liable to fines varying from 16,000 to 20,000 francs and to imprisonment for a period varying from six days to six months.

The above gives in outline the proposals now before Parliament, which, if adopted, will constitute a legislative basis for industrial conciliation and arbitration in France.

# SOCIAL INSURANCE

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## The French Government Bill on Social Insurance

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THE following article aims at giving a survey only of the arrangements proposed under the Bill (1) on social insurance, which has just been laid before the Committee on Social Insurance and Welfare.

### GENERAL PRINCIPLES

The Bill proposes to establish a system of social insurance covering sickness, invalidity, old age, and death risks and taking account of family obligations.

Section 1 limits benefits as follows:

(1) In cases of sickness or invalidity, to medical and surgical attendance, medicine, and special treatment, as well as a daily or monthly allowance or invalidity pension for the entire period of incapacity for work.

(2) In cases of maternity, to medical and surgical attendance, medicine, and special grants for childbirth and nursing.

(3) For old age, to a pension, a minimum pension being guaranteed at the age of sixty.

(4) In case of death, to the payment of a sum to the family.

(5) For each child born, to a family grant.

(6) Where there are dependent children under sixteen, who are supported by the beneficiary, such beneficiary is entitled to an increase in sickness, invalidity, and funeral benefits.

(7) Where an insured person has a wife or children under sixteen, these are entitled to medical, surgical, and pharmaceutical assistance.

The promoters of the Bill have made no attempt to set up a general system of preventive treatment for sickness under the terms of the contemplated Act. They have, however, laid the foundation for such a system by extending to the family of insured persons the right to medical and pharmaceutical attendance and by making it possible for the insured person himself to go to a doctor when he feels run down.

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(1) Introduced by Mr. Alexandre Millerand in the second sitting of the Chamber of Deputies on 22 March 1921.

**TABLE I**  
**GENERAL TABLE OF PAYMENTS TO INSURED PERSONS**

| wage class | basic wage                    |                                   | contribution due from employer and insured person respectively |            | sickness         |                      |                        |                      | maternity                    |                           |                |  | death        |                      | invalidity                            |   |                                       |  | old age  | transition period |
|------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|------------|------------------|----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------|--|--------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|--|--|-------------------|
|            | per day                       | per year                          |  |            | first six months |                      | after first six months |                      | daily allowance for 12 weeks | monthly grant for nursing |                | birth allowance (all classes)  | payment      | incr. for each child | pension for total incapacity for work | pension for partial incapacity of over 60 % | increase for each child (all classes) | pension guaranteed after 30 yrs. contributions   | min. pension guaranteed (invalidity and old age) |                   |
|            |                               |                                   |  |            | daily allowance  | incr. for each child | monthly allowance      | incr. for each child |                              | first month               | following mos. |  |              |                      |                                       |   |                                       |  |  |                   |
|            |                               |                                   |  |            |                  |                      |                        |                      |                              |                           |                |  |              |                      |                                       |   |                                       |  |  |                   |
| 1          | Fr.<br>0 to 4<br>(3)          | Fr.<br>0 to 1200<br>(900)         | Fr.<br>0.05  | Fr.<br>15  | Fr.<br>1.50      | Fr.<br>0.50          | Fr.<br>45              | Fr.<br>10            | Fr.<br>1.50                  | Fr.<br>25                 | Fr.<br>15      | 200 fr. : 100 fr. at birth if child is born living; 50 fr. at end of sixth month and 50 fr. at end of twelfth month if child is still living. This grant is doubled if the father and mother are both insured. | Fr.<br>150   | Fr.<br>100           | Fr.<br>500                            | per cent. of avg. wage<br>55                | Fr.<br>300                            | 100 fr. in case of total incapacity. This increase is proportionately reduced in case of partial incapacity. | Fr.<br>500                                       | Fr.<br>500        |
| 2          | Fr.<br>4 to 8<br>(6)          | Fr.<br>1,200 to 2,400<br>(1,800)  | Fr.<br>0.30  | Fr.<br>90  | Fr.<br>3.—       | Fr.<br>0.50          | Fr.<br>75              | Fr.<br>10            | Fr.<br>3.—                   | Fr.<br>25                 | Fr.<br>15      |  | Fr.<br>300   | Fr.<br>100           | Fr.<br>900                            | per cent. of avg. wage<br>50                | Fr.<br>540                            |  | Fr.<br>900                                       | Fr.<br>500        |
| 3          | Fr.<br>8 to 13.50<br>(10.66)  | Fr.<br>2,400 to 4,000<br>(3,200)  | Fr.<br>0.55  | Fr.<br>160 | Fr.<br>5.25      | Fr.<br>0.50          | Fr.<br>110             | Fr.<br>10            | Fr.<br>5.25                  | Fr.<br>25                 | Fr.<br>21      |  | Fr.<br>525   | Fr.<br>100           | Fr.<br>1,275                          | per cent. of avg. wage<br>40                | Fr.<br>765                            |  | Fr.<br>1,275                                     | Fr.<br>500        |
| 4          | Fr.<br>13.50 to 20<br>(16.66) | Fr.<br>4,000 to 6,000<br>(5,000)  | Fr.<br>0.85  | Fr.<br>250 | Fr.<br>8.25      | Fr.<br>0.50          | Fr.<br>140             | Fr.<br>10            | Fr.<br>8.25                  | Fr.<br>33                 | Fr.<br>33      |  | Fr.<br>825   | Fr.<br>100           | Fr.<br>1,650                          | per cent. of avg. wage<br>33                | Fr.<br>990                            |  | Fr.<br>1,650                                     | Fr.<br>500        |
| 5          | Fr.<br>20 to 26.75<br>(23.33) | Fr.<br>6,000 to 8,000<br>(7,000)  | Fr.<br>1.20  | Fr.<br>350 | Fr.<br>11.50     | Fr.<br>0.50          | Fr.<br>195             | Fr.<br>10            | Fr.<br>11.50                 | Fr.<br>46                 | Fr.<br>46      |  | Fr.<br>1,150 | Fr.<br>100           | Fr.<br>2,325                          | per cent. of avg. wage<br>33                | Fr.<br>1,395                          |  | Fr.<br>2,325                                     | Fr.<br>500        |
| 6          | Fr.<br>26.75 to 33.50<br>(30) | Fr.<br>8,000 to 10,000<br>(9,000) | Fr.<br>1.50  | Fr.<br>450 | Fr.<br>15.—      | Fr.<br>0.50          | Fr.<br>250             | Fr.<br>10            | Fr.<br>15.—                  | Fr.<br>60                 | Fr.<br>60      |  | Fr.<br>1,500 | Fr.<br>100           | Fr.<br>3,000                          | per cent. of avg. wage<br>33                | Fr.<br>1,800                          |  | Fr.<br>3,000                                     | Fr.<br>500        |

An extract from the general scale of proposed benefits is appended in table I, on the opposite page.

### DETAILED REGULATIONS

*Persons subject to Compulsory Insurance.* All French paid workers and *métayers* of both sexes, whose wage or income does not exceed 10,000 francs per annum, are subject to compulsory insurance. The number of insured persons will be further considerably increased, as farmers and agricultural workers whose income does not exceed 10,000 francs, and who fulfil the age and health conditions, may voluntarily join the insurance scheme.

*Cost of Insurance.* The sums required annually to cover all risks have been estimated by the actuaries as follows:—

|  |                              |
|--|------------------------------|
| Sickness insurance                     | 1,293,000,000 frs.           |
| Nursing allowances                     | 21,000,000                   |
| Life insurance                         | 47,000,000                   |
| Sickness benefit                       | 48,000,000                   |
| Invalidity insurance                   | 95,000,000                   |
| Pharmaceutical and preventive measures | 22,000,000                   |
| Total                                  | 1,526,000,000 frs. per annum |

*Contributions of paid Workers and Employers.* The necessary capital will be provided by equal contributions from employers and paid workers, according to the wage class to which the insured persons belong.

TABLE II

|         | wages in francs<br>per year | worker's contribution<br>representing 5% of wages (1) |                       |                     |
|---------|-----------------------------|---|-----------------------|---------------------|
|         |                             | per year<br>(francs)                                  | per month<br>(francs) | per day<br>(francs) |
| Class 1 | 1—1,200                     | 45  | 3.75                  | 0.15                |
| " 2     | 1,201—2,400                 | 90  | 7.50                  | 0.30                |
| " 3     | 2,401—4,000                 | 160   | 13.35                 | 0.50                |
| " 4     | 4,001—6,000                 | 250   | 20.85                 | 0.85                |
| " 5     | 6,001—8,000                 | 350   | 29.20                 | 1.50                |
| " 6     | 8,001—10,000                | 450   | 37.50                 | 1.50                |

(1) Insured persons performing their military service are exempt from the payment of premiums.

The employer's contribution is equal to that of the worker. Voluntarily insured persons pay both contributions themselves.

As a general rule, workers will not have to make their own payments. In spite of certain rulings as regards pensions for workers and peasants which had acquired legal

force, the employer will be formally obliged to deduct premiums from the wages of his employees and to pay them over to the insurance societies.

Table I, which is extracted from the explanatory statement prefixed to the Bill, shows the amount of the insurance payments proposed by the Bill. It will, therefore, be sufficient to give certain supplementary information.

*Sickness Insurance.* Medical and pharmaceutical attendance is allowed from the time when the illness begins. The Bill gives the insured person the right to go to a doctor when he feels his strength lowered, i.e. before he is really ill.

The right to the daily grant begins from the fourth day and lasts for six months. When the insured person enters a hospital, this grant is reduced by two-thirds, or by one-third if he has dependent children. After the illness has lasted for six months, a monthly grant is substituted which lasts for a period of five years. This grant varies from 46 to 250 francs and runs from 33 to 55 per cent. of the worker's wages. At the end of the six months, the insurance society may proceed to fix the invalidity pension; the rate of this pension is the same as that which has served as a basis for the monthly grant; the guaranteed yearly minimum is 500 francs for the first class, and 3,000 francs for the last. These pensions are allowed in case of total incapacity for work. If the insured person is only partially unable to work, they are reduced and fixed in proportion to the degree of incapacity; in the latter case, they are only allowed to insured persons suffering from an incapacity for work equal to, or exceeding, 60 per cent.

The right to sick pay is acquired after the payment of 120 daily contributions during the six preceding months. The right to the monthly allowance, however, is valid only if the insured person has paid 480 contributions during the two years preceding invalidity.

*Maternity Grants.* In accordance with the principles laid down by the International Labour Conference at Washington concerning the insurance of women before and after childbirth, the Bill proposes that sick pay shall be given for the six weeks preceding, and the six weeks following, childbirth, on condition that the insured person undertakes no paid work within this period and takes as much rest as is compatible with the requirements of domestic life. A grant is also paid while the child is being nursed, as well as on its birth.

*Death.* It is proposed that a lump sum shall be paid to the family of an insured person on his decease. There is a very considerable difference in the amounts allowed to the six insurance classes. In the two first classes the amount is 150 to 300 francs, and is probably merely intended to cover funeral expenses, whereas it is 1,150 and 1,500 francs for the last two classes and may be considered in the light of

benefit. The increase of 100 francs for every child, however, which applies to all the classes, regularises this somewhat unequal situation.

*Invalidity Insurance.* Invalidity insurance is closely connected with sickness insurance. The payments made in the five years following the first six months of the illness have been indicated in the remarks on sickness insurance. After the end of this period of five years, the insured person receives a further pension of some importance. In case of total invalidity, the pension is increased by 100 francs for every child; if the disability is only partial, this increase is fixed in proportion to the degree of incapacity for work. It is interesting to note that, even during the period of invalidity, the family of the insured person continues to be entitled to the payment due in case of death.

*Old Age.* An old age pension is allowed to insured persons who have reached the age of sixty and have paid at least 9,000 daily contributions. The insured person may claim the payment of his pension from the age of 55, or may postpone it until 65. In the first case the minimum which is guaranteed for the age of sixty is reduced, and, in the second case, the pension is increased in proportion to the amount of the payments for the last five years inclusive of compound interest.

#### MEDICAL AND PHARMACEUTICAL ORGANISATION

It has already been stated that the worker and his family are entitled to medical and pharmaceutical attendance from the time when sickness begins. It was an extremely delicate matter to organise this attendance in such a way as to satisfy insured persons without arousing discontent in the medical profession. The insured person should if possible have free choice of his doctor; the requirements of hygiene and public health had to be satisfied, and the financial capacity of the insurance societies had to be taken into account; at same time the necessary guarantees had to be given to the medical profession. The system set up was as follows :—

All insured persons, as well as the wives and children under sixteen of insured persons who are heads of families, are free to choose their own doctor, provided that the latter has already entered into a contract with the insurance society. The number of doctor's visits shall be limited only by the requirements of the sickness. The insured person shall not be obliged to wait until disease has declared itself before asking for medical assistance. He is entitled to assistance as soon as he feels his strength lowered and believes that preventive measures are necessary. The insured person is free to choose his doctor and chemist, provided that their names appear on the list of the society of which he is a member. If there is no doctor in the commune, the insured person shall apply to one of the doctors residing in the nearest district.

At the present time the majority of the medical profession and of the pharmaceutical trade are members of associations or unions. The method by which medical, surgical, and pharmaceutical attendance for insured persons is to be organised will be laid down by agreements between these professional associations and the insurance societies. In order to calculate the obligations arising from sickness insurance (with the exception of unemployment grants), the actuaries were obliged to allow a fixed sum for each insured person. Each society will therefore pay the association or union a sum for medical and pharmaceutical expenses proportional to the number of its members, and the doctors and surgeons will receive their fees, not from the insurance societies, but from their own professional association. These fees will be fixed according to the number of consultations and will take account of travelling expenses; the fees for major surgical operations will be fixed according to a special scale. The sum for the medical treatment of each insured person has been so calculated as to guarantee suitable fees for doctor and chemist.

The promoters of the Bill had also to deal with another difficulty. It appeared possible that, as medical attendance was free, patients might be tempted to call in the doctor too often. Various regulations were laid down in order to prevent this, and the system of tickets, which is already in force in a certain number of Departments, has been made general. Every time an insured person goes to the doctor, he makes a small payment of 25, 50, or 75 centimes, according to the class to which he belongs, in the form of tickets which he obtains previously from his insurance society.

#### INSURANCE ORGANISATION

The State only intervenes in the organisation of insurance as far as is absolutely necessary. In the present article it is not possible to do more than sketch the leading features of the plan of organisation and to give some description of the work and functions of the various societies.

*General Guarantee Fund.* The duties of the General Guarantee Fund, which is under the control of the Ministry of Labour, are as follows :—

- (1) to maintain equilibrium between the various kinds of insurance operations by the distribution of risks;
- (2) to organise a system of re-insurance between all the funds, necessary to their satisfactory working;
- (3) to provide the total sums which the societies are to receive with a view to extensions of invalidity periods and to supplementary pensions for persons in receipt of low wages and for persons insured in the transition period.

This compensation office will thus ensure the solvency of societies which show a deficit, without their members having to suffer in any way. The General Guarantee Fund

is absolutely independent. It is managed by a council, on which all the organisations concerned will be fairly represented.

*District Societies.* The district societies have a local character. They will be established in each district and will have branches in cantons or communes with more than ten thousand inhabitants. Each district society will be managed by a board of thirty-six members, of whom eighteen will be elected by insured persons and nine by the employers, and nine appointed by Decree. The branches will be administered by boards of eight members, of whom four will be elected by the insured persons and two by the employers, and two appointed by the Prefect; these members will be elected for four years. The above organisations will be entrusted with the application of the law and will enjoy a large measure of independence. They may use part of the balance of receipts for investment in healter and social welfare institutions of recognised public utility, for mortgage loans on workers' dwellings, and for the acquisition of land or premises for the building or installation of preventive and curative establishments which are necessary for the working of the insurance system. It is interesting to note that the district societies may provide insured persons who are entitled thereto, such as ex-soldiers and war victims, with the medical, surgical, and pharmaceutical attendance required by their wounds, sickness, or infirmity. In this case, expenses of all kinds arising out of such attendance will be repaid to the district society by the state.

*Private Initiative.* The various branches of insurance provided for by the Bill, with the exception of invalidity insurance, may also be carried on, independently of the above mentioned societies, by mutual benefit funds of employers' and workers' organisations, or by sick funds of industrial and agricultural establishments, on condition that such benefit and sick funds have at least 250 members, of whom 40 per cent. at most are between the ages of 45 and 65. They must undertake to pay such benefits to their members as are legally obligatory and as come within their scope. Mutual benefit funds are bodies corporate at law distinct from the society or federation of societies administering them; the latter are, nevertheless, responsible for their working. They must have a minimum of ten thousand members, if they wish to handle old age insurance. All institutions entrusted with the carrying out of the Act enjoy a very large measure of independence.

*Insurance Offices.* These organisations will not be controlled by state officials, but by the persons concerned. For this purpose the Bill institutes district insurance offices, to supervise the application of its provisions and "to inform the persons concerned of its aim and scope by appropriate measures of propaganda." The district office is divided into

sections for each *arrondissement*. It is directly responsible to the Ministry of Labour, and includes :—

- (1) a council and managing authority in the principal town of the district;
- (2) a committee and an office in the principal town of each *arrondissement*.

The council of the district office includes sixteen members, of whom four represent employers, four represent insured persons, and eight represent the public interest; these eight members include two legal advisers and two expert advisers appointed by the Minister of Labour, one finance representative appointed by the Minister of Finance, one public health representative, and two representatives drawn from sanitary or social welfare institutions, appointed by the Minister of Labour. The departments in the office have to register insured persons, issue insurance policies, fix the insurance class of insured persons, and regulate the relations between insurance societies and their members. They may also institute proceedings against persons who contravene the law.

*Arbitration Councils.* The Alsace-Lorraine system was taken as a model for the institution of insurance councils. The Bill proposes to set up :

- (1) a local arbitration council in the principal town of each *arrondissement* ;
- (2) a district arbitration council in the principal town of each insurance district ;
- (3) a Supreme Arbitration Council.

A local arbitration council consists of a chairman, who is a magistrate appointed by the Minister of Justice, an insured person, an employer elected from the committee of his section in the insurance office, and a representative of the public interest.

A district arbitration council consists of two members of administrative tribunals, two members appointed by the Minister of Justice, and four representatives of the council of the office, including one employer and one insured person. The chairman and vice-chairman of the council are appointed by the Minister of Justice.

The Supreme Arbitration Council consists of two councillors of state, two councillors of the Court of Cassation appointed by the Minister of Justice, and four representatives of the Consultative Committee on Social Insurance, including one employer and one insured person. As in the case of the district council, the chairman and vice-chairman of the Supreme Council are appointed by the Minister of Justice.

These organisations will be entrusted with the duty of deciding disputes and reporting on difficulties which arise in the application of the Act.

*Consultative Committee on Social Insurance.* The Consultative Committee on Social Insurance has to examine questions connected with the working of the Act. It meets at

the Ministry of Labour and has fifty members, including two senators, three deputies, two councillors of state, and a certain number of representatives of the Ministers of Labour, Finance, and Public Health, of the district offices, of the General Guarantee Fund, of private organisations, and of medical and pharmaceutical professional associations.

*Special Systems.* Certain groups of persons referred to in the Bill, such as workers employed by the state, the Departments, the communes, and the railways, as well as miners and sailors on the naval register, benefit at present by laws or regulations which allow them considerable advantages. It is desirable not to deprive them of these advantages by any strict application of the Act. The Bill therefore proposes to maintain the special systems already in force <sup>(2)</sup>.

*Financial Obligations of the State.* The state will be responsible for a considerable share of the total or partial cost of the benefits due on account of additional insurance items, such as family charges, invalidity insurance, old age insurance, building of preventive or curative establishments, management expenses of insurance societies and benefit funds, etc. It will also be responsible for part of the expenses arising out of the Act of 5 April 1910 on workers' and peasants' pensions. The following estimate has been made of the probable burden on the state in the first forty-five years.

TABLE III

|      | total<br>expenses |      | total<br>expenses |
|------|-------------------|------|-------------------|
| 1923 | 156,000,000 frs.  | 1946 | 292,000,000 frs.  |
| 1924 | 147,000,000       | 1947 | 291,000,000       |
| 1925 | 253,000,000       | 1948 | 291,000,000       |
| 1926 | 275,000,000       | 1949 | 292,000,000       |
| 1927 | 293,000,000       | 1950 | 295,000,000       |
| 1928 | 308,000,000       | 1951 | 298,000,000       |
| 1929 | 319,000,000       | 1952 | 303,000,000       |
| 1930 | 327,000,000       | 1953 | 307,000,000       |
| 1931 | 332,000,000       | 1954 | 312,000,000       |
| 1932 | 335,000,000       | 1955 | 314,000,000       |
| 1933 | 336,000,000       | 1956 | 310,000,000       |
| 1934 | 336,000,000       | 1957 | 303,000,000       |
| 1935 | 332,000,000       | 1958 | 290,000,000       |
| 1936 | 328,000,000       | 1959 | 277,000,000       |
| 1937 | 323,000,000       | 1960 | 264,000,000       |
| 1938 | 318,000,000       | 1961 | 251,000,000       |
| 1939 | 312,000,000       | 1962 | 239,000,000       |
| 1940 | 308,000,000       | 1963 | 227,000,000       |
| 1941 | 304,000,000       | 1964 | 215,000,000       |
| 1942 | 300,000,000       | 1965 | 203,000,000       |
| 1943 | 297,000,000       | 1966 | 192,000,000       |
| 1944 | 295,000,000       | 1967 | 181,000,000       |
| 1945 | 293,000,000       |      |                   |

(2) Acts of 1831 and 1853 concerning civil and military pensions; Act of 1886 concerning national pension funds; Act of 1909 concerning railway workers' pensions; Acts of 1894 and 1914 concerning the independent miners' fund, etc.

# CO-OPERATION

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## Works Councils in Consumers' Co-operative Societies in Germany <sup>(1)</sup>

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THE German Works Councils Act of 1920, the object and principal provisions of which are well known<sup>(2)</sup>, applies not only to private establishments, but also to co-operative societies. The application of the Act to consumers' co-operative societies has naturally had results of a special nature, owing to their distinctive orientation, traditions, and aims. In the consumers' co-operative movement the conception of the works council and its functions has aroused much discussion and some attempts have been made at practical realisation. An examination of these attempts is interesting, because they touch on certain problems which are peculiar to the consumers' co-operative movement, such as their special relations with their salaried staff, the relations between consumers and producers, the principle of political neutrality, and so on. Such an examination may be of value to countries which have adopted, or which propose to adopt, a system of works councils. Finally, the discussions

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(1) The principal sources which have been used for this article are :—*Konsumgenossenschaftliche Rundschau*, 1920-1921.

*Jahrbuch des Zentralverbandes deutscher Konsumvereine*, 1920.

*Gemeinschaftliche Sitzung des Vorstandes, Ausschusses, und Generalrats des Zentralverbandes deutscher Konsumvereine*, 30-31 Oct. 1919 ; 11-12 June 1920.

*Der Betriebsrat*, published by the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft freier Angestelltenverbände*, 1920-1921.

*Die Betriebsrätezeitung des Allgemeinen Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes*, 1920-1921.

The references in the text to the Works Councils Act have been taken from No. 26 of the *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1920.

(2) See the *Inter. Lab. Rev.*, Vol. I, No. 2, Eduard BERNSTEIN, *The German Works Councils Act and its Significance*; also the International Labour Office *Studies and Reports*, Series B, No. 6, *Works Councils in Germany*.

which have taken place, and which we here reproduce without comment, tend to illustrate both the general and the immediate course of the consumers', co-operative movement in Germany, and also the relations of that movement to the whole social movement.

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY RELATIONS  
OF CONSUMERS' CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES  
WITH THEIR WAGE-EARNING STAFFS

The problem of works councils could not present itself to private establishments in the same way and to the same degree as it presented itself to the co-operative societies. In order to get a clear understanding of it, it is necessary to recall their previous attitude both towards their own staff and towards the trade unions. The conditions under which they compete with private trade, their care for the interests of the consumer, and their primary concern for principles of abstract justice have, as a general rule, made it difficult for them to grant privileged wages to their staffs ; but they have always tried to provide humane conditions of employment, both as to terms of engagement and discharge, as to questions of industrial hygiene, of the length of the working day, of annual leave <sup>(3)</sup>, social insurance <sup>(4)</sup>, and on similar points.

At an early stage the *Central Union of Consumers' Co-operative Societies* <sup>(5)</sup> fixed conditions of work and of wages in agreement with the workers' organisations and by means of collective contracts. A special joint organisation, the Wages Board, composed of five representatives of the Central Union of Consumers' Co-operative Societies and five representatives of the workers' organisations, is entrusted with the supervision of contracts so made and of settling any differences which may arise. In addition, the workers' committees <sup>(6)</sup>, when they existed, exercised in the consumers' co-operative establishments an influence superior both to that which they were able to command in private establishments and even to that given to them by the Act of 1891 ; indeed, the workers have often found within the consumers' co-operative establishments opportunities for initiating or emphasising reforms.

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(3) At the Hamburg Co-operative Congress of 1904 the president of the Bakers' Trade Union said: "...the establishments of consumers' co-operative societies can be quoted as models. It is rare to day to find establishments where the length of the working day is more than eight hours. For a long time past the more important co-operative societies have given holidays to their staff; some even pay in advance the wages for the holiday week."

(4) Cf. *Die Unterstützungskasse des Zentralverbandes deutscher Konsumvereine*, founded in 1905; *die Volksfürsorge Gewerkschaftlich-Genossenschaftliche Versicherungsaktiengesellschaft*, founded 1911.

(5) *Zentralverband deutscher Konsumvereine*.

(6) The workers' committees (*Arbeiterräte*), which were instituted in 1891 by an amendment to the Industrial Code (*Gewerbeordnungsnovelle*), had certain advisory rights in drawing up factory regulations.

It is therefore not unnatural that within the co-operative movement itself there should be a minority of thinkers, who maintain that the co-operative societies, and more especially the consumers' co-operative societies, are the chosen environment in which the works councils can most easily and by a series of experiments arrive at the full development of their influence. The efforts of these thinkers are directed to obtaining for the co-operative works councils a very important extension of the Act. They demand on behalf of the councils a right of intervention in the engagement and discharge of staff, in the fixing of wages-rates, and a right of joint control and co-management. In this article we propose to confine ourselves to giving an account of the attitude adopted by the Central Union of Consumers' Co-operative Societies, and to indicate the discussions which have taken place.

Co-operative thinkers had already raised the question of the precise functions to be attributed to works councils some time before that problem received any legislative solution. As early as the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919, a year before the promulgation of the Works Councils Act, works councils had been set up in some consumers' co-operative societies. In November 1919 and again in December 1920 the representatives of these first works councils had, in a conference, already tried to determine their duties in a detailed and uniform manner (<sup>7</sup>).

#### THE LEIPZIG CONFERENCE

The success of these first efforts was only partial, but the conviction that works councils would be called upon to play a very special part in co-operative societies had, in the interval between these two conferences, led to the formation in Berlin of an organisation for joint action of employees and workers in German consumers' and producers' co-operative societies, under the title of the Joint Company of Salaried Employees and Workers in German Consumers' and Producers' Co-operative Societies (<sup>8</sup>). The same idea is clearly illustrated in the discussions and resolution of a conference held at Leipzig in November 1920, after the promulgation of the Act, at which 94 delegates representing 47 co-operative works councils were present (<sup>9</sup>).

#### *General Principles adopted*

The resolution is really a manifesto, and since its publication its text has been the basis of discussion as to the functions of

(7) Cf. *Konsumgenossenschaftliche Rundschau*, 25 December 1920, p. 511.

(8) *Aktionsgemeinschaft der Angestellten und Arbeiter deutscher Konsumvereine und Produktionsgenossenschaften*.

(9) *Konsumgenossenschaftliche Rundschau*, 25 December 1920, pp. 511-12.

works councils in co-operative societies. It stresses the need for intellectual and manual workers to knit the consumers' co-operative organisation more closely together from within and to enlarge its sphere unceasingly. It then proceeds to note that the Works Councils Act failed to satisfy working-class claims and adds <sup>(10)</sup> :

...Works councils in private establishments are not in a position to take into their own hands the control of production and distribution to the extent which would seem called for by the present position and by working-class demands. In consumers' co-operative societies the position is different. These societies must satisfy the claims put forward on behalf of works councils, whatever may be the terms of the Works Councils Act itself. They must serve as a weapon in the hands of the proletariat; they must serve as models for works councils in private establishments; they must contribute to assist the co-operative societies to become effective distributing agencies, in spite of any attacks made on them by private industry.

The privileged position which will be allotted to co-operative works councils in contradistinction to those in private establishments will impose the duty of acting as vanguard of the movement, and of seizing every opportunity of exercising their functions and using their experience in the interests of the working classes.

The authors of the resolution subsequently define the functions which they wish to see entrusted to works councils in consumers' co-operative societies in the same spirit and with the same purpose in view. Six principles are laid down, not all, however, of equal importance. The necessary elasticity of action must be combined with the necessary uniformity. Each local council, therefore, will have regard to the special conditions of its own co-operative society in applying general rules; it will, in any case, submit its plan of action to the special central organisation of works councils in co-operative societies. (Principle No. 5). Principles Nos. 3, 4, and 6 determine the functions of works councils in reference to engagement and discharge of staff, wages and conditions of work, and control over technical processes and sanitary arrangements.

*Engagements and Discharges.* Principle No. 3, which relates to engagement and discharge of staff, goes much further than the provisions of the Act. The Act only gives the works council the right of being informed "as long beforehand as possible" in cases of engagement or discharge, which are of a certain importance (Section 74), and the further right of receiving the complaints of the worker, if and when he attributes his discharge to a cause not admissible under the terms of Section 84 of the Act. Should such complaint appear justified, a works council has the additional right, under Section 86, of entering on negotiation with the employer with a view to an agreement, and, failing such agreement, of an appeal to the conciliation committee.

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(10) *Ibid.*

While in private establishments the works council only holds a watching brief on such a question as this, and only exercises a limited right of control, subject to reservations and formalities, the aim of the Leipzig resolution is to give the councils of co-operative societies of all grades rights equal to those of the managerial staffs : "the assent of the works council shall be required for each engagement and discharge of staff, including those affecting persons in managerial positions".

*Wages.* In determining wages and work conditions, Sections 66, 78, and other Sections of the Works Councils Act endow works councils with powers of intervention only in the absence of collective agreements, and in any case provide for collaboration with the trade unions.

In principle the Leipzig resolution also sanctions such collaboration with the unions. Principle No. 4 of that resolution states : "work conditions and wages-rates shall be discussed jointly with the trade unions concerned". But another phrase within the same paragraph seems to be in contradiction; this phrase runs : "wages-scales at present in operation in different grades shall as far as possible be levelled up"; it does not seem possible that the unions should consent to such a levelling process. As a matter of fact, the attitude of works councils to trade unions is not actually stated anywhere in the Leipzig resolution; but a certain amount of light is thrown on it by a special declaration to the effect that works councils of co-operative societies must not propose to compete with trade unions, a resolution which, nevertheless, also contemplates cases in which, under certain conditions and with certain reservations, works councils might conceivably take the place of the unions : "in co-operative societies, which have reached a high stage of development, the future works council will, in agreement with the trade unions, be competent to negotiate with the management questions relating to conditions of service and work, the burden of determining which will thus be lifted from the shoulders of the trade unions".

*Control of Industry.* In the matter of sanitary arrangements, Sections 66 and 68 of the Act empower the works councils to give their assistance to the factory inspectors; for this No. 6 of the Leipzig resolution principles substitutes a right of direct control. It also extends such control to cover technical processes, a sphere in which the Act only gives the works councils advisory powers, under Section 66, Paragraph 1, and a duty of active collaboration, under Section 66, Paragraph 2. The wording of this one of the Leipzig Principles is : "that the works council shall uninterruptedly supervise technical processes and sanitary

arrangements in co-operative establishments, with a view to their working under conditions conducive to the highest possible output.

*Co-management* Over and above these functions, which are viewed as accessory or as external, the Leipzig conference aimed at assisting the works councils to penetrate into the very centre of co-operative activity and placing them in a position where they would exercise an unlimited right of control and the right of co-management. The two first Principles of the resolution, which deal with this idea, are the most important and interesting. They run :—

(1) The works council shall be represented as a body on all administrative organs. There will thus be no meeting of the Control Board, the Board of Directors<sup>(11)</sup> or any other administrative organ in which the works council of the co-operative society does not take part. In addition, members of the works council shall be appointed as delegates to all district or national congresses, and to conferences of purchasers' unions.

(2) The works council shall in principle control the whole of production and of purchase, as well as the origin and the destination of goods.

On these points the Leipzig resolution goes considerably farther than the provisions of the Bill which was drafted with a view to carrying out Section 70 of the Act<sup>(12)</sup>; it also goes farther than the claims formulated not long previously by a conference of all the German works councils, held at Berlin on 5 and 6 October 1920. The Berlin resolution, which was passed unanimously, only asked that works councils should be represented at meetings of the Control Board. It shows the spirit in which this claim was put forward in a rather striking way.

The works council shall represent the general interest on the Control Boards; they shall be entitled to present all wishes or proposals of a nature to further the general interest and to oppose any wishes or proposals brought forward by other members of the Board which are contrary to the general interest<sup>(13)</sup>.

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(11) In German co-operative societies the *Board of Managers (Vorstand)* is the permanent managerial body. Its members have functions similar to those which in the practice of the French co-operative societies are exercised by the '*administrateurs délégués*'. The *Control Board (Aufsichtsrat)* has chiefly supervisory functions, but it is also consulted when important action is undertaken.

(12) The *Betriebsrätezeitung des Allgemeinen deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes* of February last states that the Bill in question has been laid before the Central Economic Council. This Bill provides that works councils shall send to the Control Board either one or two representatives, according as the Control Board contains a number of members less than, equal to, or in excess of, five. The workers' members shall have the same rights as other members of the Board.

(13) *Der Betriebsrat*, 15 November 1920, p. 19.

The above gives an outline of the main points of what may be called the Leipzig programme. The arguments brought forward at the time of the discussion and the accompanying preamble help to show the spirit inspiring that programme and in which it is to be applied.

The last part of the preamble of the resolution clearly betrays its character:—

The co-operative and trade union movements will only be able to meet the demands made on them in so far as they put into practice a revolutionary policy which is definitely conscious of its aim. Works councils in co-operative societies must take special care to see that their collaboration with central works councils, trade unions, and co-operative societies is consistently inspired by the principle of the class war; they must oppose every attempt which might lead the consumers' co-operative societies to compromise themselves by collaboration between the classes.

While consumers' co-operative societies are bound to make use of their power of controlling distribution in order to fight the socialist battle, works councils in such societies are themselves both the instrument and centre of revolutionary action. This is the starting point of their action relative to other works councils and towards the whole proletariat (14).

In the opinion of one member (15) of the conference, a manager of one of the most important of the consumers' co-operative societies, a society in which the scope of the works council has been considerably widened, the discussion throughout kept clear of the purely sectarian point of view and was marked by great sympathy for co-operative principles. Speakers again and again stressed the need for avoiding making discussion of wages-rates a principal activity of the councils, or for taking any decisions on this point calculated to do harm to the societies; they were averse to strikes, thought that it ought to be easy to come to a settlement as to work conditions in the societies, and to effect prompt settlement of disagreements between managerial staff and the councils; the first interest of the councils should rather be to help on the co-operative movement, now recognised to be one part of the working-class movement as a whole. It is an interesting detail that the Leipzig Conference should have unanimously admitted the need for a cash surplus on sales in order to enable the societies to develop and to procure legitimate advantages for their members.

#### ATTITUDE OF THE CENTRAL UNION OF CONSUMERS' CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

The above conception of what should be the function of works councils in co-operative societies was only adopted by a relatively small number of these societies. Nor does it seem certain that all the societies adopting it did so spontaneously, or without outside pressure. Among the societies

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(14) Cf. *Konsumgenossenschaftliche Rundschau*, 25 December 1920, pp. 511-12.

(15) *Ibid.*

which tried to put these ideas into practice, however, there were some of considerable importance; in fact, it was the great Co-operative Society of Berlin and Outer Berlin which seems to have initiated the movement. The experiment has not lasted long enough to allow of any definite conclusions. All that can be said is that these experiments supply as many arguments to critics as to supporters.

It should also be remembered that the Leipzig resolution was only approved by the representatives of 47 co-operative works councils, although there existed in Germany at the end of 1920 about 45,000 co-operative societies of various kinds, including nearly 1,300 societies affiliated to the Central Union of Consumers' Co-operative Societies. Nevertheless, the resolution would appear since then either to have been accepted in principle or adopted in practice by other co-operators. Those putting it into practice are so far only a small minority, and perhaps a still smaller minority approve of it without any reservations.

As a matter of fact, even leaving out of account the opinion of those who drafted or accepted the Leipzig programme, there is not complete unanimity on the various points of the programme among consumer co-operators.

Nevertheless, from statements made at meetings, conferences, and in the press, the enquirer may observe and gather a general attitude, varied and yet consistent, characteristic of the views of the consumers' co-operative movement on the principal social problems of their country.

### *Attitude to the Works Councils Act*

In order to understand the opinion above all of the Central Union of Consumers' Co-operative Societies towards the Leipzig programme, it is first necessary to form some idea of their attitude towards the Act itself and its immediate or ultimate consequences.

The Works Council Act appears to them to incorporate two chief purposes; in the first place, it offers the worker a means of putting a statement of his interests before his employer and of protecting them; in the second place, it attempts to lead the way towards the socialisation of industry by helping the worker to obtain an increasing share in management. The first of these two purposes is attained by those provisions of the Act which complete and extend the functions of the old workers' committees. These provisions correspond to the claims put forward by the most powerful among the trade unions, and the Act here hardly does more than make universal and legalise powers, which, before the war, had already been in the hands of certain of the larger trade unions, for instance, the compositors.

When we come to consider the second purpose of the Act, the position of the consumers' co-operative societies is much

more delicate. The whole political and social bearing of the Act is defined in the light of this purpose ; it is the object to which all parties apparently attach the most importance. All the discussions which preceded and followed the vote on the Act demonstrate that the Act originally aimed at, and that its supporters more and more emphatically demand, the right of defending the community interest as against the interest of private capital. It is from this point of view, as we have already seen <sup>(16)</sup>, that the first works councils congress justified the representation of works councils on boards of control. The idea is defined in some phrases of an article in the *Betriebsrätezeitung*, which declare that "works councils, in claiming control over production, aim at defending the interest of the consumer and of the community as against the private interest of the directors". In the process of controlling production the interest of the consumer will be defended "by fighting profits so excessive as to limit consumption, by fighting the production of goods of inferior quality or the export of commodities which are needed by a country itself, etc."

If this is really one of the purposes of a works council, it would seem to follow that a works council should play a different rôle according to whether it functions in a private business or in a co-operative society. The co-operative society is, in its very essence, already a collective economic institution representing the general interest, i.e. the interest of the consumers, as against the interests of private capital. In a co-operative society the board of management, together with the general meeting in larger societies, occupies a very different position from that occupied by the board of management in a limited liability company. In a limited company it represents the interests of the capital which has been invested in the company with a view to making a profit ; in a co-operative society it represents the interests of the whole body of the members in so far as these are opposed to the interests of private capital. It might appear superfluous to introduce new organs having exactly the same object in view ; strictly speaking, if co-operation is to continue its community character and to represent the general interest, it is neither desirable nor in harmony with the principles whether of a works council or of a co-operative society that boards of control should include members who do not represent the whole body of co-operators, but have been nominated by a relatively small fraction <sup>(17)</sup>.

The idea of a works council is therefore completely foreign to the co-operative principle ; not because the co-operative principle will not admit of democratic control, but because it

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(16) See p. 193

(17) *Konsumgenossenschaftliche Rundschau*, 22 Jan. 1920, p. 34.

has already realised such control in another way. This is the explanation of the special effect of the Act on co-operative societies. The works council in a private business in part only takes the place of earlier institutions, which resemble it both in purpose and in method; partly, and where it assumes a share in control or management, it is fulfilling new functions. But in a co-operative society, on the contrary, it is merely an addition to, or a repetition of, and possibly even an enemy of, already existing institutions and customs, which have already carried out its aim, although possibly in a different way<sup>(18)</sup>.

These underlying principles and arguments are amply illustrated in the organ of the Central Federation of Consumers' Co-operative Societies, the *Konsumgenossenschaftliche Rundschau*, and in all the half-yearly sessions held since October 1919 by the Councils of the Federation. They do not exclude a sincere wish to apply the Act, but they emphasise the results which must flow from its application.

On this basis the Wages Board met on 2 March 1920. The members decided that it would be necessary to leave the two parties, co-operative societies and works councils, time to make a fair trial of the provisions of the new Act and to adapt themselves to it.

The representatives both of the trade unions and the co-operative societies on the Board therefore came to a unanimous agreement that there was no need for the co-operative societies to demand that separate provision should be made for them under the Act<sup>(19)</sup>.

At the joint meeting at Harzburg on 11 and 12 June 1920 of the Board of Managers, Committee, and General Council of the Central Union, it was recognised that only experience in the working of the Act could prove the need for, and suggest the lines of, any special future proposals to be laid before the co-operative societies. The following resolution was unanimously adopted after a long and animated discussion :—

The Board of Managers, the Committee, and the General Council of the Central Union of German Consumers' Co-operative Societies, in their joint meeting of 11 and 12 June 1920, confirm the decision of the Wages Board, which declares that it is at present unnecessary to formulate special principles for the application of the Works Councils Act to co-operative establishments. Co-operative societies shall, in agreement with trade unions and works councils, apply the provisions of the Works Councils Act in its present form<sup>(20)</sup>.

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(18) In certain cases the workers in co-operative establishments refused to form a works council and explained their refusal by saying that such a council would only mean setting up a new organ of control. See report of the joint session of 11 and 12 June 1920 of the Board of Control, the Executive Committee, and the General Council of the Central Federation of Consumers' Co-operative Societies, pub. by the German Consumers' Co-operative Publishing Society (*Verlagsgesellschaft deutscher Konsumvereine*) p. 98.

(19) *Ibid.* 11 and 12 June, 1920, p. 80.

(20) *Ibid.* 11 and 12 June, 1920, pp. 79 and 99.

This resolution was finally approved by the Seventh Congress of the Central Union of Consumers' Co-operative Societies which met about the same time at Harzburg. It may now safely be stated that all the co-operative societies where there is a works council are loyally carrying out the terms of the Act in a not ungenerous spirit <sup>(21)</sup>.

The Harzburg resolution and the way in which it is daily being carried out by the societies illustrate the attitude of the Central Union on the subject of the Act. It is an attitude which is both law-abiding and liberal, cautious, and faithful to the pledges previously entered into with the trade unions. It embodies the underlying principle of the Leipzig programme and anticipates it, and thus explains the attitude of the Central Union towards that programme, which was drafted some months after the Harzburg Congress. From that time on the discussion which had begun in October 1919 is continued at conferences and in the co-operative press with an interest and fulness which serve to illustrate every aspect of the problem and its significance in the consumers' co-operative movement.

#### *Attitude to the Leipzig Programme*

Co-operators as a whole display no general or marked hostility to the Leipzig programme; they are even sympathetic to some of its principles. On the other hand, they are sometimes afraid of discovering in it tendencies incompatible with their peculiar traditions and their peculiar social ideals. In spite of this, they have tried, without sacrificing their own principles, to make a careful examination of every detail, both from the theoretical and from the practical point of view. It is more especially from the latter standpoint, for reasons of practice, expert knowledge, or law, that they are induced to make important reservations or even to reject some of the suggestions.

#### *Working Conditions*

They note that in questions of engagement and discharge of staff and of wages the programme hands over, or tends to hand over, to the works councils functions which belong either by agreement or by custom to the trade unions, or else by legal or statutory provisions to statutory bodies of the society.

Now the Works Councils Act has explicitly safeguarded the rights of the trade unions. In Section 8 it states that "rights possessed by associations of workers or employees to represent the interests of their members shall not be affected by the provisions of the present Act", and it specifically <sup>(22)</sup> states several times that the activity of the works council

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(21) *Ibid.* 11 and 12 June, 1920, p. 94.

(22) See Sections 66 (5); 75; 78 (1, 2, 3).

must be subordinated to the provisions of collective agreements. The works council, even when it acquires certain functions which were previously exercised by the trade unions or their agents, must not try to replace the trade unions, but must only, on the contrary, lend them its assistance as an auxiliary body. In addition, Section 31 of the Act under certain circumstances grants the unions a right of being represented at meetings of the works council. The unions themselves have no intention of allowing their influence to weaken or their rights to lapse. The Central Union of Consumers' Co-operative Societies has no wish to encourage tendencies which are openly or covertly hostile to the unions and which might possibly be interpreted into the Leipzig programme. The recent practice of certain societies would appear to be in imitation of these tendencies<sup>(23)</sup>. The Central Union, for its part, proposes to abide loyally by the decisions which were made in agreement with the representatives of the workers' organisations on the Wages Board.

All negotiations for modification of work conditions and wages shall be conducted with the central committees of the trade unions concerned or with their representatives. The co-operative societies pledge themselves to reject any modification of existing agreements submitted to them by any other party. The Wages Board declares invalid all agreements concluded by the co-operative societies in virtue of negotiations entered into with organisations other than the trade unions concerned or their representatives<sup>(24)</sup>.

Finally, at one of their later meetings the Board of Managers and the Executive Committee of the Central Union of Consumers' Co-operative Societies made a point of stating that, now as in the past, the trade unions alone would be recognised as parties to labour contracts<sup>(25)</sup>.

### *Engagements and discharges*

All consumer co-operators undoubtedly admit as entirely legitimate the claim, embodied in Principle No. 3 of the Leipzig programme on behalf of workers and employers, that no employer or employer's representative shall be entitled to take decisions on questions of engagement or discharge of staff on his sole judgment, without being subject to control or to appeal<sup>(26)</sup>. They point out, however, that the question

(23) At Berlin, Brunswick, and Halle notably, the co-operative works councils have asked that the trade unions shall not intervene in fixing conditions of wages and of work; cf. *Report of the Joint Session*, 30 and 31 October 1919, p. 72. Similarly, the Central Union of Bakers, Pastrycooks, and Allied Trades did not succeed in signing a labour contract with the Auditing Union of Consumers' Co-operative Societies of Eastern Germany, because the largest co-operative societies had already concluded agreements with their works councils; cf. *Deutscher Bäcker-Konditoren-Zeitung*, 26 Jan. 1921.

(24) Decisions of the Wages Board, 30 January, 5 June 1919, confirmed on 4 December 1919; cf. *Jahrbuch des Zentralverbandes deutscher Konsumvereine*, 1920, p. 709.

(25) *Konsumgenossenschaftliche Rundschau*.

(26) *Report of the Joint Session*, 30 and 31 October, 1919, p. 70.

does not arise in consumers' co-operative societies. Cases of unjust dismissal have, practically speaking, never occurred, and the workers' delegation has in any case a right of intervention on this as on other questions ; on the other hand, the Board of Managers and the Control Board are not in the habit of exercising their right of engaging staff ; all they do is to send to the trade unions concerned a statement of the labour they need. The approval of the works council of the appointment or the removal of persons occupying managerial positions is impossible in law and is obviously open to serious technical objections. In nearly all consumers' co-operative societies members of the Board of Managers are elected by the general meeting ; while as regards the appointment of heads of services, managers, and inspectors of branch stores, it may well be a question whether the works council can be absolutely relied upon to base its choice invariably on capacity alone, or whether it will not sometimes be influenced by the relations between the candidate and the staff <sup>(27)</sup>. Finally, it is important not to forget that by the terms of Section 41 of the Works Councils Act, a works council can be recalled practically at any moment. A new council might reverse the decisions of a previous council, thus making all continuity in business management impossible.

### *Wages*

Principle No. 4 of the Leipzig programme deals with the fixing of wages. Here it is worth while to compare the texts of the two Leipzig resolutions, the one defining the functions of works councils in co-operative societies and the one which attempts to regulate their relations with the trade unions. The recent policy of the works councils in certain co-operative societies is another factor ; and here there is every reason to fear, that in spite of certain verbal safeguards, the works councils are looked on in the light of wage boards. Now it is with the trade unions that the co-operative societies undoubtedly mean to continue to regulate such questions, following well-established policy. Again, the attempt to level up wages can neither be considered adapted to promote the working of co-operative societies on an economic basis, nor can it result in anything but an annulment of agreements signed with the great workers' organisations <sup>(28)</sup>.

### *Co-management*

Finally, it is inevitable that the question about which the authors of the Leipzig programme were most concerned, and which they embodied in Nos. 1 and 2 of their Principles, namely, the question of control and of represen-

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(27) *Ibid.* 30 and 31 October 1915, p. 74.

(28) *Ibid.* 11 and 12 June 1920, pp. 81 and 92.

tation of the works councils on the various organs constituting a co-operative society, should be exactly the question arousing the greatest uneasiness among co-operators. The Act has made no special provision for co-operative societies ; it will, therefore, be loyally applied by them, and works councils representatives, wherever such a course is voted, will sit on the Control Boards in enjoyment of the same rights as the other Board members. But for the present the Leipzig programme must necessarily remain inoperative, even where it only states that works councils must share in the work of the Control Boards ; this is contradictory to legislation which is still in force, and could not be carried out until the Act to apply Section 70 of the Works Councils Act has been passed, and the Commercial Code, the Companies Act, and the Co-operative Societies Act have all been amended. Section 36 of the Co-operative Societies Act does, as a matter of fact, run : "The Control Board shall be constituted, unless the statutes provide for a higher number, of three members *to be elected by the General Meeting*. Section 38 of the same Act actually provides against any provisional arrangements, in laying down that "the members of the Control Board *cannot delegate the exercise of their functions to other persons*" (29).

Again, the collaboration of works councils representatives at meetings of the Board of Managers, in the fixing of prices and in purchases, would be either purposeless in practice or would hinder the effective business working of a co-operative society. Responsibility for the buying policy of a society cannot possibly be shared between a large number of persons, even if otherwise competent ; this is the reason why control boards, which used in some societies to take part in the buying policy, now no longer do so. Even if it were desirable, the collaboration of a works council in the buying policy of a society could not be easily arranged ; purchase is made, not at a date and an hour fixed beforehand, but at favourable opportunities. In the same way, the share of works councils in the deliberations of the Board of Managers would be an illusory share, at any rate in the large societies ; business has to be settled and decisions have to be taken instantly, at the right opportunity or moment, and not when the Board of Managers happens to have a meeting (30).

The above is an outline of the reservations made, on points of law and of practice, by the Central Union of Consumers' Co-operative Societies in discussing the Leipzig programme, in so far as that programme goes beyond the Works Councils Act. Apart from any positive value which such reservations may have, the Central Union only attaches

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(29) *Ibid.* 11 and 12 June 1920, p. 83.

(30) *Ibid.* 30 and 31 October 1919, pp. 72, 73. The Austrian Wholesale Society has also rejected a request presented by the works council for representation on the Board of Managers.

importance to them, where consumers' co-operative societies run any danger of being at a disadvantage in their competition with private trade.

### *Discussion of Principles*

Nevertheless, the Central Union is also of opinion that the Leipzig programme would involve a complete revision of the principles, and a fundamental recasting of the organisation, of the consumers' co-operative movement, whose very existence it would imperil. Even the Act has not been unreservedly approved by co-operators ; but the Leipzig programme entirely fails to recognise the true spirit and social value of co-operation. "Consumers' co-operative societies," stated one of the most responsible representatives of the Central Union, "are based on the free association of consumers who are free to dispose of their power of consumption. The liberty of the consumer creates the democracy of the consumers' co-operative society, which governs itself through its Board of Managers and Control Board... It is a contradiction in terms to wish the works councils of consumers' co-operative societies to represent the interests of the consumers".

The Central Union has no intention of shirking the obligations which the Act imposes as to the allotting of seats, with voting power, to works councils representation. A considerable number of co-operators are even inclined to admit works councils representatives on the other organs of the societies or of the federations of societies, though only with a consultative voice. Such co-management by the staff appears to them both desirable and possible. It would be desirable in the interests of the workers, to whom it would give an opportunity of understanding the machinery of business, of coming into contact with certain problems of economics, and of forming or widening their judgment : the co-operative societies would thus help to educate their staff, as they have served and are serving to educate their managers<sup>(31)</sup>. The co-operative societies would profit themselves, for they would make use of the brains of their staff; again,

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(31) The *Betriebsrätezeitung*, the organ of the works councils of the General Federation of German Trade Unions, adopts an attitude to the Leipzig programme which in its reservations and shades of opinion is very similar to that of the Central Union of Consumers' Co-operative Societies. In its number of last February the *Betriebsrätezeitung* remarks that the technical control of an industrial or commercial establishment cannot be improvised, but implies that those who exercise it are possessed of a competence which they must first demonstrate. It says further that the fact of having been elected a member of a works council does not constitute sufficient guarantee of a sound judgment and clear insight into business, and that works councillors are necessarily still apprentices, obliged, before playing the part to which they aspire, to gain the necessary knowledge and qualifications. It considers that until then, if they are conscious of their responsibilities, they must exercise their functions with prudence.

workers and employees would be more closely in contact with the life of the organisation and more conscious of its functions even for the purpose of carrying out their regular duties ; the enthusiasm which comes from working for a common cause would be theirs <sup>(32)</sup>. This form of co-management would be possible and not inconvenient, as is proved by experiments already made in a certain number of societies. A few examples may be given. The works council in the Hamburg co-operative society *Produktion* has two votes on all boards and meetings, including, where the agenda touches work or health arrangements, the joint meetings of the Board of Managers and the Control Board <sup>(33)</sup>. In the Nüremberg Co-operative Society the staff has not asked for voting power, nor for any share in buying policy or in general business management ; but it has been represented with a consultative voice on all the boards since April 1920 <sup>(34)</sup>. Similarly, the works council of the Dortmund *Konsum- und Sparverein*, which was formed in October 1909 before the passing of the Act, has a fairly wide right of representation ; it has, in addition, the right of asking for information on buying and sales policy, but takes no positive share in commercial transactions. It intervenes in questions of work and of wages ; wages, however, are determined by degrees of skill and continue to be settled by the trade unions. The works council must assent to all engagements and discharges of staff, except in the case of members of the Board of Managers. With its rights it assumes certain responsibilities, and is bound to see that all those who are employed in the co-operative society perform their work conscientiously. In cases of disagreement between the management and the works council, the general meeting of members, which is the supreme democratic court of the society, passes judgment <sup>(35)</sup>.

Managers of these societies, and of societies which have widened the functions of their works council along similar lines and to a comparable extent, state that they are, in general, satisfied with the results of their experiment. There is, besides, every reason to think that within these limits the wider scope of the works council in consumers' co-operative societies would rouse little or no objection even from those among the representatives of the Central Union who are most vigorously opposed to the Leipzig programme <sup>(36)</sup>. But it must be understood that there is no room in co-operative

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(32) *Report of the Joint Session*, 11 and 12 June 1920, pp. 91, 93.

(33) *Ibid.* 30 and 31 Oct. 1919, p. 68.

(34) *Ibid.* 30 and 31 Oct. 1919, p. 77.

(35) *Richtlinien für den Betriebsrat*, Dortmund, 29 Oct. 1919.

(36) "If the provisions in force in the *Produktion* at Hamburg were introduced everywhere, we should have no need of any discussion on works councils, because that would do very well": Paul Hoffmann at the Joint Session, 30 and 31 October, 1919, p. 68.

organisations for anti-democratic privileges. On the contrary, "if the works councils mean to behave as really democratic members of the co-operative democracy and to try, in an impartial and loyal way, to protect the common interest of all the members, they will have ample opportunity and means for exercising the functions given to them by the Act in the co-operative societies, and their collaboration there will be welcomed as that of every sincere friend would be" (37).



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(37) *Konsumgenossenschaftliche Rundschau*, 22 January, 1921, p. 34.

# EDUCATION

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## Workers' Education in Italy

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THE movement for the intellectual upraising of the worker in Italy embraces various public and private movements aiming at providing opportunities for adults to reach a reasonable standard of general culture, as well as movements aiming at equipping a certain number of workers with the technical knowledge required by them if they are to occupy administrative posts in their union organisations and co-operative societies; it is closely connected with the question of elementary education. Statistics of illiteracy are still high, in spite of the many strenuous efforts made to decrease it. It is especially wide-spread in the provinces from which the larger number of emigrants are drawn, provinces which are thus demonstrably in a condition of serious moral and material inferiority. The struggle against illiteracy in Italy constitutes an initial and very important phase of the movement for the education of the masses.

The first subject dealt with here will therefore be the schools for illiterate adults. Some description will then be given of institutions for general popular education, of courses for the training of officials for the co-operative and trade union movements and of members of works committees, established by Socialists, Catholics, and non-party bodies, and finally of the scheme for organising a labour university, on the model of the well-established labour colleges in England.

### INSTRUCTION FOR ILLITERATE ADULTS

#### *The Schools of the General Emigration Board*

Italy has made great efforts to combat illiteracy, which is the result of very complex population, geographical, and economic factors (1). Since the introduction of compulsory

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(1) For the various legislative proposals against illiteracy, see, in addition to official documents and parliamentary reports, the following works :

F. CORRIDORE : *L'Istruzione in Italia*, parte Ia. Rome, Paravia, 1908.

A. AMATI : *L'Analfabetismo in Italia*. Novara, Illi Miglio, 1888.

A. MARCUCCI : *La Lotta contro l'Analfabetismo degli adulti e le scuole per gli Emigranti analfabeti*. Milan, *Cultura Popolare*, Anno XI, 1921.

elementary education by the Act of 15 July 1887, the sums credited to the Ministry of Public Instruction for elementary education have increased year by year<sup>(2)</sup>. But experience has shown that illiteracy among adults cannot be made to decline radically merely by the spread of elementary education. The child leaves school at a very early age, and in view of the need for poor children to earn their living as soon as possible, it would be difficult to keep them there longer; the instruction given is elementary, so that it often happens that the child, never having opened a book since it was ten years old, relapses into illiteracy just when it ought to be getting some advantage from its education<sup>(3)</sup>. Schools for illiterate conscripts (*scuoli reggimentali*) were therefore established in the barracks; they were quite successful, but only a limited number of persons benefited by them. In 1904 the Ministry of Public Instruction, with the financial assistance of the General Emigration Board, established evening classes. These classes were rapidly expanded; in 1913 they numbered 5,234 and catered for 146,500 pupils. The results obtained were not, however, very good, chiefly on account of the limited amount of money spent on them: only 1,700,000 lire per annum were allowed, i.e. barely 300 lire for each course of six months<sup>(4)</sup>; they were suppressed in 1920. An Institution against Illiteracy (*Ente contro l'Analfabetismo*), established on a large scale in July 1919 by the same Ministry, from the outset encountered every kind of administrative and political obstruction, and was also suppressed in 1920.

The General Emigration Board now decided to establish evening classes in the districts from which the larger number of emigrants were drawn. The very high percentage of illiterates in these districts was bound to be a matter of concern to the Emigration Board, constituting, as it did, a serious obstacle to emigration, both from the legal point of view and on economic and moral grounds. Certain countries, the United States of America for example, reject illiterate immigrants. It is, besides, only too evident that the illiterate workman in his own country, no less than abroad, is condemned to the lowest class of labour; in a foreign country this moral inferiority constitutes a condition of real dependence and subjection. The General Emigration Board therefore initiated in 1920 its own independent movement to combat adult illiteracy. A programme contemplating the opening of 750 centres, providing education for 30,000 persons, was decided on in December, and steps were immediately taken under the direction of Mr. Marcucci, a member of the Ministry of Public Instruction, for organising classes in every commune in which there were

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(2) New elementary schools to the number of 2,000 were established by Minister Croce in 1920.

(3) N. COLAJANNI : *Demografia*, Naples 1909, p. 113.

(4) A. MARCUCCI, *op. cit.*

ten or more illiterate adults. The indifference of many of the local authorities was at first a great difficulty, but, in spite of this, 759 schools had been opened in 570 different localities by 1 February 1921; there were in attendance 30,000 pupils. The schools were distributed over the districts as follows <sup>(5)</sup>.

|                    | Number of<br>localities | Number of<br>schools |
|--------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| Marches            | 15                      | 26                   |
| Umbria             | 4                       | 4                    |
| Latium             | 19                      | 24                   |
| Abruzzi and Molise | 116                     | 136                  |
| Campania           | 75                      | 110                  |
| Puglie             | 42                      | 72                   |
| Basilicata         | 33                      | 44                   |
| Calabria           | 173                     | 194                  |
| Sicily             | 90                      | 145                  |
| Sardinia           | 3                       | 4                    |
|                    | 570                     | 759                  |

Pupils are placed in their different classes and an examination of results is made by the Government education inspectors. On the first and fifteenth of each month the teaching staff send up a report to their district inspector, who reads it and sends it on to the Emigration Board. Special grants are payable to the staff for every pupil who passes the annual examinations.

The centres have only been established for a month or two, but results already obtained appear to show that they do actually provide adequate though elementary instruction for illiterate adults, and especially for intending emigrants. A number of municipal authorities, who have until now been indifferent, are requesting the Board to establish centres in their districts. The Board has begun to publish lesson books, spelling books, reading books, etc., and is thinking of organising next winter a series of popular lectures on subjects specially useful to emigrants, such as geography, history, and social legislation.

#### *Schools for the Peasants of the Roman Campagna*

Among the institutions which to a certain extent served as a model for the centres described in the last paragraph were the classes for illiterate peasants inhabiting the Roman Campagna, the *Agro Romano*, a vast plain of 300,000 hectares which extends round Rome. Poorly irrigated, infested with

(5) *Bolletino dell'Emigrazione*, March 1921.

malaria, and affording nothing but meagre pasturage, this region has a normal population of only 30,000 inhabitants, for the most part shepherds or agricultural labourers, scattered over vast estates known as *latifondi*, working under difficult conditions and shut off from all contact with the towns. There are no regular state schools in the *Agro Romano*; it would have been almost impossible to establish them, as there exist no considerable centres of population, the peasants tending to be nomadic, and means of communication being very inferior. To ensure some sort of rudimentary education to the population of the Roman Campagna, it was necessary to create a special type of educational centre, adapted to their mode of life and capable of being rapidly removed and set up in any place. With this object a Committee was constituted in 1906, which included among others the poet Giovanni Cena, Mr. Celli, and Mr. Marcucci. The Committee quickly formulated a programme, which won the sympathies of the public, and subsequently the support of the Government, which granted annual subsidies, amounting to 50,000 lire in 1913 and 90,000 in 1921. By 1911 the number of educational centres established by this Committee was 35, providing education for 1,400 pupils; their number increased rapidly, until by January 1921 there were 17 day centres, 30 evening centres, 15 summer schools, 5 training centres for women's work, and 4 children's orphanages actively at work; these provided education for 2,642 pupils. The success of this movement for the intellectual redemption of the Roman Campagna is now assured.

Since January 1921 the association for establishing educational centres in the *Agro Romano* has been established as a body corporate at law. It is administered by a Managing Council of seventeen members; an Executive Committee of five members supervises the actual work of the schools. The balance-sheet for 1920 ran to 170,000 lire, of which 20,000 lire were furnished by the Ministry of Public Instruction, 40,000 lire by the Ministry of Agriculture, 14,000 lire by the Deposit and Loan Fund (*Cassa Depositi e Prestiti*), 12,000 lire by the city of Rome, and 14,000 lire by the tax-payers of certain communes of Latium and by private donations. The accounts of the association are subject to an annual Government audit.

Use is made of any building available in the peasant settlements in order to establish a centre; thus barns, farms, waiting-rooms of small railway-stations, and chapels have been converted into centres. Where no buildings are available moveable wooden huts are put up, with living-rooms for the teacher; stone buildings have been constructed recently. There are at present both day and evening classes, the latter especially intended for adults. The teacher lives among the peasants; he goes with them when they return to the mountains, which are their real home,

for two or three months after the harvest and carries on his teaching during that time. The curriculum taught is practically that taught in the elementary schools. Necessary materials are supplied free of charge by the Committee.

The teaching was at first done by volunteers. Subsequently, a paid staff was engaged, at a salary of about 3,500 lire for seven months' teaching; a special grant is payable to the teacher for every pupil who passes the examinations. The Committee refunds removal expenses. Improvements are being discussed, especially on the subject of the examination grants to teachers, and negotiations are also in progress between the Committee and the Ministry of Public Instruction for establishing bursaries to enable teachers to attend special courses at the Institutes for Agricultural Instruction.

The centres are frequently visited by the Executive Committee and by government inspectors. Leaving examinations, giving successful candidates the right of continuing their studies in the regular state schools, take place every year under state control.

#### *Emigrants' Courses*

In 1913 the General Emigration Board, acting with the Ministry of Public Instruction and at its expense, established evening centres with the object of providing special additional instruction for emigrants already able to read and write. These centres made little progress, and their number decreased rapidly after the war broke out. In 1913 they numbered 157, with an attendance of 5,949 pupils, in 1914 160, with an attendance of 5,367 pupils, and in 1915 47, with an attendance of 762 pupils. In the first place it was necessary to train the teachers for these centres on special methods. With this object the Education Ministry instituted in 1909, and continued until 1914, teachers' courses in several towns. These courses were attended by elementary school masters, and a certain number of these were placed in charge of emigrants' evening classes in 1913, 1914, and 1915. When the war put a stop to emigration, both the teachers' courses and the emigrants' classes were abandoned.

Books dealing with Italian emigration in Europe and America had been specially issued and distributed to these classes by the Emigration Board. Books for teachers had also been prepared, among which a manual by Mr. A. Cabrini<sup>(6)</sup> was particularly in request.

### TRADE UNION SCHOOLS AND WORKERS' COLLEGES

#### *The Early Schools*

Workers' organisations in various countries have felt, on reaching a certain stage in their development, that they

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(6) ANGIOLIO CABRINI. *Il Maestro degli Emigranti (Guida per Lezioni e Conferenze a preparazione degli emigranti italiani)*, Imola 1913.

must establish schools for the training of a body of workers who, by reason of their expert knowledge, would be fit persons to undertake the moral and administrative direction of labour organisations (7).

A real trade union school, for the instruction of future organisers, did not exist in Italy until quite recently. The only

(7) The Italian movement for trade union education drew its inspiration partly from the institutions of other countries ; in order to understand its origin, character, and scope, it will perhaps not be without value to note here the most important foreign organisations.

In Germany the General Committee of Trade Unions : (*Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands*), the predecessor of the General Federation of Trade Unions (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*), established some time ago a school for organisers (*Gewerkschaftliche Unterrichtskurse*), which made a considerable contribution to the progress and success of the trade union movement in that country. A few years before the war, other institutions were established, such as the Section of Social Politics, entrusted with the collection and classification of a vast quantity of material for investigations on labour and social problems.

In Switzerland, the Trade Union Federation (*Gewerkschaftsbund*) and the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party have agreed on a programme, to include the creation of local educational committees, the organisation of lectures, artistic instruction, the preparation of catalogues, the formation of libraries, etc.

But it is above all in England that the trade union and co-operative organisations have made great efforts for the improvement of adult workers' education. In that country labour colleges have been long and firmly established and are very influential ; we need only name Ruskin College and the Labour College. The former, which was founded in 1899 with the object of enabling workers to acquire knowledge of those branches of education which are essential to persons wishing to lead the labour movement, was reorganised in 1910 and its administration placed exclusively in the hands of the workers' associations supporting it. Each trade union, trades council, or co-operative society, sending at its own expense one or more pupils to the College, is entitled to have a representative on the Governing Council, which is re-elected annually. In addition, the Council includes representatives of certain national organisations, such as the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, the National Co-operative Union, etc., and three members of academic bodies with a consultative voice only. The College curriculum includes courses in social and industrial history, political economy, political administration, English language and literature ; there are also practical courses in book-keeping, etc., for co-operators, courses in social legislation, history of the socialist movement, foreign languages, etc. The College has also started correspondence courses.

In 1909 a group of organisations, dissatisfied with the policy of Ruskin College, and anxious to give a more markedly trade union trend to workers' education, founded the Labour College in London. This College was founded in order to "educate and train trade unionists in social science and to take part in the political and industrial life of the labour movement". The instruction given follows Marxian tendencies. The College is financed by the National Union of Railwaymen and the South Wales Miners' Federation. It is managed exclusively by representatives of workers' organisations adhering to the Labour Party. It is organised in the form of a resident college, and the resident pupils themselves see to part of the domestic service, which they control by means of their "House Meeting". The yearly curriculum includes courses in political economy, industrial history, general history, history of social movements, English, formal logic,

school which in any way attempted to meet this need was the School of Social Legislation of the Umanitaria Society<sup>(8)</sup>. This School, which was established some years before the war, has just been reorganised, with a curriculum which will be discussed below. It must not be supposed that, because this was the sole institution of its class, Italian industrial and political bodies failed to take an interest in popular education. On the contrary, mutual benefit associations, co-operative societies, chambers of labour, and to some extent local branches of the Socialist Party organised special educational facilities, such as people's colleges, technical schools, and popular theatres, or co-operated to spread culture among the masses by means of already existing institutions.

But even though people's colleges and other institutions might contribute effectively to raise the general level of culture among the masses, they still could not meet certain special needs of the working classes. There was still no "school of trade union education" in existence, where the worker might learn how a federation is constituted and worked, or what is a collective contract, a works committee, or a body of working regulations; in which he might acquire a knowledge of the extent of the trade union movement, of the transformation effected in the relations between the different classes of society, of the statutes of the international organisations, etc.

The Umanitaria Society was the first to take account of this need, and in 1910 made a notable effort to satisfy it by establishing a "practical school of co-operation, social welfare, and social legislation", supplemented by a "social museum", which produced excellent results. The curriculum included courses in political economy, the history of workers' organisations, labour legislation, industrial hygiene, statistics, technical subjects, book-keeping, emigration, agricultural

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the theory of knowledge, literature, elocution, and sociology. Local courses in industrial history have been organised in various districts.

Closely connected with the Labour College is the Plebs League, an association of old students and supporters of the College. It is designed to promote the self-education of the working class, with a view to the improvement of labour conditions as at present existing and to emancipation from the wage-system. The practical activity of the League takes the form of organising local courses, wherever possible, with the support of trade unions and trades and labour councils. It publishes educational books, pamphlets, and a review, *The Plebs*.

Shortly after war was declared, a Labour College was proposed in Scotland. The scheme had no immediate result, but was taken up again later.

In 1920 the Provisional Committee organised thirty evening and holiday courses on economic and political subjects in several towns in Scotland, which were attended by about 3,000 pupils.

(8) This institution was founded in 1892 by Mr. P. M. Loria, and was constituted a body corporate at law by a Decree of 29 June 1893. Its objects are the protection of emigrants, the assistance of the unemployed, and the provision of general education and technical training for workers. It has for some time been under the direction of Prof. A. Osimo, supported by a Governing Body of fifteen members.

science, popular literature, and in the management of producers' and consumers' co-operative societies. At the same time, this school could not be classed as a real trade union school, seeing that it aimed chiefly at providing instruction in social legislation and training men to be experts in labour questions, which is not the same thing as training future leaders of the trade union movement. The fact is that before the war the trade union movement had not yet reached its present advanced stage of development, and therefore did not profess to make the demands which it is making now.

In 1919 the Umanitaria Society tried to satisfy these new demands and established two educational centres, one for co-operators and the other for organisers<sup>(9)</sup>. This new type of school was first opened in 1920. The students, to the number of about sixty, were quartered in Milan at the Office of the Umanitaria Society from 15 April to 15 July. Most of them held bursaries, which were in general given by the Society. Two-thirds of the students attended the courses for co-operators; the rest attended the courses of the trade union section. The subjects of instruction mentioned above were common to both sections, with the exception of those relating to co-operation, which were reserved for the co-operative section; in the curriculum of the trade union section they were replaced by courses in the history of the trade union movement and in the practical management of trade union organisations. The three months' teaching which were given were a mere experiment, but the results were sufficiently good to encourage the continuation and further development of the work. At this point the most powerful of the workers' organisations, the General Confederation of Labour, stepped in and decided to support the efforts of the Umanitaria Society, and to found a great school of trade union education.

### *The Trade Union School of the Confederation of Labour*

In its plenary sitting on 22 April last, the National Council of the General Confederation of Labour adopted a resolution

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(9) It should be here mentioned that about the same time the Umanitaria Society, in conjunction with the National League of Co-operative Societies and the National Credit Institute for Co-operation, also founded an Association for Practical Schools of Co-operation and Social Welfare (*Consorzio per le scuole pratiche di cooperazione e di previdenza*), which has established courses in thirteen different towns (Bari, Belluno, Bologna, Caserta, Cremona, Mantua, Naples, Reggio Emilia, Trent, Treviso, Udine, Venice, Verona). These courses, directed by Prof. G. Valar, have an eminently practical character, and have already produced very good results. Their curriculum includes commercial arithmetic, book-keeping, co-operative legislation, social welfare legislation, and the management of agricultural mutual benefit societies. In May 1921 the pupils numbered 364, for the most part co-operative employees who wished to improve their education. The staff is recruited from the teachers in Government technical institutes; expenses are borne by the National Credit Institute for Co-operation; a certain number of co-operative societies have also contributed to the development of the institution an amount which has now reached 280,000 lire.

put forward by Deputy Quaglino and Mr. Galli. This resolution recognised "the urgent need of training a body of workers qualified to direct trade union organisation", and accordingly decided to constitute "a permanent trade union school, in connection with the General Confederation of Labour, supported by contributions from the labour funds and labour federations".

It was further decided at this meeting that this school hold regular courses, and be under the direction of Mr. Rinaldo Rigola, a former General Secretary of the General Confederation.

In his report Mr. Rigola explained the programme of the new institution. After referring to the school founded by the Umanitaria Society, he stated that he saw in that school the foundations of the institution which the General Confederation intended to establish, and suggested that the Confederation might come to an agreement with the Umanitaria Society, and take over the direction of the already existing school and develop it. The Council of the Confederation agreed to this suggestion, and in 1921 decided to make a beginning by extending the Umanitaria school. The teaching given will aim at training a large body of workers, with a view to fitting them to become administrators in the various organisations supported by the labour movement. They are to aim at being

- (1) managers of workers' associations, labour funds and federations;
- (2) managers or managing directors of co-operative societies;
- (3) managers, inspectors, and employees in unemployment, sickness, invalidity, and old-age insurance funds, and in employment exchanges; factory inspectors, managers, and secretaries in bureaus for giving legal advice in labour legislation;
- (4) members of works' committees and of bodies formed for establishing workers' control in the management of industrial establishments.

As it will be necessary to provide a different kind of instruction for each class of official, there will be separate courses for each of the above. In other words, there will be a school for organisers, a school for co-operators, a school for the officials indicated under (3), and a school for members of works committees. But while a single national training centre will suffice to train workers for (1), (2), and (3), it has been suggested that a training centre should be opened in each of the principal industrial towns for training members of works committees.

Mr. Rigola stated in his report that students will have to be members of a trade union organisation affiliated to the General Confederation of Labour. The age for admission will be between 18 and 40 years, with exceptions in special cases. Applicants for admission will be required to pass a preliminary examination, in order to test their standard

of general education; on the results of this examination they will be admitted to the regular courses, or will have to attend an elementary class attached to the trade union school, for the purpose of completing their preliminary instruction. The normal duration of a course will be five months. The report also contemplates the organisation of a central library.

### *Courses established by the Catholics*

The Catholic organisations, which even before the war had provided courses of social education in certain towns <sup>(10)</sup>, have also been very active in establishing trade union and social education for workers. In March 1920 the Italian Confederation of Workers (*Confederazione Italiana dei Lavoratori*), which is the central organisation of Catholic labour, established its first course for workers, limited to forty pupils, in Rome. The students were drawn from various districts and received bursaries. The subjects taught included political economy, sociology, trade union administration, the law of collective disputes, labour legislation, the management of mutual benefit institutions, social insurance, besides elementary instruction in administrative, civil, constitutional, and commercial law; written and oral exercises were given, and examinations held at the end of the courses, on the results of which diplomas were conferred on the successful pupils, who afterwards received appointments as secretaries to the various Labour Associations (*Unioni del Lavoro*), which is the name given to the local branches of the Catholic organisation.

The Italian Confederation also established in 1920 special courses for workers in agricultural organisations at Fermo, the centre of the vast agricultural district of the Marches. The curriculum included lectures on agricultural labour contracts and on crop-raising; the courses were attended by twenty-five land workers.

Other institutions due to the initiative of the Catholic organisations (*Unione popolare, Confederazione italiana dei lavoratori, Confederazione cooperativa italiana*) are the School for Workers and Co-operators, which was founded at Rome in 1920, and the courses of general education for organisers, which the Bank of Labour and Co-operation established at Rho (Milan) in March 1920, in conjunction with the Bureau for Assistance and Economic Propaganda of the Province of Milan.

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(10) Among the more important of these courses were those on labour legislation, which were held in 1910 at the Catholic social school at Bergamo, and included lectures on labour problems, the history of labour legislation, industrial arbitration, social welfare, trade union organisation, the legal protection of workers, minimum wages, etc.; also the "social reunions", organised in 1909 and 1910 at Rome by the Diocesan Directorate of that city, including lectures on labour problems, employment contracts, minimum wages, women's wages, hours of work, and trade organisations.

*The School of Social Education of the City of Rome*

After having made a first attempt in 1919, the Labour Office of the City of Rome established, in January 1920, a School of Social Education, including various special departments. There is a preparatory course for workers not possessing the necessary general education to enable them to follow the other courses; these other courses are the course on social training, which includes instruction in public and private law, political economy, statistics, labour legislation and social welfare legislation, history of organisations, book-keeping, technology, and industrial hygiene; a practical course for co-operators, including instruction on the co-operative movement, co-operative legislation, and the management of co-operative societies; a course on the technique and economy of production, including instruction in theoretical and practical industrial economics, production and markets, labour politics, and labour legislation. Public lectures on the labour movement, social legislation, and social welfare complete the programme of the school, which is already attended by about a hundred students. It is under the direction of Mr. Mancini, and the instruction in each subject is entrusted to teachers who are specialists in their subjects, among whom are Senator Saldini, President of the Supreme Council of Labour, Professor Mondaini, Director of the Italian Colonial Institute, Deputy Olivetti, General Secretary of the General Confederation of Industry, Mr. Solinas, Director of the Labour Department at the Ministry of Labour, and Professor Bazzi, General Director of the National Federation of Co-operative Societies. The School of Social Education of the City of Rome may be regarded as a first step in the direction of a real labour college.

## THE PROPOSED FACULTY OF LABOUR

In April 1921 Professor Griziotti presented to the Managing Council of the General Confederation of Labour a scheme for establishing, with the help of the workers' organisations, a Faculty of Labour at the University of Pavia. This scheme aimed at introducing into Italy a system of collaboration between universities and workers' organisations on the English model; but it failed to meet with the approval of the Council of the Confederation, who considered that workers' higher education should be reserved to the school of Trade Union Education under the direction and control of the General Confederation of Labour.

# AGRICULTURE

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## Technical Agricultural Education in Poland

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IN studying economic and social conditions in reconstituted Poland, it is necessary first to examine the situation as it was in the territories once subject to Russia, Austria, and Prussia before the reconstruction of the Polish State, and then to examine it as it is now that these formerly disunited regions have become one country; lastly, to give some consideration to recent Polish legislation. This legislation has been the basis of all efforts by the Government or by others for the social reorganisation of the country; it has not yet, however, come completely into operation. Most of the new laws were only passed in the course of last year, which was a year of war and Bolshevik invasion, not at all propitious for carrying out measures which will require a very long time before they can be counted on to have their proper effect.

These considerations apply with special force to all educational problems. In the provinces which used to belong to Prussia, compulsory education had existed for years; in those attached to Russia there was no primary education at all; it is therefore natural that technical education in the agricultural industry should take quite a different course in the two parts of the country.

But before examining the question of such technical education, it is necessary to consider briefly the whole state of ordinary primary education in the various territories now reconstituted as the Republic of Poland, up to the moment of legislative union.

### THE SITUATION BEFORE THE RECONSTITUTION OF THE POLISH STATE

#### *Primary Education*

Compulsory education existed before the war in the provinces subject to Prussia and Austria. In Austria, education was compulsory for all children from 6 to 14 years, both in towns and villages. Any pupil who had not learned to read or write, or who had not sufficient notions of

arithmetic and religion, could be compelled to attend school after the age of 14 years. All non-attendance had to be excused, and the only excuses accepted were the illness of the pupil or of one of his parents; dangerous weather conditions threatening the life or health of the pupil; impracticable roads. Parents, guardians, or employers not observing the provisions of the law relating to compulsory education were liable to fines. On a second or subsequent offence, they were liable to severer penalties inflicted by the tribunals for the guardianship of infants. Education was free. Summer holidays lasted six weeks. It must be remarked, however, that these general provisions were not much observed in Galicia. Schools did not exist everywhere, and in many cases the courses only lasted for a year or two. Four years' schools, although provided for, were very rare. Supervision by the school authorities hardly existed, and parents were very often dispensed from sending their children to school.

Compulsory education existed in those parts of the country formerly belonging to Prussia for children from 6 to 14 years of age. All non-attendance had to be excused, and the excuses admitted were strictly defined; for each day of a child's non-attendance without sufficient excuse, the parents or guardians paid a minimum fine of 50 pfennig. In country districts school was suspended for three weeks in summer, during the harvest, and for three weeks in autumn. The organisation and supervision of the schools was much stricter than in Galicia.

In the old kingdom of Poland, and in the other provinces belonging to Russia, there was no compulsory education at all. Here and there in the country districts there were primary schools with classes lasting from three to four years, but attendance at them was absolutely optional. These schools were very few in number, at most two or three in a commune, which means a district including from five to ten villages. The authorities could not exercise any rights of supervision. With the exception of religion and the Polish language, everything taught in these schools was taught in Russian, and within a month or two of leaving the children had inevitably forgotten all that they had learned. The number of children attending these schools was extremely small. The Polish schools created and carried on secretly in the residences of the great landed proprietors were scarcely more important.

### *Technical Agricultural Education*

#### *In Prussian Poland*

Technical agricultural education in Prussian Poland was under the direction of the Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry, and Crown Domains; the Ministry entrusted the supervision, and in part the organisation, of elementary agricultural schools (intended for pupils who had finished

their primary education) to the chambers [of agriculture, rightly considering that institutions of trained persons, well acquainted with local needs, would discharge these functions better than a bureaucratic organisation. In the primary school agricultural science had no place worth mentioning. The pupils acquired a few elementary notions during the lessons in natural sciences, such as botany and zoology, which formed part of the school curriculum. More important were the technical courses for young villagers from 15 to 16 years of age, who had already passed through the primary school.

The statistics relating to the agricultural courses instituted in former Prussian territories are given in the following table (').

TABLE I

|              | No. of courses 1911-1912 | No. of students 1911-1912 | Average per course | Total no. of students from the foundation of the course to end of March 1912 |
|--------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|--|
| Posen        | 13                       | 427                       | 33                 | 3,629  |
| West Prussia | 9                        | 377                       | 42                 | 3,595  |
| Total        | 22                       | 804                       | 36.5               | 7,224  |

TABLE II

|              | Total expenses of maintenance | Receipts           |                   |                             |                          |
|--------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
|              |                               | receipts from fees | government grants | communal association grants | chamber of agric. grants |
|              | francs                        | francs             | francs            | francs                      | francs                   |
| Posen        | 149,504                       | 18,857             | 95,432            | 34,130                      | 2,836                    |
| West Prussia | 118,993                       | 13,181             | 82,839            | 25,304                      | 617                      |
| Total        | 268,497                       | 32,038             | 178,271           | 59,434                      | 3,453                    |

The curricula of these courses were not uniform.

(1) *Residential Training Centres.* These were built for twenty or more pupils and gave both theoretical and practical instruction in two to three year courses. The pupils were trained in all practical agricultural operations on model farms attached to the schools. Minimum annual maintenance fees were charged, but grants were provided, either by the Government or by the chambers of agriculture, which received large grants from the Government for that purpose.

(2) *Winter Training Courses.* These were either established at a fixed centre, or were arranged on a kind of travelling

(1) RUMKER: *L'état actuel de l'enseignement agricole en Allemagne. Bulletin mensuel de renseignement agricole.* Rome, 1914, No. 5.

system. The travelling instructor lived in the villages during the winter, and had a suitable building placed at his disposal for his instructions. Both types of schools aimed at training men to be farmers, but the second type gave theoretical instruction only.

In addition to these general training centres, special training centres existed, chiefly for gardening and dairy farming. The courses in gardening as a rule lasted a few weeks; the principal training centre for dairy farming was at Wrzesnia (Wreschen), Posen, and was attached to the Experimental Institute of Dairy Farming, a station run on the most scientific and up-to-date principles; the course of training lasted a year. There were nine training centres for women in Posen and West Prussia, six residential and three on the travelling system.

The general expenses of maintaining these centres amounted to 184,866 francs in 1912. The expenditure was largely covered by the receipts from the centres themselves, amounting to about 150,000 francs. Government grants totalled 28,000 francs, the balance being advanced by communal associations and agricultural societies. Where model farms were attached to the centres, they were mostly devoted to the raising of stock.

These training centres were for the use of the rural population, and were intended to educate a class of farmers. The secondary schools admitted those wishing to enter agriculture as a paid career. Attendance at these schools conferred the right of reducing military service to one year. Each centre had six classes, and admittance to the first class could begin from 10 years of age. The curriculum was that of the Prussian *Realschulen*, but much shorter, and covered German, one modern language, mathematics, history and geography; it also included subjects directly connected with agriculture, to which ten hours per week were devoted in the first class. From the first to the fourth classes natural sciences, botany, zoology, mineralogy, geology, elementary chemistry and physics were taught, and in the fifth and sixth classes purely agricultural subjects, the raising of cattle, crop cultivation, agricultural management, agricultural chemistry, and allied subjects. Instruction was purely theoretical; the fees charged were on a level with those of the ordinary secondary schools. The pupils were expected to acquire their practical knowledge later. The leaving certificate or diploma entitled the pupil, after two years of agricultural practice on an estate, to enter any of the German higher schools of agriculture. These schools were very popular, but many criticised them strongly, maintaining that the large number of relatively advanced subjects taught to pupils who possessed no practical agricultural knowledge not only failed to attain the end proposed, but must interfere with their general education; the popularity of these schools, it was argued, was due to the easily obtained

diploma, which secured the reduction of military service to one year.

There were no advanced schools of agriculture in the province of Posen. The experimental farms and even the immense Institute of Agriculture of Bydgoszcz (Bromberg), equipped with all the discoveries of agricultural science, were not used for purposes of agricultural education.

German nationals only were admitted to the agricultural training centres provided for the rural population. The Polish community, recognising that it was essential to secure for their members a share in the latest acquisitions of agricultural science, established its own system of agricultural training centres for adults under the name of "agricultural clubs". These organisations could not replace a regular agricultural education, but, as they were both permanent and regular, their success was considerable. The arrangement was that in each parish of from three to five villages, an agricultural club was organised; the larger and smaller landed proprietors joined as members, and a large landowner, who, of course, was a man of superior education, was usually elected as chairman. The club met once a month after Mass near the church; a lecture was given on a question taken from a programme which had been drawn up in advance, and was followed by discussion; members also reported on experiments which they had been making on their farms and estates. The central committee of the Agricultural Clubs of Posen was authorised to see that a sufficient number of lectures were arranged and that the programme was consecutively carried out. During the years preceding the war the school authorities, in co-operation with the chambers of agriculture, organised courses in agriculture for conscripts in the villages.

### *In the Austrian Provinces*

Detailed information as to technical training in agriculture in the Austrian Provinces is lacking. As a rule, the Austrian Government entrusted the supervision of elementary agricultural training centres to the Agricultural Societies of Cracow and Lwow (Lemberg). These elementary centres were organised on the model of the Prussian centres. There was only one secondary training centre, but there were two advanced schools, one at Cracow and the other at Dublany. At Cracow there was a University Faculty of Agricultural Studies. This Faculty provided instruction in natural science up to a very high standard, but only on the theoretical side. Only students who had completed their secondary school courses were admitted; they were required to study for four years, at the end of which time they sat for an examination and received a diploma. Students wishing to proceed to the doctor's degree were required to submit a thesis and to offer themselves for four other

examinations on various subjects, one of which was philosophy; they could then take the degree of doctor of philosophy in conformity with the compulsory provisions for Austrian universities.

At Dublany there was a three years' course. The institution was situated in the country, and there was an experimental farm and a well-endowed experimental station attached. Students were bound to have obtained their bachelor's degree before admittance. The instruction was much more practical than at Cracow, and the situation, the residential system, and other factors were great advantages.

### *In the Russian Provinces*

Whereas the Prussian and Austrian Governments subsidised agricultural training centres, the Russian Government was opposed to all attempts at agricultural education in their Polish provinces. This was only part of the general policy to obstruct all organisations aiming at public education or instruction, as incompatible with the government point of view. Under these circumstances technical training in agriculture could make no progress in this part of Poland. A very few schools existed, organised and supported solely by private initiative. They were, however, numerous enough to show the type of elementary agricultural training centre which would have been specially suitable.

As there was no compulsory education and as the private organisation of schools was prohibited, agriculture could not be taught in any form in the primary schools in this part of the country. The efforts of the community could only be directed to the organisation of agricultural continuation centres or to technical courses for adults. The oldest training centre in elementary agricultural studies was that of Sobieszyn, founded by private initiative in 1896. A three years' course was given; there was a farm attached and residence was provided.

In course of time it became plain that this type of training centre was only suitable for those wishing to enter agriculture as a paid profession. Farmers' sons hardly availed themselves of it, as the course was too long. A special type of centre had to be established for them, ensuring certain points, as follows :—

(1) The length of the course was fixed at eleven months only, so as to attract this class of pupil.

(2) As so short a course was insufficient for a serious training in agriculture, only older pupils were admitted, who were able to read and write and had already had some practical experience in farming their own land, and who wished to attend the courses with a view to extending and completing the knowledge acquired in practice.

(3) Instruction could not be limited to purely technical

subjects. With a view to training up men who should be useful members of the community, it was essential to make good the gaps in education, due to the absence of any regular and compulsory educational system. With this end in view, boarding establishments and experimental farms were attached to these centres.

These eleven month courses were very popular, but lack of funds made it impossible to extend them ; only five were in existence before the war. There were also certain centres of a different type, giving a five months' course. Several attempts were also made to organise travelling courses of ten weeks, but these were not successful. Six of the domestic economy schools for women organised eleven month courses which were very popular. These courses were identical with the parallel courses for youths, excepting only that the model farms attached specialised in stock-raising and gardening. Students at all schools paid a small fee to cover the expenses of their maintenance ; the instruction itself was subsidised either by agricultural societies or by private persons.

The agricultural clubs, organised on the model of the clubs established in the Prussian provinces, were a very important factor in providing technical training in agriculture for adults. The figures for 1913 prove how wide was their activity. There were 1,051 clubs with about 100,000 members. The work carried on in these clubs is not comparable with work at a special centre where a consecutive programme is followed, but the rural population owes to them considerable knowledge of natural science and a great deal of agricultural information.

Of special institutes mention must be made of the important School of Horticulture at Warsaw, subsidised by the Agricultural Society of Warsaw. This institute offered two courses, one for jobbing gardeners capable of attending to small gardens and orchards, the other for professional gardeners capable of managing large horticultural establishments. The curricula for the agricultural training centres also included horticulture ; the centres offering the eleven month courses gave altogether 120 hours to this subject, in addition to practical work out of doors.

There were no advanced schools of agriculture in Russian Poland, as the Government invariably refused to authorise them. The agricultural courses at Warsaw, which were begun in 1911, were academic in character ; they conferred no diploma, and consisted almost exclusively of lectures on theory. A parallel course in horticulture was started in 1913, and use was made of an experimental garden of six hectares. These two courses were financed by private persons and by agricultural societies.

A Russian advanced school of agriculture existed at Poulavy, formerly a Polish model estate ; from 1893 onwards the constitution of this institute was made to conform to the

requirements of Russian law relating to academic institutes, and it was fully subsidised by the Russian Government. The school had its own experimental station and model farm. As practically no Poles were admitted as students, it was without influence on the progress of Polish agriculture, and did not count as an important national institution.

#### THE SITUATION AFTER THE RECONSTITUTION OF THE POLISH STATE

Almost immediately after the Russian evacuation of Poland in August 1915 the Civil Committee established at Warsaw proclaimed compulsory education throughout the country. When in 1917 the German Occupying Authorities granted a charter of autonomy to the country, and included public education in that charter, one of the first acts of those benefiting was to set up primary schools. But the chief legislative measure regulating education in reconstituted Poland has been the Decree of February 1919. Under the terms of this Decree education is compulsory for all children from 7 to 14 years of age. Any commune where there are more than 40 children of school age must establish a school. A common school may be established for several communes together, if there are less than 40 such children in each commune, provided that the area embraced shall have a radius not exceeding three kilometres. Provision is made for compelling communes to fulfil their duties. Pending the establishment of these schools, schools having a course of studies of from four to five years are recognised, but the Order of 8 August 1919 provides that in this case children shall be compelled to attend a supplementary class up to the age of 14 years, the period of attendance being from two to three years. The object is to encourage the general progress of education and to stimulate young people to a desire for further instruction. This supplementary instruction covers at least four hours a week and is continuous throughout the year.

With a view to ensuring that the law on compulsory attendance shall be properly observed, and in order to induce parents to send their children to school, guardianship societies have been established, under the name of "school guardians", for one or more schools in the same locality. "School guardians" have also other duties, such as the giving of assistance to poor children, the provision of conveyances for children living at a distance from the schools, and so on. They also prepare a list of children of school age in their area and communicate it to the school managers.

The school year lasts from the beginning of September to the end of June, but the "school guardians" may establish two interruptions of 14 days each during the seasons when field work is done; they may also change the attendance

hours so as to facilitate such work, but may not reduce them.

Non-attendance may be excused on account of the scholar's own illness, the death of a member of his family, contagious disease in his home, and on account of such other causes as may appear to the teacher sufficient. Attendance is supervised by the teacher and the principal guardian. Persons failing to send their children to school are liable to one or two days' imprisonment or to a fine of 40 marks; failure to enter the child at a school is punishable by five days' imprisonment and a fine of 100 marks. Children certified as ill by the school doctor, or whose home is more than three kilometres from the school, or who are receiving instruction in other institutions, are exempted from attendance. Children certified as ill may be exempted for one year or more. Exemptions are granted by school supervisors, exercising in the whole commune functions similar to those exercised by the "school guardians" in their particular area.

The principle of compulsory education established by the new Constitution of the Polish State, as adopted on 17 March 1921, proves the importance which the country attaches to this question. Articles 115 and 119 run as follows:—

Education in a primary school shall be compulsory for all citizens. The period of instruction, the scope of the curriculum, and the methods to be followed shall be defined by a special Act.

Instruction in state schools and communal schools shall be free. The state shall confer upon pupils with exceptional gifts and not possessing pecuniary means scholarships for the purpose of enabling them to continue their studies in secondary and higher schools.

During the first three years of its existence the Polish State concentrated all its efforts on the organisation of these primary schools. Some attempt, however, has been made to raise the standard of technical agricultural training centres. The legislative work in this direction is already almost complete. In the first place, it was felt that such training centres must be created and must have model farms attached, and in the second place, it was essential to secure the attendance of the agricultural and working population. But this could not be done unless the problem of technical agricultural training were, in a manner, linked up with the problem of agrarian reform. Agrarian reform in Poland, under the Act of 15 July 1920, took the form of dividing the great agricultural estates and of helping to establish farmers on land acquired under agreement or by compulsory purchase. The work is to be entrusted to a Central Estates Office appointed *ad hoc*. Section 15 of the Act stipulates that before parcelling out any estate the Central Estates Office must consult the Ministry of Agriculture, which has general powers over all elementary training centres for agriculture, and exercises them through a special department; the Ministry is entitled to reserve all lands or buildings suitable for agricultural training centres. Section 59 of the same Act stipulates that small owners and

agricultural workers, who were formerly students at such a centre, shall have priority in regard to the benefits of agrarian reform, in other words that they shall have the first right to acquire parcels of land.

While the Act of 15 July smoothes the way for the work of the training centres, their organisation is really based on a special Act of 9 July 1920 "relating to popular training centres of agriculture". This Act provides for centres of technical instruction in agriculture, public or private. Private centres cannot be established without the consent of the Minister of Agriculture, and the Ministry is charged with seeing that the curricula are up to standard. Public centres are attached to the state, the districts, or to chambers of agriculture. State centres will be established by decision of the Minister of Agriculture as they are called for from time to time. District centres, on the other hand, must be established. There will be two in each district, one for boys and one for girls. In establishing these compulsory public courses in agriculture under the Act, the district authorities and chambers of agriculture will be granted large assistance from the state. It will (1) give them a free grant of the land needed for the training centre and its model farm; (2) allocate to them for building purposes a sum equal to one-fourth of the amount of the estimate approved by the Minister of Agriculture and, in addition, advance one half of the total estimate as a long-term loan at 3 per cent. interest; (3) provide the teachers' salaries. In addition to this general financial assistance, the Ministry must, on its own initiative, allow other grants, which must be budgeted for in its annual estimates.

The Ministry will supervise the standard of the instruction, will determine the qualifications of the teachers, and will prepare detailed curricula. The text of the Act says:—

Courses of study shall cover not less than eleven months. Instruction shall include both theoretical work and practical work carried out on the farms attached to the centres. Students of sixteen years of age shall be admitted to the boys' centres and students of fourteen years of age to the girls' centres, provided that they have completed the primary school course. All pupils, boys or girls, shall be required to live during the course of their studies in the boarding establishments attached to the centres.

A maximum period of twenty years is allowed under the Act for the organisation of training centres throughout the country. In order to adapt the instruction closely to local requirements, a supervising committee is constituted in each district; its function will be to supervise the regular working of the centres and of the model farms. In addition, it will represent the interests and requirements of the training centres on the small district diets. Each committee is to consist of three representatives of the small district diet and of the chamber of agriculture, a representative of the Ministry of Agriculture, and an inspector of primary schools; the

heads of the training centres in the district will attend in a consultative capacity<sup>(2)</sup>.

The events referred to at the beginning of this article prevented the immediate carrying out of the Act of 9 July. So far the state has not been able to go beyond recognising centres which were already in existence at the moment of the reconstitution of Poland. In the former Prussian provinces training centres have been thrown open to Polish nationals, who had previously been unable to gain admittance, but the general working of the centres remains unchanged. In Little Poland (formerly Galicia) the system of grants to existing centres is being reorganised. In the old kingdom of Poland, all centres which used to be supported by private subscriptions have been transferred to the state account, thus establishing their work on a solid material basis. The Education Department in the Ministry of Agriculture is at this moment working for the realisation of the programme laid down in the Act.

The state has been able to display much greater activity in the sphere of advanced agricultural education. It was stated above that before the war Poland possessed only two advanced schools of agriculture, at the University of Cracow and at Dublany in Little Poland. There are now six, two in each of the three parts of the country. The advanced schools of Little Poland remain unchanged. In the former Prussian provinces the newly-founded University at Posen has established a Faculty of Agriculture and Sylviculture analogous to that at Cracow and conferring similar diplomas and degrees. In addition, an Institute of Agriculture has been opened at

(2) The following grants were made to the training centres for agriculture by the Ministry for Agriculture and Public Estates :—

1919-1920. From 1 Jan. 1919 to 1 April 1920 :

|  |           |       |          |
|--|-----------|-------|----------|
| (a) general expenses and equipment . . . . . | 1,641,300 | marks | (Polish) |
| (b) special courses . . . . .                | 413,557   | "     | "        |
| (c) scholarship grants . . . . .             | 90,593    | "     | "        |
|  | 2,145,450 | "     | "        |

1920. From 1 April 1920 to 31 December 1920 :

|  |           |       |          |
|--|-----------|-------|----------|
| (a) general expenses and equipment . . . . . | 6,857,000 | marks | (Polish) |
| (b) special courses . . . . .                | 155,000   | "     | "        |
| (c) scholarship grants . . . . .             | 224,500   | "     | "        |

7,236,500 " "

1921. From 1 January 1921 to 30 April 1921 :

|  |            |       |          |
|--|------------|-------|----------|
| (a) expenses of the district centres . . . . .                           | 2,340,000  | marks | (Polish) |
| (b) expenses of centres maintained by<br>various organisations . . . . . | 3,470,000  | "     | "        |
| (c) equipment . . . . .  | 12,350,000 | "     | "        |
| (d) scholarship grants . . . . .   | 226,500    | "     | "        |

18,386,500 " "

Total grants from 1 January 1919 to 30 April 1921, 27,768,450 marks (Polish).

The above figures have been supplied by the Department for Technical Education in Agriculture in the Ministry for Agriculture and Public Estates.

Bydgoszcz (Bromberg), side by side with the experimental institute already existing, with a two years' course for students who have had six years' instruction in a secondary school; this institution is intended for the training of landowners and managers of important agricultural establishments who are unable to devote three, four, or five years to more thorough theoretical study; the rich collections, laboratories, and experimenting rooms at the Institute of Bydgoszcz greatly assist the work of the new institution. The three years' agronomic courses at Warsaw, founded in 1911 and referred to above, have been transformed into an Advanced School of Agriculture; this is at present the most important agricultural teaching centre in the country. This School includes three faculties, in agriculture, silviculture, and horticulture, and aims more at training agriculturists, horticulturists, and silviculturists than at turning out an army of theorists. The minimum course is three years. The first year's curriculum consists of lectures on the principles of natural science and practical work in the school laboratories. During the second and third years lectures on agriculture play a chief part; they are supplemented by experiments carried out on the farms attached to the institution. Students not wishing to pursue more advanced studies leave the School at the end of the three years, after obtaining an academic diploma on the results of an examination. Those who continue their residence work under the direction of the separate professors, specialising in some one branch of agriculture, such as stock-raising, horticulture, agricultural chemistry, agrarian policy, and so on. After specialising for a year with a view to becoming real scientists, they offer themselves for a detailed examination on their subjects, and take the degree of "magister". The dignity of Doctor of Agrarian Sciences is conferred only on students who continue their studies and write an original thesis constituting, according to the regulations, a real contribution to scientific knowledge.

In addition to the advanced schools of agriculture, the Institute of Poulawy is in course of reorganisation; it has not yet been decided, however, whether this perfectly equipped laboratory shall be utilised for purely theoretical and scientific purposes, or whether it shall serve for the practical education of professional agriculturists, like the Dublany and Bydgoszcz institutes.

All the advanced schools are under the Ministry of Public Instruction, and enjoy large government grants.

# BOOK NOTES

## OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

### INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

*Enquiry concerning the Application of the Eight Hour Act in the French Mercantile Marine.* 91 pp. Geneva, 1921. 4s.; 75 cents.

The Joint Maritime Commission, which was constituted by the Genoa Conference in consequence of a Resolution passed by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, during the Second Sitting of its First Session on 9 November 1920, expressed a wish that an enquiry should be conducted into the working of the Eight Hour Act in the French mercantile marine, with a view to obtaining precise information as to the methods of its application. This publication is a collection of the documents which have been obtained through this enquiry. It contains (1) two letters and the documents furnished by the French Government; (2) the Report forwarded by the Central Committee of French Shipowners; (3) the Report drawn up by the International Labour Office and containing information and observations received orally from representatives of French organisations—engineers, seamen, and stewards; (4) memoranda written on the spot, on board ship, with the authorisation of the masters or shipowners.

*The International Seamen's Code: Note addressed to the Governments by the International Labour Office.* 174 pp. Geneva, 1921. 2s. 6d.; 50 cents.

At the Second Session of the International Labour Conference held at Genoa, 15 June to 10 July 1920, a Resolution was adopted requesting the International Labour Office to undertake the necessary investigations for establishing an international seamen's code. The same Session of the Conference also adopted a Recommendation, requesting each of the Members of the International Labour Organisation to embody all its laws and regulations relating to seamen in a seamen's code. It is in order to facilitate the accomplishment of these two tasks that the present volume has been prepared. Its object is, firstly, to inform governments of the progress which the International Labour Office has already made in the prosecution of the investigations entrusted to it and in the systematic preparation of a draft international seamen's code. Secondly, it puts at the disposal of governments, in the most convenient form, all information collected up to date, which may be useful to them in the codification of all their national laws or regulations relating to seamen.

*The Programme and Organisation of the Christian Trade Unions of Germany (Congress at Essen, 20—24 November 1920).* 28 pp. *Studies and Reports*, Series A, No 21. Geneva, 3 May 1921. 10d.; 20 cents.

This publication analyses the chief events in the Christian trade union movement since the Dresden Congress of October 1912 and more especially since the war and the German Revolution, events which have deeply influenced the programme and organisation of these unions. Their present policy, as given in the speeches and reports at the Congress held at Essen from 20 to 24 November 1920, is also discussed, their national functions, ideal of democracy, social and industrial programme, and religious doctrine being dealt with in turn. The three appendices give statistics illustrating the development of the movement, an analysis of the composition of the *Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*, and a list of publications issued by the unions.

## FRANCE

MINISTÈRE DU TRAVAIL : STATISTIQUE GÉNÉRALE DE LA FRANCE, COMMISSION CENTRALE D'ÉTUDES RELATIVES AU COUT DE LA VIE. *Compte-rendu des travaux au cours de l'année 1920*. (MINISTRY OF LABOUR : NATIONAL STATISTICAL DEPARTMENT, CENTRAL COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO THE COST OF LIVING. *Report of Work during the Year 1920*). 655 pp. Paris, Imprim. Nation. 1921.

A Central Commission for the study of the cost of living was set up in France in virtue of a Decree of 19 February. This Commission was constituted of thirty-three members, chosen from among parliamentary deputies, employers, workers, and co-operative organisations, and the Government Departments interested, under the chairmanship of the Minister of Labour. In addition, twenty district committees and thirty-one departmental or local committees were established, for the purpose of collecting information from the different areas assigned to them, for the use of the Central Commission. The Central Commission has now published the result of its first year's work.

The report by Mr. Lucien March summarises the general results obtained by the local committees. In the majority of cases the calculations of the cost of living are based upon a standard pre-war budget ; in a few cases, however, allowances have been made for the changes in consumption arising during the period. Expenditure on food everywhere absorbs more than half the total expenditure and in certain towns even reaches 70% ; expenditure on clothing varies between 15 and 20%, on rent between 5 and 10%, and on lighting and heating is about 5%, of the total. The Commission concludes that, generally speaking, expenditure on food has increased between 1914 and the end of 1920 in the ratio of roughly 100 to 420, the latter index number varying between 350 and 500 according to district ; total expenditure, including rent, clothing, and other items, has increased less, partly owing to rent restrictions ; the Commission here estimate the increase for the same period as in the ratio of 100 to 300, with local variations fluctuating between 330 and 420.

The second part of the report deals with the causes of the increased cost of living and proposals for reducing it. For this purpose eight expert committees were set up, four dealing with the chief items of household expenditure, viz. food, clothing, housing, and miscellaneous expenses, and four with general questions, viz. home trade, transport, money and credit, and production and consumption. Long and interesting reports by each of these committees are published in the volume under review and their chief recommendations as adopted by the Central Commission are as follows.

- (1) Freedom of commerce to be established as soon as possible.
- (2) Return to common law in the matter of rents.
- (3) Increase of production.
- (4) Development of technical education and scientific research.
- (5) Encouragement of an increase of population.
- (6) Adoption of the principle of the 8-hour Act, but admission of temporary exceptions and arrangements to increase production.
- (7) Codification of the law relating to contracts ; freedom of competition.
- (8) Increase of penalties against secret commissions and bribery.
- (9) More efficient control of markets and produce exchanges.
- (10) Improvement of transport services, ports, railway junctions, etc.
- (11) More rapid reconstitution of the devastated areas.
- (12) Re-establishment, by means of international agreement, of the gold payment system.
- (13) Organisation of export credits.
- (14) Systematic administration of public services.
- (15) Further development of intelligence services dealing with raw materials, stocks, means and costs of production and selling prices, both at home and abroad, and extension of local cost of living committees.

## POLAND

MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL WELFARE. *Les lois ouvrières et leur application depuis le 11 novembre 1918 (Labour Legislation and its Application since 11 November 1918)*. 118 pp. Warsaw and Paris, Marcel Rivière. 1920. 15 fr.

This summary of Polish labour legislation and its application was prepared as a report for the International Labour Conference at Washington by the Polish delegates. In spite of the delay in publication, it is a most valuable document. The two first chapters deal with the political, industrial, and social conditions in Poland at the moment of her reconstitution, and with her labour laws, which at that time varied from one province to another. We are then better able to understand the conditions under which the attempt was made "to build up the structure of labour legislation" after the union. The chapter on the present situation describes the labour laws passed up to September 1919, the Bills drafted by the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, and the methods and institutions for enforcing the laws already enacted. In conclusion, an outline is given of Poland's attitude to international labour legislation.

## UNITED KINGDOM

MINISTRY OF LABOUR, INTELLIGENCE AND STATISTICS DEPARTMENT. *Standard Time-Rates of Wages and Hours of Labour in the United Kingdom at 31st December 1920*. 288 pp. London, H.M. Stationery Office. 1921. (Cmd. 1253.) 2s. 6d.

This volume summarises the information available on wages and hours of labour, in so far as they have been standardised in various occupations and industries. The "standard" rates are in some cases those generally recognised by employers and trade unions, though without any written agreement; in others they have been fixed by resolutions of joint industrial councils, by trade boards, by formal agreements between employers' associations and trade unions or between employers and workers.

The tables include particulars of variations in the rates which are current in different districts.

## UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS. *Hours and Earnings in Anthracite and Bituminous Coal Mining*. Bulletin No. 279. 114 pp. Washington D. C. Gov. Print. Off. 1921.

This report gives the earnings and hours of labour of coal-mine employees, as taken from the records of representative mines. The figures for bituminous mine employees are presented over a sample pay-period in 1919, and for anthracite mine employees over sample pay-periods in both 1919 and 1920.

## NON-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

ALLEN, Henry J. *The Party of the Third Part*. 283 pp. New York, Harper Bros., 1921.

This book is the story of the Kansas Industrial Relations Court, written by its sponsor, the Governor of the State of Kansas.

The protection of the rights of the public in the industrial controversy is given as the aim and end of the Court, this to be accomplished by the administration of prompt and complete justice to the labouring man and the employer alike. The principles underlying such an instrument of government are gone into at some length. Details are given concerning the origin and early progress of the Court, including comments on the debate

between Governor Allen and Mr. Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, on the subject. The prominent features and the attitude of the Court are discussed in regard to its ability to deal with various forms of industrial maladjustment. It is stated that "the most astonishing and disappointing development since the passage of the law has been the determined opposition of union-labour leaders that it shall not function".

*Annuaire des Chambres de commerce et chambres consultatives des arts et manufactures* (Year Book of the Chambers of Commerce and Consultative Chambers of Arts and Manufactures). 804 pp., Paris. E. Baudelot, 1921.

An outline of the history of chambers of commerce and consultative chambers of arts and manufactures is followed by an article on the functions of chambers of commerce. The volume then gives the text of the Acts, Decrees, Orders, and Regulations on the organisation and working of these chambers. It enumerates the departments and local branches of chambers of commerce, as well as the returns they are required to give. The book also includes complete and lucid information as to the composition and location of the French consultative chambers of arts and manufactures and chambers of commerce, in the capital and colonies, as well as abroad.

BACHI, Riccardo. *L'Italia economica nel 1919. Annuario della vita commerciale, industriale, agraria, bancaria, finanziaria, e della politica economica*. Appendice del VECCHIO, Gustavo: *L'economica della Venezia Giulia e i suoi problemi* (The Economic Condition of Italy in 1919. Year Book of Commerce, Industry, Agriculture, Banking, Finance, and Economics; Appendix by Gustavo VECCHIO: The Economic Condition of Venezia Giulia and its Problems). XIth year of issue. 476 pp. Città di Castello, S. Lapi. 1920. 20 lire.

This is the latest volume of the series of year books, which have been issued by the eminent Italian economist since 1909. It contains a most exhaustive survey of Italian post-war commerce, industry, agriculture, and finance, based on documents and first-hand investigation. Every phase of Italian economic policy is clearly dealt with and analysed in separate chapters. Special attention should be called to those on Labour. Co-operation, and Insurance; in these the main steps in the progress of the labour movement are mentioned, including the introduction of the 8-hour day. Reforms and innovations in Italian social legislation are also discussed.

In the section on the general economic condition of the country, mention must be made of the chapter on prices of goods and foodstuffs. The author here gives the index numbers which he has calculated for the Italian market, and compares them with the British index numbers issued by the *Economist*.

BUREAU OF BUSINESS RESEARCH, HARVARD UNIVERSITY. *Labor Terminology*. Bulletin No. 25. 108 pp. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University, 1921.

This Bulletin aims at giving the exact meaning which trade unions in the United States attach to the terminology of labour relations. It hopes by this means to assist employers to understand the point of view of organised labour, and to eliminate verbal misunderstandings as a factor in industrial disputes. The following specimen definitions may be quoted, by way of example.

*Sabotage*: Wilful destruction of the property of an employer by employees.

*Scamping*: (1) Intentional failure of an employee to perform his task properly.

(2) Practice of an employee who exceeds his customary rate of output under conditions that lead his fellow workers to believe that he is seeking personal gain to their disadvantage or acting contrarily to their mutual understanding of what constitutes the proper rate of production.

(3) Act of an employer in attracting labour from competitors by underhand methods.

In a number of cases concrete examples are given in considerable detail, as, for example, of the constitution of a shop committee and of an industrial council; and statistical data are frequently quoted, thereby considerably increasing the value of the Bulletin.

CASPARI, Emile. *La situation de la classe ouvrière en Haute-Silésie* (*Working-class Conditions in Upper Silesia*). 84 pp., Paris, Bossard, 1921.

We have here a historical study of mental and physical conditions among the working classes of Upper Silesia, especially among workers in the mines and blast furnaces. Particular attention is paid to the position in the XVIIIth century and at different points in the XIXth; the author describes the miners' strike in 1871 and the events leading up to the general strike of 1889. He shows how the position gradually became worse during the twenty-five years preceding the European war, and grew to be acute while the war was going on, until it culminated in that rising of August 1919 which was so severely suppressed.

CLEVELAND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE; COMMITTEE ON LABOUR RELATIONS: *Employers' Incentive Plans in Cleveland Industry*. 95 pp. Cleveland, U. S. A. 1921.

This is the report of an investigation, by means of questionnaires and visits, into the incentive plans policy of close on six hundred firms in the Cleveland district. Of these approximately 19 per cent. were found to have group incentive plans, which the Committee on Labour Relations classifies under four main heads, as profit-sharing plans, limited profit-sharing plans, bonus plans, and stock-sales plans, while a number of others were found to be individual incentive plans. Under each of these heads a number of schemes actually in working order are described in some detail, and their main features summarised and compared.

*The Coal Strike: Mine owners and Miners state their Case*. Official verbatim Report of Conference between the Government, the Coalowners, and the Miners, 11 April 1921. 20 pp. London, *The Times*, 1921. 2d.

FARADAY, W. Barnard. *Democracy and Capital*. 314 pp. London, John Murray. 1921.

A survey of the economic and political structure of society, in defence of the principle of private enterprise as against the nationalisation or socialisation of industry. The main argument of the book is that true progress depends on security, both for the capitalist and for the worker, and that the essential conditions for this are private enterprise, the development and accumulation of capital, and the extension among the working classes of a knowledge of the financial structure of modern industry and of the possibilities of insurance; and that all forms of socialism are foredoomed to failure because they fail to take account of some or all of these factors.

HUBERT, René. *Organisation syndicale des travailleurs intellectuels* (*The Organisation of Brain Workers in Trade Unions*). 103 pp. Paris, Bibliothèque de la Société d'études et d'informations économiques, Librairie Marcel Rivière. 1921. 3 francs.

This is a most interesting survey of trade unionism among brain workers. After noting its origins and tracing the development of the movement which led to the formation of the *Confédération des travailleurs intellectuels* (Intellectual Workers' Federation), the author describes the present organisation and policy of the Federation, emphasising in particular the causes, programme, and tendencies of the movement. Having thus stated the problem, he criticises the scope of the movement, dealing with the social function of the intellect, and discussing the question as to whether brain workers are at present in enjoyment of the conditions necessary for the formation of a social class. His conclusion is that "the existence of a class of brain workers is only of relative and limited importance", and that, in consequence, trade unionism among brain workers is fundamentally different from the organisation of manual workers and employers. In conclusion, the author draws the inferences implied in his preceding remarks, and considers the collective action, the social effect, and the dangers and limits of trade unionism among brain workers.

*Labour International Handbook, The.* Edited by R. Palmé DUTT. 320 pp. The Labour Publishing Co. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1921. 12s. 6d.

This Handbook, which has been prepared by the Labour Research Department as a continuation and extension of the Labour Year Book, consists of two main parts. Part I contains surveys of leading events in international affairs and in foreign policy, written from a labour point of view. It includes an account of the Armistice and the Peace Treaties and articles on the League of Nations and the International Labour Organisation. It then goes on to deal with economic conditions after the war, and devotes special attention to the problems of Russia, Ireland, India, and Egypt.

Part II is intended as a guide to the international labour movement. It contains, in very compact and useful form, chapters on international socialism, international trade unionism, and international co-operation. The editor admits that the field which it is attempted to cover is too wide for wholly satisfactory treatment; it is simply an essay at making some kind of survey of international labour after the tremendous transformations which have taken place.

LIPINSKI, Edouard. *Le problème du travail en Pologne (Labour Problems in Poland)*. 148 pp. Warsaw, Société de Publications internationales. 1921.

The author is Departmental Chief in the Labour Statistics Section of the Statistical Department of the Republic of Poland. He first emphasises the difficulty of his work, owing to the lack of "accurate statistics covering the whole economic field"; he wishes, however, to describe working-class conditions in Poland for the benefit of Western countries. He sketches the economic structure of the country, on which the conditions of the working classes depend. He then deals in turn with labour conditions and wages of agricultural workers, miners, and oil workers, the nature and development of trade unions, the functions and importance of consumers' co-operative societies, the present state of social legislation, and proposals for the institution of a labour code.

LLOYD, C. M. *Trade Unionism*. Second Edition, revised and enlarged 291 pp. London, A. & C. Black. 1921.

This is a revised edition of a book first published in 1914. Chapters have been added on trade unions in the war and after, the progress of organisation and the goal of trade unionism, and the bibliography has been brought up to date. The book is mainly concerned with British conditions, but a certain amount of space is also given to the structure and special problems of continental trade unionism.

MAHAIM, Ernest. *La Conférence internationale du Travail de Gênes; Extrait de la Revue de Droit international et de Législation comparée*, 1921, Nos 1 - 2. (*The International Labour Conference at Genoa*; Reprint from the *Revue de Droit international et de Législation comparée*, 1921, Nos. 1 and 2). Brussels, Weissenbruch, 1921.

The author recalls the conditions under which the Genoa Conference met from 15 June to 10 July; he mentions the Recommendations, Resolutions, and Draft Conventions adopted on the organisation of the employment market, unemployment, the age for the admission of children to employment at sea, and discusses the possibility of establishing an international seamen's code. He also describes the difficulties to which the Draft Convention on the 8-hour day gave rise and the events which followed the final vote against it.

MILLER, David Hunter. *International Relations of Labor*. 77 pp. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1921.

In these lectures, originally delivered before the Summer School of Theology of Harvard University, Mr. D. H. Miller, the Legal Adviser of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, briefly traces the course of the international relations of labour from Robert Owens' memorial, addressed to the Congress of the Powers assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, to the first International Labour Conference held in Washington in 1919 and the creation of the International Labour Office. The labour clauses of the Peace Treaty and the Conventions and Recommendations adopted at the Washington International Labour Conference are dealt with in some detail. The position of the United States in regard to the International Labour Organisation is touched upon. The author gives as his opinion that "these Labour Conferences will continue, and will continue indefinitely with increasing influence, regardless of the fate of the League of Nations in international political affairs".

MÜLLER, Dr. Hans. *Richtlinien der Genossenschaftsgesetzgebung (The Future of Legislation on Co-operation)*. 103 pp. Zürich, Buchdruckerei Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1921.

The articles and the lecture contained in this volume were occasioned by a Bill to amend existing Swiss legislation on co-operative societies. It is less a discussion of the Federal Bill, however, than an outline of the attitude which, in the author's opinion, should be adopted by the state to the co-operative movement at the present time. He considers that legislation, based on the real character and function of co-operation as the necessary and organic form of future society, would be a step towards a new constitution, without which it will be impossible for states to surmount the present political and industrial crisis. Co-operative societies, regarded as bodies corporate at law, should have their own legislation, which would constitute, as it were, the constitutional and administrative law of co-operation, and create separate juridical organs, according as the object of the co-operative society is the acquisition, or the utilisation, of "the income of labour".

O'BRIEN, George. *Labour Organisation*. 182 pp. London, Methuen and Co. 1921. 6s.

A well-informed and useful summary, historical as well as descriptive, of the forms of organisation which labour has adopted or hopes to adopt, especially, but not solely, in the United Kingdom. The treatment of the subject is in two parts; the first, on labour under the wage system, is an account of the history, methods, and regulations of trade unionism; the second, on systems of payment other than by wages, deals with profit-sharing, labour co-partnership, co-operation, collectivism, syndicalism, and guild socialism. An attempt is made to arrive at an opinion as to how far any of these latter forms of industrial remuneration is likely to replace the present system, and to indicate the safeguards which are necessary to ensure that the existing system shall yield its uses and not its abuses as long as it continues. The author has succeeded in condensing a remarkable amount of detailed and well-arranged facts into a very small space. The book is very fully indexed.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. *Report of Proceedings of the Third Congress*. 136 pp. Washington D. C. American Federation of Labor Building, 1921.

This is a record of the speeches, resolutions, documents, and general business of the Congress held in Mexico City 10-18 January 1921, including Resolution No. 8, in which are set forth the desires, purposes, and fundamental principles of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

ROWNTREE, B. Seebohm, and STUART, Frank D. *The Responsibility of Women Workers for Dependants*. 68 pp. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1921.

The investigation described in this pamphlet deals with women's wages and tries to answer the question: "In fixing minimum wages for women, should any allowance be made for dependants, and, if so, for how many?" The results are based on an enquiry carried out in 1919 into the number of persons wholly or partially dependant on about 14,000 women workers in eleven English towns. The result arrived at is that, taking working women as a whole, about 88 per cent. are not responsible for the maintenance of anyone but themselves, while the remaining 12 per cent. are, on the average, only responsible for the maintenance of about three adults between four workers. Possible explanations are given of why these figures differ from those obtained by some previous investigators. Causes leading to the responsibility of women workers for dependants are analysed, and it is suggested that a large proportion of them can be removed by the adoption of an adequate scheme of widows' pensions, an increase of the National Health Insurance grant to chronic invalids, and the payment of an adequate minimum wage, with the granting of state aid to wage-earners with more than three dependant children.

SWISS BANK CORPORATION. *Revue financière et commerciale 1920 (Financial and Commercial Review 1920)*. 67 pp. London, The Frederick Printing Co. Ltd. 1921.

This is a review of the world's finance and commerce during 1920. The commercial section notes the world's production of articles of food, textiles, metals, minerals, and various other products. Of special interest are the statistical tables, giving the industrial development of various countries during the last seven years.

VERBAND DER HANDELS- TRANSPORT, UND LEBENSMITTELARBEITER DER SCHWEIZ. *Vergleichende Statistik über die Lohn- und Arbeitsverhältnisse 1914 et 1920 (SWISS FEDERATION OF WORKERS IN COMMERCE, TRANSPORT, AND FOOD PRODUCTION. Comparative Statistics of Wages and Labour Conditions in 1914 and 1920)*. 5 francs.

This is an interesting and detailed statistical survey of labour conditions (hours and holidays) and wage variations (maxima and minima) in 1914 and 1920, in the different organisations affiliated to the Federation. The figures are mainly taken from collective agreements and scales in force in these two years; the results, however, are hardly comparable, as the membership of the Federation rose from 4,577 in 1914 to 20,777 in 1920; moreover, it includes some twenty different trades of varying importance scattered throughout the country and subject to very diverse conditions.

According to the survey, the average wage—a simple arithmetic average of all the wage-scales noted—rose 107 per cent. between 1914 and 1920, while the cost of living, as shown by the index numbers of the Union of Swiss Co-operative Societies, (including food, lighting, and heating), rose 150 per cent. On the other hand, labour conditions have slightly improved: the working week has everywhere been reduced by from four to twelve hours according to trade, and holidays have been slightly increased in a number of occupations, providing annual leave of from three to eighteen days.



# THE METRIC AND BRITISH SYSTEMS OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

| A. Metric Measures in terms of British. |                |                           | B. British Measures in terms of Metric. |                 |                             |
|---|----------------|---------------------------|---|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| UNIT                                    | EXACTLY        | ROUGHLY                   | UNIT                                    | EXACTLY         | ROUGHLY                     |
| <b>A. Lineal Measures</b>               |                |                           |   |                 |                             |
| Millim.                                 | 0.0394 inches  | one 25th of an inch       | Inch                                    | 25.399 mm.      | 4 in. = 10 cm.              |
| Centim.                                 | 0.3937 "       | 10 cm. = about 4 in.      | Foot                                    | 30.479 cm.      | 30 cm.                      |
| Metre                                   | 39.371 "       | 11 metres = 12 yards      | Yard                                    | 0.9144 metres   | 11 yards = 10 metr.         |
| Kilom.                                  | 0.6214 miles   | 5 furlongs                | Mile                                    | 1.6093 km.      | 5 miles = 8 km.             |
| <b>B. Square Measures</b>               |                |                           |   |                 |                             |
| Sq. Metre (centiare)                    | 1.196 sq. yds. | 1 1/8 sq. yds.            | Square Inch                             | 6.451 sq. cm.   |                             |
| Are                                     | 3.954 poles    | 10 ares = 1/4 acre        | Square Yard                             | 0.836 sq. metr. | 6 sq. yds = 5 sq. metr.     |
| Hectare                                 | 2.471 acres    | 2 1/2 acres               | Acre                                    | 0.40467 hect.   | 1 acre = 2 1/2 hect.        |
|   |                |                           | Sq. Mile                                | 2.5899 sq. km.  | 100 sq. miles = 260 sq. km. |
| <b>C. Measures of Capacity</b>          |                |                           |   |                 |                             |
| Litre                                   | 1.76 pints     | 4 1/2 litres = 1 gallon   | Pint (liquid)                           | 0.5679 litres   | 1 litre = 1 3/4 pints       |
| Décalitre                               | 2.201 gallons  | 5 décalitres = 11 gallons | Quart (liquid)                          | 1.1359 "        | —                           |
| Hectolitre                              | 22.01 "        | 22 gallons                | Gallon (liquid)                         | 4.5435 "        | 4 1/2 litres                |
|   |                |                           | Peck (dry)                              | 9.087 "         | 22 gallons = 1 hectol.      |
|   |                |                           | Bushel                                  | 36.34766 "      | 9 litres                    |
|   |                |                           |   |                 | 36 litres                   |
| <b>D. Measures of Weight</b>            |                |                           |   |                 |                             |
| Gramme                                  | 0.353 oz.      | 454 grs = 1 lb.           | Ounce                                   | 28.35 grs.      | 7 oz. = 200 grs.            |
| Hectogr.                                | 3.527 "        | nearly 1/4 lb.            | Pound                                   | 453.59 "        | 1 1/2 kilo                  |
| Kilogr.                                 | 2.2046 lbs.    | 5 kilos = 11 lbs.         | Hundred-weight                          | 50.802 kilos    | 22 lbs = 10 kilos           |
| Metric Ton                              | 2204.6 lbs.    | 1 Long Ton                | Short Ton (2000 lbs)                    | 901.6 "         | 50 kilos                    |
|   |                |                           | Long Ton (2240 lbs)                     | 1016.04 "       | 900 "                       |
|   |                |                           |   |                 | 1000 " (1 Met. Ton)         |