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International Protection of Intellectual Workers

UNTIL a little over a year ago intellectual workers di d not appear anxious to organise with a view to making their corporate power felt or to defending their professional interests. Individualistic in their outlook and divided by the diversity of their occupations, they united as a rule only on the basis of intellectual interests.

This is not the place to discuss the question whether there has here been a change. Two things, however, can be said : that intellectual workers, or at least a certain number of them and in certain countries, complain of an economic crisis in the liberal professions; and that they have begun to unite and organise in their own defence. Placed between organised employers on the one hand and organised labour on the other, intellectual workers, more especially those who are experts in their own profession, are beginning to be conscious of a new spirit of solidarity, which is bringing them nearer to one another and isolating them from their employers and their subordinates alike.

Hardly were intellectual workers organised in professional or social bodies than they began to feel the modern need for internationalisation. Internationalisation is essential if those efforts for solidarity which are being made in various countries are to be made effective. The problems of the present day are so vast and interests are so tangled together, that associations of intellectual workers inevitably and instinctively seek to join hands across the frontiers of nations. Organised intellectual workers have themselves approached the International Labour Office and asked how intellectual workers may best be protected. Before considering the problem of the international protection of intellectual workers, however, there is a preliminary question which must first be cleared up.

The Crisis in Intellectual Work

Does the crisis of which intellectual workers complain really exist? In order to reply properly to this question it would be necessary to have information which so far is not available. Meanwhile, the only reply which can be made is to quote the views of intellectual workers themselves as to the crisis through which they are passing and to show why they feel the need of self-protection. Their views are based on three points.

The first is the decline in the prestige which intellectual workers formerly enjoyed. As Mr. Henri Mugel wrote in *La Renaissance* on 23 October 1920:

> .....intellectual work has come to be considered as similar to all other, with a technique and results unfathomable to the non-initiated, a trade like that of a turner or an agricultural worker, a little less useful than other kinds of work, or at least less immediately useful, and consequently worth less on the labour market.

At present two things are threatening the prestige of the intellectual worker, and these two things lead up to identical results. In the first place, the war and the destruction it brought have caused material preoccupations to take precedence of all others. The call for reconstructing the damage done by the war, and the material cares which have thrust themselves forward, have restored to direct production the importance which it had lost; at the same time there has been a corresponding decline in the prestige of intellectual workers.

> "It will always be easier", continues Mr. Henri Mugel, "for a street cleaner to make people realise the importance of his work than for Henri Poincaré to make people realise the importance of his. If the streets are not swept for three days, the result is stench and a threatened epidemic. If no lessons on general physics are given for three days, not one man out of a hundred thousand will suffer. Accordingly, the rest of the hundred thousand, if they have to choose, and if they have not been trained to consider intellectual work superior because it is intellectual, will prefer to give way to the strike threats of the street cleaner rather than to the strike threats of the higher mathematician".

The second thing which threatens the position of the intellectual worker is the growth of capitalism and trusts; this phenomenon has now reached spheres which had hitherto been untouched by it. Newspapers, theatrical undertakings, and art exhibitions have been concentrated in the hands of a small number of capitalists, who control all intellectual and artistic production. In the same way, technical experts and solicitors have joined the ranks of salaried employees, doctors are in the pay of insurance societies, and intellectual workers in general are finding themselves, by the process of economic evolution, on the same footing as wage earners.

Unfortunately their earnings have not increased to compensate for this. Here we have a third factor in the situation. The earnings of intellectual workers have never been very high. As a rule, they have not been subject to economic laws, but have been based on appreciation of the quality of the products of intellectual work. But as the capitalist system spread to this sphere and the predominance of material things increased, the law of supply and demand came into play, to the detriment of the interests of intellectual workers.

The effect of the privileged position which they previously enjoyed had been to cause an extremely large number of candidates to present themselves for the so-called liberal professions, so that, as a natural result of economic laws, their earnings were reduced, at least relatively to those of other classes. Add that at the very moment when the supply increased enormously, the demand decreased. The very great rise in price of paper and in printers' wages made printing very costly and threatened the existence of a large number of scientific reviews, thus cutting down the demand for some forms of intellectual work.

Intellectual work, one of the characteristics of which is that it must be preceded by long years of preparation, is today in many cases paid less than manual work, and even than unskilled manual work. In a communication made on 16 October 1920 to the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences (1), Mr. Henri de Weindel, General Secretary of the Federation of Intellectual Workers, described the situation in the following terms.

> If the material situation of a young engineer, for example, is compared with that of a manual worker of the same age, it will be found that since the war engineers, who have just graduated from the *Polytechnique* and *Ecole Centrale*, are offered salaries of 400 or 500 francs a month (before the war they began at 150 or 200 francs a month), whereas manual workers on the very lowest rung of the ladder are paid two or three francs an hour, or 16 to 24 francs a day, or 400 to 600 francs per month of 25 working days. As to skilled workers, they earn as much as 5 francs an hour, and navvies demand the same rate, which is approximately, under the conditions which I have just mentioned, 1,000 francs a month (2).
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> The Union of Draughtsmen and Non-Manual Workers in the Metal Industry, which is affiliated to the General Confederation of Labour, demands a minimum monthly wage of 600 francs for skilled workers under eighteen years of age, and 1,200 francs for those over eighteen years of age. The National Federation of workers employed in the building industry and in public works demands a minimum hourly wage of 5 francs for journeymen and 4.75 francs for assistants; that means that a mason should earn 1,000 francs a month and the labourer who hands him the hod and the

(1) *Communication sur les origines, les buts, et les moyens d'action de la Confédération des Travailleurs intellectuels.* Paper read before the *Académie des Sciences morales et politiques* on 6 Oct. 1920, by Mr. Henry de Weindel. Paris, imprimerie Hémery.

(2) These figures way not be strictly accurate but the passage is quoted as an expression of the opinion of the intellectual workers themselves.

trowel 950 francs a month. It should be noted that these are the wages claimed by a manual worker on completing his apprenticeship, while an engineer receives only half this amount on graduating from the *Ecole*.

The situation of medical men is no better, at least at the beginning of their career. After a very expensive course of study they have still to acquire a practice and a clientèle—not an easy task, so that in general a doctor does not succeed in earning his livelihood until he is in his forties. Lawyers are still worse off. If at the age of forty they have not found some other occupation in addition to their professional work as barrister, many are obliged to give up the career, so difficult is it to earn a living. Then there is a compulsory probationary period, 3 to 5 years in the courts. Not one of the 1,500 registered probationers in Paris earns 500 francs a month.

In newspaper work, which is difficult and absorbing, there are still journalists who are paid less than 500 francs a month. Those who earn more than 600 are the exceptions, but the organised workers, who work from six to eight hours a day, while the journalists often work ten and sometimes more, are naturally much better treated, because they represent a force and can impose their wishes: a foreman block maker is paid 1,500 francs a month; a make-up man 1,000 francs; a skilled worker in block making, 30 francs per day of 7 hours; a rotary machine hand, 30 francs for six hours' work; a night linotype operator, 26 francs for the same number of hours.

We are no longer living in the times when Flaubert received from his publisher, when he handed over the manuscript of *Madame Bovary*, 500 francs for all rights for twenty years; but I know a dealer who recently purchased from an author of talent, by contract and for all rights, ten volumes in advance at a total price of 18,000 francs. The printers who set up the author's works are paid 25 francs a day, or 7,500 francs a year; but on an average a writer who has not the market value of a Paul Bourget or a Marcel Prévost is paid at most 2,700 francs a volume, provided that an edition of 5,000 is published.

To write two novels a year requires somewhat exceptional powers of imagination and execution; therefore the novelist earns with difficulty 5,400 francs a year, while the working printer earns 7,500.

Artists are no better off. As long as a picture dealer or an art publisher has not launched them, painters and sculptors starve before their canvasses and blocks of marble, which cannot find purchasers. The situation of artists employed in industry is as bad. I know one of these creative artists employed by a large jeweller's firm in the Rue de la Paix, who is paid the ridiculous sum of 450 francs a month, while the manual workers who have to execute the work that he has designed are paid nearly 50 francs a day, and the dealer who sells it has made a fortune.

Now take the case of the civil service. The Bill of 6 October 1919, which raised civil service salaries 250 per cent., in spite of these very considerable increases in salary scales, provides some very instructive reading. Prefectural Councillors are paid 5,000 francs, while the messengers are paid 5,200; professors at the *Conservatoire* begin at 2,000 francs, and the concierge at 3,800; some heads of sections at the *Ecole des Beaux Arts* are entered on the pay-roll at 4,000 francs, and the caretakers at the same school at 5,200: at the Sévres factory, the foreman of the labourers is paid the same wage—6,000 francs—as the sculptor charged with the execution of the porcelain ornaments which have made the reputation of this factory; at the Beauvais factory, a professor begins at a higher rate than a cleaner, 4,000 francs instead of 3,800, but the cleaner may rise to 5,200, whereas the professor cannot exceed 5,000.

Finally, in the teaching profession in Paris, elementary teachers earn on an average 5,500 francs; secondary teachers, *licenciés* 9,200 francs, *agrégés* 14,100. So far so good; but a skilled worker in an automobile factory at 6 francs an hour earns 14,400 francs a year, without counting overtime.

The salaries and conditions given to intellectual workers in other countries are probably not much better. In Hungary the monthly salary of secondary school teachers is hardly

sufficient to keep them for a week. The middle class and those employed on fixed salaries, the class to which the intellectual workers belong, everywhere appears to be the hardest hit by the economic crisis. An understanding of the whole situation would require a prolonged and detailed examination. But ordinary observation and the consciousness of his position felt by the intellectual worker himself are sufficient proof of a situation which is beginning to show itself in every country and which has already here and there caused a powerful movement of concentration and organisation. Intellectual workers of the very first rank, who cannot be replaced in the work they are doing, are able to defend their own positions ; but an intellectual proletariat has only lately come into existence, and this proletariat is feeling a growing need of efficient outside protection.

The French Confederation of Intellectual Workers asks in its manifesto :

> What is to be the fate of intellectual workers in the *post bellum* period ? What is going to happen to the only class of workers not protected by law ? Literary men, teachers, journalists, artists, technical experts—are they going to continue the struggle for life under circumstances the most unfavourable and without organisation ? Intellectual workers, who ought to be practically all-powerful in the state, have no influence at all; they struggle within their own ranks in order to snatch starvation-wages from one another, while commerce and industry make enormous profits, and manual workers bring constant pressure to bear in order to force up their wages in proportion to the rising cost of living. What intellectual workers need is union (3).

Mr. Roethlisberger, the founder of the *Bund der Geistesarbeiter* in Switzerland, writes :—

> Just as the German schoolmaster was proclaimed the real winner of the battle of Sadowa, so the intellectual worker, the man of ideas, might reasonably have expected to find himself recognised in all countries as the determining factor in progress and to have gained enormously in prestige. The contrary is the case;... in comparison with manual work, which is valued and remunerated at a disproportionate rate, intellectual work is sacrificed; its economic claims and moral prestige are alike neglected (4).

Organisation of Intellectual Workers

The need felt by intellectual workers for protection against competition or tyranny did not first appear during the present crisis. In the past intellectual workers have protected themselves in various ways, for instance, by the survival or reconstitution of privileged corporations, such as corporations of doctors and lawyers; or else by co-operation: universities have ruined themselves in order to print, on a co-operative

(3) *Bulletin* of the C. T. I., February, 1921, No. 1.

(4) Prof. Dr. Ernst Roethlisberger: *Der Bund der Geistesarbeiter*. Ernst Birche, Verlag in Bern u. Leipzig.

basis, theses which it was no longer possible to have published in the ordinary way. But the isolation and individualism in which intellectual workers live has done them harm, and it is only recently that true efforts at co-operation have been made, such as the setting up of a University Press by the University of Paris, or the foundation of the C. O. R. T. I., an offshoot of the Confederation of Intellectual Workers. Thirdly, workers have been helped by private generosity, which has given them, if not protection, at least useful help. There is no need to do more than mention, by way of example, the names of Mr. Solvay in Belgium, Mr. Carnegie in the United States, and a large number of the benefactors of the *Académie Française.*

But these scattered and partial efforts appear insufficient now that intellectual workers find their very existence threatened. Similar causes have had similar results. Here, as elsewhere, capitalism, in extending, has created a trade union movement; this movement is, however, only in its first stages.

In many countries the right of association of intellectual workers has been recognised for a long time past, *inter alia* in France by a decision of the Supreme Court of Appeal (*Cour de cassation*) of 27 June 1885. But trade union organisation has remained rudimentary in the liberal professions, except in the case of certain groups of civil servants and technical experts.

Trade unionism amongst intellectual workers may assume various forms. It may develop within existing trade union organisations. A certain number of intellectual workers in France holding advanced opinions have already formed unions affiliated to the General Confederation of Labour. Again, the U.S.T.I.C.A. Union of Technical Workers (*Union syndicale des techniciens de l'industrie, du commerce, et de l'agriculture)*, though not affiliated to the General Confederation of Labour, collaborates on the Economic Council of Labour, and proposes to act as a connecting link between the technical expert and the worker. In Italy, according to statements made at the Congress of Leghorn, manual workers are feeling the need of securing the co-operation of industrial experts, in order to secure control over industry. The National Congress of Independent Medical Men, held recently at Florence, demanded that intellectual workers should be represented on the Supreme Council of Labour. In Germany the Union of Technical Employees and Officials *(Bund der technischen Angestellten und Beamten)* with its membership of 120,000, leads the A. F. A. or Association of Free Employees *(Arbeitsgemeinschaft Freier Angestelltenverbände)*, which is itself in close touch with the General Federation of German Trade Unions. In Great Britain a similar movement has begun in the technical professions, the members of which are naturally in close contact with manual workers. Journalists have joined the

Printing and Kindred Trades Federation; foremen have an arrangement with the Amalgamated Shipbuilding Union; draughtsmen are negotiating with engineering workers, and so forth.

The British Trades Unions Congress appears to have realised the importance of intellectual workers in the development of industrial democracy, and is making efforts to win over technical workers. Mr. G. D. H. Cole, writing in the *Guildsman* (5), says:

> One of the most important of the problems facing the non-manual workers today is their relationship with the unions of manual workers... The key to this problem lies in the attitude which they take up towards the question of democratic control in industry. The demand for industrial self-government has made in recent years tremendous headway among the manual workers' organisations. Professionals and other non-manual workers often enquire where, in the plans for democratic control which the manual workers put forward, they come in. Surely it is clear enough that the extent to which they come in will be determined mainly by themselves. That is to say, it will depend on the part which they play in the framing of the trade union policy leading towards democratic control.

These are exactly the ideas advocated in France by the Union of Technical Workers (U. S. T. I. C. A.).

In other countries the situation is the same as in England. It is more particularly those groups of intellectual workers, whose interests are similar to those of the manual workers employed in the same factories, who tend to organise on parallel lines.

This form of organisation has, nevertheless, met with some opposition, partly on account of the political tendencies of the trade unions, and partly because it scatters intellectual workers, who are swallowed up in a mass of persons whose interests are different from their own. In France, for instance, literary men ought by rights to have joined the Union of Printers and Allied Trades (*Fédération du Livre*), and dramatists the Theatrical Workers' Union (*Fédération du Spectacle*). Journalists' associations, it is true, would have had some difficulty in entering the trade unions, as their members do not all receive a regular salary.

These difficulties have led a certain number of intellectual workers to look for a way of organising themselves independently, both outside the trade unions and outside the employers' organisations, which appeared bodies as unsuitable as were the unions.

When it had been recognised that intellectual workers must organise as an independent body, a second question arose — were they to do so in sectional organisations or were they to do so in the form of federations of societies? These forms of organisation are not necessarily mutually exclusive. They are complementary, and it may even be said that each pre-supposes the other. Where no societies exist there could

(5) June 1921. *Non-Manual Trade Unionism.*

be no federation, and co-existent societies usually feel the need of federation in order to increase their power.

The number of associations of intellectual workers is legion in all countries, but the majority of such associations are formed for purely speculative and scientific objects, and have no professional or material interests. Others unite the two, and more than one society, which was until recently purely intellectual, has been forced by circumstances to interest itself in the material situation and the conditions of existence of its members. Most of the organisations of intellectual workers which devote their chief attention to the professional interests of their members were formed comparatively recently.

In France Mr. Henri Clouard has founded the Society of the Associates of the Mind (*Compagnons de l'Intelligence*), which proposes to unite, under the auspices of the Confederation of Intellectual Workers, those brain workers who are not affiliated to any other association, and thus encourage inter-penetration of professions. The U.S.T.I.C.A. is an organisation of the same type, uniting technical experts and engineers and all who are engaged in scientific study and invention. Another organisation on the same lines is the Union of Catholic Engineers (*Union sociale d'ingénieurs catholiques*), in which old pupils of the great engineering training schools have banded themselves together. The Association of French Engineers' Unions (*Union des syndicats d'ingénieurs français*) has now formed the Federation of Technical Workers in Industry.

In the United States professional engineers are organised in the Federated American Engineering Societies, and technical workers in Great Britain in the National Federation of Professional, Technical, Administrative, and Supervisory Workers. In Germany technical workers are organised in an industrial association (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft*), which acts in collaboration with the unions, though independently. In Italy mention should be made of a Confederation of Technical Experts in Industry of Lombardy, affiliated with the National Association of Italian Engineers, which has 50 branches and 7,000 members; the Association of Certificate Analytical Chemists; the Association of Certificated Agricultural Experts; the Medical Association; the Veterinary Association; and even a Magistrates' Association, an attempt at organisation which aroused great discussion.

This list might be continued for all countries, but it does not pretend to be exhaustive, its object being merely to give an idea of the needs which are being met at the present day by the organisation of intellectual workers on trade union lines.

When the principle of the isolation of the individual worker has once been abandoned, concentration can hardly go too far. Having experienced the need of uniting in societies, the intellectual workers have come to group their societes in federations.

This is the type of organisation to which the Confederation of Intellectual Workers belongs, a body founded on 18 March 1920, with Mr. Roman Coolus as president. It has eleven sections, literature, press, plastic arts, dramatic and musical arts, education, liberal professions, civil service, pure and applied sciences, business experts, industrial experts, and miscellaneous associations. Over seventy societies belong to it, representing about 120,000 members. Among them are an association of the middle grades of the railwaymen, with 15,000 members; the Union of French Engineers, with 28,000 members; the Society of Men of Letters and its union, with 8,400 members; the Society of Dramatists, 9,000 members; the Society of Authors and Musical Composers, 8,000 members; the General Association of Medical Practitioners of France, 9,600 members; the Society of French Artists, 4,000 members; the Independant Artists, 1,200 members; the Association of French Inventors, 1,400 members. Even lawyers, who are prevented from joining the Confederation of Intellectual Workers on account of the strict rules of the Bar, have founded the National Association of French Lawyers for the express purpose of doing so.

These figures and names must not be taken too literally. Many persons belong to several associations and are counted more than once in the total of 120,000. Some societies are very extensive and very loosely organised, and, if the need for action arose, could not reckon on all their members. But it is none the less true that the Confederation of Intellectual Workers is already a very influential group and that it can already show results.

In its manifesto, the objects of the Confederation are stated to be "to organise a larger number of associations representing the various intellectual, liberal, and technical professions, with a view to common action for the protection and defence of the general interests and rights of the aforesaid professions and with a view to determining the part which intellectual workers should play in the life of the nation". The aims of the Confederation are essentially professional and social and entirely non-political. The Confederation will, in the first place, request every one of its sections to prepare a statement of the claims of the affiliated associations. It will organise propaganda and will approach parliamentary committees and other elective bodies, including the Government. At the request of an association it will intervene in professional disputes, where they could not have been settled directly. If necessary, it will offer to arbitrate in disputes in which intellectual workers are not directly involved, but in which they have an indirect interest. It may even, if necessary, but only in extreme cases, declare partial strikes.

By an intentional parallelism, which is seen even in its title, the founders of the Confederation of Intellectual Workers declare that it is opposed to the General Confederation of

Labour on the one hand, and to the General Confederation of Production on the other, and is a counterpart to the General Confederation of Agriculture.

This point in their programme has been the cause of most of the difficulties, discussions, and disputes which have arisen in the Confederation of Intellectual Workers. Mr. René Hubert (6) writes as follows:—

> The intellectual workers felt themselves crushed between the capitalist employers on the one hand, and the revolutionary proletariat on the other. They have long been subject to the former. For a moment they thought of allowing themselves to be dominated by the latter. Now they claim their independence and assert their own rights in face of both. They mean to be respected by both and to obtain recognition of the material and moral position to which they think they are entitled.

The Confederation of Intellectual Workers appears, therefore, to take its stand definitely, if not on the ground of the class war, at least on that of the class idea. Most of the criticisms to which it has been subjected have been called forth by this attitude. One of the severest critics is Mr. Gaston Sauvebois in *La Renaissance* of 16 October 1920. At the Authors' Congress held in Paris in June 1921, Mr. Paul Vergnet spoke in similar terms:—

> The mobilisation of the liberal professions under a somewhat ambiguous title—that of 'Intellectual Workers'—can have but one meaning, and in any case but one result, i.e. to create a class within the nation. I will not discuss the question as to whether social classes exist; I will merely say that if there are classes, two are quite enough, and if no such classes exist, it is very regrettable that one should be created.

In spite of its lofty aims and their undoubted success, the Confederation of Intellectual Workers has thus failed to unite all French intellectual workers. Some societies have remained outside the Confederation; others have even been founded in opposition to the Confederation. The Confederation of French Intelligence and Production *(Confédération de l'Intelligence et de la Production française)*, organised by Mr. Georges Valois, has developed in the direction of " vertical " organisation in opposition to the " horizontal " organisation of the Confederation of Intellectual Workers. It aims at a revival of the old guilds, uniting all persons employed in the same industry irrespective of their function in the industry.

It would appear, however, that the type of organisation represented by the Confederation of Intellectual Workers is destined to spread from France, where it arose, to other countries, and to serve as the standard form of organisation in the intellectual workers' movement. In Belgium and

(6) René HUBERT : *Organisation Syndicale des Travailleurs Intellectuels*; Paris, 1921. Librairie des Sciences politiques et sociales. Bibliothèque de la Société d'Etudes et d'Informations Economiques.

Roumania the idea of a Confederation of Intellectual Workers has taken shape. In Switzerland a committee has been formed on the initiative of the Society of Painters, Sculptors, and Architects; its chairman is Dr. Roethlisberger, Assistant Director of the *Bureau de la Propriété Intellectuelle* at Berne. On 12 June 1920, the delegates of nine societies met at Berne and founded the Swiss Federation of Intellectual Workers *(Bund der Geistesarbeiter)*, which held a general meeting at Berne on 15 January 1921, at which its constitution and rules were adopted. In Spain, Italy, Holland, and Poland, however, similar attempts at organisation have encountered political and religious difficulties which it has hitherto been impossible to overcome.

Tendencies towards Internationalisation

As yet there is no international federation at the head of these national organisations, but the need of internationalisation has already been felt, for the national organisations soon realised that problems which are similar in all countries can only be solved satisfactorily on a general and common basis. Some of these societies have already attempted to put themselves in touch with one another. All are conscious of the need for co-ordinating their efforts, if they are to be successful. But unless they receive some outside assistance which will crystallise their efforts, the process of international co-ordination will be extremely difficult and slow. This is one of the reasons why a certain number of intellectual workers desire to find in the League of Nations a centre round which they might gather.

However, the first efforts which have been made with this object in view did not come from societies formed for the purpose of defending the professional interests of intellectual workers, but from those associations which aim at encouraging creative work. The Union of International Associations at Brussels addressed two requests to the Council of the League of Nations at its meeting at San Sebastian, proposing:

(a) that the League of Nations should extend its patronage to the International University;

(b) that the League of Nations should subsidise the publication of a collection of Recommendations and Resolutions of international conferences.

On the report of Mr. Léon Bourgeois, the Council merely expressed its approval of the International University, but decided to grant a subsidy of £1,500 to the collection of Resolutions passed at international conferences.

In September 1920 the Congress of International Associations, which was held in Brussels, adopted the following resolution, recommending:

that the League of Nations should create an international organisation for intellectual labour, similar to the international organisations already instituted for manual labour, health, and economic interests.

This organisation, based on principles appropriate to the special needs of intellectual work, should enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy, similar to the autonomy enjoyed by the International Labour Office. Its object would be to assist in the rapid development of science and education by co-ordinating the activities of the following three groups of organisations: national intellectual institutions in the different countries; present or future international societies founded for purposes of study and research; present or future international intellectual institutions (scientific bureaux, international university, international office of bibliography, international library, international museum, international laboratories, international patents office, institute of standards, institute for social research, etc.).

For this purpose it would be desirable that the League of Nations should convene shortly an International Intellectual Conference for the purpose of preparing the constitution and rules of such an organisation, and also of formulating conclusions and recommendations of a scientific character as to problems of international reconstruction, on the lines of the conclusions and recommendations formulated by the International Finance Conference in the economic sphere.

Messrs. Poullet, Negulesco, and Maggiorino Ferraris submitted the following draft resolution to the First Assembly of the League of Nations, with a view to the practical carrying out of the above recommendation.

The Assembly of the League of Nations approves the assistance given by the Council to institutions whose object is the development of international co-operation in the intellectual sphere and, in particular, the moral and material support given to the Union of International Associations on the occasion of the inaugural session of the International University and the publication of the collection of Recommendations and Resolutions passed at international conferences.

The Assembly recommends the Council to continue its activities in this direction and to participate, to as great an extent as possible, in efforts directed to the institution of an international organisation of intellectual work;

And instructs the Council to follow sympathetically the efforts at present being made for this purpose, and later, if necessary, to extend to them its official patronage and to submit to the Assembly at its next Session a circumstantial report as to the educative influence which such efforts are destined to exercise in the growth of a spirit of universal harmony and co-operation, and as to the advisability of co-ordinating these efforts in a technical organisation attached to the League of Nations.

The Second Commission adopted this scheme without discussion, and it was brought before the Assembly at its last meeting by Mr. Lafontaine, who said: "The League of Nations has created a privileged situation for manual labour (an annual credit of seven million gold francs); it is only just that it should grant its support to intellectual work".

The Union of International Associations and Mr. Lafontaine himself have therefore adopted this principle as the basis of discussion and have established between the two labour organisations both a parallel and an opposition. Mr. Barnes protested against the idea. He opposed the distinction which the draft resolution appeared to make between manual labour, protected by the International Labour Office, and intellectual work, left unprotected. "We have come to a

time", he said, "when democracy must reign, and the idea of drawing a dividing line between manual work and intellectual work would only retard its advent". Mr. Barnes further protested against the idea of creating a new technical organisation. He was afraid lest the support given by the League of Nations to existing organisations should, instead of assisting such organisations, result in drying up other more efficient sources of liberality, and he finally suggested that the question should be referred to the International Labour Office.

In his reply Mr. Lafontaine sought to show that similarity of phraseology did not imply similarity of purpose:—

> The purpose of organising manual work is to solve problems arising out of disputes between capital and labour. It is not a question of organising facilities for work, as we propose to do for intellectual workers; the organisation of manual work does not provide such facilities.
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> What intellectual work requires is facilities for work, means of procuring information quickly, and centres where scholars engaged in research work can meet, where the results of their work can be placed at the disposal of the whole world.
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> The International Labour Office is concerned with the workers engaged in manual work; the Intellectual Labour Office is concerned with the results to be attained by the workers. Intellectual workers as such can organise themselves in unions as manual workers do; they are doing so, and in this case I agree with my colleague, Mr. Barnes, that they are dependent upon the Labour Office established at Geneva.
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> But the object of the institution, which we wish to create under the aegis of the League of Nations, is to give more force and more power to human thought. We are the first to hope that manual workers, delivered from a life of slavish toil, may have leisure at their disposal and be able to devote themselves to intellectual work. We hope that, thanks to this organisation, which is not new, which has existed for a long time past, but which must be developed to the full, manual workers will not be forced to face the great and almost insurmountable difficulties which intellectual workers have to face in order to succeed in their researches.
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> This is the object that we have in view. It is not in opposition to the objects pursued by those who desire to ameliorate conditions of the manual worker. On the contrary, it is a means of supplying the manual worker, when he has acquired leisure, with an opportunity of himself contributing to the splendid progress of our civilisation. Not till intellectual work has at its disposal the tools suited to its needs will men be able to advance more rapidly towards the new era to whose early dawn we are all looking forward.

The proposal of the Second Commission was finally adopted, in spite of the opposition of Mr. Barnes and Lord Robert Cecil. As a result of this vote two parallel courses of action have been taken. The Secretariat of the League of Nations has submitted two reports to the Council. The first comprises a detailed summary of the activities of the Union of International Associations at Brussels, including the International Office of Bibliography, International Archives, Annual of International Activities, List of Recommendations and Resolutions of International Congresses, the International University, the "International Fortnight", International Centre, International Museum, etc. The report concludes with the following words:

> Surveying as a whole the picture we have just drawn, the work of the founders of the Union of International Associations, a work of

documentation and information, of co-ordination of effort, of general education, appears as a vast enterprise of international intellectual organisation, characterised by the breadth of its conception and design. Its action is twofold : as regards principles, it owes to the logical force of the ideas which it has brought forward an educative influence which is highly conducive to the development of the ideas of union and international organisation. As regards facts, it has proved its efficacy by the institutions which it has created. The Union of International Associations, its Congresses, the publications connected with them, and the International University form particularly effective instruments for the " diffusion of a broad spirit of understanding and world-wide co-operation ". The League of Nations should regard these institutions today as most valuable organs of collaboration.

The second report emphasises the importance of the international co-ordination of intellectual work, especially that of educational activities in the different countries, in connection with the development of the League of Nations, as follows :

The League of Nations cannot pursue any of its aims, either the general aims of co-operation as laid down in the Covenant, or even the more precise aims assigned to it by certain provisions, such as the campaign against the use of dangerous drugs and against the traffic in women and children, without, at every moment, encountering educational problems, and without being obliged to ask for active help from those engaged in education in all countries.

The report goes on to show that it would be premature to set up a technical organisation actually under the League of Nations without preparing the ground by preliminary investigation, and ends by proposing the appointment of an Advisory Committee to examine international questions regarding intellectual co-operation and education; the Committee will consist of a maximum number of twelve members, appointed by the Council, and will submit a report on the organisation to be established to the Assembly of the League of Nations to be held in 1923.

In the meantime the Union of International Associations has taken further steps. From 20 to 22 August 1921 it convened at Brussels the first International Congress of Intellectual Workers, which passed the following resolution :

The Congress of Intellectual Workers, meeting at Brussels from 20 to 22 August 1921,

(1) takes note of the draft constitution of an International Federation of Intellectual Workers which has been submitted;

(2) authorises the Congress to undertake propaganda in the different countries with a view to the creation in each country of a central organisation of intellectual workers affiliated to the International Federation;

(3) authorises the Union of International Associations to enter into direct communication with the League of Nations and the International Labour Office on these subjects.

In order to understand this resolution, it must be remembered that it is the result of two distinct considerations which were laid before the Congress. The first of these was that which Mr. Lafontaine had chiefly in mind during the Assembly of the League of Nation, namely the organisation

and co-ordination of facilities for intellectual work. The second is the protection of the professional, corporate, and private interests of intellectual workers. To quote the invitation to the congress: "Certain associations have dealt with these problems in various countries, and national associations have been instituted to discuss them, but there has been as yet no opportunity for concerted action. A question worthy of consideration is whether it is advisable to increase the number of these associations and to create an international bond between them".

Finally, it should be added that that intellectual workers require to be protected in regard to copyright, a task on which the Berne Offices have been engaged for about thirty years.

Purpose of Protection

Intellectual workers may be helped and protected in three ways; as regards facilities for their work, the products of their work, and the conditions under which they work.

The first object is to assist intellectual workers in their work. Intellectual workers suffer from the insufficiency of the material means at their disposal, and also from the scattered condition of their sources of information and material.

In order to assist intellectual workers in a material way, it has been deemed necessary to provide them with financial assistance derived from private donations. This was the object of a large number of foundations in the past, such as the Solvay, Carnegie, and other foundations. This is also one of the objects of the *Confédération de l'Intelligence et de la Production française* in seeking to create a national fund, which should be supported by the great industries of the country and managed under their supervision, and which should give help to intellectual workers. The setting up of university presses and all movements for the diffusion of intellectual work may be included under this head.

The second object is to protect intellectual workers in disposing of the products of their work. Intellectual workers may find themselves in one of two relations towards those by whom they are paid. They may sell the product of their work, in which case they conclude a commercial contract with the purchaser; on the other hand they may sell their work itself, thereby entering into a wage contract.

The boundary line between the two kinds of relationship is often very difficult to draw. When the intellectual worker is salaried, it is almost always in the form of work paid by the piece, which is in many respects similar to a sales contract. For example, what is the position of an author or a translator in relation to the publisher who has ordered a manuscript? And what is the relation between an artist and a picture

dealer who pays him a fixed sum in return for his whole output? This legal question has not been thoroughly examined or settled, though it certainly ought to be, but it has not checked the efforts of those who wish to secure to intellectual workers the profits of their work. If intellectual workers have a double character, they have a double claim to protection.

In so far as they are the proprietors of their works, their interests have been placed by international conventions under the care of special organisations, which may be known briefly as the Berne Offices, their official title being the United International Bureaux for Industrial, Literary, and Artistic Property *(Bureaux internationaux réunis de la propriété industrielle, littéraire et artistique)*. The Industrial Office was opened on 1 January 1885 and the Literary Office on 1 January 1888.

The object of the Industrial Association which was founded as a result of the Paris Convention of 20 March 1883, revised in 1900 and 1911, of the Madrid Agreement of 14 April 1891 concerning the international registration of trade marks, and the Madrid Agreement of the same date concerning the suppression of false marks of origin, is to promote the protection of inventions, industrial designs and models, and trade marks, on the basis of the principle of national rights, against infringement, imitation, or unfair competition. Twenty-six countries belong to the Industrial Association. Further, seventeen countries have adhered to the Madrid Agreement concerning the international registration of trade marks; nine countries have adhered to the agreement concerning the suppression of false marks of origin; and fifteen countries to the Berne Agreement of 1920 concerning the restitution or preservation of industrial property rights violated owing to the war.

The Literary Association, which is the result of the Convention of 9 September 1886, revised on 13 November 1908, includes twenty-one countries. Its object is to guarantee to authors adequate protection on a national basis against unauthorised imitation, reproduction, translation, adaptation, execution, representation, and exhibition of works of literature, music, art, and photography.

Each of the two offices expends funds amounting to 60,000 francs a year. They collect official information, keep official records, circulate and publish information and studies of general interest, prepare for international conferences, and compile statistics. They publish regular monthly organs and other periodical publications, such as general collections of laws and treaties, the minutes of conferences, comparative and synoptical tables concerning comparative and private trade mark law, etc.

The diplomatic and voluntary character of the Conventions on which these offices are based has made their work extremely difficult. Within the sphere in which the Literary Association is active the system of reservations has been

carried so far that several different Conventions exist side by side. Only a very few states have ratified the new Conventions. The old Conventions remain in force in other states, so that three different stages have been reached in the problem of protecting literary work, more especially translation rights.

In order to ensure progress in the industrial sphere it has been necessary to have recourse to narrower associations formed by a few countries only. Even within narrower associations it has not been possible altogether to eliminate the practice of attaching reservations to ratification. The most recent case is the action of Sweden in attaching certain time-limits to ratification of the agreement on the restoration of trade property rights violated in the course of the war.

The third object is to regulate and improve the conditions under which intellectual work is done. The difficulty is not so much to supply a theoretical definition of intellectual workers as to distinguish them from other kinds of workers. As a matter of fact, there are very few intellectual workers who are not at the same time engaged in other occupations, on which they are more directly dependent for their livelihood.

Workers who are intellectual workers and nothing more make the least demand as a class for protection; therefore to confine protective action to this class of intellectual worker would be to reduce action to impotence. A wider definition is required. In an article in the *Berner Hochschulkalender*, Professor Roethlisberger, the founder of the Swiss Federation of Intellectual Workers, writes as follows:—

> There can be no question of confining the class of intellectual workers whom we wish to unite either to those who produce freely and independently of any contractor, for the number of such workers is infinitesimal, or to those who depend for a livelihood solely on intellectual work and who have no other occupation.
>
> The legal distinction between salaried employees who execute paid work which presupposes scientific or artistic training and persons who conclude contracts is too narrow; for most intellectual workers have at the same time a post as salaried employee which guarantees them a livelihood. As no satisfactory definition exists, it is very difficult to draw a distinction. Further, the creation of an intellectual aristocracy would be as futile as it would be absurd. For this reason, from a practical point of view, an attempt has been made to unite all those who are mainly engaged in work of an intellectual, literary, artistic, scientific, and technical character, that is to say in creative work, whatever their position and whatever the occupations which may be involved. The following groups of workers in particular would be included: writers; artists, including painters, designers, sculptors, architects, and musicians; scholars and men of science; doctors, including veterinary surgeons, and dentists, who all require academic training; a large number of technical experts; and journalists; in short, all who belong to the liberal professions.

This list is not exhaustive. Pharmacists, who are not included in the list, require academic training just as do veterinary surgeons or dentists. One is tempted to ask whether the fact of selling goods is incompatible with the title of intellectual worker. Nor does the Swiss Federation include civil servants or elementary school teachers, who are state

employees. The reason for this exclusion does not seem clear, nor does the reason for the omission of private teachers and University professors ; the latter would appear to be indisputably intellectual workers. Students also, who may be compared with apprentices, are not generally admitted to associations of intellectual workers, although they have important professional interests to defend.

The French Confederation of Intellectual Workers is less narrow, but it has evaded rather then solved the difficulty. It admits the civil servant and the technical expert, and prefers to deal with cases on their merits rather than bind itself by general regulations—a wise attitude to adopt.

If anything practical, therefore, is to be done, enquiry will have to be limited to examining possible methods of classification. Classification is of two kinds. In the first place, there is classification by occupation; civil servants, professors, technical experts in manufacture, persons engaged in commercial activities, such as pharmacists. Secondly, there may be classification by the type of work done, in order to establish within a particular occupation who is an intellectual worker and who is not. The editor of a large newspaper is undoubtedly an intellectual worker, but what of a subordinate reporter or a proof reader ? An engineer who has graduated at one of the recognised engineering colleges is an intellectual worker; but it is not quite so certain whether the same can be said of a person who has obtained the diploma of an ordinary technical school or of a school of arts and crafts. Nor is the boundary line between the ordinary technical expert and the foreman quite clear. A lawyer is an intellectual worker, but what of his head clerk, who often does the same work ?

It is less important, however, to define the intellectual worker than to define the salaried worker. The kind of protection claimed by salaried intellectual workers must next be considered.

The Confederation of Intellectual Workers in their manifesto raise some of the questions which, in their opinion, at least merit examination, even if they cannot be solved.

Salaries

A minimum salary, based on the worker's requirements, should be universally fixed, so that even the lowest paid intellectual worker may be able to live on his earnings. On the other hand, except for a scale of progressive increases based on the number of years of service in the same firm, the higher salaries would be determined solely by the output of the particular worker.

In the case of intellectual workers who are paid at piece-work rates it should be compulsory to pay for all work delivered and accepted, even if the work be not used.

The question of salaries is a universal problem. Intellectual workers often express the desire for an enquiry to be

instituted in all countries concerning the salaries of intellectual workers as compared with the earnings of manual workers. This enquiry should include teachers' salaries. Such an enquiry would certainly help to clear up the problem. Intellectual workers are persuaded that at present they are earning less than manual workers. This is undoubtedly true in some occupations, such as journalism, where there is little difference between the lowest-paid intellectual workers and some of the highest-paid manual workers. It would be very useful to find out whether the same applies to most occupations.

In any occupation it is very difficult to intervene actively in order to fix rates of payment, and it is still more difficult to do so in the case of the intellectual worker, whose remuneration cannot be fixed except on a basis which is both qualitative and subjective. In most occupations it is comparatively easy to find a standard by which the difference between a good and a bad workman may be measured. But it is quite a different matter to find a standard by which to measure the difference between a good and a bad artist or between an author of talent and a mere hack writer.

The question of salaries has other aspects. In journalism it involves the problem of the contribution of unpaid articles, a practice which both brings down rates of pay and often deprives professional journalists of work. Some intellectual associations ask their members to pledge themselves not to contribute unpaid articles to newspapers or periodicals.

There is the further question of subsidiary occupations. At the present day, there are very few intellectual workers, as, for instance, professors, who can live solely on their salary or on what they earn by their writings, etc. Professors are often compelled to accept other work, which distracts them from their purely intellectual occupations, and which, if the practice became general, might seriously interfere with scientific progress. This is another reason for the decrease in the quantity and in the quality of the intellectual output of the world.

Finally, the question of the remuneration of intellectual workers is inseparably bound up with the problem mentioned earlier, the problem of bringing higher education within the reach of the poorer classes.

Contracts

The Confederation of Intellectual Workers further proceed to consider the question of contracts.

A compulsory model contract, which would make allowance for differences in detail to suit the requirements of different professions, should be drafted and submitted to the employers' organisations for adoption. Such a contract would at least guarantee certain fundamental rights to every salaried intellectual worker employed by a firm which does not sign collective agreements with its staff.

A minimum indemnity for dismissal without notice should be fixed, in agreement with the employers' organisations, for every salaried intellectual worker, and a scale of minimum indemnities drawn up for all other cases of discharge.

Model contracts — which must not be confused with collective agreements — have already been drawn up in several countries, at least for journalism. In Italy the Italian Press Association has drawn one up. In Austria, the National Assembly on 11 February 1920 adopted an Act regulating journalists' contracts, and the Viennese Press Association has concluded a collective agreement for journalists in Vienna. The Society of Swiss Authors is also engaged in drafting a model contract, and is trying to get it generally accepted. It might be well worth while to examine these contracts and to consider whether they could be introduced into other professions.

Employment and Pensions

Every intellectual worker should be entitled to a pension after twenty-five years' service and at the age of fifty-five. Some firms grant pensions to those of their staff who have been in their employment continuously for twenty-five or thirty years. The system should be extended to all salaried intellectual workers within a profession, and anyone who has been a member of a profession for twenty-five years, whether in the employment of one or several firms, should be entitled to a pension; then there would be no more cases of workers being dismissed, exhausted, after more than twenty years' service, without even being assured of a crust of bread at the end of their life of toil.

Persons already in the profession should have at least a prior claim when vacancies occur.

The problem of recruiting for the intellectual professions is closely connected with the problems of selection and of unemployment. Among intellectual workers unemployment is less obvious, though no less serious, than among manual workers. It is doubtful whether there are too many intellectual workers in the world; but they are most unequally distributed, and were an international system for finding intellectual employment internationally organised, it might possibly improve their position.

Intellectual workers are also affected by migration. A regular system of exchanges of intellectual workers between countries might be a good thing, not only for the workers themselves, but also in the public interest. Such a system could be carried out in several ways; an inter-university exchange of students and professors might be arranged, or an exchange of technical experts between countries where they are numerous and countries where they are much wanted. This would raise other questions, such as the standardisation of conditions of entry to the universities, the standardisation of curricula and examinations, the recognition of diplomas, and the protection of foreign students.

Finally, in the matter of actual working conditions, it would probably be necessary, in the case of journalism, to regulate

night work and Sunday work. In certain countries journalists still work at night and on Sundays, but more because of old-established custom than because of any real need.

These problems and others, upon which it has not been possible to touch, make it obvious why organised intellectual workers all over the world are demanding a central office for information and enquiries, which would centralise their movement and would make it possible for them to secure some practical results.

Intellectual Workers and the International Labour Office

This explains the spirit which has been animating the organised intellectual workers and the reason for which they have applied to the International Labour Office for help and assistance. The extent to which the International Labour Office can meet their requests remains to be considered. Under Article 23 of the Peace Treaty it is instructed "to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour" for all, and by Article 396 to collect and distribute "information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labour". It has still to be decided how far the text of the Treaty can be applied to intellectual work. As is well known, at the present moment the competence of the International Labour Office and the extension of its powers are the subject of heated discussions. There are those who think that the Peace Treaty only affects conditions among workers in industry.

As regards information, the International Labour Office can certainly, without inconvenience and without raising any questions as to its competence, supply all requests for information addressed to it, some of which will touch on questions intermediate between intellectual and industrial work. Certain intellectual workers' organisations, in fact, have applied to the Office for particulars required for carrying on their work. One organisation sent an enquiry regarding openings for technical experts in different countries; another a more general enquiry as to the conditions of service of engineers in other countries; this organisation wished foreign engineers in France to be put upon a footing of complete reciprocity and treated exactly as French engineers are treated in other countries. Lacking details they have applied to the International Labour Office, in order to have a definite basis of proved fact before proceeding to action. A national organisation, which is trying to secure legislation in its own country giving a weekly rest period in the journalistic profession, has asked the Labour Office for facts about the regulations in force all over the world on this point.

Questions of this nature will probably increase in number. They will cause no difficulty whatever, unless some of them

obviously fall outside the sphere of the Labour Office. It is simplicity itself to deal with data regarding conditions under which intellectual workers work, or the salaries of technical workers—a vital and fundamental question, the facts of which are very little known. Other questions, such as the grading of intellectual work and the fixing of fees, might be a more delicate matter, and the Labour Office must naturally reserve the right to decide in each case whether the matter falls within its competence.

Secondly, it is in view of the legislative functions of the International Labour Office that intellectual workers have approached it, in the hope of having questions in which they are interested placed on the agenda of forthcoming Conferences. The weekly rest period in commerce and in industry is to be discussed at the 1921 Conference, and some intellectual workers would like to extend the scope of the discussion to include themselves. Again, the special topic to be discussed at the 1922 Conference will be emigration, and these societies have also suggested that the question of an international system of employment exchanges for intellectual workers should be raised.

In making these suggestions they appear to have two things in mind. First, they want really to improve the position of intellectual and technical workers; second, they want to secure recognition of the right of intellectual workers to be represented at the Conferences, at any rate by expert advisers, when the questions discussed by the Conference concern themselves.

This shows a misunderstanding of the procedure of the International Labour Organisation and especially of that of the Conferences. It is obvious that if suggestions of this kind were laid before the Conference by a delegate, it could hardly refuse to discuss them, especially if these proposals in certain of their aspects also concerned industrial labour. The insertion of any item on the agenda of a Conference is exclusively the function of the Governing Body, which is at the present moment the only authority to decide to what extent it would be desirable for the Labour Office to concern itself with the protection of intellectual workers. The representation of these workers on the Governing Body and in the Conferences would necessitate not only a formal amendment of the Peace Treaty but an extensive modification of the Organisation itself.

To summarise, within the limits of its authority, which are not under its own control, the International Labour Office is entirely ready to keep in touch with the intellectual workers' organisations and to assist them. But they on their side should not underestimate the delicate nature of the questions which arise, or expect the Office to overstep the boundaries which have been marked out and launch forth into the unknown.