

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

**INTERNATIONAL
LABOUR REVIEW**

VOL. VI. No. 5



NOVEMBER 1922

GENEVA

1922

CONTENTS

Special Articles	Page
Labour Legislation in Greece, by Professor A. ANDRÉADES	699
The Campaign against Unemployment in Sweden by Dr E. G. Huss	721
<hr/>	
Industrial Relations	
Trade Union Organisations	735
Employers' Organisations	748
Production and Prices	
Cost of Living and Retail Prices	756
Wholesale Prices in Various Countries	763
Employment and Unemployment	
Statistics of Unemployment	766
Migration	
Notes on Migration	770
Industrial Hygiene	
Notes on Industrial Hygiene	793
Education	
Notes on Vocational Guidance and Education	807
Workers' Education	814
Government Reports	
Training and Employment of Disabled Ex-Service Men in Great Britain	825
The Building Trade in Sweden	827
Bibliography	
Book Notes	829
Recent Literature on Industrial Hygiene	852

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR REVIEW

VOL. VI, No. 5.

NOVEMBER 1922

Labour Legislation in Greece ⁽¹⁾

by

PROFESSOR A. ANDRÉADÈS

*Professor at the University of Athens, ex-Doyen
of the Faculty of Law*

A distinguished expert in labour questions who attended the Washington Conference on one occasion stated that he had been agreeably surprised to find several labour legislation measures, which were still pious wishes in several of the older countries, already in force in Greece, a state which has had independent existence for only ninety years and is more agricultural, maritime, and commercial than industrial in character. He was even more surprised when he heard that Greek labour legislation had only ten years' history behind it.

Yet the explanation of these two related facts is quite easy. Greece was very late in enacting legislation to protect the worker, not because there was any want of goodwill or of the sense of social responsibility, but because she had no large-scale industry; until the present generation the country was almost entirely agricultural and maritime. Smaller industries, on the other hand, for long preserved an almost patriarchal character and the worker is rarely inclined to quarrel with an employer who works as hard as he does and under the same conditions.

Finally, this lack of legislative activity was confessedly also due to the state of politics. Parties were not divided on questions of principle — indeed, everybody seemed agreed about principles

(1) The texts of the Acts, Decrees, and Circulars making up Greek labour legislation were collected and printed by instruction of the Minister of National Economy in 1920, forming one octavo volume of 693 pages. Partly on account of its recent enactment, and partly on account of the disturbed state of the country during ten years of war, no general study of this legislation has yet been made. The fullest comments which have so far appeared have been: (1) a pamphlet written by Mr. S. THEODOROPoulos, when Deputy, and published by the Workers' Central Bureau of Athens in January 1912; (2) some comments on Greek legislation added by Mr. D. KALITSOUNAKIS of the Law Faculty of the University of Athens to his translation of Professor H. HERKNER's: *La Question ouvrière* (2 vols. Athens, 1919-1920); (3) the Memoranda presented by the Greek Delegation to the Washington Conference of 1919. Fortunately the absence of printed comment can to some extent be made good by parliamentary papers, the Bulletin of the Ministry of National Economy, and a few scattered monographs on isolated labour organisations.



— but on personal questions. "I play your tune, but I play it better", a French statesman once remarked to his adversary, and this was the attitude of the Greek leaders. Parties were appraised not by programmes but by leaders; the result was that no Labour Party existed. This was perhaps natural in view of the non-existence of any large-scale industry, but what was worse was that there was no party at all for which the workers voted regularly, and which could claim to represent them.

This state of affairs continued until the end of the nineteenth century. But meanwhile the country began to develop. Manufacture followed progress in the mining industry, and the railway system became more complete. Men of generous ideals such as Mr. Phocion Negris, an engineer and a distinguished geologist, formerly manager of the Laurium mines, were put into power; their principle was that the governing classes ought to take the initiative in introducing reform. Three Acts were passed, extending in some directions the scope of certain work which had already been started in a small way, which instituted pension, accident, compensation, and invalidity benefits for three large groups of workers: seafarers, miners, and railway employees. The practical importance of these three enactments was great, but they were isolated measures. It was not until the Assembly deputed to revise the constitution met from 1910 to 1912 that a number of other measures were formulated which could be said to form an industrial code.

Lost time was now made up for. In the course of two years a series of measures was voted without serious opposition, such as it had taken years to enact in other countries. The economic situation, in other words, the continual progress made by large-scale industry, was a powerful stimulus, as was also the political situation. The military league which carried through the peaceful revolution of 1910 claimed to have replaced the old political parties by parties inspired by real principles. The workers had meanwhile become organised, chiefly at Athens, Volo, and in some other big centres, and supported the league, but demanded reforms. They were immediately granted the weekly rest-day, a reform which was also urgently demanded by commercial employees. Not long after the league appealed to Mr. Venizelos, who included labour reform on his electoral programmes, and placed on the list of his candidates for Attica the name of Mr. Theodoropoulos, representative of the workers of Athens. As soon as the Chamber for the reform of the constitution had been elected, these workers communicated a list of their demands, which were adopted without serious alterations. A group of young deputies, known by the name of the Social Reform Party⁽²⁾, who since 1907 had been trying to educate public opinion in this direction, helped signally in getting the proposals adopted quickly. The Minister of National Economy, whose Office was created at this time, and

(2) The name of the group was literally the Sociological Group; but in fact its members were interested in social reform, and not in sociology.

who had recruited his staff largely from among the young economists who were not frightened of the bogey of state socialism, proceeded to apply the legislation passed by the issue of Decrees largely inspired by the same spirit.

The years 1910, 1911, and 1912 thus saw a Labour Department, a Supreme Labour Council, and a labour inspection service come into being ; Acts were voted on hygiene, workers' safety, hours of labour, women's work, mining, wages payment, staff regulations for railway and tramway employees, etc. The movement was scarcely interrupted by the Balkan wars ; even in August 1913 very important Decrees were being issued applying the Acts just mentioned, and not long after the Government was codifying the Acts on the weekly rest-day, and extending industrial legislation to the new provinces. During 1914 and subsequent years some very important new laws were also voted on the subject of trade unions and industrial accidents.

Even the world war had no more marked effects. The Executive was empowered to suspend legislation for the duration of hostilities, but made no use of this mandate. On the contrary, it re-organised and enlarged the Labour Department and took many other measures tending to round off previous legislation.

The whole process was completed by a vote ratifying the Conventions signed at the Washington Conference.

In order to give a proper and full idea of Greek industrial legislation without entering into too much detail, I propose to examine in the first section of this article what was done before 1909, and in the second section what was done after that year, with a brief description of causes and preliminary circumstances.

INDUSTRIAL REFORM BEFORE 1909

The Seamen's Pension Fund (3)

The Seamen's Pension Fund has a very interesting history, confirming the contention put forward at the beginning of this article as to the high sense of duty which has invariably inspired Greece in her relations towards her poorer citizens. Though the Seamen's Pension Fund was in form a mutual benefit society, it was in practice an institution for providing assistance ; the members' contributions did not for many years (1862-1878) amount to as much as one-tenth of the expenses. Very heavy obligations had been undertaken towards seamen who had joined the organisation. They acquired the right to a pension (1) on attaining 50 years of age and on the payment of 25 premiums ; (2) in cases of accident ; (3) in cases of invalidity ; (4) on behalf of their families. I use the word "family" advisedly and not the expression "widow and orphans being minors", for, apart from the

(3) See the very interesting historical discussion which was submitted to the Chamber when the 1907 Act was under discussion.

fact that parents, sisters, and brothers in certain cases shared the right to a pension, female orphans also were entitled to it up to the date of their marriage, which might very possibly take place after they had attained their majority.

The very liberal principles on which this legislation was based were justified by the character of the seaman's life, which is very hard, extremely exposed to accident, prematurely ageing, and after some time renders the person who has followed it unfit to earn his livelihood at another trade. The result, however, was that the fund, in spite of the different sources of revenue assigned to it by the Government and in spite of the strict economy observed in administration, was always struggling against a deficit. Reform was imperatively called for. An Act of 1907 succeeded in balancing receipts against expenditure by considerably raising the amount of contributions, opening up fresh sources of revenue, and establishing a special fund for sponge fishers (4), whose accident benefits were a heavy burden on the general fund. The financial effects of this Act were notable. Between 1909 and 1916, against a total revenue of 14,526,952 drachmas (5) was offset an expenditure of only 2,442,032 drachmas. A more liberal policy was again possible. The Act of 16 January 1919 aims at these more liberal principles by extending in various ways the benefits available, while at the same time increasing the income of the fund. The new arrangements still permitted the fund to show a substantial balance at the end of the year. In 1921 receipts amounted to 3,419,580 drachmas and expenditure to 1,800,080 drachmas. Enquiry shows that by far the largest item of expenditure, namely 1,715,980 drachmas, was payment of pensions allotted after 25 years of service (including widows' and orphans' pensions). Two-thirds of the receipts, namely 2,216,891 drachmas, are obtained from the contributions paid by seamen and ship-owners. More detailed analysis would at first sight lead one to suppose that the fund is principally financed from the contributions of the seamen themselves. This is a false impression, due to the accounting methods employed. Information which has reached me from the managers of the fund makes it clear that since the war, when the submarine campaign brought the most tremendous risks, the crews have secured the payment of their contributions to the fund by the shipowners without any deduction from wages.

The Fund for Sponge Fishers

The trade of sponge fishing is actively carried on by the population of several Greek islands, more especially Aegina and Hydra ; it is a trade in which many terrible accidents occur. Mr. D. Papamichalopoulos (6) notes that, whereas the ordinary seaman

(4) See below, under separate heading

(5) One drachma = one franc at par.

(6) Author of a short study on the Sponge Divers' Fund, appearing in the Bulletin of the Greek Seamen's Union 1917, No. 3.

is generally pensioned off on account of old age, most of the payments made to sponge fishers and divers are on account of accidents. The result was, as has already been said above, that the benefits payable to sponge fishers burdened the general fund to a degree out of proportion to the contribution received from that source. An Act of 10 March 1910 therefore established a special Sponge Fishers' Fund, and assigned special sources of income to it.

This Act is admirably drawn up and does not confine itself to making provision for the victims of accidents, but attempts to lessen their number. Most of the Act, in fact, is devoted to the prevention of accidents in the trade. It is completed by two Decrees, issued in January and February 1912. Two schools for divers have been established at Hydra and Aegina. These schools are open during the winter months when fishing stops; certificates are given after two months' attendance. There is therefore no excuse for non-attendance, especially in view of the fact that no fees are charged and even drugs are supplied without cost. A regulation excludes any person whose health or physique renders him unsuitable for the trade and all persons addicted to alcoholism. After a given date employers were to have in their service none but divers who could show a training certificate from one of the schools.

The Act lays down the depth at which sponges may be collected and the length of time during which a diver may remain below water. Diving is in any case not continuous, as the Decree of 12 February stipulates that no diver may go down a second time until all the divers on board have been down once. Moreover, two months' diving work must be followed by a fortnight's absolute rest.

The Ministry of Marine is instructed, whenever possible, to send a warship to waters where sponge diving takes place on a considerable scale. The captain of this warship is to supervise the application of the Acts and Decrees in force; he has the powers of a magistrate for dealing with all crimes, offences, and accidents. He also receives all victims of accidents in his ship's hospital. The Minister of Marine is further empowered to compel a group of employers fishing within the same waters to provide one or more doctors on their vessels.

In addition to more severe penalties the 1910 Act and the 1912 Decrees in many cases impose fines; the proceeds of these fines go to the divers' funds and are one of the regular sources of revenue of those funds.

Accidents in the Mining Industry

The Act of February 1901 "for Assisting the Victims of Accidents in Mines and Metal Works" is a most important landmark in the history of Greek labour legislation and in itself of great interest. Attention may be drawn to the following clauses. The victim is entitled to compensation in all cases except when he has

occasioned the accident of deliberate intent. The whole cost of compensation falls on the employer during the first three months of incapacity to work (7); in other cases one-half of the cost is borne by the Miners' Fund, established in 1882 (8) and subsequently re-organised and endowed with new resources (9). Compensation is reckoned at half the amount of wages, and accident pensions are on a similar basis (10); in case of death from accident they revert to the widow and children, or, failing these, to the parents; daughters can claim not only until they are of age but until they marry; the day after the marriage ceremony they receive the amount of a year's pension by way of dowry.

At the time of the passing of the Act a certain number of Italians were working in the mines, especially in those at Laurium. By Section 13 of the Act foreign workers enjoy the same rights as nationals. When they or their families wish to quit the country they receive a sum equal to three years' pension in satisfaction of all claims. This very practical arrangement avoids all legal, consular, or other formalities, which would have to be gone through each year and would involve the claimants in heavy expense and a great deal of trouble.

The Act of 1901 was completed by the Act of 7 January 1912. The chief purpose of this Act was to increase the resources of the Miners' Fund. It could now claim $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the net revenue from the mining industry and from the metal working industry, and one-quarter of the quarry tax. The proceeds of fines imposed under mining legislation also went to the fund.

The effects of the Act were excellent. In the course of an interesting study on the Miners' Fund (11), Mr. J. Michalopoulos estimates that over 100,000 drachmas were paid out by that Fund in the form of benefits to 500 persons during 1913. Information furnished to me by Mr. D. Totomis, Director of Labour, shows the number of beneficiaries at the present time to be about 900, and pensions and payments made during the year 1919-1920 to have totalled 147,867 drachmas.

The Railwaymen's Fund

The progress of railway building in Greece caused a third closely united group of workers to appear in addition to the

(7) The employer is also liable for medical expenses, cost of drugs, and burial expenses.

(8) An Act of 1861, which imposed a tax on mines, had laid down that 1 per cent. of this tax should be set aside for a fund on behalf of the victims of mining accidents. After an interval of 21 years this fund was set going by Decree, but the only revenue which could be assigned to it was that laid down in the terms of the Act; now the Act, while determining the amounts of pensions and compensation, also stated that, should the proceeds of the mining tax prove insufficient, benefits should be subject to a proportional decrease.

(9) Namely, 1 per cent. of the net revenue from mining operations, from metal works, mines, and quarries; further, the proceeds of fines imposed under the terms of mining legislation.

(10) They sink to one-third in cases of partial incapacity.

(11) Bulletin of the Ministry of National Economy, 1914.

seamen and the miners. Legislation was needed and was adopted in an Act of 14 January 1907 for Providing Pension Funds for Workers on the Railways⁽¹²⁾.

This Act applies to all grades of staff, to civil service grades, to manual workers, and to salaried employees. Its principles are based partly on those of the Pensions Act for civil servants passed in 1905, and partly on the Act on industrial accidents in mines. Pensions are given after 25 years' service and on the attainment of 60 years of age; ten years' service creates a claim to an invalidity pension for all grades. Pensions are given unconditionally in the case of industrial accidents on the same basis as was adopted in the 1901 Act.

The funds are able to draw on more than one source of revenue. A 5 per cent. deduction from all salaries and wages is paid into it⁽¹³⁾. The railway company contributes a sum equal to 3 per cent. of its total wages bill, and a further 10 per cent. of the profits realised on the work carried out in its workshops. The state relinquishes 10 per cent. of its statutory claim on railway profits. Finally, the public contributes in the form of paying for special stamps on the transport of luggage and goods. The result is a considerable annual income, so that the recently founded funds, especially that of the Piraeus-Athens-Peloponnese line (P.A.P.) have been quite prosperous. They are now in a more difficult position owing to the higher wages which are being paid; for the new scale of benefits is calculated on current wages, whereas the resources of the funds have been accumulated out of past payments which were calculated at a time when wages were lower⁽¹⁴⁾.

INDUSTRIAL REFORM AFTER 1909

Until 1909 labour legislation in Greece had been exclusively confined to dealing with industrial accident and workers' pensions. The years 1910 to 1920, as already stated, were signalised by a remarkable outburst of legislative activity. New reforms were initiated and the scope of industrial legislation was constantly widened.

Government Departments

Labour questions were until 1909 dealt with by a Department of the Ministry of the Interior, which, however, had a great deal

(12) Strictly speaking, the Act set up a single fund only for the most important line then existing, the Piraeus-Athens-Peloponnese line. But it made provision for setting up other funds for other lines by Decree; this was subsequently done.

(13) Persons of civil service grade and skilled workers also pay a contribution of 50 to 200 drachmas when they marry. This contributes in but a very slight degree to cover the obligations assumed by the fund on behalf of widows and orphans, and it could probably be suppressed without making much difference.

(14) An Act of 20 April 1918 assigned a payment of 5 leptas on each ticket taken on the Attica line to the exclusive support of the pensions fund of the line.

of other work to carry on. With the inauguration of a new labour policy a Ministry of National Economy was set up ; it covered agriculture, commerce, and industry, and was, indeed, originally known as the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry. It included a special Department for labour and social welfare. Wide powers were conferred on this Department by law ; its functions were to study the industrial and labour situation, to apply legislation, to draft new Bills, and to intervene for the prevention of industrial disputes. In 1917 agriculture was handed over to a new Ministry and the staff of the Ministry of National Economy was enlarged, the old Department of Labour being divided into two. Three years later, in 1920, the Department, which was already separate from the social welfare work, was made independent and strengthened by the appointment of new Departmental chiefs put in charge of labour statistics and of a section for directing state intervention in labour disputes.

Since 1912 the Government has had at its command a staff of industrial inspectors, consisting of two chief inspectors and two other inspectors⁽¹⁵⁾. On the reorganisation of the Ministry of National Economy in 1917 industrial inspection was raised to the rank of an independent Department under an officer having the rank of Departmental Chief ; in 1919 the staff was trebled by Decree.

The 1911 Act which established the Ministry also established a Supreme Labour Council, constituted of members of Parliament, some of the highest grade staff in the Ministry, professors holding chairs of economic sciences at the university, and representatives of employers and of labour in equal numbers. The functions of this Labour Council were to study all questions bearing on the relations between employers and workers, to suggest means for improving the employment and living conditions of workers, to advise on Bills and on Decrees issued in application of legislation, and, in short, to enquire into any subject put before it by the Minister.

The Supreme Council carried out some very important work. The 1911 Act on Hours of Work laid down no general regulations⁽¹⁶⁾, but empowered the Council to fix a maximum number of hours for each industry. The Council also took an active part in drafting Decrees in application of labour legislation, such legislation being often confined to the enunciation of general principles. Its defects were two ; it was too large a body ; and it included representatives of employers and workers in the provinces, so that it could only meet twice a year. An Act was therefore passed in 1920 establishing an Advisory Labour Council. This Advisory Council is composed of nine persons and includes employers' and workers' representatives from Athens and the

⁽¹⁵⁾ Industrial inspection was established in virtue of the Act on the work of women and children, and a Decree of 24 July 1912 defined the duties of these new officers and the conditions of their appointment.

⁽¹⁶⁾ The reasons for this policy are explained below ; see under *Hours of Work*.

Piraeus only. The new Council counts as part of the Supreme Council and acts for the Supreme Council when the latter is not sitting.

Thus labour policy, instead of being handed over to a single Chief of Service responsible to a Chief of Section of the Ministry of the Interior, as was the case in 1909, is now, in 1922, in the hands of two Chiefs of Department, each of whom directs several chiefs of section and a large staff; in addition, two Labour Councils collaborate.

The Weekly Rest-Day

As has been already stated, the weekly rest-day was the first reform to be instituted⁽¹⁷⁾. The demand for it had been put forward even more insistently by commercial employees than by manual workers. The day normally given is Sunday, but the Act makes provision for fixing another day of the week in the case of persons of a non-Catholic religion. This liberal regulation has made it possible to extend the working of the Act quite easily to the new provinces where there are large numbers of Jews and Musulmans.

The other clauses of the Act conform to the type of legislation which was taken as a model. Certain industries are wholly excepted from the working of the Act, such as the restaurant, hotel, and theatre trades; others are partially excepted; thus tobacco shops and hair-dressing saloons may remain open on Sunday morning; but these exemptions do not cover the work of women or minors under 16 years of age.

Under the terms of the Act itself the weekly rest-day is compulsory in the cities of Athens, Piraeus, Volo, Patras, and Syra⁽¹⁸⁾. Elsewhere it is only enforced by Decree, which is issued after consultation with the municipal authorities and the police commissioner. Mr. Kalitsounakis has criticised these arrangements, which do, as a matter of fact, leave too much latitude to the municipal authorities; he demands the extension of the Act to cover all cities with a population of more than 15,000 inhabitants.

Hygiene and Safety Legislation

Hygiene and safety questions were, like the problem of hours of work, among the first to be dealt with by Greek legislation. These questions were only too urgent. The general standard among industrial establishments was extremely low, partly because employers were careless, and partly because most undertakings had grown up gradually without being able to acquire enough capital and thus to launch out into new buildings. The Greek climate is excessively hot for five months in the year, and

⁽¹⁷⁾ The weekly rest-day was imposed by the Acts of 3 December 1909 and of 22 January and 11 March 1910, codified in April 1914.

⁽¹⁸⁾ These were the only important industrial centres in the country in 1910.

this made the want of space and of air even more harmful than in other countries. Manufacturers operating on a large scale, especially those who had built new factories, often showed a better idea of what was incumbent on them, but as has already been stated, large-scale industry is in Greece exceptional. Insufficient installation was constantly made worse by a spirit of non-interference⁽¹⁹⁾, almost amounting to Oriental fatalism, common both to employer and to worker. A bad example was set by the Government, and the first reports of the factory inspectors even state that the factory installations which were the worst were those against which they had no power to proceed, because they were government tobacco factories.

With a view to improving conditions Section 1 of the Act of 1911 compels employers to secure necessary light and ventilation in their factories. The size of the factory must also be sufficient for the numbers employed. Floor and walls must not reek with moisture; machinery must be guarded; scaffolding used in building operations must also be protected. Finally, employees working in the open air must during summer be protected from the sun.

The text of the Act merely lays down general principles and leaves details of application to be settled by Royal Decree. This was the chief purpose of the general Decree of 25 April 1913. Later Decrees dealt mostly with the application of the 1911 Act in mines, tobacco warehouses and factories, printing works, and tanneries, in other words, in those branches of industry which are the most exposed to danger or abuse from the health point of view.

Finally, in a much more general way, 32 industries supposed to be unhealthy or dangerous were listed in the legislation dealing with the work of women and children⁽²⁰⁾.

Hours of Work

The hours of work problem is not quite the same in Greece as it is in countries in central and northern Europe. Memorandum Number 1 submitted by the Greek Delegation to the Washington Conference includes remarks to the following effect:

In Greece the climatic conditions influence the labour problem. Plenty of light, a clear sky, a dry atmosphere, a considerable glare from the sun make the Greek worker inevitably different from the worker of a country lying further to the north. He cannot work with the same intensity or assiduity; on the other hand, he does not suffer from over-fatigue by working beyond the 8-hour limit. The effects of the good climate are also shown in the frugality of living which from the earliest times has been characteristic of the Greek race; the food consumed by a Greek worker would appear insufficient to a worker in many a European or American country.

⁽¹⁹⁾ For instance, in the building trades.

⁽²⁰⁾ Details are given below; see under *Protection of Women, Children, and Young Persons*.

The Memorandum goes on to remark that, if, on the one hand, higher-grade technical training in Greece is excellent, on the other, lower-grade technical training is altogether inferior, at any rate except at Athens and the Piraeus, and that the Greek worker's natural intelligence and dexterity do not make up for it. Finally, subdivision of processes has not yet been properly carried out⁽²¹⁾, so that the principal advantages which arise out of it, namely, specialisation, rapidity, etc., are not present to the same degree as they are in other countries.

The general upshot is that the output of Greek workers is small⁽²²⁾. This fact was cited as an argument against restriction of hours of work. Neither the Government nor the Chamber, however, were convinced by it. At the same time another fact made it impossible to prescribe a uniform maximum working day. Greek industry is characterised by the fact that machinery has been introduced to a most unequal extent, and it is therefore most unequally adapted to accept even the most moderately formulated maximum working day⁽²³⁾. It was therefore decided that the principle of a maximum working day should be adopted, but that its actual length should be determined separately for each industry by Decree to be issued after consultation with the Supreme Council of Labour⁽²⁴⁾. The hours during which work should stop in the middle of the day were also to be fixed by these Decrees, a very sensible arrangement in a country with a warm climate.

The value of the 1911 Act on hours of work thus depends entirely on the way in which it is applied. As a matter of fact, the ground has been largely broken for an 8-hour day Act. Such an 8-hour day Act had, indeed, been adopted even before the Washington Conference in the following trades : machine bakeries; tobacco warehouses (during the winter months) ; in underground work in mines and quarries ; in state, communal, and municipal services ; in industries requisitioned by the state ; in the mercantile marine (also for auxiliary labour) ; in tanneries (from October to January). Moreover, in all cases of dispute between employers and workers in which the Government has intervened for purposes of arbitration — and it has almost always intervened — it has helped the workers to get the 8-hour day. The 8-hour day is now

(21) Sometimes labour conditions would satisfy the "papillonne" of Fourier. At Naxos the islanders alternately extract emery and work in the fields.

(22) The following are the daily output figures per worker in the mines for 1917 :—

iron ore	900 kg.	emery	430 kg.
chrome iron	259 kg.	lead	104 kg.
magnesium	288 kg.	lignite	288 kg.

In the Italian lignite mines output stands at 450 kg. per worker, which is nearly twice what it is in the Greek mines.

(23) The Memorandum of the Greek Delegation mentioned in the text above notes that even where machinery has been adopted, the machines are usually out of date and low-powered.

(24) See above under *Government Departments*.

normal for coopers, repairers, cleaners, carpenters and builders of steamships, carpenters and builders of sailing vessels, glass blowers, workers at arsenic ovens, lightermen handling coal and other goods at Piraeus port, and furnace-men at electric power stations.

In short, the greater part of machine-run industry, and, generally speaking, a great many of the workers at the Piraeus, which is the great industrial centre of Greece⁽²⁵⁾, have rapidly come under the operation of the 8-hour day Act, or have established their claim to do so. It would have been difficult to do more without incurring grave risks and without at any rate doing serious harm to industry in the provinces. Factory installation in the provinces was less good, or, to put it more frankly, much worse, and the higher transport charges made it impossible to enter into competition with industry at the Piraeus except on the basis of lower wages and longer hours.

Nevertheless, maximum working days were fixed, varying between 8 and 10 hours according to the season⁽²⁶⁾, for tobacco factories⁽²⁷⁾, tanneries⁽²⁸⁾, bakeries not using machinery, surface work at mines, and railways⁽²⁹⁾.

The same considerations which prevented the Greek Government from making the 8-hour day Act general also impelled it to appeal at the Washington Conference to Article 405 of the Treaty of Versailles with a view to obtaining a period of grace before applying the general principle of the 8-hour day. Greece declared that she was ready to introduce the maximum working day at once in industries which were very unhygienic and fatiguing, but she asked for a period of grace before introducing it into industries which were of that character only to a certain extent, and for a somewhat longer period of grace in the case of normal industries⁽³⁰⁾.

The Conference gave a signal proof of the high respect which it paid to the efforts of the Greek State in initiating labour legislation by adopting the proposals of the Greek delegation without alterations⁽³¹⁾. For its part, the Greek Government at once proceeded to the ratification of the Convention, which on 24 June

(25) Almost one-half of all large-scale industry is concentrated in the Department of Attica.

(26) The day is almost always longer in the summer.

(27) Work in tobacco warehouses was, as already stated, restricted to an 8-hour day.

(28) Work in tanneries varies every three months between an 8-hour and a 10-hour day.

(29) Including tramways and electric railways.

(30) Industries are classified as follows. A. Very unhygienic and laborious industries are : underground work in mines ; lead smelting and arsenic works ; manufacture of explosives ; loading and unloading of coal. B. Ordinarily unhygienic and laborious industries are : carbon bisulphide manufacture ; manufacture of chemical acids ; tanneries ; paper factories ; printing establishments ; sawmills ; warehouses for the handling and preparation of tobacco ; surface work at mines ; smelting works ; lime kilns ; dyeing works ; glass works (blowers) ; gas works (stokers) ; laundries ; loading and unloading of goods.

(31) See Article 12 of the Convention.

1920 received legislative sanction. In the introductory argument prefixed to the Act stress is laid on the humane motives which inspired the reform and on the effect which it will have on the social and even on the political condition of the worker ; further, the opinion is expressed that it will eventually be of use to the employer also. Within a maximum period of either three or four years ⁽³²⁾ Greek industry will have to adapt itself to a new situation, and in order to do this will have to make more general and more intensive use of machinery in order to make good those hours of labour from which the worker will now be freed ; the result will necessarily be a step towards improvement. The argument also promised assistance from the Government, partly in the shape of a better organisation of technical training, and hopes are expressed that in consequence, and also with the help of private initiative, the difficulties arising in many cases out of so considerable a reduction of hours will finally be surmounted.

Protection of Women, Children, and Young Persons

The number of women and children employed in industry is relatively small in Greece as compared with other countries ⁽³³⁾. It was considered, however, that legislation was required. This took the form of an Act on the health and safety conditions of workers passed in 1911, a special Act on the work of women and children passed in 1912, and, finally, the Royal Decrees of August-September 1913 issued in application of these two Acts.

Work of Children and Young Persons. Boys are absolutely prohibited from entering an employment before attaining the age of 12, and as far as possible before the age of 14. In a great many cases employment is prohibited before the age of 16, and in some other cases before 18. In any case, night work is prohibited

⁽³²⁾ The period of grace expires on 1 July 1923 for industries of the second class and on 1 July 1924 for those of the third class.

⁽³³⁾ Establishments are divided into three classes, as included in (1) industries, (2) mining, (3) open-air work (building trades, etc.). In the 1914 Bulletin of the Ministry of National Economy Mr. S. Coronis states that, in old Greece, at the time of the application of the new legislation, the numbers of women and children employed was as follows :

Establishments	Number of employers	Male workers (by age)			Female workers (by age)				Grand total
		12-14	15-18	Total	12-14	15-18	19 and over	Total	
Industries	1,091	775	2,191	2,966	1,345	3,402	3,403	8,150	11,116
Mining	36	57	1,168	1,255	15	307	200	522	1,744
Open-air work	76	62	186	248	12	12	45	69	317
Total	1,203	894	3,545	4,438	1,372	3,721	3,648	8,741	13,180

These figures make it clear that the number of female workers between 15 and 18 years of age is greater than the number of female workers who have passed their nineteenth year. This shows that the number of married women employed in industrial undertakings is comparatively small.

for any person who has not attained the age of 18. The prohibition of employment for boys below 12 years of age is subject to a single exception only, an exception justified by special circumstances ; its duration is limited and it is destined to disappear with the introduction of machinery ⁽³⁴⁾.

The original intention had been to extend prohibition of the employment of boys up to 14 years of age. But besides the fact that this reform would have run counter to the wishes of the parties interested, there were several practical difficulties ; moreover, it is a reform which is less needed in Greece than elsewhere, owing to the much more rapid physical and intellectual development of children there than in other European countries. An attempt was, however, made to meet the wishes of those who asked for a higher age limit by prohibiting boys under 14 years of age from the following employments : (1) any employment offered before the boy had satisfied a proper education test (education in Greece has long been free and obligatory) ; (2) various fatiguing employments ; (3) various employments which, while not being unhealthy, are open to other objections, such as the sale of goods in the streets, in a café, or a public place, employment at a theatre, and so on ; (4) lastly, and obviously, all employments prohibited for young persons over 14 years of age.

Prohibition, in fact (apart from the question of night work, which is discussed below), extends to 15 years of age for underground work in general (mines, quarries, etc.), while employment of lads under 16 years of age is prohibited in the 32 industries listed as unhygienic or dangerous ⁽³⁵⁾. For certain work which is especially fatiguing or dangerous the employment of lads under 18 years of age is prohibited.

No employer can in any case employ any lad under 16 years of age unless such worker can produce a medical certificate stating that he "is in good health and able to do the work on which he is to be employed without harm to his health or physical development" (Section 14). This Section may be said to complete the Section which prohibits the employment of boys under 14 years of age unless they have finished their elementary school training. The terms of this legislation presuppose more rapid physical and intellectual development than in countries further to the north. This idea is, however, only treated as a presumption and measures are taken in case the facts do not bear it out.

⁽³⁴⁾ Employment of boys between 10 and 12 years of age is permitted, but only by their own parents and in work on which members of their family are alone engaged. In any case, it must not be a trade where any mechanical power is used, nor must the boy be employed for more than three hours a day or be prevented from attending school.

⁽³⁵⁾ See Sections 33 and 37 of the Decree of 14 August 1913. Prohibition is absolute in the case of 22 industries (gas works, carbon bisulphide works, etc.). In 10 other industries prohibition applies to certain processes only ; thus in the very important tobacco industry work is prohibited for lads under 16 years of age in places "where the bales are opened or the leaves sorted, the tobacco fermented or the fermented mass handled, drying, cutting, or packing carried on, or cigarettes manufactured".

Finally, special provision is made for ensuring Sunday rest and sufficiently long periods between spells of work (Sections 5 and 3).

The whole of the regulations mentioned apply to workers of male sex only ; for young girls wider measures of protection have been taken. But before describing these in detail mention should be made of one other provision, which is a very important one, namely, Section 6 of the Act of 1912, prohibiting any worker of either sex who has not attained the age of 18 years from working between 9 p.m. and 5 a.m., whether in an industrial or in a commercial employment⁽³⁶⁾. Although Greece did not adhere to the Berne Convention of 1913, she had already adopted beforehand its most essential provisions and on some points had even gone further⁽³⁷⁾.

Employment of Women. The general principles of the legislation enacted closely resemble those adopted in the case of young male workers. Employment in certain industries, such as underground work in mines and certain very fatiguing employments, is absolutely prohibited. In dangerous or unhealthy industries employment is prohibited until the age of 18 years (not 16) ; all night work is prohibited ; finally, all work during the period before and after confinement. We may note a few details on the last two points.

Although Greece did not adhere to the Berne Convention on the question of night work for women, she had already applied the principles of that agreement and had even gone further on five points to which attention had been drawn by the Greek Delegation at Washington⁽³⁸⁾. Accordingly the Act of 24 June

⁽³⁶⁾ In cafés and restaurants young persons may be employed up to 10 p.m. This small modification is justified by the lighter nature of this employment and also by the fact that meals must be served up to that hour.

⁽³⁷⁾ For further details see the Memorandum (Question 4) of the Greek Delegation at Washington, p. 2.

⁽³⁸⁾ (a) While Article 1 of the Convention prohibits night work only in establishments which employ more than 10 men and women, Section 6 of the Greek Act prohibits night work not only in factories and workshops in large and small industry, in mines, on excavation work, in quarries of all kinds, on construction works and other similar surface works, but also in shops and places of sale of all kinds, without reference to the number of persons employed.

(b) While Article 2 of the Convention defines the minimum period of night rest allowed as 11 consecutive hours and lays down that in all cases the hours between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m. must be included in this rest period, Article 6 of the Greek Act lays down the same conditions as to the length and character of the rest period, but explicitly prohibits all work from 9 p.m. (to 5 a.m.).

(c) While Article 3 of the Convention allows an exception to be made to these rules for all women, without distinction of age, in cases of *force majeure* or in unforeseen contingencies of a non-recurring character, Section 7 of the Greek Act only permits such exceptional work to be done by women over 16 years of age.

(d) While Article 3, Paragraph 2, of the Convention allows an exception to be made to these rules for all women, in cases where deterioration of raw material or of manufactured products is threatened, Section 9 of the Greek Act only permits such exceptional work to be done by women over 18 years of age.

1920 ratifying the Washington Convention on the employment of women included a clause (which was in conformity with Article 405 of the Treaty of Versailles), stating that those Sections of the 1912 Act which provided a wider degree of protection for the woman worker in Greece still remained in force.

On the question of the protection of women during confinement, Section 1 of the Act of 1912 laid down that an employer, whether manufacturer, merchant, shop-keeper, or transport agent, was prohibited from employing a woman for four weeks before, and four weeks after, childbirth. After the Washington Convention had been adopted these periods were increased to six weeks. Ratification of the Convention further entailed the obligation to pay benefits during the period for which the woman is forbidden to work. This is an addition to previous legislation. It has, however, been rightly pointed out that the absence of maternity benefits did not mean that no pecuniary help and medical assistance used to be given; on the contrary, they were provided under municipal bye-laws and institutions, namely, hospitals, day nurseries, municipal doctors, etc.

Payment of Wages

The methods adopted in a number of factories and in the quarries for paying wages were very unsatisfactory; the truck system was practised in a more or less disguised way; and a large amount of time and money was lost by seeking redress in a court of justice. These evils led to the passing of two Acts in January 1912⁽³⁹⁾. The first lays down that wages may not under any circumstances be paid in kind; they must be paid every Saturday or every alternate Saturday during hours of work, and payment must be completed by 7 p.m.⁽⁴⁰⁾. Section 3 prohibits the imposition of fines to an amount exceeding one-fourth of the total amount earned, and further directs that the proceeds of such fines shall go to the funds of the trade union and not to the employer. The second Act deals with the procedure to be followed in the case of wages disputes, and is equally favourable to workers and to domestic servants. Whereas formerly any dispute of this nature meant expensive legal procedure, lawyer's fees, and great loss of time, now it is brought before a local magistrate, who must decide on it within ten days. Proceedings are verbal and

Note (38) cont.

(e) Finally, while Article 4 of the Convention allows the uninterrupted 11-hour nightly rest period to be reduced to 10 hours in the case of seasonal industries and in exceptional cases for 60 days in the course of the year, Section 8 of the Greek Act only allows such a reduction of the rest period from 11 to 10 hours (the period of rest to begin at 10 p.m.) for a month at the most (28 days) in the course of the year, and on a licence from the competent authorities, who must examine the reasons put forward for demanding it.

(39) The two Acts in substance only form a single legislative enactment. They were divided as to form because the second actually amended certain articles of the Civil Code and was introduced by the Minister of Justice.

(40) Wages were formerly paid after work hours, and the process of payment was sometimes not over until 10 p.m.

summary ; the evidence of witnesses is admitted when the sum in dispute is more than 50 drachmas. The worker is permitted to name one of his fellow workers or friends to represent him, either verbally or in writing, and therefore is not obliged to lose a day's work.

Industrial Hazards

We have noted how rapidly legislation was provided to help the victims of industrial accidents, by means of special funds apparently closely resembling mutual aid societies, in the case of two very important groups of workers, namely, seamen and miners, and that the principle was in 1907 extended to cover railway workers. But this legislation, which in any case was partial, became altogether insufficient as other industries began to develop and especially since machinery began to be freely introduced, a process which inevitably increased the number of accidents ⁽⁴¹⁾. Remedy was sought on the lines of legislation such as had already been adopted in a great many countries towards the end of the nineteenth century. An Act of 31 December 1914 compelled the employer to pay an indemnity even if negligence could be proved ⁽⁴²⁾ ; he is only freed from this liability if he can prove that the accident was caused of deliberate intent by the victim ⁽⁴³⁾. The amount of compensation is laid down in the text of the Act itself ⁽⁴⁴⁾ ; where disability is permanent, six years' wages plus an added 25 per cent. must be given ; where disability is temporary, compensation, amounting to one-half of the victim's wages, must be paid daily ⁽⁴⁵⁾ ; in case of death five years' salary plus an added 25 per cent. must be given ⁽⁴⁶⁾. Should the employer or his agent be guilty of bad faith or of a breach of an Act or Decree, the victim or his heirs may seek a remedy in a court of justice and claim an increase of compensation ; where negligence on the part of the worker can be proved, compensation is reduced by one-half ; but the text of Section 16 (fin.) of the Act very strictly defines the term "negligence".

The Act declares to be null and void all employment contracts relieving the employer of any part of his obligations.

The seamen's, miners', and railwaymen's funds are left as they were ; but these three classes of workers may avail themselves of the provisions of the Act if thereby they can claim a higher compensation.

⁽⁴¹⁾ See the Ministerial Circular concerning the application of the Act of 1914.

⁽⁴²⁾ In this case, however, he pays less compensation ; see below.

⁽⁴³⁾ Section 1 of the Act.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ The Act was amended by an Act of 5 June 1920. See translation of the amending Act in INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE : *Legislative Series*, 1920, Gr. 5.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Partial disability gives the right to compensation on the basis of the earnings forfeited by the victim, with the proviso that it must not fall below certain minima.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ See Section 6 of the Act for the proportions in which this amount is distributed between members of the victim's family.

Unemployment

Greece ratified the Washington Convention on unemployment without loss of time by an Act dated 24 June 1920. In a letter dated 30 August 1921 Mr. D. Totomis, Director of Labour, communicated to the League of Nations the following explanations on the subject of the application of this Act.

The Greek Government has submitted to the King the text of a Decree for establishing employment exchanges. These employment exchanges have not yet begun to operate, as at the moment there are no unemployed in Greece on account of the general mobilisation. The Government is, however, convinced that these exchanges, which have been closely modelled on employment exchanges for domestic servants already established and working under the inspection of the police, will be able to provide employment for all workers.

One group of workers must inevitably suffer from unemployment during three months of the year, namely, the tobacco workers. Such unemployment, however, is the consequence of the excessive amount of work done during the other nine months of the year, and no measures of prevention are possible. On the other hand, the Government has enacted legislation on behalf of cigarette workers who have been thrown out of employment by the more general adoption of cigarette-making machinery. Further, attention may be drawn to the fact that, as regards seamen, organised bodies of workers have been established in every port and are responsible for finding employment for their members.

Want of space prevents any lengthy additional comment on these facts. The measures taken on behalf of those tobacco workers who have been thrown out of employment by the introduction of machinery are, however, of more general interest⁽⁴⁷⁾.

The unemployment crisis in the tobacco industry began to make itself felt towards the end of 1918 after the Armistice had been signed and the reservists demobilised. A Legislative Decree of 21 February 1919 concerning temporary employment regulations in the tobacco industry gave to every demobilised cigarette maker an allowance equal to his net wages between the day on which he was demobilised and 30 June 1920. This Legislative Decree, which was quickly ratified by the Chamber, was evidently based on the idea that the crisis was only temporary and traceable solely to the number of men set free from the army. As a matter of fact, the number of tobacco workers demobilised from the army did not exceed 300, according to the Memorandum submitted by those concerned to the National Assembly in May 1921. The cause of the crisis went deeper and was the introduction of machinery. A cigarette-making machine produces in an 8-hour day 160,000 cigarettes, which is equivalent to the output of 80 workers, reckoning an output of 2,000 cigarettes per worker. The use of machines had been discouraged by an Act of 1911, which had imposed a special import duty on them. Eventually, however, manufacturers had found it worth while to pay this

(47) I desire to express my thanks to Messrs. Provelenghios and Totomis and Mlle Désypris, of the staff of the Ministry of National Economy, for the assistance which they have given me in these investigations.

duty, and there were 33 machines at work when the unemployment crisis began. Twenty-one other machines, doing the work of 21×80 workers, i.e. of 1,680 workers, were started during the period between February 1919 and July 1920. When the time came for distributing the allowances the situation, far from showing any hope of improvement, had become worse; it was probable that it would get worse still, for the manufacturers who had not installed machinery were not in a position to compete with their rivals and had to fall back on the allowance system.

In view of this very serious situation, which, as we have stated, gave no hopes of improvement, seeing that the use of machinery was bound to spread and not to decrease, the workers demanded renewed help from the Government, in the shape of a definite grant rather than a temporary allowance, amounting to from two to four years' earnings according to the age of the worker, such as would enable them to turn to some other trade.

In spite of the heavy expense and the many disadvantages obvious in such proposals the Government, after a lengthy examination of the problem and of other suggested remedies, agreed to adopt them in principle, with the reservation that the grant should not exceed one year's earnings and should be held to prohibit the recipient from again entering the tobacco industry. The cost of the scheme was estimated at 8 to 10 million drachmas. The Government went further. It decreed a grant amounting to 12 millions to be distributed *pro rata* to those entitled to it, to be covered eventually by the supplementary taxes voted in 1919.

The decision was embodied in a Legislative Decree of the Government of Mr. Venizelos⁽⁴⁸⁾, and subsequently received legislation sanction under his successors⁽⁴⁹⁾. In spite of its title "An Act to compensate workers discharged in consequence of the introduction of machinery into cigarette factories", it cannot be said to have brought any definite solution of the problem.

In the first place, either because these was a certain amount of abuse, or because no sufficient estimate was made of the number of the cigarette makers at the front, the 12 million drachmas voted did not suffice. Further, the workers protested against their definite exclusion from employment in the tobacco industry; in the Memorandum which they addressed to the National Assembly they allege that such a condition is unconstitutional and treason to the Labour cause. They demand to be allowed to resume their old employment. Some of the workers also demanded that every employer installing a machine should be compelled to employ 20 workers. The employers protested on the ground that such a proceeding would be unprogressive — for progress makes the introduction of machinery necessary — and also against the health interests of the workers, seeing that they

(48) Under date of 3 October 1920, issued over the signature of King Alexander, who was already very seriously ill.

(49) Legislative Decree of 4 December 1920; ratified with a few amendments by the National Assembly.

ought to be protected against an unhealthy trade. Under these circumstances the demand for new grants was inevitable.

The final outcome of this situation cannot be foreseen. Some account of it seemed not without interest, for it illustrates both the effects of the introduction of machinery and also the policy of government intervention in the shape of money grants on behalf of those who suffer by the introduction of machinery.

The Trade Union Movement

Workers in Greece have shown a tendency to organise themselves from the very earliest days of the foundation of the Kingdom. It was an encouragement to them that the Greek constitution incorporates very liberal principles on the subject of freedom of association, following a tradition which can be traced through the time of Turkish rule⁽⁵⁰⁾ and Venetian domination⁽⁵¹⁾ to the Byzantine empire⁽⁵²⁾ and antiquity⁽⁵³⁾.

Greek workers' associations, however, differed from the usual European trade union both by being more obviously mutual aid societies and also by retaining something of the character of the old guilds, taking part in public civil or religious ceremonies. Their presidents were not chosen from among the workers and were often persons more inclined to make the working classes of use to themselves than to be of use to the working classes.

The 1914 Act, of which space unfortunately forbids a detailed account, deals principally with the following topics: co-ordination of trade union action; removal from the unions of persons not belonging to the trade; definition of the legal personality of trade unions; reform of trade union finance (a very necessary reform, seeing that Greek trade unions, unlike those in other countries, have full rights of acquiring and holding property); acceptance of the principle of collective bargaining; and regulation of the problem of mutual aid societies, which acquired independent legal personality.

The Act would appear to have been of help to the workers. Collective bargaining, which had not been unknown before it had been passed, became more organised. A contract signed between a big cigarette factory at Athens and its employees has served as a kind of model contract since 1914. Employers are bound to keep to the contract under clauses defining sanctions which are

⁽⁵⁰⁾ F. BOULANGER: *Ambelakia, ou les associations helléniques*. Paris, Guillaumin. 1875. T. PHILADELPHIE: *History of Athens under Turkish Rule* (in Greek). 2 vols. Athens, 1902. D. KYRIAZIS: *Zur Entwicklung des Gewerbes im heutigen Griechenland*. Athens, 1916.

⁽⁵¹⁾ L. ZOÏS: *The Associations at Zante* (in Greek). Zante, 1898. A. ANDRÉADES: *The Economic and Financial Policy of Venice in the Ionian Isles* (in Greek). 2 vols. Athens, 1914.

⁽⁵²⁾ See J. NICOLE's commentary on the "Prefect's Book" in the *Revue générale du droit*, 1893. A. STÖCKLE: *Spätromische und byzantinischen Zünfte*, Leipzig, 1911. A. ANDRÉADES: *History of Greek Finance* (in Greek), Vol. 1, Athens, 1918.

⁽⁵³⁾ Franz POLAND: *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinwesens*. Leipzig, 1909.

often heavy⁽⁵⁴⁾. The workers, on the other hand, are not bound for any definite period of time; in theory they are not prevented from demanding a new rise in wages. The employer binds himself not to employ non-union labour.

The trade union movement was encouraged. In 1919 there were 11 labour centres (*bourses de travail*); the Athens centre had 37 unions affiliated to it, with a membership of 12,000 to 13,000 persons; the Piraeus centre had 51 unions affiliated, with a membership of 16,000 to 17,000; the Volo centre 19 unions, with a membership of 6,000; the Salonica centre 22 unions, with a membership of 22,000; the Larissa centre 14 unions, with a membership of 2,500. The other centres were at Patras, Calamata, Corfu, Syra, Heraclion, and Mitylene⁽⁵⁵⁾.

There are five national federations of workers in existence, namely, the federations of hotel employees, mechanics, and workers in gas and lighting works, tobacco factories, and boot and shoe factories. A General Confederation of Labour was created in October 1918.

Membership of a trade union is not compulsory. Moreover, workers in the same trade may belong to different trade unions, although in fact this has not happened; for, in spite of some very sharp disagreements, trade union unity has until now been maintained.

This account cannot be concluded without a brief reference to the Act of June 1920, which has been discussed even in other countries⁽⁵⁶⁾. Section 3 of this Act lays down that the resolutions of a trade union general meeting are only valid if passed by a majority, one-third of the members being present⁽⁵⁷⁾. Section 8 compels the officers of a trade union to call a general meeting within 48 hours in case of a strike for any cause whatsoever⁽⁵⁸⁾. Section 5 lays down that all votes taken at a meeting on important questions, and especially on the question of a strike, must be secret. These and other regulations attempted to abolish certain abuses to which the Government had raised objections in connection with the exercise of the right to strike; for instance, it was alleged that strikes were able to be called by the executive alone, or by a meeting where only a small minority of members were present and where voting was not free. Nevertheless, the Act has been most unfavourably received by a large number of workers⁽⁵⁹⁾.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ According to the contract mentioned in the text the employer could be fined 100,000 drachmas.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ E. TSOUDEROS: *Le relèvement économique de la Grèce*. Preface by Ch. GIDE. Paris. 1919.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ For translation see INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE: *Legislative Series*, 1920, Gr. 1.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ In the case of the seamen, railwaymen, etc. only one-quarter of the membership is required.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Unless a general meeting shall already have voted a strike within the preceding week.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ The right to strike is also protected by Clause 1 (1) (c) and (d) of the Act of 11 March 1920 on the Liberty to Work. See translation in the INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE: *Legislative Series*, 1920, Gr. 2. [*Editorial Note.*]

In order to form some estimate of Greek labour legislation account must be taken of the circumstances under which it has come into being. For instance, attention must be drawn to the fact so often emphasised that Greece is not a highly industrialised country. In 1918 the total population was in round figures 4,800,000 persons, but the working-class only comprised roughly between 120,000 and 130,000 persons⁽⁶¹⁾ including women and children. Further, over one-half of these were unskilled workers, or seamen (12,000 to 15,000), home workers, railwaymen, etc. The industrial undertakings of which statistics were taken in 1917 did not, in fact, employ more than 33,000 workers altogether ; of these 23,730 were employed in large-scale industry, namely, 17,841 in the old Kingdom and 5,889 in New Greece. It is in large-scale industry that the disproportion between the total population figures and the numbers employed shows up most strikingly ; yet it is large-scale industry which has generally given the impulse to legislation and where its application is most easy. In any case, the application of labour legislation in Greece has even in this type of industry had to contend with difficulties arising out of insufficient installation and inferior technical training. This general situation must be borne in mind in attempting any estimate of the value of Greek labour legislation. If account be taken of the political and economic circumstances of the country, our description proves that Greek legislation has done well. Greece is in advance of most other countries in the same stage of economic development and can challenge comparison with states which are more highly industrialised. The rapidity with which she took up reform is to her credit, and presupposes that public opinion supported the legislature. This also is the reason why certain reforms which it was extremely difficult to get carried out in some larger countries have met with no difficulties in Greece.



⁽⁶¹⁾ The first of these figures was furnished by Mr. Sofianopoulos, one of the Greek delegates at Washington. The second is that quoted at the Panhellenic Workers' Congress of 1918 ; (the Congress itself, however, only represented 60,000 workers belonging to 237 trade unions).