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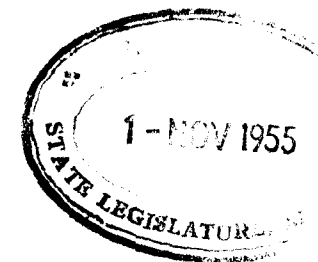
The **Statistical Supplement** for this month contains the results of the October 1952 inquiry into retail prices of food, fuel, etc., together with unemployment statistics and consumer price indices.

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Migratory Movements in Underdeveloped Countries in Course of Industrialisation

by

Pierre WIGNY

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*The International Labour Office is not responsible
for opinions expressed in signed articles*

Movements of population, and particularly the movements of workers towards urban and industrial centres, are among the many profound changes taking place in the underdeveloped countries as a result of economic development. The "pull" exerted in these countries by urban and industrial centres was adopted as the theme for discussion by the International Institute of Political and Social Sciences concerning Countries of Differing Civilizations (formerly the International Colonial Institute) at its 27th Meeting at Florence in June 1952.¹

The Institute is an association of a scientific character, with headquarters at Brussels, whose membership is drawn from many countries all over the world. It was founded over 60 years ago for the purpose of promoting "the development of the moral and political sciences in countries where peoples of different civilisations have been brought into contact", and more particularly (1) to undertake the study of the problems arising from the contact between such peoples and their respective evolution; (2) to promote international relations between the persons or corporations engaged in the study of these problems and to facilitate the interchange of ideas; (3) to promote and organise exchanges between persons and corporations of different nationalities interested in these problems; (4) to organise an International Office for information and documentation concerning these problems.

In the following pages Mr. Pierre Wigny, the Secretary-General of the Institute, discusses the conclusions arrived at by the 27th Meeting of the Institute.

¹ See INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF DIFFERING CIVILIZATIONS: Record of the XXVIIIth Meeting held in Florence on the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th June 1952 (Brussels, 1952).

MIGRATORY movements are among the great phenomena of history. They are also dangerous, for both suffering and danger are involved when men leave their customary environment.

The first movements that come to mind are those of the nomadic peoples, who were an age-long threat to those more settled States which evolved more complex civilisations but ran the consequent risk of becoming dulled by comfort. Today the nomads have practically disappeared, and the human reservoir in Central Asia which for centuries overflowed in invading waves over Europe, India and China has been stabilised and dyked in by the Russians; thus a chapter of human history has ended.

Other migratory movements are of a political nature. After folding up their tents and settling in the Land of Canaan, the Jews were carried off by the Assyrians to the banks of the Euphrates. This is one of the more famous records of large-scale expulsion. Unfortunately examples are not confined to history; mass political expulsions are taking place under our very eyes even today in many places of the world in conditions often akin to genocide. Sometimes these mass human movements are not ordained or supervised by governments, but are the result of the desperate flight of individuals to escape political dangers. The Second World War threw up a pathetic host who have lost even their identity under the colourless label of D.P. and also some 10 million expellees and refugees of German origin. The Sino-Japanese War is said to have uprooted some 40 million people. The dispute between India and Pakistan threw another 15 million on the roads. Tens of thousands of Arabs left their homes in consequence of the hostilities with Israel. And these are only examples.

This article is not, however, concerned with political migratory movements, but more peaceable movements induced by economic phenomena—the search for more hospitable climates—rather than flight or expulsion. This kind of migratory movement has taken on unprecedented proportions since the Industrial Revolution. The particular subject of our study is urban concentration resulting from industrialisation in underdeveloped countries, which was the theme adopted by the 27th Meeting of the International Institute of Differing Civilizations (Florence, June 1952). The meeting to be held at The Hague in September 1953 will discuss the complementary question of “Programmes and plans for rural progress in tropical and subtropical countries”. The Institute intends at a later meeting, after these horizontal movements have been studied, to discuss the vertical social movements, that is to say, the rise and regrading of individuals in a given society.

The purpose of this article is not to summarise the conclusions arrived at in Florence or simply to present them in another form, but to draw certain generalisations from them. The conclusions of the Florence meeting may be grouped under four heads—economic, social, legal and political problems—each of which was the subject of separate reports and discussions.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

From the economic point of view a number of basic facts must first be considered. There is an essential link between urban concentration and industrialisation. The population of a country mainly devoted to agriculture is spread over its whole cultivable surface area. Such commercial and administrative centres as exist are small. Industry, on the other hand, collects together large masses of human beings; even mining undertakings concentrate a large labour force at a given point, and when the manufacturing stage is reached undertakings show a marked tendency to conglomerate in the places where they are likely to derive the greatest economic advantage from the factors of production, distribution and exchange, and benefit at the same time from concentration itself, which makes possible a better division of labour and greater choice in available combinations of factors of production. The population map of a highly developed and industrialised country like the United States is striking evidence of this: the population is very unevenly distributed over the vast area of the North American Continent—very dense in some areas and thinly spread over others. The causes of urban concentration are mainly economic. Other factors can be adduced, such as the spirit of adventure, or the desire of rural dwellers to escape from irksome pressures, but they are only secondary. As a rule men find it hard to leave their birthplace, and when they make up their minds to do so it is either because life on the land at home has become intolerably insecure or at least because they hope for a more comfortable existence in other surroundings.

The second fact is that this blending of populations is extremely important. In underdeveloped countries which are now being affected by industrialisation it is still, however, more spectacular than real. The pull of manufacturing centres only affects a small proportion of the population; the vast majority remain in the countryside, where they will continue with agricultural work for an as yet unknown period. The proportion that migrates is, however, sufficiently large to upset the political and social balance and raise serious problems.

Before we try to solve them we must decide whether industrialisation is to be condemned or not. This is a very pertinent question in the case of underdeveloped countries, for they can at any rate theoretically make a choice while they are still at the outset of their industrial development. Gandhi wanted his countrywomen to leave the factories for handlooms in their villages; without going quite so far as that, might it not be decided to slow down industrial expansion by offering the countryside special privileges?

The attitude of the members of the International Institute of Differing Civilizations on this point was perfectly clear:

Movements of population into towns are caused not just by the spirit of adventure but by a desire to improve the individual standard of living. We have, therefore, no right and no authority to try to prevent such movements; even moral and cultural objections would not be relevant. Some measure of control might, however, be justified for a time if there were dangers of inadequate housing and food supplies or of unemployment.

This is the wisest approach. Industrialisation is a benefit because it enables the secondary and vaguer needs of humanity to be satisfied, whereas agriculture covers only the primary and inelastic ones; in other words the raising of the standard of living is linked with industrial development. Urbanisation, which is the result of industrialisation, is also a benefit in many respects. Above a certain level intellectual, artistic and scientific creation needs continuous exchange and widening contacts; a certain kind of intellectual electricity seems only to be given off by the rubbing together of large masses of humanity.

For most of mankind spiritual and individual advancement and the build-up of civilisation are connected with a rising standard of living. We have no right to force people to go on living a kind of life which modern production techniques have made unnecessary. In this context we should remember Socrates' prayer to the gods on the banks of the Eurotas to bestow on him all the goods that wisdom could bear. What the philosopher asked for was of course relative, but there is little doubt that according to our European standards the great majority of human beings still live in intolerable poverty.

The report points out, however, that such movements must be regulated. If they are too sudden they destroy the dykes of civilisation like a tidal wave, and even from the economic point of view may well fail to achieve the anticipated relief or improvement. When the countryside is emptied of young men, and only women, the aged and children are left behind, the fields are tilled even less well than before and the food supply of the growing towns is imperilled. The country as a whole then becomes dependent on supplies from abroad, a dangerous situation of which warning signs

are appearing in the Central African areas in course of industrialisation.

Again, the rural masses who enter the towns in search of guaranteed employment and an easier life find that these things are not always so readily come by. Investment cannot keep pace with manpower arriving on too large a scale; moreover, mechanisation is arrested, because it costs less to use cheap labour than to buy machinery. The labour market is swamped, wages are kept from rising and the underworld of the towns is swollen by idle, homeless, demoralised and restless masses.

On the basis of these three factors—the decisive influence of industrialisation, the long-term advantages of economic expansion and the immediate dangers of over-hasty development—responsible governments have tried to slow down or canalise this flow of humanity by various kinds of action. It would not be possible to describe in the short space of this article all the steps that have been taken; we will merely observe that the policies adopted have consisted either of action in the countryside to hold back the population or action in the towns to administer the new arrivals more efficiently, or of both simultaneously.

Action in the countryside consists from the economic point of view of seeking to raise production and income per head by scientific study of the soil, land clearance, irrigation and other land recovery schemes, the perfection of new growing methods, the creation of secondary agricultural industries and even of vast and ambitious plans for mechanising large plantations. I will not go here into the measures of a non-economic nature taken to make the rural environment more attractive. So long as incomes are rising people will stay at their work. It will however be noticed that, paradoxically, increasing output both by small farmers and large agricultural undertakings ends by freeing still more manpower, which becomes redundant and has to emigrate.

In the manufacturing centres industrialisation programmes are very various, and include mining and the more difficult job of creating a balanced system of secondary industries. A related problem is the necessity of arranging for the vocational training of a completely unskilled labour force to serve machinery and thus earn its share of increased output.

These efforts are often fragmentary and do not fit into an over-all plan. The ideal economic situation would be that in which the population was so distributed between the villages and the towns that everyone would produce his maximum output, whatever his job. Such a distribution would not be static but would evolve with the creation of new undertakings, technical changes and the development of occupational skills.

One of the conclusions in the economic report reads as follows : " The question should be asked, has any government yet discovered a really satisfactory policy for controlling the movements of people and at the same time encouraging the development of agriculture in rural areas and of industry in the towns ? " There is as yet no answer to this question because our knowledge of conditions is still very slight. Stress should therefore be laid on the need for prior detailed study on an international basis of the demographic and geographic conditions of towns and the areas surrounding them.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Since nothing can stem the human tide flowing towards the towns, efforts must be made to guide and control it, to avoid its ravaging effects, and retain only its beneficial results. Such was the conclusion arrived at in the report on economic aspects presented at the meeting at Florence, and it was taken up in the report on social aspects ; there is in fact a logical link between the two aspects.

The author of the report on economic aspects in drawing up his conclusions begins with the statement that here again available knowledge and experience are inadequate ; he then urges that pilot projects should be carried out and proceeds to discuss some of the social problems that must be solved.

We will not deal at length here with the rural side of the question. To counteract a drift from rural areas the areas must be made less backward and offer young people a more attractive life ; there is a need for sports grounds, cinemas, and cultural centres, and public water and electricity services.

The main subject of this article is the social problem in towns, and there the crucial question is one of housing. In many parts of the world we have seen the growth of mushroom towns which, in the course of a generation, come to shelter hundreds of thousands of human beings, who begin by crowding into hovels without water, electricity or drainage. Housing must be built, but the problem is vast and calls for large investments. European towns are the result of the accumulated endeavour of many generations. We should beware of going too fast and lowering standards below a decent minimum. One of the most serious problems bequeathed by the nineteenth century to our generation in Europe is that of workers' slums, where a people who have now become free and prosperous continue to live in frustration amid appalling surroundings. Now that Africa, Asia and South America are in their building phase, it should be remembered that bricks and mortar last for a very long time.

It is not enough, moreover, for houses to be adequate in themselves ; they must fit into a town plan, and here we can learn from European experience. There are splendid towns which have become almost impossible to live in because their narrow streets are jammed with motor traffic and they have become paralysed by other necessities of modern life. The International Institute of Differing Civilizations is right in stressing the need for building on broadly-planned lines towns that are more beautiful, more serviceable and cost less to build.

Towns are the framework within which human beings and their families live, and this raises a second social problem. The people who live in them have been uprooted from their tribes, clans or patriarchal family surroundings, and they live alone with a chosen companion. This very characteristic phenomenon of all migratory movements is well-known in the United States, which for long was a country " without grandparents ". Even when immigrants' parents went with them, they failed to learn the new language, ceased to be guides and mentors and became instead an example for their children of the things that must no longer be done. The phrase " a people without grandparents " is metaphorical, but it truly conveys the extent of the break away from all the family habits which are the stuff of which the most intimate bonds in life are made. The task for sociologists is therefore above all to think out ways of promoting a new family framework in which human beings may develop. The International Institute of Differing Civilizations stresses the need for an energetic family policy.

It is the infinitely various relationships formed between individuals and family groups which turn a mere collection of human beings into a real community ; the formation of associations and clubs of all kinds, trade unions and economic and social co-operatives, recreational and educational societies and civic centres should be encouraged in every way.

Experts stress that capital centres now in course of formation should be split up, or that government authority should be used to decentralise industry and public services by creating satellite towns, as in England. Where this is not possible a general layout should be devised which will encourage building programmes and promote communal institutions, so furthering the creation of centres and residential districts which are not so vast as to lose sight of the human element and which will make it easier for a still quite unsophisticated population to undergo its apprenticeship in city life. The cultural factor is the key to the social problem ; the rural populations swarming into the towns must be trained to meet the needs of their new surroundings. A separate report was devoted to this subject and I will simply quote its basic argument.

The modern state is necessarily founded on moral values. Some countries still underdeveloped from the economic point of view have a remarkable spiritual and moral culture. It is the duty of all authorities to make the best of such moral values. Unless they are to be dangerously incomplete the cultural deposits left by the European countries in overseas territories and particularly in those which have not developed native civilisations must not be solely of a scientific or technical nature; it is clearly highly desirable that they should not exclude the moral values of the Christian message.

LEGAL PROBLEMS

Human beings secrete legal rules to regulate their social life and its formative institutions; if they are suddenly stripped of this protective coating, what is left is something between an animal and a savage: higher than merely animal, because there remain the intelligence, will and capacity to create a new social order; lower than a savage, because even the most primitive races have a philosophy of life, a way of living and a customary organisation, whose rules may well seem simplistic to us at times but which experience shows to be adequate for the primitive techniques of a relatively undeveloped society.

Human beings who leave one kind of social order without entering or creating another are like shellfish which at some stage in their growth slough off their shells and have to find or secrete a new protective covering; they are then in great danger from their enemies, and the slightest mistake may prove fatal.

One legal system cannot be substituted for another all at once; it usually takes generations to devise, test and adapt legal rules and to recognise their authority without question.

The major migratory movements which the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution caused in older established western States raised no special problem from this point of view. The settlers who left their fathers' fields to live near the factory remained under the authority of the same laws. The new arrivals went on marrying, making contracts and drawing up wills in the same way as those who were left behind in the villages. There remained the difficult task of creating new social legislation for the new communities, but this really only involved adding to existing statute law. Even the migratory movements across frontiers were protected by the same sort of legal security. The white races have since the sixteenth century been populating the continents which they discovered. During the last century the United States experienced the most amazing peaceful invasion known to history. The founders of these new States, however, brought with them their own gods and their own laws. The new society in the United States was founded on a basis of the Common Law; Louisiana, ceded by Napoleon to

the youthful republic, has kept the *Code Civil* as its legal framework down to the present day.

Industrialisation in underdeveloped countries has as its inevitable consequence vast agglomerations of human beings; and these internal or international migratory movements are exposed to a danger that we in Europe have never experienced: they are not protected by any legal continuity. For this there are various explanations.

To begin with, the legal system was generally not codified in such countries, but varied with the needs of each community and was administered by local authorities. The individuals who gathered together in large towns each brought a different set of legal principles; the result was that large communities were formed with no legal system based on unanimous consent. This is particularly striking in the built-up areas of Negro Africa formed by individuals from widely differing tribes.

Moreover, such local legal systems were conceived to regulate simple lives governed by work in the fields and the succession of the seasons, and in which patriarchal authority in large families was very important. Work was done in common, land was held collectively and trading was concerned with only a few articles. Such legal systems were quite inadequate for the social needs of large towns.

The importance of paid employment was stressed in the reports presented in Florence. Just as in European history, paid employment began by being an emancipatory factor: direct contact with the employer had the effect of freeing the individual from all family, clan and village ties and left him accountable only to himself for his economic destiny. There was danger that emancipation of this kind might lead to servitude, for the new relationship it established between economic forces was too uneven. However, at least in the beginning, it provided an escape from the old sociological pressures, as was the intention of the Le Chapelier Act of 1791 in France, which sought to free the individual from the power of the guild masters and trade guilds by making both trade associations and concerted action by the workers illegal.

The legal effects of the economic phenomenon of paid employment were not confined to labour relationships; they worked a change in family law as well. The man, himself an isolated individual in a large town, married a woman as an individual apart from her family, and she herself was helped to develop her personality by the fact that she had often entered into an employment contract of her own. Clan loyalty was forced to give way before the notion of family responsibility.

It takes time to work out new legal rules; the potential tragedy

of underdeveloped countries is that their economic development took place so rapidly that it outstripped the growth of the legal regulations which should control it. There was danger in allowing such a legal vacuum to continue, and the responsible authorities gave urgent attention to establishing the necessary rules. How was this to be done?

The western legal systems had a preponderant influence, for a number of reasons. Firstly the administrators and employers in such underdeveloped countries were either westerners or trained in western schools, and they naturally applied the law with which they were familiar. The fact that local law did not as a rule provide satisfactory solutions provided some justification for this. It might, of course, have been hoped that new formulae based on Native legal systems might slowly have been evolved; the result would have been the enrichment of legal techniques and an extremely interesting subject for legal study. In Europe itself identical social problems were solved by two quite different major systems, Roman law and the Common Law. In Africa or Asia, however, time was short and large built-up areas and modern economic activity called for immediate legal regulation; as a result, law givers usually restricted themselves to applying European formulae. This was done all the more readily because the populations to be administered had, as was pointed out above, differing and irreconcilable customs; they were, moreover, made up of humble people from distant villages knowing nothing of techniques of government. Finally it must be admitted that European law had slowly been brought to a high pitch of perfection by generations of jurists. It was objective, stable, based on respect for the human person and administered by impartial and independent judges.

European law will probably not continue to be applied unchanged. Just as the *Code Napoléon* and the Common Law were susceptible of infinite variation according to the needs and temperament of the countries which adopted them, so these legal systems transported to foreign shores will be influenced by Native customs, and it is still too soon to foretell how far such development will go.

For instance, now that Indonesia has acquired independence, Adat customary law, which was applied by the Netherlands Government, has remained in force under the nationalist régime and will so remain until Article 102 of the republican Constitution calling for a codification of private law is eventually implemented. There is, however, another regulation still in force which allows the Indonesians to adopt, either entirely and irrevocably or partially, and either explicitly or tacitly, European private law which is better adapted to modern production techniques and especially to the

credit system. There has long been discussion in Indonesia as to whether the complex Adat legal system should be codified or whether western law should be brought into general use, and the controversy still continues.

There will also be development in another field. At present law in the large built-up areas differs from that in the countryside, for the reasons explained above. This is in any case but the repetition of an historical phenomenon; in European towns in the Middle Ages, the burghers secured charters enfranchising them from feudal law, which had ceased to be applicable to trading communities. In these new countries there will probably also come a day when an attempt will be made to produce an over-all standardised legal system.

In its conclusions on the legal aspect of the problem, the Institute stressed two points. Firstly, the new law adapted to the needs of industrial centres should be guided as far as possible in directions compatible with the development of the human person. Law concerning the family, descendants and inheritance should follow the order of the natural family and be directed towards monogamy. Analogously, the conception of private property in the towns, especially land law, should be defined so as to promote the stability of the natural family.

POLITICAL PROBLEMS

So far we have been concerned only with private law, but communities also need public law; there must be political organisation.

When men leave their villages, they in fact move away from the authority of their customary leaders, and this makes them uneasy. Although expatriated, they continue for a long period to regard themselves as members of the tribe or community from which they came. This is, however, only a transitional state, and the new major communities now in course of formation and which will one day have a settled population must be organised. There are difficulties in adapting customary institutions, which were often not conceived with such large communities in mind, and it is in the field of public law that western influence is most marked.

We have perfected hitherto unknown legal methods to protect democracy, which do not exist in other countries and did not exist in the past. We rightly believe that this form of political organisation marks an advance and should be extended. This, however, must only be done stage by stage; we must beware of appearances and not allow ourselves to be satisfied by empty forms without

human content. *I cannot do better than quote from the Institute's conclusions on the political aspect.*

Local communities must be the first to gain autonomous status. The problems they raise have implications and consequences which are the most easily understood. For this reason, they provide training and experience, a schooling which is almost essential for peoples not having attained self-government as yet. . . . The ideal to be aimed at is democratic local government, that is, a system in which leaders are responsible to the community. European solutions are not the only possible interpretation of this ideal. Inspiration can and must be found in local traditions. . . . Democracy cannot take the form of a mere façade of institutions masking ignorant mass indifference and the domination of uncontrolled leaders. If it is to function efficiently, it must first assemble certain essential conditions: intellectual training for the masses to enable them to choose and pass judgment on their leaders; sufficient economic independence to ensure independence of judgment; sufficient understanding and force of character to prevent any confusion between freedom and anarchy, discussion and dispute, negotiated government and the dictatorship of a majority, constructive opposition and obstruction, the general good and the interests of an individual or group.

It is chiefly in the large built-up areas of underdeveloped countries that populations are thrown into the melting-pot; in them are found opposing elements that may clash—not only social classes which may gradually mingle but also different skin colourings which remain indelible, differing degrees of wealth and power and divergent cultures and ways of life. How can these heterogeneous elements be blended into a harmonious social whole? The International Institute of Differing Civilizations believes that—

. . . when communities include populations of differing civilisations, political responsibility must be adjusted to the abilities of the individuals concerned, while avoiding any creation of privilege. If only a part of the population should be politically mature, structural measures must be taken in order to ensure an equitable distribution of advantages and burdens.

The ideal which should be brought into being as soon as possible is a democracy in which one man is as good as another. Legal equality must, however, be based on real equality, and so our first duty is to assist backward populations to develop, and to protect them until they attain political maturity.

Such are some of the thoughts inspired by a reading of the six general reports, some 30 special reports and the records of discussions which make up the substance of the Florence meeting of the International Institute of Differing Civilizations. Again, this article does not claim to be a summary but rather an introduction.

Industrialisation and urban concentration raise difficult problems which it is no use deploring or side-stepping; they must be faced as a challenge and surmounted by the human race in its

onward march. The Industrial Revolution was a major event in the history of our species, which by harnessing natural forces changed its destiny. Up to now the problem has been one of shortages; the problem of the future is the pleasanter one of abundance. Such development is already clearly to be seen in the countries which were first affected by the technological revolution. Their standard of living and therefore their intellectual and political development have been profoundly changed thereby. We must hope that territories as yet underdeveloped will have their fair share of such wealth and well-being, and we must try to ensure that they profit by our experience and avoid some of the mistakes that we made during the period of transition.

(Translated from the French.)

Current Problems and Practices in Workers' Education

by

B. GHOSH

International Labour Office

In 1924 the International Labour Conference adopted the Utilisation of Spare Time Recommendation, which recommends, among other "institutions which may both assist full and harmonious development of the individual and of the family and contribute to the general progress of the community", schemes which have for their object "the extension of technical, domestic and general education (libraries, reading-rooms, lectures, technical and general courses, etc.)". Such education, states the Recommendation, "meets one of the workers' most keenly felt needs and affords the best means of progress to industrial communities". As the author of the following article emphasises, the demand and the need for educational facilities for workers have recently increased, particularly with the assumption by trade unions of greater responsibilities.

The article attempts a general picture of what is being done at present in the matter of workers' education in various countries. The author classifies the education provided into three types (primary education ; education of the worker as a member of a professional group ; and education of the worker as a member of the community), indicates the scope and content of the programmes devised for each type and enumerates the various methods and techniques employed. The last section of the article gives an account of the agencies providing educational facilities for workers, including workers' associations, universities, governments and the specialised agencies.

THE importance and significance of workers' education, both to the worker himself and to the community as a whole, have greatly increased during the past few decades. Apart from the increased attention paid to the question of workers' welfare it is now being widely recognised that the improvement of their material conditions is inextricably bound up with their cultural and educa-

tional advancement. The trends towards shorter working hours and longer paid holidays have added to the importance of workers' education as a method of the utilisation of spare time. Development of educational programmes has been found useful in facilitating vocational training. Above all, as a result of the growth of the labour movement and far-reaching technological changes, the assumption by workers of wide responsibilities both on the domestic and on the international scene has made the development of workers' educational programmes of various types and content an imperative need of the world of today. Trade unions are no longer concerned only with better wages and conditions of employment ; union members are increasingly participating, in various capacities, in the working of the undertakings and are even taking responsibilities in connection with the reorganisation and modernisation of an entire industry. Trade unions deal directly or indirectly as a more or less organised social force with most of the current social, political and even moral and cultural issues ; they discuss and take decisions on such questions as the cost of living, price levels, industrial and human relations, production methods and productivity, education, nationalisation and even international relations. Trade unions are therefore becoming more and more conscious that if labour is to preserve and strengthen its social and economic gains and extend them in new ways, a continuous programme of education of the general members as well as of leaders and union officials is essential. At the same time the importance of workers' education for the effective discharge of the social duties and responsibilities assumed by workers, particularly in the promotion of improved labour-management relations and industrial peace, is being generally recognised by the community as a whole.

WHAT IS MEANT BY WORKERS' EDUCATION

Workers' education movements have developed differently in different countries and even in different parts of the same country, according to the character and strength of workers' organisations, the general level of literacy among workers, the degree of access of workers to higher educational opportunities, etc. For the purposes of this article, workers' education is taken to mean all kinds of educational activity which seek to provide workers with the equipment that will help them to develop fully their individualities and enable them to fulfil more adequately their trade union and related functions and to participate more effectively in the economic and social life of modern society, both in its national and international aspects.

TYPES OF WORKERS' EDUCATION

Generally speaking, there are three broad areas of workers' education: (a) primary education; (b) education of the worker as a member of the professional group; and (c) education of the worker as a member of the community.

Primary Education

The main objective of primary education is to enable workers to develop their individualities, to make available to them the means of culture and to enable them to understand everyday problems so that they may live a fuller and more harmonious life.

This type of education may need to be adapted to meet particular needs and varying conditions. For instance, the educational programmes may take into account, especially in the relatively developed countries, the needs of those workers "whose schooling was broken off at an early age, or who wish to continue their primary education or who have forgotten to some extent what they learned several years ago and therefore need special instruction to build on a somewhat sketchy foundation".¹ The education, although of a general character, can be so organised as to help the worker better to understand his job and the problems related to it as well as to improve his position and status. The workers in less developed countries are also in need of this type of "additional" basic education. In those countries where free and compulsory primary education has not yet been fully developed, however, the programmes of primary education may take the form of anti-illiteracy measures.

Education of the Worker as a Member of the Professional Group

With the increasing range of interests and responsibilities of workers as members of professional groups, the borderline between this type of education and education in civic rights and duties has become highly flexible. However, strictly speaking, this type of education is mainly concerned with the specific educational needs of workers as members of the various workers' movements, notably the trade union and the co-operative movement. For example, as union members, workers "may require training as officials or representatives of trade unions, be it in a paid or a voluntary capacity; they may also need special training for taking over administrative and executive functions in nationalised industries

or on boards and bodies set up for the reorganisation and modernisation of industry".¹ This type of education aims, therefore, at enabling the workers to serve their movements better, in various capacities, in relation to the community and would appear to include the following: first, education designed to improve the understanding of the character, purpose and methods of workers' movements in relation to society; secondly, education or training designed to improve the understanding and efficiency of selected members as officials and leaders; thirdly, education or training undertaken by or in connection with trade unions and working-class political parties for the purpose of improving the propagandist zeal and efficiency of their members; and fourthly, the training of teachers and educational directors for planning and organising the various programmes in connection with these activities.

Education of the Worker as a Member of the Community

This type of education gives special emphasis to the intellectual needs of the worker as a citizen and to the problems of his integration with the community, both national and international. The main object of such education is, therefore, to broaden the social consciousness and intelligence of workers and to help them to discharge more efficiently the responsibilities of citizenship in the wider community, outside the group to which they professionally belong.

The programmes designed for the socio-civic education of workers may be classified as follows, though in many cases a clear demarcation seems impossible: first, education designed directly to advance their knowledge in the field of social studies and to increase their social consciousness through various methods, including participation in community projects; secondly, the kinds of cultural studies and activities, e.g., dramatic and musical programmes, that are closely related to the promotion of an understanding of the problems of the contemporary world, as distinct from the kinds of cultural education more exclusively concerned with the promotion of individual artistic activity or appreciation; thirdly, education designed to promote international understanding. The programmes relating to international understanding generally aim at increasing the world consciousness of the worker; the more specific object is to help the workers of each country to realise their basic community with workers elsewhere and to use the loyalties

¹ Resolution adopted by the European Conference on Education (organised by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions), Brussels, Oct. 1950, and by the Second World Congress of the Confederation, held in Milan from 4 to 12 July 1951.

¹ *Force Ouvrière* (Paris), 21 Sep. 1950.

and the sense of group fellowship that exists among them as a basis for the extension of these sentiments over a wider range and for the transference of the will to co-operate in constructive tasks from the local and national to the international sphere.¹

SCOPE AND CONTENT OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES

The scope, content and standards of workers' educational programmes vary widely according to the aims of the different types of workers' education and the agencies providing the education.

The programme may be directed, especially in underdeveloped countries, towards general literacy and a certain minimum level of education. In such cases it is essential not only that a knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic is imparted, but also that some intellectual means of culture and recreation are provided so that the worker can use his leisure hours in constructive activity and can develop his personality. The standard must no doubt depend on the educational needs of the workers. "The miner, the metal worker and the mason must be able to learn to speak and to write correctly without making mistakes in spelling, grammar or syntax, and without bombast, using words whose meaning they understand and which are not liable to give rise to confusion. At a slightly higher level they and their colleagues will learn to write an article or prepare a speech and to analyse an address to see whether it really means anything and, if so, what."² At a still higher level a knowledge of mathematics, accountancy, law, languages or social studies might be added, which in some cases could reach high standards. In the sphere of trade union education the range of questions studied and the levels reached in the courses vary widely for two important reasons: first, the educational needs at different levels of union membership—top leadership, branch leadership and rank and file membership, for example—are quite different; secondly, the importance of the functions of the trade union movement, the complexity of its organisational structure and the range of its responsibilities in relation to the union member and his family, as well as to the community are not the same everywhere.

While, therefore, the courses in trade union education vary according to the fundamental requirements of the working class in different countries or different sections of the working class

¹ Cf. the digest of study group reports issued by the International Centre of Workers' Education as a working paper of the U.N.E.S.C.O. Seminar on Workers' Education (Document UNESCO/Centre WE/28, Paris, 27 Aug. 1952), p. 4.

² *Force Ouvrière*, 21 Sep. 1950.

in the same country, it is interesting to note that the resolution on education adopted by the European Conference already referred to listed the following as subjects for trade union education: trade unionism (history, development, role in contemporary society), economics (wages and prices, productivity, full employment, management problems, international economic relations); social developments and labour legislation, the I.L.O.; roots of economic and social conflicts; position of the worker in the state, society and industry (with particular reference to changing conditions); industrial relations; trade union work (with special reference to wages, collective bargaining and arbitration); contemporary history, economic history and theory and evolution of the economic system.

Although it is not possible to indicate the various courses suitable for the different levels of union membership, it is interesting to show the difference in the scope and content of these courses with the help of a few examples. An analysis of the courses offered in 1947 to the rank and file membership in the United States revealed that the following subjects were of most frequent recurrence¹: economics and collective bargaining, labour legislation, American labour history, labour and political action, current (usually legislative) issues and principles of unionism. During the same year the courses for active leaders included such subjects as grievance procedure and contract interpretation, collective bargaining, time and motion study, public relations and labour journalism, how the community works, parliamentary procedure and union counselling. The Trade Union College set up by the I.C.F.T.U. in Calcutta, mainly for the training of active members of Asian countries, provides courses in general economics, economics of the enterprise, economic and social problems of Asian countries, political topics, trade unionism (history of the movements; organising and running a trade union); collective bargaining and shop activities, educational, welfare and community activities and labour law. In addition, it organises work groups in the following subjects: public meetings, publications and publicity, union accounting, education and recreation, co-operatives and co-operative banks.

Besides those mentioned above, there may be a wide variety of highly specialised courses to meet specific purposes, the scope and content of which will vary widely—shop steward training programmes, training of discussion leaders, industrial relations programmes and trade union training of workers in particular

¹ Agnes M. Doury: *American Workers' Education in Action* (Economic Co-operation Administration, Paris, May 1950), pp. 4-5.

industrial groups. In the United States the shop steward training programme jointly set up by the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers and the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, for example, starts with the everyday problems of the steward in orienting new employees and handling grievances and includes later questions of production, costs, prices, wages and even foreign trade, capital structure and investment in the industry. The personnel management and industrial relations programme set up in the British West Indies, which is attended by members of the trade unions, Government officials and employers, includes lectures on such topics as recruitment and selection, job analysis, pay plans, labour turnover, absenteeism, merit evaluation, staff development and training, supervision, employer-employee relations, labour-management negotiation, national labour legislation, safety administration and industrial fatigue.

The range of subjects studied and the standards aimed at in socio-civic education differ widely between countries for various reasons, including the following¹:

- (a) the extent to which the worker is alive to the realities of his society, and of his working and family environments;
- (b) the complexity of social structures at local, regional and national levels, and also of the laws related to them;
- (c) the number and importance of the political forces which are contending within the society and the necessity to understand both their doctrines and their policies;
- (d) the need and degree of urgency to bring about a transformation of society at one level or another in relation to the prevalent conception of human life and the current social and political doctrines.

Generally speaking, courses in socio-civic education aim at providing the worker with a broad picture of social and industrial history, a grasp of contemporary developments in those fields, a familiarity with economic theory and an understanding of the principles underlying the main political doctrines. An analysis of the relatively important programmes in this field reveals that the following are among the subjects studied: social and political theory, political institutions; social, economic and political history; sociology and anthropology; ethics, social psychology, law, social geography, local history and ecology; and social aspects of artistic and literary studies.

¹ Cf. INTERNATIONAL CENTRE OF WORKERS' EDUCATION: Document UNESCO/Centre WE/23 (Paris, 9 Aug. 1952).

The growing interest of the union in serving the member in his out-plant social and civic problems has led unions to include in their educational programmes co-operation with other agencies in campaigns against common diseases and industrial accidents, courses in mental health and psychology, and health education in conjunction with health centres and clinics. Some programmes centre around such problems as housing, juvenile delinquency, and rent and price controls; others, which fall on the borderline between socio-civic and trade union education specialise in the study of such subjects as legislation on wages, hours and social security.

Since international understanding is primarily a matter of attitude and behaviour, it is difficult to indicate precisely what constitutes the scope and content of this type of workers' education. Civic education, social studies (mainly, though not exclusively, economics, history and geography), science and technology, literature and foreign languages, studies of international organisations (the United Nations and specialised agencies), arts and music, all may form important elements in the programme. It is important, however, that the subjects are taught in the proper international perspective in order to strengthen the feeling of interdependence among workers in different countries and promote mutual understanding and respect. For example, civic education may lay special stress on the rights and duties of the worker and the channel through which he can act from the local to the international level, as well as on the current problems of the social groupings to which he belongs, from the family to mankind in general. Similarly, studies in history and economics may emphasise the need for international solidarity of the working-class movement and the economic interdependence of the world; the stress in geography may be moved from the frontier-division aspect to the wider conception of space; advantage might be taken of the international appeal of music and the visual arts and of the international character and tradition of architecture.

Apart from this basic training, various special courses of different scope and content may be arranged to sharpen the international consciousness of the workers and train them in international affairs. The educational programmes of a great many unions in the United States, for example, include one or more seminars or lectures dealing with such subjects as the crisis in the Far East, labour's role in the world scene, European problems, races and regions of the world, and world citizenship.¹

¹ "Trade Union Education Survey", in *Labor and Nation* (New York), Vol. VII, No. 4, p. 59.

Among the subjects selected for the International Summer School organised by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions at Helsinki (Finland) in 1952 were : international problems of the trade union movement ; co-operation with the United Nations and other agencies ; and problems of racial and other discrimination.

The scope, content and standards of workers' education vary widely also according to the organisation and outlook of the various agencies providing the educational programmes. For example, educational institutions resting on an occupational or economic foundation, (trade unions, co-operatives, etc.) are in agreement concerning the practical importance of promoting the education of their adherents as members of the particular economic group, but are divided concerning the importance of practical political training, whereas some institutions of a political character are in agreement concerning the importance of training their adherents as members of political parties and as citizens but are divided concerning the importance of their education as members of the occupational group or the trade union, and as human beings ; lastly, there are institutions with a religious or general cultural background which place the emphasis on the development of the human being and of the citizen, but place unequal emphasis on the training of workers as members of the occupational group or the trade union. For example, in the United Kingdom the Workers' Educational Association, while providing in co-operation with the universities an educational service for individuals and various groups including trade unions and members of political parties, has always sought to make its teaching as objective as possible, completely free from party-political bias. In France and Ireland the workers' educational associations are auxiliaries to the trade union movements, and their concern is to provide an educational service for such workers as are organised in their unions. In Belgium and Norway the organisations include political parties as constituent unions, and the emphasis is on political teaching. On the other hand, in Denmark, Luxembourg and Sweden, although political parties are member organisations of the workers' educational associations, the teaching is, generally speaking, liberal and broad-based in Denmark and Sweden, and in Luxembourg is mainly concerned with trade union educational needs.¹ In the United States workers' education tends to be regarded as something of a more utilitarian character, from the trade union point of view, than is usual in Europe.

¹ The organisations referred to here are affiliated to, or associated with, the International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations. Cf. *Workers' Education* (International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations, London, 1950), p. 2.

Another factor which indirectly affects the scope, content and approach of educational activity is the conception of the role of trade unions in society. For example, those who consider unions as instruments of social change are not satisfied with objective education ; they consider that trade union educational programmes must be utilitarian and doctrinaire in order to be really useful to the trade union movement. Their argument is that, if the workers' educational movement means a movement drawing its strength from those whose position in society compels a concern for change, it must be adequately reflected in the scope and content of the training of the worker and enable him to fulfil this obligation.

Though there may be diversity in the scope and content of the programmes, it is widely recognised that any study programme, in order to be really useful, must have its roots in a problem which is related to and vital for the group concerned.¹

METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

A wide variety of methods, adapted to the needs, intellectual development and social background of the workers, are now being applied in workers' educational programmes. These methods may be grouped into four main categories : (a) lectures ; (b) discussions ; (c) verbal or written research ; and (d) active methods.² These methods are not mutually exclusive ; a combination of two or more will sometimes give the best results.

Lectures seem, of necessity, the commonest form of activity and are useful and effective when they are clear and simple and centre round problems of which workers are already conscious or can easily be made conscious. Discussion enables the worker to have a clearer grasp of the subject, to express his own opinion on the different aspects of the problem and to contribute in arriving at certain conclusions which may serve as an indication of further subjects to be studied. Where the group is too unwieldy it may be necessary, after starting off with a general discussion, to break it up into smaller subgroups which can then examine the issues more closely and can subsequently present to the fuller group written or verbal reports. There are various ways in which the lecture may be combined with discussion in order to secure the more active participation of each student. For example, a general outline of the lecture and a plan for the discussion may be laid

¹ Cf. E. G. COIT : "Workers' Education", in *Handbook of Adult Education in the United States* (Institute of Adult Education at Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1948).

² Cf. INTERNATIONAL CENTRE OF WORKERS' EDUCATION : Document UNESCO/Centre WE/23, op. cit.

down and distributed to the audience at the beginning of the course; or the lecture may be followed by discussion through the provision of answers to questions; or short talks lasting only 10 to 15 minutes may be given, with questions and discussion in between, in such a way that the lecturers move from one idea to another only after having elucidated the first idea as clearly as possible by means of discussion; or the forum method may be used, by which the lecturer is partly or completely replaced by a discussion between three or four members of the group and the teacher-lecturer limits himself to guiding the discussion by asking questions.

The method of verbal or written research on the basis of the workers' concrete experience may arouse a spirit of observation in the members of the group and cause the discussion to develop out of the personal experience of each participant in such a way as to co-ordinate and systematise these experiences. For example, the group study of a particular street may lead to a general sociological discussion.

In workers' education active methods are very important, since they not only help the worker to understand a problem in a clear and practical way but may also contribute to the development of his personality. These methods may take various forms—the "mock" negotiation of a collective agreement, the use of drawings and paintings prepared by a member of the group to illustrate a point or problem, role-playing and dramatisation in the study of literary or historical subjects, attendance at the sessions of the national parliament or legislative bodies, and participation in the work of community agencies.

The four principal methods of workers' education mentioned above may take a wide variety of forms. These include tutorial classes, study classes, discussion groups, correspondence courses, different types of lecture and discussion courses, membership meetings, shop meetings, conferences, different types of institute, summer schools and full-time courses in universities or workers' colleges. Two other methods to which increasing importance is being attached, especially for the promotion of international understanding, are (1) educational exchanges of students, including study tours and employment interchange, and (2) short-term participation of workers in international labour gatherings, including education conferences and meetings organised by the various international organisations.

Tutorial Classes.

The tutorial system, by which a series of connected lessons is given, is one of the traditional methods used in workers' education.

While this system, provided the size of the class is moderate, the number of students limited, and the intellectual needs of the group are homogeneous, has certain advantages owing to the guidance of the professional tutor and the scope for individual practical work by students, it is essential for the successful operation of this system that the students have some part in the selection of tutors and the planning of courses. A special feature of this system in a number of countries, for example, the United Kingdom and Ireland, is that they may extend over two or three years and in some cases entitle the successful students to diplomas.

on-tutorial Techniques: The "Box Scheme".

A number of methods have been developed in recent years to obviate the need for the attendance of a professional tutor. One of these is the "box scheme", so named because the study material (multiple copies of a typescript lecture, sets of plays, illustrative books, pictures, etc.) is sent out in boxes which go from group to group in a circuit. The group appoints its own leader, who is responsible for adequate discussion and appreciation of the material at regular meetings. Although in some respects cumbersome, expensive to capitalise and inflexible in its limitation to circuits of groups, the box scheme has made a notable contribution to adult and workers' education in some countries, particularly New Zealand.¹

Study Circles.

An established method in workers' education is the study circle, an organised form of self-education on a given subject under the guidance of a group leader and in accordance with a definite plan. One variety of the study circle is the organisation of a reading-group made up of semi-literate and illiterate workers who through the group become acquainted with newspapers, reviews and sometimes also literary works and popular science brochures.

The total number of study groups in Finland during the period 1947-50 was 3,459 (with 18,000 students attending); there were 1,005 (with 9,405 attending) during 1949 in Norway and 950 during 1948 in Denmark; in Sweden the number of study circles (or classes) increased from 9,810 (125,700 students) in 1947 to 13,000 (150,000 students) in 1950.² Sometimes the use of the box system and the study circle jointly is found to have more satisfactory results. For example, in the British West Indies (Jamaica), where lack of study material had been one of the serious handicaps in

¹ Cf. N. M. RICHMOND: "Workers' Education in New Zealand", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 4, Apr. 1938, p. 440.

² The figures refer only to the study groups organised by the national workers' educational associations in the respective countries.

training branch and local leaders, a new experiment is being made with the help of study boxes, which does not completely eliminate the need for study group leaders. In spite of the wide use of this method, there is a feeling in some countries, for example the United States, that this method takes too much time and energy in proportion to the number of people reached.¹ Similarly, in Yugoslavia, where in 1948 there were some 17,000 discussion circles with 130,000 members and some 25,000 reading groups with 230,000 members, the trade unions have recently decided to attach less importance to these activities on the grounds that they have partly fulfilled their task, awakening interest for individual work, and that they constitute a more "primitive" form of educational activity.²

Correspondence Courses.

One of the best ways to reach workers who cannot or will not attend classes is the provision of correspondence courses. Usually, under this scheme, a section of a course, containing home work assignments, is mailed at regular intervals to a subscriber and answers, when received, are returned with individual corrections. However, in some cases (for instance, the correspondence course of the United Automobile Workers in the United States), courses and answers are published serially in some newspapers, individual corrections also being made available. Correspondence courses constitute today an important part of the workers' educational programmes in a large number of countries, including Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

Membership Meetings.

In order to reach workers who will not take time off to attend classes, unions in many countries set aside 20-30 minutes of the periodic membership meeting for an educational programme, which may consist, for example, of lectures by an invited speaker or the showing of a film of some social significance, followed by group discussion.

Shop Meetings.

A part of the shop meeting usually conducted by the shop steward immediately after the working day may be set aside regularly for the discussion of some subject other than grievances.

¹ ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION ADMINISTRATION: *American Workers' Education* (Paris, May 1950), p. 7.

² INTERNATIONAL CENTRE OF WORKERS' EDUCATION: *Education of the Working Class in Yugoslavia*, by A. DELEON (Document UNESCO/Centre WE/29, Paris, 3 Sep. 1952), p. 3.

Since the shop meeting requires the best recruiting effort on the part of the educator, unions in some countries, for example the United States, are increasingly following this method.

Institutes.

In recent years increasing attention is being paid to the "institute" as a method of workers' education, by which three or four times a year a concentrated study is made of a particular problem for one or two days. These gatherings are usually much better attended than the regular classes, and enthusiasm and attention are well sustained throughout the course. In the United States a large number of institutes are organised annually by various workers' educational bodies and individual unions, and in most cases the result is reported to be highly satisfactory. During the period 1950-51 more than a hundred week-end or short-term institutes were organised by the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Employment Workers (C.I.O.) alone. Similar institutes (*journées d'étude*) are an important feature in workers' educational programmes in Belgium and France. In Africa a number of such institutes were recently organised at various centres by the Catholic Workers' Organisation. In Australia, the United Kingdom and Switzerland, week-end institutes are regularly organised and sometimes take the form of week-end courses. However, it has been found in a number of countries that the short-term institute meets better the needs of the union officer and activist, who does not usually find it possible to attend regular weekly classes or courses.

Residential Institutes, Summer Schools and Labour Colleges.

The residential institute of one or two weeks' duration, which is usually held in a place outside the city so that concentrated study may be combined with recreational activities, is considered to be of great importance in building loyalty, understanding, comradeship and knowledge in an atmosphere of physical relaxation and mutual stimulation. Such one-week or two-week institutes and summer schools have now become an important part of the programme of the larger unions and other associations carrying out planned educational activities in a large number of countries, including the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany. In Canada the first major experiment with this method was made by the Catholic Confederation of Labour in November 1952.

In some cases it has been found useful to organise a residential summer school in connection with, and usually for the completion of, an annual course. For example, in Ireland the People's College

at Dublin gives preference to members who have attended an annual course for admission to the one-week summer school. Residential courses are sometimes held for a period longer than a week or two with a view to giving the student a better opportunity for concentrating exclusively on his educational development and studying a wide range of subjects. For example, the full-time Folk High School course in Denmark ran from three to six months; in Britain the duration of residential courses organised by Ruskin College and the Workers' College (founded by the Catholic Social Guild) vary from one to two years. In order to secure the advantages both of short-term and of long-term residential courses, longer courses are sometimes organised in connection with short-term courses. In the Netherlands the course provided at the A. C. de Bruijn Institute for training in the social sciences and economics includes theoretical studies followed by practical training for one year. In Austria the trade union federation selects participants for longer courses (four weeks, ten months and three years) from among students who have already participated in short-term residential courses, and in Belgium short-term residential schools are often used for the selection of students for the longer residential courses such as those at the *Ecole de Formation Militante*.

Sometimes residential courses for intensive study are combined with the ordinary method of evening or afternoon classes. In Israel the Histadrut (General Federation of Labour) Workers' College, which organises various residential courses of from two weeks to several months for intensive study, has recently set up a ten months' course for the administrative training of workers in which some students participate only in the afternoons, while others are resident.¹

In recent years regional and international summer schools are being increasingly organised for the promotion of education in general and international understanding in particular. Examples are the I.C.F.T.U. International Summer School held in 1952 at Helsinki, the international summer courses organised by the International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations, the International Co-operative Schools organised regularly by the International Co-operative Alliance and the seminars organised by various international bodies at the U.N.E.S.C.O. Workers' Education Centre in 1952.

Community Projects.

In recent years, especially since the Second World War, great stress has been laid on the participation of labour in community

¹ Louise HOFFMAN: "College for Workers", in *Work* (issued by the Histadrut), Dec. 1951, p. 9.

affairs, which constitutes a two-way traffic in the field of workers' education. Specialised training, usually known as "union counselling", enables the workers to make a real contribution to the planning and execution of community projects, and at the same time the participation of workers in these projects itself constitutes an experience of great educational value. Special programmes combining both field work and study are sometimes set up by unions to educate workers in community activities. In the United States, under the United Auto Workers' Programme (C.I.O.), for example, workers carry on for two-and-a-half days an intensive educational activity centring around one or two aspects of city life, for example, housing, transport or juvenile delinquency. They inspect housing projects, schools and detention homes, etc., talk with city officials and experts on municipal affairs, attend meetings of city boards and commissions, see documentary films related to the problems at hand and discuss the issues at length among themselves. Thus the method combines first-hand experience with critical study and evaluation of practical problems.

Educational Conferences.

Conferences devoted to educational matters or objective discussions of current labour problems are particularly useful for the co-ordination and integration of different educational programmes, for stimulating new ideas and activity in the field of workers' education, and for the exchange of views and ideas. Thus, the annual conference of the American Labor Education Service, which brings together some 2,000 educational representatives of unions, universities and community agencies, provides an excellent forum for a critical study and evaluation of workers' educational programmes, helps to integrate new trends and projects and ensures close touch between labour, universities, the Government and community organisations. Such a conference may also be held to study a particular problem in workers' education; for example, a conference sponsored by the above Service in 1951 brought together leaders from 23 international unions to study the problem of how to train workers in international problems; such conferences are a regular feature in the programmes of the workers' educational bodies in a number of countries, for example, Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Educational Exchanges.

Educational exchanges between countries is a highly effective method of promoting workers' education, especially in relation to international understanding. Besides participation in international seminars, summer schools and other labour gatherings,

the exchange may take the form of employment interchange, study tours and group travel.

Employment interchanges. Employment interchanges between workers have a very important cultural and educational aspect and, as the study made in 1948 by the I.L.O. reveals¹, opportunities for such interchanges are gradually increasing owing to national and intergovernmental agreements and activities by trade associations and business firms. These exchanges take various forms—for example, an over-all multilateral scheme run by a co-ordinating body, under which one factory may offer a number of places to workers from abroad without sending its own workers in exchange; head for head exchanges between two specific undertakings; head for head exchanges not necessarily between the same factories; and interchange by trade union organisations of their paid employees.² The following are typical examples: the exchanges of agricultural workers organised since 1946 by the Scandinavian countries, both among themselves and with the United Kingdom, which have since been extended to other European countries (especially France, the Netherlands and Switzerland); the exchanges which have continued since 1948 between the British Iron and Steel Federation and the iron and steel industries in Australia, Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Sweden; and the vacation training courses organised since 1948 by the International Association for the Exchange of Students for Technical Experience.³

Study tours. A programme of study tours of two or three weeks' duration has been arranged, under which a party of from 12 to 20 workers study working and living conditions in another country. Such tours may include visits to factories, mines and agricultural co-operatives, combined with discussion meetings with local workers, receptions by local trade union bodies, talks about the Constitution of the host country or international problems, and some participation in the cultural life of the country. Reviewing the educative value of the study tours organised by U.N.E.S.C.O. in 1952 in collaboration with the I.L.O. and other international bodies, the U.N.E.S.C.O. report stated: "Every minute of each short tour provided some kind of opportunity of learning about the people in the host country—their working methods, their

living conditions, their historic past and their living present, their outlook of life".¹

Group travel. Closely allied to study tours is the method of group travel, which, though mainly concerned with recreation and relaxation, may, if properly planned and organised, constitute a practical and agreeable approach to the educational process. Workers' educational and recreational bodies in a number of countries, for example, the Vienna Folk High Schools in Austria, the Workers' Educational Association in the United Kingdom and *Tourisme et Travail* in France, organise such educational visits to museums, industrial plants and various places of interest. In consequence of the rapid development in recent years of workers' travel associations in many countries, holiday travel for workers between different countries is being organised on an increasing scale for the promotion of international understanding among workers.

Recreational Programmes.

Dramatic and other cultural activities. Activities of dramatic and music societies and cultural centres can play an important part in workers' education. Drama, apart from its own educational value, may help to attract workers when used to supplement lectures and discussions. Workers' educational programmes in a number of countries, for example, Austria (Vienna Folk High Schools), Belgium (*Centrale d'Éducation Ouvrière*), France (*Tourisme et Travail*) and the United Kingdom (National Co-operative Educational Association) include dramatic and musical activities as methods of education. In Israel the dramatic, musical and artistic activities constitute an important aspect of the educational programme of the Histadrut. In New Zealand the facilities provided by the Community Arts Service, which is renowned for the excellent quality of its dramatic and musical performances, are utilised for the promotion of workers' and adult education.

Radio. Radio can be an important instrument for workers' education, especially where it is used by listening or discussion groups. Some unions, for example, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union and the United Automobile Workers' Union in the United States, have built their own broadcasting stations and run them on a round-the-clock basis. In some cases unions buy time or seek free time on the air for education campaigns. A new experiment has been made in some countries to assist trade unions in their cultural and educational activities by combined radio and correspondence teaching. The Radio Uni-

¹ U.N.E.S.C.O.'s *Study Tours for Workers in 1952* (Document 7C/PRG/27, Paris, 17 Nov. 1952), p. 2.

¹ Included in *Workers Abroad* (U.N.E.S.C.O., Paris, 1951), Vol. III, pp. 73-79.

² Working paper submitted to the Committee of Experts on Educational and Cultural Exchange Programme for Workers, 16-17 Feb. 1950 (Document ILO/UNESCO/EXP/Conf. 1/2).

³ For an account of the work of this Association, see p. 65 below.

versity in Poland, for example, provides broadcast courses, transmits scripts to students, assists discussion circles and holds examinations at the end of the programme.¹ In some countries workers' educational bodies are represented on the boards of the broadcasting authorities and in others they take an active part in the preparation and broadcasting of programmes.

The cinema. In recent years the cinema has played an increasingly important role in workers' education. Apart from direct contribution to workers' education, films are often used as an aid to instruction, for example, to supplement lectures and discussions. In many countries films can be rented from inter-union agencies such as national federations and from workers' educational bodies. Some unions are building up their own film libraries and are using films in organising campaigns and educational meetings. Films and filmstrips are being increasingly used in workers' educational bodies in a number of countries—for example, Austria, Luxembourg, New Zealand and the Scandinavian countries—and in the labour education departments of some of the universities. Arrangements have been made for the interchange of films between workers' educational bodies of different countries and the display of labour films by government agencies in foreign countries.

Other audio-visual aids. A number of experiments have been made in recent years with various other audio-visual aids and materials, including plays and sketches, pamphlets and books, newspapers, mimeographed outlines, charts, maps, pictures, posters, cartoons, bulletin boards, exhibits, models and blackboard work.

The comparative usefulness of such materials depends on a number of factors such as the size of the class, the subject matter, the age, experience and intellectual development of the students, etc. They should therefore be used with discretion. The purpose of the employment of most of the visual aids is to aid understanding, to aid memory by using the sense of sight and to increase interest by introducing variety in presentation. These aids should therefore concentrate on essentials; be large enough to be seen by the whole class; be simple, with non-essential detail and lettering omitted, when possible be coloured, boldly and functionally; be displayed only when required and be used in conjunction with and not instead of the actual thing, wherever possible.²

The usefulness of the different types of printed material varies under differing conditions. For example, study outlines for the use of discussion groups may have certain special advantages for

¹ *Polish Trade Union Review* (Warsaw), Jan.-Mar. 1952, p. 19.

² J. M. HAYCROFT: "The Principles of Good Instruction", in *Training Worker Citizens* (London, 1949), pp. 196-197.

the following reasons: (a) they can be kept up to date; (b) they can be easily adapted to suit the needs and interests of particular groups; and (c) they make it possible to give specific references to relevant passages in a particular volume. Discussion pamphlets may be highly useful for giving a general account of the problems affecting the workers, while monthly newsletters are particularly suited for enlightening members on current issues in the trade union movement or the industry and to stimulate activities of local, state and regional education committees. A number of unions in Canada, France and the United States, for example, prepare their own courses of study and study outlines, prepare discussion pamphlets on union problems, labour history and such other problems, or issue monthly newsletters both for the general enlightenment of the members and for suggesting activities in educational programmes.

Books are an important source of knowledge and are very useful for advanced studies of special questions, especially in connection with long-term and residential courses. However, they cannot always be used for workers' educational classes and short-term institutes or courses, since workers in general can do very little serious reading. In spite of this limitation the value of books as a means of instruction and recreation must not be underestimated. Workers' educational associations in a large number of countries have built up libraries and maintain a book-lending service. In some countries unions have organised book clubs or established small circulating libraries, and many secure the services of the local public library through some special arrangement.

AGENCIES PROVIDING EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

The agencies providing educational facilities may be grouped into five main categories: (a) professional groups, e.g., trade unions, co-operative societies and employers; (b) workers' educational bodies and cultural associations; (c) universities and colleges; (d) public authorities; and (e) various international organisations. These agencies do not necessarily operate independently; very often two or more of them collaborate in providing appropriate facilities.

Professional Groups

In a large number of countries trade unions play a very important role in workers' education. In the United States the American Federation of Labor through the Workers' Education Bureau and the Congress of Industrial Organizations through its Education Department co-operate with the programmes set up by state federations of labour, state industrial councils, city central bodies and local unions.

Virtually all of the large "international" unions¹ in both the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. have educational departments responsible for assisting local unions in carrying on their training work. State federations and city federations of both organisations conduct conferences on legislation, political action, housing and other current state and community problems.

In the United Kingdom the educational programme of the Trades Union Congress consists of training courses, summer schools and week-end and one-day schools, mainly for the specialised education of officers and other workers in the trade union movement. In recent years a number of individual unions have set up well diversified programmes, although they do not yet provide an adequate cover for union educational needs. A characteristic feature of the workers' education provided by the trade unions in the United Kingdom is that a single union can provide for the education of its members through schemes arranged with various specialised agencies (e.g., the Workers' Educational Association, Ruskin College) and at the same time use the special T.U.C. facilities and may also have a direct service of its own.

In France the Workers' Education Centre of the C.G.T.-F.O. organises evening classes and lectures, discussion groups, educational visits and correspondence and residential courses, maintains a library and encourages labour research. The Confederation of Christian Workers has set up a comprehensive scheme for the training of workers under a central committee assisted by regional, district and local committees. This scheme includes basic training, mainly for collective or trade union action inside the undertaking; higher training through one-day district courses and local study groups; advanced training for national officials, given by 12 special workers' colleges and consisting of four series of short courses every year; specialised training for permanent secretaries, workers' delegates and social security fund officials; and, lastly, training of members of works committees. Recently, it has set up a permanent workers' educational centre at Bierville, France.

In Austria the major part of the trade union education is carried out through the Austrian Trade Union Federation, which organises residential courses, evening or week-end classes and study circles. In the Federal Republic of Germany the Federation of Trade Unions and the 16 affiliated industrial organisations have set up education departments to carry out well diversified educational programmes. During 1951, in addition to single lecture classes, 49 residential courses lasting for a period of one to two weeks as well as 860 week-end courses and about 1,600 evening

¹ The term "international union", according to United States usage, applies to a union having branches in both the United States and Canada.

classes with an attendance of approximately 106,000 members were held by the provincial and local branches of trade unions alone.

In countries where the trade union movement is of comparatively recent origin the programmes set up by unions do not seem to be well developed. However, some unions have already started work with a view to removing illiteracy and raising the educational level of the workers. The All-China Federation of Labour, for example, has recently drawn up a programme which urges all the general labour unions to concentrate their efforts on the promotion of workers' education in their respective localities. In Japan most of the trade unions have a department of education, and increasing attention is being paid to the educational needs of workers. The activities of the unions include the organisation of year-round labour schools, the publication of journals, the provision of library and reading-room facilities and the organisation of classes or courses; the total number of these classes in 1951 was 2,777, with 551,420 students. In India the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association conducts night schools for elementary education, and attendance is reported to be highly satisfactory.

Besides setting up independent programmes, trade unions in a large number of countries have taken initiative in forming workers' educational associations or have become important constituent units of such associations, and in many cases they are actively collaborating with various other agencies in providing educational facilities.

In a number of countries co-operative societies provide educational facilities for their members, either independently or in conjunction with other bodies. In Sweden the Co-operative Union and Wholesale Society is one of the most important member organisations of the Workers' Educational Association and has also set up a well diversified programme of its own; in Belgium and the Federal Republic of Germany co-operative societies promote specialised forms of education for their employees and active members, in collaboration with other agencies; and in the United Kingdom the co-operative societies in general play an important part in workers' education through such organisations as the National Co-operative Educational Association and the National Council of Labour Colleges.

Mention should also be made of employers' activities, which, though usually not very extensive, have been helpful in some countries in promoting workers' education. In Greece, for example, the Workers' Centre, a tripartite organisation concerned with the promotion of workers' education and recreation, is financed by the employers. In Denmark the Central Employers' Association participates in the administration of the school for members of

joint production committees in Copenhagen. In the United Kingdom the training of workers as members of joint production committees can be arranged in co-operation with employers at the local technical schools.

Some employers in the less developed countries have taken active steps in educating illiterate workers. In Iran the Khorichand Spinning Mill announced a monthly wage increase of 50 rials to any worker who graduated from the literacy classes organised by the factory. In India illiterate workers in the Deccan Paper Mills are allowed by the management to attend literacy classes held in the mill premises during working hours; the Delhi Cloth and General Mills have introduced a literacy test for all permanent employees below 40 years of age. In Japan a recent study of welfare facilities in 29 textile factories showed that educational facilities existed in 27 undertakings, including all the larger establishments.

Workers' Educational Bodies and Cultural Associations

In recent years workers' educational associations have been set up over a large part of the world. According to a report¹ recently issued by the International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations, the Federation at present comprises 11 full member organisations in Belgium, Denmark, France, Finland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom², and seven associated organisations in Canada, New South Wales, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa (Transvaal), Tasmania and the United States.³ Applications for affiliation or association were recently received from Austria, Africa (Gold Coast), Ireland and India. Besides the above organisations there are a large number of other workers' educational bodies in different countries. Among such organisations in the United Kingdom, for example, are the National Council of Labour Colleges, the National Adult School Union and the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee, the last being more a co-ordinating body than an organising or providing agency.

¹ INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS: *Report of the Secretariat and Executive Committee for the Years 1947-1950* (London, 1951).

² The Workers' Educational Association in the United Kingdom had its 50th anniversary in 1953.

³ The Workers' Education Bureau of the A.F. of L. in the United States, the Education Department of the *Verbond van Vakverenigingen* in the Netherlands and the *Centre d'Education Ouvrière* in France, although affiliated to or associated with the Federation, are adjuncts of the trade union organisations rather than independent workers' educational bodies.

The organisation of the workers' educational bodies varies widely in different countries and even within the same country. They may be a federation of trade unions, political parties and/or co-operative organisations, an association of individual members and various nationally affiliated bodies, including the trade unions and/or co-operative and other societies, or adjuncts of trade union organisations or a federation of working-class bodies.

A few examples will indicate the extent and variety of the activities carried on by these associations. The British Workers' Educational Association organised in 1948-49 6,380 classes with 111,351 students, 2,496 short courses of ten or more meetings each, and 1,022 other short courses. During 1948 the educational activities of the corresponding association in Denmark included the organisation of 46 summer courses with 36,333 attending, 1,395 single lectures attended by 86,000 workers, and 950 study groups, 21,000 evening classes, 100 evening high school classes, and the provision of 2,300 films. In Finland the workers' educational association organised during the period 1947-50 3,459 study groups, 133 courses for instructors, 870 public lectures, correspondence courses in 59 subjects and 88 sailors' study groups.

In some countries cultural associations and social organisations constitute an important agency in the field of workers' education. In France, for example, the *Institut de Culture Ouvrière*, an organisation based on individual membership of manual and professional workers, aims at the training of young and adult workers mainly through classes and correspondence courses. The activities of another such organisation, *Travail et Culture*, include the organisation of cinema shows, dramatic and musical performances and evening classes and the maintenance of an information service. Mention may also be made of a similar organisation called *Fédération française du Tourisme populaire* which plays an important part in workers' education and recreation. In Belgium, the *Institut Provincial de l'Education et du Loisir* and the *Centre d'Art et de Culture* organise literary courses, lectures, exhibitions, etc. In Finland and Italy similar organisations play an important role in the field of workers' education through well diversified programmes. In Yugoslavia the Federation of Cultural and Educational Societies provides various forms of assistance to the educational activities of the trade unions and other working-class bodies. In India the Social Service League (Bombay) provided in 1951 trade union courses for 50 students drawn from the Indian National Trade Union Congress and the *Hind Mazdoor Sabha*. The "cultural palaces" in China and the "labour halls" in Japan are of great educative and recreational use to workers.

In some countries political and religious groups or movements also directly provide workers with educational facilities.

The Role of the University

One of the most striking developments in workers' education in recent years is the assumption of responsibilities in this field by universities and colleges.¹ While in the past the interest of the universities has been manifested only through the participation of faculty members in various workers' educational activities or through the loaning of university facilities to labour groups, recently a large number of universities and colleges have undertaken to integrate labour education activities into their programmes. College and university programmes today cater for all levels of union leadership and include classroom work, field seminars and research.² For example, in the United States³, where between 40 and 50 universities have some part in workers' education, the activities take the form of labour research, full-time resident work-study programmes and state-wide extension services through extension classes, on-campus conferences, regional off-campus institutes and summer schools. A major trend in the university activities is towards programme specialisation. The school for workers at the University of Wisconsin is an outstanding example of programmes set up solely to serve the peculiar and immediate needs of workers; the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University puts its major effort into the promotion of improved labour-management relations; the Rutgers University (New Jersey), through its Institute of Management and Labor Relations, provides separate but inter-related services for labour and management. Yale University's Labor and Management Center concentrates on research into subjects of current interest and practical importance to both labour and management; the union leadership training project of the University of Chicago has built its reputation on the preparation of study materials, while the Harvard trade union programme (a 13-week course) and the eight-month union officers' programme of Chicago University provide outstanding examples of long-term residential training and are close to a regular academic programme.⁴

Recently, under the auspices of the Inter-University Labor Education Committee, in which eight leading universities and

¹ Caroline WARE: *Labor Education in Universities* (New York, American Labor Education Service, 1946).

² Cf. E. G. COIT, *op. cit.*

³ See in this connection: "Wartime Developments in Workers' Education", in *Monthly Labor Review*, Aug. 1945, pp. 301-318. See also "Trade Union Education Survey", in *Labor and Nation*, Vol. VII, No. 4, pp. 53-80.

⁴ Cf. Irvine L. H. KERRISON: *Workers' Education at the University Level* (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N.J., 1951), pp. 88-103.

colleges participate, further arrangements have been made for planned specialisation of university programmes.¹

In the United Kingdom the University Extension Movement, though not primarily a workers' movement, has made notable contributions to workers' education.² Co-operation between the universities and the Workers' Educational Association has led to the formation of joint committees for tutorial classes throughout England and Wales. Some universities offer residential scholarships to enable working-class students to undertake full-time study in the university. Oxford University throws its lectures and classes open to Ruskin (Workers') College students and the University Board of Social Studies collaborates with such workers' colleges in organising diploma examinations for worker students. Recently courses in trade union education have been provided by the London School of Economics (a full-time four-year course) and Glasgow and Nottingham Universities (evening classes), and the response from workers is reported to be highly satisfactory in each case.³ A new development in this field is the use by trade unions of the services of the management studies departments of technical colleges maintained by local education authorities. In Ireland courses are provided by the Rathmines High School of Commerce, University College, Dublin, and University College, Cork.⁴

In Australia the universities have established tutorial classes in the states, in conjunction with the Workers' Educational Association. In Western Australia a summer school is organised within the university itself, which provides education and recreation for people drawn from all over the state. In New Zealand the contribution of the universities to workers' education has been substantial.

In the Federal Republic of Germany the lecturers and tutors in the social academies, which represent the highest stage of trade union education, are university men and, although the academies are autonomous institutions, the universities participate in their administration.

There is still some disagreement, however, as to the role that institutions of higher learning should play in workers' education.

¹ Andrew J. WANN: "Plan Aids to Union Education" in *Report to Locals* (Building Service Employees International Union, Aug. 1952), p. 2.

² Cf. John H. NICHOLSON: "University Education in Great Britain", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXIX, No. 5, May 1934, p. 636.

³ TRADES UNION CONGRESS: *What the T.U.C. is Doing* (London, 1949), pp. 35-36.

⁴ For a full description of the Cork course, see P. F. PARFRAY: *An Experiment in Adult Education—Workers' Course* (University College, Cork, 1929).

In some countries, for example France, the university is considered as a centre of distinguished academic teaching and research, not primarily concerned with workers' education, while in other countries, for example Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom, it is usually held that universities have an active teaching and inspiring role to play in workers' education precisely because they have a special prestige, the necessary intellectual resources and teaching and research equipment. However, even in the second group of countries there is disagreement on this point within the institutions, within the labour movement and between the colleges and universities and the labour movement. In the United States, for example, the American Federation of Labor opposed, for various reasons, the University Extension Bill, under which federal aid was to be granted to colleges and universities for workers' education, and indicated its support for a government-sponsored programme to be conducted in co-operation with trade unions.¹

It is being generally recognised, however, that institutions of higher learning have an important role to play in workers' education, that college and university programmes should be complementary and supplementary to the programmes conducted directly by the workers and that university programmes should be planned and administered in co-operation with the labour groups.

The Role of the Government and Other Public Authorities

In most countries the government plays an active role in the promotion of workers' education either as a distinct programme or as a part of the general programme of adult education.

In the United States, for example, the Division of Labor Standards of the Department of Labor publishes pamphlets and study outlines for the use of trade unions in their own programmes. In the Federal Republic of Germany the Land and local authorities participate in the administration of the social academies.

In a number of countries the government provides financial grants and other forms of assistance for workers' educational programmes. In the United Kingdom local educational authorities assist the work of voluntary associations by grants, by the loan of premises, by providing books from public libraries and by offering scholarships and bursaries to adult students. The Ministry of Education assists the adult educational work of universities and of "recognised" university bodies by grants graded according to

the type of class and number of students. In Denmark the provision of the Evening School Act dated 4 July 1942 to empower local authorities to make available public buildings for educational purposes has helped the Workers' Educational Association in organising evening classes and study circles. In Sweden the total financial support from the State for the activities of the Workers' Educational Association recently amounted to 50 per cent. of the costs of the study circles and libraries and about 30 per cent. of the expenditure on administration. Although no state grants are made available to the Norwegian Workers' Educational Association, its evening classes and discussion groups may receive grants for special purposes such as the purchase of books and teachers' fees. Apart from the state subsidies normally received, the Finnish Workers' Educational Association gets special grants for study groups, public lectures and specialised courses.

In Australia adult education services are maintained by the state government in Victoria and Queensland, and an advisory body has been set up in New South Wales in connection with the provision of public money for adult education.

Vigorous steps are being taken by the governments in some of those countries where the present rate of illiteracy is high to provide educational facilities for workers. For example, legislation concerning welfare funds in the various industries in a number of Asian countries (India, Pakistan and Formosa) provides that such funds might be drawn on for the provision of educational facilities. In north-east China 3,264 workers' spare-time schools were established (with an attendance of 177,240 workers) during 1949, and measures have been decided upon to wipe out illiteracy among workers in China within five years. In India and Pakistan welfare centres organised by the Government, provide educational facilities for workers. In Iran, under a Decree issued by the Ministry of Labour in 1947, vigorous measures are being taken to educate illiterate workers.¹

In some countries, for example, Haiti (1950) and Japan (1944), a special workers' education service has been set up within the Department of Labour with a view to promoting the healthy growth of the trade unions and developing such labour-management relations as would contribute towards social peace and progress. In Haiti there is also a Fundamental Education Section, an adjunct of the Workers' Education Service of the Department of Labour, the activities of which are directed towards the education of illiterate workers and their integration with the community. In March 1952 some 5,333 workers were registered at the 207 workers'

¹ See *Workers' Education at the University Level*, op. cit.; see also a critical review of the publication by A. A. ELDER in *Workers' Education Bureau Newsletter* (Washington), Vol. XIV, No. 1, Jan. 1952, pp. 5-6.

¹ MINISTRY OF LABOUR, Teheran: *Labour Review*, Nos. 30-31, pp. 14-20.

education centres, which are organised and administered mainly by the Workers' Education Service. In Brazil (State of São Paulo), the Government has set up a special service to provide evening courses for adults.

It should be mentioned that while in some countries trade unions have indicated their preference, under certain conditions, for state-sponsored programmes to university programmes, the assumption by the State of major responsibility in this field may not always be favourably received by workers. However, the difficulty is less likely to arise in the case of primary education. In respect of other types of workers' education, while conditions vary from country to country, programmes subsidised or sponsored by the State may be more effective if, as Scandinavian and, to some extent, British experience indicates, reasonable freedom is given to the agency subsidised or if the active participation of workers is secured in the planning and administration of the programmes.¹

International Agencies

In recent years a number of international organisations have laid down workers' educational programmes on a world level, but co-operation is impeded by the desire of many national and international organisations to adhere to their own programmes, while the conflicting ideologies which split the labour movement make collaboration between certain labour organisations difficult.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

In 1952 U.N.E.S.C.O. took an important step in the field of workers' education by setting up an international Centre for Workers' Education with a view to improving methods of workers' education and organising educational courses "particularly in relation to international understanding". Between 14 June and 13 September seven seminars were held at the Centre, four by international workers' organisations and three by U.N.E.S.C.O. itself. Under the U.N.E.S.C.O. scheme of group travel and study tours 760 members of trade unions and co-operative organisations were able to visit foreign countries and acquaint themselves with typical social and educational experiments during the period 1951-52. The 1953 programme includes, besides the organisation of seminars within the framework of the Centre, participation at various national and regional seminars (for instance, in Italy and the Dominican Republic), the organisation of study tours and the

¹ Cf. E. G. COIT: *Government Support of Workers' Education* (American Labor Education Service, New York, 1940).

sending of experts to various regions to assist in the establishment of workers' educational programmes.

International Labour Organisation.

Under the Declaration of Philadelphia the I.L.O. is under obligation to further among the nations of the world programmes which will achieve the assurance of equality of educational opportunity. The International Labour Conference at its 33rd Session (Geneva, 1950) adopted a resolution which outlined a three-point policy in this field. In the first place it recognised the importance of educational opportunities for the vocational training of workers, for the adequate fulfilment of their function in various workers' movements and for their effective participation in modern social and economic life. Secondly it indicated that activities in this field should be directed towards the development of free and compulsory education for children of both sexes and elementary instruction for adults in civic, social, economic and international subjects. Thirdly it emphasised the need for concerted action by competent international bodies which would co-operate, as appropriate, in assisting national programmes.

Within the framework of this basic policy the I.L.O. has taken various steps to encourage international, regional and national programmes and to improve the techniques of teaching and methods of organisation and administration of workers' educational programmes.

An important aspect of its activities relates to the adoption of Recommendations¹ and resolutions and the dissemination of information through the publication of studies and reports.

Active participation at various workers' educational centres constitutes another important aspect of the I.L.O.'s activities in the field. In this connection reference may be made in particular to the organisation of the British Workers' Educational Association-I.L.O. summer school (Geneva), the Scandinavian Peoples' High School (Geneva) and to the provision of lectures and publications at various trade union colleges, including the Asian Trade Union College (Calcutta) and the International Centre of Adult Education (Geneva).

In the field of the educational exchange of workers, the I.L.O. has collaborated in the U.N.E.S.C.O. programmes and has facilitated such exchanges through providing interested organisations with information concerning social and labour conditions in many countries.

¹ For example, the Utilisation of Spare Time Recommendation, 1924, the Unemployment (Young Persons) Recommendation, 1935 and the Seamen's Welfare in Ports Recommendation, 1936.

Finally, the I.L.O. provides a number of fellowships of three to six months' duration for the study in different countries of subjects within the competence of the International Labour Organisation and internships of two months' duration for the study of the machinery and activities of the International Labour Office. Furthermore the possibility of providing assistance to meet the needs of the less developed countries through the sending of experts, the organisation of seminars and other methods is engaging the attention of the Organisation.

Non-governmental Organisations.

Among the manifold activities of the International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations, which was set up in 1947, may be mentioned those concerning the organisation of conferences, international summer schools and joint summer schools of the associated organisations, the exchange of students and tutors and of information and literature between the various affiliated associations, and educational travel tours between one country and another.

The educational activities of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions include the co-ordination of the educational programmes of its affiliated organisations, the exchange of views and information and the development of new ideas and material. In 1952 it set up the Asian Trade Union College at Calcutta and has planned two courses for trade union training at Accra and Dakar in West Africa and a 14-day trade union course in Tunisia in the spring of 1953. In Europe it organises a two-week European Summer School; trade union courses are regularly held in France, and similar courses have been planned for Italy; projects for trade union training in Greece are being considered. Finally the Confederation organises an International Summer School, the third session of which (Finland, 1952) was attended by 63 students from 20 countries of Europe, Latin America, North Africa and Asia.¹

At its annual school the International Co-operative Alliance brings together each year a number of students from 20 countries and three continents. The International Federation of Christian Trade Unions held a one-week school in 1952 at Château de la Brevière, France.

The activities of the International Federation of Unions of Employees in Public and Civil Services (I.F.P.C.S.) in connection with its programme for the international exchange of employees are reported to be gradually increasing.² The International Gar-

¹ I.C.F.T.U. EUROPEAN REGIONAL ORGANISATION: *Report on Educational Activities* (Brussels), 29-30 Jan. 1953 (Document ERO/Ed.C.2/3).

² I.F.P.C.S. Press Report N.S. No. 15, Nov. 1951.

ment Workers' Federation has been considering the implementation of an educational plan for its affiliated organisations.

It is reported that the World Federation of Trade Unions is planning to organise trade union courses with a view to spreading "the trade union movement in the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries, in their efforts to form trade union cadres".¹

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It is evident that, as a result of the growing recognition of the importance and significance of workers' education, educational programmes of various types and content are being developed in a large number of countries, but large numbers of workers in the world today are still not provided with any substantial educational facilities.

It is, however, not enough to provide adequate educational facilities; it is equally important that the programmes are so planned and organised with due regard to the needs of the workers and the social and economic conditions of the country that the workers will be induced to take advantage of the facilities provided.

The three broad areas covered appear to be primary education, which is a most urgent problem in the less developed countries, education of the worker as a member of the professional group and education of the worker as a citizen. A comparatively recent trend of great significance is the increasing importance given to the problems of international understanding in workers' educational programmes.

The educational facilities are at present provided for the most part by trade unions and workers' educational bodies. In some countries the activities are fairly well co-ordinated but, speaking generally, there is considerable scope for co-ordination both within the trade union organisations and between the various agencies.

The universities are playing an important part in programme planning and in providing material for such programmes. In a number of countries the State has also helped to provide workers' educational facilities, but the role of the State has hitherto been restricted mainly to providing primary education for the population as a whole. But the assumption of responsibilities in the field of workers' education by universities and the government has also given rise to certain problems, due to an aversion in some circles to university and state-sponsored programmes. It is

¹ Resolution on the General Report of the Activity of the W.F.T.U., adopted at a meeting of the General Council of the W.F.T.U., Berlin, 15-21 Nov. 1951; see *World Trade Union Movement* (London), 5 Dec. 1951, No. 23, p. 4.

generally admitted that while the co-operation of the State and the university in developing workers' education is highly desirable and useful, the responsibility of specialised training with a view to arousing emotional loyalty to the trade union movement as a means of achieving new values in life should be left to the workers' organisations. It is also generally recognised that state and university programmes are more effective if these activities are undertaken only at the request of those to be served and should never be compulsory, and that at all levels—local, national and international—these programmes should be administered in close co-operation with organised labour, for example, through joint bodies or workers' advisory committees.

Finally, workers' education provides an important ground for international action. International programmes may be highly useful not only in encouraging and co-ordinating various national and regional activities, but also in developing improved methods and techniques in the field of workers' education.

Some Problems of Labour Inspection in European Countries

by

W. G. SYMONS

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An efficient system of labour inspection is essential for ensuring that labour legislation is effectively applied, and the record of Recommendations and Conventions concerning labour inspection adopted by the International Labour Conference¹ from the time of its First Session in 1919 shows that this necessity has been constantly borne in mind by the International Labour Organisation.

The author of the following article, who recently carried out, as holder of a research fellowship of the University of Manchester, a comparative study of the organisation and functioning of labour inspection services in a number of countries of western Europe, presents here some of his conclusions concerning present problems and the various solutions that are being worked out.

THE Labour Inspection Convention, 1947, of the I.L.O. has set the seal on a growing realisation of the place of labour inspection in the machinery of government. It stands on the principle that a properly organised and comprehensive labour inspectorate is part of the service which the modern State owes to its working population.

The term "labour inspection" is often least familiar in those countries, like Britain, where the thing to which it refers has had the longest history. In origin the inspection of workplaces by

¹ Labour Inspection (Health Services) Recommendation, 1919; Labour Inspection Recommendation, 1923; Inspection of Emigrants Convention, 1926; Labour Inspection (Seamen) Recommendation, 1926; Inspection (Building) Recommendation, 1937; Labour Inspectorates (Indigenous Workers) Recommendation, 1939; Labour Inspection Convention, 1947; Labour Inspection Recommendation, 1947; Labour Inspectorates (Non-Metropolitan Territories) Convention, 1947.

public officials was a technique directed against particular dangers and abuses—against excessive hours of children in textile mills or against dangers of accidents in mines. Legislation developed piecemeal, and each enactment tended to have its separate inspectorate; factory inspection, mines inspection and wages inspection developed as largely unco-ordinated activities of government. More recently governments have accepted the responsibility not merely of protecting workers exposed to abnormal risks but also of enforcing standards of working conditions for a large part of the employed population. In many countries, therefore, protective labour legislation has developed in a more coherent form, and “labour inspection” is more easily recognised. The term is, however, equally applicable to the various inspectorates of working conditions in a country like Britain.

Labour inspection, in this sense, is concerned with conditions of work as they affect the worker. It has the primary function of enforcing legal requirements, but usually has a “penumbra” of duties related to but going beyond this central core. It may be operated by officers of central, provincial or local government or by *ad hoc* public authorities. It may be a full-time occupation or may be done by officials who also have other duties. It depends essentially on systematic, regular and direct investigation of working conditions through visits to workplaces carried out by inspecting officers.

A labour inspectorate operates in a defined field—that is, it covers certain occupations, processes or classes of workplace. It has certain functions—that is, it is concerned with certain aspects of working conditions, with safety, wage rates, duration of work, etc. The functions of an inspectorate correspond roughly to the content of the body of law which it enforces; but this correspondence need not be exact, as some inspectorates have advisory duties and responsibilities outside their legal powers.

At the present time new labour inspectorates are being set up in many of the industrially developing countries where little or nothing existed before, or existing services are being strengthened. At the same time inspectorates are being extended and reorganised in many of the older industrial countries. These developments are revealing many problems of organisation and method, some aspects of which are touched on in this article, which is based on a survey of inspecting methods in Britain and a number of western European countries. For reasons of space no attempt is made here to deal with the inspection of conditions on seagoing ships by marine surveyors (it is sometimes forgotten that this is a part of labour inspection), and we shall be concerned with the inspection of physical working conditions rather than with wages.

THE ELEMENTS OF SUCCESSFUL LABOUR INSPECTION

The underlying purpose of labour inspection is the protection and well-being of the worker. Four distinct but related ways can be traced in which inspection can contribute to this end. These are: (1) enforcement of the law; (2) setting standards of working conditions; (3) technical advice; and (4) skilled watchfulness. The first and the last two of these are explicitly mentioned in the Labour Inspection Convention (Article 3 (1)). The second is linked with enforcement, but is sufficiently distinct to need special notice.

Enforcement of the Law

The enforcement of the law is the most obvious duty of labour inspection, and the conditions for doing it are fairly straightforward. There must be enough appropriately skilled inspectors, with adequate powers and status and with the support of the courts or judicial machinery.

The most difficult problem is simply how many inspectors are needed to cover a given volume of employment. Governments are unavoidably caught between the need for economy and the requirements for adequate inspection. The difficulty arises from the almost complete lack of a quantitative measure of the inspection time needed to cover a given part of the field adequately. Numbers of workers, numbers of workplaces, complexity of technical problems and travelling distances are all factors, but it is hard to combine these into a comprehensive formula. The fact that each workplace can be visited regularly (say once a year) is, in itself, no guarantee of effective inspection. It is much more important to ensure proper “follow-up” of defects noted.

A useful figure for comparison is the ratio of “field inspectors” (i.e., inspectors engaged in active routine inspection) to the number of persons employed in the workplaces subject to inspection. In tables I and II an estimate of this ratio is made for a number of European inspectorates, although, for reasons indicated in the notes, these figures must be used with caution.

It will be noted that the ratio of inspectors to employed persons is higher for mines inspection than for industry or commerce; this is to be expected in view of the high technical risks in mining. What is at first sight more unexpected is the higher ratio for the inspectorates that cover commerce than for most of those that are confined to manufacturing, in spite of the higher risks in manufacturing. One possible explanation is the greater inspecting time necessary to cover a given number of workers if they are

TABLE I. COMPARISON OF INSPECTING STRENGTHS—GENERAL LABOUR INSPECTORATES ¹

Country	Field of main general inspectorate ²	Estimated employed persons in field ³ (thousands)	No. of field inspectors ⁴			No. of field inspectors per million employed persons		
			Physical conditions	Wages	Insurance safety ⁵	Physical conditions	Physical conditions and wages	Total ⁶
Great Britain . . .	M	10,000	274	200	—	27	47	—
France	MC	6,150	561	+	175	—	91	119
Netherlands . . .	MCA	1,960	193	105	—	99	161	—
Belgium	MCA	1,680	86	160	—	54	146	—
Luxembourg . . .	MC	76	9	+	—	—	118	—
Switzerland . . .	M	600	21	+	17	—	35	63
Sweden	MCA	1,390	114	—	—	82	—	—
Denmark	MCA	930	70	—	—	75	—	—
Irish Republic . .	M	150	15	+	—	—	100	—
Northern Ireland .	M	241	7	2	—	29	37	—

¹ These figures do not include locally appointed or part-time inspectors working in the same field. The most important of these are: Britain—sanitary inspectors (limited duties); Switzerland—police, cantonal and specialist inspectors; Sweden and Denmark—communal inspectors (small workplaces); Northern Ireland—Ministry of Labour "area inspectors" (small workplaces).

² M=manufacture; C=commerce; A=agriculture.

³ Figures based on census figures for salaried employees and wage earners classified by "industry" (see I.L.O. *Year Book of Labour Statistics, 1951-52*, table 4). These do not correspond accurately to the fields of the inspectorates, but form an adequate basis for comparison. The fields taken are for the main (physical conditions) inspectorates, which may differ slightly from those of wages or insurance inspectors.

⁴ By "field inspectors" is meant all inspecting officers (including field specialists) who do regular routine inspection, but not including headquarters staffs. Factory canteen advisers in Britain and boiler surveyors in Denmark are not included. The entry "+" in the "wages" column indicates that the inspectors concerned with physical conditions also do wages inspection.

⁵ Inspectors attached to the government insurance organisations.

⁶ Including inspectors attached to the government insurance organisations.

scattered throughout a large number of small workplaces. Even when allowance is made for the uncertainty of these figures, there are significant divergences between the inspecting strengths in different countries. It might be added that even those inspectorates which appear to be best staffed numerically are convinced that they are badly understaffed—but this perhaps is a chronic condition of civil servants.

One point needs emphasis. The success of a labour inspectorate in its work of enforcement is not to be measured by contraventions detected, nor by successful legal proceedings; these are merely means to an end. Its success is shown by how completely the law is in fact observed. This depends partly on the numbers and coercive powers of inspectors, but even more on their "persuasive abilities"—in the main, on how seriously their words and actions are taken by mid-level industrial management. This in turn depends on the status and qualifications of the inspectors and especially those who are engaged in active routine inspection.

TABLE II. COMPARISON OF INSPECTING STRENGTHS—MINING INSPECTORATES

Country	No. employed in field (thousands)	Field inspectors	No. of field inspectors per million employed persons
Great Britain	844	133	157
Netherlands	50	23	460
Sweden	15	8	530

Setting Standards

A great deal of labour legislation, especially that concerned with physical conditions, is unavoidably indefinite; it requires "reasonable" facilities, "safe" methods, "suitable" accommodation, and so on. The precise meanings of "reasonable", "safe" and "suitable" can only be elucidated in the light of varied practical circumstances. Legal and judicial systems vary, and the part that an executive authority can play in interpreting law varies with them. But even in countries (like Britain) where there is the strictest theoretical separation between executive and judicial functions, inspectors have a powerful practical influence in determining what are "accepted standards" ¹

One of the most important tests of a labour inspectorate is whether it can develop flexible but consistent standards of compliance and keep those standards in touch with progress in technique. The possibility of doing this depends partly on the qualifications of individual inspectors, but far more on organisation. The setting of standards is essentially a collective activity of the inspectorate as a whole; it cannot be imposed from above, nor can it be achieved by individual field inspectors acting independently of each other. Various methods are used to establish standards and to make them known to the inspecting officials. In France the main method is the circulation of administrative instructions, which is important but, by itself, inadequate. In Britain greater use is made than in most countries of the routine scrutiny of inspectors' reports by senior inspectors. In general, staff conferences play an increasing part. In Sweden and the Netherlands there are weekly staff conferences in each district, with less frequent regional or national conferences. In Switzerland, where

¹ This fact has had judicial recognition in a recent British High Court decision, *Carr v. Mercantile Produce Co. Ltd.*, 1949 (King's Bench Division, 601). The decision itself was adverse to the Factory Department, but the Lord Chief Justice made it clear that the courts, in interpreting the law, should take into account the attitude of the inspectorate.

the four federal inspection districts are administratively separate, the whole inspectorate, together with some of the insurance safety inspectors, have an annual conference. In Britain regional conferences of field inspectors and national conferences of superintending inspectors take place about three times a year.

The importance of this function suggests one matter in which enforcement by the local authority is inferior to inspection by officials of the central government. It is almost impossible for officials attached individually or in small groups to a series of separate authorities to achieve the same consistency of standards that can be achieved by a centralised department. This is less serious in the case of clear-cut requirements (such as hours of work and shop closing hours) but is vitally important in questions of health and safety, where requirements are formulated more flexibly and need to be interpreted in practice.

Unless an inspector has the backing of accepted standards, recognised and applied by all his colleagues, there is a constant tendency for enforcement to slip back to the bare minimum that can be read into the words of the law. In such circumstances inspectors will take objection to conditions only when they are so bad as to be patently and obviously contrary to the law. If that happens it is impossible to keep up the steady pressure for better conditions which is the mark of a successful inspection service.

Technical Advice

Article 3 (1) (b) of the Labour Inspection Convention states that an inspectorate should "supply technical information and advice to employers and workers concerning the most effective means of complying with the legal provisions". The case for this is sometimes thought to be self-evident, but it contains a legal and practical difficulty. In general, if a person has a legal duty to perform he has the responsibility for finding out how to do it, and there are objections to a government organ taking this responsibility from him. If inspectorates undertake too detailed an information service they may usurp or duplicate the functions of employers or encourage them to neglect the ordinary non-official sources of technical information. Inspectorates sometimes come under pressure to lay down authorised standards on things which would be better dealt with as questions of good technical and engineering practice—for example, dimensions and methods of construction of lifting equipment. It is therefore a quite difficult problem of policy to decide just how far labour inspectorates should go in handling, publishing and making available technical information, and there are wide differences in practice.

The French labour inspectorate adopts, on the whole, the more limited view of inspectors' functions. French labour inspectors are primarily legal officers qualified to explain the content of the law, and they leave to employers and others the responsibility of solving the technical problems of how to obey the law. The inspectorate publishes very little directly in the way of technical advisory material. It is interesting to note, however, that the Social Security Administration in France is now setting up an advisory service, with an inspectorate, which aims at giving very much the same technical advice on industrial health and safety as is given directly by the labour inspectorate in many countries. In addition, the semi-official National Safety Institute in Paris publishes a wide range of advisory material.

At the other extreme there has recently been a growth in several countries of government advisory services in which the element of advice very much outweighs that of compulsion. The Factory Canteen Advisory Service in Great Britain is an example. This was set up during wartime but has been retained as a regular wing of the factory inspectorate with the task of helping employers to improve the standards of catering for industrial workers. In the Netherlands the women social inspectors are giving an increasing proportion of their time to advice on personnel management, education and other subjects concerning which there are no enforceable legal standards.

In most countries labour inspectorates give a fairly wide range of advice on matters of health, safety and welfare which arise directly out of the legal provisions they enforce. To some extent this advice is made available directly to the public by the headquarters organisation of the inspectorate by means of pamphlets, placards and other literature. Several inspectorates have "museums" displaying methods of industrial health and safety, of which the pioneer is in Amsterdam. In many inspectorates where there are specialist branches (covering medical problems, electrical hazards, etc.) the headquarters office of the branch supplies information on its subject to industry, government and the public. In addition, the British factory inspectorate has developed an "intelligence service", a central agency for technical information staffed by three officers recruited from the inspectorate.

This direct distribution of advice to the public is valuable, but the main channel of technical information is inevitably through the field inspectors in the course of their routine work. How this can best be done is an important problem of organisation. It is obvious that no inspector, however well trained, can carry in his head the full range of technical advice which may be useful in the varying circumstances which he encounters during inspection. The common

practice of circulating technical periodicals to inspectors, although useful for their general education, is of limited value here. The important thing is that when a problem is encountered an inspector should know what information is available and be able to turn it up even though that information had been circulated to him much earlier. The key to this is the proper filing of technical information in local offices.

Most inspectorates are beginning to realise that technical information needs different handling from administrative instructions, which are the normal concern of government departments. Several inspectorates, including those in Britain and Denmark, are at present reorganising their subject filing system. The Swedish inspectorate adopts the universal decimal classification commonly used in libraries. This may seem cumbersome at first sight, since it is devised to cover the whole range of human knowledge, but it has the great advantage of flexibility as the interests of the inspectorate develop to cover new subjects. A question which still has to be settled is how far the filing of technical subjects can be organised from headquarters and how far it is necessary to have the skilled work of classification done at the local office, where the material has to be used. Centrally run schemes have often failed because the headquarters office has difficulty in appreciating the precise conditions under which the material is to be used. Local classification presents no great difficulties where (as in Sweden and the Netherlands) there is a fairly large staff attached to each local office. In the Netherlands, for example, one of the senior office staff (who, in Britain, would be in the "executive" grade) is responsible in each office for the filing and indexing of all incoming technical material. The problem is more difficult where, as in Britain and Denmark, there is only a small clerical staff at each local office. The handling of technical material is, however, of such central importance for efficient inspection that it should almost certainly have the attention of the district inspector even at the cost of some additional office work.

Inspectorates in smaller countries often find it difficult to carry an adequate specialist organisation for assembling technical information. These countries depend very much on the publications of the I.L.O. and of inspectorates in larger countries. An interesting development is the collaboration of the Scandinavian countries in producing safety documentation for use in all four countries.

Another important question is the best relationship between the technical advisory services of the inspectorates and non-governmental organisations working in the same field. There is close co-operation in Britain between the inspectorate and voluntary bodies like the Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents, the

Industrial Welfare Society and the British Institute of Standards, and similar relations exist in other countries.

Skilled Watchfulness

The British Factory Commission of 1833, which recommended the appointment of the first factory inspectors in Britain, said that inspectors should "report periodically to the Government for the use of the legislature". This has become a widely accepted and valued responsibility of inspectorates and was incorporated in the Labour Inspection Convention, 1947. Labour inspection involves a constant two-way process. Laws, regulations and instructions are passed down from the legislature and government to the field inspectors. At the same time information about conditions of work is passed back through the machinery of the inspectorate to the appropriate minister and to the legislature. In short, the inspectorate is not merely the hands of government making its will effective; it is also the eyes of government, continuously providing information which otherwise could be obtained only sporadically by special inquiries and commissions. Inspectors in almost all countries have come to see their work as far more than detecting contraventions of existing law. They have learnt to be alert for anything within their general range of responsibility which may affect the worker—for example, a new process or a hitherto unsuspected risk. A measure of the importance of this function is the extent to which protective labour legislation is now almost always "departmental legislation"—that is, regulations and instructions based on the experience of those responsible for enforcing the law. This has been a powerful factor in the steady development of labour legislation. Inspectors have a professional interest in perfecting the legal "tools" which they handle, and in keeping these tools adapted to the changing conditions of industry.

This indicates another disadvantage in delegating labour inspection to local government authorities. This "passing back" of information can take place readily only if an inspectorate is attached to the same government authority (central, provincial or local) as that which makes the law which that inspectorate enforces. This is not, in itself, an argument for centralisation; there may be a good case for local autonomy in some matters of labour legislation. It is, however, a very strong argument against a combination of centralised legislation and locally based inspection for enforcing that legislation.

The "watchfulness" of labour inspectors is not confined to matters which may require legislative action; it is an attitude which should permeate all their work. The adjective "skilled" is

used advisedly, since their most distinctive skill is the ability to adopt this attitude. This skill has no simple equivalent in other walks of life, and is often misunderstood. An ordinary non-specialist inspector, in the course of his work, comes into contact with a very wide range of occupations and processes; he frequently meets potential risks which fall outside the range of his first-hand knowledge. He needs to be able to recognise a risk or a matter needing attention, even though he has never met it before, to know where to obtain further information about it and at what point to call in specialist advice. Perhaps the best analogy, although it is only an analogy, for this skill is that of a general medical practitioner—it is, in effect, a kind of “diagnostic” skill.

Most general inspectorates are concerned with physical conditions, duration of employment and, in some cases, wage rates. Inspectors have therefore to be alert for a very wide range of matters. These include highly technical matters (e.g., unsuspected chemical, electrical and mechanical hazards) and also risks of exploitation or hardship arising out of the social and economic structure of industry. The idea that an engineering graduate with a knowledge of the law is automatically a skilled inspector is very far from the truth.

THE EXTENSION OF LABOUR INSPECTION

The two main extensions of labour inspection from manufacture and mining have been to cover commerce (shops and offices) and agriculture. Of these commerce has perhaps proved the harder to cover, owing to the difficulty of organising efficient inspection of a very large number of small workplaces. In some countries (e.g., France, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands) the main labour inspectorates are responsible for shops along with factories, but inspectors have often found it difficult to keep up adequate routine inspection. In some cases no lists of shops are kept, and visiting seems to be mainly on complaint. In Luxembourg, where full figures are published, the statistics for 1950 showed that, although almost all factories except the smallest were visited within the year, only 4 per cent. of shops and 5½ per cent. of hotels and cafés were visited in the same period.

In some countries (e.g., in Britain, Denmark and Sweden) an attempt has been made to solve this problem by delegating inspection duties to local authorities. The methods adopted vary. In Britain there is a complete separation between factories and shops, which are subject to different bodies of law. The factory inspectorate covers all places, large and small, where manufacture is done, and the local authorities are responsible for all shops.

In Denmark and Sweden the separation is less complete. In general the same law applies to both, and the division of duties is decided administratively. The labour inspectors visit large workplaces, including large shops, and those with mechanical hazards; the locally appointed “commune inspectors” visit small factories as well as shops. The labour inspectors have some supervision over the work of the commune inspectors.

It has already been noted that, while local authority inspection may be a useful enforcement device for certain types of legal provision (like shop closing hours), it falls short of providing a full labour inspection service in two respects: it lacks the means for developing coherent standards and it lacks simple machinery for passing information back to the appropriate legislature. This is not due to incompetence on the part of local officials; it is simply a matter of organisation. The main advantage of local enforcement is that, in certain circumstances, it may economise manpower. This is possible only if labour inspection can be done part-time, along with other work. Clearly a full-time locally appointed inspectorate is not, in itself, any cheaper than one centrally appointed; indeed it may be less efficient as a result of limitations imposed by administrative boundaries. The real economy occurs only when local authority officials can check labour conditions at the same time as they visit workplaces for some other purpose and thereby can save actual inspecting time. The inspection of shops for purposes of labour legislation is often combined (e.g., in parts of Britain and Sweden) with the enforcement of public health laws and especially those governing cleanliness of food; this is all the easier because the majority of shops are, in fact, food shops. The need for economy in manpower is so great that this argument is a powerful and perhaps even a determining one. It is important to note, however, that although local authority inspection may be an economy, it may also mask a hidden waste of manpower. The cost of a full-time inspectorate attached to the central government is obvious and readily measured. An equivalent expenditure of “man-hours” may be spread over a number of local authorities almost unobserved, but the resultant drain on the national resources is the same. Local authority enforcement may at times be merely an attempt to economise national at the expense of local taxation.

Labour inspection in agriculture has been more straightforward. In France and Britain inspection is so far mainly confined to wages and is undertaken in each country by an inspectorate attached to the Ministry of Agriculture. In many other countries, including the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries, inspection covers mechanical and chemical risks and other physical

conditions in agriculture. It has usually been found desirable for farms to be visited by inspectors with an agricultural background, specially appointed for this purpose; they are better able to understand the farmer's problems and "to speak his language". These inspectors, however, form part of the general labour inspectorate, and this arrangement has very clear advantages. Firstly, a great deal of inspection and travelling time is saved. There are in rural areas many manufacturing processes (e.g., in grist mills and dairies) of a semi-agricultural nature, which can readily be visited by the agricultural inspectors by arrangement with the labour inspectorate. Secondly, the principles of mechanical and chemical safety are much the same in agriculture and industry, so that agricultural inspectors can usefully exchange experience with their industrial colleagues, and this is much more easily done within a single inspectorate. Thirdly, the design of new machinery is a very important factor in agricultural safety. The headquarters of most labour inspectorates are accustomed to discuss design with machine makers and can discuss agricultural machinery at the same time.

In addition to trying to cover these large sectors of commerce and agriculture, many countries are now exploring the problem of bringing other groups within the scope of regular labour inspection. These include land transport workers, the entertainment industry, workers on river and canal craft and many smaller groups too varied for general discussion.

THE GENERAL ORGANISATION OF INSPECTION

It has been noted that the term "labour inspection" has an unfamiliar ring in Great Britain, and that this springs from a difference in history and organisation compared with most other countries in western Europe. British protective labour legislation consists of a series of completely separate Acts of Parliament, each covering a sharply defined and limited field (factories, mines, quarries, shops, etc.) and each administered (with very minor exceptions) by a separate inspectorate. In contrast, in many European countries the legislation tends to be codified; it is more inclusive in character and often covers a large part of the employed population. It is usually administered by a general "labour inspectorate" covering manufacture, building work, commerce and often agriculture and quarrying. In most of the larger countries, mines inspection is separate and attached to a separate ministry, but in the smaller countries (e.g. Luxembourg and the Irish Republic) it may be merged with the main labour inspectorate. Occasion-

ally the labour code is enforced in some other branches of employment (e.g., transport) by separate inspectorates.

The most systematic unification of labour inspection is in Sweden, and dates from 1949. In this system there are a series of inspecting "wings"—specialist services for mining, forestry, transport, etc., and a general labour inspectorate for manufacture, commerce and agriculture. These all form part of a single administration (the Swedish Workers' Protection Service) under the control of a Director-General.

Unification of the Swedish type has three practical advantages. Firstly, the specialist branches (medical, electrical, etc.) can be shared between the various inspecting wings (mining, forestry, general labour, etc.), whereas in the British system each inspectorate has to carry its own specialist branches. Thus, there is in Britain no administrative connection, even at headquarters level, between the electrical inspectors of factories and the electrical inspectors of mines, or between the corresponding medical inspectors, although these officials have wide common technical interests. This does not prevent practical collaboration (like that of the British factory inspectorate in the Mines Department testing station at Buxton) but it makes for more complications, as two ministries are involved.

Secondly, a unified inspectorate reduces "boundary problems". A surprising amount of employment takes place on or near the boundaries between mining, manufacture, retailing and agriculture. Thus manufacture, retailing and office work are sometimes done by the same persons and often in the same workrooms; workers from each share the same equipment, (e.g., lifts, washrooms and canteens). It is increasingly hard, especially with mechanisation, to draw a clear line between farm work, initial processing and manufacture of agricultural products. If retailing, agriculture and manufacture are subject to different legal standards and inspected by different officials, patent anomalies and gaps easily arise; time is wasted on boundary discussion. These things can be settled far more easily by administrative decision within a more comprehensive inspectorate.

Finally, a unified inspection system provides a focus within the machinery of government for all matters bearing on working conditions or on occupational health and safety, wherever these may arise. The Director-General of Labour in the Netherlands or the Director-General of the Swedish Workers' Protection Service are both clearly in this position. The chief inspectors of factories or of mines in Britain are, in strictness, solely concerned with conditions in workplaces coming within the scope of the Factories Acts or the Mines and Quarries Acts, respectively. There is no single centre

of responsibility in the British Government structure for the conditions of other employed persons. This was made plain in the report of the recent Gowers Committee of Inquiry into health welfare and safety in non-industrial employment.¹

On the other hand, there are undoubted advantages in a government department closely concerned with a particular sector of economic life taking responsibility for labour conditions in that sector, of which it is likely to have more knowledge of the technical problems and conditions. Inconsistencies between labour policy and other sides of economic policy may be avoided, and it may be possible to save inspecting manpower by combining duties (although this perhaps is less likely).

It must also be remembered that although unification reduces boundary problems, it does not eliminate them. There is still the question of what is the proper scope of government regulation of working conditions. How far, for example, should peasant agriculture or domestic work be subject to labour law, and therefore to inspection?

One of the few discussions, from the theoretical end, of this question of the unification of labour inspection as a whole is contained in the report of the Haldane Committee on the machinery of government, published in Britain in 1918.² It is of interest that this British committee proposed a system of labour inspection almost identical with that now existing in Sweden, but quite unlike that in Britain.

In most countries the main labour inspectorate is attached to the Ministry of Labour or its equivalent, but has relative independence. For example, in Denmark the Directorate of Labour and Factory Inspection is responsible to the minister, but independent of the rest of the ministry; in Sweden the Workers' Protection Service has a semi-independent status; in Britain the factory inspectorate forms a separate organisation, although the wages inspectorate is more closely linked with the industrial relations side of the ministry. One outstanding exception is France, where labour inspection is closely integrated with the rest of the Ministry of Labour. Work in each administrative area (*département*) is controlled by a "departmental director", who is recruited from the inspectorate and possesses inspector's powers; he is, however, in charge of employment exchanges, manpower services and industrial relations as well as labour inspection in his area. This organisation has its difficulties; it can throw on to officials a very wide and diffuse range of responsibilities and can raise

¹ Cmd. 7664 of 1949.

² Cmd. 9230 of 1918; see especially Part II, Chapter VI.

questions of incompatibility of function.¹ On the other hand it also has substantial advantages. When any new or unexpected problem arises which affects labour in any way, the departmental director has undoubted responsibility for dealing with it locally; he has, as much as anyone can have, official access to all the relevant facts. In this way some problems can be handled directly which in other forms of organisation are apt to hang awkwardly between departments or to go by default.

Another problem which is emerging as governments or government-sponsored bodies take over insurance functions is the relation between the accident prevention work of the labour inspectorates and the insurance of industrial workers. In France and Switzerland safety inspection is divided between the ordinary labour inspectorates and special safety inspectorates attached to the insurance organisations. The origin of this arrangement is easy to understand. Reduction of accidents results in direct financial savings for insurance undertakings, so that they are ready to spend money on it, whereas the corresponding saving resulting from the work of the ordinary labour inspectorates is less obvious. If the insurance undertaking fixes contribution rates on the basis of risk, the insurance inspectors can use the offer of a decrease or the threat of an increase in rates to persuade employers to adopt safe methods—a sanction which is often more powerful than legal action.

This arrangement breaks the work of accident prevention in two, and it is not easy to work out a practical division of duties between the two inspectorates. One important difficulty is that only one inspectorate can do the routine investigation of accidents (at present, the labour inspectorate in France and the insurance inspectorate in Switzerland). Yet it is only by the constant practical investigation of accidents that a field inspector can build up the fund of experience necessary for the intelligent enforcement of safety provisions; an inspector who lacks this experience is largely "working blind" in matters of safety. One solution, of course, would be to hand safety inspection entirely to the insurance inspectors, but so far these do not appear numerous enough to undertake routine safety inspection of the smaller workplaces. An interesting development on different lines is the arrangement in the Netherlands whereby the insurance organisation gives annually to the labour inspectorate a sum of money which can be used more freely than ordinary departmental funds for research and experiment.

¹ It may be recalled that Paragraph 8 of the I.L.O. Labour Inspection Recommendation, 1947, provides that "the functions of labour inspectors should not include that of acting as conciliator or arbitrator in proceedings concerning labour disputes".

One of the most difficult problems of organisation, which is still far from a solution in most countries, is the relation between the work of the labour inspectorates concerned with occupational hygiene and the general medical and public health services of the country. This is too complex a problem for detailed discussion here. Most inspectorates have specialist medical inspectors—that is, inspectors who are fully qualified medical practitioners. The widespread difficulty of recruiting these inspectors is, perhaps, a symptom of problems yet to be solved. An interesting experiment has been made in Denmark, where the inspectorate has a small diagnostic clinic attached to the Rigshospital in Copenhagen. Attached to this clinic are seven doctors, who combine consultant work in the hospital, research, lecturing in the medical school of the university and active medical inspection of workplaces. Possibly this combination of medical inspection with other medical work may point to a solution of this problem.

INSPECTION AND SPECIALISATION

Of even greater importance than the problem of the general organisation of inspectorates is the problem of the use of specialist knowledge at the local level for purposes of inspection. As has been mentioned, ordinary inspection requires the use of a wide range of knowledge and what has been called "diagnostic" skill. Sometimes an attempt is made to tackle this problem by specialisation in inspection either by field or function.

Specialisation by field often takes place relatively informally—one inspector in a district will concentrate on building operations, dock work or some particular trade. Specialisation of this type raises no serious problems, but may waste time in travel if carried too far in rural areas. It is easier in those inspectorates where there is a fairly large team of inspectors in each district (as in the Netherlands), than in countries (such as Britain or Denmark) where districts are smaller.

Specialisation by function, on the other hand, raises more problems, since it involves more than one inspector visiting the same workplace. In many countries wages inspection is completely separate from the inspection of physical conditions. There is good ground for this separation, except perhaps in very thinly-populated areas, since the techniques of inspection for these two purposes are quite different.

Specialisation has sometimes been taken further, as in Belgium, where there are separate and largely independent medical, technical and social inspectorates, and a chemical inspectorate is being established. This arrangement has obvious advantages. It prevents

one aspect of the work (e.g., accident prevention) from crowding out other aspects, and enables each of the specialised functions to be in the hands of inspectors with appropriate qualifications. The good progress in Belgium on factory amenities (washing facilities, clothing accommodation and mess-rooms) is almost certainly due to this specialisation.

There are, however, difficulties. Firstly, there is a danger that things falling on the boundaries between the areas of the different specialists may be missed. Secondly, inspectors may overlap in their work, and give apparently inconsistent advice. Many problems (e.g., risks from fumes or dust) require a co-ordination of medical, chemical and engineering knowledge, and complete specialisation makes this difficult. Thirdly, and perhaps the most important, it is difficult for a specialised inspectorate to provide an adequate system of inspection in the smaller workplaces without waste of skilled manpower. It is sometimes suggested that specialists need only visit the places where their concerns are likely to be important. This suggestion ignores the fact that inspectors have not only to remedy risks but also to find them. Chemical risks, for example, are not confined to "chemical works" in the ordinary sense; indeed, the managements of large chemical factories are usually well aware of these risks and qualified to prevent them. More serious risks may arise from apparently innocuous processes in a small factory, perhaps in a remote village. There is little likelihood of a chemical specialist visiting such a works on his own initiative; yet if the inspector who actually visits small workplaces has no responsibility for such risks in the larger works, he is unlikely to detect them in the smaller places.

The Belgian organisation, therefore, is a valuable experiment which will be watched with interest by other countries. The most likely line of development, however, especially in the less densely-populated countries, is the establishment of a staff of general branches (e.g., medical, electrical and chemical) upon whom inspectors can call. The British factories and mines inspectorates are well established examples of this form of organisation and the inspectorates in the Netherlands and Sweden have developed a similar structure. This organisation, if it is to be fully successful, requires a delicate balance of responsibility and confidence between the specialists and the general inspectors. It will fail if the general inspector tries to be a "jack of all trades" and ignores the specialists, or if he hands all technical problems blindly to them; it will fail, too, if the specialists do their work out of touch with the general inspectors.

One of the most fundamental questions of labour inspection, therefore, is what are the best qualifications for inspectors, and

this is a much more difficult question in relation to general inspectors than to specialists who are applying a recognised body of professional knowledge. In France inspectors are mainly, but not exclusively, graduates in law—in other words, they have similar qualifications to other graduate members of the French Civil Service. In most other European countries the higher ranks of the inspectorate are the preserve of graduates in engineering or applied science. Many of these inspectorates have a lower non-graduate grade which has little or no prospect of promotion to the higher ranks. The British factory inspectorate is unusual in that it is, by deliberate design, a "mixed" inspectorate, recruited mainly, but not exclusively, from university graduates in science. Among the inspectors are graduates in the arts and social sciences and non-graduates, some of whom have worked at the bench or, in a few instances, held trade union office before appointment. The inspectorate, however, forms a single professional group and is not graded according to educational qualifications; at one time there was such a grading but this was discontinued some years ago. Most British inspectors have had some outside experience, usually industrial, between finishing their education and entering the inspectorate; in contrast, the graduate members of some European inspectorates are mainly recruited direct from college.

In assessing the advantages of these and other qualifications the conditions for successful inspection which were discussed earlier must be borne in mind. A field inspector needs to have a status which enables him to maintain his authority with management. He needs to be able to deal intelligently with a great variety of technical matters, on most of which he cannot be a specialist. He needs a keen understanding of the personal and social situation of employed persons. He must be able "to handle papers", in the administrative sense, as well as technicalities. These qualifications do not fit any simple professional pattern, and the variety of practice is understandable.

The above are only a few of the problems which are emerging today. It is clear that there is no "pure theory" of labour inspection which is independent of circumstances. Methods have to take account of the economic condition of a country, its structure of government, its educational resources, and many other factors. Both the differences and the similarities of practice suggest many ways in which different countries may fruitfully learn from each other in this important branch of government action.

The Work of the I.A.E.S.T.E.

by

J. NEWBY

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A recent article in the Review drew attention to the increasing importance attached by governments to the provision of facilities for student employment abroad and the activities of the International Labour Organisation in this connection.¹ Among the examples of international arrangements made for the exchange of students within particular industries or occupations was mentioned the work of the I.A.E.S.T.E. (International Association for the Exchange of Students for Technical Experience).

In the following article Mr. J. Newby, General Secretary of the I.A.E.S.T.E., describes the aims and the work of the Association and the progress it has made since it was founded in 1948.

"Travel, in the younger sort,
is a part of Education."

FRANCIS BACON.

INCREASED productivity depends partly on technical improvements, but it also owes a great deal to the personal and intellectual qualities of those who are required to make use of the technical advances.

There has been much discussion in recent years in industrial and academic circles on the preparation of undergraduates for industry, and during nearly 40 years' experience in working with and for undergraduate students of science and technology I have observed many fundamental changes in their preparation for careers in these fields.

One of these changes is the effort now made in many universities to provide some form of extra curricula for the more liberal

¹ "Student Employment Abroad", *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXVI, No. 2, Aug. 1952, p. 142.

education of the undergraduate to counteract the high degree of specialisation which the twentieth century has imposed upon those studying at the universities.

In science and technology the need for the student to absorb the technical and theoretical knowledge required by those studying for the various professions has caused many of them to by-pass all other subjects, and this has resulted in an underdevelopment of those faculties for critical appreciation and integration of complex problems which are yet so essential for those who will be called upon to take responsible posts in industry or indeed in any other walk of life.

Sir Ewart Smith (Imperial Chemical Industries Limited), speaking on "What qualities does industry require in the university graduate, and what is his role in industry?", said in October 1952:

Productive industry is faced with two major problems of management: that of applying promptly the best available knowledge to all phases of its work, and that commonly referred to as "human relations". Industry thus looks to the universities for men who have some understanding of the wider aspects of life than can be gathered from the mental discipline of their own particular subject. It believes that those on the scientific side should have some appreciation of the humanities.¹

Many schemes have been devised internationally for the special purpose of broadening the education of young students by means of international travel, and I think it can fairly be said that one of the most successful of these in recent times has been the work of I.A.E.S.T.E. (the International Association for the Exchange of Students for Technical Experience). I shall endeavour to show later how I feel I.A.E.S.T.E. has helped to provide the human material for greater productivity, but I feel it would be helpful to start by giving a few facts about our Association and the way in which it works.

The Association was founded at a conference held at the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London in January 1948. In 1952 it was made up of 17 member countries (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Iceland, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United States and Yugoslavia). Canada has also joined for 1953. Between 1948 and 1952 more than 9,750 students were sent abroad under the sponsorship of the Association.

The Association has from its commencement followed a policy of complete independence. It is not affiliated to any other organi-

¹ FEDERATION OF BRITISH INDUSTRIES: *Report of the Universities and Industry Conference, 1952.*

sation. It is absolutely non-political. An examination of its member countries will reveal that among them are many with diverse political points of view. On the other hand, of course, although I.A.E.S.T.E. is an independent and non-governmental organisation, it could not have made such rapid progress without the moral support of the Governments of the 17 countries concerned. Many Governments have supported I.A.E.S.T.E. by granting special facilities to students taking part (assistance with travelling expenses, tax exemption, free visas, etc.). This is a clear enough indication that it is the social policy of many enlightened countries to encourage in every way the exchange of young people with a view to enabling them to broaden their outlook from the social, economic, cultural and professional points of view and to develop in them a spirit of international understanding.

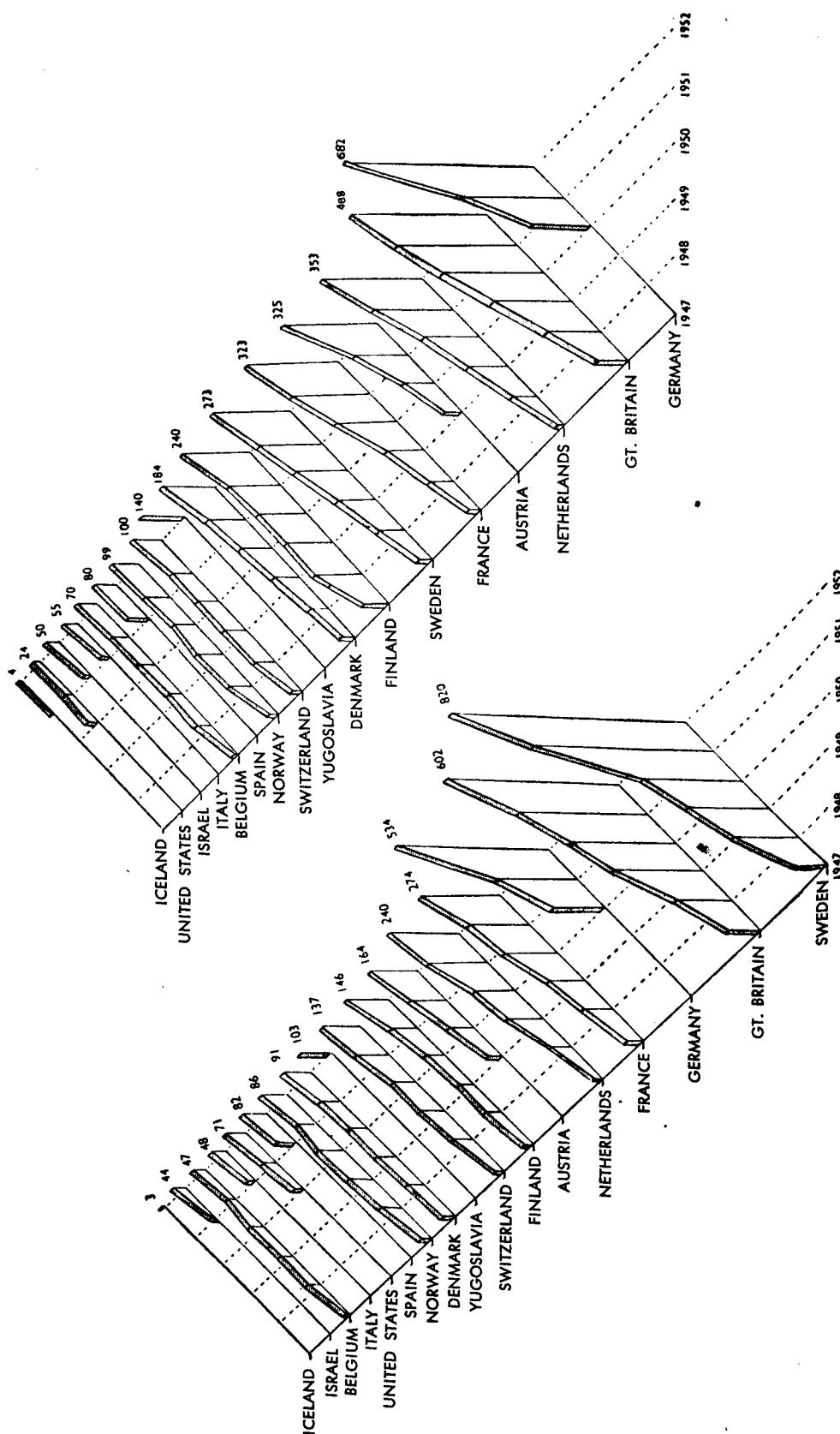
In 1950, only two years after its foundation, I.A.E.S.T.E. was recognised as an international organisation having consultative status with U.N.E.S.C.O. and the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

The administration of I.A.E.S.T.E. has been kept to the absolute minimum. At the international level the domicile of the general secretary is, according to the statutes, the headquarters of the Association, and he and two elected delegates from other member countries (in 1952, Sweden and Switzerland) form the advisory committee. The general secretary is responsible for carrying on the day-to-day work of the Association in an honorary capacity and he co-ordinates the work, as far as possible, of the national committees of all member countries. Therefore, at this level, the Association has no employees.

The expenses at the international level are subscribed annually by member countries according to the number of students sent abroad each year. The income from this source in 1952, when 3,493 students were exchanged, was approximately £600, from which was met the cost of printing 4,250 copies of the fifth annual report of the Association for supply and distribution in all member countries.

As the exchanges are made on a basis of reciprocity, the extent to which a member country can benefit from the activities of I.A.E.S.T.E. is determined by the amount of energy its national committee is prepared to put into the project by way of the reception of overseas students.

All new member countries applying for admission to the Association are required to set up central national committees representing the academic, industrial and students' spheres of interest. Each member country is responsible for its own economy. The method of providing the necessary finance varies. In some coun-



tries it is provided by a government department, in others by industry, or by national agreement between the universities taking part. It is usual for students to pay a registration fee and meet all the necessary travelling expenses.

In practical terms, I.A.E.S.T.E.'s work consists in sending students from universities or other institutions of higher education to work for a period of two to three months during the summer vacation in the industries of countries belonging to the Association. The table below shows the subjects studied by students sent abroad in 1952.

The aim of the Association is to find the best type of training abroad for students of the various faculties with which it is concerned. This is achieved by obtaining from industries as much information as possible relating to the training available for overseas students of a particular faculty. These offers are then documented and exchanged as far as possible for an equal number of places available in other member countries, the latter being distributed to the universities participating in each country. An effort is made to nominate a suitable student for each place available, and after his nomination has been accepted by the company abroad arrangements are made by the national committees of I.A.E.S.T.E. for labour permits, lodgings, etc.

There can be no doubt that from the strictly technical point of view the student of any nationality will be able to obtain the best practical experience to suit his needs in his own country, but it is suggested that if it is possible to place him in industry abroad for a period of eight weeks during the penultimate year of his university course the added advantage of becoming acquainted with practices and techniques that are new to him while working as well as living and perhaps playing with the people of other nations, is a very excellent counterbalance to any discrepancy there may be between practical experience obtained at home and that obtained abroad. Moreover, the opportunities provided for the majority of these young students will, in all probability, occur only once in a lifetime and cannot in any sense be compared with experience to be obtained by travelling abroad as an ordinary tourist.

The organising committees try to ensure that the student does not go unprepared to his experience abroad. One of the conditions imposed is that the student must already have been through a period of practical experience in his own country and, since the arrangements are all made well in advance, the students have an opportunity to improve their knowledge of the language of the country they will visit. This preparation, added to the fact that the student is going to obtain experience in his own field of study, means that he is usually able to adjust himself

SUBJECTS STUDIED BY STUDENTS SENT ABROAD BY

Subject	Austria	Belgium	Denmark	Finland	France	Germany	Great Britain	Iceland	Israel
Aeronautics	—	—	—	1	6	—	11	—	—
Agriculture	—	—	—	—	9	41	—	—	1
Architecture	4	—	—	6	2	12	3	—	—
Brewing	7	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—
Chemical engineering	21	—	24	42	22	30	38	—	7
Chemistry	15	—	—	23	20	47	62	—	—
Civil engineering	23	—	35	11	35	45	78	—	5
Commerce	9	—	2	—	20	13	40	—	—
Electrical engineering	37	—	40	32	58	74	61	—	10
Forestry	—	—	—	—	—	18	—	—	—
Geodesy	2	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	—
Geology	—	—	—	2	2	9	1	—	—
Horticulture	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—
Mathematics	2	—	—	—	—	13	—	—	—
Mechanical engineering	75	—	79	67	89	166	94	2	25
Metallurgy	48	—	—	8	22	71	7	—	—
Mining	49	—	—	2	16	85	47	—	—
Naval engineering, shipb'ld'g	3	—	4	9	4	13	5	—	1
Oil technology	1	—	—	3	7	—	5	—	—
Physics	14	—	—	10	—	9	26	—	—
Printing	3	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Textile engineering	6	—	—	5	3	15	6	—	—
Wood technology, papermak- ing	6	—	—	19	7	10	—	—	1
Not stated	—	70	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
Totals	325	70	184	240	326	682	488	4	50

quickly to his new surroundings—an important factor in a visit limited to two months. He is thus better able to appreciate not only the different processes and techniques employed but also—and much more important—the different intellectual approach to various problems. And in the more general aspects of his experience, by working alongside the ordinary employees of the factory and firm and by sharing many of their leisure-hour occupations, he obtains a much more intimate and detailed impression of the country and its people than he would as a mere tourist.

I think I cannot do better than quote from one of the reports which the students provide at the end of their experience. A British student who went to Iceland for practical experience during the summer of 1952 wrote—

... I am of the opinion that a student who goes overseas to work does not acquire a skill in the smaller technical details of the job he works on,

PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES, SUMMER VACATION 1952

Italy	Netherlands	Norway	Spain	Sweden	Switzerland	United States	Yugoslavia	Totals	Subject
—	12	—	19	5	—	—	—	54	Aeronautics
—	3	—	—	—	1	—	15	70	Agriculture
—	3	4	—	18	1	—	—	53	Architecture
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	Brewing
—	51	13	7	35	22	—	—	312	Chemical engineering
3	3	—	—	3	—	1	4	181	Chemistry
8	44	2	15	39	15	1	8	364	Civil engineering
—	—	19	—	16	—	1	—	120	Commerce
15	52	19	5	48	27	1	30	509	Electrical engineering
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	28	Forestry
—	4	—	—	6	—	—	—	23	Geodesy
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	Geology
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	Horticulture
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	Mathematics
25	131	19	12	61	31	—	21	897	Mechanical engineering
—	—	8	2	8	—	1	15	190	Metallurgy
2	19	5	11	9	—	—	31	276	Mining
2	22	1	6	11	—	—	5	86	Naval engineering, shipb'ld'g
—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	18	Oil technology
—	9	2	—	10	2	—	1	83	Physics
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	Printing
—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	37	Textile engineering
—	—	5	3	3	—	—	—	54	Wood technology, papermak- ing
—	—	—	—	—	—	19	—	91	Not stated
55	353	99	80	273	100	24	140	3,493	Totals

and that this should not be his aim, for he could do this much more efficiently with a firm in this country; rather, he benefits from acquiring a general appreciation of broad methods which he can compare with those in this country and in assessing the relative value of the reasons, whether economic, political, etc., underlying the methods employed. In many respects I think that the time spent off the job may be as educatively employed as the time spent on the job. A certain amount of enterprise is required of the student in order that he may obtain full benefit from his period spent in a foreign land.

Thus, it will be seen that a student sent from a highly industrialised country to a small and non-industrial country was able to obtain in his own opinion much from the experience arranged for him under the sponsorship of I.A.E.S.T.E.

Before leaving this question of the experience as seen from the point of view of the student, I should like to say a word about

the evaluation we try to make of the functioning of I.A.E.S.T.E. in order to pick out both our strengths and our weaknesses.

Those of us who are in close contact with the students of today are well aware how critical these young men and women can be, so it will be appreciated that a general evaluation of the reports made by more than 2,500 students over a period of four years must present a fairly accurate picture of the work of I.A.E.S.T.E. from the students' point of view.

Students who have been sent abroad are asked to criticise, under various headings, the arrangements made for them. The reports of 1,141 students who had been received by one country from 16 other countries in various numbers over the past four years contained, under the different headings, the following percentages of comments expressing satisfaction: journey, 97; reception, 97; language, 86; lodging accommodation, 92; firms' facilities for training, 92; relations with workers, 100; social and cultural, 73; general organisation, 97. The corresponding percentages in the reports of 1,370 students sent by the same country to 16 other countries in varying numbers over the past four years were as follows: journey, 72; reception, 88; language, 87; lodging accommodation, 95; firms' facilities for training, 93; relations with workers, 100; social and cultural, 94; general organisation, 82.

It is very gratifying to note that this exchange of students has been well supported by the trade unions in member countries. No instances have been reported of unions taking exception to the reception of these students by industry. On the contrary, as appears from the figures quoted above, more than 2,500 students found that their relations with the workers were entirely satisfactory. Many workers invited the students to their homes and often carried on correspondence after their return to their home country.

An indication of the value placed upon the activities of I.A.E.S.T.E. in the academic field is the fact that 196 institutions of higher education in 17 countries are taking part in the exchanges made by the Association.

So far I have made no mention of the most vital element in our exchange, the 1,440 industrial concerns in 17 countries without whose support we could not operate and who have been willing to receive students and pay them sufficient to meet their cost-of-living expenses during the period of training in the country visited at a cost to themselves of more than £161,000 in 1952.

In a foreword to the I.A.E.S.T.E. report to U.N.E.S.C.O. of 1949 Sir Roderick Hill, K.C.B., M.C., A.F.C., Rector of the Imperial College, stated:

International co-operation in the academic sphere has been fully matched by the international co-operation of industrial concerns. Their participation in the scheme has been both generous and enlightened: while standing to gain comparatively little material benefit they have provided visiting students with splendid opportunities for broadening their experience both as technicians and as citizens.

I recollect that when in 1937 an effort was made to promote this type of exchange of students, the response from industry was apathetic but on a revival in 1946 there seemed to be a complete change of outlook on the part of industry in general, with the results mentioned above. How do we account for this change? Is it due to the general interest in internationalism which became evident after the end of the last war, or does it also suggest the need and indicate a desire on the part of industry in all countries to assist in the broadening of the general education of their possible future employees by encouraging their general development by means of international travel, social contacts and also, in many cases, the opportunity of improving their knowledge of languages?

It is certainly to a large extent from motives of international goodwill that firms are willing to accept foreign students for practical experience, but I think there is no doubt at all that the firms concerned appreciate the intellectual and professional value to the student of the experience obtained and that they often accept a foreign student because this will provide a place abroad for one of their own nationals—who may, after all, later join the firm concerned. This point of view is borne out by my personal experience of the work in Great Britain and I should like here to quote an incident in support of this statement.

In the early days of the I.A.E.S.T.E. one large group of companies was repeatedly asked for three years for its co-operation in the reception of overseas students for practical experience under I.A.E.S.T.E. but each year failed to participate in our programme. One year later I met representatives of the company during their annual visit to the Imperial College of Science and Technology and was informed by the leader that they had been visiting many universities in Great Britain interviewing students for employment. They stated that they had been agreeably surprised to find that more than 85 per cent. of the technical students interviewed had already had experience abroad under I.A.E.S.T.E. and these students had discussed with them their experiences. Some of the students had obtained practical experience which it was not possible for them to get in Britain. The company was therefore prepared in future to receive six to eight overseas students each year.

A similar opinion was expressed recently at a meeting held at the French Institute in London and attended by representatives

of industrial and commercial firms. One of those present, a representative of the General Electric company, which has accepted overseas students under I.A.E.S.T.E. for several years, said—

It has become an established practice in the engineering faculties of universities in this country to encourage engineering students to spend two months of their long vacation in industry in order to obtain practical experience in the application of the theoretical knowledge that they have gained at the university. Whilst this system has many advantages to commend it, it has at the same time a disadvantage in that the majority of the student's vacation is spent in works in this country and his general education lacks the broadening influence that is to be obtained by travelling in a foreign land. As my company engages something like 150 graduates each year, we are naturally very interested that these graduates should receive the best education possible and we, therefore, co-operate by allowing foreign students into our works so that our own British university students can be placed in works overseas.

It seems, therefore, that the broad educational value of I.A.E.S.T.E.'s activities is recognised equally at the student, academic and industrial level, and one result of this broader education will be to provide industry with an improved human potential for greater productivity.

Besides the training value to the students themselves certain other effects of the exchanges are worthy of note. One is the stimulating effect of the presence of a student from a foreign country in the workshops and offices in which he is placed. Furthermore, slight though it is, there is another indirect result of exchange programmes such as that of the I.A.E.S.T.E. to which I feel I should draw attention. Visits by students from abroad may ultimately result, in certain cases, in new markets for the products of the firm that receives them. Conversely, the knowledge acquired and the contacts established in the course of a study period abroad may serve the commercial interests of the firms who employ the students after their return home. I need hardly add that influence of this kind can only be quantitatively on a relatively small scale, but since we can assume that some, at least, of the young men concerned will eventually go into responsible posts in industry it can, from a qualitative point of view, be of importance. As the work of the Association spreads and, in particular, as countries which are less developed industrially come into the scheme, this factor will, I think, turn out to be not inconsiderable.

Before summing up I should like to add that in organising this exchange of students I have often found a real interest in some industries for similar facilities to be made available for apprentices and other young workers; unofficially it has been possible to introduce these companies to others abroad, and direct exchanges have been made. It is suggested that much more could be done

in this field and if needed the experience of I.A.E.S.T.E. and its documentation, which could easily be adapted to cover almost any form of industrial exchange of persons, could readily be made available to those concerned.

As I stated at the beginning of this article, increased productivity—which is at present one of the dominant preoccupations among those interested in the development of the economy—depends not only on technological progress but also, and in a large measure, on the human factor. A programme such as that of I.A.E.S.T.E., even if it has no direct and immediate effect in increasing production, can nevertheless exercise a considerable indirect influence in industry. The young man who has made good use of the experience offered will have developed his critical faculties in observing abroad new technical methods and new intellectual methods of approach to various problems, methods which, though different from those used in his own country, nevertheless give results. He will have mixed with people having standards of values—economic, cultural or moral—different from his own and yet with whom he has lived and worked amicably. What better training could there be for that state of receptivity to new ideas without which there can be no real progress? Increased ability to view and to group into efficient patterns the components of that complex organisation, a modern industrial concern; the wider human understanding so vital to the solution of those problems of human relations in industry the neglect of which can vitiate any technical advances—these, I think, are the main fruits of practical experience abroad such as that provided by I.A.E.S.T.E.

May I end by referring to the authority whom I invoked at the beginning of my article and whose views on the subject of experience abroad often sound like a paraphrase of the resolutions passed from time to time at our annual conference. Having advised the prospective traveller how best to profit intellectually and morally by his visit abroad, Bacon ends:

When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the Countries, where he hath travelled, altogether behind him, but maintain a Correspondence, by letters, with those of his Acquaintance which are of most Worth. And let his Travel appear rather in his Discourse than in his Apparel or Gesture; And in his Discourse, let him be rather advised in his Answers than forwards to tell Stories; And let it appear that he doth not change his Country Manners for those of Foreign Parts; But only prick in some Flowers, of that he hath learned abroad, into the Customs of his own Country.¹

¹ Francis BACON: "Of Travel", in *Essays*.

REPORTS AND INQUIRIES

The Training of North African Metal Workers in France

The French Union of Metallurgical and Mining Industries has recently issued a study of the problems raised by the employment of North Africans in metal works. The chief problems are concerned with the observance of safety rules, hygiene and training.

In the following pages are reproduced the parts of the study concerned with training—data concerning the degree of skill acquired by North African workers, based on an investigation in a number of undertakings, and some conclusions concerning the conditions necessary to facilitate quicker promotion for these workers. The first experimental attempts to make up for the lack of basic education among North African workers and to prepare them for employment provide the material for a series of general observations on the curricula and organisation of vocational training for North Africans.

The interest of this study goes beyond the particular field to which it directly relates, for the introduction into highly mechanised industry of workers belonging to non-industrial regions gives rise to similar situations in all parts of the world.

DISTRIBUTION OF NORTH AFRICAN PERSONNEL IN CERTAIN METAL WORKS

A detailed investigation conducted in the Paris area during 1951 in 385 establishments employing 272,000 persons, of whom 33,500 were North Africans, revealed that the North Africans were distributed as follows: supervisors and skilled craftsmen, 4.42 per cent.; semi-skilled workers, 52.08 per cent.; labourers, 43.5 per cent.

An Automobile Construction Undertaking in the Paris Area

This undertaking employs 43,000 persons in its workshops and offices combined (35,000 at hourly wage rates, 8,000 on a monthly basis). Rather more than 10 per cent. of the wage earners (3,922 persons) are North Africans; there are only about 15 North African salaried employees. The latter are clearly differentiated from the manual workers and are entirely europeanised.

Eleven of the salaried employees have elementary school-leaving certificates (including one from a "higher elementary school"), one has graduated from a secondary school, two have accountants' certificates, and one has been through the national vocational school and attended courses at the Institute of Arts and Crafts. Furthermore, among the executive personnel there is a North African mining engineer.

The 3,922 North African manual workers are distributed as follows: skilled craftsmen, 3.5 per cent.; semi-skilled workers, 66 per cent.; labourers, 30.5 per cent.

If the proportion of labourers is compared to that of North Africans with less than a year's service (35 per cent.) it may be concluded that a labourer is promoted to the semi-skilled grade in less than a year (the average is eight months).

The distribution of North Africans in the various departments of the undertaking is as follows:

Foundry department: 25 per cent. of all North Africans employed in the undertaking; 27 per cent. of the total personnel of the department. The jobs most commonly allotted to North Africans are those of moulder, caster, fettler, wheeler, loader and general labourer. Some, however, have more responsible jobs (one is employed as a convertor man).

Coach work assembly department: 18 per cent. of all North Africans; 15.5 per cent. of personnel of department.

Sheet-iron shaping and assembling department: 10 per cent. of all North Africans, about one-third of personnel of department.

The remaining 47 per cent. of the North Africans in the works are scattered among the other departments (hand sheet-iron working, rubber, cutting (9 per cent. altogether), engine machining (9 per cent.), chroming, cables, maintenance (electricity), trucking.

An Engineering Undertaking in the Paris Area

At the beginning of 1949 this undertaking was employing 1,222 manual workers, including 146 North Africans. By 1 September 1951, there had been an increase to 1,358 and 232 respectively, equivalent to a rise in the proportion of North Africans from 11.9 to 17 per cent.

In the same period the number of skilled and semi-skilled North Africans increased from 20 to 81. Members of these grades thus represented (in 1951) 35 per cent. of all North African personnel, as against only 14 per cent. at the beginning of 1949.¹

The distribution by grades of the 232 North African manual workers on 1 September 1951 was as follows: skilled craftsmen, 1, or 0.4 per cent. of all North Africans; semi-skilled workers, 80 (senior grade 24, junior grade 56), or 34.5 per cent.; labourers, 151, or 65.1 per cent.

Distribution by service was as follows: movement, 107 (46 per cent. of all North Africans, 39 per cent. of the personnel of the service), 82 per cent. of whom were labourers; foundry, 49 (21 per cent. of all North Africans, 36 per cent. of personnel of the service), 50 per cent. of whom were labourers. The remaining 33 per cent. of all North Africans were distributed as follows: boiler tubes, 8 per cent.; boiler work and framing, 8 per cent.; forges, 4 per cent.; material inspection and main-

¹ On 1 January 1952 the corresponding figures were: total personnel, 1,322; North Africans, 241 (18.2 per cent.); skilled and semi-skilled North Africans, 101 (41.9 per cent. of all North Africans).

¹ UNION DES INDUSTRIES MÉTALLURGIQUES ET MINIÈRES: *La main-d'œuvre nord-africaine et son emploi dans les industries des métaux* (Paris, 1952).

tenance, 4 per cent., etc. It should be noted that the only North African skilled craftsman is in the maintenance service, and that two-thirds of the North African semi-skilled workers are in the foundry and movement services.

The rise in the percentage of North African skilled workers proves that North Africans have been appreciated, particularly in the production departments, such as the forges, foundry and welding and boiler tube shops. The following jobs, ranking as semi-skilled (senior grade), have been entrusted to them: foundry caster (3), crane man (2), normal gauge tractor driver in the movement service (2), tube maker (1), press operator (1), welder (4), etc.; as well as jobs as loader, fettler, etc., which rank as semi-skilled (junior grade).

A Steel Works in North France

This works includes a Martin steel plant, a bar mill and ancillary services to these production departments—roll-lathes, maintenance (machinery), maintenance (electricity), construction and movement. Of the 547 manual workers, 216 (40 per cent.) are North Africans.

The distribution by service is as follows: production services, 340 workers, including 159 North Africans (73.6 per cent. of all North African personnel, 47 per cent. of total personnel of these services); ancillary services, 207 workers, including 57 North Africans (26.4 per cent. of all North African personnel, 28 per cent. of total personnel of these services).

Distribution by grade is: production services—skilled craftsmen, 43 per cent.; semi-skilled workers, 24 per cent.; labourers, 32 per cent. These percentages are similar to those for the whole personnel (North Africans and Europeans together) of the production services.

However, this distribution varies from one service to another. The situation is particularly striking in the Martin steel plant, where North Africans account for 78 per cent. of the total personnel (74 per cent. of skilled craftsmen, 95 per cent. of semi-skilled workers and 74 per cent. of labourers).

In the maintenance services, on the other hand, the position of the North Africans is much inferior to the general average. Of the 57 North Africans in these services, 51 have remained labourers, five have become semi-skilled and only one is a skilled worker, junior grade; and it should be noted that he is only capable of doing a certain type of repairs in a highly restricted sector (travelling cranes).

A Steel Works in East France

The only statistics provided relate to distribution of North Africans by grade: semi-skilled workers, senior grade, 18 per cent.; semi-skilled workers, junior grade, 32 per cent.; labourers, 50 per cent.

The promotion of North Africans, though gradual, is still slow. Although some are now attending training courses for the trade certificate (production), there is not a single North African craftsman in the factory.

Other Undertakings

Other less complete investigations have revealed the following information.

In a steel works in the north of France North African workers (115) amounted to 10 per cent. of the total personnel; 35 per cent. were skilled and semi-skilled workers.

In another steel works in the north the North African workers (412) amounted to about 30 per cent. of the total personnel; 8.5 per cent. were semi-skilled workers, junior grade (Martin ovens).

In a steel works in central France (Loire), the North African personnel included practically no skilled craftsmen, but North Africans belonging to the semi-skilled grades were employed as furnacemen at boilers and ovens, foundry keepers and roller-mill hands. Attempts at the rapid vocational training of skilled welders, turners and fitters have failed. Very few North Africans have been able to reach the grade of craftsman after long training on the job.

The above figures show clearly how wrong it would be to regard North African workers as no more than a large reserve of irretrievably mediocre unskilled and semi-skilled workers. The examples indicated show that the North African is capable, in some conditions, of reaching successively the grades of semi-skilled worker and of skilled craftsman.

It should, however, be noted that—

(1) the percentages of North African semi-skilled and skilled workers are considerably larger in metallurgy proper (production of steel and other metals) than in engineering construction, electrical construction, etc.; in certain manufacturing undertakings (automobile construction, for instance), the North African skilled and semi-skilled worker is employed mainly in the raw material processing departments, such as foundries and forges;

(2) North Africans generally succeed in the production services, where they secure promotion very much at the same rate as the French; foundries, forges and rolling mills provide them with the most favourable opportunity; maintenance services are—at least at present—much less suited, since the North African has not the proper vocational background;

(3) within the production services, the promotion of North Africans slows down considerably once they have reached the junior semi-skilled grade, and they only very exceptionally reach the lowest skilled grade; it is more difficult for North Africans than for French workers to acquire the skill and knowledge corresponding to this grade because of the North African's imperfect grasp of the French language and his lower level of general education;

(4) training "on the job" appears at present to be the commonest avenue to promotion; however, it is so slow as to suggest that there must be scope in the vocational training system for a more rapid and scientific approach as well as one better suited to the needs and characteristics of the North African.

The number of North Africans promoted to supervisory posts is still very small. The skill and the aptitude required by a chargehand, and still more by a foreman, are as a rule acquired by the North African only after a long stay together with a long period of stable employment in the undertaking. This necessary qualifying period is longer than the time yet spent by most North African workers in metropolitan France.

It is clear, however, that the North African worker generally has the qualities which will enable him to reach grades above those of labourer and semi-skilled operative; but promotion to supervisory posts or to

functions involving responsibility above the purely technical level is more difficult because it requires a degree of development seldom reached by recent immigrants. Furthermore, it remains subject to a sufficiently long stay in France.

ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS FOR THE NORMAL PROMOTION OF NORTH AFRICAN WORKERS

Better training and promotion for North African workers depend on various factors; the most important are discussed below.

Man and Job Selection

Systematic selection at the recruiting stage should eliminate candidates unfit for industrial employment. Aptitude tests are of great importance for vocational training, since they provide an indication of the most suitable jobs and teaching methods.

Subsequently systematic medical, psychotechnical and instructional supervision should play a vital part in the promotion or transfer of North African personnel as their capacities develop. It has often happened that poor or average workers achieve excellent results if transferred to another job in their department better fitted to their aptitudes.

Inquiries into the conditions of employment of North African workers have shown that they succeed more easily and quickly in the iron and steel trades and generally in large-scale metal works and raw material processing departments and that they find promotion easier in general services than in maintenance departments.

Such conclusions should not, however, be considered final. They are based on an analysis of factual situations, the various elements of which are not by any means immutable. While they can serve to indicate some of the conditions of employment now offered to North Africans in accordance with their present aptitudes, they are not in any way a measure of their future possibilities.

As an instance, an iron and steel undertaking in north France has prepared a list of jobs considered suitable for North African workers; according to this list they are employable in blast furnaces as keepers' assistants and chargers, in steel works as smelters' assistants, gasmen and especially as pit workers and masons, in rolling mills as rollers, heaters, repairers and shearers, in foundries as packers, chippers and fettlers, in movement services as engine drivers, stokers and onsetters, and as loaders throughout the undertaking.

Stability of Employment

Subject to such transfers within a works or service as their physical development or attitude may render necessary, North African workers should be given some degree of stability in their jobs. In favourable circumstances a semi-skilled worker takes something like 12 months to train, and several years' apprenticeship are needed before a worker can be promoted to the higher grades.

Minimum Knowledge of French as the Working Language

North Africans employed in industry experience difficulties through their insufficient knowledge of French. In matters of industrial safety

the consequences of this handicap can be disastrous and it is obviously an almost insurmountable obstacle to a North African's higher training and promotion. It may, however, occasionally escape attention. There are undertakings in which North African chargehands are entrusted with the new recruits. The advantage of this system is that the men are given their initiation and settle down more quickly, as most of the difficulties arising from an often total ignorance of French are overcome. It cannot, however, be more than a temporary solution. The skill acquired by a North African worker kept too long in such surroundings will at best be very elementary, and progress in French will be virtually nil. In the long run, his chances of promotion are more liable to suffer than to be enhanced by such a system.

Supervisory Staff

The decisive influence of supervisory staff on the output of North African workers is everywhere apparent and the good will and ability of such staff are of paramount importance for the adaptation and improvement of the workers' training.

Prospects

This problem is as much related to psychological factors as to material considerations such as wage increases. Several undertakings have lost staff who, having acquired a considerable degree of skill, felt they were not receiving a recompense proportionate to the efforts they had had to make and to the services their new abilities enabled them to offer.

The vocational training of North African workers raises a number of further problems. One concerns the age of the workers to be trained. Immigrant North African labour, while generally fairly young¹, includes persons of widely varying ages and mentalities. Workers of 20 and 40 years of age will quite certainly not be equally fitted to follow and benefit from classroom teaching, and teaching methods and even training programmes will necessarily have to vary.

Another problem is that of the cultural level of immigrant North African workers. Most of them have never been to school and, apart from their imperfect grasp of French, they are but little acquainted with the rudiments of such subjects as arithmetic. It is often necessary, therefore, to give them some general education before starting any vocational training proper.

PROGRAMMES AND THE ORGANISATION OF COURSES

The varied needs and facilities of undertakings inevitably mean a diversity of types of training. This is not the place to study the various systems so far used, some of which are in any case only at the experimental stage. A few general conclusions may be drawn, however, respecting the vocational training programmes for North African workers and the way they have been organised.

Those for whom this training is most generally designed can appreciate anything that brings a quick reward but if, in training which

¹ Such incomplete inquiries as it has been possible to make reveal that less than 10 per cent. of North African workers are over 50 years of age. It is probably safe to say that about half of them are within the 25-40 age group.

demands a good deal of attention and additional work, they fail to perceive any immediate advantage, they tire of it perhaps even quicker than a metropolitan Frenchman. There can be no doubt that, as yet, North African personnel do not always clearly see exactly where their interest lies and it is the duty of management—and also to its advantage—to see that they are guided by their fellow workers and by the supervisory staff. Some undertakings have followed up persuasive action of this kind by granting attendance bonuses to North African workers who attend upgrading courses.

Programmes

French language courses and elementary training in the theory and practice of industrial hygiene and safety have to be so organised as to cover the maximum number of North African workers. Such instruction should not be limited to those who will probably become highly skilled, since their object, which is to ensure industrial safety and generally to adapt the men to their surroundings, goes far beyond pure vocational training and promotion.

Genuinely technical instruction can be limited to North Africans whom pre-selection has shown to have the necessary aptitudes and keenness.

The experience of a number of metal works would seem to show that it is possible to arrange for the various courses to be covered at two levels of instruction—an elementary programme designed for the mass of illiterates and workers without any special knowledge, to include instruction in the elements of French (a working vocabulary and exercises in everyday phrases) and in general safety rules, and a more advanced programme for workers who already possess a certain knowledge of their work and have decided on a trade, to include, in addition to courses of a purely technical nature, considerably more advanced instruction in French (syntax and general vocabulary) and in safety problems.

Facilities

The choice of the person to direct the courses and of the instructors is particularly important. It is probably neither necessary nor desirable for those responsible for the vocational training of North African personnel to know the languages or dialects of their pupils. On the other hand it is indispensable that, apart from being fully competent in their subjects, they should have some idea of teaching methods and at least some understanding of the North African mentality. Excellent results can be achieved by taking instructors from the supervisory staff of the undertaking; through their daily contact with North African workers, they have often obtained a good insight into their problems and reactions.

The use of teaching aids, such as slides, films, charts, posters, pamphlets and so on, often proves extremely useful, as North Africans are most observant and frequently have a remarkable visual memory. It should be noted, however, that it is a mistake to prepare pamphlets or posters (on safety problems, for example) in their native language, as the vast majority of North Africans can read even less Arabic than French.

Organisation of Courses

Where possible, the organisation of vocational training inside the works or undertaking has much to recommend it. By linking the in-

struction with the worker's daily life, it offers the greatest chance of convincing him that the extra work means better prospects of becoming more proficient and thus of gaining promotion.

The following extract may be of interest in this connection; it is taken from a report by a representative of a motor works on an experiment in teaching French in the undertaking.

This is the third year the French classes have been running. In the first two years, despite the efforts of the management, the vocational school and the instructors, the North Africans failed to show any great enthusiasm . . . even though the classes had been arranged to take place during working hours so that everyone could attend.

This year, to increase attendance, the management decided to make them more alive. The idea is not simply to make the pupils read and write but also to give short talks occasionally on some interesting topic, such as personal hygiene or first aid, and to show instructive and attractive films each month. Two shows have been given since November with films on "Under-water Fishing", and "Climbing a Rock in the Alps" as well as films on safety measures in the works, with titles such as "Wear your Goggles" and "Individual and Collective Safety Measures". These film-shows seem to have caught the pupils' imagination and have definitely helped to increase their knowledge.

Two instructors (one French and the other North African) share the elementary and advanced courses. Their methods differ, but the results are virtually the same. In writing and speaking they both make an effort to use simple, practical words that the pupils can later use in everyday conversation.

To increase attendance, it has been decided to award a number of prizes at the year-end to those who have shown the most keenness.

As a result of these measures average attendance at the classes has considerably increased.

Whether such courses are organised inside or outside the undertaking and during or outside working hours, there can be little tuition in French except by classwork, with the instructor and his pupils meeting in some suitable accommodation.

This is not true, however, of instruction in technical subjects and in safety measures. Many undertakings still have nothing but on-the-job training—often for their French staff as well as their North African personnel. Admittedly a number of North African skilled workers have received their training in this way, but very much better results could probably be obtained by organising additional instruction in the form of talks, film-shows or proper courses.

Such additional instruction can be imparted during or outside working hours through evening classes, Saturday courses or workshop talks by staff instructors or outside lecturers. The choice of system depends to a great extent on working conditions and the facilities offered by the undertaking (eight-hour day or non-stop shift work, available classrooms or instructional workshops, the distance of the workers' homes, etc.).

The educational work of various private, semi-public and public bodies should not be underestimated, but it is still to some extent sporadic and does not suffice to meet the requirements of the metal trades. This means that undertakings employing a considerable number of North Africans have to make their own arrangements for the training of the personnel they need. It is nevertheless true that the experiments made in the training and upgrading of workers by the National

Inter-occupational Association for the Rational Training of Labour have enabled various systems to be tested and have led to conclusions which cannot but benefit the organisation of vocational training within industry. The promotion of these private and public ventures will, moreover, be of considerable assistance to undertakings where the facilities or the numbers of North Africans employed do not justify the introduction of a full vocational training service.

The vocational training of North African workers is still essentially a short-course system, since the workers' ages and conditions of employment exclude any possibility of their being given a long period of apprenticeship. This does not, however, mean that the principles and systems followed for the short-course training of metropolitan skilled workers have to be systematically adopted. While several sufficiently advanced North Africans have already been admitted to a number of short-course vocational training centres for metropolitan workers, the manual skill and intuitive knowledge of most North African workers are generally very much inferior to those of the young metropolitan workers entering such centres, and their difficulties are further aggravated by their lack of French. The only solution would appear to be to combine technical instruction with more general education.

The training of North African skilled workers is still a longer and more arduous task than the training of Frenchmen and can therefore be provided only for the better elements.

It will probably be a long time before the bulk of North African workers rise to the higher grades of skilled craftsmen in the metal trades. The call for labourers and semi-skilled workers is such that a situation of this kind will not cause any difficulties, but by training a nucleus of North African skilled workers, by raising the labourer's status in the eyes of the North African and by giving anyone who deserves it a chance of further training, heads of undertakings will do much to improve the stability and output of their immigrant labour.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

International Social Legislation

Mr. Léon-Eli Troclet, formerly Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and Minister of Labour and Social Insurance in Belgium, has written a remarkable work¹, both comprehensive and easy to read, on international social legislation.

During the last century and a half social legislation has developed considerably; among the commitments accepted by nations towards one another, those concerning labour are by far the most numerous and are increasing in number more and more rapidly. However, social legislation, the ramifications of which have extended in widely differing directions and form an unbelievably far-reaching network of bilateral, multilateral and general commitments, can be seen on examination to constitute a single whole, based on a certain number of general principles which form the fundamentals of a universal social philosophy and which can themselves be traced back to the saying: *Si vis pacem, cole justitiam*. Mr. Troclet attempts to define these general principles and to take stock of international social legislation.

Studying the historical development of international social legislation, Mr. Troclet recalls that the principle of freedom to conclude contracts was introduced into national legislation in 1789, first by France and then by the other European States. This freedom also applied to contracts of employment. Unfortunately there was no equality in fact between the employer and the worker, and this inequality, which had already been foreseen by Necker, led to gross abuses. These abuses led to the growth of a movement demanding systematic legislative action, a few examples of which were observed at the very end of the eighteenth century, but which only took definite shape towards the middle of the nineteenth century. This trend towards systematic legislative intervention soon reached an international level, since one of the main objections to legislative action was the fear of foreign competition.

The principal States of Europe gradually began to conclude treaties among themselves to bring their respective social legislations into greater harmony. This movement, which at first was confined to Europe, gradually spread throughout the world, and social legislation of universal import gradually developed. The first treaties were bilateral in character, the best known being the 1904 treaty between France and Italy; then came the development of multilateral treaties binding on neighbouring States; finally, after the First World War general treaties applying to every country in the world gradually became more and more numerous.

¹ *Législation sociale internationale*. Preface by Georges SCHELLE. Université Libre de Bruxelles: Les cahiers de l'Institut de Sociologie Solvay, No. 4. Brussels, les Editions de la Librairie Encyclopédique, 1952. 716 pp.

The development of international social legislation inevitably raised a number of theoretical and practical problems, for instance, the nature of international labour legislation and conflicts between general and reciprocal treaties. In the first part of his book, Mr. Troclet discusses these problems, which are of considerable importance to anybody wishing to understand international social legislation.

In the second part, Mr. Troclet examines the first examples of international social legislation, namely, bilateral treaties. Here again the author takes stock and examines the historical development of bilateral treaties, comments on the Franco-Italian Treaty of 1904 and describes the network of treaties covering Europe at the present time, laying particular emphasis on the situation of Belgium.

Historically speaking, bilateral treaties were the first examples of international social legislation and constituted the first step towards social justice. As Mr. Troclet points out, a worker who spends the last years of his life in the village in which he was born after working for 30 years in the mines of a neighbouring country will not admit that he is not entitled to the same pension as a fellow-worker who has worked for 30 years in mines in his own country. The removal of such anomalies has been made possible by bilateral treaties. However, a system based solely on bilateral treaties could not but be incomplete. This is the reason for the development of multilateral treaties, which Mr. Troclet examines in the third part of his book.

The Governments of Europe, which were at first somewhat hesitant, were finally convinced by the Swiss Government of the importance of multilateral labour conventions, the first of which (on the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in matches and of night work for women) were adopted at diplomatic conferences at Berne. The development of multilateral treaties on labour questions was accelerated by the insistence of the Swiss Government and the untiring efforts of the International Association for the Legal Protection of Workers and international trade union action. Here again, Mr. Troclet takes stock of the situation in Europe today, laying particular emphasis on recent developments, namely Benelux, the North Atlantic Union, the O.E.E.C., the European Union and the European Coal and Steel Community.

The multilateral treaties were mainly regional in character. When in 1905 pioneers of international labour legislation spoke of the universe, they were thinking (often quite unconsciously) of Europe only; they had in mind the industrialised countries and, in fact, with the exception of the United States, at that time all the industrialised countries were European countries. The Berne Conventions were admittedly "open" Conventions, i.e., they could be acceded to by other States, but they were still not really universal Conventions intended to be enforced in every country in the world.

Not until the First World War did non-European countries, such as Japan and India, take their places alongside the European countries and the United States as industrial powers, and the first universal Conventions, intended to be enforced in all countries and drawn up by conferences at which States in all continents were represented, were adopted only after the First World War.

As the appearance of universal international Conventions coincided with the foundation of the International Labour Organisation, and as those Conventions were drawn up by the I.L.O., Mr. Troclet devotes the fourth and by far the longest part of his book to the International Labour Organisation and universal Conventions. The 485 pages he

devotes to these two subjects form in themselves one of the most comprehensive books written about the Organisation since Professor Scelle's book on the I.L.O. was published in 1930.¹

In the first part, Mr. Troclet describes the birth of the I.L.O. — the constant trend of opinion towards the establishment of a permanent labour organisation and the desires expressed, the demands put forward between 1914 and 1918, the parliamentary and governmental action taken immediately after the war and lastly the work of the International Labour Legislation Commission.

In the second part which deals with the structure of the I.L.O., he emphasises both the importance of the Organisation and the universal nature of its mission. He recalls that the notion of universality has always been near to the hearts of its founders and states that the universality of its mission is part of the very essence of the Organisation.

After making a thorough examination of the organs of the International Labour Organisation—the International Labour Conference, the Governing Body and the International Labour Office—Mr. Troclet outlines its legal status and nature. He quotes various opinions which have been put forward on this question and considers that one must agree with the majority of authors who consider the I.L.O. to be an international association *sui generis*. He considers the I.L.O. as a perfected type of federalism by services, in which geographical considerations are of secondary importance and which involves both decentralisation of a world-wide legal system and a partial amalgamation of national legal systems.

An international association *sui generis* is obviously faced with special problems. Mr. Troclet describes and comments on the problems facing the I.L.O. As regards the question of direct action, he points out that during the first period of the I.L.O.'s history it had to confine itself to "stimulating" the development of social legislation; now that it has proved itself worthy, it is entering a second period, namely that of direct action, for instance through programmes of technical assistance to underdeveloped countries. In short, the I.L.O. is no longer asked to prove its worth; it has established confidence in itself.

Another important problem, and one which is related to direct action, is the right to intervene on humanitarian grounds. This problem, foreseen by Grotius and Vattel, who considered that a ruler should not be allowed to violate the fundamental laws of human society with impunity, inevitably became one of special importance to the I.L.O., which aims to promote social justice throughout the world. Mr. Troclet describes the "methods of intervention without using force", such as "friendly representations", the carrying out of inquiries and the publication of their findings, which the I.L.O. has developed and which, while respecting national susceptibilities, have proved very effective.

Examining the problem of regionalisation in the I.L.O., Mr. Troclet observes that the desire for universality, which has been one of the offshoots of international social policies since the very beginning, seems to have been threatened during the last few years by new outbursts of regional sentiment, and that the I.L.O. has had the courage objectively to take into account both the merits and the dangers of regionalism, recognising it as being historically inevitable.

Commenting on the problem of standards in international social legislation, Mr. Troclet examines the problem as it has arisen from

¹ *L'Organisation internationale du Travail et le B.I.T.* (Marcel Rivière, Paris, 1930).

the early days of the I.L.O.: should the standard adopted be that of the national legislation of the least or the most socially advanced country, or should an average standard be laid down? After showing the drawbacks inherent in all the possible solutions (the need to make the I.L.O. an instrument of social progress and the fear that only a few States will ratify Conventions in which the standards laid down are excessively high), he shows that in practice very flexible solutions have been found which have made possible ratification and at the same time real progress in social legislation and practice.

Other matters dealt with are budgetary and financial problems, the competence of the I.L.O., the situation of federal States and the provisions concerning non-metropolitan territories.

After describing the main problems affecting the I.L.O., Mr. Troclet examines the "universal Conventions", i.e., the international labour Conventions. After a historical survey, in which he describes the way in which the problems which arose in 1919 have been solved, he explains being; he describes the preparatory stages, the procedure at the Conference, the procedure to be followed by the States, the consequences of ratification, sanctions and the procedures for revision. This description is particularly thorough and is of special interest, not only to persons seeking knowledge about the functioning of the I.L.O., but also to persons interested in the drawing-up of international treaties.

Describing the constitutional difficulties met with by federal States (and more particularly the United States) in ratifying international labour Conventions, which have led to the adoption of Recommendations by the Conference, Mr. Troclet shows that the adoption of Recommendations, far from hindering the adoption of Conventions, has on the contrary made this easier, as in this way principles on which many reservations are expressed, and which if included in a Convention would result in the latter being rejected, can be included in a Recommendation. Here Mr. Troclet describes step by step the birth of Recommendations, from the preparatory stages to the consequences in member States.

Before concluding, the author also examines the question of disputes, for instance, disputes concerning annulment, interpretation and full jurisdiction, the procedure to be followed in making representations and complaints and the procedure of the Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association.

To conclude this monumental work, Mr. Troclet looks back over the road which has led from the work of Necker, Robert Owen and Daniel Legrand to technical assistance, the Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association, the 100th international labour Convention and the 1,300th ratification, and makes a fervent appeal for social justice. Quoting Albert Thomas, he concludes: "If democracy is a condition of peace, social justice is a condition of democracy. Therefore peace can only be founded on social justice."

Publications of the I.L.O.

Documents of the International Labour Conference.

Thirty-seventh Session, 1954. Report IV (1): *Vocational Rehabilitation of the Disabled*. Geneva, 1953. iv+63 pp. 50 cents; 3s.

The interest which the question of vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons has stimulated on the international plane is an indication of the growing importance attached to it in many countries. Early attempts at vocational rehabilitation in the period immediately following the First World War consisted mainly of vocational training schemes for disabled ex-servicemen and of legislation making compulsory the employment of a quota of disabled ex-servicemen—the United States was alone in its adoption in 1920 of legislation to provide for the industrial rehabilitation of disabled citizens. There was no further substantial development until the Second World War, when vocational rehabilitation assumed considerable importance. Post-war developments have shown clearly the many differences in national approaches to the problems of rehabilitation of the disabled, the necessity on grounds of social justice and the proper use of manpower for the establishment of a co-ordinated vocational rehabilitation programme and the need to define its indispensable elements.

Between 1944 and 1950 the International Labour Conference has adopted international standards on the vocational guidance, vocational training and placement services for the disabled as integral parts of more comprehensive regulations framed for the provision of general services for vocational guidance, vocational training and the organisation of the employment service. There is, however, still the need for the establishment in one text of full and comprehensive international standards for the vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons, in place of, or in addition to, the present scattering of parts of a comprehensive collection of international standards throughout several different texts which individually deal with broader subjects.

The present report contains chapters on the definition and scope of vocational rehabilitation, the application to disabled persons of existing standards of vocational guidance, training and placement, administrative organisation, methods of promoting access to vocational rehabilitation facilities, co-operation between the authorities responsible for medical treatment and those responsible for vocational rehabilitation, voluntary and compulsory measures for widening employment opportunities for disabled persons, sheltered employment, special provisions for disabled children and young persons and the application of standards in the less developed countries. The report concludes with a questionnaire addressed to Governments.

— Report VI (1): *Penal Sanctions for Breaches of Contract of Employment*. Geneva, 1953. 27 pp. 25 cents; 1s. 6d.

The subject of penal sanctions for breaches of contract of employment was before the Conference in 1938 and 1939, and the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention was adopted in 1939 and came into force in 1948. Members ratifying the Convention undertake to abolish progressively and as soon as possible penal sanctions for breaches of the obligation to perform services stipulated or implied in the contract of employment.

On 15 November 1949 the General Assembly of the United Nations, by Resolution 323 (IV), in taking note of the conclusions and recommendations of the Trusteeship Council, recalled that one of the basic objectives of the International Trusteeship system is to encourage respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction

as to race, sex, language or religion, and decided to recommend to the Trusteeship Council the adoption of suitable measures for solving, in a broad and humanitarian spirit, such important social problems as migrant labour and penal sanctions for breach of labour contracts by indigenous workers.

The Trusteeship Council, at its Sixth Session (January-April 1950), adopted Resolution 127 (VI), which, *inter alia*, took note of the recommendations of the General Assembly contained in Resolution 323 (IV) and requested the Secretariat to bring to the attention of the International Labour Organisation the General Assembly's interest in the problems of migrant labour and penal sanctions for breach of labour contracts by indigenous workers and to request the expert advice of the International Labour Organisation on these problems.

The request of the Trusteeship Council was laid before the Governing Body of the International Labour Office at its 112th Session in June 1950 and the Governing Body decided, as a first step, to approach member States concerned with the subject matter of the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, with a view to securing details of their current law and practice, together with indications of the difficulties which prevent fuller ratification. The Governing Body subsequently decided that this information should be laid before the Committee of Experts on Social Policy in Non-Metropolitan Territories for its recommendations.

That Committee recommended to the Governing Body that it should consider whether the 1939 Convention might be supplemented by a Recommendation providing for the immediate abolition of certain penal sanctions, for their final abolition not later than the end of 1955, and for periodic reports to the I.L.O. on progress made towards abolition.

The Governing Body authorised the Director-General to communicate to the member States and to the Trusteeship Council the views of the Committee of Experts and its recommendations for further action, and asked the Director-General to submit to it a law and practice report on the subject. Finally the Governing Body decided to place the subject on the agenda of the 37th Session of the Conference.

The first chapter of the report gives details of the law and practice in regard to penal sanctions in "dependent" territories and in the home territories of Members of the Organisation. The second chapter summarises the arguments advanced for and against the system of penal sanctions for breaches of contracts of employment. The third and final chapter consists of a questionnaire addressed to the Governments concerned.

Safety in Coal Mines. Vol. I: *Organisation on the National and International Levels*. Geneva, 1953. ix+266 pp. \$1.50; 9s.

This study is a revised and enlarged edition of the report prepared by the International Labour Office on *Safety Provisions for Underground Work in Coal Mines*¹ for submission to a Preparatory Technical Conference that was to have met at Geneva in October 1939 to discuss a Draft Model Code of Safety Regulations for Underground Work in Coal Mines. Owing to the war the Conference could not be held, but in September 1949 a Tripartite Technical Conference representing 15 coal-producing countries adopted the Model Code, which has been distributed for the guidance of governments and the industry.²

The present study is designed to provide, firstly, statistical material showing the incidence and chief causes of underground accidents in the coal-mines of some of the principal coal-producing countries and, secondly, a survey of the law and practice in matters of coal-mining safety in a selection

¹ Published in two volumes (Geneva, I.L.O., 1939). Vol. I: *National Legislation*; Vol. II: *Draft Recommendations*.

² INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE: *Model Code of Safety Regulations for Underground Work in Coal Mines for the Guidance of Governments and of the Coal-Mining Industry* (Geneva, 1950).

of these countries. For this purpose only underground risks have been taken into consideration, and coal has been taken to mean bituminous coal and anthracite, to the exclusion of lignite.

Accident statistics are dealt with in Chapter I. In view of the very close bonds between legislation and inspection as factors in mining safety, a separate chapter (II) has been devoted to inspection. This covers both state inspection and, for certain countries, workmen's inspectors. As regards practice, some account of general safety activities by government departments, research institutions, safety associations, etc., will be found in Chapter III. The contents of Chapters II and III have been furnished or revised by the Governments concerned.

The most important safety provisions of the mining laws and regulations of the countries concerned will be presented in analytical form in Volume II, to be published later.

The countries dealt with in the present study are not all the same as those covered by the 1939 study. No recent statistical information is available from some of the countries included in the earlier study, and no recent mining regulations have been received from the U.S.S.R. This country has, accordingly, been omitted, and its place has been taken by the Canadian province of Alberta, which has an excellent code of safety regulations recently brought up to date. Entirely new United States, Netherlands and French codes of regulations have been analysed, as well as several new British regulations. Much new information has been included on accident rates, inspection, and safety activities generally.

The text of the study is supplemented by appendices comprising lists of laws and regulations, government publications and periodicals.

Publications of the United Nations and Other Intergovernmental Organisations

Organisation for European Economic Co-operation.

Coal Production and Supplies for Western Europe in 1952 and 1953. Second Report of the Ministerial Coal Production Group. Paris, 1953. 102 pp.

Federal Regulation of Transport in the U.S.A. How Transport Problems are Solved in a System of Federated States. Report by a Group of European Experts. Technical Assistance Mission No. 103. Paris, 1953. 174 pp.

A delegation of highly qualified persons engaged in the administration of transport in nine European countries visited the United States at the suggestion of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation under the auspices of the Mutual Security Agency of the United States Government to study the general organisation and regulation of inland transport in the United States and, in particular, the Interstate Commerce Commission. The resulting report was drafted both from the angle of the international organisation of transport in Western Europe and from the angle of transport in the United States considered as a single national and economic unit. The Mission expressed the opinion that the regulation of international inland transport in Europe should be studied and developed at an early date by a conference of transport experts at which the views of interested international organisations should be taken into account. Such a conference met in Paris in March and April 1953.

The work of the Interstate Commerce Commission in regard to transport is fully described, so that this report provides the most convenient means for the non-American reader to understand the principles applied in the United States. However different the political structure in Western Europe may be from that of the United States, there are many lessons to be learnt from United States practice. The writers of the report draw attention in this

connection to the similarity in many respects between the structural organisation devised by the authors of the European Coal and Steel Community and the structural organisation of the regulation of transport in the United States.

Though the emphasis is placed on economic regulation, with special reference to the conditions governing the issue of permits to common and contract carriers in interstate road transport, particulars are also given of the controls in respect of safety. As regards railways, Congress has directly prescribed certain safety, labour and hours of service standards, but the Interstate Commerce Commission exerts many controls on various railway safety regulations as well as over those applicable to road transport. The rules on safety, and those on hours of service and the qualifications of drivers enforced on grounds of safety, are set out in an annex. In cases of abandonment of rail lines, the protection of workers rendered surplus by such abandonment is one of the factors considered, and provision must be made for them according to a procedure established by the Commission.

Position of the Electricity Industry in O.E.E.C. Countries. Paris, 1953. 42 pp.

Situation of the Agricultural Engineering Industry in Member Countries in 1950. Report drawn up by the Agricultural Machinery Subcommittee within the framework of the integration studies. Paris, 1952. 81 pp.

Technical Improvements in the Use of Steel. Paris, 1953. 68 pp.

Other Publications

General.

BERGER, MORRIS. *Equality by Statute: Legal Controls over Group Discrimination.* Foreword by Robert M. MACIVER. New York, Columbia University Press, 1952. xii+238 pp. \$3.25.

BERNSTEIN, HARRY. *Modern and Contemporary Latin America.* Chicago, Philadelphia, New York. J. B. Lippincott Company, 1952. x+717 pp.

BIDDLE, FRANCIS. *La paura della libertà.* Translated by Sergio BORELLI from the original *The Fear of Freedom.* Milan, Edizioni di Comunità, 1953. xxii+318 pp. 1,350 lire.

CASPAR, FRANZ. *Tupari: unter Indios im Urwald Brasiliens.* Braunschweig, Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn, 1952. 217 pp.

DESCHAMPS, HUBERT. *L'éveil politique africain.* Collection "Que sais-je?". Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1952. 128 pp.

An account of the development of the traditional African institutions based on ethnological and political studies. The author lays special emphasis on the political evolution of French and British West Africa.

GALBRAITH, W. O. *Colombia: A General Survey.* London, New York, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1953. vii+140 pp. 13s. 6d.

JENNINGS, SIR IVOR, and the late C. M. YOUNG. *Constitutional Laws of the Commonwealth.* Second revised edition of *Constitutional Laws of the British Empire.* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1952. xxiv+520 pp. 35s.

KOLLER, P. ANGE. *I berberi marocchini: saggio etnologico.* Translated by Franco CANNAROTTO from the original: *Essai sur l'esprit du berbère marocain.* Collana Centauro No. 1. Como, Editoriale Tell Lugano, 1952. xxiii+357 pp.

MENESES PALLARES, ARTURO. *Carta y estructura de las Naciones Unidas: Esquema del estatuto mundial.* Quito, Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, 1952. 283 pp. 20 sucres.

NEWMAN, BERNARD. *Turkish Crossroads.* New York, Philosophical Library, 1952. viii+258 pp.

OGRIZEK, DORÉ. *L'Afrique Noire, Ethiopie, Madagascar.* Preface by Maurice BEDEL. Paris, Editions Odé, 1952. 461 pp.

Social and Economic Questions.

AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION. *Readings in Price Theory.* Selected by a Committee of the American Economic Association. Blakiston Series of Republished Articles on Economics, Vol. VI. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1952. x+568 pp.

ANAYA, RICARDO. *Nacionalización de las minas de Bolivia.* Cochabamba, Imprenta Universitaria, 1953. viii+353 pp.

BERNACER, GERMÁN. *La doctrina del gran espacio económico.* Madrid, Aguilar, S.A. de Ediciones, 1953. xxxix+192 pp.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE ADMINISTRATIVE DE L'UNION FRANÇAISE. *Initiation aux finances publiques des territoires d'Outre-mer.* By J.-C. HAUMANT. Paris, Editions de l'Union Française, 1953. xi+324 pp.

CHAMBRE DE COMMERCE DE LYON. *Compte rendu des travaux de la Chambre de Commerce de Lyon, 1951.* Lyons, Société Anonyme de l'Imprimerie A. Rey, 1952. 493 pp.

FLAMANT, MAURICE. *Théorie de l'inflation et politiques anti-inflationnistes: essai d'application de concepts keynésiens.* Essais et Travaux: Collection publiée par la Faculté de Droit, l'Institut Commercial, l'Institut juridique de la Houille Blanche, l'Institut d'Etudes politiques et l'Association des Amis de l'Université de Grenoble, No. 2. Preface by Jean-Marcel JEANNENEY. Paris, Librairie Dalloz, 1952. xii+231 pp.

FUZ, J. K. *Welfare Economics in English Utopias from Francis Bacon to Adam Smith.* The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1952. 113 pp.

In seventeenth century England most aspirations and plans for social and economic reform assumed the guise of Utopias, which, by means of the fiction of the ideal city, presented a criticism of contemporary society together with the means of improving it. In that pre-capitalist era, pauperism was the great social plague; that is why all the authors of the various Utopias advocate a policy of welfare and full employment, to be achieved by various means, the scope of which increases with each successive work mentioned by Mr. Fuz. According to the first authors, among them Francis Bacon (*New Atlantis*, 1629) scientific and technical progress should herald the reign of plenty. Others, who came later, recommend large-scale works, organised employment and emigration, as well as nationalisation and exploitation of natural resources in order to increase national wealth and provide employment for the poor. From the second half of the century, we find authors who advocate planning of production and common ownership, or collective and compulsory labour. Others, on the other hand, wish to set up co-operative societies which would give their members ideal conditions of employment and numerous social advantages, whereas under other schemes private undertakings would provide the whole employed population with work which would guarantee a satisfactory standard of living. Mandeville, with his *Fable of the Bees* (1728) seems to be the most modern of all, not so much by the date of the work as by his ideas on the connection between employment and effective demand and on minimum wages and a sliding scale. All these forerunners have contributed their share to the beginnings

of the social activities we know today and show that the Utopia of today heralds the reality of tomorrow.

GANDHI, M. P. (editor). *The Indian Cotton Textile Industry 1951-52 Annual*. Bombay, M. P. Gandhi and Co. (publishers), 1952. 300 pp. 6 rupees.

This annual follows the general pattern of its predecessors. Apart from the statistical tables and the provisions of the statutory control orders at the beginning and the list of the textile mills in India and Pakistan at the end, the annual gives a review of the textile industry during 1951-52, dealing successively with trends in world textile economy, production and distribution of textile goods in India, exports of textile goods from India and the policy of the Government of India in relation to these exports, developments in the textile industry in some other countries such as the United Kingdom, Italy, etc., movements of textile prices in India, textile policy and the position of raw cotton. The closing chapter is devoted to a very brief review of some of the labour problems and in particular to the objections raised by the Indian employers against the Employees' Provident Funds Ordinance, 1951, and the Employees' State Insurance Bill, 1951.

GUTIÉRREZ, Gustavo. *El desarrollo económico de Cuba. Estudios e investigaciones económicas*, No. 12. Havana, Junta Nacional de Economía, 1952. xxi+257 pp.

HARROD, R. F. *Economic Essays*. London, Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1952. xiii+301 pp. 18s.

This collection of essays, grouped under the headings "Manpower", "Competition", "Employment" and "General", includes four new papers and 11 that are reprinted from various sources.

General readers will perhaps find most to interest them in the first two papers, on "The Population Problem" and "Equal Pay for Men and Women". These are memoranda submitted by Mr. Harrod to the Royal Commission on Population (1944) and to the Royal Commission on Equal Pay (1945). The first discusses the causes and cure of the danger of depopulation (more threatening than now) in wealthy countries. The second, with its interesting analysis of the reasons for differential wage rates, illustrates the principles of wage determination.

Nearly all the remaining essays are addressed to economists rather than to the general reader. "Notes on Supply" and "The Law of Decreasing Costs" (*Economic Journal*, June 1930 and December 1926) are of interest for the extent to which they anticipate subsequent developments in the theory of imperfect competition. The "marginal revenue curve", so prominent in later literature, appears in the former essay under another name. "The Theory of Imperfect Competition Revised", a new essay and the most substantial in the book, develops ideas contained in these earlier essays and rejects the view that conditions of imperfect competition tend regularly to give rise to the creation of excess capacity. Two of the other new essays are concerned with profits. Mr. Harrod argues that monopolistic conditions do not give rise, for an economy as a whole, to profits additional to those received as a reward for risk-bearing; but are (actually or conceptually) capitalised as soon as they are sufficiently secure and are "part of the global profit in the economy that tends to secure an equilibrium between the demand and supply of uncertainty-bearing". The essays grouped under the heading "Employment" include a summary of the essentials of Keynesian economics and two stimulating essays, one of them new, on dynamic theory, which, utilising the concept of a "warranted" rate of growth, seeks to demonstrate the inherent instability of a moving, as distinct from a static, equilibrium.

ILLING, V. C. (editor). *The Science of Petroleum: Vol. VI, Part I: The World's Oilfields: The Eastern Hemisphere*. London, New York, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1953. 174 pp. 52s. 6d.

A thorough geological study of the occurrence of petroleum in the Eastern Hemisphere (excluding the U.S.S.R.), prepared in the revision of Volume I of *The Science of Petroleum*, which was published before the Second World War. It contains descriptions of the more important areas by some 30 geologists, each of whom has personal knowledge of the areas he describes. The book is divided into four sections: Europe, the Middle East, the Far East and Australasia, and Africa. Each section is preceded by an introductory note which brings out the general features and characteristics of the area.

In the section concerning Europe the author points out that Europe's largest oilfields are situated in the foredeep on the outer side of the Carpathian arc; the area, however, in which a great expansion in crude-oil production is taking place at the present time is the folded belt comprised by the Netherlands-German frontier Emsland fields. The section on the Middle East brings out the fact that there are more differences than similarities between the component parts, but that there is one factor which is common throughout—an exceptional degree of oil richness. This has resulted in the occurrence of a number of giant oilfields with reserves on such a vast scale as to exceed, perhaps by a substantial margin, the proved plus possible reserves of the whole North American Continent. In addition to the size of individual oilfields, several of which may reach or exceed 700 million tons, the excellence of the reservoir rocks allows high rates of production, up to 20,000 barrels per well per day in some cases, with consequent economy in engineering effort. Offsetting these operating advantages are substantial handicaps imposed by geographical position, climate, lack or scarcity of indigenous skilled labour, and the high sulphur content of the crude oil. Some of these are gradually being overcome in varying degree, but others remain.

As regards the Far East, it is observed that the oil-producing areas grouped together under the heading of the Far East are not a geological unit but include regions with widely differing histories. Nevertheless there is one striking contrast between these areas and those of the Middle East. In place of large fields with ultimate oil production of several hundred million tons and daily yields measured in thousands of tons derived from a handful of wells, there are small fields yielding a hundred or a few hundred tons a day from a large number of wells. The most important of the fields of the India-Burma area, most of Sumatra, Java and Borneo, with the exception of Seria, have estimated ultimate productions in the 10-50 million ton class. The field of Seria should be regarded as potentially of the first rank. Again, the Middle East reserves have been estimated to be at least 20 times those of the whole of the much larger area included in the Far East. It seems unlikely that the Far East, an area containing about half the world's population, and producing only about a fiftieth of the world's oil, will be able to increase production to the point at which output will satisfy even the relatively modest demands per head of the population of that region.

The continent of Africa, with the exception of Egypt, where oil has been found in the area formed by the depression of the Gulf of Suez, does not appear to be very promising. "The vast interior of Africa is a Sahara Desert as regards petroleum; the producing oilfields and the oil prospects are all as regards petroleum; the producing oilfields and the oil prospects are all marginal, many of them in more than a geographical sense." In Egypt several oilfields in the coastal area of the Gulf of Suez have been in operation for some years, and exploration is still being maintained in the Western Desert and in Northern Sinai.

The study is illustrated with maps, charts and photographs.

Labour Law.

GASPARRI, Pietro. *Elementi di Diritto sindacale secondo la nuova Costituzione*. Cagliari, Editrice Sarda, 1952. 216 pp. 1,500 lire.

This concise and practical study of trade union practice in Italy outlines the developments in the trade union system of that country in recent years and the radical change they underwent under the new Republican Con-

stitution. The author examines the constitution of trade unions, registration requirements, the legal personality of unions and their action in collective agreements, strikes and lockouts.

Pozzo, Juan D. *Derecho del Trabajo*. 4 vols. Buenos Aires, Ediar S.A., 1948-51. 694, 626, 711 and 500 pp.

This up-to-date and systematic presentation of labour law includes a study of the formal sources of labour legislation, a summary of its origins and development and an analysis of Spanish colonial labour legislation and American labour legislation. The author also examines the work of various organisations which have made a reality of international labour law, in particular the International Labour Organisation. Finally he discusses the formal sources of Argentine legislation, such as the National Constitution of 1853-1949, the Civil Code compiled by Velez-Sarsfield and the fundamental laws of the national legislation, such as those governing industrial accidents and commercial employees.

The author stresses the difficulty of defining, in precise terms, the scope of labour law, since definitions can be either subjective, according to the nature of legal labour relations, or objective, as in the case of institutions (labour contracts, etc.). A typical development of this century, he finds, is the increased scope of labour law on the international plane and the great influence which political and social philosophy has exercised on its development. The work then goes on to study the parties in labour relations—the employee (personal services on behalf of another; specific contractual relationship) and the employer.

A special section is devoted to a close examination of the labour contract and the conditions upon which its validity depends. This is followed by an analytical list of the obligations of employee and employer under the contract. There is an important section on minimum wages. The system of remuneration laid down by Argentine legislation is studied in detail, and there is a systematic analysis of the scheme for fixing the various basic wages, the system of annual bonuses, payment of overtime, forms of payment, the prohibition of restraint on wages, prescription, etc. The author then examines the various obligations and duties arising out of labour contracts which have acquired the nature of specific institutions of labour law, such as the legal working day in all its complex historical and legislative development, daily and weekly rest and holidays, and the regulations governing the work of women and minors, unhealthy work, etc. The problems arising out of the suspension of the labour contract for various reasons are then dealt with—sickness or accident, suspension of the employee, maternity, military service, etc., with the effects that suspension or extension may have on a labour contract. This is followed by a survey of strikes and lockouts. In conclusion the author examines the various reasons for cessation of work—transfer of the undertaking, the various forms of cessation by mutual consent, death of the employee, certain cases of disappearance of the employer, contracts of limited duration, *force majeure*, bankruptcy and notice given by one of the parties.

Volume III presents the doctrine relating to industrial accidents and occupational diseases. It gives a comparative survey of legislation on industrial accidents and the earlier national legislation which culminated in Law No. 9688, with its subsequent amendments and the regulations made under it. Occupational diseases are similarly treated (it is well known that the administrative authorities of Argentina are engaged in drawing up a list of such diseases). The last chapters of Volume III deal with compensation in its varying aspects, with reference to the various beneficiaries, mentioning specifically the treaties on reciprocity of compensation payments and the calculation of compensation, the disability of the victim, reparation of damages and its apportionment in various cases.

The last volume is devoted to collective labour law, the subject of which is the industrial association. The author examines its historical origin and its forerunners in Argentine legislation. He attempts to define the nature

and aims of industrial associations and to classify them and to define how they are organised within the limits set by the law. He then makes a detailed study of industrial associations under Argentine law, their composition, both in form and substance, their function and the relations arising from such associations, not only between members themselves but also between members and employers, and the undertaking and the State. The purpose of industrial associations is also discussed.

Then follows a survey of one of the most important institutions of labour law, namely, what the author calls the collective regulation of labour and its various systems. The author examines such institutions as arbitral awards, collective agreements, professional rules and awards creating precedent; the collective agreement receives special attention.

The closing chapters deal with collective labour disputes, which the author attempts to classify, bearing in mind the principal parties to such disputes. The last two chapters of the book are devoted to strikes and lockouts respectively, and the conditions under which they are lawful.

Management.

CENTRE ECONOMIQUE ET SOCIAL DE PERFECTIONNEMENT DES CADRES. *Deuxième cycle: Relations humaines*. Paris, Fédération nationale des syndicats d'ingénieurs et de cadres supérieurs, 1953. 91 pp.

HOLDEN, Paul E., and SHALLENBERGER, Frank K. *Selected Case Problems in Industrial Management*. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1953. xi + 318 pp. \$3.75.

Seventy-seven case problems selected from a large number of industrial organisations for use in training practical operating executives to handle their everyday problems.

The cases illustrate typical conditions in manufacturing undertakings and provide practice in analysing the facts of a situation and in developing a logical plan of action. Questions have been put at the end of each case to provide the starting point for studying the problem. The co-ordination of background reading with the case problems is made possible by the inclusion of an index relating the problems to eight of the more widely used American textbooks in the field of industrial management.

SHAW, Anne G. *The Purpose and Practice of Motion Study*. Manchester, London, Harlequin Press Co., Ltd., 1952. xii + 311 pp.

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Selected Economic Studies and Reports

Economic Survey of Europe Since the War. (U.N. Publ. No. 1953.II.E.4) 385 pp. \$3.50 ; 25s. stg.; Sw. fr. 14.00. English edition. French and Russian editions in preparation.

A comprehensive report on the European economy since the end of the Second World War covering the present stagnation of the economy, problems of economic integration, trade with dollar areas, balance of payments difficulties, agricultural trends, manpower resources and development of heavy industries.

A Study of Trade Between Latin America and Europe. (U.N. Publ. No. 1952.II.G.2) 117 pp. \$1.25 ; 9s. stg.; Sw. fr. 5.00. English and Spanish editions.

This study presents a general review of the trade between Latin America and Europe during the past 50 years with a detailed analysis of the course and composition of imports from and exports to Latin American countries. Particular Latin American and European export commodities are surveyed.

Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East, 1952. 104 pp. \$1.00 ; 7s. 6d. stg.; Sw. fr. 4.00. English edition. French edition in preparation.

An analysis of the economy of the area during a crucial period. Three main parts of the Survey deal with production, international trade and payments, and monetary and fiscal developments.

Government Accounting and Budget Execution. (U.N. Publ. No. 1952.XVI.3) 90 pp. \$0.75 ; 5s. stg.; Sw. fr. 3.00. English edition. French and Spanish editions in preparation.

A review of the requirements for a system of government accounting together with descriptions of government accounting and budget execution systems in France, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United States.

Retail Price Comparisons for International Salary Determination. (U.N. Publ. No. 1952.XVII.5) 39 pp. \$0.40 ; 3s. stg.; Sw. fr. 1.50. English edition.

A survey of living costs in New York as compared to San José, Copenhagen, Cairo, Paris, Guatemala City, Rome, Mexico City, The Hague, Manila, Geneva, Bangkok and London. Prepared by the Statistical Office of the United Nations.

Instability in Export Markets of Under-Developed Countries. (U.N. Publ. No. 1952.II.A.1) 94 pp. \$1.00 ; 7s. 6d. stg.; Sw. fr. 4.00. English edition. French and Spanish editions in preparation.

A study of the relation of fluctuations in the prices of primary products to the ability of underdeveloped countries to obtain foreign exchange. The report is mainly based on findings covering a 50-year period.

Available in national currencies from Sales Agents for United Nations publications or from the Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York, or the Sales Section, European Office of the United Nations, Geneva, Switzerland.

Population Growth and Living Standards

by

Colin CLARK

Many countries are pursuing a policy of intensive economic development with the aim of increasing output per head and raising living standards. The fear has frequently been expressed that these objectives will not be attained unless the rate of population growth is substantially reduced. In the following article Mr. Colin Clark presents a long-term global picture of potential food supplies in relation to population. He concludes that, if all cultivable land were cultivated at a level of efficiency comparable with that now attained in Denmark, the world could provide for a far larger population than exists today or than is likely to exist even under conditions of improved medical and public health services and rising living standards. If, however, increases in total output are to keep ahead of increases in population, so as to provide for rising living standards, there are, Mr. Clark considers, three important conditions which will need to be satisfied: free emigration should be facilitated from a few isolated, overcrowded areas, although this is not a necessary economic solution for the problems of the larger countries; markets should be left open to absorb the exports of countries which must industrialise; and, especially for smaller, weaker countries, external assistance will be essential to provide capital for economic development.

The Review hopes to publish from time to time further contributions to the discussion of the problem of the relation of population growth to standards of living.

THE first and most important fact on this subject that we must take into account is that most religions (using the word religion in its broad sense, to include all the codes of belief and conduct by which men feel themselves bound, so that in this sense of the word all but a minority of mankind has a religion) welcome

and encourage the birth of a child. This is as much or more the case with Confucianism, Hinduism or Buddhism as it is with Christianity, Judaism or Islam. It is true that ideas and codes of conduct concerning family life differ somewhat and are subject to qualification between different religions and in different times and places, but the general statement remains true.

The next fact that must be recorded is that many people approach this subject with strong materialistic preconceptions. A basic aversion to religious belief is the essence of their position (glad though they are to receive support, from time to time, from various minority groups within the different religions). Their object of devotion, which takes the place of religion for them, is economic and material welfare. Such welfare is thought of, not only as an object good in itself (a proposition with which all sensible men would agree), but as an objective of such transcendent importance that any belief which conflicts with it has to go by the board. This point of view sometimes shows itself in its most extreme form among some of the younger American writers and propagandists concerned with the development of backward economies. Some religions, they say, such as Hinduism (but meaning others by implication, too) teach that man ought to practice, at any rate in certain circumstances, asceticism, or the renunciation of material goods for the sake of certain religious objectives. As material advancement and the selling of more goods are our basic objectives (these writers state) it is clear that we must do our best to discredit and destroy such religious beliefs.

Many Malthusians would deny that they had any anti-religious preconceptions. Their point of view, they say, is purely scientific. If that is so there cannot be any other group of scientists so ill informed on the facts with which they are supposed to deal. Many Malthusians have no knowledge of the simplest facts about population; and those who do know some demography seem to be almost universally uninformed on economics.

In another respect also most Malthusian propagandists give an extraordinary illustration of their unawareness of facts. They believe that if they can have the latest European and American contraceptives sufficiently advertised and cheaply distributed (presumably through some system of subsidisation) throughout the oriental countries, the number of children born in the Orient would immediately and permanently fall. Nothing seems more improbable. Children are born in the Orient, as they were among our ancestors, and as most children are born in the Christian world today, because of their parents' wishes and consciences and religious beliefs, not because their parents wish to prevent them from being born but are unable to obtain contraceptives. There have

certainly been occasions in the past when men have wished artificially to restrict their families, without any thought or knowledge of modern contraceptives. They have used the method described in the Book of Genesis, which is almost as old as the human race itself. Orientals at the present time would restrict their families if they really desired to do so. Nothing could be more futile—apart from the morality of it—than to attempt to distribute contraceptives among people who do not wish to use them.

It is, however, equally clear—and this is one of the most important of all religious teachings—that we are bound to promote the material welfare of our neighbour. But this objective clearly has qualifications in morals. When Hitler was plundering and enslaving the peoples around him he doubtless reflected with considerable pride on the way he was promoting the material welfare of the German people.

The *International Labour Review* is not, however, the place to discuss disputed points of religion or moral philosophy, though every prudent man should know when his political or economic proposals are likely to involve him in controversy on these subjects.

Subject to these qualifications, we can now discuss the relationship between population increase and economic and material welfare.

It seems to come as a surprise to many people to learn that there are a great many industries—probably the majority of industries in the modern community—which are quite specifically benefited by increasing population. These are the industries that work under the law of increasing returns rather than the law of diminishing returns. This is one of the simplest and at the same time most important propositions in economics. Many modern students of economics have their heads so filled with new but comparatively unimportant formulae that they do not give adequate attention to these important truths. The law of increasing returns prevails in any industry where, as a consequence of an increased scale of output, we can expect to obtain increasing returns per unit of labour or other economic resources employed.

What category of businesses can be more economically run on a large scale? The list includes most forms of large-scale manufacture, transport, postal communications, banking, insurance and the like. In fact most of the economic operations of a modern community are carried out in such a way that, if there were an increase in the population and the size of the market, organisation would become more economical and productivity per head would increase, not decrease. Without the large and densely settled population of North America and Western Europe, most modern industries would

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be working under great difficulties and at very high costs—it is doubtful, indeed, whether they could have come into existence at all.

Industries working under the law of diminishing returns are agriculture, mining, forestry and fishing, and some others which are dependent upon the use of scarce materials. Certain other industries, such as building, where the limiting economic factor appears to be shortage of men of the right kind of skill and organising ability, probably work under constant returns, i.e., intermediate between increasing and diminishing returns. On the other hand, some of the most highly mechanised branches of agriculture—production of sugar cane is probably the most interesting example—show every sign of working under increasing returns. That is to say, a district organised for producing sugar cane on a large scale, with its crushing mill and haulage systems laid out accordingly, probably enjoys a higher return per unit of labour than a smaller scale system.

At the time when Malthus wrote—or for that matter Ricardo—the law of diminishing returns was supposed to be universal. Although the businessman must have understood, in his own way, the advantages of production on a large scale, it was not until much later in the nineteenth century, at the time of Marshall and his contemporaries, that the law of increasing returns in industry was more clearly formulated. It is now, of course, fully understood and statistically measurable. (Dr. Verdoorn, the Netherlands statistician, has assembled a good deal of evidence to show that something like a definite mathematical law governs the extent to which product per man can rise as the scale of industry is increased.) But at the moment, for various reasons, it seems to receive inadequate attention in economic teaching and practically none in popular writings on economics.

The law of diminishing returns does not in the least mean what most people believe it to mean. It certainly does not mean that the returns from agriculture, or any other economic activity, diminish from year to year. The law has no reference to any supposed diminution in time. What the law of diminishing returns says, or at any rate the form of it which is applicable to our present discussion, is that if you put an increasing number of men to farm a limited area of land, then the returns per man will diminish (though the total returns from the land will increase).

But even stated in this way the law is only valid under certain conditions. A man's experience must be very limited if he does not know of some examples of densely populated farm areas producing more per head than less densely populated areas. The law of diminishing returns can only be said to be, in any sense of the word, a law if two further conditions are fulfilled: first, that

the inhabitants of the more densely settled area do not use any different farming methods from those of the less densely settled area, and secondly, that they do not employ any more capital per head.

These two further conditions make the law of very limited application indeed. For the use of improved farming methods and greater quantities of capital per man are precisely the steps taken by progressive countries when they find their population increasing and their area of agricultural land limited. If the law has much validity in practice, the statistician should be able to detect its operation by preparing a diagram in which one co-ordinate measures the number of men engaged in agricultural work per square kilometre of cultivable land and the other co-ordinate measures the real product obtained per man. Anyone who draws a diagram of this sort will soon see that the exceptions are more numerous than the cases in which the rule applies. It is interesting to see, however, that the rule holds moderately well when we are comparing the different provinces or regions within one country—for farming methods and skill and the amount of capital available per head do not differ very much between one region of the country and another.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND POPULATION

In the following table are summarised the figures for all the countries for which comparable results can be obtained. Density of agricultural population is classified by the number of persons engaged in agriculture per square kilometre of cultivable land (the definition of cultivable land will be given later). The only countries excluded are a few of the highest-income non-European countries. In countries like the United States, Australia and Argentina there is obviously no question of a shortage of land, so there is no need to put such countries in the table.

We have to use some standard of value to compare agricultural production per head in the different countries. As almost every country has its own pricing system for agricultural products, some international system of prices has to be used. For some purposes United States dollar prices can be used. In this case, however, it is more convenient to use Indian rupee prices of the year 1948-49. The relative prices of different agricultural products in India give results more akin to the price relationships prevailing in most of the low-income countries under study than do the United States relative prices.

We can see from the table how little relation there is, if any, between density of settlement and average product per head. About the same density of settlement prevails in Denmark as in Soviet Russia, but product per man in one case is five times what

CLASSIFICATION OF 26 COUNTRIES WITH RESPECT
TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE INTENSIVENESS
OF CULTIVATION AND AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT PER PERSON ENGAGED
IN CULTIVATION

Value of agricultural production per person engaged (rupees per year)	Number of persons engaged in agriculture per square kilometre of cultivable land					
	0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30
Below 1,000	.	Philip- pines	.	.	.	India
1,000-1,500	.	.	Turkey Yugoslavia U.S.S.R.	.	.	.
1,500-2,000	.	.	Poland	Rumania	.	Italy
2,000-2,500	Brazil	Greece	Cyprus Bulgaria	Portugal	.	.
2,500-3,000	.	France Austria	Spain	.	Hungary	.
3,000-3,500	Sweden	Ireland	Syria	.	.	.
3,500-4,000	.	.	Germany Czecho- slovakia	Belgium	.	.
4,000-4,500	.	.	.	.	.	.
4,500-5,000	.	Britain	.	Nether- lands	.	.
over 5,000	.	.	Denmark	.	.	.

it is in the other. Many people are concerned about the density of the agricultural population in India, and it is undoubtedly high. But it is equally high in Italy, where the average cultivator produces about twice as much as does the Indian. There is much talk about the possibility of introducing the Indian to tractors and milking machines and all the most modern agricultural equipment. Let us defer discussing this for the present—its time will come—and meanwhile set ourselves the much easier question, whether the Indian could learn and practise the simple arts of the Italian peasant, and use his simple equipment, for dairying, rice growing, fruit growing and similar activities. For if he could, he would be, within a few years, twice as well off as he is now.

It is difficult to teach the Indians any new agricultural methods. Better to try to obtain the same objective by reducing population density. For the sake of argument, let us consider this latter proposition. To carry it out, you will have to reduce the Indian population to one-quarter of what it is now. (A statistical estimation of the operation of the law of diminishing returns, made by

comparing different provinces or regions in the same country, indicates that there is probably an inverse square root relationship between the density of settlement and productivity per man.) The stoutest Malthusian would hesitate at the prospect of having to reduce the population by three-quarters and, in any case, how long would it take him to do it, even if he had his way in every respect, short of murder?

Any observation of these facts must make us realise what immense improvements are possible in agricultural productivity in most parts of the world. Such improvements cannot, of course, be had for the asking. To get them, an immense dissemination of education and technical knowledge will be needed, new equipment to a steadily increasing degree, and capital to provide equipment, livestock and buildings. Whether there is any hope of obtaining this capital is a question which will be discussed shortly.

The most successful farming, as judged by the ability to obtain the highest product at the highest density of settlement, is to be found in Denmark and the Netherlands, with Belgium and Britain not far behind. In Denmark the high figure is obtained with a density of settlement of ten men engaged in agricultural work per square kilometre of cultivable land, in the Netherlands with 17. Farm economists in the Netherlands mostly agree, in the interests of efficient operation, that they would not like to see this high density further exceeded. However, the Netherlands farmers have provided very concrete evidence that agricultural land can be worked, and yield a high product, at this high density of settlement. Their country has, however, a soil of unusual fertility, and some may prefer to take Denmark, with ten men per square kilometre, as the reasonable standard. At any rate, it cannot be said that here we are dealing with soil of unusual fertility. Rather the reverse.

Now we must discuss what we mean by cultivable land. In Western Europe we come to think of practically the whole land surface as cultivable (if we include intensive livestock grazing as cultivation) except for a few swamps and extremely mountainous areas. But extending our view we see that limits are imposed by cold (as we approach the Arctic Circle or mountainous regions) or by aridity (as in parts of Spain). In dealing with other parts of the world these climatic limits are of much greater importance.

Cultivable land is measured in climatic terms. It is true that in some countries there are large areas where, although climatic conditions are satisfactory, the soil is believed to be so poor that no cultivation is possible, particularly in tropical areas. But the consensus of opinion among chemists is that these defects can be remedied, though it is costly to do so. Climatic defects, on the

other hand, can only be remedied by extremely costly methods (irrigation or glass houses) and we can assume that no really large-scale operations of this nature will be practicable.

Using the Thornthwaite climatic classification¹, we assume that the poleward limit of cultivable land is where the cold "taiga" climates begin. At the other end we must exclude all arid deserts and all but a very small fraction of the semi-arid land—of which there is a great deal in India, Africa and Australia—where only sparse grazing is possible. The next category is the subhumid lands, half of which are regarded as cultivable, except that where they have a regular rainy season the proportion may rise to two-thirds or five-sixths. The main body of cultivable land in all continents, however, is the land with wet or humid temperate or subtropical climate. The only further exception we must make is that in the areas where high tropical temperatures combine with all-the-year-round rainfall, the land (if fertilised) is capable of growing two crops a year, and is accordingly counted as double in compiling the total estimate of cultivable land.

Denmark has no more than 39,000 square kilometres of cultivable land. Denmark's net exports (i.e., exports less imports) of farm products are as much as 45 per cent. of net product (defined as output less seeds and fodder used up in the process of production). Denmark, therefore, in effect, feeds not only her own population of 4.4 million, but another 3.6 million people elsewhere, or 8 million in all; that is, about 200 people are fed per square kilometre of cultivable land.

The question is often asked, how many people can now be fed by one man working on the land? There is, of course, no single answer. Net productivity of a man on the land varies in different places and at different times. We must also remember that the amount of food which people expect to have supplied to them also varies. But, under modern Danish conditions, you have ten men working per square kilometre of land and 200 people supplied thereby, or 20 people supplied by one man. If we take dependants into account, we can say that one farm family supplies about eight families all told—itsself and seven others. Or, if you like to put it more prosaically, we can say that if we assume that there is no net import or export of farm products a country with agriculture as productive as in Denmark and with a population whose standards of feeding are as high as those of the Danes will have to keep about 12½ per cent. of its labour force occupied in agriculture.

¹ All these workings and classifications were set out in detail in the author's paper to the United Nations Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilisation of Resources (Lake Success, Aug. 1949).

In some of the non-European countries we can of course obtain higher figures of the number of persons fed per agricultural worker, or lower figures of the proportion of the labour force required in agriculture.

At Danish standards, therefore, of productivity on the one hand and of diet on the other, a square kilometre of cultivable land will provide for about 200 people, or a square mile for about 500. On this standard, how much of the world is overpopulated, or how much additional population can it support? On the criterion of having sufficient land to feed one's population at these Danish standards, the only countries in the world which are overcrowded (not counting a few small isolated settlements) are Japan, the Netherlands, Belgium and probably Switzerland (if we take its high proportion of mountainous area into account). The Federal Republic of Germany is just on the borderline. England is overcrowded if considered in isolation, but not if the territory and populations of Scotland and Northern Ireland are considered in conjunction with it. The population of India and Pakistan per square mile of cultivable land is about 400—high, but not above the limit. The corresponding figure for China is lower, probably between 300 and 350. For Indonesia it is much lower, but here the position is complicated by the greater part of the population being concentrated in the one island of Java, while the rest of a very large cultivable area is almost uninhabited.

In countries like Britain, Belgium and Germany it is taken for granted that the population will not try to support itself entirely on its own limited land area and that a substantial proportion of the inhabitants will be engaged in export industries in order to purchase food and raw materials from elsewhere. Until recently this was taken for granted in the case of Japan also. Some people now talk about Japan having difficulty in supporting her increasing population on her limited area. This sort of statement only has meaning if one assumes that Japan is to be excluded from all export trade.

Europe, excluding the U.S.S.R. (pre-war territory), has 1,400,000 square miles of cultivable land. In this area live 450 million people, who obtain (taken altogether) some 95 per cent. of their food supplies from European agricultural production. If all of Europe were as closely settled as Denmark, 700 million people would be able to obtain their food supplies from this area. Europe is the most densely settled of the continents. The United States and Canada have 2,275,000 square miles of cultivable land, with only 175 million people on it, only a small fraction of the numbers it could feed, even on European standards of cultivation. Latin America has approximately the same numbers, about 170 million

people, but in this case there are 7 million square miles of cultivable land. Africa, with 6 million square miles, has a population of only 210 million and Oceania only 30 million population with a million square miles of cultivable land.

One of the world's most congested regions is the Middle East, where 78 million people live with only 171,000 square miles of cultivable land. Even so, the density is below the limit which we set ourselves; the land is farmed in the Middle East much less efficiently than in Denmark, and a good deal of now arid land could be brought into cultivation by means of irrigation if sufficient capital were available.

The rest of south-east Asia, apart from Indonesia, is also lightly populated, with only 95 million people on 1,250,000 square miles of cultivable land. There has been so much talk about south-east Asia and its problems that it comes as a shock to realise that a great deal of it is uninhabited. This is the case for almost the whole of Malaya, large areas of Burma and Siam, and a considerable part of the monsoon-climate area of Burma.

Most of the world, therefore, is populated at far below its potential density. The world's total area of cultivable land (allowing for double cropping in the highest-rainfall tropical areas) is 24 million square miles, and at Danish standards of cultivation and consumption could support 12,000 million people, as opposed to the 2,300 million people it supports now.

Now let us leave economics and go back to demography. Some demographers may admit the truth of these economic and geographical facts, but then go on to say that Danish (or any other) standards of high cultivation could never be reached, for the reason that population increases in many of the countries concerned are so unbearably rapid that they are bound to overtake any increase in production. Statements like this, which are often made *a priori* without ascertaining the available facts, soon tend to be generalised until they form a theoretical Malthusian statement that population everywhere and at every time is tending to press upon the means of subsistence. The true facts on this subject are simple, but seem to be known by very few people and conflict with popular belief at almost every point.

THE FERTILITY OF THE HUMAN RACE

If every woman married young, and there were no restriction of births of any kind, what would the average size of the family be? (We are discussing now not the number of children surviving, but the number born.) The answer is about six. That is to say, this would be the average number of living children born to the average woman

who had survived to the age of 45 and had been married all the time. The families of women who died earlier would of course be smaller.

What is the evidence for this? First, uncertain and imprecise, but covering a very wide range of time and place, comes the evidence of the anthropologists. According to their evidence, this seems to be the average number of children born in primitive communities. In these communities every woman marries young, and, as there is nearly always a surplus of males, a woman left widowed will probably be remarried almost immediately. Practices for the artificial prevention of conception, though known among some primitive peoples, appear to be rare.

The next evidence, much more precise but from far fewer sources, comes from certain countries with a simple agricultural economy where good demographic records are available. (The reader should be aware that outside Western Europe, North America, Australasia and Japan most countries have no proper record of the number of births and deaths, much less the accurate census tables and other material needed for demographic calculation.) Brazil and Ceylon are among the few countries for which proper census records are available from which demographic calculation can be made. China has had no sort of census for more than a century, but one or two carefully conducted sample inquiries by Western observers in limited areas give us some interesting material. The third piece of evidence, from an entirely different source and only recently available, is very concrete. The medical sub-committee of the recent British Royal Commission on Population collected a good deal of information from women which, by an ingenious statistical method, was put together in such a form as to show what the total fertility of the modern English woman would be if she married early and if throughout her married life no restriction were imposed upon conception. The answer here also came to a figure in the neighbourhood of six.

Most people (including many biologists and doctors) have somehow acquired the opinion that the natural fertility of the human race is much higher than this. Popular opinion is even more misinformed. Ask anyone what was the size of the average Victorian family and he will probably say that it was about 12; in fact the average family in Victorian England (or in most of nineteenth-century Europe) was about five.

The next point which must be made clear is that, in the conditions in which mankind has been living throughout the greater part of its history on this earth, and in which the majority of mankind is living today, an average family of six children barely suffices to maintain the population. Primitive populations, generally speaking, do not increase.

At the beginning of the Christian era the estimates of historians put the population of the world at about 250 million. We can accept this estimate with the widest margin of error. It does not matter very much, from our present point of view, whether we put the figure at 150 million or 500 million. The point is that the human race began, so the geologists tell us, 500,000 years ago. (The evidence accepted by geologists and by biologists appears to be of a far lower order of accuracy than that used by economists and demographers, low though that may be; the geologists sometimes behave as if an extra zero in their figure were a comparatively minor matter, while some of the biologists have recently tried to raise the figure from half a million to a million years.) But on this assumption of half a million years we must deduce that the average rate of increase in numbers of the human race, over the greater part of its existence, was not more than .004 per cent. per annum.

Between the beginning of the Christian era and the seventeenth century, for which period we have rather more population information, the average rate of increase of mankind accelerated somewhat, but was still no more than .04 per cent. per annum. A rate of increase of as much as 1 per cent. per annum became apparent in Britain and Ireland towards the end of the eighteenth century, and from about the middle of the nineteenth century onwards the average rate of increase of the whole world has been slightly over 1 per cent. per annum. In some areas the figure has been as high as 2 per cent. per annum and in a few cases as high as 3 per cent. (natural increase, apart from immigration), for example in the United States in its early years of development and in modern Ceylon.

It is clear that there is, among primitive people, a mortality such as to require an average family of six just to maintain the population. Though wars and famines do occur among primitive people, it would not be in accordance with the evidence to describe them as chronic. Most of their mortality seems to be due to the general hardships of life and the absence of any form of medical treatment.

But we must also realise how widely these conditions have been applied, in the past, among supposedly civilised as well as primitive peoples, and how extensively they still apply today. The evidence of Indian history seems to show that the population was much the same in the fourth century B.C., the seventeenth century A.D., and also in the early nineteenth century. It was quite late in the nineteenth century that any real expansion of the Indian population began. It is obviously wrong to say that India's population over this long period was held in check by some natural limits; it stood over most of this period at about 150 million, or not much more than a third of the population which India and Pakistan (without

any great improvement in agricultural methods) are carrying now. The long history of India shows varying phases of order and good government, followed by war, disorder and anarchy. In the latter phases not only production but also population is reduced.

More or less similar conclusions can be drawn from a study of Chinese history. What very few people realise, however, is that the Chinese population has apparently been in a stationary or declining phase ever since 1850—this is the opinion of two of the world's most careful demographers, Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders and Professor Wilcox. The tragic events of the last two decades have apparently greatly accelerated the decline, and there is evidence now that large areas of cultivable land in China are uninhabited.

Still more striking is the possibility of seeing in our own times an actual change of trend taking place. Indonesia, before 1941, caused some concern among demographers by maintaining a persistent rate of increase, under Netherlands rule, of as high as 2 per cent. per annum. The problem was complicated, as has been mentioned before, by the concentration of almost the whole of the population in Java while the other islands were largely uninhabited. But now the (extremely uncertain) estimates of population are only a few per cent. above the 1941 level. Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders has evidence to show that in Africa population has been stationary over very long periods. Probably it only began to increase in this century. Still more surprisingly, in Latin America, which was supposedly civilised, there were long periods of stagnation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Both the historical and present-day evidence seems to point to the same conclusion, that any appreciable population increase is only possible when two conditions are fulfilled, namely, the establishment of a firm and ordered political system and the dissemination and utilisation of some medical knowledge. It is doubtful whether there has ever been, in historical fact, an actual instance of the supposed Malthusian universal, of population overtaking of the supposed agricultural productivity, multiplying right up to the limits of subsistence, and then being held in check by some new form of "vice or misery". Agricultural methods themselves are susceptible of considerable change. In most modern communities improvements in technique lead to a rise in agricultural productivity, without any additional labour force or the cultivation of any additional land, at a rate faster than any probable rate of increase in population. This does not apply in the West alone. In Japan product per man in agriculture has risen steadily since the 1890s at a rate of 2 per cent. per annum.

Ireland is sometimes quoted as an example. Population increased fairly rapidly in the eighteenth century, not because of

abnormally large families but because of good health and reduced mortality. British legislation forbade this increasing population to find employment in industry, but a new form of agriculture based on potato growing provided adequate food supplies—until the famine of 1845. But the important point is that the Irish population had practically stopped increasing by 1831—emigration was outbalancing almost the whole of the natural increase. The famine was mainly due to a fungal disease of potatoes which could easily be checked under modern conditions, and its worst consequences could have been avoided under more far-sighted and humane administration.

Another example sometimes quoted is that of the irrigation settlements in India. It is said that as soon as additional land is made available for cultivation through irrigation works the population of the district rapidly increases, and density of population per square mile of cultivable land is soon as high as it was before. This is probably true; but there is no evidence that it is due to either increased births or reduced mortality among the inhabitants; all the probabilities are against this. What has happened is precisely what one might have expected—the migration of a large number of would-be settlers from other parts of India.

All the above facts and reasoning constitute a very unexpected approach to the problem, though it may be claimed that they are both true and important. Some readers may accept them, but still have misgivings. They may grant that no part of the world has ever yet come within sight of overpopulation in the Malthusian sense of the term, and that Malthus's ideas of history were as odd as his ideas of agriculture. They may grant that the world still contains enormous areas of cultivable land capable of settlement. But they will also point out the immense acceleration of the pace of medical improvement during the past generation. There is some (not complete) evidence that the rate of decline of mortality in Asia in this century is far more rapid than was the rate of decline of mortality in nineteenth-century Europe. With the prospect of continuously decreasing rates of mortality, and with the hope of world peace and good government (for which we are all certainly labouring our hardest), will we not create in the course of the next century a world population problem of quite unmanageable dimensions? An average of six children per family, which appears to be the natural rate of reproductivity of the human race, just suffices to keep population stationary under primitive conditions and allows for a rate of population increase of 1 or 2 per cent. per annum in a settled and civilised agrarian economy, but what might it lead to if the whole world enjoyed rates of mortality as low as those of advanced western communities? Under such conditions about

90 per cent. of the children born survive to child-bearing age, and even if we allow that a certain proportion of them remain unmarried we are still going to get a rate of population increase of about 4 per cent. per annum, or population doubling every 20 years. The 3 per cent. per annum rates of increase already observed in the early years of the United States and in present-day Ceylon arise from the conjuncture of very large families with low mortality rates.

This all turns on the question of whether the average family is likely to remain as high as six. Instances have been given from the primitive and the modern world. But in India, for which we have a considerable number of sample studies, it appears doubtful whether the average family of Hindus was ever more than five. (Among the Moslem and Christian minorities larger families are found.) This is apparently due to the curious Hindu rule which forbids the remarriage of widows. In Japan we can trace the fall from six at the beginning of the present century to a figure of only four by 1940, and apparently lower again now. Dr Lorimer's study of Soviet Russia traces a similar movement up to 1938. In India sample studies show a considerable fall in the size of family in industrial cities, and some statisticians qualified to judge think that, taking India as a whole, the average family may now be as low as four.

We have not enough information to make a detailed and accurate analysis of what is going on in most of these countries, and it will probably be many years before such information is available. But one point which is brought out in the writings of Dr. Ghosh about Indian population is that the marked decline in reproductivity in the partially industrialised areas of the Orient is probably due not to the restriction of births in marriage, but to later marriage. Throughout the Orient very early marriages have been until recently the rule, and a deferment of only a year or two may make a very considerable difference to total fertility. Alike in the medical and statistical evidence of the fertility of the average human family we see clearly that the greater part of the births occur in the comparatively early years of married life.

Even though the statistical interpretations of it may differ somewhat, there can be no doubt about the deceleration of the rate of India's population growth. Prior to 1921 the rate of growth was less than 1 per cent. per annum. From 1921 to 1931 India's population grew by 11 per cent., and from 1931 to 1941 by 16 per cent., but between 1941 and 1951 the increase was again only about 11 per cent. (taking India and Pakistan together for the latter year). The Bengal famine of 1943 and the massacre of refugees on both sides of the border at the time of the separation of Pakistan from India

in 1947 were both dreadful events, but they cannot account for more than a small fraction of the observed deceleration of the population increase. For the decade 1951-61, on the basis of the information available, there is every indication that the net rate of population growth will prove to be less than 1 per cent. per annum.

In Ceylon, likewise, there is fairly clear evidence that the average total fertility has fallen from six to five in one generation.

There is neither need nor space to attempt to trace all the causes of these phenomena. In an urban population the desires to accumulate money and achieve social position are a far greater force than in a static peasant community, and the incentives to bring up families are thereby weakened. To what extent religious beliefs become weakened when a peasant community becomes urbanised is also a matter for discussion; sometimes it undoubtedly occurs, but even among those urbanised Hindus, for instance, who retain their religious beliefs in full, there is clearly some tendency to reduce the size of the family.

In India, therefore, which many people thought to possess the world's most intractable population problem, the situation is very different from what is commonly supposed. The work of Indian statisticians shows that the rise in production has since 1870 been far greater than the rise in population, and there is every prospect that, with increasing industrialisation, this process will continue.

Neither is this the place to discuss the extraordinary change in the population trend in North America and Western Europe that has occurred during the past decade. Many of these western communities now have a rate of natural increase far higher than that of Asia, and look like maintaining it.

High net rates of population increase are found in Latin America, in Africa, in the Middle East (it is here that the problem is so serious, because resources of land are very limited, and increasing cultivation by irrigation works is bound to be a slow and costly process) and in some, but not all, of the countries of south-east Asia. Most of the countries with the highest rates of population increase are those which have very considerable resources of unused agricultural land. There cannot, therefore, be said to be any serious danger of food shortage, except that which is brought about by their own misgovernment.

CAPITAL RESOURCES

We can now bring this discussion to a conclusion, and also examine one final point—capital accumulation—on which serious misgivings may be felt. For the more advanced countries, which already have a fairly dense population and a good transport system,

the obvious line of development is industrialisation. Once the earliest difficulties have been overcome—admittedly a slow and hazardous process—the law of increasing returns comes into operation, and every further increase in population makes the industrialisation process more remunerative.

Industrialisation for the purpose of developing exports is not a possibility open to every country. In some cases even industrialisation to supply local needs is hopelessly uneconomic. Generally speaking a sparse population, lack of transport, lack of education and remoteness from world markets are factors which may make industrialisation very difficult. The presence or absence of local raw materials is a matter of very secondary importance. Japan and Switzerland are examples of highly successful industrialisation, and both are virtually lacking in indigenous raw materials.

Where industrialisation is not possible, or involves too great difficulties and hazards, the alternative policy of extended agriculture must be followed. Most of the countries involved have resources of unused land. This is not the case in a few isolated densely populated areas, mostly islands, such as Mauritius, the Cape Verde Islands, and the British West Indies. In such cases, where transport difficulties impede industrialisation, emigration is the only satisfactory solution.

But we must mention in this connection Puerto Rico, which for many years has been sitting heavily upon the American conscience, and has provoked many Americans into believing it to be a case of overpopulation. The American conscience can now be at rest. After a long period of stagnation Puerto Rico has shown since 1939 a rate of development of real income, and economic development generally, without parallel in world history, leaving the Japanese rate of growth far behind. This has depended upon two elements, an intensification and technical improvement of sugar production and a widespread programme of industrialisation. Emigration has played a comparatively minor role. Though dependent upon a rather costly shipping service Puerto Rico is near enough to the United States market (and within the same tariff wall) to be able to participate very remuneratively in the United States industrial structure.

But, whether for industrialisation or for the extension of agricultural production, considerable capital resources are required. It is very easy to underrate the amounts necessary. Satisfactory agricultural development often requires amounts comparable with those required for industrial development. It is a great mistake to consider solely factories or livestock. Whoever hears now of the Bombay Plan, the project which attracted world-wide attention in 1945, whereby India's real national income was to be doubled

in 15 years? This Plan was prepared by businessmen, and made quite careful estimates of the capital which would be required for the large-scale industrialisation of India. These were literally true; what the Plan forgot was the enormous further investment which would be needed for housing, transport, education and other social needs.

The amount of capital required per head in these countries is generally equal to about four years' income per head. The figures, of course, vary enormously between trades. A carpenter needs no more capital than a bag of tools; the capital used by a telephone operator is more than she could earn in a lifetime. But generally speaking, averaging all trades together, the four to one rule holds. (Some people may ask, does this mean that each unit of additional capital earns a 25 per cent. return? It does, in the sense that 100 units of capital invested cause national income to rise by 25 units per annum. But of this additional product labour will demand at least 15 units, even in an oriental country—more like 20 units in a western country—leaving something between 5 and 10 units per annum as a remuneration to the investor of the 100 units of capital.)

This means that, to cover an increase in the labour force of 1 per cent., a capital investment equal to 4 per cent. of the national income will be necessary. We thus get a very simple rule. Take the expected rate of population increase and multiply it by four. This gives us the percentage of national income which has to be invested in order to provide employment, of the same average kind as now exists, for the increasing population. This investment may come from internal savings or external borrowing. It is only in so far as the rate of investment exceeds the rate of population increase multiplied by four that anything will be left over for industrialisation or for raising standards of real income per head.

It is unfortunately impossible to test out this interesting rule because of the almost complete lack of reliable statistics of the rate of saving in the underdeveloped countries. Some figures from India before the war indicate a rate of saving of about 6 per cent. of the national income. There are unfortunately some signs that this rate of saving was not resumed in the post-war years, but if anything like this figure prevails now it is well in excess of four times the rate of population growth, and therefore leaves a margin (though less than might be desired) for industrialisation, before any inflow of external capital is considered. But India is in a more fortunate position than many of the underdeveloped countries. In many cases, where rates of population increase are higher and rates of saving in all probability lower, there will be a retrogression of economic standards unless a substantial inflow of external capital is possible.

CONCLUSION

We can bring it all down in the end then to a single conclusion. Any foreseeable rate of population increase, in any part of the world, can be economically provided for at a satisfactory and indeed rising standard of real income, subject to three conditions. The first, which is of comparatively minor importance, is that free emigration should be facilitated from a few isolated overcrowded areas. Here the numbers involved are small. Emigration is not a necessary economic solution for the problems of the larger countries, whatever may be the rights and wrongs of it in general.

The next condition is that for large and densely populated countries, such as India, which have reached the stage where industrialisation is obviously their only suitable prospect of economic advancement, the rest of the world, even if it cannot offer direct help for such industrialisation, should at least co-operate by leaving markets open for these countries to sell their goods and not place tariff and quota restrictions upon their trade. Japan was treated with gross unfairness by the Western powers in the 1930s, and this played a considerable part in forming her determination to go to war.

Countries which have already reached the size and stage of development of India and Brazil, for instance, will probably be able to proceed with industrialisation using their own resources only, though it will be much slower than would be possible if they received external assistance. In the smaller, weaker countries the receipt of external assistance is a necessary condition without which further development will not be possible. How this should be organised, and how the responsibilities should be shared among the different lending countries, cannot now be discussed.

It may well be that many of those who advocate population limitation in the oriental countries do so precisely because they do not like the idea either of emigration or of leaving markets open to oriental goods, or of giving any capital assistance to weaker countries. If there are any such it is time that their uncharitable motives were exposed.

The Order of the Companions

Revival of an Ancient Workers' Association in France

by

Jean BERNARD

There has recently been a revival in France of an ancient international association of workers, the Compagnonnage. The aim of the association, which is not a trade union and does not aspire to the functions of a union, is to offer young workers a thorough grounding in a trade and an "apprenticeship to life" through the medium of the trade.

The history of this association, which has branches in a number of European countries, goes back to a time earlier than that of the craft guilds¹—popular tradition traces its foundation to the reign of Solomon. In the following pages Mr. Jean Bernard, who has taken a prominent part in the revival, traces the history of the association and describes the services it has rendered to workers in France in the past and the opportunities it offers today. The young French worker of today, he says, can enjoy all the important benefits bestowed by this association on his forefathers; and these benefits are as valuable and necessary to the youth of today as they were to the workers of earlier times.

¹ The Order of the Companions must not be confused with the craft guilds, which had certain similar features; under the guild system, as in the Order, it was customary in France and Germany in certain trades for each craftsman who had completed his apprenticeship to travel from place to place learning new methods of work and to perform a piece of work, a "master-piece", as evidence of his capacity; and during this stage of his career he was known in France as a *compagnon* (English "journeyman"). The Order described here is a very ancient association of workers which unites men of the same trade for the purposes of training and mutual assistance outside the official trade organisations.

THE Order of the Companions has come to us down the ages in many different forms; originally it united the members of a primitive and patriarchal hierarchy of craftsmen in a kind of itinerant working community; later it was limited to actual employees and later still, at the end of the nineteenth century, it was obliged by its own mistakes and the disaffection of the workers to return to a more flexible association. Despite these changes it has always, except at periods when it lost its character and vitality, remained faithful to its essential principle—the practice of a trade. For its object is to hand down a trade—not merely technical ability (a school could do that) but also the formative influences that go with a trade. The order offers the individual a full development of his personality by character training, the development of his skill and a novel and effective form of mutual assistance.

Being primarily an educative influence, the Order has always devoted its attention to the young¹, and travel is an important feature of its programme. Nowhere has the idea of the importance of travel in the training of youth been applied so wholeheartedly, and in France (to mention but one country where the Order has its following)² it is essential to the title of "Companion" for its holder to have made the *Tour de France*. The title would have much more meaning if the barrier of frontiers were swept away, and it is perhaps appropriate that the International Labour Office should publish an account of the revival of the Order.

TRADITION AND HISTORY

However much one tries to make such an account realistic, topical and constructive, it is impossible to pass over the historical background to the Order. The groups affiliated to it at the present time have carefully preserved stories founded as much on legend as on fact and are thus the direct inheritors of a centuries-old tradition.

Legend has it that the Order was founded by Solomon when he built the Temple. However, a tragedy, the murder of Hiram, one of those responsible for the building, split the Order into three—the Children of Solomon and the Children of the two followers of Hiram, Soubise and Maître Jacques. According to the legend

¹ The average age is 17-25.

² The Order is also very widespread in Germany and central Europe, but is less organised there than in France.

the two followers left Palestine and sailed to Gaul (the birthplace of Maître Jacques himself) and there developed the Order. According to a variant of this legend—one of many—Maître Jacques and Soubise (who becomes Father Soubise, a Benedictine monk) were two mediaeval master craftsmen who split the old Order of the Children of Solomon by founding two new branches of the Order during the building of the Cathedral of the Holy Cross at Orleans.

The truth behind the legend is probably that the Order began to break up in the fifteenth century, one product of the split being a branch of Protestants and recalcitrants who took the name of "foreigners" or "Gavots" (from a farm in the Cévennes where many Protestants had taken refuge) and later, after the French Revolution, banded together under the name of "Liberty". This title is revealing. The story goes that, in order to give themselves the prestige of a legendary group, the rebels claimed that they represented a return to the truth of the original idea and were therefore the real "Children of Solomon". However that may be, from these troubled and obscure beginnings there originated in France, where the Order seems to have taken root, three branches which have come down to us today—the Children of Solomon, the Children of Maître Jacques and the Children of Father Soubise. The Children of Solomon formed the "Order of the Duty of Liberty"¹ and those of Maître Jacques and Father Soubise the "Order of Duty".²

In the light of history we may conclude that at the outset the Order was composed of groups of builders united in travelling companies and working under the authority of master craftsmen. This form of team work was the only kind conceivable between the tenth and thirteenth centuries and, in their heyday, these groups provided skilled men to direct the activities of all the local labour that could be called upon to work. Compared with the local workers the members of these groups enjoyed a certain freedom—hence the

¹ The Companions of the Duty of Liberty originally comprised the "foreign" stonemasons of the Duty of Liberty, a branch which has now died out, and the joiners and locksmiths of the Duty of Liberty. In the nineteenth century a further split brought in the carpenters and, later, the coopers, shoemakers and bakers.

² The Order of Duty comprised the followers of Father Soubise—carpenters, tilers and plasterers, and the followers of Maître Jacques—stonemasons, joiners, locksmiths, smiths and mechanics, farriers and agricultural mechanics, saddlers and harness makers, vehicle upholsterers, coopers, wheelwrights, coach builders and sheet-metal workers, shoemakers, bakers, weavers and silk spinners.

The tanners, dyers, rope makers, basket workers, hatters, leather dressers, smelters, pin makers, cloth shearers, wood turners, glaziers, stove setters, cutlers, tinsmiths, nailsmiths, linen dealers and clog makers, who all belonged to the Children of Maître Jacques, have now disappeared.

name "freemason", originally applied in Germany, where the system was particularly prevalent. The building trades were therefore the cradle of the Order, which grew up at a time when techniques were just beginning to develop, though a number of occupations outside the building trades also adopted the customs of the Order. It appears, therefore, that the Order in its original, patriarchal form, preceded the guilds organised in France under the *ancien régime*.

The settlement in the rising communes of sedentary groups of tradesmen—later to become the guilds—was not fatal to the Order. It continued to provide additional workers here and there, and for a long time it served to regulate the flow of labour. It flourished side by side with the guilds throughout the *ancien régime* in France but, unlike the guilds, it came to embrace all who cherished their independence or were unable to enter the guilds or become master craftsmen. Occasionally it waged local battles with the master craftsmen in the workers' interests, and thus has some claim to be considered as the forerunner of all workers' movements. So the Order remained until the French Revolution. The fact that there were during this period several associations of "Companions" so bitterly hostile that they were prepared to massacre one another is explained by historians as an outcome of the wars of religion; the split in the Order occurred at the same time as the schism in Christianity itself, and the activities of the various branches of the Order were profoundly affected by the disruption of Europe and the resultant rise of nationalities.

The French Revolution found the Order divided but relatively peaceful. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the dormant conflicts of the past broke out anew. The Revolution, in breaking down the structure of the guilds and suppressing their abuses, simultaneously deprived the worker of all assistance from his fellow tradesmen, all support in his early years and any possibility of obtaining organised instruction. The Order of the Companions alone survived, despite successive blows from the Convention, the Empire and the Restoration. It survived in dangerous obscurity and then expanded out of all proportion, since all young workers used it as the only institution that offered them some guidance in their early years. This sudden growth was disquieting to the authorities and aroused the interest of those who were trying to secure a sphere of influence in the nascent proletariat. In this way the split, which had originally been religious, became political, despite the efforts of Agricola Perdiguier (1805-75), the apostle of the Order. The ensuing discord robbed this noble institution of all its remaining influence over the workers.

It has been held that the development of the railways upset the wandering habits of the Order. Yet technical standardisation (which is far from being universally complete, particularly at the international level) has certainly done more; travel is no longer necessary for full knowledge of a trade. Specialisation has also been a factor in the decline; it has robbed the worker of the opportunity of personal achievement. Some of the blame may also be attributed to the decline in the birth rate in rural districts, which have always been the Order's best source of recruits. In large peasant families one or two of the sons often leave home to learn a trade in the local town, and for them the Order is unequalled as a guide and protector.

None of these factors, however, can be regarded as a major cause of the decline of the Order. In our opinion nothing contributed to its decline so much as its manifest inability, from the second half of the nineteenth century, to respond to the aspirations of the working people and to help them to gain their freedom. In France its efforts met with rapturous enthusiasm. A sympathetic and expectant movement formed around *Perdiguier*, its leader, though he met with considerable opposition within the branches of the Order. The prominent figures of the age supported it, there was no doubt as to its influence and there seemed no obstacle to its advance. Had the Order not missed this opportunity the whole course of the workers' movement would have changed, and the social problems which were to prove such a battleground in the future would probably not have been approached from the same angle. Hence, there can be no doubt that trade unionism as we know it was born out of the failure of the Order.

A knowledge of the above background is necessary to arrive at a true appreciation of the present movement. The Order was born out of the old societies, whose membership in France had fallen considerably after the turn of the century. Between the two wars there still remained a few thousand members and a steady flow of recruits. These belonged to three branches—the Companions of Duty, which included groups from all affiliated occupations, the Companions of the Duty of Liberty, with a membership of some 200 to 300 carpenters and a few joiners, and the Union of the Companions, a nineteenth-century offshoot which is attacked by the two other branches on the grounds that its structure takes insufficient account of tradition and corporate feeling. It is true that with the fall in numbers there was a rise in the average quality of the membership of the Order. It was no longer the mass movement it had been at the beginning of the nineteenth century (it is not suited for a mass movement) but it was recognised

—and still is—as an Order accessible only to workers of proved skill and high moral standards. In this way the Order once again became an élite, but a somewhat self-centred élite without influence on the lives of working people.

THE REVIVAL OF THE ORDER

The Order has now been completely transformed. It has thrown open its doors and entered on a period of fruitful activity, whereby it has won the favour of both young workers and employers in France. It effected the transformation by suddenly renewing its interest in social problems after a difficult period when its very survival had seemed in doubt, when the Companions of the various associations had essayed a revival by such remedies as amendments to the rules, the organisation of federations and mutual-aid societies, traditional festivals and exhibitions of works of art—but not once by a resolute plunge into the vital needs of the present day; and yet, as is now clear, it had all the time a magnificent contribution to offer.

It may well be asked what purpose is served by this devotion to an institution which has never been united and which is bitterly divided, apparently beyond all hope of reconciliation. Why persevere with an idea which, though based on perfect solidarity, has nevertheless bred so much lasting discord? The response that the movement has evoked in every generation has established in all its members a sacred bond of continuing devotion. The echo it awakens among working people has ensured its immortality, one might almost say its immutability. What links the present and the future in the minds of those who lead the Order is its extraordinary usefulness and practical nobility and the certainty that if it were to die there would be nothing to replace it, and something would be lacking in the lives of working people. The Order has a stirring history; it heralded the conquests of the working man and was the fountain-head of his purest spirit, that spirit of the early days when the workers had not yet given up their faith at the legendary schism of Orleans and had not yet been deprived of their intelligentsia by the departure—the word treason might perhaps be more fitting—of their thinkers and creative artists as a result of the Renaissance. In later times the Order was the champion of the outcasts, of those who had been abandoned by their wealthier or more gifted brothers, and it was for a long time the sole champion of the workers.

A century ago the Order was the focal point of all those aspirations from which sprang the earliest manifestations of the solidarity

working men.¹ It was within the Order that the pattern of friendly societies, co-operatives, vocational training and trade unionism first took shape. Admittedly all these broke away like many golden treasures slowly transformed into a baser metal by the action of men and institutions. It may be objected that in the Order this social progress never got further than the project stage, that it remained a mere intuitive idea or even a vague desire, and that no achievements of any magnitude ensued. This is true in a sense; the reason is that, in its relations with men, the Order was never able to adapt itself boldly to changing times.² On the other hand it was the last refuge of a genuinely popular art, the only institution to keep alive the tradition of the craftsman, and one of the richest sources of folklore. What is more, its "mothers" provided the idea which launched the youth hostels, and the "Mother of the Companions" was the prototype of the welfare worker of today.

What of the present? Few know that the Order still exists. It is remembered only as an attractive and mysterious, perhaps haunting, chapter in the history of labour. It is only too readily depicted as an obsolete association, mainly composed of craftsmen who meet at festivals. The public (referred to as "laymen" by the Companions) knows nothing of the Order's essential and continuing work in a number of occupations, particularly the building trades. For those, however, who look closely into its new work with all its inherent possibilities there can be no doubt that workers in industry can also profit by it. Moreover, the Order can act as a link between the nations, just as it used to be a link between the provinces in France.

This work, which is the starting point of all the Order's activities, is centred on the adoption by skilled tradesmen of the young worker when he finishes his apprenticeship and on the development of his abilities through actual experience in the trade. The Order regards a worker's trade and the background to it as a means of imparting culture and education. Thus the practice of having young men adopted by their seniors in the trade and the preoccupation with character training and the development of technical abilities and human values have become the prerogative of the Order, while powerful organisations such as the friendly societies and trade unions have taken over and carried through all that the Order had tentatively begun a century ago for the defence and

mutual assistance of the workers. The Order has left to others such attempts to organise the masses and has turned its attention to quality and the things of the mind. Its role is to act as a leaven—yet another indication of its permanent character, for it also acted as a leaven when it tried to organise the masses. It is evident that there is a need for such a leaven at the present time if the working world is to avoid a decline that would be detrimental to society as a whole.

The reasons for the success of the Order in its present venture—and for its capacity not only to survive down to our time but also to remain young enough in spirit and in constitution to offer, in the form of "social service", an ideally suitable solution to the problem presented by young workers and their education—lie in the principle on which it works and in its organisation. As a member of the Order a young worker finishing his apprenticeship is given shelter and can take advantage of a whole chain of hostels and correspondents; he is thus able to "see the country" and at the same time acquire a full knowledge of his trade and a store of experience through contact with other men. Tradition holds that each member must find himself a technical instructor, and each centre of the Order has the necessary equipment for additional training in the evenings when the day's work is over. When it is remembered that a devoted "Mother of the Companions" is responsible for the good order and well-being of the young workers at each centre and that the young men are in the company of others of their own age who are making the same effort and have the same desire to lay a solid foundation for later life, it will be seen that a Companion will long cherish the memory of his *Tour de France*. He makes it when he is between 18 and 25, at the age that leaves the happiest memories. Everything contributes to make his time as a Companion memorable—the years of happiness and of troubles lightly borne, the possibility of acquiring a thorough knowledge of a trade, of being rescued and supported if in need, of being defended in times of serious adversity. It is easy to see why the Order has survived and why it is now more flourishing than ever. It offers a young worker, in addition to material facilities, a whole programme of technical, cultural and educational advancement. If the Order continues to draw on its traditions and to gather fresh inspiration from contact with present-day conditions it will go on producing very remarkable results.

The Present Experiment

Before the Order was reformed it was divided into clearly separated groups—the Companions of the Duty of Liberty, the

¹ This was demonstrated in France by the General Confederation of Labour in 1937, when it devoted the basement of its stand at the Paris International Exhibition to masterpieces and documents relating to the Order.

² Once again, this, more than anything else, was the cause of its decline.

Union of the Companions and the Companions of Duty. The Duty of Liberty had its own *Tour de France*, with a number of hostels which took in young carpenters and joiners only. The Union of the Companions was an association of various trades, forming a kind of loose fraternity without any rigid structure. The Companions of Duty embraced a fairly large number of trades, but each had its own customs, hostels, *Tour de France* and officers. Such was the general situation; the young members of the Order found scattered over the country hostels affiliated to their group, sometimes with halls where they could receive professional training of a high standard. Attempts were made at a few congresses between the two wars to consolidate the various facilities and the last, in 1938, reached tentative agreement on a general programme. Obviously an Order so divided was incapable of action, and profound changes were imperative if there was to be any useful and genuine revival.

First of all the Order needed to regroup in preparation for the revival campaign, to fix definite objectives and methods in order to ensure maximum efficiency. Nothing, it was felt, was worth starting if the Order was not provided with a working basis. Rules were drawn up uniting all occupations in a joint agreement, a plan was prepared providing facilities for the *Tour de France*, and training programmes were recast. As a result a new association was set up at Lyons in 1941 called the "Workers' Association of the Companions of the *Tour de France*". However, like all activities undertaken at this time in France, its work was disturbed by the war and the Occupation, and all it did was to draw up a body of rules in the light of past experience. The Association was registered and obtained official recognition. It launched an appeal for union and mutual understanding to all societies affiliated to the Order, though not all responded. As a result the Order reformed around a number of key cities in France which were still sufficiently active centres, and the intention was to provide at least some of them with a headquarters fitted out to offer the best possible accommodation for about 100 youths.

As conceived by the leaders of the Order, these new centres are to take the place of the old pre-war hostels, where board and lodging were not always of the best. Each provincial centre is to be the hub of all the activities in a given area, with a large hostel, a cultural group and an advanced training section open to outside pupils and capable of giving instruction to 250 to 300 young workers. A provincial council, comprising all the presidents of the societies of the Order in the area, is responsible for the centre. Thus there is a representative for each affiliated trade, and the centre becomes a meeting place for a community of trades joined together in a common purpose. At the head of each centre and representing the

Order in the province is a Companion elected for five years by all the Companions in the province. Side by side with the provincial council there is a centre committee, formed of representatives elected by each trade, to supervise the management of the centre. There is also a training committee, similarly elected, which watches over the running and progress of the school and the quality of the training. Among all these men is the Mother of the Companions, the only woman, whose presence mitigates the unavoidable severity of such a group and makes a family of what would otherwise be nothing more than a rigorous boarding school governed by the "Rules of the Companions".¹ These rules, which lay down the behaviour to be observed at meals and in the bedrooms, workshops and so on, are called the "Duty" (hence the name "Order of Duty"). Their origins lie in a discipline which, though freely accepted, is sufficiently severe to ensure a high standard of behaviour in each community; everything in the community is made an instrument of education.

Around these provincial headquarters, which are genuine training centres, are other less ambitious units which, in the spirit of the reformers of the Order, continue the hostel tradition of former years and have a few rooms, a meeting hall and a workshop. These smaller centres are similarly administered by the representatives of the Companions in all affiliated trades. They are directly linked to the provincial headquarters and so constitute a regional network with the headquarters at the centre.

At the national level there is an annual general assembly called the "Assizes" of the Order; this has already met 13 times and is attended by all the provincial officers responsible for a centre² and the delegates of all affiliated trades³. The Assizes have all the powers of a general assembly; they supervise the management of the centres and make such changes as are necessary to the Association. They also elect one of the five members of the Council of the Order, who act as permanent executive officers, each entrusted with a given office—president, general secretary, treasurer or equipment or training officer. This brief outline will give some idea

¹ The "Rules of the Companions" are a product of the centuries. They reflect the experience and genuine wisdom of the working man and show a remarkable knowledge of humanity. Some of the rules are surprising; at meals, for example, dialect is forbidden. In France this ban has been a unifying influence. It is worth reflecting on its possible effect if there were an Order touring Europe or the world, and in that world there were a single language, the only one to be spoken in the centres of the Order. In half a century the differences between the nations might be no more than those subsisting between Alsace, Provence and Brittany in France a century ago.

² Provincial officers are elected for five years, but a delegate elected by the Companions of the province accompanies them to the Assizes every year.

³ Elected nationally by the members of their occupations.

of the structure of the Order and of the assignment of responsibility within it. It is conceived as a network covering the community of trades represented in each centre, the elements of the community being represented as far as the Council of the Order. The corporate spirit is maintained by occupational groups, which are also responsible for the guidance and training of the young. In this way the true characteristics of the Order have been preserved—strong influence of the trades, great character and vitality, and corporate feeling—while the door has been opened to collaboration by the grouping of a number of occupations, so that it has been possible to acquire and equip large centres which would have been beyond the means of a single occupation.

This scheme, which was devised about 12 years ago, was carried out almost to the letter when the war was over. Although the Order as a whole is not united, the entire membership of the Council has changed twice already. The Fourteenth National Assizes of the Order were due to meet in Paris in May 1953. The Companions have tried out their first provincial centre, which has been opened inside a factory at Vaise, a suburb of Lyons; Perdiguier himself had mentioned the importance of this district to the Companions in their travels. The centre is now flourishing; it has a hostel with 100 beds and everything required to feed boarders. It has a training section with several workshops for practical and theoretical instruction and a cultural section. All this fulfils the cherished hope of the Companions—the provision of accommodation, as personified in the “Mother”, training and culture, represented by the library, the exhibition room and all the instructional facilities. The whole system is designed to train the character of those staying in the centre.

Once the war was over this centre at Vaise was chosen as the setting for the Order's first experiment, for which all its fund of experience and all its faith were mobilised in the service of the young worker and his vital needs. Since that time 1,500 young Frenchmen, coming from all directions, have passed through this one centre on their *Tour de France*, and in it they have acquired considerable skill. This testing ground has so strengthened the concept of the Order that an entire theory of training and promotion has evolved. The results have been so encouraging that the Association has expanded, and a number of public bodies and municipalities have offered it the use of other buildings or sites (the state of decay of some of the buildings did not daunt the Companions, who set to work at once to put them in order). Facilities of this kind have been offered by the Department of the Lower Rhine, the City of Tours and the City of Paris (which has presented one of its finest sites). From its own funds the Association has acquired extensive

property, on which it has built with its own labour. In this way the Order has in the course of a few years laid the foundations for a network of large centres. Before long they will be turning out 2,000 men a year, all highly skilled and with a sound technical and general education. At present the Association's training centres are giving instruction to 800 youths every year.

A decree issued by the Ministry of Labour has raised the Association's chain of centres to the dignity of a workers' upgrading institute, and a directorate for the upgrading centres of the *Tour de France* has been set up in Paris. The Association also receives subsidies from the Ministries of Labour and National Education, which help it to maintain its training courses. Its increasing success among the young has brought in floods of applications from every quarter, and the Association now finds itself obliged to refuse about half of them every year.

THE ORDER AND THE WORKING MAN

The Order is intended for the young. At one time the worker, hemmed in by the guild, mistress and guardian of his profession, found in the Order a way of escape—an opportunity of leaving home, of travelling and learning more about his trade. Without the facilities provided by the Order he was doomed to vegetate, without a chance of broadening his knowledge and intelligence. At a later time, after the abolition of the guilds, the Order was the sole occupational association, harassed, it is true, by the authorities, but genuinely organised and active nevertheless. At this time it was the young worker's only source of mutual assistance, contact and support. It trained him in his trade and found him friends, assistance and a job. Today, however, when social activities invade and at times engulf every aspect of our lives, one might ask what tasks are left for the Order. Our answer would be that the essential tasks are still there—that the young worker is today in as great need as ever of what the Companions can offer.

Let us consider what the future holds for the youths leaving the vocational schools. They enter these schools after receiving some rudimentary education, usually without any great enthusiasm, at another school. The decision is made at the elementary school whether the pupils have an aptitude for study, and those that have not are finally condemned to manual work. Usually the boredom continues at the vocational school, for there is still no action—life has not yet begun. Then at last the door is opened. Life has begun for the young man, though his mind and character are as yet unformed—and life for him means going to a factory. And in what

conditions ! If the boy has not a solid family background or an employer sufficiently understanding to take an interest in him, or if he does not find some older workman or well-established workmate to take him under his wing, he will certainly be lost unless he has exceptional talent for making his way unaided. For, as any Companion will explain, the practice of his trade affords the only entry to that long and arduous road that lies ahead of him. His trade will be the basis of his life and of all he builds around him as an extension of himself. His trade will be his meaning for society, his justification before his fellow-men and the measure by which he will be judged. He will find it difficult at first to believe that his trade can ever mean so much to him. How can one love a thing that has been made so soulless ? Surely it is only a means of avoiding starvation.

Yet if his trade fails him the fault lies with society for being blind. Who can say what the result will be if the Order is allowed a hearing ?

The Order believes that it is not enough for a young man to be given training in a workshop or a school. He must afterwards perfect his knowledge, and to do so involves more than acquiring greater technical ability. It means learning to live. But who will teach him ? Certainly not his school, however good ; what he needs is close contact with the realities of life. They must be tackled squarely and often the only way is to tackle them unaided. He may be lucky enough, when starting out in life, to find someone to give him backing and initiate him into the life of his trade. The knowledge thus gained will sustain him in his daily effort and help him to take the long view of that development of his inner self whose consummation takes a lifetime. Here again it is not merely a question of technical improvement ; his entire being is involved. He may, in his early years, have the feeling that he is making rapid strides, but he will come to see that the end of the road is only reached when life itself is over, and that after having taken, he must learn to give, which is yet another form of progress. The key to this life, the life of the working man, of the man who puts his hand to any job, however simple, he will find within the Order, handed down from time immemorial, never losing any of its truth or value, and with it goes the knowledge of that secret bond between the job and the man who does it.

The Order is waiting to receive him. To join it he must abandon everything : his family, friends and daily life. If he is the son of an employer, well cared for in his father's home, he must come with nothing more than his bare hands when he joins the Companions. Their door is open to him. On entering a centre he will start as a novice, but he can at once begin to live and to experience what the

Order has to offer. To begin with, after studying his case, the members of his trade will place him in a job. It will be a job suited to his aptitudes and strength, so chosen that he can learn from it as well as do it satisfactorily. On returning to the centre in the evening he will have to set to work under the guidance of the Companions in the training workshops of their own design. This instruction in the evening rounds off the experience acquired during the day through contact with the various practical difficulties of his trade. These lessons will be shared with more advanced probationers and young Companions, as well as with young persons from the neighbourhood, to whom the schools are also open, for the Order works for all without discrimination.

This, however, is only one of the two aspects of the institution. The other is even more attractive. Its influence is everywhere apparent, it is all-embracing and gives everything a meaning. It is the means whereby everything is rendered possible—moderation, success, attachment and devotion. This other aspect is the centre, the home of a community of men all fired with an ideal, living freely under voluntary discipline, respectful of one another and with a code of honour and a rule of conduct of the highest order. It is a haven of peace closed by common accord to influences outside the trade, protecting generations of young workers and helping them to find their way in life. This protective institution is called "the Mother", after the woman, the "Mother of the Companions", who is chosen by them for her qualities to rule over the centre. She runs it, maintains order and watches over everything. She receives the novice on behalf of the Companions and takes care of him ; if he has a family she supplements the family's influence, and if he is alone she takes its place. Such an institution is obviously far more than a hotel or a mere school ; it has its own atmosphere, its discipline and its considerable material advantages. There is nothing to compare with it.

Once a young worker is settled in this fraternity he pays his share of the communal expenses and lives better than elsewhere and cheaper, just as he does at home. But this is to anticipate. He has entered as a friend, but he is still a novice and so he will remain until the Companions have formed their own impression of him. If he proves unsatisfactory he will not be allowed to stay ; if he creates a favourable impression and is looked upon as promising he will be ceremoniously presented with the emblem that he will carry with him on his *Tour de France*. It as yet bears no inscription but on it will be marked the signs denoting his achievements and the virtues he will have to cultivate in order to become a good Companion. He also receives his probationer's staff, the symbol of the Order, and the pass that will establish his identity

when he is travelling. His entry into the Order is a great day in his life.

Now he is ready. He has been adopted, and the cities of the *Tour de France* are waiting for him. He is called by his first name and his home town, e.g., Francis of Lyons or Louis of Nantes. The Companions prescribe the route he is to follow and provide him with everything he needs to start him on his way. He is instructed how to establish his identity wherever he may be. He is assigned to the care of a "Mother" in another town and a job is found for him. Companions and probationers meet together on the eve of his departure, and after drinking and singing the probationer is taken through the town, complete with staff and emblem. On arriving at the appointed town he is given hospitality. Now, however, he has to bear in mind that he is on probation. Here are new faces and new teachers, fresh reasons for learning and observing. He is given certain responsibilities—he must set an example for the novices, particularly in matters of discipline, and has certain duties in the running of the centre. At the training classes and in the workshop a higher standard is required of him. He is trained to be a conscientious, upright and able worker fit to join the ranks of the Companions; for a Companion is a man whose conscience has been trained to be receptive to his trade. As a probationer he may have to visit several other towns—that depends on his branch, since some branches are more difficult to join than others.¹ In the end he will be admitted to the Order by the Companions belonging to his trade. The marks assigned to him by the various places he has visited will be totalled. On his emblem, so jealously guarded and proudly worn on all occasions, a hot iron will brand new signs into the velvet. He will then be given his Companion's staff and the name by which he will be known within the Order. Only his peers, the members of his branch, are present at this ceremony. It is the culminating point, the long-awaited moment at which he joins the ranks of the members of the Order. He is given certain tasks, for the existence of the Order depends on the devotion of its members. Everywhere, from the training courses to the hostel, he is called upon to make his contribution. So the Order continues from one generation to another in its members and its work.

And so our young worker is now a Companion of the Order. He will go on travelling in exactly the same way—to other towns, perhaps to the colonies or abroad. Everywhere he is given hospitality and help. Yet the Order can have even more in store for him, for if he wishes he can become a Senior Companion after producing

¹ The whole future of the Order depends on the standard of admission; branches which are not sufficiently exacting pave the way to their own downfall.

a masterpiece made with his own hands. Naturally, he would like to make something useful, but this is sometimes difficult.¹ If he decides to produce a masterpiece he must find a workshop—a back room where he can work and plan alone, in silence and with the knowledge that he is backed by the body of the Companions. Such work will not bring him any decoration, title or distinction. It will be an anonymous achievement and will remain the property of the Companions, a testimony for those to come of a continuity of effort; and in producing his masterpiece the Companion will have learned a further secret—that he has not yet finished, that the real masterpiece, whose execution still remains unfinished, is himself, to be completed for the benefit of all mankind. A Senior Companion is a man whose conscience is receptive to humanity; beyond his trade he finds his fellow men.

Certain rites are performed at each stage of this progression, but it must not be imagined that the Order offers a creed or a symbolism with rules and customs after the manner of freemasonry. It is nothing more than a natural and effective outlet for whatever qualities the Companion may possess. The Order not only enables him to discover great possibilities within himself but also teaches him to attribute a profound and personal meaning to his life. It forms his character, makes him conscious of his own powers and prompts him to give of his best according to his capacity, and that is justification enough. According to his capacity, we repeat, for the worker's capacity develops by stages as he progresses in the Order. He has to learn to be a good novice, then a good Companion and finally a good master and a consistently good servant of the Order and of its ideal—in a word, a servant of mankind. The Order brings achievement within the reach of every type of person, whatever his capacities, on the sole condition that he has a feeling for his trade. It offers the young the chance of being adopted by their seniors in the trade. Mankind is seen as a procession in which the youngest bear the treasures of the community under the eyes of their elders, who point the way. In this way, by its work, which tribulations and the passage of time have purified and refined, leaving but the purest essence, the Order brings the vision of the solidarity that links the generations, of a common, uninterrupted task spanning the ages, and a community of labour born of the community of men. Thus fortified it does not shut its eyes to

¹ It often happens that a worker has hardly any chance to practise all the aspects of his trade. Hence, to provide some testimony of his achievement, a Companion may wish to produce a masterpiece, or even several, for his own satisfaction, even though what he produces is entirely useless to society. All this is an education in itself, for the client or employer as much as for the worker.

progress or the duties that progress implies but insists that humanity must come first, that the worker is a human being who must be enabled to take pride in his work and find his full development in it. Thus the Order through its intelligent work, the high quality of its membership and its inspiring example reflects the dignity and strength of labour and points the way to emancipation.

The Employment of Handicapped Workers in Industry

by

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The inclusion in the agenda of the 37th Session of the International Labour Conference (1954) of the question of the vocational rehabilitation of the disabled marks a further step in the I.L.O. policy of promoting the rehabilitation (including specialised vocational guidance, training and retraining, and employment in useful work) of disabled workers, as declared in the Employment (Transition from War to Peace) Recommendation, 1944. Provisions respecting disabled persons have been included in the Convention and Recommendations adopted by the Conference concerning vocational guidance, vocational training and the provision of employment services, and the Conference will now discuss whether the subject of vocational rehabilitation is suitable for international regulations in the form of a Recommendation.¹ The I.L.O. is also co-operating with the United Nations and other agencies concerned with the question in drawing up a co-ordinated international programme.

In the following article the author discusses the principles that should be applied in the placement of handicapped workers in industry, the progress made and the difficulties at present experienced in the application of these principles and the need for educating employers, trade unions and the general public in order to enable these workers to become "an integral part of the manpower source from which industry draws its productive labour".

¹ See International Labour Conference, 37th Session, 1954, Report IV (1): *Vocational Rehabilitation of the Disabled* (Geneva, 1953). A note on the report appeared in the *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXVIII, No. 1, July 1953, p. 89.

INTRODUCTION

ONE of the most conspicuous developments in the field of social welfare in the last decade is the growing recognition of the rights and responsibilities of the handicapped. Social and economic prejudices that have prevented large numbers of handicapped people from taking their rightful place in society are being gradually eliminated. The notion that the handicapped as a group are "different" from other people is being replaced by the realisation that people are essentially similar, alike in many more ways than they are different. The handicapped do not constitute a distinct segment of the population with special characteristics and a special pattern of behaviour. They are individuals, with physical and mental abilities and limitations, like all individuals. If given an opportunity to develop their residual capacities, the handicapped are capable of living a full and independent life.

The new approach to the handicapped is explained as follows in the programme developed by the Working Party on the Rehabilitation of the Physically Handicapped established by the United Nations¹:

The time has long passed when a handicapped child or a disabled adult should be regarded as a subject for commercial exploitation and trained for the occupation of a professional beggar, or even to be considered as a mere object for charity. Modern methods of medical and sociological science have opened up a new horizon of promise for such individuals. But if this promise is to be fulfilled, and the handicapped person is to have his full chance of life, there must first be a new evaluation of physical disability, based on the following theses:

Firstly, that the handicapped person is an individual with full human rights, which he shares in common with the able-bodied, and that he is entitled to receive from his country every possible measure of protection, assistance and opportunity for rehabilitation.

Secondly, that by the very nature of his physical handicap he is exposed to the danger of emotional and psychological disturbance, resulting from a deep sense of deprivation and frustration, and that he therefore has a special claim on society for sympathy and constructive help.

Thirdly, that he is capable of developing his residual resources to an unexpected degree, if given the right opportunities of so doing, and of becoming in most instances an economic asset to the country instead of being a burden on himself, on his family and on the State.

Fourthly, that handicapped persons have a responsibility to the community to contribute their services to the economic welfare of the nation in any way that becomes possible after rehabilitation and training.

Fifthly, that the chief longing of the physically handicapped person is to achieve independence within a normal community, instead of spending

¹ The Working Party is composed of representatives of the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation, the World Health Organisation, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

the rest of his life in a segregated institution, or within an environment of disability.

Sixthly, that the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped can only be successfully accomplished by a combination of medical, educational, social and vocational services, working together as a team.

The human factor is not the only consideration that has focused attention on the handicapped in recent years. The economic and social value of restoring the handicapped to a productive life is becoming more and more striking. Advances in medicine have made it possible to conquer diseases which medical science was unable to cope with before, and the life expectancy of people has increased considerably. The number of handicapped persons who, unless given an opportunity to work, must be supported from public funds is growing. Although reliable statistics on the handicapped are lacking in most countries, the fact that there are an estimated 2 million disabled civilians in the United States capable of being rehabilitated, and that the number of registered handicapped persons in Great Britain is approximately nine hundred thousand, speaks for itself. The recent wars added many millions to the population of handicapped people. The following table gives the numbers of registered war-disabled in 14 countries:

Austria	166,000	Greece	24,500
Belgium	121,000	Israel	3,900
Canada	157,000	Italy	355,000
Finland	46,000	Luxembourg	6,000
France	933,000	Turkey	8,800
Federal Republic of Germany	1,555,000	United States	1,919,000
Great Britain	683,000	Yugoslavia	83,000

Source: WORLD VETERANS FEDERATION: *Comparative Report on the Legislation Affecting Disabled Veterans and Other War Victims*, Information Service, Report No. 2 (Nov. 1952).

The direct economic value of rehabilitation is shown by a study recently made by the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation of the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare. It was found that 66,000 persons had been rehabilitated during the fiscal year ending 30 June 1951. Of these more than 8,000 had been receiving public assistance, for which \$5,700,000 was spent annually. Their earnings in the first year after their rehabilitation are estimated at \$40 million. The expenditure of \$4 million to rehabilitate them was less than three-quarters of what it would have cost to maintain them for one year. It is estimated that they will pay \$1 million annually in federal income taxes alone.¹

The integration of the handicapped into productive employment must be regarded as a task of great importance. Industry

¹ M. E. SWITZER and H. A. RUSK: *Doing Something for the Disabled* (New York, 1953).

has a significant part to play in providing job opportunities for large numbers of handicapped persons.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF PLACEMENT

The placement of handicapped workers in competitive employment must, if it is to be successful, be based on a realistic approach to the task. Efforts motivated only by sympathy for the disabled will in the long run work to the disadvantage of both employers and the disabled themselves. Any employer is justified in considering efficiency of performance the main criterion in selecting workers. Management wants to know whether the efficiency of impaired workers is comparable to that of non-impaired employees performing identical jobs under the same working conditions. An employer should not be asked to hire a handicapped worker until it has been proved that the latter is able to meet the work standard set up for other workers in the same job.

Work efficiency is a factor composed of several elements, such as quality and rate of production, accident rate and severity, and absenteeism. In hiring a disabled worker the employer expects him to meet the following main requirements:

- (a) he must have the skill and the physical abilities to perform the job;
- (b) he must not be a safety hazard to himself and his fellow workers;
- (c) the job must not aggravate his disability.

If these conditions for work efficiency are met there should be no valid reason for the employer to reject a disabled worker. The role of other important factors such as absenteeism and the turnover of workers will largely depend on the way the basic placement requirements are fulfilled.

It is obvious that a non-impaired worker is able to achieve a higher degree of efficiency in those jobs where the physical demands are such that they cannot be met by a disabled person. On the other hand, experience demonstrates that there is a wide variety of jobs in industry that can be efficiently and safely performed by handicapped workers provided that they are placed in a job where they can fully utilise their skills and abilities to meet the specific demands of the job.

Disability and Vocational Handicap

To appreciate the potentialities of handicapped workers an understanding of the modern concept of physical fitness and disability is necessary. While it was common in the past to evaluate

the worker in terms of his general physical fitness, it is today recognised that physical fitness as such must not be identified with ability to perform a particular task. It is well known that practically everyone is physically unsuited for numerous jobs and activities, and that on the other hand very few jobs require all the abilities that a person possesses. If the skills and individual capacities of the disabled worker are properly utilised to meet the demands of the job, a disability is not a handicap in respect to this job. A clear distinction is thus made between physical and vocational handicap. The former is an impairment of an anatomical nature, whereas vocational handicap refers to the lack of ability to meet the requirements of a job.

Various studies have dramatically shown that standards of general physical fitness cannot be applied in determining employability or vocational efficiency. One example is a pre-employment study of 328 men and 104 women applying for jobs in a rolling mill in England in 1943. Of the 328 men, only 3 per cent. were found physically fit in the usual sense of the word; 61 per cent. had minor impairments and 27 per cent. major disabilities. Of the women, only 4 per cent. were physically fit.¹ The results of physical examinations given to 1,770 workers in a Swedish factory in 1949-50 revealed that the examining physician considered only 16 workers to be physically fit for all work.²

Matching Abilities with Jobs

The idea of physical fitness as a condition for employment is thus being replaced by the concept of abilities in relation to job requirements, of matching the abilities of the worker with the specific demands of the job he is to perform. This method is often referred to as "selective placement", indicating that each person is dealt with individually to find the job for which he is vocationally and physically fit.

It has always been in the interest of employers to place "the right man in the right job". Systematic methods to achieve this end are, however, of relatively recent origin and were primarily developed during and after the Second World War. The shortage of manpower and the need for increased production stimulated industry to employ large numbers of handicapped workers. Improvements in placement practices were required, and increased attention was paid to the development of special techniques that could be applied in placing workers, whether handicapped or not.

¹ H. A. RUSK and J. TAYLOR: *New Hope for the Handicapped* (New York, 1948).

² B. HANMAN: *Physical Capacities and Job Placement* (Stockholm, 1951).

The necessity of evaluating the physical and vocational capacities of the worker in terms of a specific job lead to the development of job analysis techniques. By breaking down the job into its component elements the specific nature and task of the job can be recorded to determine the skills and physical abilities required of the worker to perform the job efficiently and safely. An evaluation of the physical and environmental capacities of the worker is needed to provide a counterpart to the job analysis. By correlating the results of these two analyses the worker is placed in a job for which he is vocationally and physically suited.

In attempting to facilitate the placement of handicapped workers industry sometimes resorts to the seemingly effective and simple method of preparing lists of jobs in which people with certain disabilities can be successfully placed. For instance, the work of a drill press operator is studied with a view to finding out what categories of disabled could be placed in this work. This method is open to the objection that it lays emphasis on the disability rather than on the abilities of the worker and ignores the variations in the demands of jobs in different workshops. It also tends to limit the chances of employment for certain categories of disabled, whose real capacities it does not bring to light. Such lists are of value because they can be used to show employers that the handicapped can be successfully placed in numerous jobs despite their disability.

A method commonly in use at present applies various assessment scales in analysing the jobs and the workers. In their simplest form these scales indicate in general terms the physical demands of the job, describing it, for example, as "light", "very light", "heavy", "very heavy", etc., and the capacities of the worker, who is correspondingly described as fit for light, very light, or heavy work. Another type of assessment scale includes a number of other factors, such as demands on general stamina, the extremities, vision, hearing and general mental abilities. The worker is appraised for each of these demands according to a scale indicating "excellent", "good", "moderately good", and "poor", or using other terms for the same purpose.

A number of more elaborate scales include numerous physical and environmental factors and provide a more accurate appraisal of both jobs and workers. By means of a check list, information is recorded on the most common physical activities and working conditions of the particular job, together with specific details of the physical activities in order to specify the degree of activity involved. Details of working conditions and hazards which cannot be shown on the check list are also given separately by the job analyst on the form used. As a counterpart to this analysis a

physical capacities appraisal shows the worker's capacities for carrying on those physical activities under the working conditions recorded. When making this analysis the physician has not only to indicate whether the worker has full capacity, limited capacity or no capacity at all for the activities listed under the specified working conditions; he has also to provide details concerning those factors for which the worker has only partial capacity. This makes it possible to obtain more accurate information on the factors involved without losing the advantage of a simple check list.

The chief drawback of this method lies in the fact that the rating of the physical demands and qualifications depends largely on the judgment of the analyst, which makes it somewhat unreliable. The use of more or less general terms means that the scales show considerable variation, owing to the varying assessments made by different people.

In order to develop a more precise method Bert Hanman uses, to record physical and environmental demands, a statement of facts based on the hour as the standard unit.¹ This makes possible a more precise presentation of the facts, without impractical complexities.

To show how this method works in practice, it may be of interest to explain how it was applied in a large factory in Sweden. All jobs were first analysed by trained job analysts. The results were recorded on a form comprising 80 physical and environmental factors involved in the performance of the job. This analysis showed the maximum amount of hours a day required by each factor (e.g., "lifting 6-10 kg. : 2 hrs. "). Vision requirements were recorded on a special form, using code numbers. The environmental factors, such as "inside", "outside", "moving objects", "electrical hazards", etc., were recorded as well, in terms of the time involved in each case. These analyses of individual jobs were then put together to form "master charts", which were distributed to the plant physician, placement officers, supervisors and foremen. When an applicant arrives he is examined by the physician to determine his physical and environmental capacities. The physician records his findings on a form designed to match the "master chart". By placing this form in the right position on the chart the worker's abilities can easily be compared with the demands of the job.

The value of this method can be shown if we examine the way in which workers were chosen at a factory to operate a particular type of metal lathe. To analyse this job 29 separate job analyses were required. The skill requirements for the majority of these jobs were about the same, but the physical demands were very

¹ *Physical Capacities and Job Placement*, op. cit.

different. Thus there was one particular lathe operator's job where the maximum amount of lifting required was only 0.5-2 kilograms for one hour a day, compared with 26-50 kilograms for three hours a day in another case. A lathe operator, however skilled and energetic, possessed of only limited ability to lift, would not succeed in a job requiring the lifting of up to 50 kilograms.

This method has been tested in the United States, Sweden and Norway with very satisfactory results. It has been recommended by the National Research Council of the United States and by the Swedish Central Committee for the Care of Cripples.

Job modifications are sometimes undertaken when handicapped workers are placed in industry. This is in many cases helpful. However, it may affect production if the modified jobs are vacated by the handicapped workers and must be restored to the original condition. Re-engineering, therefore, is usually not undertaken on a large scale. Simple arrangements, such as facilitating access to work and improving the mobility of severely handicapped workers, may frequently be of considerable value.

The procedure of "selective placement" has been criticised for laying too much emphasis on the physiological aspects of the problem. It should, however, be pointed out that the job analysis provides information not only on the physical and environmental demands of a job but also on the skill, training, responsibility and personality traits required of the worker. The fitness of the worker for the job is determined in relation to his total qualifications, of which his physical abilities are only a part. The placement officer obtains, through a placement interview, information on training, past work experience and record, personality and interests, etc. To facilitate this work a number of "occupational tools" have been designed, such as job family lists, job descriptions, trade tests, aptitude batteries and various interviewing aids. These techniques are known to all trained placement personnel and need no further elaboration here. The physical aspects of the problem have naturally received considerable attention in recent years in view of the necessity to work for general acceptance of the modern concept of vocational fitness. That does not, however, mean that the non-physical factors affecting the placement process are overlooked.

WORK EFFICIENCY OF THE HANDICAPPED

Since the rate and quality of production, accident rates and absenteeism are the main factors in the measurement of work efficiency, a number of studies have been carried out, primarily in the United States, to demonstrate the work efficiency of the handicapped.

One widely known survey carried out over a two-year period by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor for the Veterans Administration covered 11,028 disabled workers and 8,251 non-impaired workers subject to the same job incentives and exposed to the same job hazards. The results of this survey are shown in the table below.

WORK PERFORMANCE OF WORKERS WITH SERIOUS PHYSICAL DISABILITIES AND OF MATCHED NON-DISABLED WORKERS

Group	Absenteeism frequency rate ¹	Non-dis- abling injury frequency rate ²	Disabling injury			Output relative ⁶	Voluntary leaving rate ⁷
			Frequency rate ³	Time-lost rate ⁴	Average days of disability ⁵		
Average performance							
Disabled	3.8	9.9	8.9	0.10	14.5	101.0	3.6
Non-disabled	3.4	9.9	9.5	0.11	14.9	100.0	2.6

¹ Number of days lost per 100 scheduled workdays.
² Number of injuries per 10,000 exposure-hours.
³ Number of injuries per million exposure-hours.
⁴ Number of days lost for disabling injury per 100 scheduled workdays.

⁵ Number of days of disability per disabling injury.
⁶ Percentage relationship of production efficiency of disabled to that of matched non-disabled.
⁷ Number of voluntary leavers per 100 employees in the survey group.

It can be seen that the handicapped compare favourably with the able-bodied workers. A slight difference to the disadvantage of the handicapped was shown only in respect to absenteeism and labour turnover, but the difference is insignificant.

A study made by a committee of the American Association of Industrial Physicians and Surgeons compared 685 physically impaired workers with the same number of non-impaired workers in a large factory. The results showed 7.9 per cent. more resignations among non-impaired workers; the rate of absenteeism was 7 per cent. lower for the handicapped, who also had 5.5 per cent. fewer accidents. A 4.6 per cent. increase in earnings was registered for the handicapped compared to 4 per cent. for the able-bodied workers.¹

Another interesting study was made by the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in 1949. A survey was made, with the participation of 279 companies, of prevailing practices with regard to physically handicapped and over-age workers. It was found that among these workers there was less absenteeism and steadier work, better work habits, less turnover—both physically handicapped

¹ *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Vol. 116, 1941, p. 1380.

and older workers tended to remain on the job and have a stabilising influence on the younger workers—and quality and output were good.

Preparation for Employment

It has already been emphasised that the handicapped should be thought of in terms of abilities rather than disabilities and that general physical standards should not be used to prevent the handicapped from competing for employment in industry. But recognising these principles is not sufficient: the handicapped must have access to services needed to develop their physical and vocational abilities to the maximum. Any placement programme for the handicapped must be closely integrated with services providing medical care and physical and vocational rehabilitation.

It goes without saying that reducing the disability is basic to any other step in the employment of the handicapped. The fundamental role of surgery and medical treatment combined with medical rehabilitation in preparing the handicapped for a productive life is obvious. A serious shortage of facilities and trained personnel is unfortunately in most countries a great problem, the consequences of which can be seen in many workshops. Too often one comes across a person who has considerable difficulty in his work through a disability that could have been reduced or removed had he been subjected to proper treatment and medical rehabilitation. It is an important responsibility for employers, placement officers and rehabilitation personnel to see to it that existing facilities are fully utilised and that no disabled person is referred to training or employment until everything has been done to reduce his disability.

The importance of adequate vocational training as a preparation for industrial employment has become increasingly evident in recent years. During the war the shortage of manpower made it possible for large numbers of handicapped persons to find jobs, even if their skill and work experience did not reach the usual standard at the time of entering the job. The manpower situation is now different in many countries and the handicapped must fully meet the skill requirements if they are to secure and retain jobs on the competitive labour market. Studies carried out in many countries show that a lack of training is frequently one of the main obstacles in the placement of handicapped in skilled and semi-skilled jobs. This fact has received increased attention in recent years and vocational guidance and training facilities are being developed in many countries. One of the reasons for this favourable trend is the important work being done by the Inter-

national Labour Organisation in promoting international standards in this field.

Along with the development of vocational training programmes consideration has been given to the necessity of preparing handicapped workers psychologically for productive work. It is understandable that a person is not psychologically fit to undergo training or to take up employment after a prolonged period of treatment and convalescence. A programme of work training and assessment combined with physical exercises, to build up work tolerance, work habits, confidence and emotional stability, will often help to enable the handicapped to cope with the demands of a full work-day. The largest programme of this type is in operation in Great Britain, where a number of industrial rehabilitation units under the Ministry of Labour and National Service provide physical and psychological readjustment to work. Courses of six to seven weeks are provided in conditions similar to those under which the disabled will have to work.¹

An outstanding example of this type of service in private industry is the rehabilitation and retraining scheme operated by Vauxhall Motors, Ltd., England. The injured workers are here given remedial physical exercises in the form of productive work in an actual working environment, either in the retraining shop or in the man's normal place of work in the factory. The equipment used in the work is, when required, modified to provide the exercise prescribed by the physician. Considerable attention has also been devoted to this problem in the United States, Canada and the Scandinavian countries.

Extensive research is still necessary into the physiological and psychological factors that have a bearing on the successful employment of the handicapped. Important experimental programmes of research into the work physiology and psychology of the handicapped are being carried out in several countries. The activities of the work clinic of the Karolinska Hospital in Stockholm may be mentioned in this connection as a pilot scheme of importance.²

ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS OF PLACEMENT

The International Labour Conference has adopted the following standards in respect of employment services:

The employment service shall be so organised as to ensure effective recruitment and placement, and for this purpose shall assist workers to

¹ See W. L. BUXTON: "Industrial Rehabilitation Units: A British Experiment", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXVII, No. 6, June 1953.

² Bengt ÅKERBLAD: "Rehabilitation—koordination mellan sjukvård och arbetsvård", in *Svenska Läkartidningen*, 1952, No. 49.

find suitable employment and assist employers to find suitable workers, and more particularly shall, in accordance with rules framed on a national basis, register applicants for employment, take note of their occupational qualifications, experience and desires, interview them for employment, evaluate if necessary their physical and vocational capacity, and assist them where appropriate to obtain vocational guidance or vocational training or retraining.¹

Measures should be taken in appropriate cases to develop, within the general framework of the employment services . . . special arrangements for the placement of disabled persons.²

In a number of European countries employers are required by law to take on a certain percentage of disabled persons. Such a quota system was first introduced with respect to war-disabled in Germany in 1923. According to available information, quota legislation is at the present time in force in at least the following countries: Austria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, the Netherlands, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Poland and Yugoslavia. The quota varies from 2 per cent. to 10 per cent. and applies in certain countries only to the war-disabled.

It should be pointed out that the obligation of employers to provide jobs for a certain number of handicapped persons is not the only important element in the quota scheme. The necessity of placing the handicapped in jobs for which they have the physical and vocational qualifications has been realised in the countries where the quota system has been initiated. Special arrangements to ensure efficient placement within the quota system have been made, such as the use of disablement resettlement officers in Great Britain and selective placement officers in the Netherlands.

The best developed quota system is probably that of Great Britain. Under the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act of 1944 those employers are subject to the quota obligation who have a total of not less than 20 employees. The quota scheme affects every employer, whether an individual or a body corporate and applies to the total of the employer's staff, even though the personnel may be employed in different places or establishments. Thus an employer with three different branches, each employing less than 20 workers, is subject to the quota obligation if he is actually employing a total of 20 or more. The quota for each employer is determined by applying the appropriate percentage to the number employed in the various classes of employment. There are two kinds of percentage, standard and special. Special percentages, which may be higher or lower than the standard percentage, may be fixed by the Ministry of Labour for a particular trade or industry or for a particular class of employer. The stand-

¹ Employment Service Convention, 1948.

² Employment Service Recommendation, 1948.

ard percentage is at present 3. No special percentages have as yet been introduced, except for ships' crews employed in the fishing and shipping industries, where the quota is 0.1 per cent. A special registry of disabled persons exists under the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act. Only the registered disabled are eligible for placement and the other services provided by the Act.

The actual placement work is the responsibility of the disablement resettlement officers attached to each local employment exchange of the Ministry of Labour and National Service. It is the disablement resettlement officer's duty not only to do the initial placement but also to make sure that the handicapped worker is satisfactorily adjusted to the job.

In certain other countries a different line has been followed in the provision of placement services for the handicapped. No obligation to engage handicapped persons has been placed on employers but a special placement service for the handicapped, attached to the national employment service, has been established in some countries. The general principle is that the disabled who are not vocationally handicapped are placed by the ordinary placement personnel, whereas handicapped persons requiring special placement are referred to placement officers equipped to deal with them. The most comprehensive placement programmes of this type are in the United States, Canada and Sweden.

The United States Employment Service may well be cited as an example of efficient planning and organisation of job placement. Trained personnel is available at all local employment offices to deal with handicapped persons who require special placement. A number of important "occupational tools" have been developed such as the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, which identifies approximately 22,000 jobs, job-family series, interviewing aids and manuals on placement techniques. Important promotional work is being done by the Employment Service in co-operation with other government agencies and voluntary organisations, among which the employers' associations and the trade unions play an important role.

The selection and training of placement personnel is given considerable attention in the United States. As an example, the state of New York, which started a selective placement programme in 1933, has developed a regular training scheme for placement interviewers. A special guide, *Handbook of Selective Placement*, is at the disposal of the employment office personnel; it covers the disabilities most frequently found, and for each indicates the significant factors to be considered in placement.

The relative merits of quota legislation and voluntary placement services have been the subject of much discussion. Both have their

advantages and drawbacks. The system to be adopted depends naturally in the first place on the special conditions prevailing in each country. It should be pointed out that, whatever the administrative arrangements, placement based on an understanding of the abilities of the handicapped workers should be the substance of any employment programme.

PRESENT DIFFICULTIES IN THE PLACEMENT OF HANDICAPPED WORKERS

It is obvious that an appreciation of the potentialities of impaired workers is gradually increasing among employers. It must be recognised, however, that there are still many difficulties hampering effective utilisation of the handicapped as a source of industrial manpower.

Despite many improvements in employment procedures, job analysis as a basis for placement is still rare in a great many countries. It must be assumed that placement personnel in many countries will have to manage for a considerable time without the advantage of the results of job analyses in large-scale placement. The promotion of job analysis schemes in as many enterprises as possible is important, but there will be many small employers who are not prepared to carry out systematic job analyses. It must also be recognised that in obtaining a physical capacities assessment of the worker the services of medical specialists will long be limited in many countries. The role of well trained placement personnel is, therefore, most important. The placement officer should be able to interpret medical reports and to make a satisfactory appraisal of the applicant's abilities for the job even if no medical evaluation is available. Good knowledge of interviewing techniques and of the use of occupational information is also required. The development of "occupational tools" for the use of placement personnel should be part of the responsibility of any placement programme for the handicapped.

Unfortunately the selection and training of placement personnel has not received the attention it deserves. Extensive training courses are arranged for physical therapists, occupational therapists and social workers, but very little has so far been done in most countries to train placement personnel to deal with the handicapped. The results obtained through expensive physical and vocational rehabilitation are, therefore, often jeopardised by incompetent placement officers. It should be remembered that the work of the placement officers is more important and exacting than many jobs in the field of rehabilitation.

An obstacle of considerable importance is the practice of many employers of following the line of rigid physical standards and not considering job requirements when engaging workers. Pre-employment physical examinations are often made in terms of job exclusion rather than of job placement. However, more and more employers see the need for a reorientation of physical examination procedures. The objectives of pre-employment examinations, as conceived by the National Association of Manufacturers in the United States, are the following:

- (1) to place the applicant in a job wherein his abilities and experience meet the demands of the job;
- (2) to ensure that in every transfer or promotion the physical capabilities of the individual are as well suited to the job as are his other qualifications;
- (3) to safeguard the health and safety of the applicant's co-workers;
- (4) to inform the applicant of his physical condition and advise him on the improvement and maintenance of health.¹

If these principles are recognised by employers, the pre-employment physical examination will be an important means to ensure proper placement in industry, which will protect both the employers and the workers.

The physical standards for government posts and other types of public employment require reconsideration in most countries. This question has received considerable attention since the Second World War. Special committees have been appointed in several countries to review legislation governing appointments to public employment with a view to eliminating obstacles to the handicapped based on prejudices which no longer should exist.

A reason sometimes given for failure to employ impaired workers is that the workmen's compensation rates will be increased as a result of employing such workers. This belief is often based on misinformation; enlightened insurance companies agree that the employment of impaired workers must not affect the insurance rates, which are based on the relative hazards of the industry and the employers' accident experience. It has been clearly demonstrated that properly placed impaired workers do not increase the accident frequency. The reluctance to hire impaired workers for fear of higher insurance costs will decrease as more employers realise this fact.

The establishment of second injury provisions protects the employers from any additional costs by providing for the payment

¹ *Health Service in Industry*, a 1951 survey by the National Association of Manufacturers and a 1950 survey by the American College of Surgeons, reprinted from *Health Resources in the United States*.

of compensation from a second injury fund for any additional disability arising from the combination of first and second injuries. The employer's liability is thus limited to the second injury only. This system is to be preferred to the practice sometimes followed by employers whereby the worker signs a waiver of compensation in order to secure employment. The latter arrangement, although designed to help handicapped workers to find employment, is generally opposed on the ground that it deprives the impaired worker of the protection of workmen's compensation, to which all workers should be entitled.

The importance attached to the danger of "second injuries" seems to be over-emphasised. Dr. Henry Kessler¹ reports that of 3,376 cases in his experience, only 12 had had second injuries. He points out that "though the causation of accidents may be traced to technical and human factors, physical defect is not a major contributing factor".

CONCLUSION

In spite of the progress made in promoting job opportunities for impaired workers, much remains to be done in educating employers, the trade unions and the general public regarding the abilities of handicapped workers. It is not sufficient to obtain endorsement in principle from employers' associations and trade unions. Management, foremen, industrial physicians and placement personnel, as well as fellow workers, must be brought to an understanding of the potentialities of the impaired workers and their place as members of the productive labour force. Any programme in public education must be based on the fact that handicapped workers properly trained and placed are as good employees as the so-called able-bodied. The idea of identifying general physical fitness with working capacity must gradually give way to a concept of abilities in relation to the demands of the job. If this is generally recognised and if adequate rehabilitation services are available and effective placement techniques employed, the impaired workers will cease to be regarded as vocationally speaking a "second class" category of citizens and will become an integral part of the manpower source from which industry draws its productive labour.

¹ Henry KESSLER: *Rehabilitation of the Physically Handicapped* (New York, 1947).

Some Economic and Social Problems in Greece

by

C. EVELPIDIS

In the following article a former Greek Minister of Finance reviews some of the problems facing his countrymen today in their efforts to raise living standards. Greece is poor in natural resources and suffered heavy loss during the war. Great determination and ingenuity have been shown in making the most of the resources available, but the author concludes that heavy capital investment will also be required if productivity is to be increased and living standards raised.

WHEN the traveller flies over Greece he sees high peaks standing out white against the legendary blue sky, alternating with little plains and valleys. The sea-coast cuts deep into the land, so that each corner of the country has its own local climate and its special character. Thousands of islands, scattered along the shore and across the neighbouring seas, serve almost as a bridge between Greece and Asia Minor, Italy or Egypt. The ratio of coastline to area in Greece is thus very great—15 times as great as in France.

Since the earliest times these physical features have had an influence on the economy of Greece. Agriculture is not highly developed because the plains and valleys make up only one-fifth of the total area, and the few rivers are too irregular to be useful. The cultivation of trees and shrubs—chiefly olives and vines—is common on the hillsides. Livestock consists mainly of the smaller species, and the custom of seasonal migration still prevails to some extent, for the summer grass of the high valleys and even the scrub of the mountains make useful fodder. Commerce is extremely busy, merchant shipping highly developed, emigration widespread; in every age "colonies" have arisen and a great part of the Greek people has been dispersed abroad; today there are big communities in almost all countries, particularly the United States, Egypt, Canada, Australia and the Union of South Africa.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

The population of the Kingdom of Greece amounts to about 8 million persons, or some 60 to the square kilometre (150 to the square mile). The economically active population is about half as numerous, and of this 56.6 per cent. are engaged in agriculture or forestry, 0.5 per cent. in mines and quarries, 3.7 per cent. in industry, 9.5 per cent. in handicrafts, 2.4 per cent. in building and public works, 9 per cent. in commerce, banking and insurance, 3.3 per cent. in transport, and 4.4 per cent. in the professions and sundry other occupations; 4.5 per cent. are in the armed forces and 3.9 per cent. are unemployed. Of the total population, about 55 per cent. now live in the rural parts (73 per cent. in 1920); but as only a quarter of the country's surface is cultivable the average useful area per agricultural family works out at only a little over 3 hectares (7½ acres), and this includes land not effectively cultivated, shrub land and artificial meadows. It is the lowest average in Europe, and therein lies the crux of Greece's agricultural and demographic problem, for the population is increasing rapidly—by about 1.5 per cent. per annum. This increase is, of course, not identical for every social class. An inquiry has revealed that children and juveniles under 18 make up 42 per cent. of the rural population, but only 29 per cent. of the urban population; and even in the towns the young are far more numerous among the poor than among the richer classes. In the working-class quarters of Athens, for instance, between 43 and 52 per cent. of the people are under 18 years; in the centre of the city the percentage is between 10 and 15. Emigration, particularly to the Near East and the United States, took part of the surplus rural population before the restrictions imposed by the countries of destination after the First World War. Another large contingent moved to the cities, particularly Athens: an inquiry recently held in the urban schools showed that 75 per cent. of the pupils' parents and 95 to 97 per cent. of their grandparents were born in villages.

Various forms of remedial action have been taken. First, there are in operation extensive lake and marsh drainage schemes and river control works, with dams to prevent the erosion of the mountain soil; but these projects involve very high expense and their results are relatively small. Secondly, efforts have been made to render cultivation more intensive: the chemical fertilisers used in 1952 exceeded 300,000 tons; irrigated land now amounts to about one-tenth of the total cultivated area; and there is more reliance on crops which require a big volume of manpower but give a high yield per acre, such as tobacco, cotton, rice, wine, vegetables,

potatoes and various types of fruit. Thirdly, the lack of sufficient farm land for the large rural population has led to the expropriation by the Government of all large estates; no person is now entitled to possess more than 30 hectares (75 acres) of cultivable land in Greece, and those who had their land farmed by tenants have been entirely dispossessed in favour of the latter.

Agriculture

Out of Greece's 3,500,000 hectares of cultivable land, arable land (including fallow) accounts for 80 per cent., tree and shrub plantations 17 per cent., meadows 3 per cent. About a quarter of the total surface of the country is covered with forest and particularly scrub, which has a very low yield in building wood. The rest is mountain country, which is sometimes used as pasture (mainly for goats).

Cereals are Greece's principal farm produce, for they occupy more than half of all the arable land. Wheat has made the most noteworthy progress; output has tripled in some 20 years, and this rise has been due, particularly since the Second World War, to a greater yield per acre and not to an increase in the area planted. Consequently Greece now meets three-quarters of her needs in wheat and all her needs in the less important cereals (maize, barley, oats, rye). Apart from technical improvements the more efficient wheat-growing by the peasants has been due to the Government's action, since 1927, in purchasing the crop through the farmers' co-operatives; the price paid is 50-70 per cent. above world market levels, and reached 200 per cent. during the depression in agricultural prices before the war.

Besides cereals Greece also produces a fair quantity of rice. Before the war rice planting was limited by malaria; more recently it has been extended, both by the reclamation and use of salt marshes and by the elimination of malaria with the aid of D.D.T. As a result the rice crop has been increased in five years from 6,000 tons (the maximum before the war) to 75,000 tons; internal needs can now be met despite increased consumption, and some rice can even be exported. Potatoes are also now produced in much greater quantities than formerly; the crop has risen, and consumption with it, from 150,000 to 450,000 tons a year. Cotton planting also extends throughout the country and the annual crop has risen from 45,000 to 80,000 tons; the needs of Greek industry can now be met, and some 10,000 tons of excellent quality fibre are exported. Lastly, the production of olive oil is also growing steadily, thanks to better methods of cultivation and above all to the systematic destruction of the olive fly (*dacus olae*).

The production of tobacco and of dried fruits, on the other hand, is declining because of export difficulties. The tobacco crop has fallen from 60,000 to 50,000 tons; that of currants and sultanias has dropped still more sharply, from 180,000 to 110,000 tons. Despite this, tobacco and dried fruits are still Greece's most important exports, representing 60 per cent. of the total (as against 70 per cent. before the war) and a value of 60 million dollars in 1951 and 73 million in 1952. Other fruit growing has made progress since the war; in particular, the output of citrus fruit has almost tripled. However, there are serious export difficulties, and consequently the greater part of the fruit remains in the country, where it is consumed by all classes of the population at very reasonable prices.

It should not be forgotten that during the war Greece's agricultural output fell by about half; but in recent years it has usually exceeded the pre-war level (although in 1952 there was a 4.3 per cent. fall in value as compared with 1951). The same cannot be said of livestock production. Here it has not yet been possible to return to pre-war standards, since a great deal of the stock was destroyed or lost, and recovery requires a long period; however, output in 1952 showed a 6 per cent. increase over the preceding year. Greece is now obliged to pay 35 million to 40 million dollars a year to cover its need for meat, milk, cheese, raw hides and wool. Whereas the output of stock for breeding, meat, milk, etc., increases slowly but steadily, that of draught animals (horses and oxen) is declining, for animals are being replaced on a large scale by tractors and motor vehicles.

Fishing

Fishing has always been another important source of food. The annual catch has risen from 35,000 tons before the war to 43,000 tons at present. However, the equipment of Greece's fishing fleet has expanded to an extent which makes the eastern Mediterranean—relatively poor in fish—an insufficient source of supply, and fishermen are now turning to the Atlantic banks. Sponge fishing provides an additional livelihood for Greek seamen.

Industry

Greek industry did not suffer as much as agriculture during the Occupation. Output fell by more than 50 per cent., but plant and equipment was on the whole left intact. Consequently the subsequent rise has been rapid, and industrial production now exceeds the pre-war level by 25 per cent. Its gross value in 1951

was 600 million dollars, but there has since been a slight fall. However, the net yield of industrial production is only a third of that amount, since the remainder goes on materials (raw or partly processed), fuel and depreciation. Industry in Greece falls into three main branches—textiles, food and chemicals—and a number of minor ones—tanning, metal trades, wood, building materials, cigarette manufacture, the tobacco-leaf industry (in which a large number of persons are employed) and paper. Almost the whole output of Greek industry is consumed inside the country, but some cement, resin, essence of turpentine, olive kernel oil and chemical products are exported, totalling 6.4 per cent. of the value of all exports in 1951 and 5.3 per cent. in 1952. Greek industry obtains from within the country 75 per cent. of the raw materials it requires. The quality of its products has improved greatly since the war.

There is no heavy industry in Greece, although the country is very rich in iron, bauxite and magnesium. Greece has no coal except lignite, which has been widely employed since the war. Manganese, chromium, barytes, lead, silver, corundum, nickel and other minerals are also mined. Almost all these are exported (580,000 tons in 1951, 760,000 tons in 1952); but the value is comparatively small—only 7 million dollars in 1951 and 10.5 million in 1952.

Shipping

Since the resources of the country are so restricted many people turn to the sea for a livelihood. Before the war the merchant fleet flying the Greek flag included 600 steam vessels with a total tonnage of nearly 2 million; war losses reduced it to only a quarter of this, and though the tonnage has since risen the 1939 level has not yet been attained. Apart from vessels flying the Greek flag many cargo vessels and tankers belonging to Greek nationals are registered under foreign flags—those of Panama, Honduras, Liberia, the United States, the United Kingdom, etc. There are about 600 of these vessels, and their total tonnage is estimated at over 6 million. Thus the tonnage of all Greek merchant ships together exceeds 7 million—a total inferior only to that of the British and United States merchant fleets—without counting the ships now building which belong to Greeks (over 2 million tons). Most of these shipowners live abroad, and their ships, as well as most of those flying the Greek flag, cross and recross the oceans with hardly a visit to Greek ports. However, their crews are mostly composed of Greeks, who send money regularly to their families in Greece. Thus Greece holds the first place among the countries of the world as regards attachment to the sea, whether this is

measured by the ratio between population and total tonnage or between population and the number of persons who follow the seafaring profession.

NATIONAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

The progress made in all the above branches of the Greek economy has led to a rise in the national income, which was estimated at nearly 2,000 million dollars in 1951 as against 1,710 million in 1950; but there appears to have been no further increase in 1952. The biggest item in this total is provided by agriculture and stock-raising (about 40 per cent.); industry and handicrafts come next (20 per cent.), followed by commerce, the public services, transport, professional work, etc.

It is calculated that the national income increased by 5 per cent. per annum, on an average, during the peaceful pre-war period 1924-40; it decreased by 50 per cent. during the war and the Occupation but has since resumed its regular rate of increase despite the difficult conditions which the country has had to face. Five per cent. is a big annual increase (the average registered in the United States in the same period was only 3 per cent.); but it should be noted that the population of Greece rises annually by 1.5 per cent., so that the increase in income per head does not exceed 3.5 per cent. However, the national income has doubled in about 20 years if the war period is left out of account.

The income per head of the population was at the official exchange rates 215 dollars in 1950 and 250 in 1951, but if regard is had to the relative purchasing power of the drachma and the dollar the figures must be reduced to 150 dollars (1950) and 153.5 dollars (1951). This average income certainly appears very low if compared with that of the North American and most European countries, though greater than the average in almost all the countries of Asia and Africa. However, comparisons of this kind between industrialised States and those with a semi-isolated rural economy are somewhat unreliable: in the latter the value of farm goods consumed by the producers themselves is counted at its current wholesale price on the spot, and such activities as home baking, jam making, washing and sewing are not included in the national income, as they are in the industrialised countries.

As regards the distribution of the national income, it is estimated that a million manual workers, office employees and civil servants earn, on an average, 650 dollars a year each, while a million farming families have an average annual income of 775 dollars each, so that an agricultural worker earns about half as much as a city worker. Side by side with these modest incomes,

however, a large minority of the people enjoy incomes which permit them to keep up a high standard of living. This difference in income is accentuated by the fact that the poorest families are as a rule larger than the richest. As regards the rural population, which is the great majority, an inquiry has shown that only 30 per cent. of the peasants have incomes large enough to meet their needs throughout the year; 34 per cent. have enough for eight months out of the 12; the income of the remainder (36 per cent.) is sufficient for half the year only. It is true that governmental social policy has the effect of redistributing about 15 per cent. of the national income to the poorer classes; but graduated direct taxation, intended to eliminate the surplus income of the richer people, has not hitherto been very effective.

The collapse of Greece's economy during the war and the Communist threat induced the United States to come to the aid of the Greek Government so that it might meet immediate needs and make good the budgetary deficit. Even before the Marshall Plan the United States Government, on the decision of President Truman, made available a sum in dollars which sufficed to cover about half the public expenditure in 1946 and 1947. Greece subsequently benefited under the Marshall Plan on the same footing as other European countries. In all, American aid has amounted to 1,056 million dollars. Unfortunately most of this money had to be spent not on the reconstruction of Greece but on meeting the emergency created by the Communist rebellion. More recently the credits for European economic recovery were replaced by the Mutual Assistance Organisation, and American aid was reduced to the financing of only part of Greece's military expenses; it amounted to about 18 per cent. of the total budget for the fiscal year 1951/52. The receipts from local sources in that year amounted to 377 million dollars; they are estimated at 404 million for the year 1952/53. Of the latter 25 per cent. is to come from direct taxation, 50 per cent. from indirect taxes (customs and excise duties) and the remainder from other sources (monopolies, stamp duty, etc.). This taxation represents in all some 23.6 per cent. of the national income, as against 22.7 per cent. before the war.

An analysis of public expenditure shows that about half of the total goes on civil servants' salaries, pay for members of the armed forces, and pensions (the latter have risen enormously owing to the very large number of persons disabled in the war); 9 per cent. is devoted to production and export bonuses or consumption and transport subsidies; 7 per cent. to social charges and 4.5 per cent. to public works. Only one-half per cent. of total public expenditure goes to the national debt (which took as much as 25 per cent. before the war), payments on the pre-war debt having been suspended until 1954.

At present the heaviest budget item is military expenses, which make up 30 per cent. of the total. Add to this 10 per cent. for the police forces and a further amount for war pensions, and the resulting figure is half of all public expenditure. This is a heavy charge on the Greek taxpayer (it represents about 9 per cent. of the gross national income, at market prices), and is a hindrance to reconstruction. As already stated, part of the expense is paid out of American aid; but this falls off each year, whereas Greece's military burdens have increased as a result of her subscribing to the Atlantic Pact.

To sum up, it may be said that budgetary receipts cover Greece's ordinary administrative and military expenses; but the supplementary budget, which is intended to provide for reconstruction and re-equipment, can cover only a very small and insufficient proportion of the sums which the Greek economy either needs at once or will need for its development. It is no coincidence that aggregate capital investment in Greece, public and private, is equal to the amounts received from abroad—the amount available at home for this purpose is very small. Total capital investment amounted in 1951 to 15 per cent. of all public and private consumption, but has since fallen owing to the reduction in aid from the United States. This reduction has involved very serious social disadvantages. Besides the national budget there are municipal and local budgets amounting to 25 million dollars, of which 8 million are State subsidies. The remaining 17 million are the equivalent of 4 per cent. of the national budget. Total taxation per head of the population is thus 52 dollars. But it is the burden of indirect taxation that weighs most heavily on the poorer classes.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The increase in unemployment is due—apart from the natural rise in the population by about 100,000 a year—to the restrictions placed on emigration, the spread of mechanisation, and the more widespread employment of women (the number working in 1947 was 31.2 per cent. of the number of men, as against 18.2 per cent. in 1930).

The number of urban wage earners and salaried employees in Greece is estimated at some 700,000; there is a big discrepancy, however, between the manpower supply and demand in the towns, since 20-25 per cent. of the available manpower is unemployed, and unemployment has increased considerably since 1951. This situation can only be remedied by industrial expansion. At present a large proportion of the population lacking other employment turns to non-productive tertiary activities which cannot be fully

justified in a country where primary and secondary activities are insufficiently developed. Moreover, the shortage of land causes partial unemployment among the rural population, which is on an average occupied during half the working year only. The cost is reflected in the price of the agricultural products on which farmers and labourers alike are dependent for a livelihood. Furthermore, the young men and women, with no fields to till, tend to migrate to the cities in the hope of finding some job or other, and this increases urban unemployment.

The chief action taken to meet the situation described above is as follows: (1) the organisation of public employment offices, which attempt to find jobs for the unemployed (they placed 40,203 persons in 1952); (2) the establishment of the Labour Welfare Institution, which arranges public works, and particularly road construction, through local boards. This institution is financed through the national budget, in which sums of about 3.5 million dollars were allotted to it in the years 1950/51 and 1951/52; but the credit has been cut by half for the current year. Such amounts are not sufficient to meet the grievous problem of unemployment, particularly since the suspension of the Act passed last year, under which industrial undertakings were prohibited from dismissing personnel without previous authorisation by the Ministry of Labour. Unemployment relief was introduced throughout the country in 1945 (it had previously applied, since 1927, only to the seasonal unemployment of tobacco workers). Last year this relief was integrated into the social insurance system. Persons who become unemployed after not less than 18 months' work receive an allowance corresponding to 60 per cent. of the wage of an unskilled labourer. The total number of daily allowances paid in 1952 was 5,948,304, as against 2,003,803 in 1951, and the aggregate amount was some 5,300,000 dollars (1,600,000 in 1951). The average duration of each allowance in 1952 was 142 days (140 in 1951) and the allowance itself was equivalent to 87 U.S. cents.

SOCIAL INSURANCE

As regards social insurance in Greece, separate funds for persons engaged in specific occupations were established first of all—for instance, the Miners' Fund in 1882 and the Seamen's Fund in 1884. General insurance for all wage earners and salaried employees was not introduced until 1938. This scheme covers sickness, maternity, invalidity, industrial accidents, old age and death (survivors' benefit). Agricultural workers are for the most part excluded.

There are 192 insurance funds for separate occupations, 104 of them supplementing the general scheme; the total number of

persons insured thereunder rose from 699,397 in 1950 to 798,117 in 1951 and 912,155 in 1952 (including 255,133 under supplementary funds). The aggregate receipts of these funds in 1952 were 108 million dollars, of which 35.2 per cent. were derived from the insured persons' contributions, 56.2 per cent. from employers' contributions, 4.6 per cent. from taxation of various kinds, and 3.1 per cent. from the property of the funds. Aggregate expenditure amounted to 82 million dollars (46.2 per cent. on pensions, 29.9 per cent. on sickness benefit and 9.2 per cent. on unemployment allowances).

By far the most important institution, however, is the Social Insurance Institution, which handles the insurance of all groups of workers except civil servants; 425,000 persons were insured under it in 1952, including 140,250 women. The Institution provides old-age insurance (average pension 30.2 dollars a month), invalidity insurance (30.7 dollars) and survivors' insurance (20.8 dollars).

Since industry is concentrated in the big towns and agriculture is not included in social insurance, Athens, Piraeus and their suburbs account for 74 per cent. of the social insurance budget, Salonica 12 per cent. and the remainder of the country only 14 per cent.

CURRENCY PRICES AND WAGES

The war and the Occupation had a deplorable effect on Greece's currency. The "new drachma" introduced immediately after the Liberation was given an internal value of 50,000 million of the drachmas issued during the Occupation, and a foreign value of 2 U.S. cents. But this drachma also lost most of its value owing to the country's political and economic difficulties. At last it was stabilised officially at 15,000 to the dollar, and this rate was maintained from September 1949 until April 1953, with the aid of such palliatives as exchange bonuses first of all and subsequently export bonuses, taxes on non-essential commodities, etc. The last devaluation decided by the Government reduced the drachma to half its previous value, so that it now stands at 30,000 to the dollar; this is about 25 per cent. below its real purchasing power, the probable object being to raise the price of Greek goods inside the country and to reduce their price on foreign markets so as to encourage exports.

These successive devaluations of the currency have caused a steady rise in the cost of living. The index rose from 306 (1938 = 100) at the end of 1950 to 345 at the end of 1951 and 363 at the end of 1952. The increase has of course been more striking since the last devaluation, but the cost of living has not yet approached the real value of goods in terms of dollars, first of all because there is a time lag and secondly because the Government has taken care

to place on the market large quantities of foodstuffs purchased before the devaluation, in order to counteract the rise in prices.

The minimum daily wage of a worker was fixed before the last devaluation at 25,000 drachmas, plus 8 per cent. in the form of various statutory bonuses (1.80 dollars for men, 1.45 for women and 65 cents for apprentices). The wages of skilled workers, and particularly craftsmen, are considerably higher; they frequently receive three or four times the basic rate for an eight-hour day. Seasonal agricultural workers are also better paid, and usually receive their food also. The increase in the cost of living cannot fail to have an undesirable effect on the budgets of working-class families and on the standard of living of salaried employees and civil servants, whose rates of pay have remained unchanged since the devaluation. The major part of a family's income (55-65 per cent.) is spent on food, despite the small number of calories consumed (the average is not more than 2,500 per person).

But the most alarming fact of all is that the price increase has not been uniform for all goods. Home agricultural products remain at much lower levels than industrial products. The gap even tends to widen from year to year, and has caused a chronic crisis in Greek farming. At the end of 1952, for instance, the agricultural price index stood at under 400, whereas the index for industrial products required by farmers was in excess of 500. To face this situation the Government has been obliged—

- (1) to exempt agricultural products from all taxation, except of course for the big estates which are subject to additional income tax;
- (2) to finance (through the Agricultural Bank) co-operative organisations for the stocking of certain products which can easily be stored (wheat, barley, cotton, oil, silk, dried fruit, etc.);
- (3) to allow an export bonus on certain products of agriculture (fresh and dried fruit, silk in cocoons, broom straw, etc.) for such time as the drachma was kept at an exchange rate inferior to its real purchasing power on foreign markets;
- (4) for tobacco it was necessary to allow a double bonus, on production and at the export stage, in order to counteract the effect of the chronic depression in this trade, on which over 100,000 small holders and farmers are entirely dependent.

At present most of the income and consequently most of the wealth of the country is concentrated in the big cities and particularly in the neighbourhood of Athens, which pays 75 per cent. of the direct taxation. The other cities (Salonica, Patras, Volos,

Calamata) pay 8 per cent., and the remainder of the country only 16 per cent. although it includes 80 per cent. of the population. This is an anomaly from which the social life of the whole country suffers.

THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

The most thorny problem for Greek economy, however, is that of the balance of payments. Before the war Greek exports were already insufficient to pay for more than 70 per cent. of imports, and a considerable annual deficit remained. Most of this was made up by remittances from nationals living abroad, seamen's pay cheques, the return of Greek capital formerly invested in foreign countries and other "invisible" income. Nowadays the major part of these resources has been eliminated by the exchange controls set up in most countries, bans on migration and the establishment of Greek shipowners abroad.

An analysis of payments shows that purchase and freight of merchandise amounted in 1951 to 435 million dollars out of a total of 477 million, and 283 million out of 336 million in 1952. Exports of Greek goods brought in only 102 million dollars in 1951 and 115 million in 1952; these figures were the highest reached since the war, but represent respectively only 23 and 35 per cent. of imports. Remittances by seamen and Greeks living abroad, together with invisible receipts from such sources as private assets in foreign countries, amounted to 84 million dollars in 1952 (69 million in 1951), or 25 per cent. of the credit side of the balance of payments. The rest is made up by German and Italian reparations (26 million dollars in 1952) and direct or indirect American aid (100 million dollars). Extraordinary receipts from abroad thus still make up about one-third of all payments received: but these sources of foreign exchange fall off considerably each year and will probably cease altogether in the near future.

Over the past year the deficit on the balance of trade has been reduced to 168.3 million dollars, as against a deficit for the previous year of 333 million and similar deficits in earlier years. On analysis this reduction shows, first, that there has been a 156.9 million dollar drop in imports (from 431.6 million in 1951 to 274.7 million in 1952) and, secondly, that exports have increased, though on a far smaller scale, to a value of 115 million dollars—a rise of 12.7 million over the figure of 102.3 million for 1951. This sudden drop in the amount of currency earmarked for imports in 1952, which is the main reason for the improvement in the terms of trade, affects both capital and consumer goods. Three things should be remembered. First, Greek exports are mainly luxury goods, such as tobacco, fruit, wine, olive oil and so on, which importer

countries are liable to restrict, if not actually replace with other products. Greek imports, on the other hand, are normally goods which are essential to the population. Secondly, Greece largely imports from hard-currency countries, particularly the United States, whereas its exports usually find their way to soft-currency countries such as Austria, France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom. Thirdly, it is indispensable to the maintenance of the country's economic and financial stability that Greece should receive a normal and uninterrupted flow of the staple import goods which the country either does not produce at all or only produces in insufficient quantities. It must be borne in mind that an excessive cut in imports is liable to cause another shortage of consumer goods such as Greece experienced during the Occupation and may also lead to a shortage of the products needed to increase the country's productivity. But for Greece to be able to import on such a scale as to satisfy the real needs of her economy—unless, of course, she receives sufficient financial aid to cover the deficit in her foreign payments—she must also increase her revenue by receipts from exports and other credit items. However, no solution can as yet be seen to the problem which will arise when the extraordinary sources of foreign currency are cut still further or, as some have forecast, are completely stopped. Greece will still have to import a considerable proportion of its food, raw materials, petroleum and coal as well as the supplies it needs for the reconstruction and industrialisation of the country.

We have given a brief outline of Greek production, its progress, difficulties and possibilities. To see it in its proper perspective, however, it is necessary to have some idea of the state of Greece immediately after the war was over. The country was in a tragic situation. People lived mostly on the food supplied by the International Red Cross and later by U.N.R.R.A. There were no inland communications left, for all the ports, bridges, trucks, locomotives and cars had been deliberately destroyed by the retreating enemy. In addition about 100,000 houses had been demolished and famine and the resistance claimed hundreds of thousands of victims. Money was practically non-existent, and the capital of banks and social and economic institutions was therefore rendered valueless. Everything was in ruins except the spirit of the country, which emerged from the trial as never before, stronger, more resolute and full of enterprise. Soon after, however, the Communist rebellion led to further ruin and spread anarchy and discord among the people. All that is now over, but it has left its traces even so. Most of the ruins have been cleared, but the blue sky of the country is overcast with the threatening clouds of economic problems.

DEVELOPMENT POSSIBILITIES

The development of our natural resources, which was begun in extremely unfavourable circumstances, both politically and economically, has now been slowed down by lack of capital and will have to be resolutely tackled. During the first years of the Marshall Plan Greece was living under a wartime economy, which meant that half the American aid was absorbed by military expenditure and the aftermath of war. Reconstruction has necessarily been limited to essential work, which in no way suffices to solve the country's economic problems. The only answer to them is further investment, which is indispensable if productivity is to be increased and the country is to reach a level of economic activity at which its labour reserves can be absorbed and the nation can reasonably pay its way.

The country's rich mineral deposits could provide the raw material for heavy industry if water power were harnessed by the construction of barrages and other works for the production of electricity at low cost. Work of this kind, however, requires considerable capital, which explains why all that has been done so far is to harness the small waterfalls of the Ladhon in the Peloponese, the Vodas in Macedonia and the Louros in Epirus. Even so, these falls, together with the lignite produced at Aliveri in Euboea, will soon be producing 1,000 million kWh. of electricity as against the 600 million kWh. at present produced and used in Greece. For lack of capital, however, nothing has been done to exploit the far more important falls of the Acheloos and Aliakmon, although they could provide the country with nearly 3,000 million kWh. of electricity. The same is true of the lignite deposits at Ptolemais in Macedonia, which are the largest in Greece and could cover the peak periods of electricity consumption during droughts.

The electrification of the country could also facilitate the reorganisation of small craftsmen's workshops along more rational lines. These workshops are still of great importance for the Greek economy since they provide employment for a large proportion of the population and contribute almost as much as industry to the national income. If the country were electrified it could improve its terms of trade by dispensing with fuel imports, which represent an outlay of about 50 million dollars every year. Furthermore the use of electricity in country districts could provide the power and water necessary for more intensive cultivation and make life much easier in the villages. It should be remembered that many of the dwellings which were destroyed or seriously damaged during the war and during the Communist rebellion still have to be rebuilt,

that a considerable number of refugees are still living in the barracks in which they were temporarily housed in 1943 and that many workers are accommodated in the towns in impossible conditions.

Greece is a poor country; not having enough goods to sell, it has exported its population to all countries of the world. With the end of liberalism and the sudden rise of nationalism, however, the country has found itself obliged to attribute more importance to the development of its resources. The population has made great efforts, and considerable progress has been achieved. Lack of capital, however, is hampering productivity, whereas the requirements of the population are increasing not only as a result of its rapid expansion but also because of its legitimate and very marked tendency to adapt itself to a higher standard of living; that standard cannot, however, be maintained without an improvement in the country's present economic situation.

(Translated from the French.)

REPORTS AND INQUIRIES

The Resettlement of Expellees and Refugees in the Federal Republic of Germany and Austria

The enactment in the Federal Republic of Germany of the Federal Expellees Act¹ of 19 May 1953, which contains a series of provisions for alleviating need among expellees² and refugees and for intensifying their integration and assimilation, has drawn renewed attention to a pressing social and economic problem. During the past year the Austrian Government has also introduced a number of important legislative and administrative measures in a continuing effort to solve the problem of persons of German ethnic origin who have taken refuge in Austria.

The following report describes the main features of the problem in the two countries and some of the steps that have been taken to deal with it.³

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

In consequence of the mass migrations that followed the Second World War an estimated 10 million persons of German nationality or ethnic origin had moved from other countries or areas into the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany by the end of October 1952. This represented at that date some 20 per cent. of a population of 48.6 million.

In the Federal Republic the immigrants are commonly divided for statistical purposes into two groups—expellees and refugees.

¹ Bundesgesetzblatt, No. 22, 22 May 1953.

² "Expellees" (*Vertriebene*) are defined in the Act as persons of German nationality or ethnic origin who had their residence in the German territories east of the Oder-Neisse line or in areas that were outside Germany on 31 December 1937, and lost it in consequence of the events of the Second World War through expulsion or flight; refugees (*Flüchtlinge*) are defined as persons of German nationality or ethnic origin who had their residence in the Soviet zone of Germany or the Soviet sector of Berlin and fled from it on account of an immediate threat to life and limb or personal liberty arising from political conditions and not from offences against humanity or the law.

³ The following reports have been drawn on, in addition to the sources quoted, in the preparation of this report: *Vertriebene, Flüchtlinge, Kriegsgefangene, Heimatlose Ausländer, 1949-52*, Report of the Federal Minister for Expellees (Bonn, 1953); *Deutschland im Wiederaufbau*, Report of the Federal Government for 1952; and Paul F. MEYERS and W. PARKER MAULDIN: "Assimilation of the Expellees in the Federal Republic of Germany: Demographic and Social Aspects" (U.N. Population Division, *Population Bulletin No. 2*, Oct. 1952).

The expellees comprise both *Reichsdeutsche* (persons of German ethnic origin and previous German citizenship) and *Volksdeutsche* (persons who were of German ethnic origin¹ but residents and citizens of countries that were outside the political boundaries of Germany before the Second World War).² The *Reichsdeutsche* were expelled from their homes in the provinces east of the Oder-Neisse rivers when these provinces were placed under Polish or Russian administration by the terms of the Potsdam Agreement of November 1945. The *Volksdeutsche* fled from their homes in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia or were evacuated as the battle-front moved westwards, or were subsequently expelled in consequence of the decisions of the Potsdam Agreement (the Agreement accepted the validity of the expulsion of such persons from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary; Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia thereafter also expelled their citizens of German ethnic origin).

The refugees are those persons who have fled from Berlin or the Soviet zone of Germany.³

For the purposes of determining the legal status of the immigrants and in particular of establishing eligibility for benefit from measures for their assistance, a comprehensive definition of the terms "expellee" and "refugee" has been progressively elaborated. The definitions included in the Federal Expellees Act⁴ continue and complete previous definitions contained in the Basic Law of 23 May 1949⁵ and the Equalisation of Burdens Act of 14 August 1952.⁶

The development of the movement of expellees and refugees into Western Germany is shown in table I.

TABLE I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MOVEMENT OF EXPELLEES AND REFUGEES INTO WESTERN GERMANY

Date	No. of expellees (millions)	No. of refugees (millions)
Oct. 1946	6.0	1.0
July 1948	6.9	.
Sep. 1950	7.9	1.6
Oct. 1951	8.1	1.7
Oct. 1952	8.1	1.8

Source: *Vertriebene, Flüchtlinge, Kriegsgefangene, Heimatlose Ausländer, 1949-52*, op. cit.

¹ The term "ethnic origin" has been variously interpreted. In general it implies that the persons concerned belong to a homogeneous cultural group, a common language being an important factor.

² The ancestors of these persons had lived in the various countries of Eastern and Central Europe for many years, in some instances for centuries. Their presence in these countries resulted in part from colonisation programmes carried out by the rulers of the countries in the past and in part from the disintegration of the Austrian Empire after the First World War, which left Germanic minorities in the various countries that had formed the Empire.

³ The Report of the Economic Co-operation Administration Technical Assistance Commission on the integration of the refugees in the German Republic (21 Mar. 1951) estimated, however, that almost half of the 1,500,000 refugees in this group at that date were expellees who had lived only temporarily in the Soviet zone.

⁴ See second footnote, previous page.

⁵ Bundesgesetzblatt, No. 1, 23 May 1949.

⁶ Idem, No. 34, 18 Aug. 1952.

It is clear from these figures that the resettlement and assimilation of the newcomers into the economic and social life of the Federal Republic was a serious problem and that in the most favourable circumstances it would have been difficult to absorb such large numbers in a short time. The main transfer was made, however, immediately after a war that had caused widespread destruction of accommodation and disruption of the national life and economy, and the migrants were in general entirely without resources on arrival. Furthermore, the influx of migrants from the Soviet zone has continued, and over the last six to 12 months has reached proportions which have again created a position of grave difficulty in regard to reception and accommodation (an average of 15,000 per month passed through the reception camps between June and December 1952¹; 25,400 in January 1953, 40,000 in February and 58,595 in March².)

Geographical Distribution of Expellees and Refugees

In the circumstances in which the greater part of the movement took place, it was not possible to control the geographical distribution of expellees and refugees among the various West German Länder according to a carefully worked-out plan. As the waves of flight and expulsion increased an attempt was made to organise the direction of the transfers of population, and the distribution of the refugees from the Soviet zone over the more recent period has been carried out in accordance with a closely organised plan. The size of the influx, however (7 million persons moved between October 1944 and October 1946), and the uneven rate of arrival were such in the earlier part of the movement of the expellees that it was not possible to do more than direct the migrants towards those towns and areas that were least damaged by bombing and where most accommodation and food supplies were available. The rural areas and small towns received therefore a proportionately larger share than the cities, and the eastern (mainly agricultural) Länder more than the western Länder.

A further factor affecting the distribution of migrants was that no migrants were officially directed to the French zone of occupation as France had not been a party to the Potsdam Agreement.³ An additional feature involving political and cultural assimilation problems centres round the grouping of expellees and refugees from particular localities. Thus, in Schleswig-Holstein, 38 per cent. of the newcomers came from East Prussia, 30 per cent. from Pomerania and 5 per cent. from Silesia; Lower Saxony received a group consisting of 42 per cent. Silesians, 20 per cent. Pomeranians and 18 per cent. East Prussians; Bavaria received 46 per cent. from the Sudetenland and 32 per cent. from Silesia.³

The uneven distribution of the immigrants by Länder as at 1 July 1949 is shown in table II.

The concentration of the immigrants in rural areas may be seen from table III, which gives the distribution of the expellees and other popu-

¹ *Der Arbeitgeber*, periodical of the Federal Union of German Employer Associations, Vol. V, No. 8, 15 Mar. 1953.

² *Vertriebenenkorrespondenz*, Informationsdienst des Bundes der Vertriebenen Deutschen (BVD), 12 Mar. 1953 and 22 Apr. 1953.

³ Cf. "Political Organisation of the Refugees and Expellees in West Germany", in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. LXVI, No. 2, June 1951; and *Das deutsche Flüchtlingsproblem* (Institut für Raumforschung, Bonn, 1950).

TABLE II. DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY LÄNDER,
1 JULY 1949

Land	No. of expellees and refugees	Percentage of total population of Land
Schleswig-Holstein	956,084	35.2
Hamburg	86,525	5.6
Lower Saxony	1,812,434	26.4
Bremen	30,946	5.7
North Rhine-Westphalia	1,094,695	8.5
Hesse	656,720	15.3
Rhineland Palatinate	77,000	2.7
Baden-Württemberg	817,617	12.9
Bavaria	1,913,687	20.7

Source: *Vertriebene, Flüchtlinge, Kriegsgefangene, Heimatlose Ausländer, 1949-52*, op. cit.

TABLE III. DISTRIBUTION OF EXPELLEES AND OTHER POPULATION
BY RURAL AND URBAN DISTRICTS

Land	Percentage of population			
	Urban districts		Rural districts	
	Expellee	Other	Expellee	Other
Schleswig-Holstein	15.4	27.4	84.6	72.6
Hamburg	100.0	100.0	—	—
Lower Saxony	12.6	24.4	87.4	75.6
Bremen	100.0	100.0	—	—
North Rhine-Westphalia	23.2	48.2	76.8	51.8
Hesse	9.8	28.5	90.2	71.5
Baden-Württemberg	11.3	32.9	88.7	67.1
Bavaria	12.6	31.7	87.4	68.3

Source: *Statistische Berichte*, VIII/10/4, 25 Mar. 1950.

lation by urban and rural districts (*Stadtkreise* and *Landkreise*) in October 1946 in the British and United States occupation zones.

Redistribution of the immigrants between the various Länder has been taking place on a spontaneous basis from the beginning and on an officially organised basis since 1949 (the individual Länder sought to regulate and organise such movement from 1947 onwards, but it was not until the introduction of federal legislation in 1949¹ that organised movement on a large scale began). The urgent necessity for redistribution, both from the point of view of the employment of the expellees and refugees and the relief of acute accommodation pressures, has not been in question; e.g., in 1951 in Schleswig-Holstein alone there were no less than 1,200,000 refugees living together with 1,500,000 natives in a

¹ Order for the transfer of expellees from Bavaria, Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein, dated 29 November 1949 (*Bundesgesetzblatt*, No. 2, 1950).

countryside which lacks both industry and natural resources and consists for the most part of barren land or agricultural land of poor quality, and in Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony and Bavaria trek-associations (*Treckvereinigungen*) were formed in 1952 among the refugees with a view to a forcible solution of the problem. At the same time the families of expellees and refugees settled in rural areas are in many cases separated from the breadwinner working in industry, and there is considerable movement in order to reunite families.

Official resettlement programmes have aimed at transferring refugees from the overburdened Länder of Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony and Bavaria principally to the less burdened Baden-Württemberg, North Rhine-Westphalia and Rhineland Palatinate. The first settlement programme of 1949 envisaged the movement of 300,000 expellees and refugees and was completed in 1951. The second programme met with difficulties in the financing of the building of new accommodation and is still uncompleted. It aims at the movement of a further 300,000 persons (150,000 from Schleswig-Holstein, 85,000 from Lower Saxony and 65,000 from Bavaria, including not only workers but persons receiving public assistance of various types). Of these, 200,000 had been moved at the end of 1952; the remaining 100,000 were expected to be moved by June 1953. A third programme, to transfer a further 300,000 persons (65,000 from Schleswig-Holstein, 50,000 from Lower Saxony and 35,000 from Bavaria), mainly to North Rhine-Westphalia (87,000) and Baden-Württemberg (40,500), is being prepared, and the funds for the accompanying building programme (200 million DM.) have already been made available to the Land authorities by the federal Government.

By the end of 1952 470,000 expellees and refugees had been transferred to other Länder under official redistribution schemes. Current plans provide for a further movement of 230,000 in all in 1953 and for a further 200,000 by the end of 1954; this will bring the total to the 900,000 originally provided for by the federal Parliament in May 1950. At the same time individual migration is increasing the total movement among the Länder; e.g., 126,000 expellees changed their Land of residence in 1950 under official schemes, against a total of 342,000 expellees and refugees who changed their Land of residence during the year. Of the 342,000, 260,000 moved from Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony and Bavaria. The distribution of the expellees and refugees among the Länder on 1 October 1952 is shown in table IV.

TABLE IV. DISTRIBUTION OF EXPELLEES AND REFUGEES
AMONG THE LÄNDER, 1 OCTOBER 1952

Land	No. of expellees and refugees	Percentage of total population of Land
Schleswig-Holstein	742,000	30.4
Hamburg	146,600	8.7
Lower Saxony	1,755,000	26.3
Bremen	61,300	10.4
North Rhine-Westphalia	1,626,400	11.8
Hesse	763,100	17.3
Rhineland Palatinate	233,400	7.4
Baden-Württemberg	993,300	14.9
Bavaria	1,893,100	20.6

Source: *Statistische Berichte*, VIII/12/6, 5 Nov. 1951.

Efforts have also been made to divert refugees entering from the Soviet zone to areas where both accommodation and employment possibilities exist, but for the time being accommodation has necessarily been the paramount factor.

Housing

In the resettlement of the expellees and refugees questions of accommodation have necessarily been pre-eminent in determining not only the original distribution of the refugees but also their redistribution.

There were in 1939 10.6 million housing units available for 39.3 million persons living in the area of the present Federal Republic, i.e., an average of 3.7 individuals to one housing unit. Approximately 2.2 million units were destroyed during the Second World War. The number of new units made available from the end of the Second World War to September 1950 amounted to approximately 1 million, while the population increase between 1939 and 1950 was approximately 8.4 million, with a resulting average in September 1950 of 5.0 persons per housing unit.¹

At this stage there was, it is estimated, a shortage of some 5 million dwellings in the Federal Republic, the main effects of which were experienced by the expellees and refugees. This estimate is borne out by the housing census of 1950, which showed that less than a quarter of the 2.6 million expellee and refugee family groups had independent accommodation; 68 per cent. lived as sub-tenants in other people's homes; 10 per cent. lived in emergency or substandard accommodation (some 750,000 expellees and refugees lived in barracks, huts, vans, cellars, damaged buildings, air-raid shelters, wings of factories, dance halls and mass dwellings of various types). As at July 1951 a further 324,000 expellees and refugees were housed in camps of various kinds.² In contrast to the position of the expellees and refugees, it was estimated that in September 1950 two-thirds of the native population were housed in normal dwellings.

Billeting was introduced in the earlier stages, with its inevitable attendant difficulties, and was enforced on a large scale by the authorities. Systematic construction of new accommodation was begun in the Combined Economic Area in 1949, and since that date considerable sums have been spent from federal, Land, local (*Gemeinde*) and inter-national sources to increase the accommodation available. In 1949 some 300,000 housing units were constructed; in 1950, 360,000; in 1951, 400,000; and in 1952 a further 400,000. Four persons are housed on the average in the new units available. Over the last four years therefore more than 5.5 million persons have been rehoused in the Federal Republic, i.e., one in every nine citizens.

In the planning of the 1952 building programme the accommodation to be made available was to consist of 190,000 new buildings and 130,000 repaired dwellings, reconstructions, annexes or extensions. Three-fifths of the units planned were intended for the use of persons eligible to benefit under the Equalisation of Burdens Act of 14 August 1952, that is, mainly expellees and refugees. Approximately 35 per cent. were scheduled to be individual dwellings and other accommodation

¹ Report of the German Federal Government on the Progress of the Marshall Plan: General Survey, 1 Oct. 1949 to 31 Mar. 1951 (Bonn, 1951), p. 72; *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, Vol. 3, No. 6, June 1951.

² *Statistische Berichte*, VIII/20/4, 21 Jan. 1952.

for agricultural workers and agricultural settlement in general. The capital cost of the programme to build 360,000 units was expected to be 4,900 million DM. Since the number of houses built was larger than the number planned, a capital cost of between 5,000 and 6,000 million DM. may be reckoned with for the year.

Within the over-all building programme special provision has been made for the accommodation of expellees and refugees. Against the estimated need of 2 million dwellings for these persons at 31 December 1952 (half of the total accommodation needs of the Federal Republic) some 350,000 dwellings had been allocated to expellees and refugees between 1948 and 1952. In particular provision has been made on a large scale to support officially organised schemes for the redistribution of expellees and refugees by the execution of building programmes in the areas to which the expellees are to transfer. For example, the second plan, referred to above, for the transfer of 200,000 expellees by the end of 1952 required the construction of 50,000 dwellings in the receiving areas, while the transfer of the further 100,000 persons envisaged by the middle of 1953 requires an additional 25,000 dwellings in the reception areas concerned; 600 million DM. have been expended so far on the provision of housing for expellees in connection with redistribution schemes alone; a further 200 million DM. were voted on 16 May 1952 by the federal Parliament towards the construction of 75,000 dwellings in connection with the third redistribution programme which is being planned.

Special measures have also been introduced to provide for the accommodation of refugees from the Soviet zone on the largest possible scale in order to avoid the further development of substandard accommodation of the population and to develop redistribution schemes for young persons with a view to rescuing them from camp life and to assist in providing them with employment opportunities.

Economic Integration

Because of the large number of expellees and refugees entering the Federal Republic, the variations in the rate of entry, the destitute condition of most of the newcomers and the impossibility of directing them to the areas where the best employment possibilities were to be found or of moving them thereafter to new areas without providing new accommodation, economic integration of the newcomers has been a difficult undertaking which has affected the entire economy of the Federal Republic and is not yet by any means complete.

Precise details of the occupational skills of the newcomers are not available. However, an attempt has been made to analyse the industrial structure of the economically active population among the Germans who were living east of the Oder and Neisse rivers and in the Sudeten region in 1939.¹ This estimate indicates that 38.6 per cent. of the economically active persons in these areas were employed in agriculture, 32.2 per cent. in industry and mining, 19.3 per cent. in commerce and transport and 9.9 per cent. in service industries. In the area of the Federal Republic the corresponding percentages for 1939 were 26.2 in agriculture, 40.5 in industry and mining, 16.6 in commerce and transport and 16.7 in service industries. A significantly larger percentage of the expellees

¹ *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, Vol. I, No. 10, Jan. 1950, p. 303; cf. also *Das deutsche Flüchtlingsproblem*, op. cit., pp. 72-79.

and refugees than of the population of the federal area had therefore been engaged in agriculture, while a smaller percentage had worked in industry, mining and the service industries.

In 1949 a report prepared by the Office of the United States High Commissioner in Germany¹ estimated that about one-third of the newcomers to the Combined Economic Area were farmers or farm labourers; the majority of the rest were skilled craftsmen drawn from various industries such as the manufacture of Bohemian glassware, Gablonz trinkets and costume jewellery, toys, musical instruments, ornamental porcelain, wood carving, silverware, lace, embroidery and hand-knitted goods. The report also showed that, so far as could be ascertained, the expellees and refugees comprised a higher percentage of total employment than their percentage share of the population in the following branches of industry: agriculture, forestry, glass production and working, building materials production, ceramics, textiles, sawmills, woodworking, building and construction.

It would appear, therefore, that the immigrants were drawn from a wide range of industries and occupations but contained a higher proportion of persons who had worked in agriculture than the native population.

The expellee and refugee population in September 1950 was slightly younger than the rest of the population (the average age of males was 28.4 against 32.8 and the average age of females 32.5 against 36.0). So far as distribution between the sexes was concerned, the immigrant population had about the same deficiency of males as the rest of the population (89 males per 100 females as against 88 males per 100 females). In general the expellees and refugees had a slightly higher percentage of population in the "working years" of life.

By 1949 much had been achieved in the economic integration of the newcomers. However, in September of that year expellees and refugees registered as unemployed and seeking work comprised 35.9 per cent. of the 1,261,000 unemployed in the Combined Economic Area, though only 17 per cent. of the population of the area was refugee. Of the total only 17 per cent. of the population of the area was refugee. Of the total expellee and refugee labour force in the United States zone, 17 per cent. were unemployed, compared with 4.4 per cent. of the native labour force; the percentages were believed to be about the same in the British zone (it may also be assumed that some of the expellees and refugees who could have been regarded as part of the labour force had not registered as unemployed because they regarded employment opportunities as virtually non-existent). The number of expellees and refugees who had been unemployed for prolonged periods (18 months or more) was also very high. At the same time, from 15 to 20 per cent. of employed expellees and refugees were estimated to be working in occupations other than those for which they had been trained and which they had followed previously. Only about 1.6 per cent. of the immigrant population in the United States zone were in business on their own account, as against 20 per cent. of the native population. About 80 per cent. of the expellees and refugees who were gainfully occupied in Bavaria were working as manual workers for wages, while only 40 per cent. of the native gainfully occupied were so employed.

A year later (September 1950) expellees and refugees registered as unemployed and seeking work comprised 34.4 per cent. of the 1,271,847

¹ OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER: *Report of the Office of Labor Affairs* (Frankfurt-on-Main, 15 Sep. 1949), pp. 1-2.

unemployed, a decrease from the 35.9 per cent. of the previous year, and the percentage continued to decrease steadily. At the same date 46.3 per cent. of the native population of the Federal Republic were estimated to be economically active, as against 42.7 per cent. of the refugee population. The unemployed represented 4.5 per cent. of the economically active native population, as compared with 14.5 per cent. of the economically active migrants. The contrast between the native and the migrant population was found to be similar for both sexes. Apart from some concentration in glass making and in agricultural occupations, the expellees and refugees constituted from one-fifth to one-half of the unemployed in each occupational group. In terms of total population the expellees and refugees comprised about 17 per cent. of the population of the Federal Republic but almost one-third of the registered unemployed population.

In 1951 the whole question of the integration of expellees and refugees into German life was reviewed by the United States Economic Co-operation Administration in a report submitted to the Chancellor of the Federal Republic on 21 March 1951.¹ The report dealt in detail with the provision of employment in industry, handicrafts, trades, the professions and agriculture.

In framing its recommendations the E.C.A. Technical Assistance Commission noted that at the end of the Second World War the ratio of the labour force to the population in the Federal Republic was low, but had thereafter risen steadily to 45.6 per cent. in 1950, i.e., 21.7 million of a population of 47.6 million, and that at this level it was high compared with many other industrial nations (the comparable United States figure was 43.5 per cent.). The Commission considered that the ratio would rise further on account of the large number of children born during the period 1935-40 who were due to enter the employment market after 1950 and the tendency of workers to continue work after reaching the age at which they would normally retire. The latter tendency was estimated to be due to a shortage of skilled workers and the loss of individual savings through the currency reform of 1948. Taking into account also (1) the possibility that the available figures of the expellee and refugee labour force were an underestimation, (2) the high proportion of the total expellee and refugee population in the labour force and, (3) the undue concentration of the immigrants in dependent occupations, the Commission considered that, although an estimated 3.5 million expellees and refugees had found employment, employment for a further 605,000 needed to be created.

It was envisaged that such employment could be provided as follows: 150,000 jobs in agriculture; 160,000 in handicrafts and trade; 295,000 in industry. The recommendations of the Commission concerning the employment of a further 295,000 refugees in industry assumed that it would be possible for 150,000 expellees and refugees to find industrial employment in areas of relative labour scarcity, e.g., the Ruhr, as soon as homes could be built, and proposed that 110,000 further industrial jobs for refugees should be created by the planned investment of 550 million DM. (i.e., at an average cost of 5,000 DM. per job). The jobs in question were to be created in non-basic manufacturing industries and located outside the cities and industrial centres. The general programme was to be accompanied by an expanded programme of vocational

¹ Report of the E.C.A. Technical Assistance Commission on the Integration of the Refugees in the German Republic (21 Mar. 1951).

retraining of adult expellees and refugees through training centres in the Länder and on-the-job training in employers' establishments. It was also recommended that the immigrants should be enabled to start independent businesses and that employers and works councils should not discriminate against them in engaging or discharging workers.

In regard to handicrafts the report recalled that the handicraft census of November 1949 had indicated that there were then 864,000 handicraft shops, in which 3 million persons were engaged (some 14 per cent. of the total labour force of 21 million at that date). Only 38,000 of the handicraft shops had been set up by the expellees and refugees, who thus operated only about 5 per cent. of such establishments, although they constituted some 16 per cent. of the population. From these and other estimates the Commission concluded that not more than 40 per cent. of expellee and refugee craftsmen had been able to resume work as independent craftsmen, as compared with approximately two-thirds of wage and salary earners in industry who had been able to resume their occupation, and that some 65,000 should be enabled to work again as independent craftsmen. For this purpose it was recommended that a handicraft programme should be established in each refugee camp, that the creation of 55,000 additional handicraft establishments should be made possible and that loans should be provided to existing refugee handicraft establishments.

The number of expellees and refugees who had previously been engaged in trade (including wholesale and retail establishments, as well as transport) and had been unable to re-establish themselves was estimated at 40,000 and it was considered that with the increase in population and purchasing power many more commercial establishments than existed could be supported, though probably not as many would be required to accommodate all of the immigrants who had experience as commercial proprietors. The recommendation in this field was therefore the creation of 30,000 additional establishments, with a review of their competitive strength after the completion of the programme.

With regard to the professions the Commission noted that many doctors, dentists, lawyers, etc., had obtained employment, though in many instances at incomes well below their accustomed level, owing to the overcrowding of the field. It was recommended that a substantial further number of trained expellees and refugees should be assisted financially to resume their professions and that consideration should be given to the possibility of emigration for others, in particular for doctors, dentists and veterinarians.

Land settlement was also reviewed by the Commission against the basic factors of the presence of large numbers of expellees and refugees who had been independent farmers and the necessity for Western Germany to increase her agricultural production. In describing the background to this aspect of the resettlement of the expellees and refugees the Commission expressed the view that the chief difficulty was not the shortage of land but rather the question of available capital. The total arable land of Western Germany was given at 13.5 million hectares, and the total number of farms as slightly over 2 million, with an average size of just under 7 hectares (as compared with an average size of 6.5 hectares in the Netherlands and twice this size in France and Denmark). It was also stated that there were some further 500,000 hectares of land which were unproductive or only partly productive. The number of expellee and refugee independent farmers at June 1949 was given at 294,000, of whom some 20,000 only had been established on farms

in Germany. It was suggested, however, that not all the remaining 274,000 would wish or be able to take up farming again. The recommendation under this heading was that a resettlement programme should be undertaken to settle 100,000 additional expellee and refugee farm families on the land over a period of six years. Provision for obtaining land already in cultivation for some 87,000 of these families was envisaged through the Refugee Settlement Act of 10 August 1949¹ and legislation in the Länder for the subdivision of holdings in excess of 100 hectares. The reclamation of non-productive lands was also recommended to provide 110,000 hectares for 13,000 refugee farm settlements.

The Commission recommended that their total plan for economic integration of the expellees and refugees should be implemented over a period of six years.

Since the submission of the Commission's report the Federal Republic has continued its energetic efforts to deal with the vast problem of the economic integration of the newcomers and considerable results have been achieved. At the same time the continuing influx of large numbers of further refugees, particularly farmers, from the Soviet zone has placed an additional heavy burden on the Federal Republic. The efforts of the federal Government have been directed towards two main solutions: the redistribution of the expellees and refugees to areas with better employment possibilities and the creation of new employment opportunities in the areas where the newcomers are most heavily concentrated. In regard to the first point, the related problems of accommodation and finance have been indicated above, together with the progress made in redistribution and the proposals of the federal Government. With regard to employment special measures have been financed since 1951, following an expenditure of 300 million DM. in 1950 on similar schemes to provide employment in areas of heavy unemployment. Measures undertaken in 1951-52 include public works, in particular in Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony and North Hesse (e.g., land reclamation; the construction of coastal works, roads, bridges, canals and harbour installations; the preparation of land and installation of public services in connection with settlement schemes; and forestry work). In 1952 61,000 persons were employed on this work. Employment has also been created for 35,461 persons (some two-thirds of whom were expellees and refugees) through special schemes based on finances raised through the Immediate Aid Act of 8 August 1949², and the Equalisation of Burdens Act of 14 August 1952. Under these provisions loans have been furnished to a number of expellees and refugees to engage in business on their own account.

In consequence of the above factors the proportion of expellees and refugees in the unemployed population has fallen slowly since 1950. It was estimated that in June 1952 employment had been found for some 3 million expellees and refugees in all, i.e., over 90 per cent. of all the economically active newcomers. In December 1952 the expellees and refugees comprised 29.5 per cent. of the unemployed as against 36 per cent. in 1949. The 450,000 agricultural workers among the refugees had been absorbed without difficulty and had helped considerably to increase agricultural production.

¹ See *Gesetzblatt der Verwaltung des Vereinigten Wirtschaftsgebietes*, No. 29, 24 Aug. 1949. This Act provided inducements in the form of certain tax exemptions for the selling or leasing of land to refugees.

² *Ibid.*, No. 28, 18 Aug. 1949.

In spite of these achievements, however, a higher percentage of expellees and refugees than of the native population were unemployed in December 1952 (although they comprised only 20 per cent. of the total population, they comprised 29.5 per cent. of the unemployed) and economic integration could not yet be said to have been completed since, apart from the rate of unemployment, the additional factors of occupational downgrading, employment in low-paid industries and withdrawal from the labour force were still operative. It is reported that the proportion of expellees and refugees employed on their own account was still only 7 per cent., as against an estimated 35 per cent. originally, while the proportion of dependent workers in the expellee and refugee labour force had risen from 65 to 93 per cent.; at the same time a quarter of the expellees and refugees who were employed as dependent workers were employed in occupations other than those in which they had been trained. Although 35,000 agricultural enterprises had been sold or leased to refugees and expellees at a cost of 564 million DM. and the terms of the Federal Expellees Act proposed further heavy expenditure from public funds for land settlement of refugees and expellees over the next five years, it appeared doubtful whether the integration of the 300,000 independent farming families in independent agricultural enterprises would be possible except in part.¹ It has also been pointed out that the expellees and refugees are predominantly employed in areas and occupations in the Federal Republic in which wages are lowest (the Federal Finance Ministry estimated that the average tax on wages paid by an employed expellee or refugee in the years 1949 and 1950 was 39 DM., compared with the average of 181 DM. paid by the employed native population). To these factors should probably be added also the high proportion of expellees and refugees employed in seasonal occupations, and continuing discrimination against expellees and refugees in the engagement and discharge of workers.

Other Factors Affecting Assimilation

The circumstances in which the wholesale movement of expellees and refugees to Western Germany has taken place have inevitably given rise to social and psychological difficulties in the way of their integration into the life of the Federal Republic, in addition to the economic, employment and accommodation difficulties outlined above. A large number of expellees and refugees are thought to have looked to the eventual unification of Germany and the return of the territory east of the Oder and Neisse rivers rather than to integration into the life of the Federal Republic.² The catastrophe of expulsion, accompanied by loss of possessions, economic downgrading, discrimination in employment, low standards of accommodation, etc., has also resulted in many instances in a psychological attitude which has been unfavourable to assimilation. Regional differences in way of life and outlook between the expellees and refugees and the new communities in which they found themselves have also contributed to difficulty in assimilation. In many cases expulsion or flight led to long periods of camp life and public assistance, with the psychological reactions (work-shyness, etc.) commonly associated with experiences of this kind.

¹ *Der Arbeitgeber*, Vol. V, No. 6, 15 Mar. 1953.

² Cf. "Political Organisation of the Refugees and Expellees in West Germany", *loc. cit.*

Among the native population the billeting of large numbers of expellees and refugees produced resentment and resistance, which were accentuated by the difficulties of the social situation in Germany after the war. Proposals to resettle expellees and refugees on the land has produced particular resentment.

The above-mentioned factors have led in the past to a measure of separation between the newcomers and the native population, expressed not only in the day-to-day relations between the two groups but also in the form of political activity. In some instances political parties have been formed to represent the interests of the immigrants. In others political parties have developed programmes directed against the expellees and refugees.

An additional factor against assimilation that should perhaps be noted is the religious composition of the respective groups. While the over-all religious composition of the native population and the migrant population was not markedly different (in 1950 the composition of the native and expellee populations was approximately the same; the smaller refugee group from the Soviet zone and Berlin, however, had higher proportions of Protestants and lower proportions of Roman Catholics than the native or expellee population), the distribution by communities showed disparities, e.g., small rural communities of almost totally Protestant or Catholic population received an influx of newcomers predominantly of the other faith.¹

Resettlement of Young Expellees and Refugees

There has been an unusually large proportion among the refugees and expellees of youths from broken families or with no families at all. Even when families are together, crowded living conditions and other difficulties have tended to weaken family influence. Schools have been overcrowded, particularly in areas where large numbers of expellees and refugees are concentrated. In 1951 the E.C.A. Technical Assistance Commission reported that in such areas normal instruction was usually not possible.

As regards employment the Commission's report stressed the fact that the older youths had often had insufficient vocational training or none at all, since they were called into the army immediately after leaving school. In 1951 the employment of the abnormal numbers of young people who were due to enter the employment market in the following years, owing to the high birth rate in the immediate pre-war years, was considered to be problematical. Approximately 70,000 youths were stated to have particular difficulty in finding regular employment because of their illegal entry into the Federal Republic.

With regard to apprenticeship it has been estimated that for some years past there have been 150,000 to 200,000 youths per year requiring apprenticeship training who have been unable to find it in spite of a higher ratio of male apprentices to the male employed population than in 1938 (in December 1952 there were 7,500,000 youths in the Federal Republic between the ages of 12 and 22 as compared with 6,400,000 in the same area in 1939); lack of housing in districts where opportunities of apprenticeship are available has been a contributory factor.

¹ Cf. Report No. 1841, *Expellees and Refugees of German Ethnic Origin*, to the U.S. House of Representatives, 81st Congress, Second Session.

The effect of these factors on the Federal Republic's future supply of skilled labour has been indicated¹, and to this must be added the low birth rate of the post-war years.

The various factors of life in a strange community, enforced idleness under conditions of poverty, little or no family life, and inadequate training have been recognised as dangerous factors, tending to lead to anti-social attitudes.

Special measures have been taken by the Federal Republic to meet this situation; e.g., efforts have been made to build apprenticeship homes rapidly and on a large scale. In December 1952 there were estimated to be over 72,000 young persons in about 1,000 such institutions, of whom over 43,000 were expellees or refugees. In addition the co-operation of employers has been enlisted and a comprehensive plan of assistance towards the vocational training of youths elaborated on the basis of the "Federal Youth Plan" (*Bundesjugendplan*). Special efforts have also been made by the federal Government to deal with the reception of youthful refugees from the Soviet zone and their placement in work.

Emigration

Since the refugee problem in the Federal Republic has been of unprecedented magnitude and has been accompanied by heavy unemployment, emigration has been considered as a means of the resettlement of the newcomers and as a form of relief to Western Germany's over-population. The development of the Federal Republic's emigration policy, with particular reference to expellees and refugees, is outlined briefly below.

In September 1949 a subcommittee of the United States House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary conducted an inquiry in Germany into the question of expellees and refugees. Its report stated that "the major solution of the problem of German expellees must lie in their local assimilation into the German economy. Whole-hearted acceptance of this inevitable fact... is essential to the achievement of integration... about 7,000,000 persons could advantageously remain in Western Germany."² At the same time the report recommended that the remaining 1,000,000 expellees and refugees, the overwhelming majority of whom would be farmers, should be given the opportunity to emigrate. A report prepared for the use of the subcommittee by the Office of Labor Affairs of the United States High Commissioner in Germany similarly recommended the encouragement of emigration, "particularly of those elements which represent an unbalanced population, such as excess females in certain age groups, and of other persons whose departure will not hamper the ability of the West German economy to support its population". The latter report also emphasised, however, that there was little reason to suppose that there would be any large volume of either temporary or permanent migration, owing to "the unwillingness of other countries to take large numbers of immigrants and the belief by many Germans that except in a few countries the opportunities abroad would not be sufficiently favourable".³

¹ Cf. Clifford MASER: *After Seven Years: World War II Refugees in Germany and Austria Today* (American Friends Service Committee, Dec. 1952).

² *Expellees and Refugees of German Ethnic Origin*, op. cit.

³ OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER: *Report of the Office of Labor Affairs* (Frankfurt-on-Main, 15 Sep. 1949).

Subsequently the German observer at the Preliminary Migration Conference, convened by the International Labour Organisation in Geneva in April 1950, referred to the fact that in normal times Germany was traditionally a country of emigration; to the inevitable delay before the vast problems of reconstruction, housing and the creation of employment could be overcome; and to the impossibility of providing farmland for the highly skilled farmers from the eastern provinces and the lower Danube valley. Against this background an estimate of a surplus population of 450,000 (350,000 men and 100,000 women) was submitted to the Conference, including 120,000 farmers or foresters.

At the further Migration Conference convened by the International Labour Organisation at Naples in October 1951 the federal Government reported its intention to make every possible effort to absorb the 9,100,000 expellees and refugees into the German economy but estimated that some 1,200,000 persons desired to emigrate, the majority of whom were refugees and expellees. Efforts to facilitate the economic and social development of immigration countries would be welcomed, in order that the possibilities of immigration, particularly of former independent farmers, might be expanded.

Between the two Conferences the report of the E.C.A. Technical Assistance Commission in March 1951 had based its recommendations on the integration of the expellees and refugees on the assumption that emigration was not likely to exceed the expected number of refugees in the future and in any case could not be entered upon on a large scale on account of the prohibitive cost.

At the present time the federal Government regards the tendency of immigration countries to concentrate on the selection of skilled workers of the younger age groups, and in some instances on unmarried persons, as disadvantageous to the Federal Republic both in regard to the country's future requirements of skilled labour and to the increased social burden left on the population by the emigration of its youngest and fittest members. It has also been considered doubtful whether migration opportunities exist at present on a large enough scale to allow of any considerable alleviation of the problem of the expellees and refugees through emigration at an early date.¹

No exact statistics are available of the total emigration from the area of the Federal Republic since the war or of the emigration of expellees and refugees. The Office of the United States High Commissioner in Germany estimated in 1949, however, that approximately 100,000 persons had emigrated from the Bizone Area since the end of the war, of whom some 40,000 were war brides. After this date recruitment campaigns were conducted in Germany by missions from the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Luxembourg and certain other countries, which resulted in the emigration of limited numbers of expellees and refugees. Movement under these schemes, however, had fallen to small proportions by 1952. The emigration of some 54,000 persons of German ethnic origin who were permitted to enter the United States under the provisions of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948² should also be noted, and also various small land settlement schemes such as the settlement of Sudeten Germans in Brazil under the auspices of the Association for

¹ Hilde WANDER: *Die Bedeutung der Auswanderung für die Lösung europäischer Flüchtlings- und Bevölkerungsprobleme* (Kieler Studien, 1951), pp. 51-57.

² *The D.P. Story: Final Report of the United States Displaced Persons Commission* (Washington, 1952), pp. 324-325.

Swiss Aid to Europe; the pilot land-settlement project in Brazil, sponsored by the World Council of Churches, for the settlement of 122 persons³; and the settlement of refugee families at La Serena in Chile and in Venezuela. The Federal Republic has also a current agreement for assisted migration to Australia, under which the movement of 4,000 persons was provided for in 1952, and discussions have been held with Canada regarding the temporary migration of refugee farmers from the Soviet zone to Canada.⁴

Legislation

Important aspects of the resettlement of expellees and refugees have been dealt with in a series of laws. Before the establishment of the Federal Republic in 1949 the individual Länder legislated for expellees and refugees on the lines of Law No. 59 of January 1947 promulgated by Bavaria and the law of June 1948, promulgated by North Rhine-Westphalia.⁵

Section 1 of article 116 of the Basic Law of the Federal Republic then dealt with the legal status of expellees and refugees and recognised as Germans all persons who were already German citizens and all expellees and refugees (including their wives and children) of German ethnic origin who had found refuge in the territory of the German State on 31 December 1937.

Thereafter both the Immediate Aid Act of 8 August 1949, under which large sums were provided for the assistance of persons who had suffered losses in consequence of the war, and the Equalisation of Burdens Act of 14 August 1952, which subsequently replaced the Immediate Aid Act, provided explicitly for expellees. The Equalisation of Burdens Act, in particular, included a comprehensive definition of the term "expellee" and also made provision for assistance to refugees from the Soviet zone.

At the same time as the enactment of the Equalisation of Burdens Act the previous law of April 1952 on the Establishment of Expulsion Damage and War Damage⁶ was revised, and the definition of expellee as given in the Equalisation of Burdens Act again adopted. The law of 27 March 1952 concerning compensation for loss of savings by expellees⁷ was also reissued in a revised form.

Together with these enactments and numerous others establishing the legal status of expellees and refugees in the Federal Republic and providing for various measures for their assistance, the creation may also be noted of the Expellees Bank, converted in April 1952 to the Equalisation of Burdens Bank with the function, *inter alia*, of providing credit for the business enterprises of expellees and refugees and, in November 1952, of the Expellees Trust Company, in association with the Equalisation of Burdens Bank, with the purpose of facilitating the establishment of new business enterprises by expellees and refugees.

³ See INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE: *Industry and Labour* (Migration Supplement), Vol. IX, Nos. 5-6, 1 and 15 Mar. 1953.

⁴ *Der Arbeitgeber*, Vol. V, No. 5, 1 Mar. 1953, p. 178.

⁵ For text of these laws, see *Expellees and Refugees of German Ethnic Origin*, op. cit. pp. 29-36.

⁶ *Bundesgesetzblatt*, No. 34, 18 Aug. 1952.

With regard to the settlement of expellees and refugees on the land, the Refugees Land Settlement Act of 10 August 1949 provided the legal basis for this aspect of their resettlement until the introduction of the Federal Expellees Act in 1953.

Legislation affecting the movement of refugees from the Soviet zone and the Soviet sector of Berlin into the Federal Republic included the Act respecting the emergency admission of Germans to the Federal Territory¹, in which the basic principles for the reception and allocation of the refugees were determined; subsequent legislation² providing intensified measures to meet the increasing difficulties of the situation; and, more recently, the Refugees Emergency Aid Act of 9 March 1953.³

As the continuation of this legislation, the Federal Expellees Act regulates the legal status of expellees and refugees on a uniform basis for the whole of the Federal Republic and establishes comprehensive provisions for their further integration. It was first submitted to the federal Parliament in November 1951 and after having been subjected to intensive examination in well over a hundred committee sessions and in particular by the so-called "Green Front"⁴ was eventually passed by a large majority on 25 March 1953.

This Act, which has been called the Magna Carta of the dispossessed, defines the expellees and refugees who are to benefit by its provisions and provides for the intensification of land settlement projects; credits and taxation reliefs for persons in business on their own account; preference through administrative measures in the placement of expellees and refugees in employment until the percentage of unemployment among expellees and refugees in each Land has been reduced to the percentage of unemployment among the natives in the Land; the creation of additional employment opportunities; the admission of professional workers to employment in their professions in proportion to the number of expellees and refugees in the total population; the admission of large numbers of expellees and refugees to apprenticeships; the regulation of the redistribution of expellees and refugees among the various Länder; and many other related matters. Restrictions on the exercise of rights by expellees and refugees arising from Land or local laws concerning place of birth, place of residence, and length of residence are removed. In matters of social security equality with the native population is ensured, and the details to give effect to this provision are left to a special law to be enacted later. Further provisions concern the facilitation of entry into business on their own account, together with arrangements to meet the loss of documents and certificates normally required in this connection, the regulation of liabilities incurred before expulsion, the right of family members to reunion, a free advice service, etc.

The benefits of the Act may be withdrawn by administrative action when the expellee or refugee has been integrated into the economic and social life of the new community to a degree corresponding to his former

¹ *Bundesgesetzblatt*, No. 36, 26 Aug. 1950 and No. 28, 12 June 1951.

² Act to supplement the Act respecting the emergency admission of Germans to the Federal Republic, *Bundesgesetzblatt*, No. 35, 25 July 1951; Act respecting the emergency admission of Germans to Berlin, *Gesetz und Verordnungsblatt für Berlin*, 1952, p. 1; Order for the provisional accommodation of refugees from the Soviet-occupied zone and the Soviet sector of Berlin, *Bundesgesetzblatt*, No. 32, 14 Aug. 1952.

³ *Bundesgesetzblatt*, No. 9, 9 Mar. 1953.

⁴ Term applied to the representatives of the point of view of the native farmers on the question of the further settlement of expellees and refugees on the land.

circumstances; administrative measures in favour of the employment of expellees and refugees cease when the proportion of such persons employed in a given occupation or branch of industry in a Land is equal to the proportion of natives employed.

AUSTRIA

The problem of the Volksdeutsche immigrants in Austria arises from the same historical circumstances as the problem of the expellees and refugees in the Federal Republic of Germany and presents many similar features, e.g., accommodation and employment difficulties and the resistance of the native population. At the same time there are important differences which have very considerably affected the action taken in the two countries to deal with the influx of newcomers. As indicated above, the Potsdam Agreement of November 1945 recognised that peoples of German ethnic origin were being removed from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary to Germany; the expulsions from these countries were then accompanied by expulsions from Yugoslavia, Rumania and Bulgaria. The persons expelled from the latter countries had to pass through Austria in their flight to Germany. A large number remained in Austria, at the charge of the Austrian Government, which was left with the choice of continuing to maintain them or of helping them to become integrated into the Austrian economy and life. The newcomers were not therefore regarded at the outset as a solely Austrian responsibility and the psychological reaction of Austria to them was less favourable than the psychological reaction of the Federal Republic of Germany to the newcomers to the Federal Republic territory.¹

The numbers of the immigrants of German ethnic origin arriving in Austria have been variously estimated. The Austrian Government estimated that 320,000 such persons were in the country in November 1947. Official sources indicated a total of 333,981 on 1 December 1949, of whom 194,994 were classed as repatriable; 193,989 were classed as German-speaking and 24,348 as German nationals on 1 February 1953. The total population of the country in June 1951 was 6.95 million.

Exact statistics of the occupational categories to which the newcomers belonged are not available. It has been estimated, however, that 10 per cent. were farmers or farm workers, 25 per cent. had been engaged in industry or commerce and 15 per cent. were professional workers.

A Committee of Ministers charged with the responsibility of considering the problem of the Volksdeutsche immigrants in Austria in September 1950 was asked to consider the following main wishes of the immigrants: assimilation in general of the Volksdeutsche with Austrian nationals; assistance to those unable to work; assistance to those who had lost pensions or other sources of income through expulsion; equality of treatment with Austrian nationals in regard to the application of the War Victims Assistance Act²; reunion of families; equality of treatment in admission to employment; regulation of certain aspects of industrial law, in particular the proof of possession of vocational qualifications; the vocational training of young Volksdeutsche; improvements in accommodation and living standards; assistance in land settlement

¹ Clifford MABER, op. cit.

² *Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich*, No. 183, 1947.

and in particular the supply of financial assistance for this purpose; concessions in regard to naturalisation.¹

These demands represented the main difficulties of the Volksdeutsche immigrants at that period. The obstacles in the way of meeting them have been summarised as follows: the collapse of the Austrian economy after the Second World War, accompanied by heavy post-war obligations and inflation; the high cost of housing the newcomers and providing them with employment or assisting them to become independent producers; an unfavourable population structure; a flight from the land, which increases competition among the industrial labour supply in the towns; acute shortage of accommodation (on 1 February 1953 47,882 persons, of whom 38,700 were Volksdeutsche, were still housed in camps); resistance of the Austrian population to the assimilation and integration of the newcomers; possible doubts of the "political and citizenship stability" of persons who did not voluntarily choose Austria as their new home; and the fears of many of them to settle in Austria. On the other hand it has been considered that, if integrated into the national life, they could assist in meeting certain of Austria's basic economic needs, in particular in regard to agriculture.

The successive steps taken by the Austrian Government to effect the resettlement of the Volksdeutsche and the results to date are outlined briefly below. A limited exemption from the employment restrictions contained in the Order of 23 January 1933 concerning the employment of aliens² was introduced by administrative measures in March 1951 whereby Volksdeutsche were allowed to take up domestic work or work in agriculture without having to obtain an employment permit. Exemption from work permits was also granted in respect of manual employment in commerce and industry to those who had been employed on such work in Austria for three years. Employment as a salaried employee was also included in the exemptions provided the person concerned had followed a similar occupation before 8 May 1945. At the same time it was stated that the entry of Volksdeutsche into trades would be facilitated and special concessions made in regard to the recognition of foreign certificates of vocational qualifications. In the social field Volksdeutsche who were severely disabled or blind, or without means were included in the provisions of the War Victims Act of 4 July 1947³, and Volksdeutsche in general were brought within the emergency aid provisions of the Unemployment Insurance Act of 22 June 1949.⁴ It was also agreed that the grant of advances on funds owned by Volksdeutsche in their countries of origin would be facilitated.

Subsequently in January 1952 further administrative measures⁵ were taken to place Volksdeutsche on a basis of equality with Austrian nationals in regard to the taking up of paid employment. This general exemption from employment restrictions did not, however, affect legislative provisions in respect of the professions (for many of which Austrian citizenship was required) or the position of Volksdeutsche in regard to setting up in business on their own account. The exemption applied to all Volksdeutsche who had arrived in Austria before 31 December 1951

¹ Cf. Paul FRINGS: *Das Internationale Flüchtlingsproblem, 1919-1950* (Frankfurt-on-Main, 1951).

² *Bundesgesetzblatt*, 1933, p. 26.

³ *Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich*, No. 183, 1947.

⁴ *Idem*, No. 184, 1949.

⁵ Circular Z.III/13.844-7/1952, issued by the Federal Ministry for Social Administration, 30 Jan. 1952.

and to those who had been returned to Austria after that date from prisoner-of-war camps.

In July 1952 equality of treatment with nationals was granted to Volksdeutsche with regard to the taking up of any form of business on their own account (including agriculture), entry into trades and the exercise of the medical and dental professions and the profession of notary.¹ At the same time the Disabled Persons Employment Act of 25 July 1946² was modified³, and disabled Volksdeutsche brought within its scope. A further Act of 18 July 1952⁴ extended the full benefits of the provisions concerning maternity protection to Volksdeutsche immigrants, while the principle of equality of Volksdeutsche and nationals in regard to employment was also recognised in the bilateral agreement concluded between Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany concerning the employment of Austrians in Germany and Germans in Austria.⁵ Subsequently measures were also taken to permit groups of Volksdeutsche teachers to practise their profession.⁶ In addition it has been stated that plans are at present under consideration for resettlement on the land.

In spite, however, of the progress outlined above in the equalisation of the status of Volksdeutsche with that of Austrian nationals, the integration of the Volksdeutsche immigrants into the Austrian economy has not yet been completed. In March 1952 some 37,000 only were employed in agriculture, and at present not all the professional workers who wish to follow their profession are able to do so. It is further probable that many salaried employees have suffered occupational downgrading.

¹ *Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich*, No. 35, 1952.

² *Idem*, No. 163, 1946.

³ *Bundesarbeitsblatt* (Federal Republic of Germany), No. 11, 1 Sep. 1952.

⁴ United Nations General Assembly, High Commissioner's Advisory Committee, Third Session: Memorandum by the High Commissioner on the International Protection of Refugees (Document A/AC. 36/23, 25 Mar. 1953).

Development Planning in India

The urgent need in many parts of the world to raise living standards by increasing productivity has led to the adoption of development plans in a number of countries. In countries with underdeveloped economies the realisation of such plans often requires great social and economic changes as well as improvements in methods of production and commercial and industrial organisation. An account is given below of India's first Five-Year Plan, which was prepared by the Planning Commission set up by the Government in March 1950 and approved by the Indian Parliament in December 1952.

EARLIER ATTEMPTS AT NATIONAL PLANNING

As early as 1938 the Indian National Congress, still striving for Indian independence, appointed a National Planning Committee, whose work, however, was interrupted by political and other developments at the beginning of the war.¹ In June 1941 the Government of India set up an Inter-departmental Committee for the investigation of reconstruction problems. In March 1943 the Committee was replaced by the Reconstruction Committee of the Viceroy's Council, with the Viceroy as chairman, to deal with all matters of policy, exercise initiative and co-ordinate and sanction plans. This Committee, which prepared two reports², recognised that the "ultimate object of all planning must be to raise the standard of living of the people as a whole and to ensure employment for all". In 1944 the Government of India established a separate Department of Planning and Development, and, at its instance, the Central Government as well as the provincial governments³ prepared a number of post-war development plans.⁴ Towards the end of 1946 the Advisory Planning Board appointed by the Government of India reviewed the financial and administrative problems arising out of such planning, and recommended, *inter alia*, the appointment of a planning commission to devote continuous attention to development as a whole.

¹ The Committee was dissolved in March 1949. It published in 1947 a series of reports relating to a variety of topics: *River Training and Irrigation; Land Policy, Agricultural Labour and Insurance; Rural and Cottage Industries; Labour; Population; Communications; and Education* (Vora and Co., Bombay).

² GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, RECONSTRUCTION COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL: *First Report on the Progress of Reconstruction Planning and Second Report on Construction Planning* (New Delhi, 1944).

³ Governments of the provinces of British India, as compared with those of the states, which were ruled by Indian Princes. Under the present Constitution the word "state" covers all territorial units of the Indian Union.

⁴ For a summary of some of these plans see INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE: *Wartime Labour Conditions and Reconstruction Planning in India* (Montreal, 1946), Part II, pp. 69-113.

Planning by Industrialists and Workers' Organisations

It is to be noted that industrialists as well as workers' organisations took an active interest in post-war planning. A number of prominent Indian industrialists prepared in 1944 a development plan, generally known as the "Bombay Plan"¹, for the rapid economic development of the country. It aimed at doubling income per head within a period of 15 years, which, with a normal increase of the population at the rate of 5 million per annum, necessitated a trebling of the national income. In the same year the Post-war Reconstruction Committee of the Indian Federation of Labour prepared a "People's Plan"² for a period of ten years with the purpose of providing for expanding social standards. Its immediate objective was to increase the agricultural output fourfold and industrial production sixfold. The All-India Trade Union Congress also adopted a comprehensive resolution on social and economic planning at its 21st Session, held in Madras in January 1945.³

THE PRESENT IMPERATIVE NEED FOR PLANNING

With the establishment of the Dominion of India on 15 August 1947⁴ the need for comprehensive planning based on a careful appraisal of resources and an objective analysis of all the relevant economic factors became imperative owing, *inter alia*, to geographic and economic factors resulting from the partition of the country into two independent States; the influx of several million refugees into India⁵; the integration of former Indian states into the Indian Union; deficiency in food supply; inflationary pressure inherited from the war; and the slow progress made by the development projects which had already been initiated by the Central Government and the provincial governments because of inadequate co-ordination and lack of precise information as to the resources available.

The Constitution

The Constitution of India, which was adopted by the Indian Constituent Assembly on 26 November 1949, enunciates certain directive principles of State policy, in particular that the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice—social, economic and political—shall inform all the institutions of the national life, and shall direct its policy towards securing, among other things—

¹ *A Brief Memorandum Outlining a Plan of Economic Development for India*, by Sir Purshotamdas THAKURDAS, J. R. D. TATA, G. B. BIRLA, Sir Ardesir DALAL, Sir Shri RAM, Kasturbhai LALBHAI, A. D. SHROFF and John MATTHAI (Bombay, 1944; also published in London and New York by Penguin Books, Ltd.); and *A Plan of Economic Development for India* (Bombay, The New Book Co., 1944), Part II (Distribution-Role of the State).

² *People's Plan for Economic Development of India: Report of the Post-war Reconstruction Committee of the Indian Federation of Labour* (Delhi, 1944).

³ *All-India Trade Union Congress Report, Twenty-First Session, Madras, 1945* (Bombay, 1945).

⁴ In accordance with the provisions of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the Government of the United Kingdom transferred power to the two new Dominions of India and Pakistan on 15 August 1947.

⁵ For the rehabilitation of displaced persons in India and Pakistan, see the following articles in the *International Labour Review*: "Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons in India", Vol. LVIII, No. 2, Aug. 1948, pp. 187-198; "Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Displaced Persons in the Indian Union", Vol. LXI, No. 4, Apr. 1950, pp. 410-426; and "Resettlement and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons in Pakistan", Vol. LXV, No. 3, Mar. 1952, pp. 379-385.

(a) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;

(b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good; and

(c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment.¹

The Planning Commission

With a view to furthering these principles and to promoting a rapid rise in the standard of living, the Government of India set up a Planning Commission in March 1950.² The main functions of the Commission were: (a) to make an assessment of the material, capital and human resources of the country, including technical personnel, and to investigate the possibilities of augmenting them in accordance with the nation's requirements; (b) to formulate a plan for the most effective and balanced utilisation of the country's resources; and (c) to define the stages by which the plan should be carried out and propose the allocation of resources for the completion of each stage. The Commission was also to determine what arrangements must be made for the successful implementation of each stage of the plan in all its aspects, indicate the factors which tend to retard economic development, determine the conditions which should be established for the successful execution of the plan in the existing social and political situation of the country and review from time to time the progress achieved in the execution of each stage of the plan and recommend necessary adjustments of policy or other measures.

The Draft Outline of the Plan

The Commission presented a draft outline of the first Five-Year Plan in July 1951³ in order to invoke the "widest possible public discussion". The draft plan covered the five-year period from April 1951 to March 1956. It was divided into two parts: the first involved an outlay of Rs. 14,930 million; the second, which proposed an expenditure of Rs. 3,000 million, was to be undertaken if external assistance was available. Before preparing the final report the Commission had an opportunity to study the observations of numerous individuals, organisations and institutions, and of the Press on the draft outline. It conferred with the Central Government and the state governments and their experts, representatives of the principal political parties, leading women workers and some members of Parliament.

THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

India's first Five-Year Plan, which was presented to the Parliament by the Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, on 8 December 1952, was approved by both Houses by an overwhelming majority.⁴ It contains

¹ GOVERNMENT OF INDIA: *The Constitution of India* (Delhi, 1949), Part IV, articles 38 and 39.

² The Commission, which met for the first time on 28 March 1950, consisted of six members, with Mr. Jawaharlal NEHRU, the Prime Minister, as chairman, and Mr. Gulzarilal NANDA, then Minister for Labour, Bombay, as deputy chairman.

³ GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PLANNING COMMISSION: *The First Five Year Plan—A Draft Outline* (New Delhi, 1951).

⁴ The Council of States approved it on 18 December by 87 votes to 19 and the House of the People on 19 December by 286 votes to 62.

all the development projects included in the draft outline, together with a number of additions and modifications. Furthermore, the various programmes have been brought together into a single plan and involve a total outlay during 1951-56 of Rs. 20,687.8 million.

The report on the plan is in three parts: the first contains an analysis of the process of development in an underdeveloped economy, the second deals with administration and public co-operation and the third with various programmes of development. These programmes are grouped under five principal headings: agriculture; irrigation and power; cottage and small-scale industries; industry and communications; and social services and employment.¹

Priorities and Patterns of Outlay

Priorities and patterns of outlay have been determined on the basis of a number of factors, including (i) the need for initiating a process of development that will form the basis of the much larger effort needed in the future; (ii) the total resources likely to be available to the country for the purpose of development; (iii) the close relationship between the rates of development and the requirements of resources in the public and in the private sectors; (iv) the necessity of completing the schemes of development initiated by the Central Government and state governments prior to the commencement of the plan; and (v) the need to correct the maladjustments in the economy caused by the war and the partition.

The following table gives the broad allocation of resources among the main headings of development in the plan as compared with those in the draft outline.

TABLE I: ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES IN THE PLAN

Item	Outlay during 1951-56 (million rupees)		Percentage of total outlay	
	Five-Year Plan	Draft outline	Five-Year Plan	Draft outline
Agriculture and community development	3,604.3	1,916.9	17.4	12.8
Irrigation and power	5,614.1	4,503.6	27.2	30.2
Transport and communications	4,971.0	3,881.2	24.0	26.1
Industry	1,730.4	1,009.9	8.4	6.7
Social services	3,398.1	2,542.2	16.4	17.0
Rehabilitation	850.0	790.0	4.1	5.3
Miscellaneous	519.9	285.4	2.5	1.9
Total . . .	20,687.8	14,929.2	100.0	100.0

Source: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PLANNING COMMISSION: *The First Five Year Plan—A Summary*, p. v.

It will be noted from table I that, owing to the importance of increasing food supplies and the raw materials needed for industry, the plan gives high priority to agriculture, which, with irrigation and power, is

¹ GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PLANNING COMMISSION: *The First Five Year Plan*, Vols. I and II (1952). A shorter "People's Edition" (263 pages) has been published and also *The First Five Year Plan—A Summary*. A further publication of the Commission is *Development Schemes in the First Five Year Plan* (1952).

allotted 44.6 per cent. of the total outlay. This has inevitably limited the investment which the public sector can itself undertake in industry to 8.4 per cent. of the total. As a result industrial expansion during the period will depend largely on private initiative and resources, supplemented by foreign investments and the resources of the public sector. The allocation of 16.4 per cent. of the total to social services, where the need is very extensive, is expected to be supplemented by direct community effort on a large scale for the liquidation of illiteracy, improvement of sanitation and hygiene, development of civic services, etc. With a view to evoking such effort the plan provides Rs. 1,050 million for community projects and rural development. The chief significance of the pattern of outlay is that it will create a substantial amount of productive equipment in both the public and the private sectors, and thus make a more rapid development possible in future. It is estimated that nearly 60 per cent. of the planned outlay will result directly in the creation of productive capital in the ownership of the Central Government and state governments, mainly in respect of irrigation and power, transport and communications, and industry. The remaining 40 per cent. will partly add to productive equipment in the private sector.¹

Additions to the Draft Outline

The programmes introduced in the field of agriculture and community development that did not appear in the draft outline include a provision of Rs. 900 million for community-development projects, and Rs. 300 million for minor irrigation projects. In the sphere of industry, in addition to provision for an integrated steel plant, Rs. 500 million have been allotted for the further expansion of basic industries, including the manufacture of heavy electric equipment and fertilisers, and for organising the increased transport facilities required for the development of industry and mines. The plan gives special importance to the development of small-scale and cottage industries and the Central Government's programme in this respect has been expanded from Rs. 50 million to Rs. 150 million. Important additions have also been made in respect of social service programmes.

Objectives

In appraising the results of the plan, particularly with reference to agriculture and manufacturing industries, the development programme in the public sector cannot be separated from the effort that is likely to be forthcoming from the private sector. The expected results of the development programme in terms of certain selected targets in 1955-56, as compared with 1950-51, are given below.

It will be noted from table II that in 1955-56, as compared with 1950-51, agricultural production is expected to increase as follows: food grains by almost 17 per cent., cotton by over 42 per cent., jute by 63 per cent., sugar cane by about 13 per cent. and oil seeds by 8 per cent.

¹ The addition that the plan is expected to make to productive capital is indicated by the following estimates: (i) outlay which will add to the stock of productive capital owned by the Central Government and state governments, Rs. 11,990 million; (ii) outlay which will contribute to building up productive capital in the private sector: (a) expenditure on agriculture and rural development (excluding community projects and provision for scarcity-affected areas), Rs. 2,440 million; (b) loans for transport and industry, Rs. 470 million; (c) provision for stimulating local development (community projects and local works) Rs. 1,050 million; (iii) outlay on social capital, Rs. 4,250 million; (iv) outlay unclassified above (including provision for scarcity-affected areas), Rs. 490 million.

TABLE II: DEVELOPMENT TARGETS OF THE PLAN

Item	1950-51	1955-56
I. Agriculture		
Food grains ¹ (million tons)	52.7	61.6
Cotton (100,000 bales)	29.7	42.2
Jute (100,000 bales)	33.0	53.9
Sugar cane (million tons)	5.6	6.3
Oilseeds (million tons)	5.1	5.5
II. Irrigation and Power		
Irrigation (million acres)	50.0	69.7
Electrical energy (installed capacity, million kW)	2.3	3.5
III. Industry²		
Iron and steel (100,000 tons):		
Pig-iron available for foundries	3.5	6.6
Finished steel	9.8	13.7
Cement (100,000 tons)	26.9	48.0
Aluminium (thousand tons)	3.7	12.0
Fertilisers (thousand tons):		
Ammonium sulphate	46.3	450.0
Superphosphate	55.1	180.0
Locomotives (number)	—	150.0
Machine tools (thousands)	1.1	4.6
Petroleum refining: liquid petroleum (million gallons)	—	403.0
Bitumen (thousand tons)	—	37.5
Cotton manufacture, yarn (million lb.)	1,179.0	1,640.0
Mill cloth (million yards)	3,718.0	4,700.0
Handloom (million yards)	810.0	1,700.0
Jute manufactures (thousand tons)	892.0	1,200.0
Agricultural machinery:		
Pumps, power-driven (thousands)	34.3	85.0
Diesel engines (thousands)	5.5	50.0
Bicycles (thousands)	101.0	530.0
Power alcohol (million gallons)	4.7	18.0
IV. Transport		
Shipping (tonnage):		
Coastal (thousand G.R.T.)	211.0	315.0
Overseas (thousand G.R.T.)	173.5	283.0
Roads:		
National highways (thousand miles)	11.9	12.5
State roads (thousand miles)	17.6	20.6
V. Education³		
Pupils in—		
Primary schools (100,000)	151.1	187.9
Junior basic schools (100,000)	29.0	52.8
Secondary schools (100,000)	43.9	57.8
Industrial schools (thousands)	14.8	21.8
Other technical and vocational training schools (thousands)	26.7	43.6
VI. Health		
Hospitals (thousand beds)	106.5	117.2
Dispensaries (number)—		
Urban	1,358.0	1,615.0
Rural	5,229.0	5,840.0
VII. Developmental institutions		
<i>Panchayats</i> ⁴ (thousands)	55.1	69.1
Co-operative societies ⁵	161.9	211.1
Credit (thousands)	87.8	112.5
Sale and marketing (thousands)	14.7	20.7
Multi-purpose (thousands)	31.5	40.5
Lift irrigation (number)	192.0	514.0
Co-operative farming (number)	352.0	975.0
Others (thousands)	27.3	35.8

Source: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PLANNING COMMISSION: *The First Five Year Plan*, People's Edition, pp. 38-42.

¹ Including gram and pulses. Output in 1949-50 (used as the base for fixing the target for 1955-56) was 54.0 million tons.

² Targets for industry include both private and public sectors.

³ These estimates do not cover (except in respect of industrial schools) Hyderabad, Rajasthan, Ajmer and Vindhya Pradesh. In some cases data for a few states (e.g., Uttar Pradesh, in respect of primary schools, Madhya Pradesh in the case of junior basic and secondary schools) are also not covered in these estimates.

⁴ Village councils.

⁵ The estimates exclude data for Punjab, Orissa, Hyderabad, Pepsu (Punjab and East Punjab States Union) and most of the "Part C" states (see footnote to table III, p. 193).

At the termination of the five-year period, major irrigation and power projects are expected to bring an additional area of 8.5 million acres under irrigation and to generate 1.08 million kW of additional power. After the completion and full development of these projects the total addition to the area irrigated is estimated to be 16.9 million acres and the additional power 1.46 million kW. In addition it is estimated that minor irrigation projects will help to irrigate another 11.2 million acres, and private electricity undertakings will add 166,000 kW to electric power.

In the industrial sector the production of pig-iron is expected to increase by 310,000 tons and of finished steel by 390,000 tons. By the end of the plan India will be producing 150 locomotives a year, almost the entire annual replacement requirements of Indian railways. The production of fertilisers is expected to increase by 528,000 tons, of cement by 2.1 million tons, and of cloth by 1,872 million yards.

As a result of the expansion of educational facilities during the period of the plan the number of pupils attending primary, junior basic, secondary, and technical and vocational (other than industrial) schools is expected to increase by 24, 82, 31 and 63 per cent. respectively. The increase in hospital beds and dispensaries will be slightly over 10 per cent.

Land Policy

The agricultural programme lies at the very centre of the plan and the future of land ownership is one of the basic issues involved, as it affects the entire socio-economic structure of the country. The authors of the plan maintain that the land policy should be such as will reduce disparities in wealth and income, eliminate exploitation, provide security for tenant and worker and promise equality of status and opportunity to different sections of the rural population. Proposals for land reform are made with reference to the principal interests involved, namely, intermediaries, large owners, small and middle owners, tenants and landless workers. It is proposed, furthermore, that the Central Government and the states work out the stages in which land reforms are to be carried out.

Community Development Programme

The plan seeks to initiate the process of transformation of the social and economic life of rural India through the community development programme which was launched in 1952 and covered a population of about 15 million. Each community project covers approximately 300 villages, with a total area of about 450-500 square miles, a cultivated area of about 150,000 acres and a population of about 200,000. The project area is divided into three development blocks, each consisting of about 100 villages and a population of about 60,000-70,000, and each development block is in turn divided into groups of five villages. The main types of activities undertaken in a community project are agricultural and related matters; communications; education; health; supplementary employment; housing; training; social welfare.

FINANCING OF THE PLAN

The authors of the plan emphasise that, as there is one single pool of investable resources from which both the private and public sectors

have to draw, the problem is not only to find resources for the public sector but to enlarge progressively the size of the common pool and to ensure that the available total is allocated between the two sectors in terms of agreed priorities.

It is estimated that out of a total outlay of Rs. 20,690 million about Rs. 7,380 million will be available out of savings from the current revenues, and about Rs. 5,200 million out of private savings (loans, small savings, deposits, etc.). In addition, there is the external assistance already received from the International Bank and several countries, including the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, amounting so far to Rs. 1,560 million. The gap of Rs. 6,550 million, however, will have to be met from further external resources or, in the absence of such a possibility, through additional measures of internal taxation and borrowing and through deficit financing. The Government can draw upon its sterling balances to the extent of Rs. 2,900 million. The authors of the plan admit that if the necessary external assistance is not forthcoming some marginal adjustments will have to be made, but a planned outlay of about Rs. 20,690 million will have to be maintained in order to lay the foundation for more rapid development in the future.

Distribution of Outlay Between the Centre and the States

The development projects of the states included in the plan were drawn up in consultation with the state governments concerned and on the basis of estimates supplied by them regarding the revenue expenditure during the period of the plan. Table III indicates the outlay of the Central Government and the states governments (excluding Jammu and Kashmir) under the plan.

TABLE III: DISTRIBUTION OF OUTLAY
BETWEEN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE STATES
(millions of rupees)

Item	States governments ¹			
	Central Government	Part A	Part B	Part C
Agriculture and community development	1,863	1,273	376	87
Irrigation and power	2,659	2,061	815	35
Transport and communications	4,095	565	174	88
Industry	1,467	179	71	5
Social services, including rehabilitation	1,914	1,923	289	104
Miscellaneous	407	100	7	—
Total	12,405	6,101	1,732	319

Source: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PLANNING COMMISSION: *The First Five Year Plan—A Summary*, p. 26.

¹ "Part A" states: Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Orissa, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal; "Part B" states: Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat, Mysore, Punjab and East Punjab States Union, Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Travancore-Cochin; "Part C" states: Ajmer, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Coorg, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Manipur, Tripura, Vindhya Pradesh.

It will be seen from table III that the expenditure by the Central Government (including railways) amounts to Rs. 12,405 million; by "Part A" states, Rs. 6,101 million; by "Part B" states, Rs. 1,732 million; and by "Part C" states, Rs. 319 million. The state of Jammu and Kashmir will invest Rs. 130 million.

EFFECT ON INCOME AND CAPITAL FORMATION

The Planning Commission emphasises that in view of the particularly low income per head in India¹ the objective of planning must be to increase it substantially, and if possible double it, as early as possible. In this respect three important factors have been taken into consideration. They are: (i) the population growth at the rate of 1.25 per cent. per annum; (ii) the relation between investment and output; and (iii) the proportion of the increase in national output that can be devoted to investment. Capital formation is estimated in the plan to rise by about 20 per cent. of the additional national income each year.² The internal resources thus available will, to some extent, be supplemented by external resources. By 1955-56, national income is expected to increase to about Rs. 100,000 million, i.e., by about 11 per cent. If, from 1956-57 onwards, investment is increased each year by about 50 per cent. of the additional output, it would be possible to double income per head in about 27 years.

EFFECT ON EMPLOYMENT

A substantial increase in the volume of employment both in urban and rural centres is a major consideration in the plan. In spite of the numerous difficulties in the way of making a quantitative assessment of the effect of the plan on employment, the Planning Commission has attempted to make a rough estimate. Thus it is estimated that annual additional employment opportunities created in certain important sectors will be: industry, including small-scale industries, 400,000; major irrigation and power projects, 750,000; agriculture, 2,300,000; building and construction, 100,000; roads, 200,000; and cottage industries, 2,000,000. In addition, cottage industries are expected to provide fuller employment for 3,600,000 persons. An increase in employment is also envisaged in the tertiary sector of the economy and local public works, but it has not been found possible to estimate it.

LABOUR POLICY

The plan states that labour problems should be approached from two angles: the welfare of the working class and the country's economic stability and progress. It maintains that, besides the satisfaction of basic needs for food, clothing and shelter, a worker should enjoy improved

¹ According to the Statistical Office of the United Nations, income per head in U.S. dollars in 1949 was 57 in India, 100 in Japan, 773 in the United Kingdom, 849 in Switzerland, 587 in Norway, and 1,453 in the United States. See *National and Per Capita Incomes of Seventy Countries*, 1949 (Statistical Papers, Series E, No. 1, New York, 1950).

² In 1950-51 India's national income was approximately Rs. 90,000 million, and it is estimated that if 67 per cent. of the additional income can be ploughed back annually into investment, income per head can be doubled (an increase of aggregate national income by 160 per cent.) in 22 years. This, however, is too high a rate of saving for the economy.

health services, wider provision of social security, better educational opportunities and increased recreational and cultural facilities. He should have freedom to organise and adopt lawful means to promote his rights and interests and, if necessary, have access to impartial machinery for the settlement of industrial disputes. Most of these rights have been recognised in India and have found a place in the Constitution.

The plan also makes recommendations concerning industrial relations, wages and social policy, working conditions, employment and training, productivity and housing.

Agricultural Workers

In respect of landless agricultural workers, who, together with their dependants, constitute about 18 per cent. of persons engaged in agriculture¹, the Commission has made certain specific recommendations. These include the grant of occupancy rights in house sites, support of the movement for gifts of land to the landless², and the promotion of co-operatives of different types.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN

In the last New Year's message to the nation, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru stated that the plan was essentially a programme of work, and invited his countrymen to share in the challenging enterprise of building a new India.

Machinery for Co-operation

The implementation of the plan calls for nation-wide co-operation among public authorities at various levels, as well as, among these authorities, voluntary social service agencies, and the people themselves. With this end in view the Government of India established a National Development Council in August 1952. Recently two important public agencies were organised, the Bharat Sevak Samaj and the National Advisory Committee for Public Co-operation.

The National Development Council consists of the Prime Minister of India, the chief Ministers of all states and the members of the Planning Commission. It will review the working of the plan from time to time, consider important questions of social and economic policy affecting national development, and recommend measures for the achievement of the aims and targets set out in the plan, including measures for securing the active co-operation of the people and for improving the efficiency of the administrative services.³

¹ According to the census of 1951, out of a total rural population of 295 million, 249 million were engaged in agriculture.

² The Bhoodan Yajna (land-gift movement) launched by Acharya Vinoba Bhave, a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, aims at securing land for the landless through voluntary donations. See M. L. DANTWALA: "Land Reforms in India", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXVI, Nos. 5-6, Nov.-Dec. 1952, p. 436. By the end of January 1953 500,000 acres of land had been received and distributed (speech by Vinoba Bhave, reported in *Sarvodaya*, published monthly by the Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Vol. 2, No. 9, p. 198). The target is to secure 2.5 million acres of land by the end of March 1954. A 14-member committee, with Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of the Indian Union, as Chairman, and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister, as a member, was set up on 27 March to give official encouragement to the movement.

³ Cf. *The Gazette of India*, Extraordinary, 19 Aug. 1952.

The Bharat Sevak Samaj is a non-political and non-official national organisation for the promotion of work for the improvement of living conditions in the villages. Apart from assisting in the development of existing voluntary organisations, the principal functions of the Samaj are (i) to find and develop avenues of voluntary service for the people of the country; and (ii) to draw out the available unused time, energy and other resources of the people and direct them into various fields of social and economic activity.

The National Advisory Committee, which is representative of different sections of opinion in the country, will assess and review the programme of public co-operation for the implementation of the plan, keep the Planning Commission informed concerning the progress of such co-operation and advise the Central Board of the Bharat Sevak Samaj on matters of policy and programme relating to public co-operation.

Budgetary Provisions

Provisions for capital expenditure on development in the Government of India budgets have followed broadly the pattern suggested by the Planning Commission. During the first two years of the plan (1951-53), the Government of India and the state governments provided roughly Rs. 6,000 million, divided equally among them, out of a total outlay of Rs. 20,690 million. The central budget for 1953-54 has provided roughly Rs. 2,250 million for development expenditure, exclusive of assistance for the state plans. If the level of Government expenditure during 1952-53 were maintained in 1953-54, the total expenditure on development projects by March 1954 would amount to about Rs. 10,000 million, leaving a balance of the same order for the following two years of the plan.¹

Foreign Investment

It is commonly recognised that India needs to import foreign capital if industry is to expand at a sufficiently rapid rate to absorb an increasing proportion of the annual increase in the labour force.² In April 1952 Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh, the Finance Minister of the Government of India, stated that "in the present state of development of the country it is all to the good to attract as much foreign capital as possible if this does not involve any conditions injurious to the economic development of the country or its established industries".³ He added that the utilisation of foreign capital had been faithfully implemented. The plan points out that certain assurances as to non-discrimination, reasonable facilities for the transfer of profits and repatriation of capital and of fair and equitable compensation in the event of nationalisation have already been given on behalf of the Government. It maintains, however, that

¹ Statement of the Government of India Finance Minister in his speech on the budget for 1953-54.

² The annual increase in the labour force in India is estimated at 1.6 million persons (see the *Eastern Economist*, Vol. XIX, No. 17, 24 Oct. 1952, p. 663) and under the plan employment opportunities for 400,000 persons annually.

³ *India News* (published by the Office of the Government of India High Commissioner in London), 12 Apr. 1952.

⁴ Cf. the Resolution of the Ministry of Industry and Supply of the Government of India, *Gazette of India*, Extraordinary, 6 Apr. 1948, pp. 533-538.

foreign investment coming into India must be canalised into fields of high priority. And the broad principle to be followed is to permit foreign investment in spheres where new lines of production are to be developed or where special types of experience and technical skill are required, or where the volume of domestic production is small in relation to demand and there is no reasonable expectation of the indigenous industry being able to expand at the desired rate. With a view to ensuring the fulfilment of such a policy, agreements for joint participation between foreign and Indian concerns are to be subject to the approval of the Government.

THE RESPONSE TO THE PLAN

The plan has aroused considerable enthusiasm in the country. Numerous national bodies, including employers' and workers' organisations, have reacted very favourably to it.

The 58th Session of the Indian National Congress, which was held at Nanalnagar (Hyderabad) on 17-18 January 1953, adopted a resolution pledging its support of the plan.¹

Employers' Organisations

The plan, which places major emphasis on agriculture, irrigation and power, communication, and social services (comprising 85 per cent. of the total outlay) does not visualise any large-scale extension of State activities in the industrial sector, which, consequently, is left largely to private enterprise. Mr. A. C. Innes, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, welcomed the plan, since private enterprise, which had suffered from a feeling of uncertainty in the past few years, had been allowed a place under it.² The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry appreciated the important role assigned to private enterprise under the plan and pledged the full co-operation of the business community in achieving the targets established for the private sector.³ Mr. V. Chandavarkar, President of the Employers' Federation of India also assured the Government of the employers' support.⁴ On the other hand, Sir M. Visvesvaraya criticised the plan for not giving industries "the importance and priority needed to promote the economic strength of the country".⁵

Workers' Organisations

The Indian National Trade Union Congress adopted a resolution describing the plan as "an outstanding landmark in the historic task of the nation towards all-round development of the country and progress and prosperity of the people". It agreed with the view that in existing circumstances private enterprise has a place in the task of national

¹ *Times of India* (Bombay), 16 Jan. 1953.

² Address at a general meeting of the Chambers held in Calcutta on 15 December 1952 (*The Statesman* (Calcutta), 16 and 17 Dec. 1952).

³ A resolution adopted at the 26th annual meeting of the Federation held in New Delhi on 8 March 1953 (*ibid.*, 16 Mar. 1953).

⁴ Address to the annual general meeting of the Federation held at Bombay on 22 December 1952 (*Times of India*, 24 Dec. 1952).

⁵ Presidential address to the 13th annual session of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation (*The Statesman*, 16 Mar. 1953).

development, provided that it is effectively controlled.¹ The Hind Mazdoor Sabha² assured the Government of its co-operation in the implementation of the plan and urged it to take appropriate measures for associating organised labour at all levels with the machinery set up for executing it.³ On the other hand Mr. S. A. Dange, General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress stated that "the very economy of the plan and its mechanics of execution . . . show that it is not intended or executed to solve the problems of the workers or the peasants or the people in general".⁴

ACHIEVEMENTS UNDER THE PLAN

The plan, which has entered its third year, has already some encouraging achievements to its credit. The Tilaiya Dam, which stores some 14,000 million cubic feet of water, and the Bakara thermal power station, two of the multi-purpose schemes of the Damodar Valley Corporation, were inaugurated on 21 February 1953.⁵

According to the Government of India Ministry of Production, set up in May 1952, considerable progress has been made during the year 1952-53 in various industrial and development projects under the Central Government. The Sindri Fertilising Factory, which started work in March 1952, is producing on the average 965 tons a day (against a target of 1,000 tons a day) and produced a total of 231,590 tons by the end of February 1953. The Scindia Shipyard at Visakhapatnam, in which the Government of India holds a two-thirds interest, completed the construction of three ships (8,000 D.W.T.) in 1952, and had two vessels of similar tonnage under construction. Considerable progress is reported in the manufacture of instruments and machine tools. A dry-core cable factory is expected to start production in June 1953; both a penicillin factory, which will produce 3,600 billion units a year to begin with, and a D.D.T. factory, with a capacity of 700 tons a year, are expected to start production before the end of the year.⁶

According to the Indian Finance Minister, the people's participation in the community development projects has been beyond expectations. Scores of miles of village roads have been built, co-operative societies and *panchayats* (village councils) formed, and agricultural services organised.⁷

EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE

External assistance, both financial and technical, has helped India considerably in the implementation of the plan. Up to the middle of February 1953 the International Bank for Reconstruction and Develop-

¹ At the fifth annual session held at Modinagar (U.P.) on 27-28 Dec. 1952; see INDIAN NATIONAL TRADE UNION CONGRESS: *A Brief Review of the Fifth Annual Session*, pp. 26-27.

² One of the three principal national federations of trade unions in India.

³ Resolutions adopted by the third convention of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, held at Bombay on 28-30 Apr. 1952.

⁴ Secretary General's Report to a special convention of the All-India Trade Union Congress held at Calcutta on 24-25 May 1952; see *Trade Union Record* (Organ of the All-India Trade Union Congress), Vol. 10, No. 6, Jan.-June 1952.

⁵ *The Hindu* (Madras), 22 Feb. 1953.

⁶ *The Statesman*, 24 Mar. 1953.

⁷ OFFICE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA HIGH COMMISSIONER IN LONDON: *India News*, 14 Mar. 1953.

ment loaned to India a total of \$109.8 million. Economic assistance received from the United States under the Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation Agreement during 1952 amounted to \$88.35 million. During 1951 India also received from the Government of the United States a loan of \$190 million for the purchase of 2 million tons of food grain from that country. Furthermore, financial aid expected from the Ford Foundation for the rural development programme is estimated at \$1.2 million. Under the United States Point Four Program a total of 71 experts had been received in India and 82 Indians had been sent to the United States for training up to the middle of February 1953.

Under the Colombo Plan economic and technical assistance has also been received from the member countries. The contribution from Australia for the year ending 30 June 1952 was £4.2 million, and Canada's contribution for the year ending 30 June 1953 was £15 million. The contribution of the Government of New Zealand amounted to £250,000 in 1952.

The Government of Norway has agreed to provide an initial amount of 10 million Norwegian crowns (about Rs. 6.7 million) for the economic development of the country.

The United Nations, together with its specialised agencies, F.A.O., I.L.O., I.C.A.O., U.N.E.S.C.O., and W.H.O., provided up to 1 November 1952 a total of 69 experts and training facilities abroad for 61 Indians.¹

The continuation of external assistance, both financial and technical, is necessary for a rapid development of the country; financial assistance will relieve the strain on its economy and technical assistance will help in building the necessary technical and skilled personnel.

The Five-Year Plan, which Prime Minister Nehru described as "modest, but with far-reaching consequences", initiates in India a comprehensive process of planned economic development with the purpose of raising progressively the living standards of the people. It is an event of great significance as it represents an organised national effort to deal with multifarious problems involved in increasing production and assuring its equitable distribution in a country with an under-developed economy, an old socio-economic order and very low income per head of population.

The successful implementation of the plan will lay the foundation for faster economic development in the future, and this depends on the wholehearted co-operation of the people in every phase and the availability of finance. It is evident that the people are becoming increasingly aware of their responsibility in this matter. With respect to finance, however, the internal resources of the country are not likely to provide a sufficiently rapid rate of investment, and financial assistance from abroad would be most helpful.

¹ *Ibid.*, 14 Feb. 1953.

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Apathy and the Democratic Process in Unions

It is difficult to discover whether the author of *The Government of British Trade Unions*¹ intended to praise the Transport and General Workers' Union or to condemn it. He describes his study as "an investigation of apathy and the democratic process in the government of a British trade union", and explains that he selected the Transport and General Workers' Union for study because of its size, because it faces problems similar to those of other unions, but magnified, and because he was able to become a member. Mr. Goldstein found that in this Union "a well-designed structure has been created in which a large degree of decentralisation, devised to satisfy the dual loyalty of the membership [i.e., loyalty to a trade and loyalty to a district] is balanced by centralisation, which efficiency and the extent of combination and concentration in British industry made essential". He affirms that "the government of the Union is that of a representative democracy" and that its constitution "provides ample opportunity for the rank and file member to participate in its activities and in the formulation of its policy". He adds, however, that the success of its system of representation depends upon a high degree of membership participation at branch level, and that it is therefore essential to "look inside" the Union to determine to what extent the members in fact participate in its activities. In the end he arrives at the conclusion that the Union is "an oligarchy at every level of its structure, failing to elicit the active participation of its members".

The existence of apathy in trade unions, as in other democratic organisations, is well known; Mr. Goldstein has attempted to show the extent of this apathy in one particular union. He produces detailed figures on such matters as attendance at the Union's branch meetings and participation in Union elections, but it may be doubted whether the labour of assembling all these figures was justified except as an academic exercise; a less detailed treatment of the subject would have sufficed. However, his book gives a useful description of how the Union works.

The chapter on the turnover of the Union's membership is one of the most interesting. Mr. Goldstein argues that a high degree of member turnover necessarily creates apathy and he suggests that the Union should redirect its energies from the task of getting new members to

that of making those already members into active trade union citizens. To which the reply would no doubt be given that both tasks must be carried out at the same time.

Interesting also is the chapter on Union elections in relation to membership participation. In this chapter Mr. Goldstein points out that the Union's journal is simply an official publication presenting official policy from an official point of view, that there is no space available for letters to the editor, and that no column is provided for criticism of Union policy "or those responsible for it". A trade union journal, however, is the union's official organ; it is meant primarily to provide the members with information on the union's activities and to carry statements and articles explaining the union's policy. It would be interesting to know what proportion of trade union journals publish the kind of critical material which Mr. Goldstein would like to see.

An inquiry in other unions would have revealed a state of affairs very similar to that which Mr. Goldstein found in the Transport and General Workers' Union, though with differences of detail. Mr. Goldstein has little new to say about the reasons for the apathy and is not very helpful in regard to the possible remedies. His book shows that the Transport and General Workers' Union has itself realised the dangers of apathy and is making serious efforts to combat it. One of its means of doing this is the education scheme. Mr. Goldstein is critical of the scheme, though he points out that it offers numerous facilities to the membership. It would seem, however, that he has two things in mind—the work of propaganda, designed to induce new members to join, and the work of encouraging the members to study, to reflect and to become better informed. It is a well known fact that educational activities of the latter kind are taken up by only a minority of the members of any trade union.

While many of the facts given by Mr. Goldstein are useful, some of his judgments are open to argument. He has a tendency to blame the Union officials and the Union machine for shortcomings which are the personal responsibility of the individual members. He is severe in his criticism of the functioning of the Union when, on his own showing, it is no less democratic than, say, the other organisations of the British labour movement. In democratic institutions it is important to distinguish between the active members and those who for most of the time are simply adherents. Democracy implies not only participation but also government by consent. The active interest of the whole membership is aroused only in exceptional circumstances, so that it is usually left to the keenest and most conscientious members to keep the organisation going. But an organisation may be none the less democratic for that.

Mr. Goldstein would have given his readers a still better insight into the Union's problems if he had brought out more clearly the historical reasons for which the Union's Constitution and methods of government were adopted. The Union was formed by an amalgamation of 14 unions representing dockers, road transport workers and others, and it has grown not only by enrolling new members directly but also by subsequent amalgamations which have resulted in the absorption of a large number of other organisations in addition to the original 14. The Union's machinery had to ensure that members from a great variety of industries, many of them with rights acquired in their old organisations, should have a sufficient measure of self-government to be able to deal with their trade interests and that no section of the membership should be able to dominate any of the others. In providing for this trade autonomy

¹ Joseph GOLDSTEIN: *The Government of British Trade Unions. A Study of Apathy and the Democratic Process in the Transport and General Workers' Union.* Foreword by Arthur DEAKIN. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1952. 300 pp. 25s.

it was nevertheless necessary to ensure that the members would remain united in the one Union and that the strength of the whole would be at the disposal of every section. The manner in which the Union fulfils these requirements is one of the tests to be applied to the "democratic process".

Many of the problems dealt with in this book are of special difficulty simply because of the Union's great size. This is the age of large organisations, of great industrial units, of huge state corporations, of large-scale central and local government activity. In this situation the individual seems small and insignificant. The problems arising out of this state of affairs confront the member of a large trade union no less than the citizen in his relation to industry and the State. In seeking remedies for these problems it is necessary to bear in mind how and why they arise.

One last reflection is suggested by Mr. Goldstein's book. A trade union must reconcile its desire for democratic practices with its need for strength and efficiency. At bottom a trade union is an organisation for the protection of its members. In its defence of their interests it must be not only democratic but effective. While providing safeguards for the rights and opinions of individuals, a union needs to promote unity of purpose and a sense of solidarity, and it must aim at developing the power to take effective action and the ability to stand firm in moments of crisis. The task of ensuring that democratic methods produce efficiency in action is one of the great problems of our present-day society.

John PRICE.

Publications of the I.L.O.

Studies and Reports.

New Series, No. 36: *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour*. Geneva, 1953. 621 pp. \$3.75; 22s. 6d.

Prepared by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labour for submission to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, this report forms Supplement No. 13 in the Official Records of the 16th Session of the Economic and Social Council as well as No. 36 of the I.L.O. Studies and Reports (New Series).

The Committee was established in response to a resolution adopted on 19 March 1951 by the Economic and Social Council, which invited the co-operation of the International Labour Organisation in the establishment of an *ad hoc* committee of not more than five independent members, to be appointed jointly by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Director-General of the International Labour Office, for the purpose of studying the nature and extent of the problem raised by the existence in the world of systems of forced or "corrective labour" which are "employed as a means of political coercion or punishment for holding or expressing political views" and which are "on such a scale as to constitute an important element in the economy of a given country", by examining the texts of laws and regulations and their application and, if the Committee thought fit, by taking additional evidence into consideration.

The Committee first set out to obtain information, and for this purpose it asked for the assistance of all governments and of non-governmental

associations and private individuals; the second stage of its work was a study, on the basis of the information received, "of the alleged existence of forced labour and, if it were found to exist, of its nature and extent". The information it received came principally from the following sources: (a) the replies of 48 governments; (b) allegations and replies to allegations made during the debates on forced labour in the Economic and Social Council, together with documentation relating to these allegations; (c) further allegations, with documentation relating to these allegations; (d) further allegations, with documentary material and information submitted by organisations and individuals; (e) documentation (primarily laws and regulations) relating to and supplementing the information under (b) and (c).

After a preliminary study of this information the Committee decided to confine its detailed study to those countries (or territories) concerning which allegations regarding the existence of forced labour had been made and in respect of which sufficient documentation (particularly laws and regulations) was available.

These countries numbered 24. The conclusions of the Committee concerning the allegations made against each of these countries are set forth in the report and are followed by general observations of the Committee on the existence in the world of systems of forced labour. Appended to the report are a historical survey of international action concerning forced labour, the text of the questionnaire submitted to governments and a summary of the replies received, and a summary of the allegations made against each of the countries concerned, together with the relevant material available to the Committee and the comments of the governments of those countries.

The Committee states in its general conclusions that the inquiry has revealed the existence in the world of two principal systems of forced labour, the first being employed as a means of political coercion or punishment for holding or expressing political views, the second being employed for important economic purposes. A system of forced labour as a means of political coercion was found to be established in certain countries, to be probably in existence in several other countries, and to be possible of establishment in others. The Committee also found that the systems of forced labour as a means of political coercion are applied with varying degrees of intensity in a number of countries, and has observed "in the trend of the laws and the aims and purposes of legislative enactments and administrative practices a tendency for countries which have less severe systems to approximate them to the more severe described above". The Committee therefore appeals to all governments concerned to re-examine their laws and administrative practices in the light of present conditions and the increasing desire of the peoples of the world "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights [and] in the dignity and worth of the human person".

While less seriously jeopardising the fundamental rights of the human person, the report continues, systems of forced labour for economic purposes are no less a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Although such systems may be found in different parts of the world, their nature and scope are not everywhere the same. These systems—still found to exist in some countries or territories where a large indigenous population lives side by side with a population of another origin—most often result from a combination of various practices or institutions affecting only the indigenous populations, and involving direct or indirect compulsion to work, such as compulsory labour properly so-called, various coercive methods of recruiting, the infliction of heavy penalties for breaches of contracts of employment, the abusive use of vagrancy legislation, restrictions on freedom of movement, restrictions on the possession and use of land, and other similar measures.

The Committee recognises the efforts of the International Labour Organisation to bring about the abolition of such practices and refers to the Conventions¹ and Recommendations adopted that have shown the way of advance.

¹ The Forced Labour Convention, 1930; the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936; the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939; and the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939.

It states that the investigation has revealed that "many of the countries concerned have ratified these Conventions and accepted the Recommendations, and in several of these countries or territories progress is commendable inasmuch as many of these practices have either been eliminated or are gradually declining. But progress has not been as rapid elsewhere." The Committee recommends that all governments concerned that have not yet ratified the Convention should do so as early as possible, and that those governments that have ratified the Conventions with certain limitations should consider the advisability of withdrawing such limitations. The Committee also refers to the review undertaken by the International Labour Office, at the instance of the Governing Body, of the position in different countries relating to penal sanctions for breach of contract of employment by indigenous workers and finds the review "particularly opportune and necessary".¹

The Committee found, however, that "while the forms of forced labour contemplated in the Conventions of the International Labour Organisation were virtually in relation to 'indigenous' inhabitants of dependent territories the systems of forced labour for economic purposes found to exist in some fully self-governing countries (where there is no 'indigenous' population) raise new problems and call for action either by the countries concerned or at the international level. Such systems of forced labour affecting the working population of fully self-governing countries result from various general measures involving compulsion in the recruitment, mobilisation or direction of labour." The Committee found that these measures, taken in conjunction with other restrictions on the freedom of employment and stringent rules of labour discipline—coupled with severe penalties for any failure to observe them—go beyond the "general obligation to work" embodied in several modern Constitutions, as well as the "normal civic obligations" and "emergency" regulations contemplated in the Forced Labour Convention, 1930. They often deprive the individual of the free choice of employment and freedom of movement, and in this and other ways are contrary to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In view of these findings, the Committee is of the opinion that the problems of compulsory labour, labour recruiting, the length of contracts of employment and penal sanctions for breaches of such contracts, which the International Labour Organisation has so far considered mainly in connection with indigenous workers, should now be examined also in connection with workers in fully self-governing countries.

Other Documents.

Seventh Report of the International Labour Organisation to the United Nations. Submitted in pursuance of Article V, paragraph 2 (a), of the Agreement between the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation signed on 30 May 1946. Geneva, 1953. v+444 pp. \$2.50; 15s.

This account of I.L.O. activities begins with an account of the main emphases and shifts of emphasis in the work of the Organisation; the various fields of its activity are surveyed, and its work in these fields is related to its basic objective—the improvement of living standards throughout the world, and particularly in underdeveloped areas, where living standards are lowest. The report then summarises the regional and operational activities of the Organisation and its work on behalf of particular categories of workers. There is a special chapter on the effectiveness of international labour standards, and the concluding chapter deals with the co-ordination of the work of the I.L.O. with that of other international organisations.

The appendices include the recent reports of the Governing Body committee on freedom of association; the texts of the Conventions and Recom-

¹ The subject of penal sanctions for breaches of contract of employment has been placed on the agenda of the 37th Session of the International Labour Conference (Geneva, 1954). See *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXVIII, No. 1, July 1953, p. 89, for a note on the report prepared for the Conference.

mendations adopted by the International Labour Conference at its 35th Session (1952); the conclusions of the meeting of experts on productivity in manufacturing industries and those of the meeting of experts on the prevention and suppression of dust in mining, tunnelling and quarrying, and a list of I.L.O. technical assistance projects by region and by country, with information on the stage reached in each project.

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ASSOCIATION FRANÇAISE POUR L'ACCROISSEMENT DE LA PRODUCTIVITÉ. *Industrie des chaux et ciments*. Rapport du voyage d'étude effectué aux Etats-Unis du 6 juin au 12 juillet 1951 par la Mission de Productivité. Paris, 1952. 66 pp.

— *Sidérurgie*. Etude par la Mission de la Sidérurgie Française aux Etats-Unis, février-mars 1951. Paris, 1952. 190 pp.

BERLINER ZENTRALBANK. *Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung in Westberlin und in der sowjetischen Zone*. 2nd revised edition. Berlin, Verlag Duncker & Humblot, 1952. 120 pp.

BRITISH PRODUCTIVITY COUNCIL (formerly the Anglo-American Council on Productivity). *Gas*. Report of a Productivity Team representing the

British Gas Industry, which visited the United States of America in 1952. London, 1953. xv+193 pp. 8s. 6d.

- *Heavy Chemicals*. Report of a Productivity Team representing the British Heavy Chemical Industry which visited the United States of America in 1952. London, 1953. xiv+78 pp. 3s.

The report of a productivity team of 17 members, selected by the Association of British Chemical Manufacturers, the Association of Chemical and Allied Employers, the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, the Transport and General Workers' Union and the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers. This mission, after comparing heavy chemical industries in the United States and Great Britain, unanimously adopted a series of recommendations.

The mission studied the following questions: personnel (organisation of personnel, recruitment, training and promotion, working conditions, wages, piece rates); buildings, plant and equipment; production, commercial and development policy, and productivity. It noted that productivity in the chemical industries in Great Britain and the United States, if measured by the percentage return on capital investment, is roughly the same. Many of the United States factories proved superior to the British in matters such as the selection of recruits, the continuous training of employees at all levels, the delegation of authority, the use of promotion as an incentive, the organisation of maintenance work and the use of mechanical aids. On the other hand many of the British factories were superior to the American in their joint consultation, welfare services, utilisation of by-products, guarding of machinery and work study. The fundamental factor noted by the mission was that in the United States factories employ on the average one qualified technician to every six workers paid by the hour, whereas the corresponding ratio in Britain is about one to 16.

The recommendations of the mission are addressed to British manufacturers and trade unions. The recommendations to manufacturers deal in particular with the continuous training of foremen in management policies and techniques and the training of all production workers in matters such as price reductions with a view to increasing productivity. Every undertaking should examine ways and means of improving its existing wage structure to make work for promotion more attractive. The mission recommends the trade unions to modify existing apprenticeship schemes and to increase the effective co-operation of their branches in order to raise the productivity, and hence the prosperity, of factories and their workers.

- *Metalworking: Machine Tools*. Report of a Productivity Team representing the British Machine Tool Industry which visited the United States of America in 1951. London, 1953. xi+88 pp. 3s. 6d.

- *Plant Maintenance*. Report of a visit to the U.S.A. in 1952 of a Specialist Team on Plant Maintenance. London, 1952. ix+70 pp. 2s. 6d.

ISARD, Walter, and WHITNEY, Vincent. *Atomic Power: An Economic and Social Analysis*. A Study in Industrial Location and Regional Economic Development. New York, Toronto, The Blakiston Company, 1952. xi+235 pp. \$4.75.

JANSSE, Lucien. *La propriété*. Le régime des biens dans les civilisations occidentales. Avec une bibliographie, une chronologie et un glossaire. Preface by I.-J. Lebreton. Paris, Les Editions Ouvrières, Economie et Humanisme, 1953. 262 pp.

LEÃO, A. Carneiro. *Panorama sociológico do Brasil*. Preface by Georges DAVY. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1953. xii+152 pp.

Within the compass of these six lectures delivered at the Sorbonne, the author could not hope to present a complete interpretation of sociological

phenomena in Brazil. After an outline of how the sociological problem appears in Brazil and a brief account of the development of sociological studies there, he deals with a number of specific problems, "the random choice of personal preference", namely: contrasts between colonisation methods and educational systems in Latin and English-speaking America, racial problems, and problems of regionalism, nationalism and internationalism. The chapter which will be most useful to specialists in labour questions is that dealing with rural society in Brazil.

MARCHAL, André. *Méthode scientifique et science économique*. Vol. I: *Le conflit traditionnel des méthodes et son renouvellement*. Paris, Editions M. Th. Génin, Librairie de Médecis, 1952. 278 pp.

- *La pensée économique en France depuis 1945*. Bibliothèque de la science économique. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1953. viii+240 pp. 700 francs.

In his introduction Professor Marchal first dwells on certain points in his recent work, *Méthode scientifique et science économique*. He then outlines the characteristics of French economics, which are, in his view, eclecticism, a preference for synthesis and a particular regard for method. The author then presents, in the main body of his work, the principal schools of thought of present-day French economists.

Whereas some remain faithful to classical tradition and others confine themselves to pure or interpretative observation, the majority have a realistic and sociological conception of their task. This conception leads them to turn away from the marginal theory and mathematical method in order to concentrate mainly on an analysis of the groups and forces that enter into the make-up of an economy on the one hand and the march of progress on the other.

Those interested in labour questions and in social problems more generally will be especially interested in these two trends of research. In the first the most important work is that of Professor Jean Marchal, who from a study of social groups evolves a theory of distribution, showing how national revenue is divided into salaries, profits and interest. The second attempts a general explanation of contemporary economic evolution based on technical progress (M. Jean Fourastié), permanent fluctuations (Professor Henri Guittou) or balanced growth (Professor François Perroux)—all of them different, though not contradictory, conditions of economic progress. And to ensure that social progress keeps abreast of economic progress is the fundamental problem of today.

ORGANISATION DE LA COMMUNAUTÉ EUROPÉENNE DU CHARBON ET DE L'ACIER. *Documents officiels (Journal Officiel du 5 Septembre 1952)*. Paris, Publications Minières et Métallurgiques, 1952. 77 pp.

ÖSTERREICHISCHES PRODUKTIVITÄTS-ZENTRUM. *Bericht über die Studienreise eines Österreichischen Baumwollspinnerei-Teams nach Frankreich*. Vienna, 1952. 111 pp.

In May 1952 a group of employers, workers and technicians of the Austrian cotton industry visited France on a research tour, the results of which are recorded in this report. Their object was to compare the situation of the French and Austrian cotton industry from the point of view of productivity. The group was particularly interested in the new technical processes used in the textile industry, material-handling equipment, checking of quality, cost price, organisation of work, participation of workers in undertakings, and the social situation (hours of work, employment, wages, cost of living, vocational training, housing of workers, etc.).

There are numerous diagrams and statistical tables of an economic, technical and social character, showing the situation in the undertakings visited and allowing a comparison of the levels of productivity in several countries, as well as giving a picture of productivity in various special tasks of the textile industry.

— *Darstellung und Kritik der österreichischen Aussenhandelstechnik*. Ein Beitrag zu den Verhandlungen über eine Änderung des Verfahrens im österreichischen Aussenhandel. By Karl VAS. Vienna, 1952. v+111 pp.

PETRI, Carl Wilhelm. *Svenskt Transportväsende. Några drag i dess uppbyggnad och utveckling*. Utvecklingslinjer i Svensk Ekonomi. With an English Summary. Stockholm, 1952. xiv+294 pp.

This detailed study not only analyses for Swedish internal traffic the present distribution between different forms of transport, estimated in passenger-miles and ton-miles, but seeks to forecast future trends, at any rate until 1960. It is interesting to note that the author estimates that direct transport operations and the maintenance and repair of vehicles and roadways absorb about 8.3 per cent. of the total input of labour in Sweden. Of the man-years spent on transport, 29 per cent. were on railways and 62 per cent. on motor vehicle traffic. The author concludes that "significant increases in the resource requirements of the transportation sector can be foreseen . . . the investment, manpower and energy requirements of transportation will probably increase more quickly than the requirements of other branches of the economy". There are 13 valuable appendices on the methods used to evaluate the volume of transport services and 27 statistical tables.

SEMAINES SOCIALES DE FRANCE, XXXIX^{me} SESSION, DIJON 1952. *Richesse et Misère : Croissance et répartition du Revenu national*. Compte rendu in extenso. Lyons, Chronique sociale de France, 1952. 360 pp.

In view of the persistence of marked economic inequality between individuals and social classes, this session was devoted to the problem of redistribution of national income. The contrast between rich and hungry countries led beyond the limits of the first problem to an examination of how modern techniques could contribute to promoting an "economy based on service on a world scale, embracing all mankind"—an "economy of the species", as François Perroux called it—involving a vast redistribution of yield both within and among nations.

To begin with, the problem of redistributing income occurs within the undertaking, where management can no longer take refuge behind the closed doors of accounts departments, but must come forward and guarantee employees a due share in the results of efforts to raise productivity. To a certain extent, social security might be a means of redistributing the national income but in France, at any rate, its actual effect has been not to increase the workers' income, but simply to redistribute that income among them. Taxation was also examined as a possible means to a better distribution of national income; the session's conclusions were that the immediate aim in France should be a drastic check on abuses, that direct taxation should bear more heavily on the hitherto untaxed real income of certain classes of taxpayers and finally that the incidence of indirect taxation should be lighter on the more vitally necessary commodities. In our times large social groups suffer from fairly frequent currency depreciations; it takes a long time for wages to come into line with raised prices, and pensions are almost never fairly levelled up. There is a great temptation to have recourse to a sliding scale; applied universally, it would only mean total currency devaluation, but it can be used as a means of pressure on the Government to overhaul the machinery of distribution.

TINBERGEN, J. *On the Theory of Economic Policy*. Contributions to Economic Analysis, No. 1. Amsterdam, North-Holland Publishing Company, 1952. 78 pp.

UNITED STATES INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION, Bureau of Transport Economics and Statistics. *The Capacity and Capital Requirements of the Railroad Industry*. Washington, 1952. iii+109 pp.

This study was undertaken under the auspices of the Interstate Commerce Commission with a view to determining the maximum capacity of rail faci-

ilities in the United States, with special reference to motive power, passenger and freight transport equipment and marshalling-yard facilities. It contains valuable data not only on present capacity but also on the volume of investment, on depreciation allowances against existing equipment and on the cost of increasing capacity, should that be needed.

UNITED STATES MUTUAL SECURITY AGENCY, Industrial Resources Division, Transport Section. *Index to Data Contained in European Transportation Documentation Centers*. Paris, 1953. 127 pp.

The United States Mutual Security Agency has performed a most valuable service by producing this Index, which shows in respect of each technical transport subject the information centre in Europe where substantial documentation exists. The organisation most frequently mentioned is the International Union of Railways in Paris. On labour and social problems, the International Labour Office and the headquarters of the International Transportworkers' Federation in London are cited as the main centres.

Statistics.

CLARK, Charles E. *An Introduction to Statistics*. New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc.; London, Chapman & Hall, Limited, 1953. x+266 pp.

JAPANESE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR U.N.E.S.C.O. *Literature on Population Problems in Japan (1945-1951)*. Tokyo, 1952. 87 pp.

A bibliography of books and periodical articles published in Japan between 1945 and 1951 on population problems in general, demographic statistics, socio-economic and socio-biological analysis of population problems, and birth control.

ERRATUM

1953 — Vol. LXVII

No. 6, June. "Collective Profit-Sharing", p. 509, second footnote: for "J. R. M. von den Brink" read "Romme and van den Brink".

1953 — Vol. LXVIII

No. 1, July. "The Work of the I.A.E.S.T.E.", p. 68. Insert over the left-hand figure "Students received" and over the right-hand figure "Students sent".

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Rent Policy in Western Europe

by

H. UMRATH

Economic Adviser to the Netherlands General Building Trades Union, Secretary of the Standing Housing Committee of the European Regional Organisation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

The cost of housing is an important factor in the determination of workers' living standards and has been a matter of concern in many countries, particularly since the Second World War. A resolution adopted by the Third Session of the Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works Committee of the International Labour Organisation in 1951 pointed out that housing resources were still very far from meeting present needs and included among the points that should receive particular attention in national housing programmes the reduction of building costs by increased productivity in the building industry and a rent policy according to the economic position of each country. The Committee also expressed its interest in the financing of housing construction with a view to ensuring an adequate supply of houses. Housing problems have also been discussed at the regional conferences of the Organisation¹, and the subject of workers' housing problems in Asian countries has been placed on the agenda of the forthcoming Asian Regional Conference (Tokyo, September 1953).

The following article on rent policy in Western Europe points out that good housing is the one necessity in common consumption that remains obstinately beyond the reach of most workers, and this problem is complicated by the policy adopted by many European countries of keeping the rents of pre-war houses at or near pre-war levels. Consequently some workers are in a much more advantageous position than others in respect of rent payment, and some landlords find it difficult or impossible to repair and maintain their property. Moreover, present wage levels are in most countries based on the pre-war level of rents.

The views expressed here on the solution of this problem are those of a trade union economist who has specialised in the field of housing.

¹ See "Workers' Housing Programmes in Asian Countries", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXIII, No. 4, Apr. 1951, and "Housing Problems and Policies in Latin America", *idem*, Vol. LXV, No. 3, Mar. 1952.

THE SHORT-TERM PROBLEM: THE GAP BETWEEN THE RENT FOR OLD AND NEW HOUSES

SEVERAL international organisations, especially the International Labour Organisation and the Subcommittee on Housing of the Industry and Materials Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe, are studying the problem of the difference between rents for old and new houses and how repairs and upkeep of the existing housing stock can be guaranteed.

The free trade unions are also strongly interested in this aspect of the housing problem. Thus the European Regional Conference of the I.C.F.T.U. in October 1952 requested the Standing Housing Committee of the European Regional Organisation of the I.C.F.T.U. to make a thorough study of this subject. The following is a personal contribution of the author to this discussion.

The extent of inflation, and consequently the rise both in the cost of living and in the cost of repair and upkeep, vary greatly in the different countries of Western Europe. Therefore it is practically impossible to suggest a single rent policy in detail which could be applied over the whole area. In some countries, for instance, the difference between the rents for old and new dwellings is not so great as to cause any serious social tensions, while the costs of repairs and upkeep are probably covered by the slight increase in the rent for pre-war houses that has already taken place in almost all the countries concerned. This is, for example, largely the case in Switzerland, where costs for repairs and upkeep have increased much less than in most other European countries, and pre-war rents have been increased by 10 per cent.

Belgium, on the other hand, presents a special case. There the increase in rent for pre-war houses is probably already too high in comparison with the cost of the greater part of the old housing stock.

Rents and the Cost-of-Living Index

With regard to those countries in which there is a striking difference between the rents of old and new dwellings it must be pointed out that the difference in the level of housing enjoyed by the respective tenants is also very great. One must also take into consideration here the fact that the official cost-of-living index plays an important role in all wage negotiations. In most countries the item "rent" is calculated on the basis of rents for pre-war

dwellings. Even where a weighted index is used the rents for pre-war dwellings are so much in the majority that the item "rent" is at a very low level.

In the Netherlands, for instance, the weight of the item "rent" is 9.2 per cent. of the total cost-of-living index. On the other hand, subsidised rents for new low-income dwellings in Amsterdam amount to 20 per cent. of the average wage. It is clear that this difference of more than 10 per cent. diminishes the buying power of that part of the income which is left after the rent has been deducted. This is true for the workers and other low-income groups in all countries in which there is a great difference between the rents for old and new houses. In the Federal Republic of Germany this kind of tension is especially strong because large groups of pensioners and other needy people, such as refugees, have very small incomes.

It is obvious that this presents the unions with a very serious problem, which will become more and more acute if a solution is not found. This is as true for countries in which social housing plays an important role as for those in which private unsubsidised building is predominant.

In the former case a great many young families move into new dwellings every year, and so there is a steady increase in the number of those who must pay a higher rent than that used in the index upon which wages are based. In Great Britain and the Netherlands, for example, this is already true of more than 10 per cent. of all dwellings. In the Netherlands, if owner-occupiers are not taken into account, the percentage of tenants occupying new dwellings is about 15 per cent. of the total living in rented dwellings.

In many instances these tenants of more expensive post-war houses of relatively small dimensions are families with two or more young children, whereas quite a number of elderly couples live alone in larger pre-war houses with low rents. There is no inducement for the latter to make room for a larger family by moving to a smaller post-war apartment, because they would have to pay a higher rent for the smaller place.

Where there is little activity in the social housing field, new families and other prospective tenants are forced to rent more expensive private dwellings or must become subtenants, in which case the prices are also influenced by the costs of so-called "free" houses.¹

¹ See, for a discussion of this problem of "haves and have-nots", Leo GREBLER: "Implications of Rent Control: Experience in the United States", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXV, No. 4, Apr. 1952.

Wage Increases Must Precede Rent Increases

Through the ever increasing difference between pre-war and post-war rents an income problem has arisen in many European countries which has taken on such proportions that it can no longer be overlooked. An adaptation of the rents of pre-war dwellings to those of new houses would extend this income problem to all low-income groups. Therefore no union can consent to a possible increase in rents for pre-war dwellings unless an equivalent increase in low and moderate incomes is carried out or at least guaranteed in advance.

It must be emphasised that the trade union movement in general is fully aware that in some countries the cost of the necessary repairs and upkeep often cannot be covered by the present rents after deduction of taxes, interest, and overhead expenses.

This is an unavoidable consequence of a wage policy which does not permit an adequate increase of rents. Thus the labour costs of the economy as a whole can stay on a lower level than would be possible if the rents of pre-war houses were high enough to cover the costs for needed repairs and upkeep. Economically this means that other sectors receive an indirect subsidy which is paid out of capital, i.e., by allowing that part of the national capital that is invested in housing to deteriorate.

As this situation has already lasted ten years or longer, a change will be very welcome in the interests not only of the landlords—sometimes co-operative non-profit societies—but also of the economy of the various countries as a whole.

This does not change the fact, however, that wages are based on these insufficient rents. Therefore the unions cannot accept a rent increase without a preceding increase in wages, especially in view of experience in France and Western Germany, where wages were not brought into line with previous rent increases, or were so increased only after a long lapse of time.

What Uses Should be Made of a Possible Rent Increase?

If the wage level is adapted to post-war rents—by degrees—then it should be possible to raise the rents of pre-war dwellings—also by degrees—for certain categories of houses to the extent economically necessary to prevent a further deterioration of the existing housing stock. This means that rents for pre-war houses should be adapted to actual running costs, including not only repairs and upkeep but also taxes and rates, interest and cost of insurance.

In accordance with the extent to which the rent may be raised within the framework of existing social conditions, the increased proceeds ought to be used for the following purposes:

(A) Increased operating or exploitation costs, including taxes, interest, insurance, etc.

These items speak for themselves.

(B) Increased costs for repair and maintenance; legal provision must be made to safeguard the execution of both.

There can be no doubt that many repairs that were paid for by landlords before the war are now paid for by the tenants. Experience has shown that this situation continues even after a rent increase if no legal provision is made to oblige the landlords to maintain the houses in good repair.¹

The margin of a rent increase which will be needed to cover this item must be calculated by independent experts. In some cases allowance should be made for the backlog of neglect that has occurred during the last ten years or so, which will require a rather high once-for-all expenditure. On the other hand, it should be emphasised that calculations must be made on the basis of an operating or exploitation scheme which fulfils the requirements of modern efficiency. It cannot be expected that low returns or losses arising from bad management should be used as a yardstick to justify a higher increase in pre-war rents than would be necessary in terms of the actual economic situation.

Several methods have been applied or suggested for making it legally compulsory for landlords to maintain houses in good repair. In Austria special rent courts have been created, where the tenants, assisted by the tenants' associations, can sue the landlord by a special, quick procedure. According to our information this method works quite well.

A similar solution would be for the tenant to have the right to request certain repairs and to appeal to the authorities if the work is not done. If his appeal were justified he would get a certificate to the effect that he is entitled to pay a lower rent as long as the landlord fails to fulfil his obligation. The City of Berlin has issued a new regulation of this kind stating in general the amount of the decrease that becomes effective if certain parts of a dwelling are in an unsatisfactory condition.

Under the Netherlands Reconstruction Act the local authorities can request the landlord to repair damage that makes a dwelling

¹ In the Netherlands rents for pre-war houses were raised by 10 per cent. on 1 Jan. 1951. Repair orders for certain groups of contractors nevertheless decreased from 3,555,000 guilders in 1950 to 3,418,000 guilders in 1951 (*De Christelijke Bouwvak Patroon*, 26 Apr. 1952).

"uninhabitable". If the landlord does not comply with the request, the authorities can order the work to be done and charge the costs to the landlord.

The Netherlands Social and Economic Council suggested in its advice on rent policy that a prospective rent increase should be provisional upon a guarantee that part of the increased rent would be used for repair and maintenance. In this connection the free and the Protestant trade unions urged that this provision of the Reconstruction Act should be amended so that it would also cover normal upkeep and repairs.

Local authorities are sometimes very reluctant to make use of the existing provisions, because they are afraid that they may not be able to recover the costs they pay in advance from a landlord who has no other assets than his house. It was for this reason that the economic adviser of the Netherlands Protestant Trade Union Centre made the proposal that the local authorities should be enabled to get a mortgage on such a house. The registration of the mortgage should be granted by a simplified procedure.

In a speech to the Convention of the Netherlands General Building Trades Union in 1952 the present writer proposed still another solution of this problem. If a rent increase should be granted, that part or percentage which is intended for upkeep and repairs should be paid into a special fund.

Every landlord who can show that he has made repairs would be reimbursed up to the full amount paid into the fund. Duly signed bills of the contractor who did the job would be sufficient proof. The fund or funds could be administered by any bank, and the accumulated interest would cover the cost of administration.

This system would have the following advantages over a system whereby the rent is reduced in view of pending repairs: it would be possible to prevent abuses by arranging for a check of the bills presented (the tenant's right to repairs would have to be ascertained in each case); secondly, a negligent or less alert tenant does not always see his own advantage, and if the initiative is left to him slum conditions may be allowed to continue; since, however, it is entirely to the advantage of the landlord to keep his own property in good order, especially when he can do so out of otherwise blocked funds, considerable improvements could be expected under this system in the neglected field of repairs and upkeep.

If a general housing fund is created for the financing of new houses, as suggested under (D) below, both accounts could be combined. The advantage of this would be that the backlog of repairs that have accrued during the last ten years or so could be easily eliminated. Since a general "housing fund" would cover a far

greater amount than would be needed for normal repairs and upkeep, it would be possible to make more money available for this purpose during the first years than would normally be needed. If, for instance, the "normal" amount were 25 per cent. of the annual receipts of the "housing fund", 50 per cent. could be made available during the first three years.

(C) If it can be proved that a moderate increase in the nominal income of the landlords is necessary in order to bring their real income (or that part of it which before the war was covered by rent receipts) to a level similar to that of other groups receiving income out of savings (e.g., gilt-edged securities, pension rights, etc.), such an adaptation should be contemplated. It should be emphasised that this point has not yet been proved.

The advocates of higher rent for pre-war houses emphasise that the real purchasing power of the landlords has diminished on a scale much greater than that of any other group. In some cases the income from residential property is even negative, so that in England, for instance, some house owners seem to abandon their property. Therefore in some countries a certain adjustment in the net income of owners of rental houses could be justified. But it cannot be accepted that this net income, after making allowances for the increase in all costs, should be adjusted according to the increase in the cost-of-living index since 1939.

In general such an adjustment has only taken place for groups on the lowest level of the income scale. There is no reason why house owners should receive preferential treatment in comparison with other people who also saved for their old age and who are suffering special hardships under inflation.

Furthermore old houses that do not come up to even the lowest standards of hygiene should not be revalued. The fact that in

TABLE I. NET RETURNS (PER CENT.) FROM ALL INVESTMENTS OF NETHERLANDS LIFE INSURANCE COMPANIES

Investments	1932	1939	1945	1946	1948	1950	1951
(1) Real estate . . .	5.35	5.56	5.64	4.83	4.93	4.79	5.25
(2) Mortgages . . .	5.02	4.06	3.98	3.94	3.88	3.70	3.70
(3) Stocks and bonds	5.36	3.82	3.43	3.43	3.30	3.82	4.05
(4) Loans	4.71	3.59	3.51	3.47	3.33	3.32	3.44
(5) Loans on policies	5.14	5.08	5.13	5.06	5.02	5.05	5.04
(6) Other investments	—	—	2.17	2.46	3.05	3.06	3.07
Total . . .	5.03	4.77	3.34	3.40	3.40	3.46	3.60

Sources: *Gedachboek Verzekeringsskamer, 1923-1948*; and annual reports of the Netherlands Chamber of Insurance Institutions, 1945-51.

most countries a great percentage of the existing housing stock was built at a time when modern standards were unknown should not be overlooked when the question of a possible rent increase for pre-war houses is discussed.

There are strong indications that owners of more modern houses who administer their property according to present-day standards are able to make a profit out of their real estate investments at present rent levels.

Of course, this is achieved partially by leaving all indoor repairs and decorations to the tenants. Yet the figures in table I show clearly that life insurance companies in the Netherlands receive better returns from real estate property than from other investments. Furthermore the number of foreclosed mortgages is only a fraction of that in pre-war years.¹

In view of these facts it seems that a careful study should be made of the problem of the actual level of income from real estate property in the various European countries.

(D) If and as far as the sum of the items enumerated under (A) to (C) is lower than the rent increases that would be ultimately tolerable after the adaptation of the over-all wage level to post-war rents, the surplus should be used for the financing of new houses.

If a certain amount of a possible rent increase could be skimmed off, it should be possible, in the long run, to achieve an over-all balanced rent budget on a national scale by financing the necessary subsidies for new social housing through a rent equalisation fund out of the rent surpluses collected from pre-war houses (housing fund).

Between 1924 and 1931 housing in Germany was financed in such a way. During the run-away inflation of the early 1920s German money had lost all its value. One of the results was that mortgages were wiped out. To do some justice to the creditors mortgages were reinstated at 25 per cent. of their pre-war value.

Even so the house owners would have made an unjustified profit, were it not that they had to pay a special "rent tax" (*Gebäude-Entschuldungssteuer*).

About half of the proceeds of this tax were used for cheap financing of new housing projects. Between 1924 and 1931 the total investment in housing was about 16.5 thousand million marks. Eight thousand million came from public resources, of which 4.8 thousand million or 60 per cent. were given in the form

¹ The average number of foreclosures of mortgages owned by Netherlands life insurance companies was 134 per year during the period 1936-39, 11 during the period 1947-51. The average value of the mortgages concerned per year was 2,339,000 guilders during the former period, 173,000 during the latter.

of so-called "rent tax-mortgages", which covered most of those building costs not financed by the first and second mortgages. The rate of interest was very low (between 1 and 3 per cent.).¹

This measure greatly stimulated building activity and enabled many non-profit housing associations to build tens of thousands of modern dwellings for their members.

The famous housing projects of the City of Vienna were also partially financed by the proceeds of a rent-equalisation tax.

At present many local authorities in Great Britain have raised the rates on old houses to finance part of the housing subsidies they pay (in addition to the subsidies given by the Government). As the landlords are allowed to collect this additional burden from their tenants, these measures also have the effect of an equalisation tax.

Such a partial skimming off of the proceeds of higher rents also offers the solution to another urgent problem: how to avoid unjustified capital gains. Especially if the rents of all pre-war houses were to be increased, would it not be absolutely necessary to skim off varying percentages from different categories of houses? For dilapidated or otherwise practically uninhabitable dwellings the full amount of the increase should be skimmed off, or the rent should not be increased.

Houses of varying age or quality, as measured by modern housing standards, should be treated in a similar way. Only thus is it possible to eliminate unearned increment for owners of those houses for which the depreciation has already been paid by the tenants several times over or which have been neglected to an extent not justifiable even by present circumstances.

Stimulation of Housing Activity Improbable

A stimulation of the volume of construction of residential premises is often given as an argument for an increase in rent, but such a result cannot be expected.

The increase, which could only take place after wages and other low and moderate incomes have been brought into line with the prospective level of rent, can only be moderate and certainly not high enough to secure an "economic rent" for newly built houses, so that the latter must still be subsidised. The long-term problem of bridging the gap between the present rent and the actual building costs will be further discussed below. Here it should be stated that, even in those European countries where prices and rents for houses

¹ See W. FEY: *Leistungen und Aufgaben im Deutschen Wohnungs- und Siedlungsbau* (Berlin, 1936), p. 12.

built without subsidies are completely decontrolled, the amount of new construction both for sale and letting purposes is far below the volume necessary to eliminate the housing shortage. In France, for example, where at least 240,000 dwellings should be built annually, only 72,000 were actually constructed in 1950 and 74,000 in 1951. Furthermore the most urgent problem is social housing, which means the construction of dwellings which can be let for a rent lying within the means of workers and other low-income families. Experience has shown that this sort of housing has never been built by private enterprise, certainly not on a sufficient scale. To build a low-rent house according to modern standards "has in most countries proved a poor speculation for private capital as compared with the yield from other sectors".¹

Post-war housing returns in countries like the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany and Norway indicate that in the framework of an active housing policy the present "uneconomic" rent level does not prevent the construction of a far greater number of dwellings than at any time when rents and building costs were in balance—at least for high-rent houses.

THE LONG-TERM PROBLEM: THE DISPARITY BETWEEN ECONOMIC RETURN AND THE RENT OBTAINABLE

While the difference between the rents for old and new houses is a consequence of the rent and wage policies started in the various countries during the last war, or sometimes earlier, another more general rent problem has existed ever since social and hygienic housing standards were raised to higher levels about 50 years ago. It was then that "the problem of disparity between an economic return on housing and the rent obtainable made its first appearance in some parts of Europe". Thus this problem did not emerge during the last decade but has been much aggravated by circumstances. Even before the First World War "it rarely seemed feasible for the working classes, and particularly the poorer section, to increase the proportion of their income devoted to the cost of accommodation sufficiently to meet the charges on new dwellings without state aid".²

Attention should be paid to this problem because certain influential circles express the opinion that the housing problem could be solved within a short time if rents were raised to the level of the economic rent for newly built houses. The consequences

¹ ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE: *Methods and Techniques of Financing Housing in Europe* (Geneva, 1952), p. 25.

² *Idem*, p. 24.

of this would be that the demand for and the building of new houses would be limited by the actual purchasing power of the prospective tenants and/or owner-occupiers. No consideration would be given to real need. This is especially untenable in a situation where the wage level has been largely determined by the level of the controlled rents.

The Pressure of Rent on the Standard of Living of the Lower-Income Groups

It seems evident that if a very high proportion of the income of a working-class family is expended in rent the family's standard of living will be lowered. But many housing experts take it for granted that rent should cover a fixed percentage of income, often put at 20 or 25 per cent. Even many socially minded experts never question the correctness of this assumption, nor do they look at the actual percentages paid for rent by the various income groups.

From the viewpoint of a social policy these details are of great importance. They reveal that rent represents a low proportion of expenditure for the high-income groups, whereas the families with the lowest income—even when they live in unsatisfactory dwellings—have to spend a high percentage of their income on rent. For example, the percentages of income paid for rent by various income groups in Amsterdam during the period 1 March 1934 to 28 February 1935 were as follows:

Annual income guilders	Percentage of income paid for rent
Less than 1,400	25.8
1,400 - 1,900	20.3
1,900 - 2,900	16.5
2,900 - 4,000	13.4
4,000 - 6,000	12.9
6,000 - 12,000	10.9
12,000 or more	9.8
Average of 184 families	14.0

Source: *Budget Onderzoek Bureau van Statistiek Amsterdam, 1934-35*. See also: "Danish Family Budget Enquiry of 1931" in *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 5, Nov. 1937.

International comparisons of rents also showed great differences even in pre-war times. Table II shows the percentage of income spent on rent (exclusive of fuel and light) by wage earners in seven countries of Western Europe.

A survey made by the Chief Inspector of Housing in the Netherlands in the middle of the 1930s revealed that in most European countries rents for houses with modern comfort laid a burden

TABLE II. PERCENTAGE OF INCOME PAID FOR RENT
BY WAGE EARNERS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

Country	Year	Percentage
Austria	1934	7.7 ¹
Belgium	1928-1929	6.4
Denmark	1931	15.1
Germany	1927-1928	10.6
Netherlands	1935-1936	15.8
Norway	1927-1928	12.7
Sweden	1933	14.7
Switzerland (Zürich) . .	1936-1937	23.7

Source: "An International Survey of Recent Family Living Studies: I", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 5, May 1939.

¹ Including repairs.

of 20 to 30 per cent. on the income of the average wage earner.¹ The consequence was that only a minority of highly paid workers and lower middle-class people were able and willing to move into the new houses built during the 1930s in Great Britain, Scandinavia, and the Netherlands.

TABLE III. INDEX NUMBER (1934) OF RENTS, COSTS OF A "BASKET
OF PROVISIONS" AND WAGES IN SEVERAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

(Base: London = 100)

City	Rent ¹	Basket of provisions ²	Wages ³
Birmingham	55	(100)	88
Newcastle	81	(100)	88
Copenhagen	69	72	62
Marseilles	45	149	73
Milan	81	146	69
Rome	74	151	62
Amsterdam	69	120	108
Stockholm	143	95	81
Basle	136	139	131

Source: Robert GUYE: "A Further Contribution to the International Comparison of Rents", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 5, Nov. 1936.

¹ Dwellings of three rooms, including kitchen.

² The cost of a "basket of provisions" was compiled by the I.L.O. by assigning to the retail prices of 14 important foodstuffs in various towns in October 1934 certain weights, based on the average current consumption of these foodstuffs in the different countries.

³ Average wages of 12 skilled occupations.

¹ H. van der KAA: "De Verhoudingen tussen Inkomen en Huur in Zweden en andere Landen in Europa", in *Tijdschrift voor Volkshuisvesting en Stedenbouw* (The Hague), 1935, p. 46.

Furthermore it should be recognised that even in cases where similar percentages of income are devoted to rent by the same or similar income groups—e.g., skilled workers or non-manual workers—the real burden placed on the family budget by rent is not always the same, because the general price level and consequently the purchasing power of the total income vary from country to country. Table III indicates that before the last war no general relationship could be found between wages, rent and other costs of living in the various European countries.

All in all, it seems that the difference between various income groups and countries makes it impossible to draw any general conclusion as to the percentage of income that should be devoted to rent.

On the other hand it must be emphasised that in general, up till now, rent has laid too heavy a burden on the purchasing power of lower-income groups in absolute as well as in relative terms.

The discussions that have taken place in recent years have been concentrated to such a degree on rents in general that this social problem of the relatively much higher burden placed on the purchasing power of these groups in comparison with the higher-income brackets has been completely neglected as far as Europe is concerned.¹ Apparently it is a common conviction that one of the consequences of the rent freeze is that this item has lost much of its importance in the family budget. Post-war statistics are rare in this field, but a recent publication of the Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics reveals that in the areas of industrial concentration the percentage of income devoted to rent by low-income families is up to 100 per cent. higher than that paid by families belonging to the lower brackets of the middle class.²

The intention here is not to give any judgment on the merits of the present distribution of income (before taxes) among the various social groups but to demonstrate that it is completely unrealistic to approach the rent problem with an assumption that a certain percentage of income is to be allocated to rent without consideration of the purchasing power of the remaining part. The housing needs of every family should be determined only by modern social and hygienic standards. Any other method of determination would mean that either the housing standard or the standard of living in general would be endangered, since either low-income families cannot pay the rent for a decent home or, if they do, the remaining part of their income will not be sufficient to buy other essential goods and services.

¹ In the United States the importance of this aspect has been stressed. Cf. Nathan STRAUSS: *Two-thirds of a Nation* (New York, 1952).

² *Maandchrift C.B.S.*, Dec. 1952, p. 1275.

Housing Subsidies: A Question of Principle?

It would be difficult to imagine anyone suggesting nowadays that the amount of a child's elementary education should be determined by the sum that the parents are able and willing to spend for this purpose. No one denounces the "subsidies" paid each year by the public authorities who run our elementary schools.

In the framework of a far-sighted social and economic policy it cannot be denied that the same or similar arguments apply to housing. Certainly one cannot in principle denounce in the housing field as uneconomic, wasteful or crippling to the initiative of the individual policies that go unchallenged in another field of general welfare. Either the redistribution of incomes via taxes and public services and/or subsidies is a method which can be useful in providing indispensable services or it is not.

Even from the purely economic angle there can be no doubt that the "social costs" of bad housing are very high. Losses of productivity and working hours on account of illness, especially tuberculosis, and the costs of delinquency, drunkenness and psychological disturbances cannot be measured accurately but are known to be costly both to the individual and to society. Therefore the trade unions insist that social housing be treated as a social service, until every family is living in a decent house and is able and willing to pay its economic rent.

In order to enable the lowest-income groups to pay an economic rent, the "primary" distribution of incomes before taxes would have to be drastically changed. It cannot be expected that this problem will be solved in the near future. On the other hand the solution of the housing problem is an urgent task which cannot wait until decisive changes have taken place in such a delicate field as the distribution of incomes. It will therefore be necessary to have recourse to various methods of giving assistance to social housing. The question of how this assistance is provided is of minor importance (lump-sum subsidies, rebates on interest, rent subsidies, etc.).

In all these types of aid a redistribution or at least a "reallocation" of primary income takes place. "Reallocation" means in this connection that the families receiving the assistance actually pay the equivalent (or part) of the amount of assistance themselves, for instance through taxes on tobacco and/or alcohol. This can be illustrated by the following "average household budget" based on the average British family of 3.2 persons, of whom on the average one person works full-time and another half-time (table IV).

TABLE IV. THE AVERAGE BRITISH HOUSEHOLD BUDGET

Item	Expenditure per week		Net indirect taxes or net subsidies (—)	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
Income tax and national insurance contributions	41	1		
Spending :				
Food	68	8	—7	5
Rent, rates and water charges . .	16	9	4	0
Clothing	25	1	1	9
Fuel and light	9	11		Nil
Household goods	17	9	3	0
Tobacco	19	2	14	11
Drink	18	10	9	2
Travel	8	9	0	9
Private motoring	5	4	1	3
Entertainments	4	4	1	1
Books, newspapers, magazines . .	3	7		Nil
Other goods and services	38	5	8	10 ¹
Saving	2	4		
Total	280	0	37	4

Source: *The Economist*, 13 Sep. 1952.

¹ Including taxes that cannot be allocated to specific items.

The present rent-subsidy paid by the central and local governments together amounts to 13s. 9d. ; thus it is even lower than net indirect taxes paid on tobacco alone.

The importance of indirect taxation was already increasing before the last war. In the Netherlands, for instance, indirect taxes went up from 29.7 per cent. of the total tax receipts during the period 1921-23 to 49.3 per cent. during the period 1937-39, whereas taxes on capital and income declined from 57.4 per cent. to 37.6 per cent.¹ Though during and after the Second World War income tax on higher incomes was raised drastically in most western countries, it should be noted that one of the consequences of the permanent inflation has been that income tax exemption limits have been lowered in real terms. These limits are fixed in money terms and seldom greatly altered.

Though it cannot be denied that by the redistribution of primary incomes through taxation the higher-paid groups make a valuable contribution to present-day social services, this contribution should not be overestimated, and the very heavy share paid by the lower-income groups, including the people who get the benefits, should

¹ *De Nederlandse Volkshuishouding tussen de twee wereldoorlogen* (Utrecht and Antwerp, 1952). Part VII, p. 36. See also G. PEHL: "Die Belastung der Arbeitnehmerhaushalte durch indirekte Steuern", *W.W.I. Mitteilungen* (Cologne), June 1953, p. 113.

not be overlooked. There can be no doubt that the high burden of direct and indirect taxation resting on the shoulders of low-income families can only be justified by an equally high standard of social services, including housing.

Rent-Paying Ability in an Expanding Economy

It is obvious that the percentage that tenants are able to pay for rent depends on the standard of living in general. A high standard of living is the consequence of high productivity, which means that the output per man-hour is high and consequently purchasing power can also be high. Therefore the solution of the basic rent problem—the discrepancy between incomes and economic rent—cannot be found in an isolated rent policy but in the framework of an expanding economy based on a permanent and constant increase of productivity.

The rent-paying ability of low-income families can take advantage of increasing productivity in two ways or by a combination of both—

(a) Productivity in the building trade might increase so that building costs fall rapidly. Then rents could become economic at a lower level, and a smaller percentage of income would be sufficient to cover this economic rent. However, this result cannot be expected within a short time. Building methods certainly can be improved considerably, but not to such an extent that the present discrepancy between income and rent can be solved.

(b) An increase of productivity in agriculture and manufacturing probably offers much better prospects. This increase—if properly distributed among the factors of production—would raise the purchasing power of low-income families, so that a lower percentage of wages and other incomes would be needed to buy the same amount of goods. The margin between the old percentage needed for the usual amount of goods and the new one could be used partially for an increase in the percentage spent on rent, especially in cases where rents are low in consequence of inflation.

At first glance it may be feared that such a policy would endanger the general level of economic activity. The argument would be as follows: higher productivity means higher output. Therefore the increase in purchasing power must be used to buy the increased volume of products. If the increase in purchasing power is partially transferred to the housing sector in order to cover higher rents the purchasing power will decline in comparison with the increased output of industrial and agricultural products. Conse-

quently the demand for these products will no longer be high enough to cover the total output, which will have to be cut down. Unemployment and a further decline in purchasing power will be the consequence.

This argument overlooks the fact that the steps suggested under (b) should be taken in order to enable all tenants to pay an economic rent, i.e., a rent which must not be held below the "economic" level by subsidies. Thus if the rent-paying ability can be increased, subsidies can be decreased and the purchasing power which is absorbed by the higher rents on the one hand will be set free on the other, because the government can use the amount saved on subsidies either for other public investments or to decrease taxes, which affect the lower-income brackets most heavily, and thereby increase the purchasing power of these groups.

If the same principle is applied to rents for privately owned pre-war houses, this would mean that the increases of purchasing power would be partially transferred to the landlords. It is obvious that this can be tolerated only as far as strong social and economic reasons are in favour of such a development. Otherwise transfer to the rent-equalisation fund is an urgent necessity. In this case other taxes needed for financing state subsidies could also be reduced, so that the effect on purchasing power would be the same as indicated above.

Here again it becomes clear that the present-day rent problem is basically an income problem and therefore closely connected with the distribution of the national income. For the time being it cannot be expected that the solution will be found by a sudden change in the income structure before payment of taxes.¹ But a genuine solution of the rent problem will be impossible without a rather impressive increase in the purchasing power, i.e., in the real wages, of that large part of the population which belongs to the lower-income groups.

In this connection it will be necessary for a greater part of the prospective increase in the national income to be put at the disposition of the lower-income groups than would be the case if wages were raised only in the same ratio as productivity. This means that the present distribution of incomes before taxation between the various groups of the population should be changed gradually.

Rents, Rate of Interest and Building Activity

There is still another aspect of the greatest importance in connection with the amount of rent that must be paid if an economic return on the invested capital is to be realised. In no other sector

¹ See P. F. DRUKKER: *The New Society* (London, 1951), pp. 76-77.

of social and economic life does the rate of interest play such a decisive role as in housing. This problem has been discussed so often that it is surprising how little the serious consequences of a change in the rate of interest on the level of the economic rent are generally taken into account.¹

A rise in the rate of interest from 3 to 5 per cent., with the cost of building constant, has the same effect on the rent that must be paid as a rise of about 40 per cent. in the cost of building, the rate of interest remaining constant. We should all expect a rise of 40 per cent. in the cost of building a house (people's incomes generally remaining the same) to check building.²

In contrast to investment in housing or certain installations in basic industries, investment in manufacturing industries in general is little or not at all influenced by changes in the rate of interest.³

In the traditional business cycle of a totally free economy rises in the rate of interest take place in the course of a boom. Before the First World War, when the volume of house building was not influenced by government intervention, the construction of houses declined when general economic activity—and the rate of interest—went up.⁴

This anti-cyclical behaviour of house-building activity meant that the overwhelming majority of lower-income families were never able to find a decent home in the free market. Not only did the house-building cycle behave differently from the general business cycle, but supply and demand on the housing market also appeared at different times. It was just this lack of deliberate co-ordination of demand and buying power that made a solution of the housing problem impossible as long as no steps were taken to make the crying demand for more and better homes effective when supply increased.⁵

There can be no doubt that at a time of acute housing shortage—such as that now prevailing in practically all European countries

¹ Cf. Leo GREBLER: "House Building, the Business Cycle and State Intervention", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXXIV, Nos. 3 and 4, Mar. and Apr. 1936; INSTITUT FÜR KONJUNKTURFORSCHUNG: "Die Dynamik des Bauparkes", in *Vierteljahrshefte für Konjunkturforschung* (Berlin), No. 17 (1930); LEAGUE OF NATIONS: *World Production and Prices, 1925-1934* (1935); J. J. van der WALL, *De economische ontwikkeling van het Bouwbedrijf in Nederland* (Delft, 1943); E. H. PHELPS BROWN: *A Course in Applied Economics* (London, 1951).

² E. H. PHELPS BROWN, op. cit., p. 166.

³ For a very thorough discussion of this problem see E. H. PHELPS BROWN, op. cit., pp. 164-181.

⁴ Cf. "House Building, the Business Cycle and State Intervention", loc. cit., pp. 346 and 348.

⁵ See also J. J. van der WALL, op. cit., p. 165.

in either quantity or quality or both—the execution of large-scale building programmes cannot wait until the rate of interest and building costs are pushed down by another turn of the business cycle.

Such a policy of waiting is even less possible at a time when lasting full employment has been pledged by all governments, for instance in the Charter of the United Nations, and when a depression of any scope would threaten the very existence of our democratic system.

The problem is therefore how to build at times of full economic activity as many houses as are needed in view of the housing shortage and to let them for rents which can be afforded by low-income families.

This can be achieved in two ways: either the State pays a subsidy in some way or other or a moderate rate of interest is secured for social housing purposes. Even if a low rate of interest is not sufficient to make all subsidies superfluous, it would narrow the gap between the rent-paying capacity of low-income families and economic rents.

In this connection it should be borne in mind that in many countries savings in the form of the direct participation of private persons continue to decline. In contrast, together with the self-financing of enterprises, institutional investors are growing in importance. The capital market, especially as regards gilt-edged investments, is dominated to a large extent by insurance companies, old-age security funds and pension funds provided for by collective agreements, etc.

These institutions are interested in having a stable long-term rate of interest. They must, moreover, make their calculations carefully, based on a moderate rate of interest, on condition that they are safeguarded over a long period against a sudden big drop in this rate. Consequently it should be possible, instead of having an average rate calculated on a series of strongly fluctuating rates, to establish a rate which would remain unchanged for many years. As this rate could be a moderate one, rents would not need to be raised during periods of high economic activity.

Thus it should be possible to devise a system of inexpensive long-term financing for social housing by resorting on the one hand to a low and steady rate of interest and on the other to a regular flow of loans.

Only if these or similar measures are taken can a stabilisation of the rate of interest for the social housing sector be achieved at a level at which the execution of the long-term programmes, urgently necessary in practically all European countries, will not be hampered because the rents of the newly built dwellings would be out of

the reach of low-income families—even if a certain amount of subsidies were available.

This seems to be the only way of breaking through the vicious circle of the housing market, where supply is strong when effective demand is weak and vice versa. Furthermore, such a policy must be hammered out, if the ultimate goal of an equilibrium between the purchasing power of all families and an economic rent level is to be reached.

It has been stated that a rise in the rate of interest from 3 per cent. to 5 per cent. increases the burden for the tenant (or owner-occupier) as much as a 40 per cent. rise in building costs. To put it the other way round: if building costs could be lowered as much as 10 per cent., which would be quite an achievement, this gain could be wiped out by a rise in the rate of interest of a mere one-half of 1 per cent. It is obvious that all efforts to close the gap between income and rent would be frustrated if it were impossible to stabilise the rate of interest at a moderate level.

CONCLUSION

This analysis of the rent problem in Europe justifies the general conclusion that a solution cannot be found if the problem is contemplated in isolation. In the housing field the problem that haunts all socially minded experts is the fact that ever since modern—though still moderate—housing standards were accepted in Western Europe a great number of families have never had enough purchasing power to pay an economic rent for houses meeting such standards. This situation has become worse during the last few years by the trend of wages on the one hand and building costs (and, in many countries, rates of interest) on the other.

Consequently effective demand would be satisfied very quickly if the economic rent were charged. But real demand, i.e., that part of the demand which would cease to be effective because of lack of sufficient buying power, will never be satisfied if no long-term programme is developed. As shown above, such a programme must aim at bridging the gap between the rent-paying capacity and the economic rent by attacking the problem from several directions—

(1) The lowering of building costs could make a valuable, but limited contribution.

(2) The rate of interest should be stabilised at a moderate level; otherwise even a considerable decline in building costs could be offset by a slight rise in the rate.

(3) The greatest contribution must come from a continued increase of productivity in agriculture and manufacturing, which is the only way to enlarge the national income. If the greater part of the additional national income were put at the disposition of the lower-income groups, the distribution of incomes before taxation would be changed in such a way that eventually a situation could be reached where the economic rent could fit into the wage package of the lower-income groups.

As long as the total income of these groups does not permit payment of the economic rent for a decent home without endangering the over-all standard of living, subsidies in one form or another must be paid. This, of course, means that a certain measure of redistribution—or “reallocation”—of incomes must take place. Redistribution is not disputed when used for other social services, for instance, free education. In present-day society decent housing is also a social and economic necessity, so that it is completely justifiable to pay subsidies as long as the existing distribution of incomes before taxation has not been changed in favour of the low-income groups.

The Labour Code for French Overseas Territories

The adoption by the French National Assembly of the Act of 15 December 1952 to establish a Labour Code in the territories and associated territories administered by the Ministry for Overseas France will certainly have profound effects on the social evolution of these territories.

In order to give readers of the Review as much information as possible on the Code, over which there has been much controversy, the two following articles are presented together.

Mr. Rivière, whose thesis on Le problème du droit du travail en Afrique noire française attracted attention in 1950, is at present a labour inspector in the Cameroons. In the following pages he describes the conditions in which the Code was drawn up, the legal, social and psychological problems that made it necessary and the solutions it provides to these problems. He also attempts an estimate of the economic and social significance of the Code and its consequences.

Mr. Devinat, a member of the French Chamber of Deputies and former Director of Economic Affairs in the Ministry for Overseas France, took a prominent part in the work that led up to the adoption of the Code by the French Parliament. He explains here the arguments put forward by those who opposed certain provisions of the Code (not the Code in principle) because of their possible economic consequences.

An Answer to an Urgent Problem

by Pierre RIVIÈRE

THE recent promulgation in France of the "Labour Code for the Territories and Associated Territories within the competence of the Ministry for Overseas Territories" is a new development of very great importance.¹ The rapid development

¹ The text of the Code was published in the *Journal Officiel de la République française*, 15 and 16 Dec. 1952. A detailed analysis appeared in *Industry and Labour*, Vol. IX, No. 3, 1 Feb. 1953, p. 74.

of the wage-earning classes in these territories, a result of the recent economic expansion, has completely transformed the problem of labour relations. Employers and employees have become more and more numerous; they are playing an ever-increasing part in the economic life of the countries concerned and are conscious of their growing importance. Consequently, any measure concerning relations between them will have manifold psychological or social repercussions, and it is not surprising that the preparation of the new Code has been the object of numerous studies and long discussions.

The effects of the Code are probably not yet all apparent. However, it may, perhaps, be useful at this time to examine the probable effect of the Act, indicating the conditions in which it was drawn up and the solutions it has adopted and attempting to show the consequences it may have.

The new Code is the latest stage of a development that started at the turn of the century. During this period the legislation regulating the conditions of paid employment in French overseas territories has varied: at first isolated and fragmentary and aimed only at specific problems, the regulations have gradually become more numerous, more comprehensive and more precise. The law has developed with the economic expansion that brought the wage-earning classes into being; it has also been influenced by the development of French labour legislation and international law.

Shortly after the grant of concessions to a number of important colonial companies, a series of decrees were issued regulating contracts of employment in the Congo (known today as French Equatorial Africa). Further decrees, issued between 1922 and 1925, laid down a more comprehensive though still rather sketchy system covering questions such as conditions of engagement, contracts and conditions of employment and accident compensation in the most important of the territories to which the 1952 Code now applies. This system was subsequently recast and improved several times, and in many territories was the basis of the labour legislation that was in force until the end of the Second World War.

In 1936 and 1937, when great strides were being made in labour legislation in France, fresh legislation was adopted which affected French West Africa and, to a lesser extent, the Cameroons. In the former territory, where the development of the wage-earning classes was particularly marked, an innovation of the highest importance was introduced, namely, regulations respecting occupational associations and collective agreements, supplemented

by a system of minimum wage fixing and procedures for the settlement of labour disputes. These regulations brought the fundamental elements of modern labour legislation to the Negro inhabitants of Africa and at the same time constituted the first stage in an evolutionary process which was soon to culminate in the promulgation of the present Labour Code.

At the same time a decree issued in 1930 paved the way for the ratification by France in 1937 of the I.L.O. Forced Labour Convention. In 1937 France also ratified the Night Work (Women) Convention, the Night Work of Young Persons (Industry) Convention and the White Lead (Painting) Convention, and their application was extended to France's overseas territories.

At the end of the Second World War the problem of labour legislation was examined by a conference which met at Brazzaville at the beginning of 1944 to define the main lines of future policy in overseas territories. As a result of the work of this conference two important decrees were issued in several of the overseas territories, one concerning industrial associations and the other establishing a specialised body of labour inspectors.

Such was the state of labour legislation in France's overseas territories at the end of the war. Up to that time the provisions made had appeared to be adequate; however, a study of new legislation was begun in 1946.

In 1946 an Act was adopted "absolutely" prohibiting forced or compulsory labour. From that date until 1952, when the Code was promulgated, labour legislation in the different overseas territories was expanded in various ways. Gradually, through the multiplication of collective agreements and the issue of local laws and regulations, a comprehensive body of legislation grew up. A particularly valuable contribution was made by the corps of labour inspectors established in 1944. This legislation, together with local customs that had gradually developed during recent years, made possible a smooth transition from the former regulations to the new legislation.

THE NECESSITY FOR NEW LEGISLATION

First of all, new legislation had become essential for reasons of sound legal technique. The regulations in force just before the Code was promulgated formed a heterogeneous body of rules made up of elements of widely varying date and origin in each territory. As a result of changed conditions some had been obsolete for a number of years. Others that were still in force were at variance, since they were based on different ideas, and the framework for which they had been intended had changed. There were

differences, which could not be fully justified, between regulations in neighbouring territories in which conditions were to a great extent comparable. These anomalies detracted somewhat from the force of the legislation.

However, these considerations were not in themselves sufficient to make new legislation necessary, as legal techniques are only the instrument through which principles are put into effect with due regard to the facts of the situation. In the case of labour legislation in French overseas territories, however, the situation itself has changed during recent years, while the principles have become more explicit.

The French Constitution of 1946, like several other recent Constitutions, not only defines the political framework of national life but also deals with various economic and social aspects as well. The preamble, after reaffirming the rights and freedoms of man as an individual and a citizen, goes on to state the duties and rights of workers, as was done later in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. Elsewhere the Constitution stipulates that there shall be "equal rights and duties" for men in all the territories to which it applies, whatever their geographical situation; consequently the principles laid down by the Constitution on labour questions apply also to those territories. The first requirement of the French Constitution (which, moreover, prohibits all discrimination of a racial character) is that the principles of the labour legislation applying in France must be put into effect in the overseas territories.

It should not be concluded from the above that French labour legislation should be extended without change to the overseas territories to which the Constitution applies. On the contrary the Constitution states that the principal aim of the French Union is to be the "development of the respective civilisations" of the peoples belonging to the Union and authorises the use of original methods. Lastly, the Constitution states that Parliament is the sole authority competent to enact labour legislation applicable to the overseas territories. This is an innovation, as until the adoption in 1946 of the Act prohibiting forced labour all labour legislation had been prepared by the executive authorities.

The principles to be incorporated in labour legislation in the overseas territories—freedom to work, freedom of association, the right to work and the right to strike, protection against arbitrary action, the right to take part in the collective fixing of conditions of work, access to vocational training and at the same time the duty to work—are not new in themselves, but are new to the Constitution.

These are, in fact, the very principles that have inspired the work that the International Labour Organisation has been doing for a number of years on regulations applicable in non-metropolitan territories. The Code just adopted by the French Parliament points in the same direction as the I.L.O.'s work.

At the same time as these principles have become more explicit there has been a change in the framework in which labour legislation is to be applied and in the facts of the problems that labour legislation is intended to solve.

For instance, during recent years the number of wage earners has increased considerably. The great efforts made in the French overseas territories to build up capital equipment and speed up production have resulted in increases in the numbers of undertakings and a very marked expansion of their activity and consequently in a considerable expansion of the wage-earning class. In certain territories the number of wage earners has increased in two or three years to three times what it was just before the war.

At the same time as the numbers of wage earners increased, their conditions of employment became more varied. New industries requiring specialised labour came into being. New machines were brought into service, introducing new techniques or improving old ones. This development went on at high speed and no less rapidly brought about fundamental changes in working conditions.

This expansion has also completely transformed the living conditions of the workers. In a brief study such as this it is not necessary to dwell at length on the well-known phenomena of migration towards employment (particularly as observed among African Negro people) and concentration in towns. The men who leave their villages in ever-increasing numbers to seek employment in towns, prompted (whatever their individual intentions may be) by the development of the wage-earning classes, are exposed to risks which are completely new to them. Most of them are cut off from all tribal influences and more or less entirely separated from the family group in which they had spent all their lives and performed all their traditional tasks. They attempt to break away from this isolation by forming new bonds of association among themselves according to their origins, but do not always completely succeed. They have been suddenly separated from everything for which and in which they were accustomed to live, and thus find themselves even more dependent on the person who (often by chance) becomes their employer, as dependent as an isolated European worker could be in a town in which he must find subsistence for himself and his family.

This situation together with the rapid increase in the number of persons involved and the competition that develops among

them, makes their position a particularly weak one. The employer finds himself employing large numbers of workers of widely different origins at a cost which varies in inverse ratio to their degree of skill and their output, and is inevitably led to take up an attitude towards his workers similar to that which used to be and still is adopted by employers in Europe, even though he may not wish to do so. In this way industrial relations of the European type develop; they are different from the relations that the worker knows in village or family life and even from those of workers in isolated agricultural undertakings situated near the places of origin of the workers in overseas territories.

The workers gradually become more and more aware of their new condition. Although they are of widely varying origins they form human groups, particularly in urban centres, in which ideals and ideologies spread rapidly. Industrial associations are formed among these groups and have gradually come to take an increasing part in the fixing of conditions of work. Thus collective industrial relations of a non-African type have developed everywhere, while at the same time large numbers of workers have not yet fully realised the fact and bring to their new employment much of the attitude they brought to work in the traditional family atmosphere.

The workers' desire to take an active part in the determination of their conditions of work was also heightened by the rapid development of methods of political expression during the same period. Why, they say, should wage earners not have greater rights in labour matters now that they play a more important part in the life of the community?

For the legal, social and psychological reasons given above, the labour regulations in force at the end of the Second World War in France's overseas territories were completely inadequate. Their foundations were not strong enough to cope with the principles laid down in the 1946 Constitution. The existing regulations no longer corresponded to the living and working conditions of a wage-earning class which during a short space of time had increased enormously and was for the most part concentrated in the urban centres. The workers themselves, as they gradually became more aware of the part they could play, felt the need for a reform of the legislation governing their conditions of employment.

The various procedures followed between 1945 and 1952 (collective agreements, local orders, customs, etc.) to cope with the most immediate requirements were not sufficient to make up for what was lacking in the old regulations. Moreover they suffered from the same defects; they were heterogeneous and introduced regulations which, though admittedly based on common principles,

varied greatly in scope. Important questions remained untouched while others were dealt with in ways which varied from place to place. The body of legislation that had grown up in this way (which was certainly valuable, as will be pointed out later) lacked the authority and force that can only be found in a single law, drawn up by the Parliament in due form, confirming, co-ordinating and adapting the rules already laid down and where necessary introducing new legislation, while giving due consideration to developments observed.

SOLUTIONS OFFERED BY THE NEW ACT

Now that the Act has been adopted it is interesting to examine the solutions it offers to the problems raised, the sources that inspired it and the motives behind its main provisions.

The scope of the Code is vast. Parliament wished to issue a single law for all the "territories and associated territories within the competence of the Ministry for Overseas Territories"; this expression covers countries as far apart and as different in character as French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, French Somaliland, the trust territories of the Cameroons and Togoland, Madagascar and its dependencies, the Comoro Archipelago, Saint Pierre and Miquelon, the French settlements in India and Oceania, New Caledonia and, under certain conditions, the New Hebrides, which are administered jointly by Great Britain and France.

One might question the wisdom of drawing up a single Act laying down general rules to be applied in countries and to men so different from one another and scattered over the whole of the world. However, the French Parliament rejected all other solutions. In this field unified legislation has certain advantages, of which doctrinal unity is not the least. Moreover this method is adapted to the facts of the situation, since in the territories mentioned the laws and regulations concerning wage earners were introduced in the same manner and are identical, and industrial relations between employers and workers are fundamentally similar in all of them. As development in all territories has followed and is still following the same course, it can be said that there is no incompatibility between the drafting of a single labour code and the desire expressed in the 1946 Constitution to develop the "respective civilisations" of the members of the French Union.

However, legislative unity can be justified only if the Act itself leaves plenty of scope for adaptation to local conditions. This is the case with the 1952 Code, which provides for regulations to be drawn up under the Act, usually by the competent local authorities. Thus a particularly important element of flexibility

is introduced, which preserves the relationship between the Act and the realities it is intended to deal with. The desire to preserve this flexibility of application led certain members of the French Parliament to propose that the new Code should merely contain general statements of principle and leave all desirable points of detail to be settled by local regulations. Parliament rejected this solution, and did not hesitate to lay down detailed regulations; however, numerous possibilities for adaptation were left open. In view of the great similarity in the situation of wage earners wherever they are employed, this decision was the right one. Moreover, if this method had not been chosen the new local regulations would almost certainly have been as heterogeneous and incomplete as the old ones. Furthermore the introduction of innovations relating to the substance of labour legislation would have been more difficult, since there is a definite connection between the substance of regulations and the form in which they are drafted. By refusing to reduce the Code to a statement of a few principles the French Parliament showed its determination to introduce legislation based on principles different from those that governed the previous regulations.

The fact that the new Code applies to all gainfully employed workers¹ has created a number of difficulties. These workers are obviously not all employed in work of the same type; conditions of employment vary from urban centres to farms, and the workers come from different districts. Lastly, most wage earners in the territories concerned have kept habits, a family organisation and traditional languages that cannot be abolished with a stroke of the pen. However, in spite of these differences the principle of unity of legislation was maintained, and allowance was made for these differences in the Code. The new Code, unlike the corresponding legislation in France itself, applies to both agricultural and non-agricultural workers. It was natural that this provision should have been inserted, since it was already in the old regulations. However, it was important that special regulations should be issued to allow for the particular nature of agricultural work. Thus maximum hours of work in agriculture have been fixed on a yearly instead of a weekly basis; in this way the level of employment and hours of work can be adapted to the volume of work to be done at the different seasons.

Furthermore the different origins of the workers have found expression in differences in their respective conditions; their obligations and their difficulties are different, and their degree of

¹ The only workers not covered by the Act are "persons appointed to permanent posts in public administrations".

dependence on their employer varies according to whether or not the worker is a native of the place in which he is employed. These differences are increased by differences in climatic conditions and the distance between the worker's place of origin and the place where he is employed. In the territories in which the new Code is applicable these differences have been accentuated by large movements of population from one territory to another. The Code takes full account of this situation. In accordance with the principles laid down in the Constitution it forbids all discrimination based on origin, but makes allowance for differences in the individual situations of the workers. It does this by introducing special provisions respecting the payment of workers, making the recruitment of workers outside the territory in which they are to be employed subject to very strict supervision, laying down detailed regulations on the question of travelling and establishing a system of holidays with pay covering a large number of different cases.

The provisions concerning the housing of workers, the supply of provisions to the workers by the employer in certain cases and the conditions under which the benefits granted to the worker may also be granted to his family have been drawn up with the same regard for adaptability.

Although the new Code makes the fullest possible allowance for the social situation in the overseas territories, it nevertheless extends to them the most recent advances in labour legislation.

Firstly, there is the statement that "under equal conditions of work, occupational skill and output the remuneration shall be the same for all workers".

In addition, the Code recognises the collective nature of industrial relations. This is shown first of all by a series of provisions extending to industrial associations the same guarantees as those given in France; the very fact that these provisions are placed at the beginning of the Act suffices to show the importance of these associations in the application of the Code. Moreover the Code leaves questions concerning the rules of employment in each occupation, and more particularly wage rates, to be settled by collective agreement in each group of territories, territory or region and so ensures the participation of the persons concerned in the study of problems relating to their employment.

As regards individual labour relations, the obvious inequality between the worker and the employer is remedied. The worker is protected by a number of regulations, such as the administrative supervision of recruitment outside the territory in which employment is offered. This supervision may seem clumsy and involves formalities which some people consider useless, but it is justified in two ways: in the first place it must be remembered that the

worker who has left his home is relatively more isolated and, on the other hand, measures must be taken to guarantee employment for local workers.

Moreover the new Code generally leaves a wide field for administrative action, recognising in this way that the public authorities have an essential part to play in industrial relations. It is the duty of the public authorities to state what subjects must be discussed by industrial associations and to take action where they have failed to do so. The local authorities fix minimum wages. They may extend the scope of the most important collective agreements to groups other than those that subscribed to them; they may also issue regulations defining the rules of employment for categories of workers not covered by any collective agreement. However, before taking action, these authorities first consult the organisations representing the interested parties at meetings of "advisory labour boards". Thus in all cases one of the essential principles of the new Act is safeguarded—the principle that the groups concerned must take part in the fixing of their conditions of employment.

The modern character of the new legislation can also be seen from other factors. Labour courts are established to deal with individual disputes between employers and workers; the procedure is rapid, and no fees are charged. A system of conciliation and arbitration is provided to solve collective labour disputes. Lastly, recognising that the worker's family has to share the lot of the worker himself, the Act offers certain benefits to families, particularly with regard to repatriation and medical care.

In conclusion the role assigned by the Act to the labour inspectorate and social legislation should be emphasised. The labour inspectorate is not an innovation introduced by the Code. In 1944 the Brazzaville Conference, when it recommended the development of industrial associations, proposed at the same time that a corps of labour inspectors should be established; effect was given to this proposal during the same year. Since that time the labour inspectors have done very important work; they have made valuable contributions to existing regulations and have made great efforts to deal with labour problems with the often insufficient resources at their disposal. The functions of the Inspectorate of Labour and Social Legislation in French Overseas Territories are stated explicitly in the new Code. The inspectorate has considerable freedom of action and will be required to take a fundamental part in the consolidation of the new régime.

While recognising the great efforts towards adaptation which have been made in the new Code, it must be admitted that the Code is above all based on the principles of French metropolitan legislation. One might assume here that the legislature had had

to make a choice and had rejected methods that made greater allowance for the psychology of the workers—for many workers have not yet adopted the attitude acquired by European workers towards their work and the problems raised by it. In fact, this was not the case; the choice of the method actually used was inevitable. First of all, there were constitutional principles which militated in favour of this solution. Secondly, the circumstances in which the birth and more especially the recent development of the wage-earning class took place were such that working conditions are unquestionably European in character. Although the worker himself is not yet fully aware of his status as a wage earner (a conception which does not exist in his own national traditions), his employer frequently thinks of him as a wage earner. The techniques, the working methods, the instruments used and their very names have all been imported from Europe. Furthermore the worker is welcomed by the trade union, which helps him to find his place in the modern world. It does not appear possible to reverse this trend; the introduction of an economic system of European origin inevitably leads to the development of industrial relations of the European type. It is only logical that this process should be completed by the introduction of legislation based on French law; furthermore, such a measure will probably bring this trend to its conclusion more rapidly.

The countries to which the new Labour Code is to apply have not all reached the same stage in this continuing evolution. However, the possibilities of adaptation inserted in the Act by those who drafted it and the exceptions they have authorised within each territory suggest that the regulations introduced will be as varied as the situations they have to cover.

THE PROBABLE EFFECTS OF THE CODE

It is difficult to estimate the future consequences of the new Code now, since many of the regulations to be made under it have not yet been introduced. However, we may attempt here an estimate of the economic and social significance of the Code and its consequences as far as they can be seen.

In the first place, it is clear that the Code is in no way revolutionary. Its publication may have caused an immediate psychological shock; however, it merely constitutes a further stage in a process of evolution that began many years ago; and the Act contains a series of interim provisions which will certainly make possible a smooth transition from the old to the new relations.

By giving both workers and employers guarantees which have shown their worth in other countries, the Code protects the overseas

territories for which it was drafted from unfortunate experiments that have been made in European countries and, more particularly, France. By introducing a coherent body of rules of employment it puts an end to the inadequacy of the previous regulations. It offers a clear scheme of industrial relations, based on equity, to all concerned, both employers and workers, and thus cannot fail to strike a fair balance which is essential to social order.

Different opinions have been expressed on the probable economic effects of the Code. It has been suggested that the difficulties that undertakings will have to overcome in applying the Act will considerably increase production costs and impose additional burdens on the budget of the community. It is further suggested that the economic disequilibrium caused in this way may in the long run lay heavier burdens on those persons who should be benefiting from the Labour Code and on non-wage earners.

These arguments should not be set aside lightly. It is true that a balanced economic situation is of benefit to wage earners just as much as sound labour legislation. It is equally true that the Labour Code will normally lay additional financial burdens on undertakings, since the benefits granted to wage earners are in fact an increase in the share of production allotted to them. But surely this will happen in any case? All social progress has the same effect. To attempt to avoid an increase in production costs at any price would be tantamount to abandoning in advance any attempt to improve the condition of the workers.

From this standpoint there are two provisions in the Code which are likely to have considerable effect and which should be examined more closely. The first of these is the reduction of legal hours of work to 40 per week; all weekly hours worked in excess of 40 must be paid for in addition to the normal wage. The second is the possibility allowed in the Code of granting family allowances to the workers. The additional burdens imposed by other obligations may be considered as secondary.

As regards the first point, it should be noted that in agriculture a working week of more than 40 hours is permissible (2,400 hours per year), and that the Act leaves the application of the provisions concerning hours of work and permissible exceptions and overtime and remuneration of overtime to be determined by local regulations.

On the second point, the Code merely states that the local authorities are empowered to issue regulations instituting family allowances for workers. As the Act gives no further clarification on this point, it is difficult for the moment to guess on what basis family allowances can be established. In addition, in the most important territories to which the Code applies, that is to say, in

Africa south of the Sahara, married workers and heads of families certainly do not form the largest group of workers.

Only by examining the regulations to be introduced locally can one estimate with any degree of certainty the possible effect of these two provisions of the Labour Code on production costs.

On the other hand it can already be said at this stage that the Code, which constitutes a thorough reform of the previously existing legal system, will certainly lead to a number of reforms in undertakings. The employers will become more interested in making better use of manpower and will attempt to improve their equipment and organisation simultaneously. This should lead to a more intensive and organised effort to develop vocational training, which will be of benefit both to the undertaking and to the workers. Moreover systems of payment will certainly be improved through co-operation between employers and workers. From the psychological point of view the Code will give to all concerned a feeling of security under a fair and just system and should thus facilitate the maintenance of harmonious industrial relations. It should also help to develop an attitude on the part of the worker which might be conducive to improved output.

Lastly, it may be expected that the new system will consolidate the economy, provided that it is fully enforced and is supplemented by certain other measures.

Some of these additional measures concern the workers themselves; these include in particular the institution of social services, the development of vocational training methods and new legislation on compensation for industrial accidents and occupational diseases (at the present time the system of compensation varies from territory to territory). Others are of interest to non-wage earners. It is clear that although wage earners have an important part to play (more important than the number of wage earners expressed as a proportion of the active population would suggest) in the territories in which the Code is to be applied, this group is only one element in the economic and social life of these territories. Peasants and artisans must not get the impression that they are underprivileged by comparison with wage earners. Action will have to be taken to prevent the depopulation of rural areas and to ensure a fair balance between the various productive elements of society.

It would seem that if these additional measures are taken the Code will certainly fulfil the economic and social functions expected of it and constitute a starting point for new advances.

Moreover, the Code will certainly provide matter for many fruitful legal studies. So far the peculiarities of labour legislation in overseas territories have not been described or examined ade-

quately. The new Code will stimulate such studies and form a framework for them, and their findings will certainly be of great value in questions of law.

Such is—or rather, will be—the nature of the Labour Code for the territories and associated territories within the competence of the French Ministry for Overseas Territories that has just been drawn up. The text appears astonishingly simple by comparison with the subjects it covers, its content, the size of the territories to which it applies and the number of persons who reap benefit from it, thanks to the numerous possibilities it allows for adaptation. It represents the present legal answer to the problem of labour relations—one of the most difficult of the problems arising when different civilisations come together—in French overseas territories.

Some Economic Considerations

by Paul DEVINAT

THE vote on the Labour Code for French overseas territories divided the National Assembly into two groups. The one was in favour of the Bill, provided that certain provisions adopted by the Council of the Republic were rejected; the other was prepared to accept the Bill if these provisions were retained.

As can be seen, the divergence between the two groups was not great, and was not so much between supporters and opponents of the Bill as between supporters and opponents of certain of its provisions. In an article intended for an international circle of readers it is important to make this preliminary observation. The division of opinion surprised no one who had followed the debates closely.

During the long process of drafting the Bill in the two Houses and the discussions which preceded its adoption by the competent authorities, the conflicting opinions had gradually been reconciled and most of the controversial points had been dealt with. There was clearly a widespread desire among all the political parties to make positive improvements in the condition of workers in the overseas territories. The attendant circumstances were thus favourable.

In this discussion (which was much less doctrinal than it may have appeared from outside) the part that deserves attention is

the conflict between two trends of thought. The first of these was more sentimental than practical, and its aim was to apply, in all the overseas territories, social legislation drawn up on the same lines as that of the metropolitan territory, not so much for social reasons as to give satisfaction to the deeply rooted desire of the populations of these territories for complete equality of treatment with Frenchmen in the metropolitan territory. The second trend, while not refusing equality of treatment, aimed at achieving such equality by stages, in a manner adapted to the local economies and without taking blind leaps into the dark.

The first of these two tendencies prevailed in the end, but the reasons for its success were more political than technical.

It should be added that the opposition to the Labour Code in the form in which it was submitted for adoption was based mainly on economic considerations.

The principle of the Code was not challenged; consequently the only outstanding question was that of its opportuneness. It had to be decided to what extent, under what conditions and how soon this equality of treatment which the representatives of the overseas territories desired so much could be granted to them without prejudicing the development of the African economy and destroying its very foundations.

EFFECTS ON THE ECONOMY OF THE TERRITORIES

To understand this point of view the facts about the economy of the French overseas territories should be borne in mind.

These territories are nearly all situated in tropical or equatorial Africa. They cover vast areas which are generally unfertile and sometimes desert. Their population is small. They are poor in natural resources. They are all producers of raw materials, and industrialisation is still in its infancy. Agricultural, handicraft and industrial production are in general thinly spread over wide areas. There is a shortage of labour, particularly skilled labour.

However, as a result of the important public works recently carried out in the harbours and on the roads, a fairly stable labour force has gathered in the large coastal towns for the construction of public buildings such as schools, hospitals and administrative centres. The inhabitants of the interior have been attracted towards the towns by their temptations as much as by the lure of high wages. Everybody who knows Africa is struck by the contrast between the population of these rapidly spreading towns and that of the bush country, which is still attached to its traditions and its primitive economy. Ethnologists have pointed out that an over-rapid increase in the urban population of this kind may

well lead to an undesirable social disequilibrium. There is a danger that imitation of European ways of living and thinking may dry up the source of the fundamental human aspirations of a race which is centuries behind us and the evolution of which must be respected as far as possible. Professor Griaule has stated—

It is to be feared that by attempting to introduce too much legislation adapted to our way of thinking, to make other people think as we do and to try and handle too much by ourselves, we may smother the deeply rooted aspirations of humanity for freedom and for work in conditions of freedom. Briefly, it is to be feared that the workers, after shaking off the dictatorship of man, may finally throw off the dictatorship of western civilisation in an irresistible upheaval.

Governor Eboue has often demanded that the traditions of the bush peoples should be respected because of the danger of a conflict between the two civilisations. There is no doubt that if the Labour Code is applied too rigidly it may seriously disturb the evolution of France's overseas territories. A study of the economic situation tends to confirm these general remarks.

Agriculture

The African economy is by nature agricultural. It is mainly concerned with the cultivation of the types of food that the local population needs for itself, and only a relatively small proportion of the produce is exported. This is true of groundnuts, cocoa, coffee and bananas. In certain parts of the Sudan and the Lake Chad territories the cultivation of sisal and cotton has been particularly encouraged by the Administration and has become one of the most important factors in agricultural production.

There are model farms, financed and operated by Europeans, but they are still few and far between. Some of them have a great deal of capital and equipment and are of considerable size; however, most of them are much smaller and are of the size of farms operated by individual families. They serve as pilot farms for the local population. These farms run by Europeans are the only farms on which one finds agricultural wage labourers employed permanently or for a fixed period.

Thus, in general, the economy and social structure of France's overseas territories are completely different from those found in France or other Western European countries.

More detailed labour regulations were needed to put an end to certain anomalies and abuses. In particular, the expansion of the labour inspectorate and the placing of more effective means of action at its disposal were ardently desired by the local populations and their representatives.

However, when this organisation had been completed and certain general rules had been laid down by Parliament it would have been highly desirable to leave the application of these rules in the hands of the local authorities after consultation with the competent territorial assemblies.

It should have been possible to adapt the regulations to the stage of development reached by the different territories, the particular circumstances obtaining in each, the economic situation and trade-cycle fluctuations. Although it is desirable to integrate social and economic progress, it is impossible to develop the one at the expense of the other.

Today the African economy is going through a difficult period. There are some prosperous regions, but unfortunately they are few and far between. On the whole French Africa is still poor, and life is still difficult. The natural causes of this poverty have already been described; but there are other causes as well.

The creation of an African franc, the C.F.A.¹ franc, was an undesirable measure in that it isolated the overseas territories from the metropolitan territory. It also led to rises in local prices and made the export of agricultural produce more difficult. In spite of assistance from the metropolitan territory the volume of exports inevitably depends on the prices of raw materials. Two years ago these prices were sustained by international events, but since then they have steadily fallen and now only leave a very small margin of purchasing power for the producers. In these circumstances any increase in production costs is liable to have severe repercussions on the economic life of the overseas territories and cause serious crises.

Most of the local budgets show deficits. The various territories are unable to pay the interest due on loans from the metropolitan territory. Since the Liberation there has been a considerable volume of public investment. The sums invested are now becoming due for repayment, and interest on loans is becoming a heavy burden on local budgets. It will probably become necessary to suspend the payment of interest, but any such action will have an unfortunate effect on the future volume of French investments in the overseas territories. The present situation is far from encouraging and there is no immediate reason to expect that the situation will improve in the future.

It is proposed to introduce the new Labour Code during this difficult period, and throw a new burden on an economy already suffering from an over-valued currency, price increases, budget deficits and a fall in production. Certain precautions have been

¹ *Colonies françaises en Afrique.*

taken by the Government and promises have been made in the National Assembly. But it is inconceivable that the law should not be respected. The workers will see that the Labour Code is applied in full, as is now their right, and its enforcement will inevitably lead to a considerable increase in wages. The increase in the cost of labour has been estimated at 25 per cent.—20 per cent. as a result of the introduction of the 40-hour week and 5 per cent. to cover overtime and social benefits (medical and health services, sick leave and annual leave)—but this is an extremely conservative estimate, and does not take into account the question of family allowances, which will be examined later.

On the assumption that the increase in labour costs will be about 25 per cent., what consequences may be expected in the economic field? From studies carried out on the spot at the request of the Administration of the French West African Territories, it seems clear that the establishment of the services provided for in the Labour Code, and more especially for the development of the services of the labour inspectorate, will involve the expenditure on personnel alone of some 15 million C.F.A. francs immediately and a further 30 million in the very near future, in French West Africa alone. A further 30 million C.F.A. francs should be added for housing and transport expenses and maintenance. However, these figures only cover the central services. For the regional offices at least 100 million C.F.A. francs will be required during the next two or three years.

This initial expenditure, which is purely administrative in character, will be necessary immediately. There is a further item of expenditure which seems inevitable, namely, increases in expenditure in the general and local budgets to cover the increased wages of the auxiliary staff, workers and full-time labourers paid from public funds. Under this head 45 million francs must be allowed in the general budget and 65 million in the local budgets.

While we are considering the repercussions on public finance of the enforcement of the Code, the effect of wage increases on the cost of public works should also be examined. An inquiry in the competent departments, based on the assumption that the volume of both new projects and maintenance work will remain unchanged, shows that the cost of maintenance work will increase by 175 million C.F.A. francs and that of new projects by 100 million. These figures only cover the general budget; increases of expenditure of 150 million C.F.A. francs for maintenance work and 100 million for new projects will have to be allowed for in the local budgets. Thus the total expenditure under this head alone may be estimated at 325 million C.F.A. francs for the general budget and more than 400 million for the local budgets.

These sums are obviously large and likely to constitute heavy burdens on budgets that are already unbalanced. The danger would not be great if the increase in expenditure were offset by a corresponding increase in income. Unfortunately this is not the case. The increases in wages and expenditure described above will inevitably be reflected first of all in transport costs (road and rail transport and wharfage and transit dues in ports). Unfortunately the producers will not be able to include this increased expenditure in their sales prices, as it is impossible further to increase the prices of goods for export. Consequently they will turn to the administrative or legislative authorities and demand tax exemptions to offset the new burdens they have to bear. This system has now become standard practice in the overseas territories.

If producers are granted reductions in taxes and dues merely to compensate the increased transport costs they have to pay, the result will be that export duties on groundnut oil, coffee and cocoa (to confine this study to produce of particular interest to indigenous producers running farms with the assistance of their families) will have to be reduced by 10 to 15 per cent. on the average. The repercussions of the increased transport charges on goods for export produced by European farms or plantations will be even greater because the workers' wages will have to be raised. There is already a slump in the market for some kinds of produce. Timber exports have fallen considerably; the abolition of export duties and the sales tax as well would only be barely sufficient to compensate the increased costs in this branch. The same is true of bananas. Even if all taxes and duties were abolished the prices payable to the growers could not be kept at their present levels.

Thus, if we base our calculations on mathematical estimates we have a situation from which there is no escape: a loss of over 500 million C.F.A. francs to be borne by the local budgets as a result of fiscal exemptions and reductions in dues, and at the same time an increase in expenditure.

Industry

So far, only agricultural production has been considered. What will be the effect of the application of the Labour Code on industry in Africa?

All local industry, with the exception of certain oil factories, are at present going through a difficult period. The application of the 40-hour week will worsen the already difficult situation of factories working for local or export markets. Already the employers in certain branches, such as soap manufacture, are demanding considerable increases in the import duties on goods from the

metropolitan territory. Naturally they are demanding these increases in the name of social progress and to cover the wage increases provided for in the new legislation.

In the textile industries the situation is even more alarming. The price increase will be at least 45 per cent. This is exactly the rate of the tax levied on exported goods. The tax will presumably have to be abolished, and an important source of income will be lost to the local budgets.

The timber industry, which has already been hard hit by the fall in world prices, is threatened with ruin as a result of the increase in labour costs. In this sector the increase in production costs would be about 15 per cent., and there is no possibility of offsetting it by tax alleviations.

The fruit juice factories, which have just begun large-scale activity, will not be able to bear an increase in production costs that would come to 6 per cent.

All the efforts made during the last five or six years to develop industrialisation in the overseas territories for the benefit of both consumers and the local budgets are thus in danger of being set at naught. To end by depriving the workers of their employment is a strange way of attempting to improve their standards of living.

It is true that there are very few sincere supporters of industrialisation in the overseas territories, however desirable it may appear at first sight. Industrialisation is opposed by powerful interests, and the risks are too great to attract persons with initiative. That is why the State was called upon to finance the basic industries when the investment and development plans were drawn up. The State provided the funds, as it has too often done, without paying sufficient attention to production costs.

Lastly, there are the mining industries. These are still in their infancy, and it is difficult to form an opinion of their achievements or their future. From an inquiry in the competent services it would appear that the cost of the product will increase by 10 per cent. on the average as a result of the proposed wage increases. It is highly unlikely that the mining industries will be able to bear such an increase at this early stage in their development. Here again, the administrative authorities will have to give up the sales tax and the contributions of the mining industries to the local budgets.

If this is the case, the loss of budgetary income in French Equatorial Africa alone would probably be about 170 million C.F.A. francs for phosphates, bauxite and iron. Even so these sacrifices would not completely offset the increases in production costs. In the case of the phosphate industry, the financial balance of which is very precarious, there is a danger that the industry may have to close down.

It is clear from the above that it will be impossible for either industry or the mines to support the burden of a 25 per cent. increase in wages.

As I pointed out at the beginning of this article, the development of agricultural production in French Africa will inevitably be slow and uncertain. The only reasonable hope of increasing the total income of the territories and improving the standards of living of the inhabitants was in a rapid increase in the incomes from industry and mining. The application of the Labour Code during the period of crisis will certainly change all the plans made.

Everyone is aware of the situation. The studies carried out by the Administration only corroborate the findings of those made by the employers on their own account.

Already private investors are avoiding the French overseas territories; the assistance to public investment that was expected from private capital is gravely threatened.

It is true that certain politicians consider that the assistance of private capital is neither necessary nor desirable. They are making the best of the existing situation and the post-war difficulties that made it necessary for the French taxpayer to accept the burdens of investment in France's overseas territories. At that time such a makeshift solution was inevitable. It would have been both morally and politically iniquitous for the metropolitan territory to abandon this part of France, whose faith in its future never wavered, in which the first liberating armies were formed and which cannot develop without long-term financial assistance. France owed her overseas territories a debt of gratitude and had to pay it.

However, once this effort had been made, it could not be prolonged indefinitely at a time when France had to rebuild her ruined cities, reorganise her economy and look to her defences. Thus, from the very beginning an association grew up between public credit and private savings in the form of mixed companies. This method obtained results. It was discredited by a few notorious failures, but it is none the less a satisfactory method if adapted to the situation. In the circumstances obtaining in the African economy today, it is certainly essential that risks should be divided and limited. But the risks are excessive and the burdens too heavy. The private investor leaves the State, that is to say, the French taxpayer, to bear both the burdens and the risks, and will certainly continue to do so as long as the reconstitution of public saving prevents the issue of loans.

Such is the situation in France's overseas territories. What are we to conclude from this?

First of all, it is impossible to break the law and return to the *status quo ante*. Parliament may make mistakes, but it is bound by its votes. Although the great majority of Africans living in the bush and the villages (about nine-tenths of the population), were unaffected by the ferment which the Labour Code caused, the thesis of equal rights for all citizens of the French Union remains and has certainly caught their interest. Consequently the desirable amendments can only be introduced during the application of the Code.

As regards the organisation of the labour inspectorate as a responsible administration capable of ensuring that wage earners enjoy their rights without farms and undertakings being obliged to close down and throw the workers into poverty, there is nothing but good to be said—provided that it does not provide new pretexts for the further growth of the administrative machinery which is already spreading its tentacles over the overseas territories.

The application of the articles on wages, wage rates and hours of work is above all a matter of proportion and tact. If the towns are overprivileged, they will soon become overpopulated, while the rural areas will become depopulated. Africa will no longer be able to provide enough food for its needs, the standard of living will rise only to beget hardship, and the social structure, which is already precarious, will be threatened with complete collapse.

The local administrative authorities, supported by representative assemblies, should be left a large measure of responsibility for the detailed decisions to be taken for one occupation or another, bearing in mind individual cases, methods of marketing, costs, profits and development. Before making any decision they should be able to obtain for purposes of information the considered opinions of the employers' and workers' organisations in the territory concerned. Very often such organisations do not yet exist. Those that do exist, operating as they do in population groups which can easily be exploited by propaganda of any kind, should be protected from political influences, which can so easily obtain a foothold.

At the same time all undertakings should make determined and continuous efforts to reduce production costs. The "colonial" atmosphere is still one of adventure. Sweeping plans have often been made without thought for the morrow. On the other hand a niggardly attitude has all too often been taken up. The African economy is unstable and unrewarding, and calls for arduous and unremitting toil. Nobody who relaxes his efforts for even a day can succeed there. That is why the calculation of risks and a sense of proportion are more necessary in Africa than elsewhere.

Consequently, in this difficult situation, more determined efforts are necessary than anywhere else in the world to reduce production costs, and success in this depends on such variable factors as distance and variations in transport and raw material costs. Much is required of employers, who obtain little encouragement from the severity of the climate and their isolation from the metropolitan territory. This is in itself an additional reason for not discouraging them by the wholesale introduction of new burdens. They must be allowed sufficient time to measure the effect of these burdens and to prepare themselves by new efforts to bear them. Even gold mines close down when labour costs are too high.

That is why our group considers that the Labour Code for the overseas territories should be applied gradually so as not to upset a fragile economy. It should be established more firmly during periods of prosperity, but arrangements should exist to make its provisions more flexible during depressions. It should not go beyond its purpose and, while trying to raise the living standards of the workers, ruin the economy which employs them.

For these reasons, we expressed particular reserves on the question of introducing and developing family allowances. Quite apart from all considerations of equality of treatment with the metropolitan territory, the Negro population of French Africa is not large enough to invalidate the principle of allowances. On the other hand, the opinions expressed when the principle was applied to government officials, the frequent lack of documents certifying the civil status of the persons concerned and their racial or religious traditions are enough to make one think twice before introducing what may be an extremely costly reform.

While not categorically hostile to the introduction of family allowances, we requested that first of all a study of all its consequences should be made and that all the necessary measures should first be taken to enable the economy to bear the cost of the scheme. That is the position adopted by my friends and myself in the National Assembly. We did not, as has sometimes been claimed, reject the Code; on the whole we were in favour of it, but we asked for its application in stages; in this way durable progress would be possible, adapted to circumstances, and not endangered by depression or reaction—progress based on respect for the social and economic element of the African problem.

In conclusion, I would like to say that in our opinion no solution can be satisfactory as long as labour regulations in Africa are organised on a national basis.

As a former official of the I.L.O., I should be forgetting my past if I did not consider it urgently necessary to give all African workers

a broader legal status extending beyond national frontiers. The Negro is a migrant by nature and by necessity. The bush has few attractions for him. On the contrary, he is attracted by the town—any town. The Negro inhabitants of Nigeria, Dahomey, and the Cameroons live close to one another and are ready to work wherever they are offered the best wages. No systematic development of resources will be possible until conditions of work have been regulated jointly by all these territories, which are under different sovereignty but are too close and too closely bound together to be able to remain isolated from one another by separate regulations.

Africa is poor in material resources and in manpower, and will be unable to set out on the road to a better life and an evolution which will bring her closer to the western world unless the latter makes a universal effort to understand the situation and to adapt its policies accordingly.

France has undertaken to draw up and enforce generous social legislation in her overseas territories and is prepared to assist all countries who wish to bring to other parts of Africa the benefits of the progress that she is achieving.

(Translated from the French.)

The Parliamentary Inquiry into Unemployment in Italy

by

Roberto TREMELLONI

In December 1951 the Italian Chamber of Deputies ordered an inquiry to be made into the problem of unemployment and underemployment in Italy and set up a committee of inquiry with the following terms of reference: (a) to conduct a thorough and exhaustive investigation of the present state of unemployment and underemployment in Italy, and of the living conditions and the vocational skills of the unemployed; (b) to determine the probable opportunities for employment and emigration and population trends for the next four years; (c) to determine the possibilities and the means of achieving a high and regular level of employment, and the extent to which a policy of full employment could be applied; (d) to outline a programme for the systematic promotion of vocational guidance and vocational training for the unemployed and newcomers to industry and the improvement of labour mobility; (e) to present its proposals to the appropriate administrative organisation for action. A number of surveys and studies were made during 1952, and the committee recently published the results of the inquiry in a report comprising 15 volumes.¹

In the following article Mr. Tremelloni, chairman of the committee, summarises the results of the surveys made and the conclusions drawn regarding the immediate and long-term causes of unemployment and underemployment in Italy and the steps that can be taken to remedy these evils.

THE NATURE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE INQUIRY

THE extent and the persistence of unemployment in Italy have raised one of the biggest and most disquieting problems in that country since the war. One of the principal aspirations of the people of the world today is a fully occupied labour force;

¹ *Atti della Commissione parlamentare d'inchiesta sulla disoccupazione* (Rome, 1953).

moreover, the struggle against unemployment in any country requires an exact understanding of its causes and character, and the knowledge available in Italy on this most serious evil was until recently very imperfect.¹ Consequently many questions have been asked and speeches made in the Italian Parliament, particularly during the last four or five years, with a view to obtaining a more careful and thorough investigation into the extent and special characteristics of unemployment in the country. In December 1950 a request was made in the Chamber of Deputies for a parliamentary inquiry. Article 82 of the Constitution gives to each of the two Houses of the Legislature the right to undertake investigations², and Italy can look back with pride to a number of notable parliamentary inquiries on social subjects during the pre-Fascist period, such as the Jacini agrarian inquiry of 1872-82 and the Faina inquiry, which explored the conditions of the peasants in southern Italy in 1906.³ The inquiry into unemployment voted almost unanimously by the Chamber of Deputies on 4 December 1951 was the resumption of a tradition still unforgotten, although it had been interrupted, as regards social questions at least, for many years; the inquiry was to be concerned with the gravest complaint affecting overpopulated countries today—the disproportion between resources and the number of people living in the country, between the means of production and the labour force.

The Committee of Inquiry was appointed by the President of the Chamber of Deputies on 21 June 1952. It was composed of 21 deputies chosen from the political parties in proportion to the strength of the parties in the Chamber. The Committee was given very little time (six months, later extended to nine) in which to investigate a number of subjects; its chief task was to study the problem of unemployment, but it was also requested to formulate proposals concerning vocational training and the employment service and to give estimates of movements in the labour market during the next four years. Thus the inquiry had both technical and political objects; the task of the Committee was facilitated by the work of a conference on statistical studies in unemployment convened in March 1951 to establish methods of procedure⁴, and

¹ Cf. *Lettera del Presidente della Commissione parlamentare in occasione della trasmissione degli Atti dell'Inchiesta al Presidente della Camera* (Rome, Mar. 1953), pp. 16-30.

² "Either House may order inquiries into matters of public importance" (Article 82 of the Constitution).

³ Cf. S. FURLANI: "Le inchieste parlamentari in Italia e la loro influenza sulla legislatura a l'attività di Governo", in *Atti*, Vol. IV, Book 1, pp. 5 ff.

⁴ Cf. *Rassegna di statistiche del Lavoro*, No. VI (Rome, 1952).

by the formation of a technical secretariat attached to the Commission of Inquiry, in which experts who were not members of parliament participated.

The scope of the inquiry into unemployment was extended to include the study of the characteristics of existing employment, and finally included the consideration of all the various signs of labour inactivity, i.e., the forms and severity of partial employment and underemployment, which are particularly frequent in the underdeveloped and the predominantly agricultural regions. The inquiry was therefore conducted in accordance with the following plan :

(a) a series of surveys were made in order to furnish the quantitative data necessary to the study of the problem at the time of the inquiry or in its historical evolution ;

(b) a series of studies were made of certain aspects (types of unemployment or underemployment, economic structure of the country and employment, employment service and vocational training schemes, the role of public institutions, the degree of mobility of labour, the demographic and economic causes of unemployment in Italy and the situation in the various regions ;

(c) a series of polls were carried out verbally or by means of questionnaires in all the principal localities, in the larger trade unions, among economists and sociologists and among administrative bodies.

Ten investigations were carried out for the surveys mentioned in (a) ; the studies under (b) were entrusted to specialists and to ten expert working parties ; as regards (c) 2,000 persons were questioned verbally in some 60 localities, and questionnaires were sent to 3,000 persons or institutions. Nearly 11,000 persons took part either directly or indirectly in the inquiry.

The scope of the inquiry was far wider than that of any previous inquiry into unemployment. The inquiries of the first decades of the century examined only the phenomenon of unemployment in the strict sense of the word. They were concerned only with the problem of assistance to the victims of unemployment and so were merely the preliminary to relief work. The present inquiry sought to explore a very much wider domain, in accordance with the demands of social research today ; it proposed to examine labour inactivity in all its forms (low ratio of the employed population to total population, partial employment, unemployment proper). Only by extending in this way the limits of the inquiry was it possible to examine the root causes of a phenomenon which in

Italy assumes the most multifarious aspects and to look for solutions that would be neither partial nor transitory, or at least to determine the exact nature of this grave problem, which can only be solved if relief of the present ills is accompanied by thorough-going and effective preventive treatment.

It will be seen that the very searching inquiry undertaken was fully justified, and these observations may also serve to restrain the impatience voiced in certain quarters, which is understandable, but prompted by a superficial or over-simplified view of the problem ; the scourge of labour inactivity in Italy, which goes back many decades and for which there are numerous cumulative reasons, can be effectively remedied only by intelligent action on a large scale.

THE RESULTS OF THE QUANTITATIVE SURVEYS

The principal quantitative surveys carried out to measure unemployment and underemployment in Italy at the time of the inquiry (September 1952) were—

(a) a sampling survey of the labour force made by the Central Statistical Institute ;

(b) an analysis of the lists of persons registered at labour exchanges (carried out by the Ministry of Labour) ; and

(c) an assessment of agricultural underemployment in certain large farming areas of the country (made by the National Institute of Agricultural Economy).

September was chosen for the first two studies, since that is the month least affected by seasonal causes of unemployment in Italy, where agriculture and other outdoor pursuits occupy at least half of the working population and therefore exert a powerful influence on the seasonal variations in manpower requirements.

These investigations were followed up by others to ascertain the condition of the unemployed and to investigate the different aspects of the Italian labour market at the time of the inquiry ; a second group of observations reflects not merely the static situation of 1952 but also the dynamic aspects of the problem.

Investigations concerning Manpower

The sampling survey of the labour force made it possible, for the first time since 1936, to have a general picture of the distribution of occupations in the country in the absence of the classified

results of the demographic censuses.¹ In a total population of 47.1 million (September 1952) the labour force amounted to 19.4 million; the remaining 27.8 million were regarded as persons not gainfully occupied (table I).² The percentage figure for the labour force thus obtained (41.1) is very low, both in comparison with other modern States and in comparison with the past: in the various Italian demographic censuses it had been calculated at 53.22 per cent. in 1871, 48.97 per cent. in 1901 and 41.70 per cent. in 1951. These figures show the progressive regression of the working population in the last 80 years of Italian history; this is due on the one hand to phenomena of a demographic nature of which mention will be made later, and on the other hand to the slowness of the country's economic development and its scanty

TABLE I. POPULATION AND LABOUR IN ITALY

Category of workers	Number (in thousands)			Percentage		
	Aged under 14 years	Aged 14 years and above	Total	Aged under 14 years	Aged 14 years and above	Total
<i>Labour force</i>	202.7	19,155.5	19,358.2	1.8	53.5	41.1
Employed	202.7	17,869.3	18,072.0	1.8	49.9	39.4
Independent workers and employees	51.6	14,405.6	14,457.2	0.5	40.2	30.7
Casual workers	151.1	3,463.7	3,614.8	1.3	9.7	7.7
Unemployed	.	1,286.2	1,286.2	.	3.6	2.7
Previously employed seeking job for first time	.	608.5	608.5	.	1.7	1.3
<i>Persons not gainfully occupied</i>	.	677.7	677.7	.	1.9	1.4
Housewives	11,100.7	16,679.3	27,780.0	98.2	46.5	58.9
Students	340.2	11,992.0	12,332.2	3.0	33.4	26.2
Others	4,965.4	1,182.6	6,148.0	43.9	3.3	13.0
	5,795.1	3,504.7	9,299.8	51.3	9.8	19.7
<i>Total</i>	11,303.4	35,834.8	47,138.2	100.0	100.0	100.0

¹ The sampling survey was based on 58,352 families with 233,131 members, in 770 Italian communes, including all the provincial capitals. The criticisms and reserves made concerning these sampling methods of inquiry are well-known, and the results should be used with caution. For the criteria used in the survey see Vol. 1 of the *Atti della Commissione parlamentare d'inchiesta sulla disoccupazione*, Book 1, pp. 1-73.

² The total labour force, according to inquiry carried out by the Central Statistical Institution at the instigation of the Committee of Inquiry in September 1952, was 19,358,200 persons out of a population of 47,138,200. The population without gainful employment (27,780,000) was equal to 58.9 per cent. and was made up as follows: women engaged in housework: 26.2 per cent.; students: 13 per cent.; persons not engaged in any paid activity: 19.7 per cent. About 1.1 per cent. of the labour force was under 14 years of age, while among those without gainful employment about 40 per cent. were under 14.

resources in means of production. The inquiry also revealed that the ratio between working population and total population fluctuates very considerably in the various regions of Italy: it was found to be highest in Piedmont (49.1 per cent.) and lowest in Sardinia (31.2 per cent.). In general a gradual and progressive diminution was found from northern Italy to the south. Above all the proportion of women in the labour force falls rapidly from north to south: while in northern Italy women form 28 per cent. of the labour force, in Sicily they form only 9.4 per cent. Over the whole country the women belonging to the labour force form only 25 per cent. of the female population. (Analogous inquiries give a figure of 34.5 per cent. in the United States and 45.7 per cent. in France.)¹

Of the 19.4 million persons constituting the labour force 18 million were classified as employed and 1.3 million as unemployed (table II). This latter figure does not represent the extent of unemployment, but only the number of people who were completely

TABLE II. DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED WORKERS BY REGION AND OCCUPATION

Region	Total man-power (thousands)	Employed			Unemployed				
		Number (thousands)	% of population	% of labour force	Previously employed (thousands)	Seeking first job (thousands)	Total		
							Number (thousands)	% of population	% of labour force
North	9,474.9	8,846.4	42.5	93.4	284.5	344.0	628.5	3.0	6.6
Centre	3,654.0	3,388.8	39.1	92.7	131.0	134.2	265.2	3.1	7.3
South	4,383.4	4,116.9	34.6	93.9	132.1	134.4	266.5	2.2	6.1
Islands	1,845.9	1,719.9	30.0	93.2	60.9	65.1	126.0	2.2	6.8
Whole country	19,358.2	18,072.0	38.3	93.4	608.5	677.7	1,286.2	2.7	6.6

¹ A comparison by Vannutelli of the results of surveys of the labour force in several countries (cf. "Considerazioni sulla struttura e sul movimento della popolazione italiana, tratte dai primi risultati dell'inchiesta parlamentare sulla disoccupazione", in the *Rivista di politica economica*, Apr. 1953, p. 486) excluding the workers under 14 years of age, is given in the following table:

LABOUR FORCES (MEN AND WOMEN)
IN CANADA, FRANCE, ITALY AND THE UNITED STATES
(Percentages)

Population over 14 years of age	Italy ¹	France ²	U.S. ³	Canada ⁴
Labour force	53.5	63.8	57.3	52.9
Employed	(49.9)	(62.9)	(56.2)	(51.8)
Unemployed	(3.6)	(0.9)	(1.1)	(1.1)
Persons not gainfully occupied	46.5	36.2	42.6	47.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

¹ Sep. 1952. ² Nov.-Dec. 1952. ³ Oct. 1952. ⁴ Nov. 1952.

without work in September 1952 (there was an active person without employment in 9.2 of every 100 families). Of those shown as employed 1.2 million declared that they were not working during the week in which the census was taken: of these 43.6 per cent. gave "lack of work" as their reason for not working; the remainder were not working because of holidays or for health reasons, or were prevented by bad weather, strikes, etc. Of the 16,536,000 persons in employment in the week in question, 81 per cent. worked 40 or more hours a week, 17.4 per cent. between 15 and 40 hours and 1.6 per cent. (258,600 persons) less than 15 hours a week.¹

It will be clear that to the estimate of the numbers entirely without work (1.3 million) should be added some of the 502,000 persons idle through lack of work during the week of the survey and some of the 258,600 who worked less than 15 hours in the week, since their situation borders on total unemployment.

TABLE III. DISTRIBUTION OF UNEMPLOYED IN ITALY
BY REGION AND SEX
(Percentages)

Region	Workers previously in employment		Workers seeking first job		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
North . . .	63.8	36.2	51.6	48.4	57.1	42.9
Centre . . .	81.9	18.1	60.4	39.6	70.9	29.1
South . . .	81.6	18.4	76.9	23.1	79.2	20.8
Islands . .	90.5	9.5	76.5	23.5	83.3	16.7
Whole country .	74.5	25.5	61.2	38.8	67.4	32.6

Italy remains a country of mixed economy in which agriculture is still very important and provides employment for the greater part of the population: of those in employment more than four-tenths work in agriculture (42.4 per cent.), about one-third in industry (35.4 per cent.) and only 22.2 per cent. in service occupations or other activities (tables IV, V and VI). But agriculture, while occupying 42.4 per cent. of the labour force, accounts for only 30 per cent. of the national income, while industry, with 35.4 per cent. of the labour force, accounts for 44-45 per cent.

¹ The national average was 47 hours' work a week; 64 per cent. of the labour force had worked 48 hours or more; 17 per cent. between 40 and 48 hours; 17.4 per cent. between 15 and 40 hours; and 1.6 per cent. less than 15 hours. The average of hours worked per week in individual occupations was as follows: industry: 44 hours; agriculture: 49 hours (the week of the survey is one of the peak weeks for farm work); commerce: 51 hours; civil service: 45 hours; transport: 47 hours. (Cf. *Atti*, Vol. I, Book 1, pp. 66-67.)

TABLE IV. DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED WORKERS
BY OCCUPATION (EXCLUDING ARMED FORCES)

Occupation	No. of workers (thousands)	No. of workers (thousands)
<i>Agriculture, fishing, hunting and trapping</i>		7,494.3
<i>Industry</i>		5,609.8
Mining and quarrying . . .	224.7	
Manufacturing	3,768.5	
Building and public works .	1,421.3	
Water, gas and electricity .	195.3	
<i>Transport and communications</i> .		659.1
<i>Commerce, banking and insurance</i>		1,882.1
Commerce	1,732.2	
Banking and insurance . . .	149.9	
<i>Other</i>		2,042.7
Personal and professional work	998.7	
Civil service	1,044.0	
All occupations		17,688.0

Industrial employment is pre-eminent in northern Italy, while in the south employment is mainly in agriculture; the proportion of agricultural employment increases as one goes further south.

As regards age groups, if we consider only persons in employment we find the largest number between 20 and 49 years of age (64.7 per cent.); those aged 50 to 59 account for 13.5 per cent. and those aged 60 or more only 1.8 per cent.; the low age groups (14 to 19 years of age) amount to 12.7 per cent. The number of children under 14 years is considerable (approximately 200,000);

TABLE V. DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED
WORKERS BY REGION AND OCCUPATION
(Percentages)

Region	Employed			Unemployed		
	Agriculture, fishing, hunting, trapping	Industry, transport, communi- cations	Other	Agriculture, fishing, hunting, trapping	Industry, transport, communi- cations	Other
North . . .	35.0	42.5	22.5	15.5	67.4	17.1
Centre . . .	43.5	30.6	25.9	14.7	66.7	18.6
South . . .	55.2	26.3	18.5	28.5	56.8	14.7
Islands . .	47.9	30.0	22.1	41.4	46.3	12.3
Whole country .	42.4	35.4	22.2	20.8	62.8	16.4

TABLE VI. DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION OF WORKERS
IN EMPLOYMENT AND WORKERS PREVIOUSLY IN EMPLOYMENT

Occupation	Workers in employment	Unemployed workers previously in employment
<i>Agriculture, fishing, hunting, trapping</i>	42.4	20.8
<i>Industry</i>	31.7	59.3
Mining and quarrying	1.3	2.2
Manufacturing	21.3	29.9
Building and public works	8.0	25.9
Water, gas and electricity	1.1	1.3
<i>Transport and communications</i>	3.7	3.5
<i>Commerce, banking and insurance</i>	10.6	5.9
Commerce	9.8	5.6
Banking and insurance	0.8	0.3
<i>Other</i>	5.7	5.8
<i>Civil service</i>	3.9	4.7
<i>Total</i>	100.0	100.0

it represents 1.1 per cent. of the persons in employment. This fact has induced the members of the Committee of Inquiry to contemplate the possibility of raising the minimum working age to 15; this is moreover, the minimum age laid down in the international labour Conventions.¹

The degree of formal education of the employed population is low: only 2.1 per cent. have a degree or university training; 4.6 per cent. have attended a senior high school; 7.6 per cent. can claim attendance at a junior high school or the school leaving certificate; 85.7 per cent. have only elementary education or none at all. However, the percentages vary considerably in the various regions: in Lombardy the percentage of those with no education higher than the elementary stage is only 79.8; in the south, on the other hand, there are higher percentages of illiterates and persons with only elementary education alongside higher proportions of university graduates; in contrast, intermediate education is rare, particularly technical education.

The problem of the disparity between existing educational and vocational training and the skills required of workers was considered to be particularly serious, and a working party drew up a very thorough report showing the urgent necessity to redress this

¹ Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1937; Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment) Convention (Revised), 1937; and Minimum Age (Sea) Convention (Revised), 1936.

TABLE VII. DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED WORKERS
BY AGE AND SEX

Age group	Men	Women	Both sexes
Under 14	1.1	1.3	1.1
14 to 17	6.8	10.5	7.7
18 to 19	4.4	7.0	5.0
20 to 29	23.6	28.5	24.9
30 to 49	41.0	36.1	39.8
50 to 59	14.2	11.3	13.5
60 to 64	4.5	2.9	4.1
65 and over (and unclassified)	4.4	2.4	3.9
<i>Total</i>	100.0	100.0	100.0

disparity. It was calculated that 11 per cent. of the nation is still illiterate, and that over a million children (some 17 per cent. of those liable) evade the obligation to attend school up to the age of 14. Only one in ten workers aged 40 or over and only three in ten workers under 40 years of age have a certificate covering the complete elementary school course. The inquiry has shown the urgent necessity of raising the general educational level of those who take part in production and also the need for legislative action and adequate programmes for the promotion of vocational guidance and training.

The Survey of Registered Unemployed

While the above sampling survey provided more extensive and more reliable data respecting employment, the survey of persons registered at labour exchanges carried out by the Ministry of Labour on 30 September 1952 (table VIII) admits of a different but certainly more exact observation of the phenomenon of unemployment, that is, of the persons seeking work. There were found to be 1,715,708 persons on the books of the labour exchanges: of these almost two-thirds (1,033,669) had had previous employment and nearly a third (501,368) were looking for their first job; the remainder (180,671) consisted of housewives, pensioners or persons in employment who wished to change their job. It is therefore probable that in the month of the survey (in which there is no noticeable seasonal unemployment, whereas in peak months—generally January or February—total unemployment rises by 400,000 to 500,000) there were some million-and-a-half persons

TABLE VIII. PERSONS REGISTERED AT EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES, 30 SEPTEMBER 1952

Occupation	Wage earners with occupational qualifications	Salaried employees	Unskilled labourers	Total
Agriculture, forestry, trapping, fishing	354,512	284	12,035	366,831
Industry	692,988	10,975	58,759	762,722
Transport and communications	16,441	160	209	16,810
Commerce	36,238	1,711	840	38,789
Banking and insurance	400	26,003	214	26,617
Miscellaneous occupations and services	14,572	5,253	111,898	131,723
Unclassified	—	33,803	338,413	372,216
Total	1,115,151	78,189	522,368	1,715,708

unemployed or slightly more, two-thirds of them male.¹ The over-all figure for registered unemployed corresponds to 3.67 per cent. of the population; only in the south is the percentage higher (4.10).

The research undertaken by the labour exchanges shows that very few workers have the required skills. As many as 522,368 persons are shown as "unskilled labourers", and very few of the others have taken vocational training courses or are skilled workers; along with this serious evidence of the low level of vocational training of the Italian unemployed there is evidence of a very low level of formal education. Only 103,000 (6 per cent.) of the 1,713,700 on the books of the labour exchanges have had any post-elementary education; and of the 1,612,400 remaining, no less than 134,000 are illiterate. Only 40,000 of the persons registering—a twentieth of those who replied to the question—stated that they had participated in a course of vocational training. The inquiry has thus emphasised the importance and urgency of a reform of the machinery for vocational training, which at present is inadequate and lacking in system.

¹ Of the persons registered with the employment offices 35 per cent. were women. Women constituted just over half of the unskilled labour (46 per cent.) and more than one-third of the unemployed office workers. In industry there were 37 women in every 100 registered unemployed, in agriculture the figure was 26 per cent, while in commerce (including retail trade) more than half of those registering were women. (Cf. *Att.*, Vol. I, Book 1, pp. 99-109; see also pp. 64-65).

A large proportion of the persons registered were in the low age groups, particularly the groups from 30 to 54. Thus 415,000 are registered as unemployed in the under-20 age group, but the figure rises to 441,000 for the 21-29 group and 747,000 for those between the ages of 30 and 54. For those 55 to 64 years of age it drops to 98,000, while some 15,000 persons over 65 years of age are seeking work. In the lower age groups those looking for work for the first time predominate; this situation has been getting worse in Italy in the last few years, on account of the limited mobility of manpower.¹

As regards the duration of the period of unemployment, the data collected by the Central Statistical Institute concerning unemployed persons who had previously been in employment showed that about 60 per cent. were persons who had lost their jobs not more than six months previously (44.6 per cent. less than three months previously). As for the remainder, 23.8 per cent. had been unemployed for a year or more. The mean duration of the unemployment period was calculated at three months 21 days (table IX).

TABLE IX. DISTRIBUTION OF UNEMPLOYED PREVIOUSLY IN EMPLOYMENT BY DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Duration of unemployment	Percentages	
Less than 15 days	9.8	44.6
16 days to 1 month	7.1	
1 to 2 months	16.7	
2 to 3 months	11.1	
3 to 4 months	5.7	15.6
4 to 6 months	9.9	
6 to 9 months	7.3	36.7
9 to 12 months	5.6	
1 year or more	23.8	
Unknown	3.0	
Total	100.0	

¹ The Central Statistical Institute's survey is probably more complete as regards the non-employed seeking their first job, since not all of those in search of initial employment register at the employment exchanges. The survey gives the figure of 677,700 persons (as against the 501,368 given by the employment exchanges), 61.2 per cent. of them males. Hence it is evident that the percentage of women seeking work for the first time is higher than that of employed workers or unemployed persons who have previously been in employment; the female element exerts considerable pressure on the labour market, especially in the north. Of those looking for employment for the first time 50.4 per cent. are under 17 years of age and 64.4 per cent. under 19; this situation can be attributed largely to the decline in the opportunities of apprenticeship (Cf. *Att.*, Vol. I, Book 1, p. 54).

Investigation into the Level of Employment in Agriculture

In a country that is still predominantly agricultural it was essential to review the level of employment in agriculture. The sampling survey showed that the average number of days worked, in all agricultural categories, was 228 in the preceding year. The average was high for regular wage earners (284 days), share croppers (258 days) and independent farmers (248 days), but very low for

TABLE X. NUMBER OF DAYS WORKED BY AGRICULTURAL WORKERS DURING YEAR ENDING 8 SEPTEMBER 1952

Region	All agricultural workers		Day labourers	
	No. of workers (thousands)	Average no. of days worked	No. of workers (thousands)	Average no. of days worked
North	2,949.1	231	443.3	144
Centre	1,404.5	271	109.0	164
South	2,143.7	196	619.9	161
Islands	776.3	220	329.0	184
Whole country . .	7,273.6	228	1,501.2	161

casual day labourers (161 days). Of the latter, who represent some 1.5 million workers out of the 7.3 million workers in agriculture, 76.6 per cent. worked less than 200 days (23.5 per cent. of them worked for 100 days in the year or less); only 1.1 per cent. had employment for over 300 days.¹

The research carried out on behalf of the Commission of Inquiry by the National Institute of Agricultural Economy added further data to the above statistical observations, and underlined first and foremost the pronounced seasonal fluctuations and the marked degree of underemployment in agriculture.²

The degree of underemployment arising out of the seasonal nature of the work alone has been calculated to average 15.3 per

¹ Cf. *Atti*, Vol. I, Book 1, p. 73.

² The manpower available in the categories employed in farming enterprises remains unused for an appreciable part of the year: in any event the employment curve for 92.9 per cent. of agricultural undertakings reveals a relative variability of more than 10 per cent. Only where there is intensive cultivation of several crops accompanied by stockbreeding is the problem of unbalance between labour available and labour actually employed reduced to the minimum, and in Italian agriculture such a system is rare. Peak employment is in June, and minimum employment in December; in June the percentage of man-hours worked exceeds those available by 12 per cent., whereas in December the percentage of hours not worked in terms of hours available is 36.8 per cent.

cent., which means that only 84.7 per cent. of the available manpower is utilised in Italian agriculture.¹ But an attempt was made by the investigators, in a survey of large and important agricultural areas of the country, to establish an annual balance-sheet between the manpower available and the manpower utilised. This balance-sheet shows that Italian agricultural workers are workless or unproductively employed for 94 man-days out of the 270-280 available in a year (34 per cent.); a third of the workers, therefore, theoretically supposing the other two-thirds to be fully employed, is unusable. These figures indicate one of the most conspicuous outward signs of labour inactivity in Italy—the pronounced underemployment of almost half the labour force of the nation, which constitutes the inexhaustible reserve of potential unemployed who flock into the urban centres and into industry.

Mobility of Manpower

Complementary investigations of lesser scope were conducted into the mobility of manpower and the situation of the labour market. Inelasticity of the labour market, which is typical of countries with a sluggish marketing economy, was found both in low geographic mobility and in low mobility from one trade to another and from one firm to another. In particular, the rate of labour turnover (the number of persons entering and leaving employment in relation to the average number employed) was ascertained in a few dozen business concerns covering 8 per cent. (235,000) of the persons employed in industrial undertakings. The turnover was shown to fluctuate in 1951 between 6.88 per cent. and 7.70 per cent. for wage earners and between 9.24 per cent. and 8.57 per cent. for salaried employees, the first figure representing the number entering employment and the second the number leaving employment during the year. These figures are very low (only one-fifth or one-sixth of the corresponding figures for the same periods in Great Britain or the United States) and reveal a striking inelasticity in the labour market.² It was also

¹ Underemployment is more pronounced on leasehold farms (23.6 per cent.) and less considerable in the share-cropping system (7.9 per cent.).

² Labour turnover is highest in mining and chemical concerns, lowest in the electrical, metallurgical and mechanical industries; it is higher in small business (up to 500 employees) than in medium or large concerns. The reasons for leaving employment were usually discharge (more than half of the cases) or resignation (one-third of the cases). (Cf. *Atti*, Vol. I, Book 1, pp. 185 ff.) Regarding the reasons for the unemployment (of those already employed), the inquiry noted a high percentage of discharges (46.4 per cent.); resignation accounted for only 3.3 per cent. The reasons of the unemployment of the remaining 50 per cent. were the closing down for the firm (14.8 per cent.), seasonal causes (16.3 per cent.), illness (3 per cent.) and various other reasons. (Cf. *Atti*, Vol. I, Book 1, p. 53.)

found that the geographical mobility of the population had fallen considerably since the first decades of the century and there was less movement from one trade to another, particularly on account of the insufficient general training of the unemployed and their inability to follow more than one trade. The low geographical mobility has its origin in legislation designed in the past to combat the rush to the cities by forbidding job applications from workers who had not been resident for a certain period in the commune in which they were seeking work: but it is also a consequence of the housing shortage brought about by wartime destruction and also of the fact that the worker is less inclined to move from one locality to another, especially if he is married.

While underemployment is widespread there is little double employment. It was particularly desired to ascertain, for example, how many persons enjoying pensions from the National Social Security Institution continued in employment. It was found that there were less than 200,000, i.e., 14 per cent. of the pensioners.

Another inquiry was undertaken to determine the importance of another phenomenon—the race for civil service jobs. Between 1945 and 1952 798,215 persons competed for 50,298 civil service posts in state administrations: that is, there were 16 candidates for every post available. It was noted that many candidates downgraded themselves voluntarily—a number of university graduates aspired to subordinate posts only.

Investigations into the Situation of the Unemployed

In the light of other sampling surveys we can now examine the economic conditions and the degree of vocational aptitude of the unemployed. The results of the research into the physical and psychological conditions of 2,724 unemployed persons carried out by the National Association for the Prevention of Accidents represent a noteworthy contribution to the study of the health and characteristics of the unemployed.¹ Medical tests established that 47.5 per cent. of the unemployed persons examined were ill (the organs particularly affected were the respiratory and cardiovascular systems); and that 40.7 per cent. were not fit for certain specific types of work (though only 11.44 per cent. were unfit for the work normally performed by them). In 13 per cent. of the cases unemployment was attributed to the subject's physical condition, and conversely it was found that unemployment had exerted an adverse influence on the physical condition of 8 per cent. of the unemployed. Eleven per cent. of the workers examined had never attended any kind of school, and the proportion of

¹ Cf. *Ahi*, Vol. I, Book 1, pp. 219 ff.

"inhibited" persons (particularly inert and introverted persons with torpid affectivity) was found to be ten times higher than in the normal population. A notable part of those examined (34-37 per cent.) showed pronounced maladjustment, i.e., lack of harmony between the particular type of work and the individual performing it, for objective reasons. There were subjective reasons for maladjustment in 55 per cent. of the cases (illness: 28 per cent.; vocational unpreparedness: 15 per cent.; accidents: 6 per cent.), a very high percentage.

Some 2,000 family budgets of unemployed persons were also collected and scrutinised by the Central Statistical Institution. Such budgets show that the average fortnightly spending of the families concerned is extremely low (22,125 lire, equivalent to 5,010 lire per person), but the average is far lower in the south, where expenditure per head is less than half that in the north. An analysis of the budgets reveals the high percentage spent on food (57.1 per cent.), which becomes much higher in the poorer families (in fact it forms 72.5 per cent. of total spending for families whose daily outlay is between 501 and 750 lire). The inquiry into the quality of foodstuffs consumed emphasised the scarcity of animal proteins and fats in the diet of unemployed families and their consequent malnutrition (10 per cent. below the basic diet on the average, but 21 per cent. below in certain regions in the south).

Unemployment Relief

A special working party concerned itself with the present system of unemployment relief in Italy and the possibilities of improving it. The State Insurance Institution computed that of the total number on the books of the employment exchanges in 1951 only one-tenth (10.37 per cent.) received unemployment benefit¹; however, a direct survey carried out through the placement offices gave even lower percentages², a fact that bears witness to the need—which was emphasised by the Commission's investigations—of a thorough re-examination of unemployment relief, of making it simpler and more systematic and of extending its scope. The existing machinery is extremely complex, and is made up of authorities that often overlap and hinder one another;

¹ If only unemployed persons with previous employment records are counted and agriculture is excluded, the percentage is doubled (20.34). It is higher in the south than in other regions.

² In the Ministry of Labour inquiry, which covered 1.3 million persons registered at the employment offices, only about 50,000 (i.e., one twenty-sixth) stated that they received unemployment benefit. (Cf. *Ahi*, Vol. I, Book 1, pp. 115 ff.)

moreover, it is not in a position to afford the relief that is clearly necessary. There should be only two institutions—compulsory unemployment insurance, which should be improved and made more extensive, and a less haphazard system of labour projects for the unemployed, which should be an integral and complementary part of the insurance in the interests of maintaining productivity. An increase in insurance benefits—at present kept within very rigid limits—also appears to be desirable, both as regards the duration and the amount of the benefits, with special reference to the family responsibilities of the insured.¹

THE CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN ITALY AND PROBABLE DEVELOPMENTS

An inquiry into unemployment should not only relate to the situation at a given period of time but should also include a historical survey to ascertain the immediate and more remote causes of the phenomenon and examine the expectations for the immediate future.

Of the historical causes the inquiry established a clear distinction between demographic and economic factors. As regards the former a definite increase was noted in the proportion of the population of working age over at least the last three decades. In the half-century from 1871 to 1921 the population of ten years of age or over increased at the annual rate of 6.9 per thousand, while the rate for the population between 15 and 65 years of age was 5.9 per thousand and for the total population 6.2 per thousand. The three rates of increase were thus much the same. In the following 30-year period (1921-51) the rate of increase for the total population was 7.7 per thousand, for the over-tens 8.8 per thousand, and for the population between 15 and 65 years of age 9 per thousand, i.e., almost one unit in 100 every year. This phenomenon became even more marked between 1936 and 1951, when, against a mean annual increase of 7.2 per thousand in the total population, the population aged ten years and over was increasing at the rate of 9.6 per thousand and the population between 15 and 65 years of age at the rate of 10.7 per thousand. Had the total population been subject to the same increase as the population of working age Italy would now have 2.8 million more inhabitants than it has; if the opposite phenomenon had occurred Italy would today have 1.7 million less manpower units (i.e., a figure approaching that of present-day unemployment). The reason is the gradual ageing of the popu-

lation¹, which is taking place with some intensity in Italy, just as it did in the countries of western and northern Europe at earlier periods. (The increase in the mean duration of life in Italy has been high in the last few decades, rising from 35.4 years in the period 1881-82 to 66.5 years in the period 1933-35.)

The rise in the proportion of the population of working age is linked with three other phenomena: workers show less ambition to work on their own account and prefer paid employment; women are trying more and more to enter the ranks of labour; and emigration to foreign countries is decreasing. All these factors have contributed to increase the supply of labour just at the time in the historical life of the country when there are fewer possibilities and less inclination to save and invest.

The economic causes may be summarised as, in addition to this lower capacity for investment and the reduced flow of international investments, the widespread destruction of material goods resulting from two wars, inflation and the policy of self-sufficiency, the slow development of agriculture and industry, the extremely low level of productivity of the human element, and a cumbrous government machine. To these must be added the bad habits contracted in the course of the long periods of inflation, the continued existence of undertakings of uneconomic size, the heavy burdens imposed by the needs of relief services, the lack of economic balance between one region and another (the southern problem) and between agriculture and industry, the obstacles to manpower mobility and the absence of a sound system of vocational guidance and training. More recent causes have aggravated matters: besides the repatriation of persons living in the colonies and former members of the armed forces, the transition from a policy of self-sufficiency to a policy of international, or at least European, co-operation has made necessary a gradual readjustment of the economic structure, and the process of mechanisation in the last three or four years has been stepped up, resulting in a saving of manpower for an equivalent level of production (the industrial production index is 40 per cent. higher than in 1938, while the number of employees has increased by only 5 per cent.).

¹ The age groups of the Italian population show the importance of this ageing process in the last half century:

Age group	1901	1951
14 and under.	34.1	26.3
15 to 49.	47.2	52.9
50 and above	18.7	21.8

The number of children has diminished by 22 per cent., whereas the number of elderly persons has increased by 16 per cent.

¹ Cf. *Atti*, Vol. II, Book 2, particularly the findings critical of the system in force (pp. 22 ff.) and the recommendations (pp. 27 ff.).

The inquiry has made it clear that the next four years will be particularly difficult, because the average annual increase in the labour force will remain high; some 300,000 persons seek every year to enter the system of production. Although this increase is due to fall between 1956 and 1960 to 172,000 (rising between 1961 and 1965 to 262,000 a year), and although one may assume that after 1970 the population of Italy will level off and remain stationary, the problem of the next four years is not easy to solve.

Estimates made in connection with the inquiry indicate that—assuming, very optimistically, a net annual emigration figure of 120,000—the increase in the numbers of workers available will be in the vicinity of at least 150,000 annually until 1955, and will then fall to some 80,000-85,000 in 1956 and 1957. The probable maximum absorption capacity of the Italian economic structure may be calculated, again at an optimistic estimate, as sufficient to enable these manpower recruits to be put to work, but in all likelihood that capacity will have no effect on the unemployment existing at the present time. The problem will therefore probably persist, especially if temporary unemployment of a technological character supervenes, or unemployment arising from cyclical fluctuations, a possibility that cannot be excluded. Further problems are therefore raised if an attempt is made to forestall the consequences either of profound changes in technical methods—which are desirable if it is intended to promote conditions favourable to an increase in the national income—or of currents of international economic depression, which must be reckoned with and which would cause a heavy influx of persons now resident abroad and a further restriction in the number of emigrants. The Committee of Inquiry was of the opinion that for both eventualities it was necessary to draw up in advance programmes that would meet all possible developments and that could be carried out speedily.

Finally, mention should be made of a series of investigations carried out with a view to determining which Italian industries were saturated or were becoming saturated, i.e., which would not, as far as could be judged, permit of a further intake of manpower, and those which were in process of expansion. This research showed the absolute saturation of agriculture¹, and in general of

¹ The percentages of the working population of Italy engaged in the various occupations has undergone the following variations in the last half century:

Year	Agriculture	Industry, transport	Commerce, banking, insurance	Miscellaneous trades and services	Civil Service
1901 . .	59.4	27.5	5.7	3.0	4.4
1951 . .	41.6	38.7	9.9	3.6	6.2

the traditional Italian industries (textiles, clothing and foodstuffs); even if there were an increase in consumption of the products of these industries, it could easily be met by the existing structure and existing manpower, especially if the process of modernisation that is already under way is continued. It seems on the other hand that certain capital goods or durable consumer goods industries and above all the "service" occupations (tertiary activities) have room for development, even to the extent of employing additional manpower. According to Leontieff's theory Italian industry (in the strict sense of the word) can increase its production by 100 per cent. with an increase of only 15 per cent. of the persons at present employed; on that basis it was calculated that Italian industry (again in the strict sense of the word) could absorb not more than 230,000 additional units in the next four years (an increase of 6.3 per cent.).

THE FINDINGS OF THE INQUIRY AND THE PROBLEMS BROUGHT TO LIGHT

The results of the inquiry may be summarised as follows:

(1) Visible unemployment, great though it is, is only one of the aspects of a more complex but clearly discernible evil which in Italy, especially during the last four decades, has been singularly persistent. Agriculture is the branch of production in which hidden unemployment is most pronounced, whereas in industry there is more visible unemployment. Labour inactivity is encountered in various degrees and in varying forms: first and foremost in the low ratio of working population to total population, next in the formation of large reserves of young people who have not yet found employment, accompanied by an appreciable unabsorbed supply of female labour and by an increase in the number of workers who were formerly self-employed, and finally in underemployment (mainly in agriculture) and unemployment in the strict sense (mainly in industry), which exceeds to a considerable extent the limits of frictional unemployment.

(2) The underlying causes of this labour inactivity are demographic and economic in character; they are not attributable to the aftermath of the last war alone, but can be traced back through almost the whole of the last four decades. Partly they are to be found in a demographic cycle typical of the history of Italy, partly in organic and functional defects in the country's economy. Hence they are only partially removable, and in any event only by means of a long and systematic effort extending over at least a generation, while the country is simultaneously approaching a period of popu-

lation stability that will be reached from 1970 onwards. From the standpoint of the economic structure the long accumulation of causes of unemployment and underemployment calls for a systematic long-term programme for the improvement of the general conditions having a bearing on efficiency and the output of commercial undertakings rather than temporary policies of distributing work as a form of relief.

(3) The immediate causes of labour inactivity in Italy are those that relate to the transition—after a long period of striving for self-sufficiency—to a period of free exchange, the reconversion of war factories and the mechanisation and modernisation of the means of production, which became more marked after 1948 and 1949. To such profound modifications in the economic structure of Italy—the effects of which will become more and more pronounced for a few years in the event of a speed-up in the transition towards European integration and an increase in the possibilities of an economy with large markets—must be added the increasing difficulties in migratory movements overseas and the increased supply of labour consequent on the return of former members of the armed forces and the repatriation of the Italians in Africa.

(4) The typical symptoms of labour inactivity were observed not merely in the high degree of basic unemployment (at least two-thirds of the non-seasonal unemployment on the registers, the other third being attributable to frictional unemployment) but also in the disclosure of widespread underemployment in agriculture (more than a third of the rural population was found to be redundant to the rational requirements of production), which continually creates a reservoir of potential unemployed in industry and service occupations (at least 40,000-50,000 persons every year forsake agriculture and offer their services in the secondary and tertiary activities). The important part played by the activities bound up with agriculture and the building industry in Italy makes for great irregularity during the year in the employment of at least half the labour force. Moreover the low average income induces the persons with most initiative and ability to accept more than one job or to continue working after the age of 65.

(5) This inactivity of labour is evidenced by a visible inelasticity in inter-factory mobility because of the reluctance of employed workers to change their employment; by an extremely heavy flow of applications for posts in the civil service and the large firms; by the re-emergence of tendencies to limit migration to the larger cities; and by the exodus from the mountainous and hilly regions, where earning possibilities are becoming more and more limited on account of the growth of the population. Among the secondary

symptoms are the low levels of skill among persons in employment, the lack of encouragement to acquire a sound vocational training and the virtual disappearance of the apprenticeship system, together with the growing aspiration for "safe" jobs without the stimulus of incentives resulting from opportunities of changing employment, which make possible the best utilisation of individual talent. Another typical phenomenon is that of the abundance of makeshift trades, the unhealthy increase in certain "services"; and finally the short life of many businesses which are too small to be economic and which dissipate the limited capital available in the country for sound investment.

(6) The technical work of the Committee also revealed the very low geographical mobility of labour in spite of the great variations in population trends in the various regions (the south is prolific, while in the north the situation is, demographically speaking, closer to that in France), and the almost total lack of mobility between one trade and another, precisely in a period of far-reaching technical change and of saturation in the old consumer goods industries. It may seem strange that, with such large numbers of persons seeking work, mobility should decrease when theoretically it ought to increase: but the results of the inquiry confirm the conclusion that the Italian labour market is exceptionally rigid, and this has a harmful effect on the national economy.

(7) These manifestations of labour inactivity are more often found in underdeveloped countries than in countries with a long history of industrialisation: they partly account for the low individual income of the Italian, and show the necessity for intense efforts to increase productivity and improve the machinery of production. Thus they have a bearing on the entire problem of the country's economic policy.

CONCLUSIONS

The inquiry has not merely thrown light on the principal circumstantial causes of Italian unemployment, and in particular of the serious evil of underemployment, but has also made it clear that the unemployment in Italy can be only partly explained by demographic evolution and that it is not, as in some highly industrialised countries, simply the result of the present economic situation; the problem is above all one of structure. The solutions that are called for are therefore not those that would suggest themselves were the unemployment of a pre-eminently transitory kind, for example a temporary increase in world demand.

On the other hand the inquiry has demonstrated—in the author's personal opinion—that measures to limit the local availability of labour (measures or suggestions designed to bring about an appreciable reduction in the birth rate, to increase emigration, to prevent women from applying for paid employment or to lower the retiring age) can have but little influence in practice; at the same time it is above all necessary to carry out far-reaching and lasting improvements in the income-earning capacities of the country, especially by improving the vocational training system and by augmenting (by means of long-term loans from abroad) the capital resources of all aspects of production. The importance of such investments (the inquiry established that an average investment of 3 to 4 million lire per head of population was necessary) may be estimated at 3,000 to 4,000 million lire for every thousand employable persons now unemployed, that is to say, at approximately 4 to 6 million dollars, to be drawn largely from the savings of foreign countries over an adequate period. From the viewpoint of the quantities of necessary capital alone, this would make it possible—assuming a careful selection of the enterprises in which the capital would be invested—to make provision for the “basic” unemployment which could otherwise hardly be eliminated without a considerable fall in the already low standard of living of the Italian population.

But at the same time it is also necessary to reduce frictional unemployment and to try to reduce the large seasonal fluctuations in the demand for labour in Italy. This can be brought about not only by a decisive improvement in mobility from one place to another, from one trade to another and from one firm to another (by compensating the costs of transfers and removals) but also by an up-to-date and more extensive system of general and vocational education, by establishing a sound system of vocational guidance, by a more efficient placement service, and by the encouragement of new forms of apprenticeship; finally, it can be brought about by introducing suitable agricultural-industrial activities in order to reduce seasonal variations as far as is compatible with modern technical requirements and by giving free play in the markets to the forces of supply and demand.

(Translated from the Italian.)

Productivity and the Trade Unions in France

by

René RICHARD

The benefits to be gained by increasing productivity would appear to be generally recognised today. It is not possible, however, to increase productivity without the support of labour, and the attitude of the unions towards productivity questions is therefore all important. In the following article Mr. René Richard discusses the attitude of the leading French unions. After an account of the discussions and disputes concerning productivity questions that have taken place within the trade union movement in France since the war he states the principles agreed on for combined action by the unions and describes the joint organisations established to promote higher productivity and the Trade Union Centre for the Study of Productivity set up in July 1951 by the three French confederations of free trade unions. He also describes a number of experiments made in different industries by agreement between the official productivity bodies and the unions concerned.

Mr. Richard, who is a member of the Economic Council and General Secretary of the National Federation of Engineers and Senior Supervisory Staff (C.G.T.-Force Ouvrière), was vice-chairman of the French Association for Higher Productivity and founder-chairman of the Trade Union Centre for the Study of Productivity. He also took part in the Meeting of Experts on Productivity in Manufacturing Industries organised by the I.L.O. in December 1952, whose conclusions were reproduced in the Review.¹

INTRODUCTION

IN view of the present controversy—often heated—about the economic and social problems associated with the term “productivity” and the efforts of the International Labour Organisation to demonstrate and safeguard the advantages that high productivity can offer to all workers, it would appear appropriate

¹ See “Practical Methods of Increasing Productivity in Manufacturing Industries”, in *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXII, No. 4, Apr. 1953, p. 317.

to present to readers of the *International Labour Review* an outline of ideas and achievements in this domain in France since the war. During this period leaders of the free trade union organisations—the C.G.T.-*Force Ouvrière*, the French Confederation of Christian Workers (C.F.T.C.), and the General Confederation of Supervisors (C.G.C.)—and of the National Council of French Employers (C.N.P.F.) have been trying to work together on a national productivity programme. In addition, the workers' unions themselves have set up a joint technical centre for experiment and research.

One thing must be noted from the outset. When we first started work five years ago and gave our first lectures we met with no opposition but only complete indifference. Here, at least, there has been definite progress, and the problems raised by productivity have led a number of our colleagues to express some interesting opinions differing from our own. The workers are now definitely productivity conscious. As a trade unionist who witnessed and even took part in this development, I should like to recall a few of the more important happenings.

Workers have long been opposed to productivity. They are naturally suspicious of what for many years remained a hazy concept which threatened, by its very vagueness, to lead to exploitation. There has certainly been more than one example of such exploitation, and the instances that could be quoted have done much, perhaps more than any theory, to heighten the suspicion of the union leaders. But, however justified this attitude may formerly have been, most workers' organisations in France have now abandoned it. The reasons are not far to seek. First of all, great efforts have been made to give a clear and better definition of what is meant by productivity, so that it is now clear what is to be understood and accepted regarding the aims and methods put forward. In an age that recognises that social advance must be given the full support of economic progress the aim is to achieve a general increase in prosperity and welfare with the same factors of production as before, but by putting them to better use, not in the interests of one section of the community to the detriment of others but in the interests of the community as a whole and more particularly of those responsible for the increase in productivity, including the workers. The methods adopted do not impose an increased effort on the workers but are intended to increase the efficiency and hence the results of their effort by improving the circumstances in which it is exerted and applied, i.e., by better conditions of work and scientific management. The generally accepted practice of giving workers' representatives a say in the way these methods are applied affords a reasonable

guarantee that their interests will be taken into due account and that the consequences of higher productivity will be generally to their advantage. The representatives are there to see that the workers share in the advantages and are protected from any possible disadvantages, such as technological unemployment, and to ensure that full employment is maintained.

With such aims and methods, increased productivity will certainly benefit both the workers and the community in general, and workers' organisations should consequently help to further it. The General Confederation of Labour, however, persists in its opposition. According to its leaders it is idle for the workers to expect advantages from productivity without a radical change in the economic structure of the country. In a capitalist system, they maintain, the raising of productivity can only mean the exploitation of the working class; it steps up the rhythm of their work and simply leads to increased profits, while social subjugation and the unrelieved impoverishment of the working class continue to increase.

Entirely different reasons were behind the recent withdrawal of the C.G.T.-F.O. from the bodies set up jointly by the unions to work on productivity problems. It did not condemn the principle of productivity but rejected—by a small majority—some of the ways in which it is applied. After heated discussion the National Congress in November 1952 passed a motion by 5,193 votes to 4,327, with 1,422 abstentions, calling for the withdrawal of the C.G.T.-F.O. representatives from the Trade Union Centre for the Study of Productivity and all other agencies from which the Confederation failed to obtain certain guarantees, i.e., from the French Association for Higher Productivity and the National Productivity Board. The guarantees in question concerned the system of awarding productivity bonuses, which, the Congress claimed, should be covered by special works agreements, to be included automatically in a collective agreement. The Congress also resolved that no such special agreement should be signed unless a collective agreement was already being applied along the lines laid down by the unions concerned. The disagreement was thus over methods of application only and not over the principle of increased productivity, which the C.G.T.-F.O. has supported from the beginning. The following passage appeared in a document of the organisation on "The Foundations of an Economic and Social Programme".

It is essential for the working class to associate itself with productivity problems. Without the co-operation of the workers these problems cannot be examined nor a practical solution found. But the working class demands safeguards, and these will have to be forthcoming.

First of all the profits derived from higher productivity must be shared out in order to provide an incentive to the workers to co-operate. The principal factors in increased productivity are the tools and methods used.... Wage earners are ready to face up to their responsibilities—they demand that they should be allowed to do so. What they need is training and more extensive technical and general education, so that they can play their part with a maximum of efficiency.¹

The C.F.T.C. adopts a similar attitude in its support of productivity. In the general report submitted to the National Congress in 1951 the General Secretary, Mr. Maurice Bouladoux, wrote as follows :

To break the vicious circle of wages and prices it has often been urged that productivity should be increased. We have no rooted opposition to this attitude, for without parallel progress in average and over-all production there can be no chance of raising the average standard of living of the population. However, while we recognise that this is a necessary preliminary, we do not regard it as sufficient.

The report then goes on to quote the conditions advocated by the National Congress in June 1950, which include the immediate participation of the workers in the benefits of higher output and the preparation of various programmes that they are ready to discuss, particularly in connection with the investments made by undertakings.²

Recently a violent debate in the National Congress of the C.F.T.C. on the same subject that had been discussed in the C.G.T.-F.O. ended on 24 May 1953 with a directly opposite decision. Those in favour of the C.F.T.C. continuing to be represented on the three bodies defeated a motion calling for withdrawal by 1,601 votes to 983.

At its National Congress held on 30 and 31 May 1953 the C.G.C. reaffirmed its belief in the need for a productivity policy prepared and applied by managements and wage earners jointly.

THE PRINCIPLES OF COMBINED TRADE UNION ACTION

It is our conviction that productivity has to be raised if there is to be any increase in the national revenue and the workers are to receive a greater share in it. There are, however, only two ways of increasing production. The first is for managements to invest additional capital, modernise their plant and increase their potential output. The second is for every undertaking to reorganise its working methods and then make work-studies, check to see how

¹ See C.G.T.-F.O., Second Congress of the Confederation, 1950 : *Rapports Confédéraux*, pp. 93 ff.

² See C.F.T.C., 26th National Congress : *Rapport moral*, pp. 53 ff.

long machinery is idle and eliminate all unnecessary movement. In any productivity programme a reorganisation of this kind must take account of the comments of the staff, who should be generously rewarded by a share in the benefits resulting from their own ideas. If this latter method is successful, there is no further problem to be solved. If it fails and the workers are against this policy, it means that wages have not been sufficiently increased. The workers have a feeling that their employers are making excess profits from their efforts, and the only result of the policy is to disappoint the workers.

Admittedly it would not be an easy matter to increase the purchasing power of wages threefold or fourfold to bring it up to the level of the United States worker. We realise that crops and mineral resources in France are neither as plentiful nor as varied as in the United States, but we nevertheless hope that in a few years' time the position will have considerably improved with the development of the territories in Africa. We also believe that, in scientific management, we could catch up fairly quickly if we met with understanding and a readiness for change among employers and the Government.

Unlike many others we believe that the development of scientific management needs closely watching and that in the rapidly changing economy of the modern world we have to show our readiness to defend our legitimate interests by efficient and intelligent technical action, and by facing employers with able workers' representatives capable of discussing productivity problems with them on an equal footing.

The present standard of living in France is so low, however, that workers are in general sceptical and pessimistic when we present them with this vision of the future. Only too often their material difficulties are impossible to overcome, and they see no conceivable way out. They are ready to accept whatever solutions they are offered, preferably the most naïve or radical. In such circumstances can any attempt at a fairer distribution of a still inadequate national revenue hope to instil a feeling of confidence into the working population of the country ?

Some believe that France's economic and social problems can be solved only by structural reforms involving a complete change in present practices, including methods of management, and by assigning entirely new tasks to each of the parts that make up the undertaking.

We do not deny the importance of this question, but feel bound to propose a solution that can be applied at once rather than in the distant future. Our solution in no way precludes a revision of the existing system and will meantime give new life to the economy.

The solution we propose is an increase in productivity, an idea over-rated by some and under-estimated by others. We shall, however, try to consider it objectively. We do not believe in the magic formula of revolution. Even when the form and membership of a government and the colour of the national flag have been changed the needs of the population have still to be satisfied. Questions of raw materials and processing arise at once, and these are difficult to solve. The immediate result of a revolution is a drop in output, and production remains at the lower level for a long time before beginning to recover. Is it necessary to run this risk when there are other possibilities of improving the standard of living of the working people? The example of the United States is proof enough.

We hold that, in order to achieve our aims, we must always be represented at any discussion of the economic and social problems that affect our future in order to defend the workers' interests to the utmost. We cannot agree to productivity programmes being introduced unless we are there to supervise their application. Our aim has been to set up collective institutions and make joint experiments in order to ensure that the workers take their proper place and are given a fair share. These institutions and experiments have not been confined to workers' unions alone; employer groups have also taken part. Productivity problems offer common ground for equitable agreement between workers and employers, as may be seen from the following extracts from an article published by the National Council of French Employers (C.N.P.F.):

Irrespective of whether higher productivity is the result of improved and modernised equipment or of better organisation of work in the undertaking, its effects are greatly dependent on the willingness of the whole staff to participate in the common effort.

The necessary confidence and agreement will be more readily given if the heads of undertakings, recognising their responsibilities and duties, bring their staff to realise that wage earners benefit threefold from any progress that is made: they benefit directly through higher wages, they benefit as consumers through lower prices, and they benefit indirectly through investments which safeguard production for the future and make for greater security of employment.

This brings me to the principle of sharing the benefits of productivity. I very definitely maintain, as I have always done, that to share these benefits among the undertaking, the staff and the consumers is not only an imperative act of justice; it is essential to efficiency

Save in what we can only hope are most exceptional cases, where the benefits of productivity have to be devoted entirely to the upkeep of the undertaking and the maintenance of the level of employment, it must obviously, in normal cases, lead to higher wages. Such increases, however, must be clearly distinguished from increases to meet the rising cost of living or to compensate for greater individual effort. The direct interest of the workers in an increase in productivity is essential to success and is

obviously indispensable if the undertaking is to work in an atmosphere of harmony. . . .

In conclusion I should like to mention the effects of productivity on the problem of employment. Generally speaking, increased productivity, which is one way of expanding the national economy, implies a certain mobility of manpower, and the periods of unemployment which may occasionally result—to be carefully distinguished from the unemployment resulting from a crisis—are never likely to be long. In any event the national economy is capable, in such a case, of bearing the additional burden of assistance to those who have to readapt themselves.

The first duty of the management of any undertaking is to watch the consequences upon employment of any considerable increase in productivity. Only on this condition will the necessary spirit of co-operation be maintained.

It must therefore consider the probable effects of any such improvement on employment and, as far as possible, make the necessary arrangements to avoid dismissals, particularly by transfers within the undertaking.

Where dismissals cannot be avoided, the necessary action should be taken gradually and the workers affected should be warned. Every effort should be made to find them other employment, preferably in the same area.¹

THE JOINT INSTITUTIONS

The Tripartite Bodies

The initiative in the new policy came from those concerned, i.e., the employers and wage earners, who decided to work together to their mutual advantage. Having the same objective, they undertook to organise a series of lectures for the first members of the missions going across the Atlantic to see at first hand the industrial achievements and trade union organisation of the land of productivity. A private association known as the French Association for Higher Productivity (A.F.A.P.) was founded with Government support. A few months later a National Productivity Board was set up under the chairmanship of the Minister of Economic Affairs. These institutions, which are tripartite on the model of the I.L.O., soon established a number of committees which prepared the foundations for a policy which, we hoped, would produce a veritable revolution in the traditional relationships between wage earners and employers.

The Trade Union Centre

The workers' unions then set up the Trade Union Centre for the Study of Productivity. In so doing the workers themselves provided the facilities they needed for research and prepared their legitimate economic claims in the assertive and constructive spirit of modern trade unionism.

¹ G. VILLIERS, in *Bulletin du C.N.P.F.*, 5 Nov. 1952.

The Original Idea.

The French workers who went to the United States as members of study missions under the American Technical Assistance Programme to Europe were struck by the great difference between living and working conditions in the United States and in France. The trade unionists in particular were surprised to see how far the American workers' unions had developed technical services¹ to keep them informed of all production problems so that union representatives could be fully briefed for their discussions with the management and so obtain better conditions for those they represented. Having this assurance that their members would share in the advantages of increased productivity, the unions were ready to co-operate in any scheme to raise production or to lower costs by means of better scientific management or working methods.

This gave French trade unionists the idea of setting up "an institution similar to the technical services of American trade unions to supervise standards and scientific management in industrial undertakings". It was in these words that, as founder-chairman of the Centre, I described the new institution. There was a need, according to Mr. R. Bothereau, General Secretary of the C.G.T.-F.O., for "facilities for studying how productivity can be improved and how such an improvement can benefit the workers". Mr. Maurice Bouladoux, the General Secretary of the French Confederation of Christian Workers, affirmed that his organisation wished to help in the productivity drive "in order that social progress may continue without detriment to the stability of the national currency and the balance of the national economy, i.e., in order to achieve high wage levels coupled with a higher standard of living and a reduction of human effort". Mr. Malterre, General Secretary of the General Confederation of Supervisors, stated that in his opinion "the unions had to be given immediate technical assistance and, in addition, active unionists had to be trained in all the technical problems raised by productivity so that they could handle this new conception of the defence of wage earners' interests as soon as possible".

The Joint Programme.

The Trade Union Centre for the Study of Productivity was set up on 25 July 1951, when the three workers' confederations published a joint programme in which they agreed to study productivity problems and put forward joint solutions.

¹ Cf. Solomon BARKIN: "The Technical Engineering Service of an American Trade Union", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXI, No. 6, June 1950.

This programme, which outlined the essential tasks of the Centre, read as follows:

The three confederations of free trade unions, the French Confederation of Christian Workers, the General Confederation of Supervisors and the C.G.T.-*Force Ouvrière*¹, have jointly established a Trade Union Centre for the Study of Productivity (C.I.E.R.P.) in the form of a non-profit-making association.

The association is composed of 12 members (four for each confederation). It appoints its own steering committee of three members (one for each confederation), which is responsible for the study and research work, once the programme has been approved by the board of management.

It is interesting to note that this body is the first of its kind in France and probably in Europe. As the American experiment, the only precedent of which we are aware, has met with particular success the three confederations feel that some similar experiment should be tried in France. It is not intended as a slavish imitation—the idea is to adapt tried and tested principles to the pattern of French life.

Admittedly it would have been more logical to set up specialised services for each branch of industry, but material limitations precluded any such solution.

We feel that the work of the Centre should be mainly concentrated on practical research and the development of pilot undertakings.

The Centre intends to take account of any practical and theoretical work and research that has already been done within its field and to see that practical use is made of any work or system that is compatible with trade union principles.

The caution shown by the three trade union confederations will make it easier to ensure the atmosphere necessary for the experiments. Unless the workers and supervisory staff are ready to co-operate, the best theories are inevitably doomed to total or partial failure.

In our practical research we shall endeavour to compare a number of different undertakings marketing similar products at comparable prices. We propose to investigate their working conditions, atmosphere, hours of work and hourly wage rates. It is certain that appreciable differences will be found, showing that workers are employed in widely varying conditions and at very different rates.

It is our intention to bring out and analyse these differences and to suggest ways of improving the most unsatisfactory working conditions as rapidly as possible.

Our practical work will be especially concentrated on establishing good relations between managements and staff. Our suggestions will be forwarded to the unions concerned in the three confederations. It will be for them to call for these suggestions to be put into effect in undertakings where the work is badly organised. The agreement of the three confederations on the methods to be used will make for unity of action in pressing their suggestions.

The results obtained will be widely publicised, so that other undertakings will be induced to adopt new and better methods, which will not only increase output but also benefit the workers. This publicity will be of as much advantage to the managements concerned as to the workers.

No one will deny the urgent need to raise the standard of living of the workers by increasing wages and reducing prices. The effect of such action

¹ At its last Congress (see p. 281) the C.G.T.-F.O. decided to withdraw all its representatives, including the author of this article, from the Centre.

will be to expand the national economy by increasing both production and consumption.

Some explanation should be given of what we mean by pilot undertakings. These are undertakings in which the working conditions, equipment and organisation of the work are such that they set an example to the occupations concerned. It will be remembered that pilot undertakings of this type are part of the general programme of the National Productivity Board.

The experiments we intend to make throughout the country require the active co-operation of the public authorities, workers and employers. We feel it is superfluous to stress the moral, social, economic and political benefits which would result if these experiments were successful and were generally applied.

Our objective is not a systematic campaign for the opening of new undertakings. The establishment of a pilot undertaking necessarily implies that the management has agreed to the experiment because it understands the importance of our project and the material and moral advantages that can reasonably be expected.

To avoid dissipating our efforts we shall restrict our activities to the finishing stages in manufacturing undertakings and to a number of distribution firms. We shall preferably select undertakings in industries whose production is at present socially important.

An experiment of this kind has to be conducted with the greatest care. We believe that it is desirable to select an undertaking of medium size situated in an industrial centre, so that the value of the demonstration can be fully evident to other managements and workers.

In order to have an atmosphere favourable to the experiment, it is desirable that the majority of the workers should be members of unions affiliated to the three confederations; any of the staff not belonging to a union should understand the need for a campaign for higher productivity.

Our first experiments must be primarily designed to prove our case and must be spectacular enough to encourage others to adopt our methods.

Our assistance to undertakings will aim at spreading a wider knowledge of the methods best suited to achieve our purposes among workers, supervisory staff and heads of undertakings.

With the help of French or foreign specialists we shall also be able to offer advice on purely technical problems as well as questions of equipment, management and staff relations.

The interest of the workers in increased productivity will be established in every contract by clauses guaranteeing that their standard of living will be raised by means of fairly calculated increments in the form of wage increases, bonuses, dividends and so on. Only if this is done will the workers be ready to co-operate by helping to create an atmosphere in which production is likely to increase and by encouraging the works committee to work confidently with the management.

In the event of any disagreement a person selected by common accord between the parties may be called upon to act as referee.

It is possible that in the short run a general productivity policy will result in a slight amount of technological unemployment, and this problem should be given close attention. Apart from the regrettable psychological effect that such unemployment would inevitably have upon the workers, it might seriously jeopardise the efforts of the Centre by arousing the workers' opposition to any technical advance.

The extent to which the Centre will be able to assume its full responsibilities will depend on how far a solution can be found to unemployment of this kind.

The problem can be solved if there is sufficient co-operation between the public authorities, the trade union representatives of each of the three confederations and the employers in the branch of industry in which the pilot undertaking operates.

We shall deliberately limit our activities at first, but we should be able to expand them without much difficulty as soon as we have shown that tangible results can be obtained even in the present economic situation and that co-operation is possible between workers and employers if both sides are ready to admit that the common effort can offer each of them a fair share in the profits of the undertaking.

The principles briefly stated above will be constantly reviewed, and will be improved in the light of what we observe. We are already convinced, however, that genuine co-operation between managements and workers can yield satisfactory results for both.

If we organise our demonstration on a wide enough scale, it will greatly contribute to the country's economic development and social peace.

The purpose of the Centre was defined more exactly by the confederations which established it as—

to advise trade union organisations of all measures to—

- (a) share the benefits of productivity among wage earners, consumers and producers in an equitable manner;
- (b) improve technical and material conditions of work;
- (c) guarantee full employment;
- (d) equip and modernise undertakings in order to reduce workers' fatigue;
- (e) lower costs and prices.

The Initial Work of the Centre.

During its first seven months the Centre studied various methods of work and systems of remuneration designed to increase productivity; at the same time practical experiments were carried out in undertakings.

The experts working for the Centre devoted particular attention to various ways of relating productivity to wages, in order to determine which gave the greatest satisfaction from both the technical and human standpoints. In these activities, which will help to give the workers a greater share in the advantages of increased productivity, they were supported by the trade union confederations.

Over the same period the productivity experiments of several undertakings were being closely followed by the Centre, which offered its assistance to the workers taking part. In the foundries, for example, officials from the Centre had talks with the employers to discuss the possible effects of the experiments on wages, vocational training and employment, and also suggested a bonus system. In the textile industry a number of employers' and

workers' organisations called upon the Centre to join them in a concerted effort to increase productivity.

Other activities are being planned, and some are already being organised. In the words of the report on the proceedings at the 1952 seminar, one of the Centre's most interesting achievements, "the objectives we have set out to achieve, with the help of all who wish to banish poverty and unemployment, is to render work more human, less arduous and, if possible, more attractive, to induce the workers in every undertaking to play an increasingly important part in the life of the establishment and to improve the standard of living of the population by raising wages and lowering costs".

Preparations for the Seminar.

Before the seminar was held a general questionnaire was sent to the 750 workers who had taken part in the study missions to the United States. This questionnaire covered 220 undertakings and a total of 500,000 workers. Its object was to obtain an honest opinion of what action had been taken in France and with what results, as well as of the nature and extent of any obstacles to increased productivity, with particular reference to the incentives offered to the staff to take an interest in the prosperity of the undertaking and the extent to which this policy was of advantage to consumers. The arguments for and against productivity had been frequently discussed in various quarters, but no reliable evidence had been available to either side since no investigations had been made. Irrespective of the arguments advanced, the impression left by this extremely detailed survey would seem to be the following:

in many undertakings and establishments the steps taken to increase productivity necessitated bringing the equipment up to date, which shows the importance of investment and the necessary capital;

in a considerable number of the undertakings covered, productivity programmes have resulted in improved conditions of work materially, technically, psychologically and socially;

wage earners have rarely benefited directly from any increase in productivity;

increased productivity has been of little advantage to consumers, and the slight advantage recorded was apparent only after a very long period;

though productivity programmes have led to very few dismissals, trade unionists are almost unanimous in their fear of unemployment, which is consequently still their principal objection.

A number of interesting reports were drafted for the seminar held on 24 and 25 May 1952, and invitations to attend were sent to all trade unionists who had taken part in productivity missions to the United States.

Mr. Georges Levard, Deputy General Secretary of the C.F.T.C., tried in his general report to define the trade unions' attitude towards productivity. The workers, he maintained in substance, are ready to assist in raising productivity, provided they are allowed to share in the benefits. "The Director-General of the International Labour Office", he stated, "feels as we do that a generally acceptable productivity programme must be conceived as part of a far wider policy than that of taking technical action and no more; that has been done already and, from the social standpoint, has yielded the negative results that we mentioned earlier". This being so, the possibility should be considered of paying bonuses for increased productivity, thus raising the purchasing power of workers' wages and at the same time giving them a fair share in the benefits deriving from the increase. These bonuses "must be collective, additional to normal wages, specified in the contracts, verified and fair". It is for the Centre to suggest a satisfactory system which answers these requirements and which can take its place in a general policy covering wages and prices, employment and production.

Discussions and Conclusions of the Seminar.¹

All these questions were broached during the debates on productivity methods in the United States and the difficulty of applying them to industry in France. The report prepared by the Centre from the replies to its questionnaire of those who had taken part in the productivity missions was taken as a basis for discussing "how and in what circumstances the productivity of undertakings can be a factor in social and human progress". Five committees were set up. The first, on higher earnings for workers, recommended that systems of collective increments should be applied, provided that they are not a compensation for insufficient basic earnings or a repetition of already existing output bonuses. The committee on full employment studied the general factors affecting full employment in the United States, and suggested that an independent national fund should be set up to cover the risks of technological unemployment. The three subcommittees of the third committee dealt with conditions of work, works committees and supervisory staff. The committee on undertakings and investments stressed that "for the workers, investments are an assurance of a better future" and demanded that "such investments should be balanced, supervised and guided by 'joint productivity centres'".

¹ See *Industry and Labour*, Vol. IX, Nos. 11-12, 1 and 15 June 1953, pp. 351-352. See also the C.I.E.R.P. booklet *Productivité mais... plein emploi et niveau de vie* (Paris), from which the subsequent quotations and extracts have been taken.

not only within the industry itself but also throughout industry in general and at the national level". The fifth committee discussed technical implementation and lower prices for consumers.

The conclusions of the seminar were summarised in its report as follows :

1. Additional remuneration varying with productivity in each undertaking should be added to the normal wages fixed by collective agreements. Such remuneration should be contractual.
2. Technical changes must improve material conditions of work and must not lead to dismissals.
3. Full exchange of information by both sides and the training of employees and upgrading of the best of them are an essential condition for the assumption of increased responsibility by the workers in the undertaking or in the trade.
4. The initiative in increasing productivity in each industry should be taken by occupational productivity centres.
5. Judicious tax reforms, a single, compulsory accounting system, a realistic credit policy and planned investments should enable the means of production to be developed in harmony with increasing needs.
6. Technical progress should lead to lower costs and lower prices.

PRODUCTIVITY EXPERIMENTS AND STUDY GROUPS

Meanwhile the productivity experiments, backed by official productivity institutions and sponsored by the trade unions concerned, had won considerable favour with wage earners.

The Experiment in the Foundries

The first experiment, conducted in the foundries, was planned in 1951 during an inter-occupational mission. It set out to "enable every foundry to increase productivity with the help of the entire staff, the workers sharing in the benefits resulting from improvements".

The undertakings which were to be the scene of the experiment were selected by the employers' association. The ten concerns involved were taken from different branches of the industry (cast steel, aluminium, etc.), the numbers on their staffs ranging from 125 to 1,500. A further 20 undertakings, ten of them in the Paris area and the remainder in eastern France, began a similar experiment in June 1953.

Employer Commitments.

Trade unionists were associated with the preliminary work in their personal capacities and attended a meeting held to give managements and supervisors an insight into what was being

planned. With their agreement the heads of undertakings took the following decisions :

1. Employers would undertake that no reduction in staff would result from the experiment.
2. A general talk on the experiment would be given personally by each employer to the works committee, the representatives of the staff and the whole staff.
3. In each undertaking training courses would be organised by the engineers, supervisors and a considerable proportion of the workers.
4. Any wage earner making a suggestion that was finally adopted would be rewarded with a bonus equal to one-third of the annual saving made as a result of his suggestion. Any good suggestion that was not finally adopted would be rewarded with a bonus of 1,000 francs. In this case the responsible official would explain to the worker why his idea had not been taken up. In addition, bonuses of 1,000 to 5,000 francs would be paid for suggestions that did not result in any saving but made for greater safety or comfort for the staff.
5. Any worker whose output had improved would have his piece rates or hourly rates increased by a proportion to be fixed.
6. Lastly, a general productivity bonus would be granted to the entire staff of every pilot undertaking. The details would be discussed within the undertaking, but the basis would be the total output of the undertaking divided by the total number of wage earners on the staff.

As regards the fourth point it is difficult to draw a clear dividing line between improvements recommended by technical and efficiency experts and those suggested by the staff, for the effect of all of them is simultaneous and cumulative. Nevertheless the following is an attempt to show the origin of improvements recorded or expected in three different undertakings (in so far as such improvements can be expressed in figures).

	Suggestions by the staff	Recommendations	
		Efficiency experts	Technical experts
Undertaking "A"	% 21	% 28	% 51
" " "B"	16	21	63
" " "C"	45	14	41

Results from the Employers' Point of View.

The improvements fall into three categories—those already introduced, those in course of introduction and those still under study. It may be interesting to quote some figures in illustration of the financial implications. A total annual saving of more than 150 million francs can be attributed to these improvements for the ten foundries taking part in the experiment, the savings of the individual undertakings ranging from 1 million to 53 million francs.

The saving per head of staff varies between 3,000 and 82,000 francs, with an average of 30,000 francs for the undertakings as a whole. Improvements already introduced or in course of introduction alone account for two-thirds of these amounts.

A number of other improvements have been equally important, though their effects are impossible to estimate directly; their influence may, in many cases, be limited to the quality of the goods produced. Some of them, sooner or later, have an influence on production costs, e.g., improved machinery and tools, better upkeep, more efficient layout, closer checks on sands and metals, greater production capacity and, in some foundries, reductions in stocks.

Other improvements affect quality and delivery schedules and so influence productivity in the industries that depend upon the foundries for their raw materials, e.g., improved quality and appearance, quicker supply and more reliable delivery dates.

Finally, improvements in material working conditions affect the general atmosphere of an undertaking.

The amount of additional capital invested as a result of recommendations or suggestions varied with the undertakings from 1.5 to 13 per cent. of the 1951 turnover. Some schemes provide for long-term investments equal to half the total turnover, but up to now improvements have been made at little cost.

Results from the Trade Unions' Point of View.

On 31 December 1952 the C.I.E.R.P. made available to the unions, at their request, a general report on the results of the experiment. The details of these results for every undertaking cannot be given here, but some of the comments offered by the experts from the Centre may not be out of place.

Firstly, the list of undertakings chosen by the employers' association as the scene of the experiment was not submitted to the workers' unions. As a result the free trade union movement was hardly represented, if at all, in six of the ten foundries. The situation gradually improved towards the beginning of 1952 thanks to the presence of experts from the Centre, and by the end of the year the only works not having any union representatives from the C.G.T.-F.O. or the C.F.T.C. was the Industrial Aluminium Casting Company at Courbevoie.

Secondly, it is obviously impossible to conduct a proper productivity experiment in an industry in which there is a slump. In such cases technical improvements, whether the outcome of employer initiative or of suggestions by the workers, always have the same depressing consequences for the unions—an increase in the economic potential of the undertaking and a decrease in the workers' wages

(as a result of partial unemployment, short time or harder work without any corresponding compensation).

Thirdly, human relations have definitely improved in some undertakings. If they are ever to be satisfactory, however, certain conditions have to be fulfilled. First of all, a real effort must be made by managements and supervisors to understand the worker's interests and mentality. Normal contacts must also be established between the management, the trade union sections, the staff representatives and the works committee. In addition the workers must be regularly supplied with technical, economic and social information, so that they are really drawn into the life of the undertaking through their representatives and become an active part of a living community responsible for the welfare of all.

The C.I.E.R.P. experts also had comments to offer on the commitments accepted by the heads of undertakings. In the great majority of cases fair compensation was awarded for ideas on simpler working methods (commitment 4). Similarly, higher wages were paid to workers whose production had increased either as a result of such suggestions or in consequence of the general programme (commitment 5).

It was the sixth commitment, regarding collective productivity bonuses, that yielded the most widely varying results, some disappointing, others more encouraging. The actual methods used by undertakings varied. In some cases the system was drawn up by the management alone and put into effect without preliminary discussion; in others, for example the Sambre and Meuse Steel Works at Jeumont, the works committee drew the attention of the undertaking to the advantages inherent in a bonus system and called on the Centre to suggest a scheme. The scheme proposed was the one that brought the most substantial benefits—a 3 per cent. increase in wages over the second quarter of 1952 and a 6 per cent. increase in later quarters. A few figures will show how wages rose in individual undertakings: in one, the earnings of 28 per cent. of the staff increased by 6 per cent., in another the wages of 72 per cent. of the staff increased by 4 per cent., and in a third the wages of half the staff increased by 10-15 per cent. In addition, the general productivity bonus was introduced in seven undertakings, and in the second quarter of 1952 workers received bonuses ranging from 1 to 5 per cent. of their wages for the quarter. Nearly 20 million francs were paid out in this way.

It is true that the results are necessarily very different from those expected by the vast majority of wage earners. The programme has not yet been applied in all the foundries. The initial results, which are slow in making their appearance, will probably be followed by others more numerous and conclusive.

As regards the additional remuneration the experiment shows that managements and trade union sections will always have to study bonus systems jointly and apply them only after agreement has been reached.

Unfortunately there were often cases of total or partial unemployment, and their effects were felt in the foundries in the closing months of 1952.

The trade unions, as we have stated, demand that in every branch of industry the initiative in instituting increased productivity programmes should be left to the joint occupational centres. Now the Foundry Productivity Centre, which initiated the experiment described above, is an employers' association and, outside the personal co-operation of trade union officials, the workers' unions have never been associated in its work. It is consequently quite different from the body we had in mind, and its programme is also very different from our own, namely, that "it should be left to the occupational centres, guided and administered by the representatives of managements and workers, to investigate and solve the problems that are incapable of solution in individual undertakings; market surveys, production programmes, employment forecasts, the specialisation of undertakings, the standardisation of products and scientific and technical research are often neglected because they are outside the scope of individual industrialists".

It is now clear that these problems were also outside the scope of the Foundry Productivity Centre; only had they been solved could the undertakings involved in the experiment have escaped the crisis, but its impact brought home the need for immediate and more vigorous action.

What is the use of simplifying the manufacture of an article if another undertaking can produce it far more economically? What can be the point of saving a few coppers on the production of some component part if, by standardisation, a component common to several other products, and consequently far cheaper, can be substituted for it? Can workers really be called upon to husband every minute of their time if ignorance of the market prevents the undertaking from guaranteeing them a job?

These are problems that have not been solved; nor were they, to our knowledge, even tackled by the Foundry Productivity Centre. The future of the experiment thus still depends upon the hazards of the economic situation. In the event of a slump, the increase in productivity will certainly be blamed (it has, in fact, already been blamed) for shorter hours, dismissals and the closing down of factories. This, as far as the experiment is concerned, alienates the sympathies of wage earners and their unions and arouses their hostility.

Despite all the efforts of the foundry workers' federations, no agreement has been reached between the unions and the employers' federation on the further course of the experiment. If it had, however, the trade union leaders could have waited for fuller and more positive results before passing any final judgment.

The Experiment in Men's Ready-made Clothing

Another experiment was made more recently by the Men's Clothing Federation. The Study Centre for Increased Productivity in Men's Ready-made Clothing (C.A.P.C.O.M.A.) agreed to keep the workers' unions informed of all its analytical work and any of the projects it produced in connection with the experiment. Workers' representatives were also invited to take part in the preliminary work, which consisted of introductory talks and lectures. The trade union federations and the French National Federation of Men's Clothing Manufacturers (F.N.F.F.V.M.) then began negotiations which ended in an agreement being signed on 7 March 1953, in which the pilot undertakings of the C.A.P.C.O.M.A. undertook the following commitments:

We shall faithfully inform our staffs of how the programme is progressing and of what results have been achieved.

In no case will increased productivity result in overwork. On the contrary, an improvement in working conditions is one of the aims that we shall set ourselves.

We shall endeavour to maintain and raise the level of employment. In exceptional cases, where jobs become redundant as the result of increased productivity, we shall do our utmost to discover how far the undertaking offers possibilities of transfers and find other employment for the staff concerned in the best possible conditions.

We undertake to share the benefits of increased productivity, in a manner still to be determined, among the whole staff (wage earners, salaried employees and supervisors), consumers and the undertaking.

We shall, more particularly, encourage and reward suggestions from the staff and arrange for staff members to be associated in the general increase in productivity by setting aside a fair share of such savings as may be made and registered within our undertakings in accordance with the principles laid down in the first report produced by the National Productivity Board committee on productivity and staff co-operation.

Such individual and collective productivity bonuses must always be additional to the effective wages paid under the collective agreement and any other contractual agreements. They may not in any case, whatever their form, be used to compensate for reduced or insufficient wages.

The representatives of the C.F.T.C. and the C.G.C. reaffirm their interest in the productivity experiment in the manufacture of men's ready-made clothing and in its development within the framework of free enterprise.

All the organisations represented have agreed upon the following three points:

1. The C.A.P.C.O.M.A. will set up its own study group composed of representatives of the F.N.F.F.V.M., the C.F.T.C. and the C.G.T., with the

object of studying all problems of social relations arising in the undertakings taking part in the productivity experiment, of enabling the staff to be kept informed of the progress made in the experiment and of handling any special problem which may arise within an undertaking so that a satisfactory solution can be found.

2. The methods to be used in giving effect to the above statement by the F.N.F.F.V.M. will be discussed as soon as possible in every undertaking between the management and staff, and will be laid down in separate agreements for every undertaking. For the purpose of these discussions the wage earners will call upon the trade union organisations that are signatories to this agreement.

3. Since the spirit necessary to any fruitful co-operation between managements and staffs can only be created if stability of employment is assured, every effort will be made by managements to guarantee every member of their staff stability of employment as a part of the productivity expansion policy.

To this end the heads of undertakings will take the necessary action to avoid dismissals. Furthermore, since the turnover of staff in the men's ready-made clothing industry is fairly rapid, no staff will be dismissed as a result of increased productivity for an initial trial period of 12 months.

Where, in exceptional circumstances, workers have to be dismissed and cannot be reclassified, the problem will be submitted to the study group for which provision has been made above. It will then be for this group to suggest such remedial action as it deems appropriate if it is impossible to find a solution to the problem locally.

During this period the study group will be kept informed of the efforts being made by the employers' group to carry out a systematic study of the market, in order to keep the industry constantly expanding and maintain the level of employment.

We recognise the desirability of concluding national collective agreements for workers and supervisory staff, and the F.N.F.F.V.M.'s projects will be communicated to trade unions as soon as possible.

It is still too early to give facts and figures for this experiment, but the signature of the agreement is already a good sign. Its importance is unfortunately limited, owing to the small number of trade union members in the industry.

The Experiment in Administrative and Military Supply

Another experiment was made under similar conditions by the National Federation of Administrative and Military Supply Contractors. Trade union officials were closely connected with the preparatory work and took part in the introductory talks and lectures. After some negotiation an agreement was concluded on 17 March 1953. It reads as follows:

In view of the general requirements that are peculiar to the trade of specialised contractors to the Government, and considering also the conditions under which individual contractors operate, we shall submit the text of individual agreements on the following points to the authorised representatives of the trade union organisations that are signatories hereto:

(a) possible ways of achieving the proposed improvement in working conditions;

(b) possible action to maintain the level of employment or, where necessary, to transfer staff while the experiment is in progress (it being understood that the agreements will not cover the social repercussions within the trade resulting, for example, from large-scale cuts in the total volume of Government orders, or from any widespread economic crisis);

(c) incentives for the staff to increase productivity and possible methods of associating the staff with the profits arising therefrom.

Any difficulty arising in the above-mentioned undertakings as a result of such action being taken will be brought to the knowledge of the signatories in a manner subsequently to be decided, after a joint investigation has been made into the problem.

The wage earners' unions which are signatories hereto undertake to do their utmost to fulfil the 1953 programme presented by the National Federation of Administrative and Military Supply Contractors, which they recognise as being the most highly qualified body to deal with problems of concern to specialised contractors to the Government and public services in the occupations represented within the Federation.

The representatives of the C.G.C. and the C.F.T.C. reaffirm their interest in the speediest possible consideration of this programme by the competent authorities, since its implementation is an essential preliminary to any worthwhile experiment which may later be made by undertakings.

The Experiment in the Footwear Industry

An agreement on a productivity programme for the footwear industry has also been concluded between 11 undertakings and the trade union federations of leatherworkers (wage earners, salaried employees and supervisors) affiliated to the C.F.T.C., C.G.T.-F.O. and C.G.C. It begins by stating the objectives of the programme, namely—

(1) to improve working conditions and ensure the more efficient use of raw material, without requiring of workers excessive efforts and consequent overfatigue which would endanger their safety or jeopardise the rights of the human person and respect for human dignity;

(2) to improve the quality and increase the quantity of the products made available to consumers;

(3) to raise the purchasing power of workers' earnings by increasing wages, extending individual or collective benefits and reducing costs;

(4) to maintain and raise the level of employment, if need be by making the necessary transfers.

A joint study group has been set up to implement this programme, composed of three representatives of the trade union federations mentioned earlier and three representatives of the undertakings signing the agreement. This study group is responsible for "following the progress made in productivity by the various undertakings covered by the agreement, enabling the staff

to be kept informed of the course of the experiment and studying any problems that may arise in undertakings, so that satisfactory solutions can be found".

The agreement also includes a number of other provisions on staff information exchanges, employment and incentives. On this last point, the agreement states that, since it is important for the staff to be associated in any general increase in productivity, "the head of every undertaking signing this agreement will set aside a fair share of the results of increased productivity in his undertaking, to be allotted to the staff in accordance with the principles laid down in the first report produced by the National Productivity Board committee on productivity and staff co-operation".

It is still too early to form any impression of this experiment, but the staff would certainly seem to have won considerable advantages. The proof, if any should be needed, is provided by a case reported by Mr. Gaston Tessier, the French Workers' delegate to the recent session of the International Labour Conference. After recalling the debate on productivity at the 27th Congress of the C.F.T.C. on 25 May 1953, he stated:

Two days earlier the French Federation of Christian Railway Workers, in collaboration with other bodies, secured an interesting result. Since the Liberation railway staffs have greatly improved the level of traffic both of passengers and goods; however, the decrease of staff through the stoppage of recruitment and the pensioning-off of workers, coupled with this increase in productivity, has led to substantial savings in man-hours. During the negotiations held on 23 May the Minister of Public Works agreed to allow the railwaymen a real share in the benefits of increased productivity. These included the immediate payment of a bonus of 5,000 francs, a monthly bonus of about 4 per cent. of wages with a minimum of 1,000 francs and some extra adjustments to bonuses already included in wages. The agreement will mean an improvement of 12 per cent. in purchasing power by the beginning of 1955.¹

CONCLUSION

In several countries of Western Europe the economic and social developments of recent years have led the workers' unions to modify their reserved or hostile attitude to productivity and to take a practical interest in the problem. No attempt will be made to give a full account of their activities and views, but a few of the more recent illustrations of their attitude may well be quoted; they are particularly revealing since they are taken from the records of important international workers' federations.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.), for example, has repeatedly expressed its support

¹ International Labour Conference, 36th Session, Geneva 1953: *Provisional Record*, p. 46.

for increased productivity and has indicated how it ought to be achieved. At its session held in Brussels in March 1952 the European Regional Organisation of the I.C.F.T.U. stressed the importance of productivity in protecting the standard of living of the workers in the present economic situation, provided that the unions are associated in all measures to increase it. The General Council of the I.C.F.T.U., meeting in Berlin in July 1952, affirmed that: "In view of the favourable conditions that rising productivity creates for improvements in living standards, trade unions will usually agree to or even foster the introduction of better methods, provided that the wage and employment interests of the workers are adequately protected. If they can be assured that the workers will share in the benefits of higher productivity, trade unions will be prepared to co-operate in finding scope for improvements and to take part in joint consultation with a view to the introduction of improvements in technique and organisation."

The European Regional Conference of the I.C.F.T.U. held in Lugano from 22-24 October 1952 adopted a resolution reiterating "its willingness to support any genuine effort to increase productivity in the various economic sectors, whether on the national or the European level, provided that: (a) all measures in the various stages of preparation for and application of increased productivity are taken in agreement with the workers' organisations; (b) the workers are assured of getting their full share in the benefits resulting from higher productivity and production in the form of increased standards of living; (c) due regard is paid to the economic security of the workers, so as to avoid any increase in unemployment".¹

About the same time the International Federation of Christian Factory and Transport Workers' Unions at a Congress at Locarno adopted a resolution welcoming increased productivity provided that the resultant advantages were fairly shared between workers, consumers and capital.² At its Ninth Congress (Amsterdam, 29 April-1 May 1952), the International Federation of Christian Rail and Tramway Workers' Unions, which is affiliated to the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, noted "the efforts made in every country and in every branch of industry to increase productivity". It stated that "these efforts cannot succeed without close collaboration with the employees themselves" and stressed that "this collaboration is essential to prevent technical developments being taken to extremes to the great detriment of the worker's personal and family interests".³

¹ See *Industry and Labour*, Vol. VIII, No. 12, 15 Dec. 1952, p. 481.

² *Ibid.*, p. 483.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, No. 8, 15 April 1953, p. 251.

All these various but concordant statements are well reflected in the activities of the workers' unions in France that have been studied in this article. In publishing their joint programme in July 1951 these unions were ahead of workers' groups in other European countries. Since then our organisations have suggested that our aims should be consolidated to form a national plan to serve as a guide to the expansion of the national economy, without which full employment is impossible. They have also brought their conclusions to the notice of the workers and employers and their unions and associations, as well as of the public authorities themselves. This is only natural, since the reforms that we are hoping for will be as much the work of individuals as of administrations, laws and regulations. What needs changing, in fact, is the mentality of the entire nation. In this continuing effort, which is being made in many countries, though particularly in France owing to the gravity of the problems raised, the workers' unions are co-operating with employers' associations and governmental agencies. The contribution made by the workers' unions in France to this joint effort has been covered in this article. The importance attached to it by governments and employers, not only in France but also in many other countries, is sufficiently evidenced by the activities of the various national productivity centres¹ and by the European Productivity Agency recently set up by the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation. In this, as in the many other matters in which they have a common interest, no better example could be found of co-operation between governments, employers' associations and workers' unions than the International Labour Organisation. Not only has it shown the way to increased productivity, followed by an equitable distribution of the benefits²; in this, as in all the questions that it handles, it offers the unique example of an international organisation in which workers' representatives take part and meet each other. This tripartite co-operation is for us the best assurance of the social attitude necessary for progress in productivity.

¹ Cf. Jean FOURASTIÉ: "Towards Higher Labour Productivity in the Countries of Western Europe", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXVII, No. 4, Apr. 1953, p. 340.

² As long ago as 1950 the Report of the Director-General of the I.L.O. to the 33rd Session of the International Labour Conference devoted an entire chapter to productivity. Since that time the question has never ceased to be one of the major preoccupations of the I.L.O. It was discussed at a recent meeting of experts on productivity in manufacturing industries organised in Geneva in December 1952. It was also the main theme of the Report of the Director-General to the 36th Session of the Conference (1953), entitled *World Labour Report 1953*.

REPORTS AND INQUIRIES

Women's Employment in Asian Countries

Women make a considerable contribution towards production in Asian countries, and with the growth of industrialisation in Asia it is important that the experience gained in other continents should be drawn on to protect women workers from the dangers attending female employment in industry. At the Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation held in Ceylon in January 1950 a resolution was adopted requesting the Governing Body to instruct the International Labour Office to undertake a detailed study concerning the problem of the enforcement of protective legislation and its effects on women's employment in Asian countries and the manner in which the problem has been solved in industrially advanced countries.

The results of one part of this study are summarised in the following article, which gives an account of the numbers of women workers in some Asian countries and the kind of work they perform and indicates some of the problems arising from their employment.

The current economic development plans for Asia aim at raising living standards in two principal ways: they are designed in the first place to absorb underemployed or unemployed labour and secondly to improve productivity and increase the national output.

In considering these developments it is important to inquire into the present situation of female labour in these countries and the trends that are becoming apparent and to examine the problems raised in utilising these labour reserves. It would be impractical to consider labour-utilisation problems of this sort in isolation or to detach them from the economic, social and historical background of each country. It is obvious, for instance, that one of the elements of the general situation which influences these problems on an economic and political plane is the unemployment and underemployment which prevail in the majority of Asian countries.

In this connection there are two closely related fields of equal importance which merit examination: first, the distribution of female labour and its vocational skill and potential capabilities; secondly, the prevalent conditions of employment and work and the measures necessary to improve these without reducing the opportunities open to women for outside work. The basic task consists in encouraging the rational

employment of female labour and in raising its output in accordance with the actual or potential economic situation in each country, in creating conditions tending to increase earning capacity in order to raise family living standards, and in protecting the health and well-being of women workers and their families. The present study will attempt only to give a general picture of the occupational activities of women in Asia and the problems which emerge therefrom; the various urgent and complex problems created by the need to improve working conditions among the women of Asia require a special study which, it is hoped, will appear in the near future.

The religious and social traditions of the Asian countries together with their social structure are most disadvantageous to women, and serve to keep them in a situation in all respects inferior to that of men. The female population is much more deeply affected by illiteracy and the absence of educational and cultural facilities than the male. Household tasks that must be performed in primitive conditions rendering them particularly arduous and lengthy and the time that must be given to children in countries with a high birth rate effectively exclude women from the main stream of community life. On the other hand this ignorant and unskilled labour potential is able to find employment in economic circumstances in which even the simplest tools and machinery are replaced by manual labour and where poverty compels a large part of the population to grasp every opportunity of securing gainful employment.

However, the national independence movements and the influence of democratic ideas, one expression of which is the endeavour to bring about the emancipation of women, together with local economic and social developments, exert forces tending to transform the situation of women in Asia. Particularly since the end of the war it can be seen how public opinion has become interested in the position of women and related problems, while the women themselves, especially through the agency of their own organisations, have tried to break away from their traditional apathy. Certain successes, no doubt still very modest, have been achieved from time to time, and although little mention is made of these in the present article, their importance should not be ignored.

AGRICULTURE

In the Asian countries, where 70 to 85 per cent. of the population work on the land, the greater proportion of female labour is absorbed into this branch of the economy. Women work principally as a member of the family and so receive no pay; they are however also employed as paid agricultural labourers, particularly in plantation work. Besides household work, women are engaged in various occupations more or less closely allied to agriculture and the raising of cattle and poultry, both in small-holdings and farms and on large properties and plantations (tea, coffee, cotton, rubber, etc.).

The employment of women on plantations results from many complementary causes. On the one hand, the work calls for little skill and women from rural areas already accustomed to agricultural labour find it easy to adapt themselves to it; on the other hand, recruiting of manpower often takes place on a family basis—the plantations are often isolated and unable to rely on local labour supplies and are thus obliged to recruit far afield. A worker is engaged with his family, and the latter, often driven by necessity, seeks work on the plantation.

It may also be asked whether the difference in pay rates for men and women does not further encourage the employment of female labour on the plantation. Most frequently the jobs given to women are considered as light or unskilled and are consequently paid at a lower rate. At the same time there is much difference of opinion about which jobs are to be classed as "unskilled" or "light", and in certain districts these jobs are actually performed by men or even classed as skilled, while in others they are carried out by unskilled labour.

It is reported that in the majority of villages in China, an average of more than 60 per cent. of the female population was engaged in agricultural pursuits at the end of 1952¹, and that of this number 40 to 60 per cent. worked in mutual aid teams and agricultural producer co-operatives. In certain areas large numbers of women are engaged in agricultural work and form replacement labour for the men employed on large-scale construction works (dams, etc.).

In Ceylon, according to the 1946 census, some 350,000 women were registered as gainfully employed in agriculture from a total of about 1,344,000. A large proportion of these women work on plantations, where they represent 41 per cent. of the total labour force²; they are principally engaged in unskilled operations such as picking and weeding.

In Pakistan Moslem customs restrict the city woman to the home, but in the country areas the woman assists her husband in working the land. Existing statistics are inadequate to allow any estimate of the part played by women in agriculture; it is known however that women form 34 per cent. of the labour force in the East Bengal tea plantations.³

In the Philippines it was calculated that in 1939 slightly more than 2 million women were engaged in agriculture, out of a total labour force of somewhat more than 5 million.⁴

The existence of more circumstantial data concerning India makes it possible to give a more detailed picture of the position of women in the agriculture of that country. In India the proportion of women in the total labour force employed on the tea, coffee and rubber plantations in 1944 was about 45 per cent., 40 per cent. and 25 per cent. respectively.⁵ In 1949 women formed 46.6 per cent. of the total labour force employed in all the Indian plantations. It is interesting to note that in the State of Assam, which is a big tea producer, the proportions of female labour have remained remarkably stable since 1933-34, except during the recent war, when the figure temporarily rose.

As was shown in a survey carried out by the Government of India in 1949, women in the rural districts take part in agricultural labour on family properties but tend also to do occasional work (both full-time and part-time); this tendency also affects the families of small-holders. These women primarily take up agricultural work, though 20 per cent. of the women wage earners who came within the scope of the survey

¹ The proportion was in some cases 80 per cent.

² See *Basic Problems of Plantation Labour*, a report prepared for the First Session (Bandung, 1950) of the I.L.O. Committee on Work on Plantations.

³ M. SHAFI: *Pakistan Labour Year Book, 1949-1950* (Pakistan Labour Publications, Karachi), p. 4.

⁴ PHILIPPINE ECONOMIC SURVEY MISSION: *Philippine Agricultural and Industrial Development Program* (revised 1950), p. 405.

⁵ GOVERNMENT OF INDIA: *Woman's Role in Planned Economy*, National Planning Committee Series (1947), pp. 45 ff.

were employed in non-agricultural production. The survey demonstrated that it was economic necessity that determined this course; the women were compelled to work for wages in order to supplement the family income. Further, a considerable proportion of the women worked without wages for members of their own families, in particular on small farms, where all able-bodied members of the family participated in manual work in order to avoid the necessity of employing hired labour. The proportion of female labour among all agricultural wage earners varies appreciably from state to state. For example, in the States of Madhya Pradesh, Madras and Hyderabad women form 34.6 per cent., 30.7 per cent. and 30 per cent. of the total respectively, while in the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh the proportion does not reach 10 per cent., and varies between 2.33 per cent. and 8.18 per cent. around Delhi and in the States of Manipur and Bilaspur.

The extensive Indian survey mentioned above provides interesting data on the proportion of the agricultural population formed by women belonging to the category of dependent persons. For all villages included in the survey this category reached a figure of 14 per cent. of the population taken as a whole, but varied appreciably from state to state, and ranged from somewhat over 4.4 per cent. in certain states to 9 per cent. in Hyderabad and Mysore and 21.5 per cent. in Tripura.¹ These figures stress the importance of the part played by women in the economy of the rural districts. In this connection it is appropriate to mention a fact remarked by certain observers: on the one hand, when the standard of living rises in certain rural districts, there is a tendency for families to adopt social customs characteristic of the higher castes, which restrict the part played by the women in economic and social affairs; on the other hand, when the number of landless peasants increases, women from this category go out in search of paid work.²

In India women do not engage in ploughing work, but participate in a large number of other agricultural operations, especially harvesting, weeding, planting, threshing, sowing, manuring and field irrigation, and occasionally harrowing and field terracing. Their tasks are sometimes hard and exacting.

In Japan, where the economic structure and the degree of industrialisation differ from those of India, the position of women in agriculture appears in a somewhat different light, but here also their contribution is of considerable importance.

In October 1952 the number of women engaged in Japanese agriculture constituted 59 per cent. of the total female labour force and 51.8 per cent. of the agricultural labour force. Official statistics demonstrate that a very large number of these women are employed as unpaid members of the family. Certain types of laborious agricultural work such as ploughing, the construction and maintenance of irrigation systems and the operation of certain agricultural machinery are carried out by men, while the women are usually responsible for planting rice and weeding the rice fields. Men and women work side by side on a number of other heavy tasks, in particular the harvesting and carrying of grain and the transport of fuel and manure. At the same time other types of work, such as the breeding of silkworms, are almost entirely the province of women.

¹ Dependent persons formed 50.7 per cent. of the total population covered by the survey.

² See D. P. MUKERJI: "The Status of Indian Women", in *International Social Science Bulletin* (U.N.E.S.C.O.), Vol. III, No. 4, Winter 1951.

In the Asian countries there is an urgent need to develop the national agricultural output, which at present remains at a level too low to satisfy the needs of populations expanding at an increasing rate. This inadequacy moreover tends to become more acute in proportion to the advance of industrialisation, which drains workers away from the rural areas. Increased productivity is recognised by people of all opinions to be an urgent necessity. Successful introduction of the techniques necessary for increased output demands an agricultural labour force more experienced in modern methods of agricultural exploitation. It would seem that any plan for improvements in this sphere must give full recognition to the economic value of women's labour in agriculture.

On the other hand, the family incomes of rural workers are generally speaking small and inadequate, and underemployment is often very acute in the agricultural areas. The rational development of agricultural production would appear to require the intensification of activity in certain kinds of work which are already performed by women or on which they could profitably be employed, it being understood that in all cases the type of employment and working conditions should in no way endanger the health of the woman. For example, in certain regions poultry and bee keeping and the breeding of silkworms, which are normally a woman's occupation, might profitably be increased, but in fact remain non-existent or in an embryonic state, mainly because of the lack of a sufficiently skilled labour force.

There is therefore a specially urgent need to set on foot plans for improving technical knowledge among women agricultural workers and for introducing new products and new methods, especially in those spheres where increased development would be in the interests of the economy as a whole and in which female labour would be able to plan a significant part. To this end it is necessary to adopt a policy favouring the active participation of women in the work of the agricultural co-operatives, where their capabilities should be systematically developed. The need for training in agricultural methods and co-operative practice, whatever system may be used, in turn raises the problem of training instructors and of providing adequate training facilities. It would seem therefore that the time has now come to weigh up past experience in this field, and to embark on a thorough examination of these problems with the aim of evolving techniques and methods of instruction capable of bringing about a rapid increase in the output of women engaged in agriculture. Such emergency measures should moreover serve as the basis for further training of women in the most up-to-date agricultural methods of the kind that it is proposed to introduce into the particular country.

HANDICRAFTS AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

Handicrafts are widespread in Asia and serve not only to produce goods for export, but also to make for the internal market articles of current consumption which the national industry is itself unable to supply. Besides domestic production for family needs, handicrafts assume two basic forms: handicraft, family or individual manufacture, and production embodying certain characteristics of industrial home work.

It is unnecessary to mention here the important role allotted to handicrafts and village industries in Asia, both in plans for emergency economic recovery and in long-term development plans. It is, however,

essential to establish the part that women now play or can play in these branches of production. At the present time women are prominent in the ranks of the handicraft workers, though it is usually impossible to determine the number of women occupied or the proportion of the whole which they represent. It would seem even that certain branches of handicrafts are virtually a women's preserve. For example, in Thailand 85 per cent. of the people engaged in hand-loom weaving are women.¹

In Ceylon women are occupied as either full-time or part-time workers in almost all branches of handicrafts except metal working. The proportion varies from one branch to another, but there are some, for example weaving, lace and basket-making, and the manufacture of coir, where they predominate. The following table gives the results of the 1946 census with reference to certain categories of handicrafts and village industries; it appears, however, on the basis of more recent surveys, that these figures are lower than the numbers actually working in the given categories:

MANPOWER OCCUPIED IN HANDICRAFTS AND VILLAGE INDUSTRY
IN CEYLON, 1946

[Handicraft or industry]	Men	Women
Brickmaking, pottery, glass	7,835	3,175
Chemical industries (oils, soap, matches, dyestuffs)	1,309	378
Metal work (non-precious metals, precious metals, watchmaking)	27,992	437
Leather work	327	43
Textiles	5,409	28,043
Clothing, etc.	11,833	3,531
Food, drink and tobacco trades	34,064	5,819
Wood-working and furniture trades	61,318	920
Basket-making	2,833	15,671
Building and interior decorating	30,191	484

In India the village textile industries of Assam employ 534,526 women and girls out of a total of 579,700 persons. In the State of Travancore-Cochin the most important village industry is coir-spinning, which employs 500,000 to 600,000 workers, chiefly women.² A large number of women are employed in domestic semi-industrial manufacturing (carpets, mica, cigarettes). For instance, in the manufacture of native cigarettes (*bidi*), women work at home at cutting and preparing the tobacco leaves and cigarette rolling. Almost all the labour employed in this industry in Mukkudal and its surroundings is composed of women working at home. It was estimated in 1946 that there were 30,000 people engaged in this work in southern India.³ In addition, attempts have

¹ ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST, Committee on Industry and Trade, Third Session, 15 Feb., 1951, Lahore, Pakistan: *Cottage and Small-scale Industries* (Documents E/CN.11/I and T/30), 24 Dec. 1950, p. 20.

² *Indian Labour Gazette*, Vol. X, No. 7, Jan. 1953, pp. 543-556.

³ D. V. REGE: *Report on an Inquiry into the Conditions of Labour in the Bidi, Cigar and Cigarette Industries* (Government of India, 1946), p. 28.

been made to encourage the wives of mine and plantation workers to take up handicrafts as a means of supplementing the family income.

In Japan the export of manufactured goods is still partly based on industrial production in the home, in which large numbers of women are employed. A marked characteristic of women's work in Japan is the large number of unpaid family workers employed in non-agricultural industries (1,400,000 on an average in 1950) which is explained by the continued existence of small family undertakings side by side with modern enterprises and companies. Certain kinds of goods are made entirely or almost entirely by women, e.g., bamboo articles, sunshades, artificial flowers, paper toys, fans, basketware, etc. It has been calculated that in 1947 these goods constituted 22 per cent. of the value of all exports. There is a large reserve of female labour available for this type of work, which arises from the impoverishment of the middle classes, largely caused by the post-war inflation. These women for reasons of age, family responsibilities or lack of vocational qualifications are unable to find other employment.¹ In the country districts of Japan peasant families are obliged for the same reasons to take up handicraft work to supplement their incomes. It was estimated that in 1950 about one-half of all peasant families were engaged in subsidiary work of this kind. Furthermore, for 22 per cent. of these families, agriculture had become less important than handicrafts.²

In Pakistan hand spinning and weaving are the most important village industries and provide part-time or even full-time employment for a large number of people (almost exclusively women) in both rural and urban districts.³

In all Asian countries there is a significant tendency to encourage handicrafts and village industries (endeavours to improve technique and equipment, to expand production and the supply of basic raw materials and to organise sales); for these purposes co-operative organisation often appears the most desirable method.

The expansion of handicrafts tends to provide a source of revenue for the inhabitants of the urban and rural districts and to open up new opportunities of profitable employment while also supplying consumer goods to both the internal and the foreign markets. In this way, in the agricultural districts, activities such as cotton or silk weaving (where silkworm breeding is being developed) pottery making, dairy-farming, the processing of agricultural products (e.g., fruit preserving) which are usually women's occupations, are of genuine economic value and tend to improve local family living standards. In the urban districts weaving, lace making, basket work and pottery have likewise undergone some expansion and help to increase the incomes of poorer families.

This sort of employment is specially suited to the mode of life of the women: in the country districts in particular they are occupied with work in the house and on the land, so that it is very difficult for them to undertake normal paid work, whereas the spare time left by

¹ *Request for Opening of Trade with Foreign Co-operatives in the Cause of Women Workers' Liberation* (Council for the Emancipation of Domestic Women Workers, Tokyo, 1948).

² Cf. Andrew J. GRAD: *Land and Peasant in Japan: An Introductory Survey* (Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1952).

³ GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN: *Industry in Pakistan, August 1947-August 1950*, pp. 123-124.

their traditional pursuits might profitably be employed on handicraft work either at home or in small village centres.

All the problems relating to handicrafts and village industries (such problems are not appropriate for discussion here) are of immediate concern to the women employed in these branches, whether because prevalent conditions tend to lower the value of the work performed (as for instance the exploitation of craft workers by middlemen in the purchase of raw materials or the sale of finished products) and to influence the quality of these products adversely (lack of raw materials, lowering of technical standards, backward methods, etc.) or whether competition arises between handicraft labour and industrial products—nationally or internationally—when the craft workers are the main losers.

OTHER TYPES OF NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATION

Large numbers of women are also employed in the urban districts, where for various reasons their number has tended to increase, though the part played by women in such districts never attains the same importance as in rural areas. The prime factor influencing women in these areas to enter outside vocations is also an economic one. It is true that there are certain women (for example among the liberal professions) who have chosen their career voluntarily or for social considerations, but for the vast majority of women their choice has been determined by economic circumstances. Under conditions where a low standard of life prevails among the working population, women of this class are often obliged to seek gainful employment for reasons such as the death of the husband or the inadequacy of his wages to support a large family. An additional factor is that in Asia the proportion of dependants per adult worker is relatively high, largely owing to the high birth rate and the low average expectation of life.

The impoverishment of certain sections of the urban middle classes (where in other respects prejudice and custom tending to exclude women from social life are still very much alive) and the wider educational facilities available to middle-class girls also play their part in causing women to take up work. The movement towards the emancipation of women which accompanies the growth of the new States also has the effect of justifying women's work in the eyes of the middle classes.

In their turn vocational activities assist in liberating the woman from the dead weight of tradition and prejudice by causing her to take a more active part in social life. Here it is relevant to draw attention to the appreciable growth of women's participation in trade union affairs in such countries as India or Japan, to say nothing of China. For example in India during 1949-50 women constituted 22.2 per cent. of union labour in Assam, and 13.2 per cent. in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh.¹ In the State of Bombay alone some 30,000 women were trade union members. In Japan women formed 24 per cent. of the total membership of workers' unions in June 1951.

These developments create a new category of women workers, a fact which in turn presents society with fresh urgent problems, especially

¹ In Assam, however, this relatively high percentage is accounted for by membership of the plantation workers' organisation, whereas in Bihar women trade unionists are principally found among the coalminers, and in Madhya Pradesh they work in the textile industry or the mines.

in the field of social services and social and general welfare matters, particularly in those branches responsible for the supervision and care of the workers' children. Indeed, surveys carried out in various Asian countries have demonstrated the high proportion, if not predominance, of married women among female workers. This situation no doubt arises from the fact that young marriages are the rule in these countries. Furthermore, women of medium age constitute a large part of all women workers.

Married women in search of work nevertheless have to face serious obstacles. For one thing, many employers hesitate to take on married women because they wish to avoid the obligations imposed by the relevant labour legislation. In the matter of maternity safeguards, for instance, the appropriate benefits in most Asian countries are made the responsibility of the employer¹, contrary to the provisions established by the international Conventions on this subject, and many employers fear the inconvenience involved by the frequent absences of women workers when their children are born. (In countries with a high birth rate such absences are a comparatively frequent occurrence.) Married women moreover cannot usually take employment far from their homes, and this also reduces their chances of obtaining work.

A survey conducted in Colombo (Ceylon) in 1946 indicated that the majority of women factory workers were of medium age and that of this group a large proportion were recruited from among people who lacked all vocational experience and had been obliged to seek work for economic reasons: 56 per cent. of the workers who were or had been married (widowed or separated, often with dependent children) had entered employment for the first time only after their marriage (79 per cent. of them were widows). Of the workers covered by the survey 62 per cent. used their wages to meet the greater part of their family expenses; less than 1 per cent. were wholly without dependants.²

In India an extensive inquiry into various branches of the economy (cotton, silk and jute manufacture, coalmining, municipal services, paper making, chemical products, steelworks) also disclosed the preponderance of married women workers (50-80 per cent. of the labour force) and widows (20-50 per cent.), while in most sectors the number of single women was almost negligible. It also emerged that the majority of the women were between 25 and 45 years old (71 per cent. of the labour force) and that most women entered employment after the age of 20. Similarly in the Philippines it appears that the number of married women workers equals, if not exceeds, that of single women, though there are no statistical data.

In Japan the situation is somewhat different, and in this country young women constitute the greater part of female labour. An inquiry conducted in November 1949 by the Division of Labor Statistics and Research (Ministry of Labor) showed that the women workers averaged 23.8 years of age (compared with 32.5 years for men) and that of these 76 per cent. were under 25 years of age. The Women's and Minors' Bureau estimated in 1951 that 12 per cent. remained in employment after marriage; at the same time a fairly high proportion ceased working

¹ B. P. ARDARKAR: *Report on Health Insurance for Industrial Workers* (Government of India, 1944).

² Cf. Bryce RYAN and Sylvia FERNANDO: "The Female Factory Worker in Colombo", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXIV, Nos. 5-6, Nov.-Dec. 1951.

on the birth of the first child. However, in this country too there is a tendency for the employment of married women to increase.

What sort of non-agricultural work do the women of Asia take up? What are the characteristic features of this category of workers? Existing data are insufficient to present a detailed picture of every Asian country. It is to be hoped that the gaps will be gradually filled as the problem receives the recognition it deserves. Nevertheless there are certain general features that deserve attention.

Besides handicrafts and industrial home work, women are widely employed in domestic service and small trading, neither of which requires special skill or training; this situation coincides with the general pattern of vocational work in the urban centres, where tertiary occupations, especially the two mentioned above, present the best opportunities for gainful employment, though they are among the least well paid. In Ceylon many women are active in itinerant trades (as fish and vegetable sellers, etc.). In Burma most small retail trading is carried on by women. In Japan, according to the census of October 1950, more women than men were engaged in retail trading during 1950 (760,000 as against 667,000).

There are also many women employed in heavy or dangerous work—sometimes such work is reserved for women. Although it is difficult to establish the number of women employed on outside manual labour of this sort (except in mining), observers report that it is common to see women employed on road construction and maintenance, building work, the loading and unloading of ships or load carrying [coolie work] in enterprises of various sorts. According to the Indian census of 1951 female labour employed by the public works departments and on the river valley projects represented 22.3 per cent. of the total labour force.

Underground employment of women in mining is prohibited, but in certain countries women are employed in relatively large numbers on surface work at the mines, where they load tip-trucks, sort and classify the extracted material and do cleaning and carrying. For example, in India in 1950 women formed 20.5 per cent. of the total labour force in mining. The proportion of women workers is highest in manganese mining (45.9 per cent), iron mining (34.9 per cent.) and coalmining, which employs the greatest number of women and where the proportion is 16.4 per cent.¹

In Japan women constituted in October 1952 10.9 per cent. of the labour force in mining, and 11.3 per cent. in building and construction.² It is also reported that women work in building and road construction in Pakistan, Indonesia, Thailand and Viet-Nam.

Seasonal enterprises in which industrial crops (cotton, tea, rice, rubber, etc.) undergo primary processing and packing employ the majority of women industrial workers. In Madras State, for instance, more women than men were employed on this work in 1946. In India women constitute 26.6 per cent. of the seasonal industrial labour force, as against 8.6 per cent. of the workers employed in enterprises functioning perennially. In Pakistan, where very few women are employed in factories, there were over five times as many women in seasonal enter-

prises in 1949 as in those which operated throughout the year.¹ The reason for this situation is apparently to be explained partly by the fact that in the majority of cases women receive lower wages than men.

The number of women employed in factories is determined by the social and economic background and by the type of industry operating in the particular country—whether this for example is a semi-handicraft consumer goods industry or a modern light or heavy industry, etc.—and by other factors which it would be difficult to analyse here. The employment of women and their distribution throughout industry vary appreciably from one country to another, but it appears that the employment of women is everywhere on the increase.

In Ceylon, for instance, according to the 1946 census, there were almost 59,000 women workers as against 201,000 men workers employed in industry and handicrafts. Women are mostly employed in the main processing industries of the country, where they are found as semi-skilled or more commonly unskilled labour in such occupations as tea packing and sorting, combing (in textiles) or cleaning and preparation (for sorting) of coir. Female labour generally comes from the poorest classes of the population. It appears, however, that an "aristocracy" of women workers is employed in factories: a certain hierarchy is in process of formation in industry—employment in the older industries is considered "low-class", whereas the new enterprises constructed to meet the needs of economic expansion provide better conditions than the old concerns utilising women's labour and, except for the textile industry, are considered by the workers to be much superior, and so obtain their labour-power from among younger women of higher social status.²

In India, according to the "Factory Statistics for 1950", 12.3 per cent. of the factory labour force in 18 of the most important states was composed of women (342,148 in a total of 2,774,557 workers). Although in certain sectors of industry relatively large numbers of women are employed, generally speaking the relative and absolute number of women workers is not high, even in those branches which in other countries traditionally employ a large proportion of female labour (especially in textiles³); however, the textile industry is responsible for employing the majority of women factory workers in India. In the 18 states reviewed the proportion of women employed in the tobacco industry during 1950 reached a level of 40 per cent.⁴; in food and drink 22.6 per cent.; in chemicals and non-metallic minerals 14.2 per cent., and in textiles 10.1 per cent. In other industries women workers constituted less than 10 per cent. of the total labour force.

¹ M. SHAFI: *Pakistan Labour Year Book, 1952* (Pakistan Labour Publications, Karachi), p. 3.

² Cf. Bryce RYAN and Sylvia FERNANDO, op. cit.

³ In 1944 the Commission of Inquiry into working conditions in the cotton industry found that the proportion of women varied from 26 per cent. in the Coimbatore factories to 10 per cent. in Bangalore, 5.6 per cent. in Bengal and 1.3 per cent. in the city of Delhi. On the other hand it was found that there was a high proportion of women among the related seasonal industries which supply the textile industry with raw materials, e.g., cotton-ginning and baling. See the report prepared for the Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the I.L.O. (New Delhi, 1947): *Labour Policy in General, including the Enforcement of Labour Measures*, pp. 181-182.

⁴ At the same time it should be noted that cigarette making is partly carried out at home or in family workshops.

¹ GOVERNMENT OF INDIA: *Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Mines in India for the Year Ending 31 December 1950*, p. 5.

² STATISTICS BUREAU OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE: *Labour Force Survey as of October 1952*.

Nevertheless, whereas the absolute numbers of women factory workers have slowly increased in India over the past 20 years, their relative proportion has decreased—according to the official statistics of average weekly employment in factories it declined between 1927 and 1949 from 16.95 per cent. to 11.33 per cent. This tendency seems to be common in large-scale enterprises that are subject to labour legislation covering women or in which mechanisation of equipment is on the increase. The causes determining this trend are numerous and need to be thoroughly examined; at the same time they appear to raise problems highly relevant to the employment of women, not only in India but also in the other Asian countries.

It appears that the provisions of social legislation exert a certain determining influence on the proportion of women employed. For instance, when multiple shift work was introduced, with one group relieving another during the working day, women were replaced by men, even on jobs previously reserved for women, because of the strict regulations applied to night work for women. In Bombay the number of women workers decreased between 1925 and 1934 by almost 12,000 when a law was introduced prohibiting the employment of women on certain types of dangerous work; the coming into force of the 1934 Factories Act, which limits the hours of work of women and children, was followed between 1934 and 1944 by a fresh decrease in the proportion of women factory workers.¹

It is probable that other factors also contribute to the more rapid expansion of the male labour force. As the need for increased productivity makes itself felt, preference appears to be given to male labour for reasons both social and economic. Mechanisation and the reorganisation of work processes in various undertakings, which eliminate certain types of work performed by women, have the effect of reducing the value of this labour, the more so as the practice of establishing wage rates and production norms according to the job performed seems to be unfavourable to the employment of women. This may be partly accounted for by the lack of skills on the part of the women and by the limited interest displayed on the part of both public authorities and employers in developing their capacities. Women are primarily employed in Indian factories on unskilled work. The engagements obtained for women by employment offices principally comprise unskilled jobs in the paper and textile industries, etc.

Nevertheless, it seems that the new light industries now being developed in India will be obliged to make use of women's labour, which because of its dexterity and precision appears to be indispensable for their needs. Satisfactory results have already been achieved in certain of these industries, notably in the manufacture of telephone and radio apparatus, electrical equipment and the like. Developments of this kind promise to open up new opportunities of employment for women.

In China and Japan women have attained an important position in industry. Recently women have entered Chinese industry in large numbers. While they continue to find work for the most part in the light industries, women are now beginning to go into heavy industry as well. In Japan women constituted 32.8 per cent of wage earners in the processing industries in October 1952 and numbered 1,570,000. Before the war the great majority of women workers were employed in the

textile branch. This situation still prevails and in October 1952 almost half of these women (700,000) were employed in spinning, where they formed 75 per cent. of the labour force. However, the employment of women is on the increase in the engineering, chemical and food industries and thus tends to become more diversified. There are now small numbers of skilled women workers in metallurgy, for instance.

Generally speaking, women workers in industry, who play a considerable part in the economy of most Asian countries, are chiefly employed on unskilled work in the old-established industries, e.g., textiles. However, with the growth of new industries women, though hesitantly at first, are beginning to enter modern factories, where they apparently find the work (sometimes semi-skilled) congenial and where the working conditions are often better. For these reasons the occupational distribution of women workers shows a tendency to change, but in general the position of women industrial workers in Asia is still very unfavourable. Driven by necessity and lacking vocational training, women take up whatever work they can find, even when it is disagreeable or laborious and badly paid. Newcomers who are quite unaccustomed to industrial life or work raise problems of selection and initiation into even the simplest operations, and apparently so far no attention has been paid to these problems. Facilities for training women workers are also extremely limited and are available for very few occupations. May not the apathy shown by the women themselves arise in part from the fact that economic circumstances prevent them from undergoing vocational training? It would thus appear that the problem of vocational training of women for industry is of particular urgency, no less for the women themselves than for the industries which employ them or could employ them.

THE LIBERAL PROFESSIONS

Among the liberal and non-manual professions the employment of women has undergone considerable expansion, especially during recent years, and it is here that the greatest opportunities for new advances appear to lie. The size and urgency of the tasks to be performed and the shortage of staff in the fields of education, medicine and related sciences, the social services and public administration all call for increased employment of women. The growth of general education among girls in the urban centres of certain countries provides a reserve, no doubt still inadequate, of girls and women who are capable of quickly acquiring or extending the qualifications necessary for these professions, and at the same time provides a supply of girls and women who can be immediately recruited to the branches most lacking in personnel.

In the majority of Asian countries opportunities for secondary and university education are comparatively favourable for girls, by contrast to the facilities offered for vocational training in the lower and middle grades. It is not uncommon to allow women access to the universities on the same conditions as men. However, women most frequently attend the faculties of arts or law, and only in rare instances the faculty of science, from which they could go on to pursue a technical career in industry. Moreover university studies enjoy special prestige among the social classes from which the girls come who might otherwise take up technical studies at a secondary or higher level.

¹ *Labour Gazette* (Bombay), Mar. 1951, pp. 659-660.

Impoverishment of the middle classes plays its part in compelling girls with an elementary, or even more advanced, education to seek office work (as shorthand typists, secretaries, etc.). Thus the shortage of personnel, the continued trend towards emancipation of women and the decline in living standards among certain classes have combined to create what is perhaps one of the most striking features of the development of labour among women in the majority of Asian countries.

In Ceylon the 1946 census showed that whereas few women were employed in public administration (1,882 of a total of 66,802) they played a by no means insignificant part in the liberal professions (18,811 of a total of 76,474). While it is true that they were poorly represented among the higher appointments, in 1950 there were almost 12,000 women employed in education.¹

In present-day India education attracts more women than any other liberal profession. This career, formerly confined to men, now freely admits women. In March 1950 of 512,000 primary school teachers (excluding those in charge of primary classes attached to secondary schools), almost 15.4 per cent. were women. During the year 1949-50 there were in secondary schools (including the attached primary classes) 31,000 women teachers (approximately 16 per cent. of the total number of teachers). In the same year there were 3,918 women (14 per cent. of the total number of educational workers) among the teachers of the various professional and technical training institutions throughout India. In 1949-50 there were 1,700 women (8.9 per cent. of the total) among the teaching staffs of the various university faculties and general colleges of India.

The number of women in India entering medical careers is on the increase. As a means of encouraging more women to take up these professions, many medical institutions have reserved certain places for girl entrants.²

In Pakistan the employment of women in the liberal and non-manual professions is growing. The number of school teachers in the country districts is increasing. Formerly only Christian girls worked as shorthand typists or office workers in public administration or private business; now, however, young Moslem girls are joining them; in public administration, posts subject to competition are in most branches open to women and men equally. Women even serve in the police and the armed forces.

In the Philippines there was a noticeable increase between 1948 and 1951 in the number of women employed in public administration and the liberal professions, where the figures rose from 13,183 to 15,000, and from 66,753 to 77,000 respectively. In 1948 women employed in the various professions included 37,501 teachers (the numerically strongest group), 3,562 registered nurses, 2,493 pharmacists and dispensers, 602 women doctors and surgeons and 522 women dentists and opticians.³

In Japan women constituted in October 1952 18.4 per cent. of civil servants. Of these a great number held lower appointments, but since the end of the war more and more women have entered the higher

¹ Ceylon Labour Gazette, Dec. 1950, p. 7.

² GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Ministry of Education: *Education of Girls and Women in India* (Jan. 1952), pp. 9-39.

³ UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, Women's Bureau: *Filipino Women: Their Role in the Progress of Their Nation*.

grades. Certain professions have proved particularly attractive to women: in education in 1950 there were 230,000 women (as against 407,000 men). Twenty-five years ago there were no women solicitors or chartered accountants in Japan. Now women are to be found in many professions—there are 17 women barristers, five probational judges and two public prosecutors, and the number of women selecting such professions continues to increase.¹ A special survey made by the Women's and Minors' Bureau of the Ministry of Labour showed that in August 1951 there were 5,905 women doctors (as against 67,290 men) and 2,647 women dentists (against 25,469 men), and in the food industry there were 4,153 women and 670 men nutritionists. The nursing profession is virtually restricted to women. Among office workers the majority of telephone operators are women (61,000 compared to 2,000 men).

Speaking generally, and taking into account the special features of each country, it may be said that comparable developments are becoming apparent in all the Asian countries.

CONCLUSION

Thus we see that women workers represent a considerable productive potential. The great majority of women are engaged in agriculture, handicrafts and village industries, two of the most important sectors of the Asian economy. Large numbers of women, particularly in the urban centres, perform heavy and unskilled labour which is little suited to their physical capabilities. In industry only small numbers are employed on semi-skilled work requiring little physical exertion. The proportion of women in the liberal and intellectual professions has a marked tendency to increase.

The extent of women's participation in economic life is directly determined by their own economic requirements and those of their families. It is to be expected that under the conditions at present prevailing in Asia these determining factors will remain strong.

In spite of all the difficulties involved the need has gradually made itself felt to improve the vocational skills of women and to expand the available facilities for education and vocational training, while bearing in mind the situation existing in the labour market and the prospects for economic development in each particular country. A more rational and effective distribution of female labour which at the same time would reduce competition between men and women on the labour market could scarcely be undertaken without providing vocational training facilities for women.

It would then be possible to foresee the extension of employment for women among the new industries (for example, electrical equipment and light engineering) and, in more favourable conditions, among the established industries (textiles, tobacco, glass manufacturing, etc.). The immense needs prevailing in the spheres of education, health and social services have already opened up wide prospects of employment for women as these services are established and facilities for suitable preparatory training become available to women.

¹ JAPANESE MINISTRY OF LABOUR, Women's and Minors' Bureau: *Advance of Japanese Women in Postwar Years* (Women's Affairs Series, Bulletin No. 4, 1953), p. 9.

In the rural districts the opportunities for gainful employment open to women could be further increased by intensifying their output in certain branches of agriculture and by consciously encouraging the development of handicrafts and village industries which employ women. These measures might also be accompanied by the setting up of co-operatives covering the production and sale of agricultural and handicraft commodities.

The precarious economic and social situation of women in the labour market in Asia demands that measures be introduced which can overcome these disadvantages within a short period of time.

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"The economy in which we live is plagued by a number of evils. One of the most serious of these is the trade cycle depression, which from time to time throws great numbers of workers into idleness and threatens the economic existence of many employers. It is the duty of the State to cure these evils or, if that is impossible, at least to alleviate them through its economic policy."

These are the words with which the author introduces his book, and he then proceeds to inquire whether, as free-traders claim, economic fluctuations are the consequence of interference with the free play of natural forces. In the first part of the book, which is devoted to an examination of trade cycle phenomena, he answers this question in the negative. The history of these phenomena suggests that they form part of the essence of economic life. As, moreover, they have certain elements in common, particularly as regards their order of succession, their duration and their cumulative nature, they can be explained. Consequently, the fundamental task of any theory of the trade cycle is to find the causes of these phenomena.

The second part of the book aims at determining the principles by which the trade cycle can be explained. The great number of the theories advanced is due to the multiplicity of the factors involved ; these factors can be divided into two groups, namely, "impulses" and structural factors. In the first category are those factors whose variations lead to economic fluctuations ; they may arise out of climatic conditions, population, techniques or currency. However, their influence is due to the fact that the structural factors, by their very existence, make the system sensitive to the trade cycle ; these factors can be assessed by a synthesis of the market and circuit theories. The economist now has the necessary elements to construct a "demonstration model" to examine trade cycle fluctuations.

In the third part the author examines trade cycle variations in detail. He takes a system of perfect competition as his initial example, and introduces various additional elements in turn such as the time the system needs to adapt itself to changed conditions, monopolistic forms, the psychological tendencies of large groups and variations in the monetary cycle, to bring the scheme into closer approximation with reality. The trade cycle having been reproduced in this way, its cumulative effect has still to be explained. Here Professor Jöhr prefers to resort to social and psychological theories, which restore to man his pre-eminent place in economic development, rather than mechanical theories.

In the last chapter the author examines, also from the human standpoint, the effect of the trade cycle on employment, welfare and the distribution of income. In times of depression frictional or structural unemployment due to time lags in adaptation to trade cycle movements is supplemented by large-scale, long-term unemployment, and it is difficult, but essential, to distinguish between the two. "The composition of unemployment caused by structural modifications changes even though the level of unemployment may remain unchanged for some time ; the frictional or structural proportion decreases, while the proportion caused by the checking of expansionary forces, i.e., unemployment caused by cyclic factors, increases. Finally, at the end of the necessary period of adaptation, all that remains is cyclic unemployment . . . which always accounts for a greater proportion of unemployment than is generally believed." A depression lowers the levels of production and employment, and thus has an adverse effect not only on the well-being of the workers concerned but also on that of the entire community. In addition, general economic changes affect welfare by changing the distribution of incomes and by the inflation or deflation to which they lead, which changes the relations between nominal and real values. Thus, in cases of inflation, "the real income lost by savers, employees and workers as a result of failure to adapt incomes to rises in prices is gained by the employer in the form of profit and by the shareholders in the form of dividends and increment value". In the case of deflation income is transferred in the opposite direction.

The inevitable conclusion is that it is essential to control trade cycle movements by neutralising these different factors ; however, an economic policy of this kind would be either impracticable or dangerous. Consequently, the author recommends that the State should leave the basis of the mechanism governing the trade cycle untouched, but should control the cyclic movement by a policy of stabilisation of the national income to maintain employment at a high level.

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PLANNING COMMISSION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. *First Five Year Plan*. People's Edition. Delhi, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Publications Division, 1953. 263 pp. 2 rupees 8 annas; 4s. 6d.; 60 cents.

The Government of India Planning Commission, which was set up in March 1950, published a draft outline of the plan in July 1951 and an official account of the final plan, which runs to over 1,000 pages, in December 1952.¹ The People's Edition is an abridged and slightly simplified version of the original.

India's first Five Year Plan which the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, described as "modest, but with far-reaching consequences", covers a five-year period, 1951-56, involves a total outlay of about Rs. 20,690 million, and is expected to increase national income to about Rs. 100,000 million, or by about 11 per cent. Its importance lies in the fact that it initiates in India a comprehensive process of planned economic development with the purpose of raising progressively the living standards of the people. It represents, furthermore, an organised national effort to deal with multifarious problems involved in increasing production and assuring its equitable distribution in a country with an underdeveloped economy, an old socio-economic order and very low income per head of population.

The plan is presented in three parts: the first contains an analysis of the process of development in an underdeveloped economy; the second is concerned with administration and public co-operation; and the third with various programmes of development. These programmes are grouped under a number of headings, which may be reduced to five categories, namely, agriculture; irrigation and power; cottage and small-scale industries; industry and communications; and social services and employment.

As the most important requirement of the country is to increase food supplies and the raw materials needed for industry, the plan gives highest priority to agriculture, irrigation and power, which together are allotted 44.6 per cent. of the total outlay. Industry receives 8.4 per cent. and social services, where the need is also extensive, 16.4 per cent. of the total. It is expected that large-scale community effort will be forthcoming for assisting in the liquidation of illiteracy and rural development. It is stated that the chief significance of the pattern of outlay is that it will make a substantial amount of productive equipment available both in the public and private sectors, and thus make more rapid development possible in the future.

According to the plan, by 1955-56, as compared with 1950-51, production of food grains will increase by almost 17 per cent., cotton by over 42 per cent., jute by 63 per cent., and sugar cane by about 13 per cent. Major irrigation and power projects are expected to bring an additional area of 8.5 million acres under irrigation and to generate 1.08 million kW of additional power. In the industrial sector, production of pig iron is expected to increase by 310,000 tons, finished steel by 390,000 tons, fertilisers by 528,000 tons, cement by 2.1 million tons and cloth by 1,872 million yards.

¹ See "Development Planning in India", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXVIII, No. 2, Aug. 1953.

As to the financing of the plan, it is estimated that of a total outlay of Rs. 20,690 million about Rs. 7,380 million will be available out of savings from the current revenues, and about Rs. 5,200 million out of private savings, and Rs. 1,560 million as a result of foreign assistance. The gap of Rs. 6,550 million, however, will have to be met from further external resources or, in the absence of such resources, through additional measures of internal taxation and borrowing and through deficit financing.

According to rough estimates, it is stated that the plan will create additional annual employment opportunities in certain important sectors: industry, including small-scale industries, 400,000; major irrigation and power projects, 750,000; agriculture, 2,300,000; building and construction, 100,000; roads, 200,000; and cottage industries, 2 million.

The plan is realistic and flexible; it is based on a close study of the country's resources, human, natural and capital. Its successful implementation will lay the foundation for a faster economic development in the future, and that depends on the wholehearted co-operation of the people in every phase and the availability of finance.

PRESIDENCIA DE LA NACIÓN (Argentine Republic). *Segundo Plan Quinquenal*. Buenos Aires, Subsecretaría de Informaciones, 1953. 541 pp.

This volume, which presents Argentina's second five-year plan, contains introductions by the President of the Republic and the Minister of Technical Affairs. The plan proper, presented in the form of a law, is divided into two principal parts, "social action" and "economic action". The former contains chapters on population, labour, social welfare, education, culture, scientific research, public health, housing and tourism; the second treats of agrarian and mining problems, fuel and electrical power and industrial, financial, communications, administrative and military problems. Each of these chapters contains a fundamental objective as well as the general and specific objectives which the plan hopes to achieve. Thus, in labour questions, the plan has as its principal aim the development of the exercise of workers' rights as established in the Constitution; the general objectives include full employment, the creation of an employment service, the increase of productivity and, finally, as a specific objective, the encouragement of collective negotiations and trade associations and the preparation of a code of social law.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION MISSION IN COLOMBIA. *Reorganisation of the Executive Branch of the Colombian Government: Report of a Mission headed by Lauchlin Currie*. Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional, 1952. xxxii+448 pp.

As a sequel to the plan for economic development of Colombia prepared by a mission of the International Bank in 1950, the Government of that country decided to engage a group of experts to draw up a plan for the reorganisation of public administration in Colombia, particularly those branches which are directly connected with the economic activities of the country. The report of this new mission proposes a programme for the reorganisation of the Colombian Executive without attempting to analyse the fundamental characteristics of the State (division and balance of powers, etc.) or those sectors which generally directly influence the standard of living of the Colombian people. The report contains 17 chapters dealing with: (1) the President's office, (2) the budget, government accounting and statistics, (3) the administration of the civil service, (4) semi-autonomous institutions, (5) the Ministries of Finance, Agriculture, Commerce, Transport, Labour, Health and Education, (6) social insurance, (7) municipal development and housing, (8) co-ordination of monetary, fiscal and exchange policies.

It would be difficult to overstate the importance of a report of this kind for a country such as Colombia, where economic development plans encounter serious obstacles through defective government administration and organisation.

UNION EUROPÉENNE DES FÉDÉRALISTES. *Economie de la Fédération européenne*. Rome, 1952. 119 pp.

This work consists of a collection of papers presented to the Congress on the Economy of European Federation organised in Genoa in September 1952 by the Chamber of Commerce in agreement with the Movement for European Federation. Only the two papers dealing with labour questions are reviewed here.

Mr. Maurice ALLAIS discusses trading and trade policy, and shows that the freeing of trade would allow an increase of real national income by creating large internal markets, which are essential for high productivity and a high standard of living. The author believes that in 20 or 30 years real wages in Europe could be raised to double or triple their present level in France by the organisation of planned income distribution alongside a market economy. It would however be impossible to create an economic union without bringing about political union first. He makes the specific statement that "the agencies of the Schuman Plan will only prove efficacious if they are shortly superseded by a federal European government".

Professor PARENTI deals with problems connected with the mobility of labour in a federated Europe, and stresses the need to gain the co-operation of the workers in organising movements of labour. To achieve this, it would be necessary to improve placement services in order to make employment opportunities widely known, to attract workers by better conditions into industries scheduled for expansion, to make the community responsible for the cost of resettlement, to safeguard real wages and labour conditions through the support of the trade unions and gradually to create international occupational mobility on the lines suggested in the Schuman Plan.

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL. *Monopoly and Public Welfare*. By a Study Group in the University of Natal. Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1952. 229 pp.

Statistics.

DANISH STATISTICAL DEPARTMENT. *Statistisk Tabelværk, Femte Række, Litra A Nr. 24. Erhvervstællingen 1948 (Census of Manufacturing, Distribution and Other Industries)*. Copenhagen, Bianco Lunos Bøkskriveri, 1953. 252 pp.

The recent Danish census of manufacturing covers 210,242 establishments with over 1 million personnel. In comparison with similar censuses made in 1925 and 1935 the scope of the data has been extended and the industry classification modified to conform with the International Standard Industrial Classification. The main tables contain data—by branch of industry and separately for wholesale and retail trade and restaurants—on the number of establishments and personnel, wages and salaries paid during 1947. Values are given for turnover, goods used in production and for sales, stocks and investments. The international use of the data is facilitated by table headings and an alphabetical list of industries in English.

INSTITUT NATIONAL DE LA STATISTIQUE ET DES ETUDES ECONOMIQUES. *Les statistiques de transports en France : Description ; Modes d'établissement ; Résultats*. Paris, 1952. 203 pp.

This survey is one of a series published by the above Institute, which aims at providing the public with clear and accurate information concerning the existing range of statistical documentation in the main sectors of the economy and at focusing attention on deficiencies and desirable improvements in each field.

The book covers all branches of transport—by sea, inland waterways, road, rail and air. A concise analytical summary draws attention to the deficiencies of present-day French transport statistics.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Employment, Hours and Earnings—State and Area Data, 1947-51*. Washington, 1952. iv+90 pp.

Industrial Relations.

GIOIA, Angelo di. *L'intervento dei lavoratori nella gestione delle aziende*. Florence, Quaderni di "Notizie Economiche", No. 2, 1952. 202 pp. 250 lire.

This book began as a course of lectures to trade union organisers, and its aim is above all a practical one. It gives a concise summary of the historical development, in various countries, of the participation of workers in the administration of undertakings. The author surveys the various bodies set up for the purposes of such collaboration in Great Britain, the United States and France and also in the countries with a socialist economy. The remainder of the book is devoted to a study of the origin and development of works councils in Italy, the main legal basis of which is the Decree of 17 April 1945 on the constitution of works councils in the liberated areas. Article 46 of the Italian Constitution of 1947 consecrated the right of workers to take part in the administration of undertakings within the limits laid down by the law. The book also mentions the activity of works councils in various congresses, in agriculture and in the so-called productivity crusade.

HOURS, Joseph. *Le mouvement ouvrier français*. Paris, Les Editions Ouvrières, 1952. 153 pp.

The author's intention was to trace the history of the French workers' movement as a continuation of his study of the work and thought of the French people¹ and from the same point of view. The first lesson that stands out from his analysis of the movement is "its chaotic nature, . . . more or less violent upheavals separated by long intervals of exhaustion". He sees it as guided more by instinct than by conscious will-power and asks whether this state of "childhood" is not really lack of courage. He considers that "the very strength of which the working class has given proof summons it today to take up the inheritance of the former ruling classes" and he is confident that "the working class, vanguard of the French people, will rise above fear and scruples, and continue its history henceforth by making French history".

The book is divided into six chapters: The Origins (before 1791), The Birth of the Working World (1791-1831), The Beginnings of Self-Awareness (1831-1851), The Beginnings of Workers' Action (1851-1871), Workers' Organisation (1871-1914) and the Working Class and the State (1914-1940) (1940-1950).

The workers' movement is considered in its broadest sense and in its most diverse features, and through its varied history a few firm and well-chosen strokes trace the development of trade unionism, itself manifold and ever-changing.

LEONETTI, Alfonso. *L'Italie (des origines à 1922). Mouvements ouvriers et socialistes (chronologie et bibliographie)*. Paris, Les Editions Ouvrières, 1952. 198 pp.

MAITRON, Jean. *Le syndicalisme révolutionnaire—Paul Delesalle*. Preface by Edouard DOLLÉANS. Collection "Masses et Militants". Paris, Les Editions Ouvrières, 1952. 162 pp.

¹ *Œuvre et Pensée du Peuple français* (Paris, 1945).

WILLIAMS, Francis. *Ernest Bevin: Portrait of a Great Englishman*. Foreword by Clement ATTLEE. London, Hutchinson and Co. Ltd., 1952. 288 pp. 21s.

The I.L.O. has reason to be grateful to Ernest Bevin. He was always a strong believer in the Organisation. He participated in its work before the war and he was one of the little band of statesmen—which included President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Mackenzie King—who helped to make it possible for the I.L.O. to function during the war. Moreover, it was Ernest Bevin who fathered the idea that the I.L.O. should set up a number of Industrial Committees—one of the major developments in the work of the I.L.O. in recent years.

In this book Francis Williams tells a vivid story. It is not, as he says, a full biography but it shows Bevin as he really was and not simply as a biographer's hero. His outstanding merits and his strength of character are brought out but so also are his faults. Although his weaknesses are not concealed they are quite overshadowed by his strength of character, powerful personality, gift of organisation, skill as a negotiator, capacity for work, ability to grasp the things that really matter, fertility in producing ideas and ability to put them into effect, sympathy with ordinary people, sense of judgment and burning desire to make life better for the peoples of the world.

Most of Bevin's career was spent in the trade union movement. He was nearly 60 when he became a Member of Parliament and Minister of Labour and National Service, and 64 when he was made Foreign Secretary. He was for years a dominating figure in the trade union movement and the Labour Party, and he became one of the most formidable members of the War Cabinet. His great achievements in the trade union world and at the Ministry of Labour and National Service were given full recognition during his lifetime. Opinions about his career as Foreign Secretary are more varied; Williams himself agrees with the opinion expressed by the *Observer* in May 1948 that "history will very possibly rate him as one of the greatest Foreign Secretaries this country ever had and the best she could possibly have had at this particular juncture". Williams' judgments on Bevin's career are based on personal experience. His book will help not only to explain Ernest Bevin himself but also to throw light on social developments in the United Kingdom and on the distinctive British methods which have been evolved for handling the problems of labour.

Manpower.

ASSOCIATION DES PATRONS ET INGÉNIEURS CATHOLIQUES. *Problèmes de la Jeunesse Ouvrière*. Extract from *Bulletin Social des Industriels*, No. 191, November 1952. La Journée Sociale de Mons: Rencontre des Régionales de l'A.P.I.C. du Hainaut. Brussels, 1952. 32 pp.

CAMERA DI COMMERCIO, INDUSTRIA E AGRICOLTURA DI MILANO. *Aspetti della disoccupazione in provincia di Milano*. Extract from "Studi e Statistiche", Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4, 1953. Milan, 1953. 133 pp. 800 lire.

This study of unemployment in the province of Milan is in four parts. The first deals with the physical, economic and demographic character of the province. The second analyses the characteristics of the labour market with special reference to the demand for labour and includes two chapters on the composition, rate of growth and geographical mobility of the labour force. The third part is a thorough study of the qualitative and quantitative aspects of unemployment in the province, with a chapter on the obstacles which hamper the organisation of the labour market. The last part contains an analysis of the probable development of the labour market and suggests some possible solutions to the problem of unemployment in the province.

Conditions of Work.

INTERNATIONAL LANDWORKERS' FEDERATION. *A Better Future for Plantation Workers*. A Survey of Working and Living Conditions of Plantation Workers and the Way to a Better Future. By C. J. VERSLUYS. Utrecht, 1953. 80 pp.

NORWEGIAN MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY. *Productivity in American Industry: Wage Systems, Co-operation*. Report from the Study Team of the Ministry of Industry. Oslo, 1952. 144 pp.

PIERSON, Frank C. *Community Wage Patterns*. Publications of the Institute of Industrial Relations. Berkeley, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1953. xvii+213 pp. \$3.75.

Rehabilitation.

BARKER, Roger G. In collaboration with Beatrice A. WRIGHT, Lee MEYERSON and Mollie R. GONICK. *Adjustment to Physical Handicap and Illness: A Survey of the Social Psychology of Physique and Disability*. New York, Social Science Research Council, 1953. xvi+440 pp.

A revised edition of a 1946 publication dealing with the relation between social behaviour and personality and normal and pathological variations in physical size, strength, motor ability, sensory acuity and health. The intention in preparing this very detailed piece of research work is to assemble what is known of the subject and to indicate problems for future investigation. Apart from general chapters on the subject there are separate chapters on the effects of crippling conditions, tuberculosis, impaired hearing, impaired vision and acute illness and a final chapter on the employment of the disabled. Most of the chapters contain exhaustive research summaries and there is also a 50-page general bibliography.

A serious research work of deep interest to students, professional workers and administrators engaged in the fields of psychology and rehabilitation.

BUREAU UNIVERSITAIRE DE STATISTIQUE ET DE DOCUMENTATION SCOLAIRE ET PROFESSIONNELLE ET CENTRE NATIONAL D'INFORMATION POUR LA RÉADAPTATION. *Réadaptation*. Revue mensuelle. No. 1, January 1953. Paris, 1953. 48 pp. 125 francs.

CENTRE INTERNATIONAL DE L'ENFANCE. *Réadaptation des enfants atteints d'infirmité motrice*. Cours du Centre International de l'Enfance, Paris-Londres, 15 Octobre-15 Décembre 1951. Conférences recueillies et rédigées par M^{me} le Docteur Ch. MARTIN. Travaux et Documents: V. Paris, Librairie Lefrançois; London, Lange, Maxwell & Springer, Ltd., 1952. 435 pp.

A collected edition of the lectures given at a course organised by the International Children's Centre, Paris, from 15 October to 15 December 1951. The majority of the 50 chapters deal with different medical and surgical aspects of this problem, but there are also four chapters on educational and social aspects and a chapter on vocational guidance and training.

FERGUSON, T. *The Young Delinquent in his Social Setting*. London, New York, Toronto, Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, for the Nuffield Foundation, 1952. xii+158 pp. 10s. 6d.

The problem of juvenile delinquency is here considered against the social and environmental background of a selected group of Glasgow boys. Dr. Ferguson gives information on the ordinary boy, the physically handicapped boy and the mentally handicapped boy and their response to treatment. The information is presented in a scientific fashion and affords excellent material for study by all interested in sociology, delinquency and the problems of adolescence.

Social Security.

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY, Social Security Administration. *Social Security in the United States*. Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953. v+65 pp. 25 cents.

An official description for the general reader of the United States social security programme. In addition to a concise explanation of existing social security and related measures, the pamphlet contains an informative discussion of the historical background of these measures and the place they now occupy in American life. A useful chronology of social security development in the United States and a selected bibliography are included.

— *Social Workers from Around the World Observe Social Welfare in the United States*. International Technical Cooperation Series No. 1. Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952. ii+211 pp.

A collection of observations on social services in the United States, taken from reports of visiting social workers from other countries.

FRASSINETTI, Augusto. *Assunzione obbligatoria al lavoro degli invalidi di guerra*. Milan, Dott. A. Guiffre, Editore, 1952. 191 pp. 800 lire.

This book brings together the legislation in force in Italy respecting the compulsory employment of war-disabled persons, which is founded mainly on Act No. 375 of 3 June 1950. The regulations governing the application of the relevant provisions are reproduced, with comparative tables showing the various provisions of the Act and the regulations thereunder. An appendix contains the parliamentary debates prior to the passage of the Act and previous legislation on the subject, which goes back to 1921.

INSTITUTO COLOMBIANO DE SEGUROS SOCIALES. *Antecedentes y Documentos de los Seguros Sociales*. Edited by Jesús María RENGIFO. 2 vols. Bogotá, Imprenta y Editorial Antares, 1952. xiv+641 and 565 pp.

The first of a series of publications giving the results of research into the history of social security in Colombia. It includes a very complete study of the various projects submitted between 1928 and 1945 in so far as they touch on the essential substance of the present law on social security. The year 1928 is taken as a starting point because it was in that year that the idea of a social security system first took up the attention of the Colombian legislature. The book reproduces the text of these earlier projects and thus shows how varied were the ideas prevailing on social security down to the adoption, in 1946, of the social security Act now in force.

These two volumes will be followed by others on the social security legislation now in force in Colombia and on related statistical questions.

Living Conditions.

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY. *Housing Research: Housing of the Nonwhite Population, 1940 to 1950*. Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952. vi+42 pp. 25 cents.

MINISTRY OF HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT. *Design in Town and Village*. Part I: *The English Village*; Part II: *The Design of Residential Areas*; Part III: *Design in City Centres*. London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1953. vi+120 pp. 7s. 6d.

Report on a Revised Plan for the Town and Region of Gandhidham, Kutch, India. Prepared for the Government of India Ministry of Transport, and the United States Department of State, Technical Cooperation Administration, by ADAMS, HOWARD and GREELEY, in collaboration with the Office of the Administrator, United States Housing and Home Finance Agency. Boston, Mass., 1952. 51 pp.

SCOTTISH HOUSING ADVISORY COMMITTEE. *Housing of Special Groups: Older People; One-Person and Two-Person Households; Large Households; Disabled People; Higher-Income Group Households; Occupational Groups*. Edinburgh, H.M. Stationery Office, 1952. 102 pp. 5s.

TEMPORARY STATE HOUSING RENT COMMISSION (STATE OF NEW YORK). *Report on Rent Control*. By Joseph D. MCGOLDRICK. New York, 1952, 119 pp.

Agriculture.

MINISTERIO DE GANADERÍA Y AGRICULTURA (República Oriental del Uruguay), Dirección de Agronomía, Sección economía y estadística agraria. *Censo general agropecuario, 1951*. Montevideo, 1952. xlvii+450 pp.

YAZDI, Karim. *Le problème agraire de l'Iran*. Thèse présentée à la Faculté de Sciences Economiques et Sociales de l'Université de Genève. Thèse No. 135. Lyons, Imprimerie Emmanuel Vitte, 1952. 211 pp.

In this study the author examines the main problem in the Iranian land question, latifundia, and attempts to show the facts of the problem and the measures for which it calls, particularly the division of large estates among the peasants cultivating them. The chapters on the typical village, the co-operative movement in Iran and suitable measures for carrying out land reform in that country are of special interest. The book contains a valuable bibliography.

Co-operation.

AMORÓS RICA, Narciso. *El régimen jurídico fiscal de las cooperativas españolas*. Madrid, Editorial de Derecho Financiero, 1952. xv+288 pp. 100 pesetas.

ROZIER, Jean. *Les coopératives agricoles: statut juridique; constitution; gestion; financement*. Foreword by Pierre MARTIN. Preface by Maurice PALMADE. Paris, Librairies Techniques, 1952. 570 pp.

The first part of this very comprehensive study deals with the legal status of agricultural co-operatives. Beginning with the historical background, it shows the connection between co-operative societies in general and agricultural co-operatives, and describes the legal side of farming co-operation. The second part is devoted to the constitutional rules, and pays special attention to the question of the society's capital. The author has not been afraid to tackle the very topical problem of the revaluation of shares in step with currency depreciation. The third part deals with the management of farm co-operatives (board of management, general meeting, members, etc.) and raises the ever-difficult question of positive participation of members in the life of their organisation when their capital (i.e., the number of shares they hold) increases. Methods of financing and supervising agricultural co-operatives are dealt with in the fourth part, where the author surveys the various kinds of government assistance which can be rendered by agricultural credit, rural planning, etc., and also gives an idea of the machinery of state supervision, either direct or through consulting boards. The fifth part is devoted to agricultural unions, federations and groups, all of which are minutely described, and gives the general characteristics of the different types of farm co-operative. Finally, the sixth part deals with the position of agricultural co-operatives as regards taxation—direct and indirect taxes, registration and stamp dues.

Appendices include the basic laws on co-operatives and particularly agricultural co-operatives in France, model rules for different types of agricultural co-operative, examples of legal documents relating to the management of co-operatives, examples of standing orders and a sample balance sheet.

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International Balance in Social Security Costs

by

Pierre LAROQUE, member of the Conseil d'Etat (France),

and

Antoine ZELENKA, International Labour Office

This article follows on the study by Mr. Laroque of international problems of social security that has already appeared in the Review.¹ Among these problems that of the absolute or relative cost of social security in the different countries is becoming increasingly more important. Although this problem is not new—it was studied by the International Labour Office long before the Second World War—its complexity and the absence of the necessary statistics do not yet permit final conclusions to be drawn. The purpose of the authors of this article is to state the problem rather than to attempt a solution.

"THE failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries." This statement, which is found in the Preamble to Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles (the Charter of the International Labour Organisation), is expanded in Article 427 of the same instrument, which reads: "[the High Contracting Parties] recognise that differences of climate, habits and customs, of economic opportunity and industrial tradition, make strict uniformity in the conditions of labour difficult of immediate attainment. But, holding as they do that labour should not be regarded merely as an article of commerce, they think that there are methods and principles for regulating labour conditions which all industrial communities should endeavour to apply, so far as their special circumstances will permit."

¹ Pierre LAROQUE: "International Problems of Social Security", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXVI, No. 1, July 1952, p. 1, and No. 2, Aug. 1952, p. 113.

In these declarations, which have been and still are the basis of the work of the International Labour Organisation and govern international relations in the social field, two separate ideas are to be found, between which a sufficiently clear distinction is not always made. One is a purely social concept, namely, the need for a minimum social standard and a minimum level of protection for workers, and in addition a tendency to generalise these standards and levels, on the grounds that all workers in all countries should enjoy similar guarantees. The other is an economic concept: competition should not be carried on at the expense of the workers, and social elements should as far as possible be prevented from influencing competition—there should be no great disparity in the incidence of social charges.

These two concepts—the concept of a generalised level of social protection and that of a balance in the burden of social charges—are far from being equivalent to one another. It seems that for a long time the dissimilarity between the two has not been realised, or at best only partly realised. The reason for this may lie in the fact that international regulations were in the first place conceived essentially for application in industrialised countries that had reached comparable stages of economic development and dealt with the conditions surrounding the actual performance of work, such as hours of work, safety and placement; all these factors have admittedly economic repercussions; the latter are, however, indirect and may be partially offset if accompanied by technical progress. Since international regulations have gradually been extended to economically undeveloped countries and have given increasing importance to other aspects of social protection and particularly social security in its manifold forms, the gap between the two ideas has become steadily clearer.

It is particularly striking in the field of social security, which stands today in the forefront of the international scene and to which this study will be confined. The application of identical legislation in different countries would lead to consequences out of all proportion to one another.

The reason for this lies first of all in the different demographic situations. The population distribution by age groups varies considerably from country to country. The cost of old-age pensions and family allowances depends on the ratio between the number of aged persons or children and the active population. In this connection, table I is particularly striking. It indicates the theoretical effect, in a certain number of countries for which adequate demographic information is available, of the application of a uniform system involving the payment of a pension equal to 40 per cent. of the average income of a person between 15 and 65 years

of age to every person of 65 years of age or over, and the payment of an allowance equal to 3 per cent. of that income for every child under 15 years of age. It is to be observed that the cost of such a system would vary from 3.8 per cent. of the average income of persons between 15 and 65 years of age in the Argentine Republic to 8.3 per cent. in Ireland.

TABLE I. DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION IN MAIN AGE GROUPS AND EFFECTS ON THE COST OF SOCIAL SECURITY

Country	Year	Number of children under 15 for every thousand persons in the age group 15-64	Number of persons aged 65 or over for every thousand persons in the age group 15-64	Cost of the general old-age pension and family allowance scheme as a percentage of the total income of the population in the age group 15-64
Ireland	1946	453	173	8.279
France	1950	326	178	8.098
United Kingdom . .	1950	336	161	7.448
Belgium	1950	307	163	7.441
New Zealand	1949	455	142	7.045
Sweden	1948	336	148	6.928
Norway	1949	353	142	6.739
Denmark	1949	402	137	6.686
Switzerland	1949	346	139	6.598
Netherlands	1950	465	123	6.315
Canada	1950	466	122	6.278
Iceland	1949	486	120	6.258
Federal Republic of Germany	1950	375	128	6.245
Italy	1949	405	121	6.055
United States . . .	1950	426	118	5.998
Australia	1947	373	119	5.879
Finland	1949	441	110	5.723
Czechoslovakia . . .	1947	357	111	5.511
Portugal	1949	460	103	5.500
Saar	1946	387	104	5.321
Puerto Rico	1950	813	72	5.319
Greece	1949	460	94	5.140
Japan	1950	599	82	5.077
Philippines	1946	804	65	5.012
Algeria	1948	743	57	4.509
Turkey	1945	692	59	4.436
Poland	1949	427	76	4.321
Ceylon	1946	628	58	4.204
Thailand	1947	768	47	4.184
Venezuela	1945	734	45	4.002
Argentina	1947	473	60	3.819

It should, however, be pointed out that old-age pensions and family allowances counterbalance each other to a certain extent, as countries with a high proportion of aged persons do not often have a high proportion of children as well. If old-age pensions are considered separately, it is observed that the cost would vary

from 1.8 per cent. in Venezuela to 7.1 per cent. in France. Similarly, the cost of family allowances would vary from 0.8 per cent. in Luxembourg to 2.4 per cent. in Puerto Rico.

Although these demographic factors are extremely important, they should not be considered separately but together with economic factors. The significance of a particular percentage of the total income of economically active persons varies greatly according to whether this income is high or low. Not only does the level of protection guaranteed vary greatly, as it is fixed not in absolute terms but in proportion to the standards of living of the mass of the population, but in addition a country with a high national income can bear the charges corresponding to a given percentage of its national income more easily than a country with a low income called upon to bear a charge corresponding to an equivalent percentage of its own income. Thus prosperity, the national income and the output of labour are elements which have a great influence on the determination of the relative burdens imposed by identical social legislation in different countries.

To attain equality in the standard of social protection for all peoples and to attain equality in the cost of such protection are thus, in the international sphere at least, two clearly distinct problems which have too often been confused in the past.

THE CONSIDERATION OF THE COST OF SOCIAL SECURITY IN I.L.O. CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The work of the International Labour Organisation in social security, as in other aspects of social legislation, has been directed mainly if not exclusively at attaining some degree of international balance in standards of social protection. The Conventions and Recommendations adopted in this sphere prior to 1939, apart from those for the protection of the rights of migrant workers, laid down carefully chosen standards in each branch of social insurance as the minimum to be established by legislation in a normally developed country and the aim towards which legislation in all developing countries should aspire. These Conventions and Recommendations make no allowance for the possibility that the standards fixed might lay unequal burdens on the different countries called upon to adopt them. They even seem to ignore the possibility that such inequalities might occur.

Since the Second World War a tendency has become apparent in the International Labour Organisation to consider social security problems in a new light. The International Labour Conference, instead of seeking a basis for the best possible social insurance scheme for a particular contingency considered separately, has

begun to consider the problem of social security for a particular population, in this way following a legislative and ideological trend that has been developing throughout the world. Each contingency is now considered not separately but as part of a whole series of contingencies which may affect the security of an individual or a family; moreover the relative importance of these contingencies may vary considerably according to the population and the category of persons involved. Furthermore, the problem has to be examined from the point of view of the entire population of the country, in view of the interdependence between all the different elements of the population, if the problem is viewed as a whole. Lastly, from the technical point of view, the problem is more than the mere building up of insurance machinery; many different methods, based on assistance as well as insurance, must be combined in a general redistribution of incomes.

Consequently the equilibrium between levels of social protection is now considered not from the standpoint of coverage against a particular contingency but from that of all the schemes, with their manifold forms and methods, that contribute to the provision of social security. This is clearly shown by the Income Security Recommendation and the Medical Care Recommendation (both adopted at Philadelphia in 1944). However, in these Recommendations the sole consideration is still the level of social protection. Their purpose is to lay down minimum international standards and encourage governments to promote legislation establishing those standards. The idea of the equalisation of the cost of the social security schemes recommended is not to be found anywhere in these texts.

However, this consideration does appear in the Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention, 1952, but only in an indirect and very hesitant form. The Convention states that each member State that ratifies the Convention must comply with the standards laid down in at least three of the nine branches mentioned. The possibility of making a choice is probably intended to allow for the fact that the needs of different populations are not identical and that an equivalent degree of security, and consequently equivalent standards of protection, may be reached by different peoples in different ways. But it would be equally justifiable to base the choice on the expenditure involved in providing coverage against each contingency, and it is here that the cost of social security may play a part. In addition, Article 3, paragraph 1, states that "a Member whose economy and medical facilities are insufficiently developed may, if and for so long as the competent authority considers necessary, avail itself, by a declaration appended to its ratification, of [a certain number of] temporary exceptions", thus

permitting the enforcement of lower standards than those laid down in principle. Here there is a clear desire to adapt standards to the level of economic development in each country, and an encouragement to future progress which should accompany the economic development envisaged.

Admittedly, formulae of this kind have the disadvantage of weakening the legal force of the rules in the Convention, but it would be difficult to enforce more rigid provisions on account of the different consequences that would result from applying identical standards to different national economies. However, attempts have occasionally been made to introduce into Conventions clauses which constitute a compromise between the precise nature of the commitments accepted and the adaptability of such commitments to economic situations. Thus, Article 3, paragraph 1 (b), of the Seafarers' Pensions Convention, 1946, states that every scheme must provide pensions, the financing of which requires a premium income from all sources which is not less than 10 per cent. of the total remuneration on the basis of which contributions are paid to the scheme. A clause of this kind fixes the extent of the commitments accepted by the member State as a proportion of the total remuneration of seafarers. Thus differences between the wages of seafarers, which may to a certain extent be assumed to correspond to differences between the economic situations of member States, enable different pensions to be paid without violating the provisions of the Convention. Similarly, Article 18, paragraph 2 (a), of the Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention, 1952, states that the period for which sickness benefit is payable, which in principle should not be limited to less than 26 weeks, may in underdeveloped countries be limited "to such period that the total number of days for which the sickness benefit is granted in any year is not less than ten times the average number of persons protected in that year". However, the most pronounced move in this direction is to be found in a clause concerning the qualifying age for retirement, the insertion of which was envisaged in the Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention, but which was deleted at the last moment by the International Labour Conference in 1952. This clause stated that the prescribed age should not in principle be more than 65 years "or than such higher age that the number of residents having attained that age is not less than 10 per cent. of the number of residents under that age but over 15 years". The purpose of this provision was to fix the retirement age according to the ratio between the number of aged persons and the active population of the country. It was, in fact, an affirmation of the need to allow for economic factors in laying down standards.

Although these attempts express preoccupations which were long ago formulated in international assemblies, their timidity, their exceptional character and the rejection of the most recent of them at the 1952 Conference show that there is still considerable hesitation in the search for concrete solutions, in spite of the fact that the development of social security throughout the world has made the problem much more acute.

At the present time, although great efforts have been made to develop international regulations laying down social security criteria and guaranteeing a fairly homogeneous level of social protection for the peoples of the world, no serious attempt has yet been made to achieve a reasonable balance among the nations in the cost of social security.

A NEW AND SERIOUS PROBLEM

We are thus faced today with a new problem which is particularly urgent and acute. On the one hand the economic interdependence of the different parts of the world is steadily becoming more and more pronounced. On the other hand great progress has been made in social security legislation and institutions; this has in its turn made more striking the differences between the guarantees given to the workers in different countries and the effect of the progress achieved on international competition.

The many Conventions respecting social insurance adopted by the International Labour Conference before 1939, while laying down general standards for the coverage of each contingency, never specified the rate of benefit to be paid. Thus the legislative authorities in each country could by the choice of the rate to be applied adapt their standards to the economic situation of the country without ceasing to apply the standards laid down in the Convention. But this very fact threatened to make the guarantee given by the Convention meaningless; in any case it did not imply any definite equivalence between the levels of protection given by different countries from either the social or the economic point of view. The standards laid down in the 1952 Convention included the determination of rates of benefit. This fundamental innovation, while restricting the freedom of national legislation, considerably enhances the guarantee given to persons covered by social security. But in addition it unquestionably raises the problem of the equivalence of the cost of benefit in different national economies.

Similarly, the member States of the Council of Europe have for the last two years been working on a "European Social Security Code", in an attempt, if not to standardise their legislation, at

least to reduce the differences between the levels of social protection given to their respective peoples, and they are perhaps equally interested in ensuring that the costs of such protection do not vary greatly among the member States. Indeed, a European organisation would be inconceivable without a minimum of economic unity as well as social unity. Social security expenditure is one factor in the balance to be struck.

THE SEARCH FOR VALID BASES FOR COMPARISON

This problem is an extremely difficult one. The statistical information available for its solution is often unreliable. The very substance of the notion of social security varies from country to country, and it is difficult to decide what elements in any particular legislation or institution are to be retained if a valid comparison is to be made. Thus, a country like the United Kingdom provides the entire population with medical care practically free of charge through the intermediary of the National Health Service, while other countries (for instance, most Western European countries) cover sickness only by assistance or insurance schemes, which cover a substantial part but not all of medical expenses. Can expenditure under these two schemes be validly compared? Similarly certain countries pay out family allowances in cash at very high rates, while other countries prefer to assist families by providing benefits in kind, such as free meals for children at school. Furthermore there is often confusion in the statistical data published between expenditure on items that come under the heading of social security benefits and other items that do not; this is the case, for example, when the unemployment benefit service is connected with the employment service. Consequently statistical data are often difficult to obtain or to sort out from other data, and in addition it is extremely difficult to interpret them with a view to making useful comparisons.¹

In the second place, assuming that usable statistical data are available, should the expenditure on social security or the moneys deducted from the national income to cover that expenditure be taken as a basis for calculating the cost of social security? This question is extremely important on account of the often considerable differences between income and expenditure which statistics reveal. Table II illustrates these differences clearly.

¹ For an analysis of the many difficulties in the preparation of comparative statistics of the cost of social security in different countries, see "A Comparative Analysis of the Cost of Social Security", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXVII, No. 3, Mar. 1953, p. 292.

TABLE II. EXPENDITURE AND SURPLUSES OF SOCIAL SECURITY SCHEMES IN 1949

(Total receipts = 1,000)

Country	Expenditure on benefits	Total expenditure	Surplus of income over expenditure
Switzerland	475	522	478
Turkey	642	657	343
United States	768	805	195
Iceland	772	810	190
Finland	792	826	174
Canada	817	851	149
United Kingdom	815	873	127
Netherlands	847	898	102
Belgium	867	911	89
Saar	889	914	86
Federal Republic of Germany	888	924	76
Norway	901	927	73
Italy	880	940	60
New Zealand	928	945	55
Austria	897	945	55
Ireland	913	972	28
Sweden	947	974	26
Denmark	935	976	24
France	934	986	14

When estimating the burden that a social security scheme places on the economy of a country one is naturally tempted at first sight to take as a basis the income of the scheme, which represents the moneys taken out of the economy. However, such a method would be extremely questionable, since whenever income exceeds expenditure the surplus is returned to the economy from which it was taken, usually in the form of investments. This is particularly true of systems in which capitalisation plays an important part. It would be illogical to consider a sum which is in fact used to develop the economy by productive investment as a burden on that economy. If the burden is to be measured exactly, it will be necessary to find out the nature of the different productive and unproductive uses of the receipts of the scheme. Such an investigation would probably meet with insurmountable difficulties and would leave too much room for arbitrary assumptions. It is therefore preferable merely to compare expenditure (i.e., both the benefits granted and administrative expenses); it should not, however, be forgotten that this method is also open to criticism.

No useful information can be obtained from a comparison of this expenditure in absolute figures. It is essential that expenditure in different countries should be reduced to a common denominator

and examined against valid criteria. The study already published by the International Labour Office¹ suggests a number of criteria based on national income, the total population and the population of working age. The value of each of these criteria can be assessed from the tables illustrating their application.

The first criterion which naturally comes to the mind is that of expressing the cost of social security as a proportion of the national income. Although the value of the estimates of national income made in different countries may be questioned, it is possible, by means of the figures published by national statistical services and international organisations, to obtain approximations accurate enough to serve as a basis for valid comparisons.

The ratio between the cost of social security in a particular country during a particular year and the national income during the same year may be considered as a measure of the efforts made in that country to provide social security, bearing in mind the economic possibilities of the country.²

However, even this criterion is not above criticism. First of all, a rich country can provide a given level of social security with a smaller percentage of its national income than a poor one. Secondly, a given percentage of the national income is a smaller and more easily bearable burden in a country where the national income is high than in one where the national income is low. Lastly, differences between demographic situations may cause the real value of a particular national income to vary considerably according to the population structure of the country concerned.

If demographic criteria are to be introduced, it is clear from the outset that a comparison between social security expenditure and the total population is valueless, as the cost of social security per head of the population is of no value for comparative purposes on account of the extremely variable population structure. For instance, for every 1,000 persons of working age (that is to say, between 15 and 64 years of age inclusive) the total number of children under 15 and persons of 65 and over was 468 in Czecho-

¹ "A Comparative Analysis of the Cost of Social Security", loc. cit.

² To avoid misinterpretation of the percentages obtained by this method, it should be pointed out that in calculating the national income used as a basis for comparison no allowance has been made for indirect taxes or subsidies (if any). Consequently the percentage indicating the ratio between social security expenditure and national income does not correspond to the proportion of consumer goods and services guaranteed to beneficiaries from social security. For the same reason, if the ratio of social security expenditure to national income is the same in two countries, this does not mean that social security involves an equivalent redistribution of the national income in both those countries. Such equivalence would only exist if indirect taxes and subsidies in the two countries brought about the same relationship between production costs and market prices.

slovakia, 470 in Belgium, 484 in Switzerland, 751 in Turkey, 800 in Algeria, 869 in the Philippines and 885 in Puerto Rico.¹

It is therefore necessary to calculate the average cost of social security per head of the population of working age. In making this calculation one might well work on the basis of the economically active population. However, this method raises two difficulties. First of all the concept of the economically active population is a vague one; for instance, statistics in different countries may or may not include persons working in family undertakings without remuneration. The second difficulty is that the economically active population does not include women remaining at home, although the latter often make important contributions to the production of goods and services. Consequently, in spite of the arbitrary element involved in selecting the age group 15-64 as a basis for comparison, this method seems to involve the smallest number of drawbacks.

Lastly the criteria of national income and the population structure may be combined by comparing the cost of social security to the national income per head of the population of working age. This method avoids some, but not all, of the criticisms aimed at the criterion of national income, most of the drawbacks of which remain.

By the use of one or the other of these methods it is possible to compare the cost of social security in different countries. However, whatever method is adopted, there must be some reservations concerning the scientific value of the comparison.

First of all the method of financing each system of social security has an influence, which is sometimes extremely important, on the economic burden of the system. For instance, the cost of a particular scheme to the national economy will vary considerably according to whether the scheme merely covers wage earners and is financed by contributions from wage earners and their employers or whether it covers the entire population and is financed by deductions from incomes or even by indirect taxation (particularly by turnover taxes), even if the aggregate figures show, on the basis of one or other of the methods of comparison suggested, that the cost is apparently the same. Here, then, are factors which have a great influence on comparisons, though it is impossible to estimate their effect accurately.

In the second place financial data, even if collected with the maximum of care and precision, do not give an accurate picture of the real cost of social security. Social security is in fact applied to a considerable extent (but to an extent which varies greatly

¹ The years to which these figures apply in each country are given in table I.

from one country to another) by private institutions not covered by statistics or by voluntary mutual assistance on a family or local basis. Everywhere there is a certain degree of voluntary solidarity in the population with regard to children, sick and aged persons and invalids. This solidarity represents an important social guarantee for the individual, but also represents a burden laid on the economy of the country which must be added to the cost of benefits granted from public funds or under schemes set up by law. It is even possible that the apparently low level of the cost of social security in a particular country is due to the importance of voluntary solidarity existing in that country—which, incidentally, reduces the social necessity for action by the community as a whole.

For all these reasons one cannot hope to produce mathematical formulae from which conclusions concerning the social value and the cost of the different national social security schemes can be automatically drawn. The figures must be corrected by logical assessments of their value.

From the social standpoint the only comparison from which satisfactory conclusions could be drawn would be a comparison in each country of the average standard of living of sick and aged persons, children and unemployed persons with that of the active adult population.

From the economic standpoint it may even be asked whether the very concept of the cost of social security is not erroneous. Apart from administrative expenditure, any system of social security can be reduced, from the financial point of view, to a redistribution of income: money is drawn mainly, if not entirely, from the incomes of economically active persons and used for the benefit of children, sick and aged persons, invalids and unemployed persons, that is, for the benefit essentially of involuntarily inactive groups of the population. The sums obtained in this way are not lost to the national economy; they are merely transferred from one population group to another. The real cost of social security to the economy is not the amount of money withdrawn and redistributed, but the effect of the changes on the persons benefiting from that money. It is certain that the beneficiaries of social security will not use the benefits they receive in the same way as the members of the active population who would have used that money if there had been no social security. This redistribution may reduce private saving, modify the patterns of consumption and consequently of production, and even affect incentives. Here, but here only, apart from administrative expenses, lies the real cost of social security. And even this should be balanced against the contribution made to the economy by the general improvement in the health of the human capital of the country.

It is therefore erroneous to consider that social security expenditure is an addition to normal production costs; all that has happened is that there has been a shifting of expenditure. The production costs themselves have only changed to a much lower degree, which it is impossible to calculate. To show the fundamental absurdity of the notion one might suggest that if the State deducted a sum equal to the whole of the national income and made itself responsible for satisfying all the needs of the population, the cost of social security to the national economy would be equal to 100 per cent. of the national income.

Finally, a comparison of the cost of social security in different countries, if one wishes to consider the whole of the problem, is merely the expression of an estimate of the conditions under which a balance is struck, in each of the countries compared, between incomes and standards of living and on the economic incidence of each of the methods adopted.

THE NEED FOR AN INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Whatever reservations may have to be made with regard to these comparisons, such comparisons are necessary even if they only enable approximate results to be obtained. They are necessary above all as a basis for a calculated policy in international relations. They will reveal the inequalities in the cost and the economic repercussions of social security in different countries. Such inequalities, if still discernible after allowance has been made for all the factors which might eliminate or explain the differences noted, are regrettable, and international social policy should be directed towards reducing them as much as possible, if not towards abolishing them completely.

This result could be achieved, first of all, by modifying the systems used in different countries, with regard to either the extent of the redistribution of income in each or the methods adopted to bring about that redistribution. In general the international labour Conventions tend to do this. But, as has been seen, these Conventions have so far merely laid down uniform standards, based on preoccupations of a social character and have left aside almost entirely the question of the relative cost of the efforts made by the economy of each country. If this question of cost is taken into consideration, an almost entirely new field for international action in the sphere of social security is opened, and it is possible to envisage tremendous developments, the results of which are as yet unforeseeable.

However, the action that can be taken to modify conditions prevailing in particular countries is extremely limited, precisely

because of the differences between the economic situations of the countries concerned, which remain unaffected by Conventions of the present type.

The only possible way to make further progress towards achieving a balance between the different countries in the cost of social security lies in the development of positive international solidarity in the social field. Progress in this direction is being made by, for instance, the International Children's Emergency Fund, which has developed effective and very appreciable (although only partial) international solidarity in the field of assistance to children, and some of the work done within the framework of Technical Assistance, the Point Four Plan, the Colombo Plan and other schemes. The social and economic interdependence of the peoples of the world, which is becoming clearer every day, is thus gradually being developed to form an embryo of international social organisation.

At present this organisation is only embryonic. Is it possible to go further and to develop true solidarity towards children, old people, sick and unemployed persons among the peoples of the world? That is the real problem.

Although, stated in these terms, the problem may appear to be a new one, it is in fact only the sign that a new stage has been reached in a trend which began many years ago and which can be traced in the continuous broadening of the framework of solidarity among men. This solidarity, which was originally restricted to family, tribal or local groups, has gradually extended to larger groups and now embraces entire nations. But the interdependence of nations makes it inevitable that at some time in the future the problem will arise of the extension of this solidarity to the international level. The first successful attempt to develop this solidarity will certainly occur in relations among a small group of countries; the work which the Council of Europe is now performing is a proof of this. But the logic of the trend demands that the question should gradually become a world-wide one.

We are far from having reached this stage. Moreover the search for solutions to this problem has met with great obstacles, some of which are as yet insurmountable. This is because, in addition to economic and political obstacles raised by national characteristics, the very outlook of the masses has to be changed. The organisation of international solidarity can only be effective if based on the mutual consent and desire of those among whom it is organised; to achieve this it is essential that men should be truly aware of their solidarity with children, old people and sick and unemployed persons in other countries. Today this is certainly not the case, at least among most people. Even inside each country it is often

difficult to observe the consequences of this solidarity, as the interests of groups, occupations or classes are stronger than the feeling that at the national level social problems should be considered as a whole. It is therefore obviously even more difficult to awaken in particular peoples a feeling of solidarity with men who live far away, whom they have never seen or heard of and whose very existence is often merely an empty word for them.

This gulf between technical, economic and political developments, which implies a growing interdependence among men of all countries and all continents on the one hand, and a far slower psychological development on the other hand, is one of the great dramas of contemporary history. Problems are no longer on a human scale. Social problems are no longer—or are not yet—within man's capacity to deal with them. The situation in social security is not different from the situation in many other fields. And yet here more than anywhere else lies the key to the real problem of achieving an international balance in the cost of social security.

(Translated from the French.)

The Effective Application of International Labour Standards

by

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Although in recent years emphasis has been placed primarily on the I.L.O.'s technical assistance activities, notable advances have also been made during the same period in the Organisation's traditional legislative work. Two closely related factors are at the origin of these advances: first, the constitutional amendments adopted in 1946, and in force since 1948, which broadened materially the scope of the information supplied by governments on the effect they have given, or intend to give, to unratified Conventions and to Recommendations; and secondly, recent progress in both the ratification and application of Conventions.

In the following article¹ the author describes the machinery evolved by the I.L.O. to review the implementation of its standards and analyses, on the basis of concrete examples drawn from experience of the past few years, the influence exercised by the legislative work of the Organisation on the labour law of member countries and on the conditions of workers in these countries.

WHEN the Economic and Social Council considered at its Fourteenth Session (New York, 20 May-1 August 1952) the Sixth Report of the International Labour Organisation to the United Nations, Members of the Council laid particular stress on the close relationship between the I.L.O.'s technical assistance programme and its legislative work. Thus, the United States representative noted that "in spite of its new activities, I.L.O. has not lost sight of its principal task, the establishment of international labour standards. During recent years, I.L.O. has given the governments of member countries considerable assistance in

the implementation of those standards."¹ The French representative expressed the opinion that "technical activities should be supplemented by the accession of the various States to the international standards established by the I.L.O."² These views reflect in a very clear manner the two-pronged policy now followed by the I.L.O. With the intensification of the Organisation's technical and operational activities, its traditional legislative functions have assumed added significance, for, to quote again the French representative, "the workers must benefit from the increase in national income ensured by the improvement of working methods". The present article aims at describing the progress made by the I.L.O. since the Second World War in its efforts to secure acceptance of its standards and to ensure their implementation.

What has come to be known as the "International Labour Code" consists of the body of 103 Conventions and 97 Recommendations adopted by the International Labour Conference since 1919.³ Both Conventions and Recommendations lay down standards in specified social fields, but it should at once be noted that there is a basic difference between these two types of instruments: the former create obligations for the States which ratify them, while the latter constitute essentially guides to national action. Taken as a whole, however, these texts, which require a two-thirds majority for their adoption by the Conference, form a collection of internationally approved standards jointly formulated by governments, workers and employers and have to be submitted by governments "to the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, for the enactment of legislation or other action"⁴ (i.e., normally to the legislature). It is this direct and unique relationship between an international forum and national parliaments which has transformed the decisions of the International Labour Conference from a mere determination of desirable labour standards into a comprehensive international network of social laws and regulations directly affecting the working and living conditions of millions of working people in over 50 countries.

¹ Economic and Social Council, Fourteenth Session: *Official Record of the 647th Meeting*, p. 599.

² *Idem*, p. 600.

³ The International Labour Office has recently published *The International Labour Code 1951*, a systematic arrangement, in two volumes and over 2,300 pages, of the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the International Labour Conference, as well as of other standards of social policy framed by or, in certain cases, with the co-operation of the International Labour Organisation.

⁴ Article 19, paragraphs 5(b), 6(b), 7(a) and 7(b) (i) of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

¹ The present article is a development of Chapter XXVI of the *Fifth Report of the International Labour Organisation to the United Nations* (I.L.O., Geneva, 1951) which described in a more general way the application of Conventions and Recommendations.

In its attempt to trace the important developments which have taken place in the application of international labour standards in recent years, the present survey begins with a summary of the progress achieved in the ratification of Conventions, particularly during the post-war period, and then describes the machinery set up by the Organisation to review the effect given by member States to Conventions and Recommendations, with special reference to the new arrangements existing since the coming into force, in 1948, of the amendments to the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, adopted in 1946.

APPLICATION IN THE ABSENCE OF RATIFICATION

The ultimate value of the international labour standards depends, as stressed above, on the extent to which their standards contribute towards shaping national social policy. In the case of a Recommendation a member State may accept its principles in so far as this appears desirable and possible. In the case of a Convention also, governments may be unable to give effect to all its provisions in the exact terms laid down by the Conference. The federal structure of a country may constitute an obstacle to ratification in cases where, under the constitutional system, competence to adopt and enforce social measures rests with the states, provinces or cantons; or a Convention may be of no practical interest to a country, and it should be remembered in this connection that no less than 33 of the Conventions adopted by the Conference relate to labour standards for seafarers or for workers in non-metropolitan territories, and are therefore of no concern to non-maritime countries or to States which do not administer such territories.

In many other cases where ratification does not take place, the provisions of a Convention may still exercise a concrete influence on national legislation or practice even though the States in question have not assumed any binding international obligations. Although this hidden impact of the Conference's legislative work cannot usually be measured in concrete terms, evidence of its positive results emerges, for instance, in the statements made by speakers in the yearly Conference discussions on the Report of the Director-General. Thus, the Australian Workers' delegate referred during such a discussion in 1949 to a Convention to which his country has not adhered:

If there is one international labour Convention that has been of value to the workers of Australia, it was that adopted in 1935 in the matter of the reduction in the hours of work (Forty-Hour Week Convention (No. 47)).... The decision of the I.L.O. was persistently quoted in the

campaign conducted by the unions and used as an argument in the Arbitration Court when the case was being heard by that body. I am pleased to relate that ... without any stoppages of work or undue pressure whatsoever, the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration in 1947, acting on the evidence submitted and after months of protracted argument, decreed that a 40-hour week should come into operation as from 1 January 1948.¹

Government reports on unratified Conventions also confirm that, despite the absence of any formal obligation, I.L.O. standards are often applied. The Swedish report on the effect given to the Food and Catering (Ships' Crews) Convention, 1946 (No. 68) indicated, for instance, that—

the matters covered by the Convention are the subject of an inquiry which is expected in the near future to result in proposals designed to improve the living conditions of seamen in the respects referred to in the Convention. The Ministry of Commerce has recommended, therefore, that the Convention should not be ratified for the time being, but that its conditions should be observed as far as possible in the meantime.²

And this is by no means an isolated case: as pointed out in a recent I.L.O. report to the United Nations, no less than 13 of the 27 governments who reported on the effect given to this particular Convention, in the absence of ratification, referred to measures they had taken to implement its provisions.³ It is significant that three of the countries subsequently ratified the Convention.

While implementation on an informal practical basis is thus possible and even desirable, it is the act of ratification that indicates most unequivocally that the relevant standards have been or are to become the law of the land. For this reason figures on the progress of ratifications provide a valuable yardstick of the extent to which I.L.O. Conventions are fulfilling their purpose of stimulating and guiding national action in the field of social legislation. It is necessary, therefore, at this point to pass briefly in review the developments that have taken place in this respect in recent years.

PROGRESS OF RATIFICATIONS

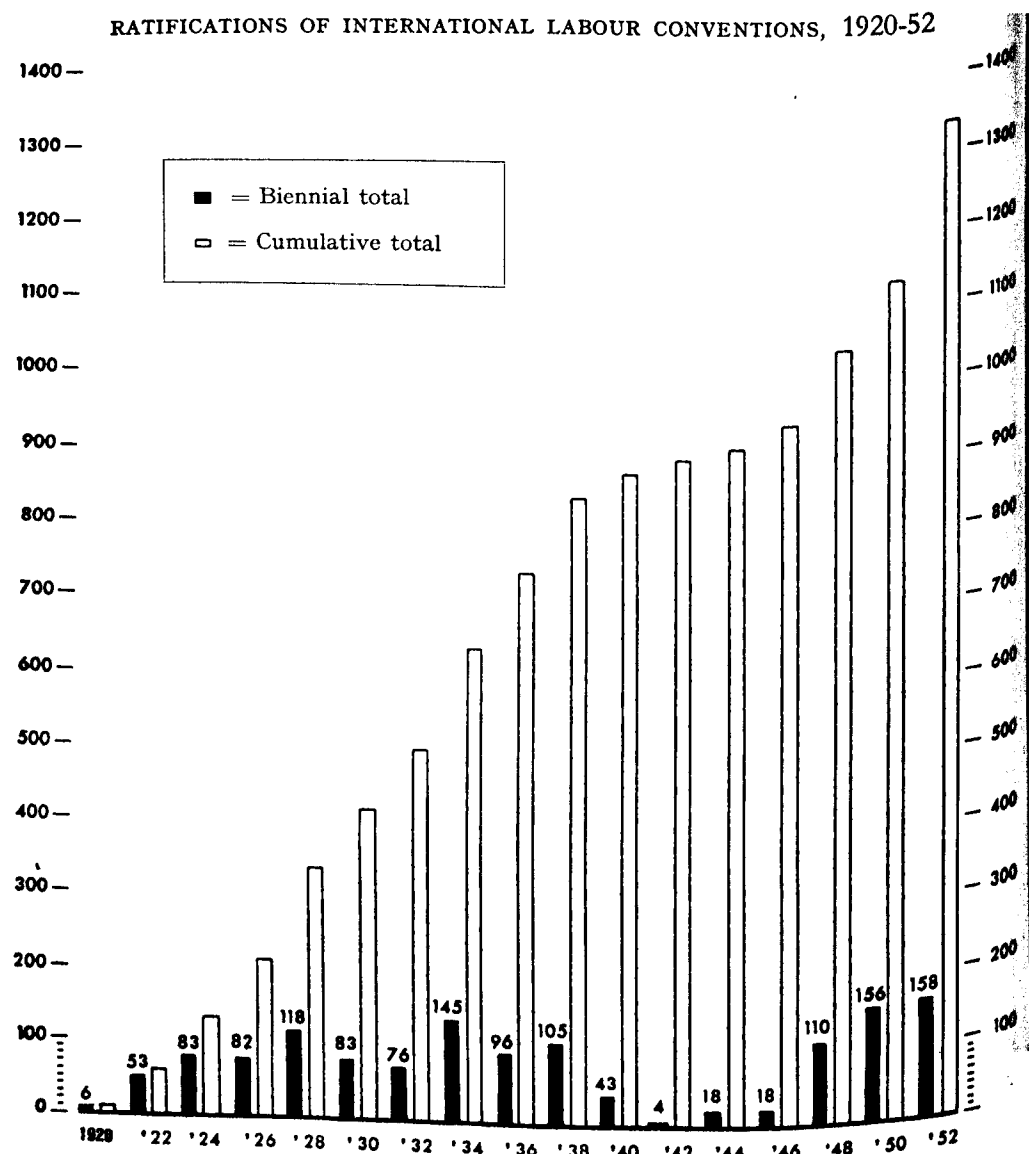
When the International Labour Conference met at Philadelphia during the closing stages of the war the total number of ratifications

¹ International Labour Conference, 32nd Session, Geneva, 1949: *Record of Proceedings* (I.L.O., Geneva, 1951), p. 120.

² International Labour Conference, 33rd Session, Geneva, 1950: *Summary of Reports on Unratified Conventions and on Recommendations (Article 19 of the Constitution)*, p. 90.

³ INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE: *Seventh Report of the International Labour Organisation to the United Nations* (I.L.O., Geneva, 1953), p. 105.

RATIFICATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONVENTIONS, 1920-52



of the 67 Conventions then adopted stood at 887, and 52 of these Conventions had been ratified by a sufficient number of governments to bring them into force.¹ Since then 48 countries have communicated 467 further ratifications. In addition there are certain Conventions which remain binding in virtue of the principle

¹ International labour Conventions usually enter into force 12 months after their ratification by two, or in certain cases, a larger number of States.

of state succession: on becoming Members in 1947 and 1948, Pakistan and Burma undertook to implement respectively the 15 and 14 Conventions which India had ratified while they formed a part of that country. The total number of ratifications has thus reached the figure of 1,389.¹ As a consequence of the ratifications registered since 1944 further Conventions have come or will shortly come into effect, bringing the total in force to 80. It is noteworthy that no less than 22 of these are Conventions adopted since the war.

In the course of the International Labour Organisation's existence, the rate at which ratifications have been received has varied with changes in world conditions. The diagram below illustrates how the steady progress of the first decade continued almost unaltered during the 1930s and how the Second World War brought ratifications almost to a standstill. The past several years have on the other hand witnessed a sustained increase in the rate of ratifications, which is strikingly illustrated by the fact that for the first time in the history of the I.L.O. the yearly total reached and exceeded the 100 mark in 1952.

It has also been possible, over the successive periods in the life of the Organisation, to discern certain patterns in the regional distribution of the ratifying countries. During the first decade (1920-30) 361 out of a total of 414 ratifications came from European States; during the following ten-year period the share of these States was only 201 out of 465, whereas the countries of the Americas accounted for an almost equal number, 192, the balance coming largely from Asia and the Middle East (31) and from Australia and New Zealand (34). This demonstrates convincingly that the trend towards universality finds expression not only in the membership of the Organisation but also in its work. The same tendency is again clearly reflected in the 1952 figures: out of a total of 102 ratifications 62 came from European countries, 31 from the Americas, seven from Asia and the Middle East, two from Australasia and one from Africa. It is equally significant that, of the new States which only recently became Members of the Organisation, Ceylon, Iceland, Indonesia, Israel, Pakistan, Syria and Viet-Nam have already communicated together 46 ratifications and the Philippines Senate has recently concurred in the ratification of ten international labour Conventions, the first adhered to by this country.

The process of ratification is necessarily a slow one from the national point of view. It involves the adoption of certain measures by the legislative and executive branches of government; appro-

¹ The International Labour Office publishes periodically a chart of ratifications listing, Convention by Convention and country by country, all the ratifications communicated since the establishment of the Organisation.

priate social laws must be adopted or modified ; regulations must be issued ; consent to ratify the international treaty must be secured and a formal instrument prepared. The completion of these successive stages involves delays varying from country to country according to constitutional procedure and practices. Nevertheless, the four Conventions adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1947, 1948 and 1949 on the subjects of labour inspection, employment service organisation and freedom of association have each already received from 11 to 17 ratifications and came into force in 1950 and 1951. This could not have been achieved without an active interest in the legislative work of the Organisation on the part of many of its Members.

Far from engendering a feeling of complacency, however, these encouraging results have only strengthened the desire, often expressed at I.L.O. meetings, to see the international labour standards secure still wider acceptance. Thus, during the 32nd Session of the Conference, Government, Employers' and Workers' representatives, after a lengthy discussion on the subject, concurred in the view that, while cold ratification figures alone were not sufficient, in isolation, to measure the influence of these standards, the formal acceptance and scrupulous implementation of its provisions by the member States constituted none the less the most tangible evidence of national adherence to these internationally conceived principles and standards. The steady increase in the number of ratifications registered since the above discussion took place tends to confirm that numerous governments have come to share this conviction and are willing, despite their many other pressing preoccupations, to translate it into positive action.

THE BROADENED SCOPE OF REPORTING

The crucial test of the effectiveness of international labour standards cannot, of course, be one of mere formal acceptance. Just as the Conventions adopted by the Conference acquire force of law only when ratified by Members, so ratifications become fully operative only when implemented in practice by the countries concerned. The degree of implementation is therefore of the greatest importance to the International Labour Conference, which formulates these standards, to the States, which are bound by them and, above all, to the workers and employers, who are directly affected by their day-to-day application. It is for this reason that all these interests collaborate in the international machinery set up by the I.L.O. for examining the effect given to its Conventions and Recommendations.

It was recognised early in the Organisation's history that this examination constitutes a basic and indispensable element in the I.L.O.'s task of promoting world-wide labour standards, and the significance of this supervisory function was given further emphasis through the amendments to the Constitution of the Organisation, adopted in 1946, which materially widened the scope of reporting on the effect given to Conference decisions.

With the entry into force of these amendments in April 1948 a more comprehensive system of mutual supervision was brought into operation, and sufficient time has now elapsed to describe its functioning in some detail. This may be done by considering in turn the information supplied by governments and the machinery set up by the Organisation to scrutinise this information.

Before 1948 governments were required to submit reports only on the Conventions to which they were parties.¹ One important objective of the constitutional revision was to secure fuller and more authoritative data on the action taken nationally to give effect to the decisions of the Conference. Thus, enlarging upon one of the original and fundamental obligations of the Constitution, governments are now required to inform the International Labour Office whether they have brought Conventions and Recommendations before their "competent authorities" (specifying the nature of these authorities) within 12 to 18 months after their adoption by the Conference and what action the competent authorities have taken thereon²; in cases where ratification of a Convention is not decided upon by the above authorities, the Governing Body may request reports on the extent to which effect has been given to the Convention by legislation, administrative action, collective agreement or otherwise, and on the difficulties which prevent or delay its ratification³; similar reports may be asked for in respect of Recommendations, but the question of ratification does not arise in this case.⁴

When requesting, in pursuance of these powers, reports on certain unratified Conventions and on certain Recommendations, the Governing Body has consistently taken the view that the administrative services of Members should not be unduly overburdened and that the information solicited should therefore be

¹ Article 22 of the Constitution calls for the submission of annual reports on ratified Conventions. A summary of these reports is laid before each General Session of the Conference as Report III (Part I).

² Article 19, paragraphs 5(c), 6(c), 7(a) and 7(b) (iii). The information received is summarised in Conference Report III (Part III).

³ Article 19, paragraphs 5(e), 7(a) and 7(b) (iv).

⁴ Article 19, paragraphs 6(d), 7(a) and 7(b) (v). A summary of the reports on unratified Conventions and on Recommendations forms Conference Report III (Part II).

limited in scope and should relate to texts which are clearly of current interest. This has included decisions of pre-war sessions of the Conference as well as more recently adopted texts relating to such varying subjects as forced labour, labour inspection, protection of dockers against accidents, employment, freedom of association, migration, etc.

Although it is still too early to draw any conclusions on the working of this expanded system of reports, its potentialities are already becoming apparent. The governments' replies, when drawn up in the form laid down by the Governing Body, supplement usefully the information which was available so far only in respect of ratified Conventions and put at the disposal of the Conference a survey of broadening scope which derives its principal value from the authoritative character of the facts it contains and from the solidity of the basis it provides for any critical examination of the effect given to I.L.O. standards. The reports on the Food and Catering (Ships' Crews) Convention, referred to above, illustrate the interest and usefulness of the information so obtained.

Another amendment to the Constitution can, if put to general use, add further to the validity of the data available: it requires governments to communicate to the representative employers' and trade union organisations of their country copies of the information and reports submitted to the International Labour Office¹, thus providing an opportunity to these organisations to comment on the contents of the documents in question.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the Organisation has now at its disposal year after year a wealth of material on social law and practice supplied by governments, as well as any comments thereon which the groups most closely familiar with the working of the relevant legislation may find it necessary to make. By its nature and scope alone this material deserves and receives most thorough consideration, not only from the International Labour Office but particularly from persons with special experience of, or a special interest in, the application of labour legislation. Ever since 1927, in consequence of a resolution voted by the Conference the year before, the governments' annual reports on ratified Conventions have been submitted to a small committee of independent experts and to a tripartite committee of the Conference. With the coming into force of the amended Constitution the mandates of these two committees were broadened to enable them to consider the additional information and reports from Members described above and the Committees have respectively been known since then as the Committee of Experts, and the

¹ Article 23, paragraph 2, of the Constitution.

Conference Committee, on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. It is in these two bodies that takes place the expert and mutual examination on which the Organisation relies for promoting effective application of its standards. The basic differences in their character and procedure help to make for an objective and critical appraisal of the information submitted by governments.

THE COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS ON THE APPLICATION OF CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Committee of Experts is entrusted with the task of carrying out a preliminary examination of the reports. It is composed at present of 13 independent members chosen by the Governing Body for their special qualifications in the formulation and enforcement of social legislation¹; they are appointed for a period of three years, which is renewable upon expiration, and some Experts have sat on the Committee since its inception. The Committee meets usually in the early spring, but its members are supplied with copies of the governments' reports as soon as these are received in the International Labour Office, i.e., in the summer and autumn of the preceding year. Each Expert assumes responsibility for a given group of Conventions and Recommendations and submits his findings thereon to his colleagues in the course of the Committee's meeting. These observations, when adopted, become an expression of the Committee's collective and unanimous opinion and are incorporated in a report² for communication to the Governing Body, to the member States and to the International Labour Conference.

Over the years of its existence the authority of the Committee of Experts has steadily grown, owing to the painstaking care with which it sifts the available information and the restraint with which it phrases its comments. Four case histories may serve to illustrate the manner in which the Experts discharge their delicate tasks, and in particular the technique they have evolved for pointing out in "observations" discrepancies between the terms of a Convention and the relevant national law and practice.

¹ The present composition of the Committee is as follows: Mr. Grantley ADAMS (Barbados); Baron F. van ASBECK (Netherlands); Mr. Paal BERG (Norway); Sir Atul CHATTERJEE (India); Professor H. S. KIRKALDY (United Kingdom); Mr. HELIO LOBO (Brazil); Professor Tomaso PERASSI (Italy); Professor William RAPPARD (Switzerland); Professor G. SCHELLE (France); Professor F. SITZLER (Federal Republic of Germany); Miss G. J. STEMBERG (Netherlands); Mr. Paul TSCHOFFEN (Belgium); Hon. C. E. WYZANSKI, Jr. (United States of America).

² This document is published as Report III (Part IV) to the Conference,

At their 1949 Session the Committee of Experts made this observation concerning the application by Austria of the Equality of Treatment (Accident Compensation) Convention, 1925 (No. 19):

The Committee notes that the Government's report does not indicate clearly to what extent the payment of compensation may be permitted when Austrian workers and their beneficiaries or foreign workers and their beneficiaries reside abroad.

The Committee notes with interest that a Bill has been submitted to Parliament with a view to establishing full equality of treatment between Austrian and foreign workers. It expresses the hope that this draft legislation will be adopted shortly.¹

The following year the Committee was already able to point to an important step forward:

The Committee notes with satisfaction the information communicated by the Government concerning the amendments made to the Federal Act of 16 December 1948, which established full equality of treatment with regard to the payment of compensation to beneficiaries residing abroad, whether Austrian workers or nationals of countries which have ratified the Convention. The Committee notes, however, that the payment of compensation to beneficiaries residing abroad is only granted if the insurer has authorised these beneficiaries to live abroad. The Committee would be glad to know whether this condition is applied to both Austrian workers and foreigners.²

The remaining doubts were dispelled by the Austrian Government's reply that—

... the payment of compensation abroad is made conditional upon the authorisation of the insurer, regardless of whether the beneficiary is an Austrian or a foreign national. In the practical application of the relevant legislative provisions as well, nationals are not treated differently from foreigners.³

Another example of the effectiveness of the Experts' work concerned the application in Cuba of the Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment) Convention, 1932 (No. 33). Following previous observations on the matter, the Experts noted in 1950 that—

... the Government has prepared a Decree stipulating that young persons under 16 years of age may not be employed in any dangerous or unhealthy occupations determined by the Directorate-General of Health and Social Welfare.

¹ International Labour Conference, 32nd Session, Geneva, 1949: *Report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations* (I.L.O., Geneva, 1949), p. 23.

² International Labour Conference, 33rd Session, Geneva, 1950: *Report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations* (Articles 19 and 22 of the Constitution) (I.L.O., Geneva, 1950), p. 24.

³ Ibid., *Record of Proceedings* (I.L.O., Geneva, 1951), p. 470.

The Committee hopes that this Decree will soon be put into effect and that the list of types of employment which are prohibited for young persons under 16 years of age will soon be drawn up in conformity with Articles 5 and 8 (b) of the Convention.¹

In 1952 a Government representative stated in the Conference Committee that—

... the Government had examined the original text (of the above Decree), approved it in principle, and referred it to the Advisory Council. The latter would submit it to the Cabinet and this body would issue the corresponding Legislative Decree. The Legislative Decree would provide sanctions in the case of infringements.²

In 1953 the same representative was able to inform the Conference Committee that—

Legislative Decree No. 883, which had recently been enacted, brought together in a single text all the provisions relating to the employment of young workers, which are now in conformity with the Convention.³

A further instance of results obtained by the Committee of Experts is connected with the effect given in Burma to the Marking of Weight (Packages Transported by Vessels) Convention, 1929 (No. 27). Having noted that the Government's reports covered only the application of this text in the Port of Rangoon, the Committee indicated in 1951 that it—

... would be glad to know whether similar measures for regulating the marking of weights on heavy packages transported by vessels have been taken in the other ports of the country, such as Moulmein, Akyab, Henzada, and Bassein.⁴

A Government representative attending the subsequent session of the International Labour Conference stated in reply that—

... the Mercantile and Marine Department under the Ministry of Transport and Communications had issued administrative orders to ensure application of this Convention in the ports of Moulmein, Akyab and Bassein. Since no seagoing vessels touched the river port of Henzada and since no packages weighing over 1,000 kilogrammes were handled there, the question of application in this particular port did not arise.⁵

¹ International Labour Conference, 33rd Session, Geneva, 1950: *Report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations* (Articles 19 and 22 of the Constitution) (I.L.O., Geneva, 1950), p. 28.

² International Labour Conference, 35th Session, Geneva, 1952: *Record of Proceedings* (I.L.O., Geneva, 1953), p. 501.

³ International Labour Conference, 36th Session, Geneva, 1953: *Provisional Record*, No. 19, p. xxi.

⁴ International Labour Conference, 34th Session, Geneva, 1951: *Report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations* (Articles 19 and 22 of the Constitution) (I.L.O., Geneva, 1951), p. 21.

⁵ Ibid., *Record of Proceedings* (I.L.O., Geneva, 1952), p. 569.

At their 1952 Session the Experts were able to note that according to the Government's report the application of the Convention had also been extended to the ports of Tavoy and Mergui.¹

A final example, covering standards of quite a different character, involves the implementation by Denmark of the Statistics of Wages and Hours of Work Convention, 1938 (No. 63). The Committee of Experts drew attention, in 1951, to discrepancies between the relevant Danish statistics and certain provisions of this Convention—

(1) Current statistics on the wages of skilled workers are compiled only by trades, whereas the statistics for unskilled workers are given by industries. Article 5 of the Convention calls for the establishment of wage statistics for wage earners in each of the principal industries.

(2) At present statistics are not available for hours actually worked as required by Article 5 of the Convention.

(3) Separate statistics on average earnings are not compiled once every three years for juvenile workers as provided for in Article 10 of the Convention.

The Committee would be glad to know whether it is intended to take account of the above points when contemplating any changes in the compilation and publication of statistics on wages and hours of work.²

Already in 1952 the Committee was able to note that—

... recent decisions taken by the Government will lead to full conformity with regard to two points mentioned by the Committee in 1951: compilation of statistics of average earnings by industries (Article 5, paragraph 3 of the Convention) and for juvenile workers (Article 10, paragraph 2).

The Committee also notes that the Government has postponed the compilation of statistics of hours actually worked (Article 5) pending consultations with the International Labour Office with a view to clarifying this provision. The Committee hopes that these consultations, which are being pursued, will render possible, in due course, the implementation of this provision of the Convention.³

And further progress could be registered this year, when the Committee stated that it was—

... glad to note that the first statistics of earnings classified by industries have now been compiled and submitted to the International Labour Office, in accordance with Article 5, paragraph 3, of the Convention. The Committee also notes with interest that, as a consequence of consultations held with the International Labour Office and of discussions shortly to be entered

¹ International Labour Conference, 35th Session, Geneva, 1952: *Report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (Articles 19 and 22 of the Constitution)* (I.L.O., Geneva, 1952), p. 25.

² International Labour Conference, 34th Session, Geneva, 1951: *Report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (Articles 19 and 22 of the Constitution)* (I.L.O., Geneva, 1951), pp. 27-28.

³ International Labour Conference, 35th Session, Geneva, 1952: *Report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (Articles 19 and 22 of the Constitution)* (I.L.O., Geneva, 1952), p. 31.

into with the Danish Employers' Confederation, the Government hopes to be able to compile the statistics of hours actually worked also provided for in Article 5, paragraph 3, of the Convention.¹

The fact that the report of the Committee of Experts contains usually between eighty and one hundred observations of the type quoted above indicates the scope and importance of the work accomplished by this body year after year.

Until the coming into force of the recent constitutional amendments the Experts were exclusively concerned with the application of ratified Conventions. Their main emphasis in this respect shifted gradually from problems of legislative conformity to an appreciation of the manner in which the relevant obligations were discharged in practice. The Committee of Experts was able in this connection to make valuable suggestions both to the governments concerned and to the Governing Body. It advised the latter on the questions to be included in the forms of annual report² having particular regard to certain types of data—such as inspection reports, court decisions, statistics, etc.—which might give a clearer and more concrete idea of how a given Convention is implemented, not only in law but also in actual fact. With a view to securing the fullest possible information on both the legal and practical aspects of application, governments are asked in these forms of report to "indicate in detail ... the legislation and administrative regulations, etc., or other measures under which each article (of the Convention) is applied". At the Experts' suggestion a question was also included in the forms asking governments whether they had "received from the organisations of employers or workers concerned any observations regarding the practical fulfilment of the conditions prescribed by the Convention or the application of the national law implementing the Convention".

An important part of the Experts' work has been devoted in recent years to an examination of the progress achieved in the application of ratified Conventions to non-metropolitan territories. The Constitution of the Organisation requires member States to apply such Conventions to the territories administered by them, in so far as local conditions permit.³ At the suggestion of the Committee the governments concerned had been specially requested

¹ International Labour Conference, 36th Session, Geneva, 1952: *Report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (Articles 19 and 22 of the Constitution)* (I.L.O., Geneva, 1953), p. 34.

² In accordance with Article 22 of the Constitution, which provides that annual reports "shall be made in such form and shall contain such particulars as the Governing Body may request", the relevant forms are adopted by the Governing Body.

³ Article 35 of the Constitution.

to provide in their annual reports for the period 1948-49, and at five-yearly intervals thereafter, precise information on the application, non-application or partial application in their territories of every Convention to which they are a party. The large volume of information received in response to this request enabled the Committee to form a clearer concept of the degree of implementation of I.L.O. standards in those portions of the globe which have not as yet achieved self-government. The examination of these data is facilitated by the fact that two of the Committee's members are particularly qualified to consider problems of non-metropolitan countries.

In the case of the new reports on unratified Conventions and on Recommendations, the task of the Committee of Experts is somewhat different, since there exists no international obligation to apply. The Committee has therefore limited itself so far in the main to taking note of the progress achieved and of the difficulties that have arisen, pointing in the case of Conventions to instances where ratification clearly appears possible. Its findings are contained in analytical surveys of the information received on each Convention and Recommendation, appended to its report.

Finally, the Committee of Experts is called upon to scrutinise the information communicated by governments under the terms of the revised Constitution on the action taken by them to submit Conventions and Recommendations to their competent national authorities and has devoted considerable attention to the various practical aspects of this constitutional obligation. The Committee stressed the necessity for governments to take the required action within the time limits prescribed and to inform the Office promptly of the results achieved.

The mounting number of annual reports and the added duties assigned to the Experts in recent years have made it necessary for the Governing Body to increase the membership of the Committee and to lengthen the duration of its sessions. An attempt has also been made to simplify the whole reporting procedure, which has enabled the Committee to conduct the necessary examination with the usual thoroughness and has reduced the tasks of governments to the strictest minimum.

THE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE ON THE APPLICATION OF CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The International Labour Conference has repeatedly emphasised the very great importance it attaches to the independent examination carried out by the Experts. It has affirmed on many occasions that without this preliminary authoritative study the Conference

itself would be quite unable to complete the second stage of the examination procedure which is its ultimate responsibility. Every regular session of the Conference appoints for this purpose a tripartite committee. This body bases its discussions first on the summaries of the information and reports communicated by Members, which the Director-General is required to lay before the Conference; secondly on the report of the Committee of Experts; and thirdly on the statements received from governments in reply to the observations made by the Experts. At the 1953 Session of the Conference, for instance, no less than 41 governments supplied such additional information, 13 in writing and 28 orally. This very full response led the Committee to state in its report that "the fact that all the governments concerned availed themselves of this opportunity to clarify doubtful points constitutes conclusive evidence that the methods of work of this Committee, which are based on the voluntary co-operation of all the groups, are best suited to its objectives".¹

The very full data thus at its disposal enable the Committee to base its work of mutual examination on a solid foundation of facts. This element of realism is of the greatest importance to the success of its deliberations, which constitute the focal point of the successive stages of reporting, expert scrutiny and clarification of doubtful points by governments. For in this Committee of the Conference, often described as the "conscience" of the Organisation, the representatives of the three groups can bring their collective experience to bear in a whole-hearted attempt to secure an ever wider measure of application for the provisions of the Conventions.

The Committee's business usually proceeds as follows: a general review of the working of the system of Conventions and Recommendations is followed by a detailed examination, Convention by Convention and country by country, of the observations and comments made by the Committee of Experts on ratified Conventions, and of the replies thereto received from governments. The discussions which take place on such occasions clearly reflect the outlook of the professional interests that have a stake in the working of international labour standards. Workers' and Employers' representatives seldom hesitate to give expression to their disappointment in cases where the obligations implicit in ratification have not been fully carried out. Governments on the other hand are in a position to explain their difficulties and to indicate the measures they intend to take to overcome them. The

¹ International Labour Conference, 36th Session, Geneva, 1953: *Provisional Record*, No. 19, p. III.

Committee at the 1953 Session of the Conference devoted eight of its 13 sittings to this type of discussion. In addition, a sub-committee specially appointed for this purpose examined reports received too late for scrutiny by the Committee of Experts.

From these deliberations, often detailed and even tedious at times, emerge the conditions and perspectives of future progress. At this year's session of the Conference the Committee stated, in taking stock of its work, that despite the continued existence of—

... some serious cases of non-application ... [it] would not wish these to obscure the many instances where its observations and those of the Committee of Experts have led to the elimination of discrepancies between ratified Conventions and national law and practice and have thus contributed to social progress in the countries concerned.¹

And one member of the Committee, the Government delegate of Switzerland, gave expression to a similar view during the discussion of the Committee's report in the plenary sitting of the Conference—

I think that a fruitful effort has been and is being made. I do not belong to the group of delegates who cannot speak from this rostrum without adopting an optimism which is often more official than sincere. I have a critical mind when I am engaged on work of the Organisation. But I must say that in this constant, obscure and patient effort to watch over the application of Conventions and Recommendations there is something positive.²

It has been suggested on occasion, in the Conference and elsewhere, that only through an international system of labour inspection could the effect given by States to their international obligations in the field of labour law be accurately supervised. Mature reflection has always led to the conclusion, however, that the time is not yet ripe for such a development. Instead, the Organisation has attempted to promote the adoption and implementation of its standards through the interplay of factual examination and moral persuasion described above, through improvements in the working of national labour inspection services and through the existence of strong and independent trade union movements and employers' organisations in the member countries. Its unique tripartite character thus remains the Organisation's principal source of strength in carrying out its global task of promoting the effective implementation of nationally accepted I.L.O. standards.

Steady progress in the ratification of Conventions and growing evidence of the governments' positive attitude towards their

¹ International Labour Conference, 36th Session, Geneva, 1953: *Provisional Record*, No. 19, p. III.

² *Idem*, No. 25, p. 264.

application tend to confirm that the I.L.O.'s standard-making function, far from losing any of its usefulness, has come to be an element of strength in the Organisation's post-war activities. To use the words of the Director-General, replying to the discussion of his Report during the 1951 Session of the Conference—

Can anyone have listened to speaker after speaker from the less industrially developed regions of the world tell of the great influence which the International Labour Code has had on national legislation and codes and not feel a real sense of satisfaction at this proof of the value of international labour Conventions and Recommendations? It is not spectacular work. It makes no headlines. But slowly, steadily, this legislation has created and is continuing to create the solid foundations on which many countries are building a healthy social structure.¹

¹ International Labour Conference, 34th Session, Geneva, 1951: *Record of Proceedings* (I.L.O., Geneva, 1952), p. 408.

The Common Employment Market for the Northern Countries

by

Bertil OLSSON

For many years the "Northern countries" (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden) have practised a policy of co-operation in economic, social and cultural matters. In 1945, at one of the regular meetings of the Ministers of Social Affairs of these countries, a Convention was drawn up for the establishment of a common employment market. Denmark and Sweden alone have so far ratified the Convention, but in practice all the Northern countries follow the procedure laid down. The Convention, states the author of the following article, who is an expert on manpower questions in the Swedish Ministry of Social Affairs, was regarded only as a beginning; there have been further developments since 1945, and co-operation between the Northern countries has developed much further than was originally contemplated in the Convention.

The article describes the machinery established for the integration of the employment markets of the different countries, the role of the central authorities, employers' and workers' organisations and local employment services, and the working of the scheme.

BACKGROUND

BEFORE the First World War employment in the circle of the Northern countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden) was on the whole free, i.e., obstacles were not placed in the way of persons wishing to take jobs in countries other than their own. However, the influx of foreign labour did not long remain free, since each of the countries attempted to regulate it by the establishment of some form of immigration restrictions; but at the end of the period between the wars serious attempts were made to remove the barriers to freer movement of labour within these countries. This tendency took particularly tangible form in the encouragement given to schemes for the exchange of trainees.

Since the Second World War the idea of a common free employment market for the Northern countries has assumed more definite form, and action has been taken which brings this target nearer than at any time since before 1914. One reason is the co-operation that has been developed among these countries in many different fields since the war, but various wartime developments also constituted a powerful contributory factor to the policy of creating a common employment market. During the war Sweden received tens of thousands of refugees from the neighbouring countries. They were provided with work, first of all in occupations such as agriculture and forestry, where there was a pronounced need for manpower, and subsequently in almost every branch of activity. In 1943 the Swedish regulations requiring employment permits for persons from the other Northern countries were abolished, and since then such persons have been free to take jobs in any occupation they desire. The work done by refugees was undoubtedly of very great importance to Sweden at a time of manpower shortage. The experience obtained with several tens of thousands of foreign workers nourished the idea of continuing with a common Northern employment market after the war. At the cessation of hostilities many of the workers naturally returned to their liberated home countries, but some remained in Sweden, and after a time there was a fresh influx of persons seeking work. So the common Northern employment market began to take shape.

THE ADVANTAGES OF INTEGRATION

The advantages of this integration of the employment market are clear. Each of the countries concerned, taken alone, has a small population (Denmark, 4,300,000; Finland, 4,100,000; Iceland, 145,000; Norway, 3,300,000; Sweden, 7,100,000); but brought together they make up a population of over 18 million persons. Manpower can move within a bigger area, and each individual has a wider choice of employment openings—though of course the competition for jobs is greater also. There is more opportunity for specialisation, a greater chance of obtaining an insight into the industrial techniques of the various countries, a wider opportunity to learn from the skill of others, and perhaps also some diminution of seasonal fluctuations, which are particularly strong in these countries.

The employment markets of the Northern countries have many common characteristics—a fact which may to some extent encourage the formation of a single unit, but also perhaps hampers complete integration. They have several features which may be called characteristically modern. The countries are comparatively highly

industrialised, but agriculture is very important also. The degree of industrialisation is somewhat uneven in the various countries, but this does not affect the general picture of an important centre of industry. The distribution of the gainfully employed population among the various occupational groups, according to the latest national census in each of the countries, is as follows :

DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED PERSONS
IN NORTHERN COUNTRIES

(Percentages)

Country	Year	Agriculture, forestry, fisheries	Industry and handicrafts	Services
Denmark	1951	25	36	39
Finland	1940 ¹	62	20	18
Iceland	1940 ¹	46	23	31
Norway	1950	27	36	37
Sweden	1950	20	42	38

¹ The 1950 census, the results of which have not yet been published, will probably show a big increase in industry and services.

A more or less pronounced long-term tendency can be observed in all the Northern countries with regard to the distribution of the inhabitants between urban and rural areas. The population of the towns is increasing steadily at the expense of the latter, and this has undoubtedly brought big advantages to the various countries, though opinions are divided as to whether it is desirable in the long run. The movement from the countryside to the towns has been accompanied by an increased transfer of manpower from agriculture to industry and services. Expanding industry has found in agriculture a source of the additional labour required for a steadily rising level of production ; and despite its loss of manpower, agriculture's output has not fallen. On the contrary it has rather increased, thanks to a higher degree of mechanisation. This tendency towards a transfer of manpower between occupational groups and between geographical areas has made labour more mobile, and there seems no doubt that mobility of labour can be more effective in a large united employment market than in a small one.

A factor which on the other hand perhaps contributes to counteracting integration in this regard is the great influence of foreign trade on the economic life of the Northern countries and therefore on their employment market. A very large proportion of the national income of these countries comes from foreign trade. Consequently their employment market is powerfully affected by

fluctuations in the international trade situation, and as a rule these fluctuations affect the different countries in a similar way. If unemployment arises in one of them owing to a decline in exports, an analogous situation usually occurs in the others. Not much diminution of employment fluctuations can therefore be expected from the integration of the market, though it may perhaps be said that the chances of finding a new job are somewhat greater if the worker is able to operate within a relatively large area.

Another common feature of the employment market of the Northern countries is the effect of climatic conditions, which make employment depend to a large extent on the season. Action has been taken in all these countries to level out seasonal fluctuations as much as possible, but it is probably not feasible to eliminate them completely. There is, however, a great difference between the northern and southern parts of Scandinavia as regards the extent of these fluctuations, which are of course smaller in the south than in the north, and in this regard the existence of a common employment market has already played some part in smoothing out seasonal differences in the employment level between north and south. In the summer the increased demand for casual labour comes much sooner in the south, and unemployed workers are directed south irrespective of their nationality.

PRINCIPLES OF COLLABORATION

Immediately after the close of the war the question of a common employment market was taken up at the government level. Discussion at a meeting of the Ministers of Social Affairs for the Northern countries, held at Copenhagen in September 1945, led to the establishment of a Convention regarding transfer of workers, placement, etc.¹ The Convention has been ratified by Denmark and Sweden. It has not yet been ratified by the other Northern countries, but in practice they follow the procedure for which it provides.

In the main the Convention lays down guiding lines for collaboration in employment matters. The parties undertake to set up a joint committee, consisting of one or more representatives of the central employment service authority in each country, which is to follow the employment situation in them all. The committee is also required to organise co-operation on the employment market. The Convention lays down rules for such co-operation in times of unemployment and of labour shortage, with the object

¹ Cf. *International Labour Review*, Vol. LII, No. 5, Nov. 1945, p. 506 and Vol. LIII, Nos. 1-2, Jan.-Feb. 1946, p. 99.

of avoiding any undesirable competition for jobs or workers. It also contains a provision—perhaps the most important of all—to the effect that the parties to the Convention shall not require nationals of other parties to hold employment permits. The employment market is therefore free in this respect.

At the time when this Convention was adopted, immediately after the close of the war, conditions varied widely between the various Northern countries. Denmark, Finland and Norway needed a great deal of reconstruction as a result of the war and therefore wished to use their home manpower to the largest possible extent. Sweden had at that time better access to supplies of goods, and wages in that country enjoyed a higher purchasing power. It was therefore quite natural that the trend of manpower movement was first of all towards Sweden. However, in order to prevent too great a "bleeding" of the labour force that the war-depressed countries needed so urgently, it was agreed that requests for labour should not be addressed to a given country unless its representative on the joint committee had given his consent. Since that time conditions have changed, and there has been a levelling over the whole area almost without distinction.

DECENTRALISATION

The Convention was regarded merely as a beginning of co-operation in employment matters, and it was intended subsequently to draw up directives for closer joint action. This has been done in more recent years, and co-operation has developed much further than was originally contemplated in the Convention.

Owing to the exceptional conditions prevailing immediately after the war it was decided that transfers of workers from one country to another should be operated through the central labour authorities. The requests were sent to these authorities and distributed in due course to the regional and local employment offices. This system soon turned out to be very unwieldy, and the possibility of decentralisation was therefore discussed. Long experience in employment work has shown that successful placement requires the co-operation of the whole employment service organisation. If people are to move, someone must move them.

In May 1949 the Norwegian and Swedish central employment authorities agreed that transfers of workers between the two countries should be organised by the regional services with the aid of the local employment offices. In November of the same year an agreement was reached between the Swedish and Finnish central employment authorities which went a step further: transfers of workers between these two countries were to be conducted as

a rule by the local employment offices, under the supervision of the regional services. Negotiations went on between Denmark and Norway and Denmark and Sweden during 1950 regarding the decentralisation of transfers. Although adopted as a principle in Denmark, the decentralised system has not yet been put into practical effect; the central employment authority of the country determines for each case the local office with which the Norwegian and Swedish employment services concerned shall co-operate.

The system is thus based on direct co-operation between the employment services in the various countries. This would appear to be in full conformity with the provisions of the I.L.O. Employment Service Convention, 1948, which stipulates that "the employment service shall be so organised as to ensure effective recruitment and placement and for this purpose shall . . . take the appropriate measures to . . . facilitate any movement of workers from one country to another which may have been approved by the Government concerned".

The system adopted by the Northern countries means that, as a general rule, the individual seeking employment can obtain information from the employment office near his home regarding suitable job openings in all the other countries. The employment office in one country, at the place where there is a vacant job, establishes direct contact with the employment office in another country, at the place where there is a person seeking work: and he immediately receives definite information regarding the job, the rates of pay and other terms, the conditions of life, accommodation, etc., without these data having to pass through many different hands. The procedure is thereby greatly simplified. The person seeking employment does not need to look round in a haphazard way or to make a useless trip abroad: and there is for him the additional advantage that he can choose between a larger number of jobs and is by no means bound to the employment available in his own neighbourhood. Such co-operation has advantages for the employer also: he can seek personnel in all the Northern countries, and this possibility may be of very great importance at times of manpower shortage.

SUPERVISION BY CENTRAL AUTHORITIES AND CO-OPERATION WITH WORKERS' AND EMPLOYERS' ORGANISATIONS

It is evident that many years' experience will be required before such co-operation between employment authorities in several different countries can operate on a really large scale. The co-operation must be guided by the central authorities, even though the actual work of placement is left to the regional and local offices.

There is close contact between the central labour authorities of the various Northern countries, whose representatives meet once a year, or more frequently if necessary, with a view to discussing co-operation. Both questions of principle and matters of procedure are examined at such meetings.

The first principle is that the movement of manpower between the countries should be free. This, however, does not exclude the exercise of some control by the central employment authorities with a view to inducing workers to move in an orderly manner and in the desired directions. This is particularly important in times of acute labour shortage or pronounced surplus. Employers in a country where there is an acute shortage naturally do not approve of action aimed at inducing workers to leave that country. On the other hand, if there is considerable unemployment in a given country, the workers there do not favour the immigration of additional workers from neighbouring countries. It must be borne in mind that such situations may arise and endanger freedom of movement on the Northern employment market. It is therefore laid down as a rule that in case of any question of large-scale transfers of manpower the central employment authorities will always establish contact with the employers' and workers' organisations for the purpose of discussion. These organisations thus take a direct part in the collaboration regarding employment market matters, and they are conscious of their responsibility. There is, however, no question of any compulsion in this regard; the parties always attempt to come to some agreement after each has stated its case.

Thus, by means of negotiation with the employers' associations, an attempt has been made to establish the principle that an employer in one Northern country shall not recruit workers in another such country by private means, but only through the public employment services. If an employment office in one country is informed that private recruitment is going on, it informs the central employment authorities in the would-be employer's country, and they contact the employer with a view to inducing him to use the channels which have been agreed on with the other countries. Furthermore, if an employer directly notifies an employment office in another country that he requires a particularly large number of workers, the office is required not to refer workers to him until it has made contact with the employment office in the employer's place of business. This is important, for it enables the employment service at the employer's end to make certain that there is not sufficient manpower already available nearer home. The workers' organisations also co-operate with a view to avoiding excessive manpower movements to areas where it is possible that unemploy-

ment may arise. This is a gentlemen's agreement intended to avoid trouble. If the good idea of a free common Northern employment market is to be saved for the future, the market cannot be left entirely to *laissez-faire*; transfers of manpower must take place under the supervision of the central employment authorities in an orderly manner and with due regard for the legitimate interests of all parties.

METHODS OF MAINTAINING AND DEVELOPING CO-OPERATION

Various practical measures are taken to strengthen and extend this co-operation. An important element in this process is to secure the interest and participation of the individual employment service officials, so that they constantly think of the whole Northern area in employment matters and not merely of the possibility of placing workers within their own countries. A step which may contribute to this end is the exchange of employment officials between the various national services; this has been discussed and has indeed been started on a small scale. A few months' attachment to an employment office abroad will not only give a placement officer a good insight into the organisation of the service in the other country and the conditions of life and work prevailing there; it also enables him to establish personal contact with colleagues and others, and this will be of great value to the continuation of co-operation in matters of placement.

Information about actual job openings is collected in each country and transmitted—usually once a week—to the others. These data are distributed to all regional and to the larger local employment offices, which also have available printed reviews, revised at regular intervals, of the conditions of life and work in the various countries concerned. Furthermore, there are exchanges of periodic employment market reports and other material regarding employment matters, all with the object of familiarising placement officers with employment market conditions in the other countries.

Another important task is to spread information among the general public regarding the co-operation between the employment services and the advantages of a common Northern employment market. The central, regional and local authorities all have important functions in this connection. The daily and specialised press is provided with material, information is sent to the trade unions and other professional and economic organisations, and the radio gives regular reports on job openings. The very close co-operation between organisations of many different kinds in the Northern countries naturally also facilitates co-operation on the employment market.

RECIPROCITY IN SOCIAL MATTERS

As a rule the advantages provided by the employment offices to their own nationals seeking work apply automatically to persons from the other Northern countries. If, for instance, a national of one country receives a travel and subsistence allowance from the employment office when referred to a new workplace, an applicant from another of these countries will, in similar circumstances, receive the same allowances. Work has been going on for many years over the whole social field with the object of securing reciprocity in benefits throughout the region. As a rule workers receive the social benefits of the country in which they are working, but remain entitled—on returning home—to those accorded in their own country. Such an arrangement is of course of the very greatest importance to mobility of labour between the countries.

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE ORGANISATION

Co-operation on the Northern employment market is facilitated also by the fact that the countries concerned have to a large extent well-organised placement services. There have been public placement services in the Northern countries for over 50 years. The first employment exchanges were established at the turn of the century and were due to action by the local authorities. The services are still either municipal or partly municipal and partly central, save in Sweden, where the whole system is now centrally organised. The State has for a long period shown great interest in placement in all the Northern countries, and public subsidies began to be paid to employment exchanges at an early stage, while certain general rules for the conduct of placement were also laid down. During the period between the two world wars public placement was gradually extended, though not at a uniform pace in the various countries. After the Second World War the development of the employment services was characterised by an increased regard for the active employment market policy—aimed at full employment—which is now applied in all the Northern countries. This has necessitated an expansion and a further strengthening of placement work itself.

The development of placement is partly a result of the experience and aspirations of the countries of the region, but has also been promoted and hastened by outside influences, particularly the Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Organisation, which have been accepted to a large extent by the Northern countries.

The structure of the employment services is based on a central organ for all placement work, which is either part of a Ministry (as in Finland) or an autonomous agency beneath the authority of the Minister responsible for labour questions (as in the other Northern countries). Under the central organ there are as a rule regional offices which direct placement in the respective districts; and below these again is a network of placement offices, larger or smaller according to the size of the various localities which they serve, together—in some of the countries—with employment service agents in very small places. The numbers of regional and local offices are as follows: Denmark, 37; Finland, 93; Norway, 65; Sweden, 236; in addition there are a large number of local agents in Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Sufficient regard is thus had to the geographical extension of placement. In order to be able to afford the best possible service for all occupations and branches of the economy most of the larger employment offices in the Northern countries have several trade and other special departments. The public employment services have in recent years gradually extended their grip on the employment market, and both the number of persons seeking employment and the number of vacancies have increased.

Owing to the uniformity in organisation, procedure and working material of the employment services in the Northern countries it has been possible to establish direct co-operation among them without the need for any innovation in structure or method. The preparation and issue of standard blank forms for placement in all these countries has recently been discussed.

EXCHANGE OF TRAINEES

Finally a few words should be devoted to co-operation in the exchange of trainees. As stated above, steps were already taken in the 1930s with a view to stimulating this type of exchange, and a start was actually made on a small scale in the summer of 1939, but the scheme was interrupted by the war. Afterwards the organised exchange of trainees was first restricted to agriculture. However, since 1950 the Norwegian and Swedish authorities have shown keen interest in such exchanges, and have arranged for the payment of trainees' travelling expenses from public funds, with the result that the exchanges have extended to all occupations. With the participation of *Föreningarna Norden* (voluntary associations which aim at promoting Northern co-operation in various fields, and receive public subsidies), the exchange of trainees has developed in a particular way. In order to stimulate such exchanges, contacts have been established between selected towns in the

various countries, which are known as "friend towns"; in each of these a special committee is established to make arrangements for the exchange of trainees. The committees consist of representatives of the local authorities, the employers' and workers' organisations and the employment services, together with the local representatives of the *Föreningarna Norden*.¹ The trainees exchanged are usually between 18 and 35 years of age. The period spent abroad may not be less than six months. The employment services lend their aid by arranging jobs for the trainees and handling all formalities.

The co-operation described above is a practical example of the possibility of bringing about an integration of the employment market, to a certain extent, within a group of countries and thus of contributing to a solution of the migration problem. Such co-operation has, it is true, been facilitated in the Northern countries by circumstances, particularly the existence of highly developed employment services (the first condition to successful co-operation), a varied mobile employment market, similar conditions of life and work, and a minimum of language difficulties.

Finally, it may be appropriate to quote a few figures to show the scope of this co-operation. The relevant manpower movements have been directed mainly towards Sweden, and that country now has some 65,000 workers from the other countries. The movement of Finnish workers to Sweden has been particularly noteworthy in recent years, but the other Northern countries can also appreciate the results of this co-operation. For several years there has been a flow of Danish manpower to Norway, where there are 10,000-15,000 workers from the other Northern countries. Denmark is estimated to have 10,000 and Finland about 2,000 such workers.

(Translated from the Swedish.)

¹ Cf. *Industry and Labour*, Vol. VII, No. 5, 1 Mar. 1952, p. 184.

Raising Productivity in Israel

by

Hy FISH

In the following article Professor Hy Fish, an I.L.O. technical assistance expert, gives an account of his experiences in Israel in a campaign to raise productivity. In particular he describes the activities of the Productivity Institute, a body attached to and financed by the Ministry of Labour but directed by a board on which workers and employers are also represented.

The author draws a number of conclusions from his experiences and suggests that some of them may be useful to other countries in the early stages of industrial development.

WHEN the first foundry was established in Haifa the work crew consisted of lawyers, doctors of philosophy, accountants and other professional men—not one worker with previous experience in manual labour. The foundry master, originally from Germany, began training them to handle a ladle full of molten metal without splashing. The first man spilled some molten metal and suffered slight burns. Nevertheless the master persuaded the men to persevere. When they reported the next morning they found that he had cleaned out the molten metal and substituted cold water. After they had learned how to handle the ladle without spilling its contents, hot water was substituted. Soon after, molten metal was introduced. Palestine had a foundry and foundry workers. Today the same foundry employs 500 workers and is the largest in the Middle East.

This is a typical story of the beginnings of Israeli industry. The immigrants to Palestine and later to Israel came, for the most part, from countries where they were restricted by law and custom as to the occupations and professions that they could learn and practise. Knowing that a people can only live on what it produces, the first settlers set about learning farming and manual trades, and established machinery for training others as they arrived. Since jobs were not readily available, many of these newly trained

craftsmen in wood, ceramics, metal, glass, textiles, etc., organised artisan co-operatives. Later immigration brought people who were able to transfer part of their capital, and more workplaces were established.

RAPID GROWTH OF INDUSTRY

From such beginnings industry grew in desultory and sporadic fashion until the Second World War. At that time the British placed large orders with these workplaces for material and supplies, and most of the undertakings found it necessary and possible to expand quickly. Workshops became factories almost overnight. This process was accelerated when the State of Israel was established in 1948 and has been continuing ever since. Loans from friendly governments and private capital made this further expansion possible, if not for all, at least for a large number of enterprises.

Those who had been able to manage small workplaces soon found themselves unable to cope with the problems created by large enterprises. Most of them continued to run their larger establishments as they had their smaller ones. Some few recognised that when a workshop reaches a certain size there is not only a quantitative change but also a qualitative change, which necessitates new methods of management, production control, production and distribution, but they found that new machinery and equipment created almost as many problems as were solved.

In Israel almost all raw material has to be purchased from abroad with foreign currency, which is scarce and closely controlled by the Government. Owners and managing directors, who had devoted their attention mainly to sales and distribution and whose major training and interest were in merchandising, found most of their time taken up with running from one government office to another, expediting raw materials. Both as merchants and as expeditors they had little time to examine and improve their production processes. They were encouraged in this neglect by a price policy based on cost-plus, which had been started during the Second World War by the British purchasers and was continued by the Israel Government until 1952, when a tender system was introduced for certain products. The number of such products has increased with time.

The tender system was part of a new economic policy under which the burden of maintaining an adequate standard of living was to be borne by increasing productivity. The policy was announced in a special message to Parliament by the Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, on 13 February 1952. In line with this new

programme the Israel Government, in co-operation with economic organisations, made plans to foster greater interest in and knowledge of good production management.

EARLY BEGINNINGS

Israel's recognition of the role that increased productivity could play in improving its economic well-being started shortly after armistice agreements were signed with the neighbouring States under United Nations auspices. The autumn of 1949 saw several simultaneous developments:

(1) In response to an appeal by the Prime Minister the Association of Engineers and Architects set up an Institute for Research into Production Efficiency, which worked under the Scientific Council¹ and in co-operation with manufacturers and trade unions.

(2) The Histadrut (General Federation of Jewish Labour in Israel) established a special department to deal with productivity problems and joint productivity councils.

(3) The Government organised a section in the Ministry of Labour to advise management on techniques to increase efficiency.

(4) The Manufacturers' Association of Israel opened a division of production engineering to aid its members.

The functions of the Institute for Research into Production Efficiency were: to conduct research into production efficiency in various branches of the economy; to collect productivity data from other countries; to centre public interest—particularly the interest of workers and employers—on problems of efficiency, for the purposes of maintaining an adequate standard of living, increasing the competitive value of Israeli industry and aiding the mass absorption of new settlers; and generally to extend assistance to those interested in increasing productivity.

The Institute published several collections of papers, organised discussions, arranged lectures, established a productivity section in the library of the Engineers' Association, and initiated several research projects, the most notable of which was in the citrus industry.

The special department of the Histadrut was opened in October 1949. A resolution had been adopted at a convention in May of that year calling for increased exports by increasing productivity, the encouragement of joint productivity councils, and the introduc-

¹ A division of the Prime Minister's Office.

tion of systems of payment by results with a minimum wage guarantee. To call for the introduction of systems of payment by results was contrary to the traditional policy of the Histadrut, which had always stressed a policy of equal wages for all workers and all skills.

A handful of joint productivity councils had been organised as early as 1945—all of them in enterprises owned by the economic division of the Histadrut. The first joint council in a privately owned plant was organised in September 1949. With the establishment of the special productivity department of the Histadrut an active campaign was started to organise such councils in all enterprises.

This special department carried on extensive educational activities, issued a number of publications, supplied special material on productivity to a weekly supplement of *Davar*, the daily newspaper of the Histadrut, and sent five labour delegations to European countries and the United States to observe work methods in a number of industries. The port workers' delegation, which visited various countries, was assisted by the International Labour Office.

In October 1949 the productivity section of the Ministry of Labour began functioning. Its stated purpose was (1) to increase productivity, (2) to improve quality, (3) to eliminate waste and (4) to increase the efficient utilisation of equipment.

The government section co-operated closely with the Institute for Research, especially in the citrus industry, and carried out its own investigations in several industries, particularly woodworking.

The production engineering department of the Manufacturers' Association found it difficult to function because most of its affiliated factories pursued a closed-door policy in order to protect what were considered "trade secrets". The department stopped functioning after about a year. At present (July 1953) the Association is re-establishing its department.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVITY INSTITUTE

In October 1950 the Government proposed to enlarge its activities and transform its division into a productivity institute with the co-operation of the Histadrut and the Manufacturers' Association. The Institute for Research proposed a merger. This took place in November 1951 and resulted in the establishment of the Israel Productivity Institute. There was essential agreement on its terms of reference, but there was a difference of opinion on whether it should be a division of the Government or a public body. A compromise was reached whereby the Institute would be attached to and financed by the Ministry of Labour but would

be governed by a board of directors selected by the co-operating organisations. The final composition of the board was nine members—two from the Ministry of Labour, two from the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, two from the Histadrut, two from the Manufacturers' Association and one from the Association of Engineers and Architects.

The by-laws of the new Institute describe its functions as follows:

To organise and carry out general research work in the sphere of efficiency and productivity, to examine the different sectors of the economy and various firms in order to analyse and to study their level of productivity, and to extend practical guidance for improving productivity, quality and efficiency.

To assist interested parties in setting up joint productivity councils in firms and in different sectors of the economy, and to aid their activities as well as those of the central institutions of these productivity councils.

To assist in settling disputes in connection with differences of opinion in the field of efficiency and productivity.

To endeavour to introduce productivity statistics, in co-operation with the Central Statistical Office, and to guide firms in their work in this respect.

To engage in publicity and educational work (verbally and in print) in the field of productivity, and to maintain an information service for this purpose.

To launch training programmes on the organisation of work and the control of production.

To maintain contacts with organisations abroad which are engaged in matters of productivity, with a view to collecting information on events and achievements in this field abroad.

AGREEMENT ON JOINT PRODUCTIVITY COUNCILS

Simultaneously with these developments negotiations were going on between the Manufacturers' Association and the Histadrut on the establishment of joint productivity councils. Differences of opinion arose as to some of the activities and the jurisdiction of the proposed councils. These differences were resolved and a national agreement was signed in May 1952.¹

The preamble of the agreement states that the purpose is—

... to ensure co-operation between employees and managements of plants, for the purpose of seeking ways and means conducive to the development of industrial enterprises in Israel as an integral part of the national economy, of raising production and exports, increasing the country's capacity to absorb mass immigration, raising efficiency and productivity, introducing suitable methods of work and incentive pay, and reducing prices.

It was agreed that the councils be compulsory in all plants employing 50 people or more. In plants employing under 50 work-

¹ For a summary of the salient points see *Industry and Labour*, Vol. IX, No. 4, 15 Feb. 1953, p. 119.

ers, councils may be set up by mutual agreement between the management and the workers' committee concerned, or by the Central Committee of the Productivity Councils provided for in the agreement. The agreement provides that "the Central Committee will be assisted in its work by the good offices of the Israel Productivity Institute and the Institute's professional staff".

The functions of the councils are to devote special attention to problems of productivity and to its improvement. They are concerned with a wide variety of factors influencing productivity, including the efficient use of machinery and its improvement and modernisation, the rational arrangement of work processes, the reduction of waste and expenses, the conservation of manpower and materials, the improvement of the quality of products, and the encouragement of workers' initiative and inventiveness by monetary and other means. They are to deal with all problems involved in the determination of norms and incentive methods of payment and the ways of implementing them. The councils do not, however, deal with wage rates, "social" conditions of work (e.g., sick pay, holidays with pay, etc.) and similar matters. They are also concerned with questions of technical and vocational training in the plant and with the safety and health of the workers.

The total of joint productivity councils had reached 125 by June 1953.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FROM THE I.L.O.

In June 1951 the Government of Israel applied to the I.L.O. for technical assistance. It asked for "one high-ranking expert in questions of productivity in industry" and "one efficiency engineer". Under subsequently elaborated terms of reference the former was to be an "adviser to the Government on general questions of productivity in industry", who would be required "to undertake the organisation and direction of practical courses on productivity for supervisors and foremen in industry and the building trades, and for groups of factory executives and workers, either jointly or separately ... to train trainers in productivity—for example, government officials and production engineers". The second expert was to work in the field with the members of the technical staff of the Productivity Institute and to help to further their training.

A few months later a further request was submitted to the I.L.O. for two visiting professors of industrial engineering to teach at the Technion (Institute of Technology) in Haifa.

These requests were embodied in agreements signed by the I.L.O. and the Government of Israel. The agreements also provided

for essential equipment in limited quantities and several fellowships. Two fellowships for 1953 have been awarded: the chief engineer of the Productivity Institute is touring selected European industrial areas for six months to observe the technical services of productivity centres. Another technical member of the staff of the Institute will take a year of advanced study in production and industrial engineering abroad.

The first expert arrived in Israel in February 1952 for a one-year stay, which was later extended to 19 months at the request of the Government. The second arrived in January 1953 for one year.

NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

The I.L.O. productivity adviser arrived in Israel at the time of the announcement by the Prime Minister of the new economic policy mentioned earlier, which stressed that an adequate standard of living could be maintained only by increasing production and productivity. The first step in the new policy was a devaluation of the currency. Subsidies on specific food items, oil products, and other selected commodities were then withdrawn or reduced, and price controls were gradually withdrawn. The Histadrut decided to press for a cost-of-living bonus but not to ask for any further general wage increases for the time; it decided to encourage the introduction of systems of payment by results instead. The Government further proposed to abolish gradually the policy of basing price levels on cost-plus, to substitute tender systems and to encourage competition.

The period immediately following the announcement of the new policy was a confusing one to all elements in the economy—manufacturers, merchants, farmers, workers, and consumers.

The phrase used by the Prime Minister, "increased productivity", was discussed and repeated by all, but many different interpretations and emphases were given to it. A number of employers said that productivity could only be increased if the Government would grant them foreign currency for new machines and equipment. Other employers thought that the only way to increase productivity was to get the workers to work harder. Many workers feared that the latter would be the only result of the new policy. Most employers and workers equated "increased productivity" and payment by results.

The I.L.O. adviser found that his most effective contribution would be to encourage and improve on the beginnings that had been made in establishing a productivity centre. He accordingly helped to clarify policy of action and to devise a set of immediate

and long-term objectives. His method was to work through Israelis and to eliminate himself gradually in favour of a functioning structure which could continue on its own momentum and through its own resources to achieve greater productivity for the nation.

His immediate and continuing task was to attempt to overcome misinterpretations of concepts. It was necessary to explain over and over again that production and productivity were not the same, that productivity was a means of increasing production (output) with a minimum of capital expenditure through planning, organisation of the flow of work and better working methods; that productivity was based on the greater utilisation of available raw materials, machinery and equipment, manpower and capital. Both employers and workers had to be educated to understand that a system of payment by results was only one factor in increasing productivity and was best introduced after production methods had been improved, not before.

ACTIVITIES OF THE PRODUCTIVITY INSTITUTE

At this time the Productivity Institute consisted of nine members of the technical staff, two statisticians and two secretaries, working under a part-time director. They were involved in four varied projects:

- the picking of citrus fruit;
- the cutting and polishing of ornamental diamonds;
- the state railway workshops; and
- a refrigerator assembly plant.

Working with the staff, most of whom at that time had limited experience, the I.L.O. adviser helped to redesign and modify the projects and transform the data into applicable conclusions and recommendations.

Citrus Picking

Citrus fruit was chosen because it is Israel's leading export. The investigation was carried out at the request of the grove owners, the agricultural workers' union, the Citrus Board, and the Ministry of Agriculture.

Scores of workers in selected and varied groves were studied for some weeks by men who recorded the methods used and kept a close tally of the output and, with the aid of stop-watches, of the time spent on picking, resting and delays caused by shortage of equipment (boxes, ladders, etc.). Experiments were made with various methods of picking, and one method was finally selected as superior. Production norms based on time studies were set for various types of groves. The data were so extensive, so well collated

and analysed that at one sitting the results were accepted by both the association of grove owners and the agricultural workers' union.

In co-operation with the adult vocational training division of the Ministry of Labour courses were held for over 250 grove foremen, out of a total of 600, showing them the selected method and training them to instruct workers. Colourful instructional posters were displayed at all groves. A simple, profusely illustrated brochure describing the selected method and containing other work aids was printed in three languages (Hebrew, Yiddish and Arabic) and distributed to all the workers, most of whom were new immigrants with little or no literacy.

Although all groves did not make all the necessary changes, the industry as a whole employed during the 1952-53 season 7,000 pickers instead of the 9,000 employed the season before, and 40 per cent. more exportable fruit was picked.¹ Thus there was not only a substantial increase in productivity but also a decrease of spoiled fruit. Where payment by results was introduced, workers' earnings were increased by 20 to 40 per cent.

Diamond Cutting and Polishing

Israel's second largest export is diamonds. Since individual manual craftsmanship plays such a large role in cutting and polishing, it was difficult to make dramatic changes in the short time technicians from the Productivity Institute could devote to this industry. By making necessary adjustments and refinements in the system of payment by results in use, and by tying the premium to material saved—a major item, of course—improvement in both productivity and utilisation of material was visible, but the extent of the improvement has not yet been calculated.

A part of the diamond industry is devoted to making diamond dies for wire-drawing. Applying both work study and work measurement, productivity was initially increased 25 per cent., and a later review resulted in a further increase. Careful study showed that skilled workers could handle more machines if they were relieved of the semi-skilled and unskilled operations, which were assigned to less skilled workers. This meant that idle machines were put into operation and the skilled workers were able to spend their time using their optimum skill. Changes were also made in the working conditions, as well as improvements in specific operations.

¹ There were no dismissals, since picking is a seasonal occupation and the normal turnover of labour from season to season exceeds 75 per cent.

Railway Workshops

The Institute was invited by the Ministry of Transport to investigate the workshops of the State Railways. It was found that the system needed, for the distances travelled, an average of 1.6 locomotives overhauled per month, but the workshop was overhauling only 1.0 per month. Intensive investigation showed that, with essentially the same equipment and manpower, the workshops could actually overhaul 2.4 per month.

To demonstrate the validity of these findings the technicians assigned by the Institute selected for study the department responsible for reconditioning boilers, since this department was found to be a "bottle-neck". By planning and scheduling the work in advance, providing convenient tool cribs and improving work methods, idle time and unnecessary work were eliminated. A system of payment by results was then introduced, and in the first month productivity increased by 30 per cent. and is still rising. Having demonstrated the possibilities, the Institute recommended that the workshops hire consulting production engineers and also train selected persons from its own staff to continue the work in other departments. These recommendations are being followed.

The Refrigerator Assembly Plant

The refrigerator assembly plant was tackled systematically department by department, and operation by operation. By balancing workloads between departments and work stations, improving methods and working conditions, serving workers at their stations and improving work schedules, productivity was raised by almost 75 per cent.

Several other short investigations were conducted, mainly because emergencies arose between management and labour, and the Institute was called in to find the facts.

The choice of citrus and diamonds was made because they are Israel's two major exports. The railway workshops demonstrated that productivity could be increased in enterprises which do not have repetitive manufacturing processes. The assembly plant was used as a pilot plant, and scores of people have visited it to see the results obtainable with the techniques of industrial engineering. These visitors included cabinet ministers, members of parliament, managers and owners of enterprises, workers' delegations, and journalists.

THE GROWTH OF CONSULTING ENGINEERING

Many enterprises did not wait for assistance from the staff of the Productivity Institute. Some went ahead on their own to make improvements, while others hired consulting production engineers. Until 1952 there were two such consulting firms—both of them connected with foreign companies. Since the middle of 1952 at least eight more such concerns—all of them founded and staffed by Israelis—have started servicing Israel's enterprises. A few had some previous background in this field before immigrating to Israel, but most of them received their specific industrial engineering training as members of the staff of the Institute or by working for the first two companies.

One of these consulting firms recently published the following summary of results in a selected number of enterprises¹:

Type of establishment	Increase in output per man-hour	Period of application of system
	per cent.	months
Building operations	78	18
Textile dyeing	68	12
Textile dyeing	93	4
Metal works (1 dept.)	44	5
Chemical plant (1 dept.)	180	6

TRAINING

It soon became apparent that the staff of the Productivity Institute was too small to continue to provide a direct consulting service for individual enterprises, which number hundreds. At the recommendation of the I.L.O. adviser the board of directors accepted a plan to concentrate on training programmes. It was decided that only projects of national importance, such as the citrus industry, would continue to be accepted for direct servicing.

The staff of the Institute participated in several intensive training programmes, conducted by the I.L.O. adviser, to prepare them as trainers. In some of these programmes they were joined by members of the staff of the productivity department of the Histadrut. Out of one such programme the staff developed a training manual on methods of improvement and time study.

The manual was based on a programme developed by the I.L.O. adviser on a previous mission to Israel in 1950 under the auspices of the United States Department of State. The programme,

¹ MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY: *Israel Economic Bulletin*, Vol. V, Nos. 5-6, Mar.-Apr. 1953, p. 12.

as finally revised, consists of two weeks of intensive classroom learning (44 hours per week), followed by a five-week period of practical work, and a final week for the participants to exchange experiences and report results. Each course consists of 20 participants from ten establishments (each establishment has two participants—one chosen by the workers, and one chosen by the management; both receive full wages during the course). During the period of practical work each team of participants returns to its own establishment and selects a production process for improvement. The teams are visited at least once a week by the instructor or his assistant. Whenever possible enterprises in related industries are included in the same course.

Such eight-week courses have already been conducted in the following fields: metal fabrication, chemicals, ceramics, textiles, food processing, laundries and dry-cleaning shops. Representatives from various governmental establishments, such as the railways and printing, have also participated in these courses.

The success of the courses exceeded all expectations. While the five-week projects were intended for training purposes, most of the results were practicable and usable. Increases in productivity in the training projects ranged from 20 per cent. to as high as several hundred per cent. Some results were startling; for example, after the building of a simple gravity chute only one hour a day was required to keep a group of glass workers supplied with work where previously a service worker had spent eight hours doing the same thing.

Those completing these courses continue to meet every fortnight for additional training and discussion.

In addition, special expanded training programmes were held for selected engineers and others in building and road construction, and for representatives of the communal farm settlements (*kibbutzim*). The first were trained to conduct an investigation into the improvement of methods and the devising of a system of payment by results for construction work. The second group was trained to investigate the services of the settlements, such as kitchens and dining rooms, laundries, etc., with a view to reducing the man-hours used and releasing more people for production work in the fields and workplaces. These communal settlements produce the bulk of Israel's crops. Both investigations are in process.

In order to create a co-operative atmosphere in the plants sending trainees to the eight-week programme, all-day discussions are arranged for owners and managers. Similar programmes for members of workers' committees were not as successful, so these were modified to include a film and lecture to all workers, presented in the workplace.

During this period the I.L.O. adviser also conducted two series of evening lecture-discussions for factory technical engineers on techniques for increasing productivity. Over 200 engineers registered and attended these series, which included such subjects as the definition of productivity, industrial management and organisation, factory layout and the handling of materials, production planning and control, methods improvement and operational analysis, the selection and training of workers, time study and production standards and human relations in industry.

He also held two seminars of ten afternoon sessions each for top managers and owners of larger enterprises. The subjects were similar to those presented to the engineers, but were handled differently and also included a session on systems of payment by results.

All-day discussions were also held for groups of manufacturers, and one all-day programme for 150 heads of government departments on the role that government can play in increasing productivity. Several all-day meetings of engineers and technicians working on various phases of productivity led to a demand for monthly meetings to hear speakers and discuss common problems.

Another field in which the Institute sponsored a training programme was in record-keeping in factories. Taught by a statistical expert from the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, the participants presented the systems used in their respective establishments with the aim of devising improved procedures.

Long-Term and Short-Term Projects

The Institute has been working closely with the Technion on the establishment of a special department and curriculum for industrial and production engineering. Such a programme will be offered to last-year students in the academic year starting October 1953. The programme may be expanded in succeeding years according to the response and need. The Technion has also agreed to expand the general course in industrial management that has been given to students of mechanical engineering, and to make it obligatory for all mechanical engineering students and available to all other students. The Institute hopes that it will eventually be obligatory for students of all faculties, since most of Israel's establishments are small and are economically unable to have on their staff both a technical engineer and a production engineer. The first graduates of the new department will not be available until 1955.

Pending this development two programmes were planned to fill interim demands. One is an intensive six-month programme

under the direction of the second I.L.O. productivity expert. Thirty-one students were selected from a list of 130 applicants who replied to an advertisement in the newspapers. Seventeen were sponsored by establishments which agreed to use them as full-time production technicians after completion of the course. The remainder were accepted on condition that for two years they would be employed either by the Institute or at establishments selected by the Institute. Seventeen weeks were devoted to classroom work, the remainder in practical work in factories and construction. During the classroom work (40 hours per week) 18 subjects were studied, of which 15 were taught by Israelis and the other three by the two I.L.O. experts. Upon completion of the programme the trainees will receive certificates as "production technicians". Another such programme is under consideration.

The second of these two interim programmes will last one year and will be open only to graduate engineers under 35 years of age who have not had the opportunity for systematic study of the specific subjects of production and industrial engineering. This course also will consist of classroom work and practical work in selected factories. The major portion of the teaching will be in the hands of experts sent by the Technical Co-operation Administration (Point Four) of the United States.

In February 1953 the Institute began the publication of a monthly eight-page illustrated paper called *Hami'el* (The Enterprise). It is written in a popular vein and is intended for management, engineers, and members of the joint productivity councils.

The Institute had extensive plans for general public information, with the aim of making the entire country "productivity-minded", but lack of staff and budget has kept this programme from complete fulfilment. A number of colourful posters and pamphlets were issued and press statements published, and several programmes were presented over the radio. It is hoped to expand this campaign in the future.

The Institute has made a modest beginning in establishing a library of technical books, periodicals and films and plans to expand these facilities for the use not only of its staff but of all those interested in seeking information in this field. It has also begun the task of devising Hebrew words and phrases for technical concepts. These will eventually be submitted to the Language Commission.

Productivity and Vocational Training

The I.L.O. adviser found that, as in most countries, the emphasis in the vocational training of young people was on the

quality of craftsmanship. Practical projects were judged by the instructors on the quality and exactness of the finished product. Little or no attention was paid to such questions as the time spent or the amount of raw material used. Hence students were not "productivity-minded".

He therefore proposed to the Productivity Institute and the Ministry of Education and Culture that the curriculum of the vocational schools should be revised in order to take into account the factors of time and cost. A committee was set up by the Ministry, consisting of representatives of the Ministry, the Productivity Institute, and the heads of the various vocational training school systems.¹ The recommendation was unanimously accepted, and a subcommittee was selected to revise the three-year curriculum. On the completion of the new curriculum and syllabuses a series of training programmes for instructors and teachers will be held.

CO-ORDINATION AND CO-OPERATION

This development is a part of the programme of the Productivity Institute, which sees itself as a co-ordinating agency to bring into closer harmony the various factors that affect productivity. Another example of such co-ordination was the work of the Institute when it discovered that carpenters were using long nails which they hammered in part way, clipping off and discarding the rest of the nail. Investigation showed that the construction companies and nail manufacturers had never discussed the problem. Acting as a go-between, the Institute found the nail manufacturers quite willing to produce nails of the required length and thickness. The change to a shorter nail means an annual saving of almost 18 tons of metal, in addition to a saving in the time of the carpenters.

As an added incentive to workers to increase their individual productivity, the law provides for a reduced rate of income tax on premium earnings up to 30 per cent. above the guaranteed rate for fulfilling norms. In implementing this provision the Minister of Finance is advised by a committee which investigates the validity and objectivity of the methods of setting norms in each enterprise and makes appropriate recommendations. The committee consists of representatives of the Institute, the Income Tax Commissioner, the Histadrut, and the Manufacturers' Association. The Institute serves as the committee's fact-finding agency. This activity has served the dual purpose of avoiding abuses of

¹ These systems are run by private, semi-public, and public bodies and were under the general direction of the Ministry of Education and Culture until May 1953, when supervision was transferred to the Ministry of Labour.

this special provision, and of instructing the establishments on objective methods of calculating norms. It should be emphasised that the committee does not approve any production norms as such; it only passes on the method of arriving at the norms.

Under consideration is a request from the Ministry of Commerce and Industry for the Institute to establish a subdivision to investigate requests from establishments for allocations of foreign currency to purchase machinery and equipment. A test investigation was made of one establishment which had submitted a request six months earlier for the purchase of two fork-lift trucks. The Institute investigator found that the firm had, in the meantime, acquired one used fork-lift truck. A study showed that the one truck was used only 10 per cent. of the time, and that a simple scheduling system would minimise the times when two departments needed the truck at the same time. The firm was delighted to withdraw its request for a second truck.

THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE

In its plans for 1954-55 the Institute will ask for an increase in its budget from the Government, supplemented by an increased number of affiliated enterprises. This will enable it to expand its current training programmes, increase the public information programme, increase its service capacity and extend its activities to other fields.

Two fields to which the Institute plans to give particular emphasis are cost accounting and office management. The United Nations Technical Assistance Administration has been approached to send experts and provide fellowships in these fields.

The citrus investigation will be extended next season to the packing of the fruit for overseas shipment and the transport of the fruit from the groves to the packing sheds and of the packed cases from the sheds to the ports.

Further plans include the translation, compilation and writing of technical papers, journals and books in Hebrew. It is also hoped to develop audio-visual aids such as motion pictures, continuous film strips and slides.

Still under consideration are plans for training professional management personnel by expanding the curriculum of one of the existing schools of higher learning and instituting special courses.

CONCLUSIONS

Although Israel has certain special needs and problems, the experience gained in that country leads to conclusions which may

be applicable to other countries in the early stages of industrial development. Thus the need has been shown for—

(1) a national multipartite productivity centre to co-ordinate the factors that influence productivity (it should be noted that the Israel Productivity Institute worked not only with manufacturers, workers, and technicians; it also found it necessary in the course of its activities to draw in various government ministries and departments, such as the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Ministry of Transport, the Post Office, the Ministry of Finance, the Scientific Council and the Language Commission, as well as semi-public educational institutions, such as the Institute of Technology and the various vocational training systems);

(2) reaching the entire population with the message of the necessity and importance of increasing productivity for the economic health of the country (the experience in Israel coincides with the conclusions of a working paper submitted recently by the I.L.O. to the Economic and Social Council, which emphasised the "need to capture the enthusiasm of the masses for improvement", which can only be done, it says, if the people are shown ways in which they can contribute to improvements and "if hope is held out to them of the progressive attainment of a just social order");

(3) reaching each section of the population separately with the message of what each can do in a campaign to increase productivity and how each section will benefit (this applies to various levels in government, management and supervision—workers, farmers, professional and technical men);

(4) technical and professional training (there is a parallel with needs in the medical field, where training is necessary not only for doctors of medicine and surgeons; there is also a need for all citizens to know the essentials of hygiene and sanitation, for many people to be trained in emergency first aid and for a large number of practical nurses and a body of qualified professional nurses);

(5) selecting pilot plants to demonstrate what production and industrial engineering techniques can do to increase productivity while utilising existing equipment;

(6) emphasising that organisation and method are the first requirements in increasing productivity, and systems of payment by results valuable auxiliaries;

(7) demonstrating that the techniques of production and industrial engineering can be universally applied not only to manufacturing but also to services, agriculture, office administration and even housework ;

(8) sincere consultation and co-operation at the level of the undertaking in all branches of economic endeavour and in the nation among government, management, labour and technicians.

An Indian Experiment in Rural Development

The Etawah Pilot Project

by

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A number of recent articles in the Review have discussed problems of productivity in industry. Productivity in agriculture, especially of the kind practised in underdeveloped countries, raises questions of a somewhat different kind. Even when improved techniques of agriculture have been evolved in laboratories and experimental farms, their introduction on a large scale in a backward agricultural community raises difficult problems. The article below describes how some of them have been tackled in one of the states of India by the use of simple and comparatively inexpensive methods. These methods are likely to prove valuable in the implementation of the recently launched Community Projects Scheme, which is a part of the Indian Five-Year Plan¹, and should also be of interest to other countries facing similar problems.

The figures quoted in the article have been taken from official reports ; most of the descriptive part is based on an on-the-spot investigation by the author.

THE state of Uttar Pradesh in India is conducting an important experiment in rural development in the district of Etawah. Some of the results achieved at Etawah in the last four years have shown so much promise that a national programme of rural community development has been worked out based on the Etawah model and is now a part of the Indian Five-Year Plan. The major accomplishments of the Etawah project, in terms of higher agricultural production, are : an increase over the period

¹ See " Development Planning in India ", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXVIII, No. 2, Aug. 1953, p. 186.

1948-52 in the average yield per acre from 820 lb. to 2,175 lb. in the case of wheat ; from 8,200 lb. to 18,200 lb. in the case of potatoes ; from 1,375 lb. to 1,970 lb. in the case of peas, and somewhat smaller increases in certain other local crops. But this is only a part of the story. For there seems to have been a striking change in the basic outlook of the people ; they are willing, even eager, to try experiments and accept new ideas and are no longer sceptical of official schemes for their betterment. Through the project the effectiveness of a many-sided approach to rural development has been tested, and certain techniques of agricultural extension have been tried in Indian conditions. While the experiment continues and the techniques are being perfected, the project is already the training ground for similar action not only in other parts of the state but all over the country.

SCOPE AND METHODS

The project was started in September 1948. It covered 97 villages, with a population of 80,000 and an area of about 61,400 acres, of which 45,500 acres are under cultivation. The villages are grouped round the rural township of Mahewa, which was selected as the headquarters of the project. In 1951 another 135 villages, with a population of 100,000, were brought within the scope of the project. The district of Etawah was chosen for the pilot project as being an average district in Uttar Pradesh from the standpoint of climate and rainfall, irrigation facilities and soil conditions. About half of the project area is served by canal irrigation. A major objective of the project, which was planned with the help of an American expert, was stated to be as follows :

To see what degree of productive and social improvement, as well as of initiative, self-confidence and co-operation, can be achieved in the village of a district not the beneficiary of any set of special circumstances and resources such as hydro-electric development or large-scale industry or other non-typical high cost and high priority development. The problem is also to ascertain how quickly those results may be attainable consistent with their remaining permanently part of the people's mental, spiritual and technical equipment and outlook after the special pressure is lifted. In the context of India's urgent need we must not take too long. But we cannot afford the superficial, nor, if the results are to be permanent and self-renewing, must we use " high pressure " methods.¹

In planning the project it was recognised that improving the lot of the villager was a many-sided problem, but that effort must, in the first instance, be concentrated on a few elements both because

¹ GOVERNMENT OF UTTAR PRADESH : *Interim Report on Pilot Development Projects Etawah and Gorakhpur* (Lucknow, 1952), p. 23.

of limitations of resources and personnel and because too much dispersion confused the villager. The improvement of agricultural techniques was accordingly selected as the main item of the programme of work, but elementary public health, adult education and selected aspects of general social welfare were also included. Educational and welfare activities were treated less as an end in themselves than as essentials for the creation of the necessary background for, and interest in, the productive aspects of the programme.

From the very start of the project the importance was stressed of broadening the interests of the villagers and of developing initiative and self-reliance, and one of the most important characteristics of the whole project was the adoption of persuasive methods such as explanation and practical demonstrations rather than compulsion. By actively participating in community singing, popular dramas and other indigenous forms of recreation and entertainment—indeed in most cases himself initiating a popular drive for them—the field worker not only removed the villagers' age-old suspicion of the outside benefactor but often succeeded in creating enthusiasm among them for development work. The songs and dramas were sometimes specially written from the standpoint of arousing popular interest in development activities. Where adults did not respond at first, a start was made with the village youth. The idea was first of all to arouse the consciousness of the people about their own conditions and the need for improving them.

An example may serve to illustrate the point. The village worker would go to the house of an illiterate peasant and merely write his name in chalk at the entrance. Suspicious, the villager would ask what the matter was, to which the reply would be: " Haven't you seen the names of important people written on the doors of their offices in town ? Well I think you are an important person. " " Don't be silly, I can't even read this " would be the retort. From this point it was comparatively easy to get the villager to come to simple evening classes for literacy and from there on to singing, discussions, etc.—all skilfully guided to one central theme : the need for betterment.

Having thus gained the confidence of the villager and in some measure roused his interest, the village worker would proceed to his main task—the demonstration of better agricultural methods. For it was through the method of demonstration that the bulk of the programme had to be carried out. The demonstrations themselves had to be very carefully prepared. It was important that they should not be carried out in conditions unreal to the farmer, for example, on a first-class government-owned farm where all facilities of manure, irrigation, ploughing and sowing were avail-

able. That would not meet the real need, which was to convince the peasant that with certain methods he could himself, on his own holding, and without any appreciable capital outlay, raise a better crop.

During the first year of the project, therefore, the chief aim was to demonstrate in as practical a method as possible the advantages of better seed and better sowing, manuring and ploughing practices. But it was important not to confuse the cultivator or push him too fast: only one thing was demonstrated at a time. The technique adopted was simple enough. A comparatively progressive farmer was selected and persuaded to use one of the improved methods suggested—better seed or better manure or better sowing methods—in half of his field, the other half being cultivated in the traditional manner. The guarantee given was that while the benefit of any increased yield would be retained by the farmer, in case of loss he would be fully compensated. This seemed fair enough to the simple but astute farmer. In this manner a series of demonstrations were arranged at several places in the project area.

The demonstrations proved to be highly successful. At harvest time the farmer was convinced of the value of the improved method and, perhaps equally important, he was convinced too of the sincerity of the field worker. Meanwhile the word had got around, and other farmers were brought to see the successful demonstration. It may be added in parenthesis that the field worker had to keep a careful eye on the demonstration to ensure that it was faithfully carried out, especially in the final stages of harvesting, threshing and weighing.

In the following years there was a progressively increasing demand for better seed, manure, ploughs, seed drills and threshers. Demonstrations were repeated, and more and more farmers became interested. The demand for improved seed, manure and agricultural implements had to be met. This led to two problems. In the first place it became evident that the supply of pure seed could not come indefinitely from the government seed store—indeed the seed store itself needed to replenish and increase its own stock of the best seed. The seed must be multiplied in the project area itself and, most important of all, its purity must be maintained. A programme of pure seed multiplication was accordingly put into operation. Demonstrations were carried out with special sowings with the help of "dibblers"; they taught the cultivators how to obtain a supply of pure seed for the next year. Wherever possible the Government bought good seed at higher rates and, where seed had been supplied through a co-operative society as a loan, the repayment, including interest, was also required to be in kind. Today,

in wheat at least, the project is not only self-sufficient in seed but is able to supply seed outside. More than 90 per cent. of the entire 6,000 acres of wheat land in the project area is now under an improved variety of wheat seed (PB.591). Experiments to test the yield of other varieties are going on. The use of improved seed has also been widespread in the case of peas, potatoes and gram.

The second problem concerned the comparatively high cost of the better implements demonstrated. Moreover, arrangements for their maintenance locally had to be made. An effort was therefore made to supply the more expensive implements, especially the seed drills, through the co-operative society, which hired them to the members. In a few instances simpler and cheaper models were designed locally with the help of the agricultural research institutions of the State. A scheme for training local carpenters and blacksmiths in simple maintenance work was set afoot. They were given a small stipend during the period of training, which usually lasted for a couple of weeks. The more complicated repairs can be carried out in the government workshop at Mahewa.

It may be interesting to list the implements that have been successfully introduced to the farmers, and for which the demand is growing. The approximate prices are also given where available:

Implement	Price (rupees)
Seed drill for sowing	600
"Olpad" thresher	185
"Cultivator" plough	75
"Cultivator" plough devised at Mahewa	30
"Victory" plough	—
"Gurjar" plough	—
Triangular harrow	90
Triangular harrow devised at Mahewa	15
Wheelbarrow (a cheaper model is being devised)	55
Improved sickle	—

As regards manure, the cultivators have learnt the value of green manuring and to a smaller extent of chemical fertiliser (the success of the latter is sometimes endangered by uncertain irrigation water supplies). Two local crops, *sanai* and *moong* (type 1) have become fairly popular for green manuring. The digging and use of manure pits for farmyard manure has also become popular, chiefly on sanitary grounds.

Another line of action has been to introduce a certain diversification in the crops grown. *Berseem*, a valuable fodder crop giving a high milk yield, has become very popular. Vegetable growing has spread. Seeds and seedlings are supplied through the co-operative society.

In the field of animal husbandry the programme comprises artificial insemination at a centre in Mahewa (still looked upon

with suspicion by the farmer, although becoming more popular) and inoculation against rinderpest and haemorrhagic septicaemia. Cases of rinderpest and haemorrhagic septicaemia, which numbered 75 and 30 a year respectively in the years 1946-48, showed a sharp decline immediately the inoculations were started, and at present there are no cases at all.

Preventive work in the health field has been carried out, mainly by the distribution of medicines, vaccinations, demonstrations (for anti-malaria and anti-scabies work), and generally by creating favourable opinion in the villages. Other welfare work is directed at specific problems such as environmental sanitation, or at special groups of persons such as the depressed classes. By providing assistance through materials and giving technical guidance simple improvements have been carried out in housing, especially in the matter of utensil washing and bathing facilities, and soakage pits for dirty water. As a general rule labour is contributed voluntarily by the beneficiaries. Another significant work is the construction in the project area of inter-village roads, also through voluntary labour.¹ The project personnel has also given technical advice to certain farmers in the digging of wells and the installation of hand pumps for irrigation purposes.

In the carrying out of this programme a great deal of reliance is placed on arousing the active interest of the villagers themselves. Adult and social education in their widest sense were the first steps of the village worker, a prelude to real development work. This part of the programme has by no means decreased in importance. Indeed its continuance is considered essential to keeping up the enthusiasm of the villages. It will also be of immense assistance in the difficult and not yet attempted task of introducing social change. Adult literacy classes and discussion groups are popular. In the period 1948-53 nearly 1,700 adults have passed the literacy test. Twenty-six circulating libraries are functioning, with about 1,500 books and pamphlets. The central library at Mahewa has about 3,000 books.² A special fortnightly bulletin is now issued, printed in large type, which gives agricultural information, local and

¹ *Shramdan* or "gift of labour" has now become a regular feature of development work in Uttar Pradesh; see GOVERNMENT OF UTTAR PRADESH: *Manpower: Mobilising Our Biggest Resource*, Planning and Development Series (Lucknow, 1951).

² For a detailed report on adult literacy work at Etawah see GOVERNMENT OF UTTAR PRADESH: *Analytical Report on Adult Literacy and Villagers' Participation and Social Education: Based on Experiences in the Pilot Development Project, Etawah* (Lucknow, 1952). The report gives the following conclusions:

"1. Adult literacy work must tie in closely with development work and with the life and work of the village, and be the focus of social and entertainment activities.

general news, the fortnight's programme of work and items on religious and traditional topics, with a section on questions and answers. Its circulation is over 1,300.

Other means used in this field are general and educational film shows, film strips and plays, including some concerned with development, national and religious festivals and a special annual fair. During the fair, in addition to popular entertainment—dramas, film shows, wrestling bouts, tug-of-war, etc.—an exhibition is organised and prizes are distributed to the best farmers. Usually leading political figures and government officials attend these fairs.

ORGANISATION AND TRAINING

A very important factor in the success of the Etawah experiment is the organisation and training of the personnel. Having recognised that rural development raised a number of questions falling within the competence of several government departments, the planners of the project were keenly aware of the need for the greatest possible co-operation among the departments at all levels and more particularly at the level of the village. In the past in Uttar Pradesh—as in other parts of India—the villager has been rather bewildered by the variety of field workers who gave him

2. The minimum teaching period should be four months with examination, a close follow-up period of two months, and continuing opportunities and supply of material. A permanent library and community centre are necessary to nurture the literacy continually.

3. A permanent physical centre is important, not merely a room in someone's house.

4. 'Classes' should be much more than mere definite instruction and practice, but involve songs, games, discussion of timely topics—i.e., include entertainment and relaxation as well.

5. Teachers must be local people who have read up to vernacular middle working locally. They should have leadership qualities. Experience indicates that primary school teachers are unsuitable. In general, teachers should be willing and eager to run the local community centre after formal adult classes have ended.

6. Fortnightly meetings of the teachers should be held, to exchange experiences, present problems, go over future plans. This recurring stimulus is important. Refresher camps are also important.

7. The village-level workers should become interested in and involved in this work. They should be brought to realise that it helps their work also.

8. For the time being at least, fairly frequent visits and supervision are indispensable. Also nothing so encourages both the teachers and students as when officers visit their classes.

9. Adult literacy classes are seasonal, the best season being September to March. In other seasons strenuous cultivation, the competition of the marriage season, etc., make defections too numerous.

10. An adult literacy class for both sexes is not yet feasible for maximum over-all effect; there should also be classes for women (conducted by women)."

advice, each stressing the particular aspect for which he was responsible, often belittling the advice of the fellow, and sometimes competing, field worker. A system under which all departments—agricultural, co-operative, veterinary, education, health, cottage industries and others—had their own field workers at the village level, working independently and sometimes at cross purposes, had its bad features. Planners at the top had been conscious of this fact for some time. In Uttar Pradesh a drive for rural development through the agency of the multi-purpose co-operative society had already been launched, and certain administrative changes had been carried out.

In Etawah the administrative co-ordination was carried one step forward. One single worker was made responsible for the execution of the programme at the village level. He was to act as the agent of all the government departments concerned with development. Formerly each department had its own village worker, but the total number of workers at the disposal of a department was comparatively small, with the result that every worker had to cover a large number of villages—sometimes a hundred or more—spread over long distances. Yet for the same number of villages there were other workers belonging to the other departments. This prevented intensive and sustained work and encouraged the workers to send exaggerated and even false reports of work done in the field. At Etawah, by pooling the field workers of all the departments and converting them into multi-purpose workers, it became possible to entrust no more than five villages to one worker. He was required to live in one of the villages and to possess a bicycle. The underlying idea in using one multi-purpose field worker was that nothing that had to be explained and demonstrated at the level of the village should be too technical for a field worker with suitable training.

It is, of course, recognised that the village worker needs constant technical guidance and supervision. Officials technically qualified in the various fields have accordingly been appointed at the supervisory level with headquarters at Mahewa. The executive responsibility for the project is entrusted to a civil service officer with headquarters in Etawah town, some 20 miles away.¹ These technical officials are qualified in agriculture, agricultural engineering, public health and social education. Technical staff responsible for training and carrying out economic investigation and appraisal have also been attached to the project. In addition, other staff of

¹ Under the present arrangement the project executive officer is also the planning officer for the whole district and is given certain powers of control over district officials of other departments, with a view to ensuring maximum co-ordination.

the technical departments are available for consultation and advice from the district or state headquarters, or from special research institutes. They visit the project as necessary.

The principal means by which the technical officials keep in touch with the village worker is the fortnightly meeting in Mahewa, at which all the village workers are present. These meetings are remarkable for their simplicity and directness. All present squat on mats, and discussions are informal. The programme of the previous fortnight is reviewed, and targets for the next fortnight set up. There are no formal records. Every village worker takes down his own notes. The meeting also enables the village workers to have individual discussions with the technical officials on specific problems, including questions of supplies. It also acts as a refresher course for them, since the technical officers often examine them on various points and give them useful tips. Conversely, through the meetings the village worker constantly brings field experience to headquarters and is also able to participate in programme planning. The technical officials also tour the villages, especially the officer in charge of social and adult education and villagers' participation.

It will be evident from the above that the success or failure of the project depends most of all on the quality of the village worker. His selection and training are of the utmost importance, and the valuable lessons learnt at Etawah are already being applied in the training centres that the Uttar Pradesh government has set up for the large-scale training of field workers for the whole state. One training centre functions as part of the Etawah pilot project and is located at Lakhna township, near Mahewa. The selection of trainees, who are required to have a certificate from an agricultural school, is carried out after careful but simple aptitude tests.¹ In a large number of instances the candidates for training are already employed in one of the departments and offer themselves for training as village workers under the development programme because of higher salary and better prospects. They receive a stipend during the period of training, which lasts for some six months. The majority of them are between 20 and 30 years of age. The staff of the centre consists of two specially trained whole-time teachers and part-time teachers from the technical departments. The programme of work comprises theory, group discussion and practical work in neighbouring villages attached to the centre for this purpose. The subjects covered

¹ One simple test consists of taking the candidates to watch villagers digging a trench or making a road and, when the villagers use a wrong method, observing the reactions of the trainees and the manner in which they offer to teach the right method.

include agriculture, simple agricultural engineering, plant protection, vegetable gardening, animal husbandry, health, sanitation and village hygiene, co-operation, social education and village administration.

One notable feature of the Lakhna centre is the creation of conditions similar to those in the villages. The centre is a very simple institution with hardly any furniture. There are no servants, and the work (cooking, washing, camp cleaning, night watch, etc.) must be done by the trainees themselves. The daily routine is rather severe, stretching from 5 a.m. to 10 p.m. Practical work and visits to villages are generally carried out in the mornings, and class work in the afternoons and evenings. A major aim of the training is to infuse a sense of enthusiasm and public service in the minds of the trainees.

It should be added that similar training, but at a higher level, is imparted to the supervisory staff at special centres, in the setting up of some of which the Uttar Pradesh government has received assistance from the Ford Foundation.

LIMITATIONS AND COST

Although the Etawah project is called a pilot rural development project, it is in essence an agricultural extension project, designed to carry to the farmer the benefit of improved agricultural practice. Its success lies in demonstrating that this can be done. It presupposes the existence of such improved practices. In the case of the work done so far this supposition has been correct: improved seeds, implements, manuring practices, vaccines, etc., had already been discovered and tried in the research institutions, although before this project they had never been so successfully carried to the farmer. But, if there is nothing to "sell", the extension worker can do little. This seems to have been the case with the summer crops grown at Etawah, such as rice and maize. It is also true of rural handicrafts, in which no significant results have been achieved. The importance of research to back extension has been strikingly proved. In a number of instances the project has referred specific problems to the research institutions, e.g., the designing of cheaper models of agricultural implements, and by mutual collaboration successful results have been achieved. Sometimes the project has itself been able to carry out local experiments.

Being essentially an agricultural extension project, it does not seek to tackle problems of rural development that would call for large capital investment or raise other basic issues of policy. Problems of irrigation, the creation of more employment opportunities through the development of handicrafts and cottage industries,

land problems of consolidation of holdings, reclamation and erosion, and such problems as storage and marketing, have therefore remained outside the scope of the project.

What is the cost of the project, and to what extent can it be repeated even within its present limits? This is a crucial question. For, unless projects of the Etawah type can be repeated with government existing resources their value will inevitably be limited. In the first four years of the project a total sum of approximately one-and-a-half million rupees was spent on the project, of which more than half was incurred on housing for project offices and project personnel (including village workers), office supplies, equipment for demonstration purposes and subsidies for the construction of seed stores and community centres. In 1951 the project was extended from the original 97 villages to about 200 villages. The recurring budget of the project has not been substantially raised. Against this expenditure should be mentioned the value of the higher agricultural production. It has been estimated that the value of the yearly increase in the wheat crop alone is nearly ten times the recurring annual cost of the project.

This does not, however, answer the question. The benefit of the increased yield is retained largely by the cultivator; the cost of the project has to be met out of current government revenues. If the experiment were to be extended on a nation-wide basis on the Etawah scale, it would mean a colossal expenditure that would be difficult to meet from the present national revenues.¹ Moreover, in initiating projects of this kind in other parts of the country, it would be necessary to examine the need for including work in the field of cottage industries and for greater attention to be paid to basic problems of irrigation and other public works. The extension of the Etawah project can therefore be carried out only by progressive stages as the necessary funds become available and as the requisite personnel is trained.

FOLLOW-UP OF THE ETAWAH PROJECT IN UTTAR PRADESH

In 1950 the Uttar Pradesh government launched another pilot development project at Bhathat in Gorakhpur District, in a wet rice-producing region, to test the applicability of the experience at Etawah to the different circumstances of eastern Uttar Pradesh. Most of the village workers were trained at Etawah and the methods used were similar. There was, however, some difference in the emphasis placed on the various items of the programme. For instance, greater attention was paid at Gorakhpur to public health

¹ There are some 550,000 villages in India.

and inter-village road construction, because these were more immediate problems in that area. The main item, of course, was agriculture, and higher yields have been obtained in the case of early and late paddy and sugar cane. Better seed for the winter crops, wheat, barley and gram, has also been introduced successfully. Progress in the first years at Gorakhpur has been somewhat faster than that achieved at the beginning of the Etawah project.

THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY PROJECTS SCHEME

On the national plane, on 2 October 1952, the anniversary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian Government launched a series of projects of the Etawah type under the name of "community development projects". A project covers some 300 villages with a population of some 300,000, and is divided into three development blocks. The main emphasis is on agricultural production, but important provision is also made for public works—irrigation, roads, bridges, community centres, etc., many of which are carried out through the voluntary labour of the villagers, and for cottage industries. Other items include animal husbandry, marketing, public health and education. Some of the projects include a rural-urban township. The organisation and methods are similar to those employed at Etawah. The projects are expected to cost 6.5 million rupees each over a period of three years. They are the subject of a technical assistance agreement between the Government of India and the United States, under which the United States Government has agreed to meet the non-rupee part of the expenditure (estimated at some \$10.5 million), mainly for the purchase of equipment. The Indian Government rupee expenditure is estimated at about 417 million. The United States Government is also providing some technical personnel for the scheme.

It should be noted that community projects are part of the Indian Five Year Plan, and a sum of 900 million rupees has been provided for this purpose for the duration of the plan; this is about a quarter of the total amount set up for agricultural development (excluding irrigation). The Government of India recently announced the details of a national extension service with which the community projects are to be integrated. It is proposed to increase the number of development blocks progressively until, in 1955-56, there will be 1,200 blocks covering some 120,000 villages, or approximately one-quarter of India's total population. Of these 1,200 development blocks 300 have already been functioning since October 1952, and 900 will be added under the extension service plan. Four hundred of the new blocks will be developed more intensively on the lines of the existing community projects,

while the remaining 500 will receive the benefit of the extension service. It is proposed to organise the extension service as a permanent organisation.¹

The need for the proper training of staff for this vast scheme has been recognised, and already 34 training centres are functioning in the country for training multi-purpose village workers. Their total capacity is nearly 5,500 trainees a year. By May 1953 some 1,000 village-level workers and supervisors had been trained, and nearly 1,400 were under training. In addition, five special centres have been opened for the training of specialists in social education, and another three centres for public health training are to be set up shortly. The Ford Foundation has provided assistance in the setting up of the existing training centres. It is proposed to develop the training programme further.

CONCLUSION

Rural development in India—sometimes called "rural uplift" or "rural reconstruction"—has a rather long history. Work has been carried out in different parts of the country under both official and non-official auspices and with varying degrees of success—and failure. More recently, under the stress of the food situation, "Grow More Food" campaigns were launched in the country, also without a full measure of success. Reviewing the experience, the "Grow More Food" Committee of Inquiry of the Government of India made the following remarks: "No plan can have any chance of success unless the millions of small farmers in the country accept its object, share in its making, regard it as their own, and are prepared to make the sacrifices necessary for implementing it. The integrated production programme has failed to arouse enthusiasm for the reasons we have given." The Committee stressed the key importance of awakening enthusiasm and of enlisting the active interest and support of the farmers.

The Etawah experiment has confirmed the vital role that such interest can play in rural development and has been a highly useful experiment in the techniques to be applied for ensuring the villagers' active participation. It has shown how explanation and demonstration can succeed not merely in the long run but even over a comparatively short period of time, provided the farmer is approached in the right manner and the proper atmosphere is created. The importance has also been proved of the village worker identifying himself as much as possible with the

¹ See *Hindustani Times* (New Delhi), 1 May 1953; and GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PLANNING COMMISSION: *Five-Year Plan: Progress Report 1951-52, 1952-53* (New Delhi, 1953).

farmers, living with them night and day, participating in their games, singing and other forms of community recreation.

If the Etawah project has taught the village worker how to go about his work, its contribution is not the less important in establishing the key role in development operations of the village worker himself. At the start of the experiment there were some misgivings whether a fully fledged multi-purpose worker could be brought into being and whether he would really be able to do an effective job. The doubts seem to have gradually dissipated as training schemes were devised and put into operation, and as the first results appeared. Thus, in terms of organisation and inter-departmental co-ordination at the lowest level, the Etawah project has been a valuable experience.

The pilot project has also given some indication of the cost of such projects—a vital factor. It should be recognised that the cost will vary from project to project according to local circumstances. If, however, there is an immediately useful job to be done by way of the introduction of improved agricultural practices that have already been worked out in the research stations, the value of the resulting increased production is likely to be greater than the cost of the project. This is the experience both of Etawah and Gorakhpur. In this sense projects of this kind are an excellent investment. But since the funds for them have to come from the Government's revenues, while the bulk of the benefit of increased production is retained by the farmer himself, the extent to which they can be repeated depends on the ability of the Government to find the necessary funds. Funds have been provided under the Five-Year Plan and action on a considerable scale is already being undertaken.

Etawah does not of course claim to provide the full answer to the problem of the development of the countryside. Basic questions of large-scale irrigation and power development and of land management and also such questions as the creation of new avenues of gainful employment within or near the rural areas are largely outside the scope of a project of the Etawah type. And yet without them development can at best be only limited, if comparatively rapid. In the wider context of development, plans for rural and agricultural improvement must be closely integrated with the plans for industrial and urban progress. What Etawah has done is to demonstrate the feasibility of raising agricultural productivity by making the cultivator a better farmer through modern techniques of agricultural extension applied in Indian conditions.

REPORTS AND INQUIRIES

Salaries and Hours of Work in Government Service: An International Comparison

The statistics of salaries and hours of work in government service presented below were obtained from a pilot investigation conducted by the International Labour Office as part of its programme of study of the conditions of work of salaried and professional workers.¹ Few governments at present provide general statistics of the remuneration and hours of work of salaried and professional employees, but one of the branches of economic activity for which such data are regularly available is government service itself. For that reason the present inquiry was undertaken.

Governments employ large numbers of persons in a variety of occupations at various levels of skill and professional qualification, and therefore statistics of salaries and hours of work in government employment provide valuable insight into the conditions of work of salaried and professional personnel in general. Indeed, there are certain professions, such as meteorology or wild-life management, where almost the only possibility of employment is in government service.

Statistics of remuneration and hours of work in government service are also important in themselves, since the functions of government have expanded in many countries in recent decades, with civil servants constituting an increasing proportion of the employed labour force. Finally, the statistics of salaries and working hours in government employment have the advantage of relating to narrowly specified occupations and salary classes. By contrast, averages of salaries based on social insurance records or statistics of establishments in private enterprise generally cover the whole gamut of occupations from office boy to managing director in a single figure which may be misleading because of its breadth of scope.

SCOPE AND METHOD OF THE INVESTIGATION

For the purposes of the pilot investigation a list of eight occupations in government service was chosen. A questionnaire was sent to govern-

¹ Statistics relating to three occupations in commerce and finance have been collected since 1950 as part of the annual I.L.O. "October Inquiry" into time rates of wages and normal hours of work. See *International Labour Review, Statistical Supplement*, Vol. LXVII, No. 5, May 1953, and Vol. LXVI, No. 1, July 1952; *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXIII, No. 5, May 1951, and *Year Book of Labour Statistics*, 1951-52.

TABLE I. OCCUPATIONS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE REMUNERATED

Country	Occupation of Reference		
	Head of the national meteorological service	Meteorologist	Meteorological assistant
Union of S. Africa	Chief inspector of factories; inspector of mines; senior medical officer; mine surveyor.	Asst. archivist; astronomer; librarian; translator; inspector of lands.	Engineering asst.; surveying asst.; draughtsman; examiner; mill superintendent.
Canada	Controllers of civil aviation and telecommunications.	Other professional scientific posts.	Other subprofessional scientific posts.
United States	Head of other services of comparable importance.	Other professional scientific and administrative posts.	Other subprofessional scientific and administrative posts.
Ceylon	Assistant surveyor-general; agricultural officer; superintending engineer.	Other professional and administrative posts.	Other subprofessional posts.
Japan	Director of tax administration; Director of the Mint.	Judge, Patents Court.	Motor driver.
Belgium	Head of a Royal museum; archivist-general; Director of Royal Institute of Natural Science.	Other professional and administrative posts.	Draughtsman and other subprofessional posts.
Denmark	Professor at University of Copenhagen or similar institution.	Scientific asst. in university; professional posts in Government.	Entering grade for draughtsman; highest grade of clerical work.
Finland	University professor; Director of laboratory; Assistant Chief Justice of Appeals Court.	Secondary school teacher; Army captain; police chief in small town.	Other subprofessional posts.
France	Director of other central services.	Other professional scientific posts.	Surveyors and engineers in rural works.
Germany (Fed. Rep.)	Head of subdivision of Ministry.	Other professional and administrative posts.	Lower-grade professional posts; forester; primary school teacher.
Iceland	Professor; director of specialised government agency.	Engineering and other professional posts.	Policeman; customs officer.
Sweden	General director in the Central Bureau of Statistics; Royal archivist.	Other professional posts.	Radio operator; other subprofessional posts.
Switzerland	Director or chief of division.	Engineer; lawyer; technical expert.	Chief clerk; chief mechanic.
United Kingdom	Posts of similar importance.	Other scientific posts.	Other subprofessional scientific posts.
Australia	Head of branch within Ministry.	Other professional posts.	Other subprofessional posts.
New Zealand	Surveyor-General; Director of Animal Research in Department of Agriculture; Crown Solicitor.	Other professional posts.	Air traffic controller; other subprofessional posts.

AT THE SAME RATE AS SIX OF THE SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Country	Occupation of Reference		
	Letter carrier	Stenographer-typist	Office messenger
Union of S. Africa	Farm asst.; strongroom attendant; photopress operator; paper keeper; stockman.	Library asst.; telegraph asst.; industrial inspectress; female social welfare officer.	Laboratory attendant.
Canada	—	Other clerical occupations.	—
United States	Postal clerk; driver-mechanic; general mechanic.	Other clerical occupations.	Lower-grade protective and custodial occupations.
Ceylon	—	Other clerical occupations.	—
Japan	Bookbinder.	Telephone operator.	—
Belgium	—	—	—
Denmark	Entering employee, Danish State Railways; customs officer.	Assistant in subprofessional post.	Station and train staff, Danish State Railways.
Finland	—	—	—
France	Customs officer; forest guard.	—	Cyclist.
Germany (Fed. Rep.)	Gardener; mechanic.	Other clerical occupations.	Letter carrier.
Iceland	—	—	—
Sweden	Messenger.	Other clerical occupations.	Letter carrier.
Switzerland	Artisan; laboratory attendant; asst. door-keeper.	—	Head of unskilled labour crew; driver-mechanic.
United Kingdom	—	—	Cleaner.
Australia	Clerical asst.; messenger.	Other clerical occupations.	Letter carrier.
New Zealand	Telephone operator; driver.	Other clerical occupations.	—

ments requesting the salary classes, rates of salary increment and hours of work in force in these occupations on 1 March 1953, as well as the list of other posts remunerated at the same rates as those specified.

The following occupations were chosen :

(1) *Head of the national meteorological service.* The highest permanent official in the service. Where this occupation does not appear in the tables, either the function did not exist as defined or the head of the service was politically appointed rather than a career civil servant.

(2) *Meteorologist.* Professional weather analyst qualified by university training in meteorology or equivalent experience.

(3) *Junior professional official.* Person qualified by university training or equivalent experience for initial responsibility in drafting correspondence or reports on administrative or policy matters under the supervision of a senior official.

(4) *Meteorological assistant.* Assists professional meteorologist. Performs weather observations and computations. Qualified by secondary education or equivalent experience.

(5) *Weather map draughtsman.* Draws weather maps and enters data on weather maps.

(6) *Letter carrier.* Engaged in the regular daily delivery of letter mail.

(7) *Stenographer-typist.* Takes dictation in shorthand and types from shorthand notes.

(8) *Office messenger.* Distributes documents and letter mail within the office building.

These occupations were chosen not as representative of the structure of government employment but rather with a view to international comparability. Weather forecasting, mail delivery, and lower-grade clerical occupations exist in almost all countries, and these occupations are more comparable than those "key" technical or administrative posts which may typify the salary structure of any given government but which vary widely from one country to another with respect to relative position within the salary scale.

The statistics shown relate to unmarried adult male officials (with the exception of stenographer-typist, female) who enter government service in the lowest grade of the occupation specified and have five years' service in that grade with normal periodic salary increments. The figures cannot represent average salaries, since the average length of service is not known. In many countries the maximum salary in a grade is reached in fewer than five years, and in some of these countries promotion to the next higher grade is virtually automatic. In those countries where increments are not granted on an annual basis the five-year equivalent is estimated. In the few countries where salary increments are not related to length of service, the starting salary is shown. When the statistics are used for comparison, it should also be noted that certain countries pay family or child maintenance allowances, which are not included in the figures, and that deductions from salaries for retirement and other benefits vary from country to country. Statistics of family allowances are, however, shown separately in table VI.

EXTENSION OF THE DATA TO OTHER OCCUPATIONS

Where information is available the occupations remunerated at the same rates as those specified are shown in synoptic form in table I. Certain differences in the salary status of specific posts may be noted in this table, but a general pattern is also evident: the occupations of meteorologist and junior professional official typify the general area of scientific and administrative posts; meteorological assistants and draughtsmen typify the general field of subprofessional technical and administrative posts; the stenographer-typist represents the general area of clerical work; and the letter carrier and office messenger typify the lower-paid maintenance, custodial, and protective occupations.

SALARIES IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Table II shows salaries in effect on 1 March 1953 for the eight occupations specified. The figures include cost-of-living (sometimes called "dearness") allowances, but exclude overtime, where payable, and other bonuses and allowances not directly related to work performed.

It should be noted, in interpreting the data, that occupation 1 (head of the national meteorological service) varies in importance with the size of the country, the size of the national weather establishment, and the existence of competing weather services (i.e., military, airport), as well as with the government salary structure as a whole. On the other hand the other seven occupations represent posts of generally comparable status.

Certain variations in the remuneration of scientific and technical posts are associated with the state of industrial or general economic development of the country in question. In small or underdeveloped countries meteorologists with professional training may command premium pay because training in the profession cannot be provided locally. Panama offers the special case of a country without a weather service; the meteorological installations maintained by the United States Government in connection with the Panama Canal supply the needed weather forecasts.

The relative position of occupation 7 (stenographer-typist) in the salary structure can largely be explained in terms of supply and demand. In the major industrial countries, particularly where the school-leaving age is high, large numbers of qualified candidates are available for such clerical jobs. On the other hand in certain underdeveloped countries the clerical and office-machine skills are less common, and there may be vigorous competition between the government and private business for typists. In some cases this competition results in the stenographer-typist being remunerated at a rate directly competitive with private employment, while professional technical and administrative government officials are remunerated at standard government levels and may actually earn less.

The general hierarchy of government salaries is illustrated in table III, where the wages shown in table II are presented in the form of index numbers, computed on the basis of the salary of an office messenger being equal to 100. In certain countries messenger is the lowest grade in government service, while in others it is the lowest grade for males, with certain female posts remunerated at an even lower rate. In a very few cases the salary of a letter carrier is lower than that of a messenger.

TABLE II. ANNUAL SALARIES IN EFFECT ON 1 MARCH 1953 IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE FOR OFFICIALS WITH FIVE YEARS' SERVICE IN LOWEST GRADE OF OCCUPATION INDICATED

Country and currency	Occupation							
	Chief of national meteorological service	Meteorologist	Junior professional official	Meteorological assistant	Weather map draughtsman	Letter carrier	Stenographer-typist (female)	Office messenger (adult male)
Union of S. Africa (£)	1,700	700	700	373	373	336	375	265
Canada (\$)	8,500	4,400	3,540	2,820	2,820	2,850	1,780	2,180
United States (\$)	14,800	4,035	4,035	3,350	3,350	3,670	3,150	2,700
Argentina (pesos)	55,000	34,000	34,000	27,000	19,000	14,000	16,000	16,000
Bolivia (bolivianos)	288,000	210,000	190,000	132,000	96,000	66,000	102,000	54,000
Brazil (cruzeiros)	120,000	47,880	42,960	—	47,880	31,440	73,920	13,200
El Salvador (colones)	14,400	7,200	10,200	—	—	2,400	1,800	1,400
Mexico (Pesos)	11,664	3,324	7,140	2,556	2,856	2,856	3,072	2,556
Panama (balboas)	—	—	2,400	—	—	1,200	1,380	900
Venezuela (bolivars)	33,960	23,400	18,624	9,600	—	3,672	6,720	4,392
Burma (Kyats)	15,000	6,388	4,170	4,170	1,959	1,074	2,950	1,074
Ceylon (rupees)	16,890	6,750	6,750	2,415	2,950	1,520	3,435	1,205
India (rupees)	25,800	6,805	4,800	1,595	2,270	870	3,240	870
Israel (£)	2,550	2,190	—	1,930	1,660	1,520	1,840	1,420
Japan (yen)	804,000	253,400	175,100	112,200	112,200	96,200	96,200	82,700
Lebanon (£)	8,850	3,940	3,940	2,820	2,820	1,675	—	1,425
Pakistan (rupees)	18,000	5,483	2,880	3,420	—	804	2,880	668
Syria (£)	5,154	3,258	3,258	2,509	2,509	1,710	1,758	2,244
Thailand (bahts)	76,200	26,700	14,640	13,260	10,200	6,360	6,780	6,360
Viet-Nam (piastres)	—	49,391	52,940	39,575	34,413	22,396	—	20,823
Belgium (francs)	223,125	145,075	135,450	79,450	79,450	60,792	65,884	51,970
Denmark (kroner)	21,437	11,296	11,296	7,996	8,102	7,867	7,996	8,194
Finland (marks)	944,060	547,900	397,100	—	292,520	292,520	278,920	278,920
France (francs)	1,835,600	799,060	476,555	586,550	482,250	319,445	328,000	280,250
Germany, Fed. Rep. (DM.)	19,200	6,840	5,472	4,020	3,325	2,528	2,527	2,528
Iceland (krónur)	54,756	48,396	45,852	39,950	34,708	34,708	28,658	28,658
Ireland (£)	1,786	671	614	358	358	243	306	293
Italy (lire)	831,600	560,520	476,400	476,400	476,400	—	—	334,520
Luxembourg (francs)	—	—	94,410	82,465	—	76,525	55,180	72,925
Netherlands (florins)	12,500	5,960	6,815	3,490	2,327	2,973	2,580	7,950
Norway (kroner)	24,900	13,950	11,600	7,950	7,950	8,100	7,950	7,950
Portugal (escudos)	99,900	34,200	—	25,080	18,240	14,820	—	—
Sweden (kronor)	34,320	14,396	14,396	10,724	7,698	7,548	7,194	7,548
Switzerland (francs)	22,750	12,662	12,662	9,028	7,625	6,800	5,585	6,800
Turkey (£)	12,000	3,533	3,450	2,400	2,100	1,800	1,950	1,500
United Kingdom (£)	2,850	608	600	451	451	403	347	331
Yugoslavia (dinars)	19,000	8,990	8,990	7,130	5,650	4,420	5,470	4,420
Australia (£)	2,352	944	944	854	866	710	633	710
New Zealand (£)	1,590	665	575	608	608	515	430	414

One reason for the difference between the salaries of messengers and letter carriers is that, in many countries, the post office is an autonomous service with a separate personnel classification and budget, and therefore does not correspond either in wages or other conditions of work to government employment in general.

The relation between remuneration in public and in private employment is illustrated in table IV, where salaries for four occupations in government service are computed as index numbers on the basis of estimated average earnings of industrial workers in 1952 being equal to 100. Average earnings of industrial workers were computed on the basis of hourly, weekly, or monthly rates of pay or earnings published by the International Labour Office adjusted to an annual level on the

TABLE III. SALARIES IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE IN EFFECT ON 1 MARCH 1953 EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES OF THE SALARY OF AN OFFICE MESSENGER (OFFICE MESSENGER = 100)

Country	Occupation						
	Head of national meteorological service	Meteorologist	Junior professional Official	Meteorological assistant	Weather map draughtsman	Letter carrier	Stenographer-typist (female)
Union of S. Africa	642	264	264	141	141	127	142
Canada	390	202	162	129	129	131	82
United States	548	149	149	124	124	136	117
Argentina	344	213	213	169	119	88	100
Bolivia	533	390	278	244	178	122	190
Brazil	909	363	325	—	325	238	560
El Salvador	1,000	500	708	—	—	133	153
Mexico	456	130	279	100	112	112	120
Venezuela	773	533	424	219	—	84	153
Burma	1,397	595	388	388	182	100	275
Ceylon	1,400	560	560	200	245	126	285
India	2,966	782	552	183	261	100	372
Israel	180	154	—	136	117	107	130
Japan	1,045	306	212	136	136	116	116
Lebanon	620	276	276	197	197	117	—
Pakistan	2,727	831	436	518	—	122	436
Syria	230	145	145	112	112	76	78
Thailand	1,198	420	230	208	160	100	107
Viet-Nam	—	237	254	190	165	108	—
Belgium	429	285	261	153	153	117	127
Denmark	262	138	138	98	99	96	98
Finland	338	196	142	—	105	105	100
France	655	285	170	209	172	114	117
Germany (Fed. Rep.)	759	271	216	159	132	100	89
Iceland	191	169	160	139	121	121	100
Ireland	610	229	210	122	122	83	104
Italy	249	168	142	142	142	—	—
Luxembourg	—	—	129	113	—	105	76
Netherlands	455	217	248	127	85	108	94
Norway	313	175	146	100	100	102	100
Portugal 1	674	231	—	169	123	100	—
Sweden	455	191	191	142	102	100	95
Switzerland	335	186	186	133	112	100	82
Turkey	800	235	230	160	140	120	130
United Kingdom	861	184	181	136	136	122	105
Yugoslavia	430	203	203	161	128	100	124
Australia	331	133	133	120	122	100	89
New Zealand	384	161	139	147	147	124	104

1 Letter carrier = 100; information concerning office messenger not available.

basis of normal hours of work and 52 weeks' work in the year. Some variation may be present owing to the difference in dates—the earnings refer to all or part of 1952 and the government salaries to 1 March 1953—but in most cases government salaries in force on 1 March 1953 applied to the fiscal year 1952-53 and not 1953-54. The statistics for industrial wage earners in the Union of South Africa, Denmark and France do not include overtime payments and allowances, while the figures for Japan include family allowances. The figures refer either to manufacturing alone or to average wages in manufacturing and certain other non-agricultural branches of economic activity.

While no uniform pattern in the relationship between wages in government service and private employment is discernible, it appears

that government service is remunerated more highly relative to private industrial employment in underdeveloped countries, while the lower-grade personnel in government service earn less than privately employed industrial workers in industrially advanced countries.

TABLE IV. COMPARATIVE REMUNERATION IN GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT: SALARIES IN FOUR OCCUPATIONS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF AVERAGE EARNINGS OF INDUSTRIAL WAGE EARNERS

Country	Junior professional official	Meteorological assistant	Letter carrier	Stenographer-typist
Union of S. Africa .	112	60	54	60
Canada	126	100	101	63
United States	114	95	104	89
Argentina	306	243	126	144
Bolivia	380	264	132	204
Brazil	247	—	181	425
Japan	101	65	56	56
Belgium	228	134	103	111
Denmark	122	87	85	85
Finland	111	—	82	78
France	158	194	106	109
Germany (Fed. Rep.)	142	104	66	59
Ireland	213	124	84	106
Italy	116	116	81 ¹	—
Netherlands	260	133	113	98
Norway	119	82	83	82
Sweden	155	115	81	77
Switzerland	168	120	90	74
United Kingdom . . .	152	114	102	88
Australia	125	113	94	84
New Zealand	113	120	102	85

¹ Office messenger. Information concerning letter carrier not available.

INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON

Tables II to IV provide indicators of salary level, the salary hierarchy, and the relationship between public and private employment, but the actual salaries in units of local currency cannot be compared directly from one country to another. Table V shows the number of hours of work necessary in 15 countries in order to purchase the foodstuffs that one hour's labour in the occupations specified could purchase in the United States. The salaries for these countries have been converted into U.S. dollars and computed as index numbers (base: United States = 100), with the index numbers subsequently divided by index numbers

of food costs on the same base, utilising the same exchange rates. The resultant figures have been converted into a measure of work time needed to buy food which may be compared directly, subject to reservations as to the accuracy of the food cost comparison.¹ The figures should not be interpreted as measures of real wages, since only food costs are included in the computation. It should be noted that for certain of the countries with the highest indicated working time, the prevalence of family allowances (shown in table VI) and of controlled rents tends to raise actual levels of living above those indicated by the food comparison alone.

Government officials of professional grade (as represented by meteorologists) enjoy higher levels of food purchasing power as compared with similar officials in the United States than do either lower-grade officials or industrial wage earners. The variability between countries of the food purchasing power of wages is also less in the professional category than for lower-grade officials and industrial wage earners. Thus in only two of the countries shown do meteorologists have to work more than two hours in order to purchase the food equivalent of one hour's work in the United States. Stenographers must work two hours or more in five, the average industrial wage earner in six, and letter carriers in seven of the 15 countries.

TABLE V. NUMBER OF HOURS OF WORK NECESSARY TO PURCHASE THE SAME AMOUNT OF FOOD WHICH ONE HOUR'S WORK IN THE OCCUPATION INDICATED WOULD PURCHASE IN THE UNITED STATES

Country	Meteorologist	Letter carrier	Stenographer-typist	Average industrial wage earner
	hr. min.	hr. min.	hr. min.	hr. min.
Union of S. Africa	0 59	1 50	1 26	0 58
Canada	0 45	1 4	1 28	1 3
Belgium	1 3	2 16	1 49	2 16
Denmark	1 13	1 35	1 21	1 18
Finland	1 22	2 20	2 5	1 49
France	1 35	3 34	3 2	3 42
Germany (Fed. R.)	2 5	5 16	5 0	3 14
Ireland	1 7	2 47	1 55	2 16
Italy	3 34	5 16 ¹	—	4 10
Netherlands	1 26	2 38	2 34	2 51
Norway	1 13	1 55	1 40	1 31
Sweden	0 55	1 37	1 27	1 15
Switzerland	1 9	1 58	2 2	1 40
United Kingdom . .	1 11	1 37	1 37	1 37
Australia	0 53	1 3	1 1	0 57

¹ Messenger; information not available concerning letter carrier.

¹ See "International Comparisons of Food Price Levels" in the *Statistical Supplement* of this issue.

ALLOWANCES

Salaries of civil servants in most countries are supplemented by certain allowances, which in some cases add substantially to the pay of officials in government service. Table VI shows family allowances in government service computed as a percentage of the entering salary in three occupations for an official with a wife and two dependent children.

TABLE VI. FAMILY ALLOWANCES IN EFFECT ON 1 MARCH 1953 FOR A MARRIED MALE OFFICIAL WITH TWO DEPENDENT CHILDREN EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF ENTERING SALARY IN THE OCCUPATION SPECIFIED

Country	Meteorologist	Weather map draughtsman	Letter carrier
Union of S. Africa ¹	14	35	35
Ceylon ²	8	8	8
Israel	10	23	31
Japan ³	9	21	25
Lebanon ⁴	11	15	26
Pakistan ⁵	8	10	10
Syria	7	9	12
Viet-Nam	33	43 ⁶	52
Belgium	10	24	30
Denmark ¹	14	17	16
France ⁷	23	36	49
Germany (Fed. Rep.) ⁸	19	31	40
Italy	32	40	78 ⁹
Luxembourg	—	22	23
Switzerland ¹⁰	5	9	10

¹ Marriage allowance not related to number of children. ² Marriage differential in rent allowance. ³ 24,000 yen for all salary grades. ⁴ £432 for all salary grades. ⁵ Marriage differential in dearness allowance. ⁶ Weather observer; information concerning draughtsman not available. ⁷ Incl. certain dearness and transportation payments. ⁸ Children's allowance plus marriage differential of household allowance. ⁹ Office messenger; information concerning letter carrier not available. ¹⁰ 504 francs for all salary grades plus marriage differential of dearness allowance. In addition, a lump sum of 500 francs is paid on the occasion of the official's first marriage, plus 100 francs at the birth of each child in wedlock.

These allowances should be taken into account when comparing salaries between countries and when comparing salaries in the public and private sectors of the economy of any given country. In some countries family allowances are paid to all qualifying wage earners and salaried employees or to all qualified residents; in others the allowances are paid only to officials in government service. It should further be noted that the income tax laws of several countries provide certain exemptions based on marriage and family dependants, which in effect constitute family allowances with respect to net income after tax.

HOURS OF WORK

Table VII presents a comparison of prevailing normal hours of work per week in general government service, for letter carriers, and in private

TABLE VII. HOURS OF WORK PER WEEK, 1 MARCH 1953

Country	Normal working week in general government service	Normal working week of letter carriers	Normal working week in private employment ¹
Union of S. Africa . . .	39-44	48	40-46
Canada	39-42	44	40-48
United States	40	—	40
Argentina	30-35	30	44
Bolivia	38	38	48
Brazil	33	33	48
Dominican Republic . .	30	30	48
El Salvador	37.5	37.5	44
Mexico	37.5	37.5	48
Panama	39	39	48
Venezuela	39	39	48
Burma	43	43	44-48
Ceylon	41.5-52.5	54	50-54
India	36	36	48
Israel	42.5	42.5	47
Japan	44	44	48
Lebanon	42	42	—
Syria	36-44	48	48
Thailand	39	39-42	44-56
Viet-Nam	41.5	41.5	48
Belgium	41.5	48	48
Finland	35-37	48	46-48
France	42	42	45-48
Germany (Fed. Rep.) . .	48	48	48
Iceland	38.5	42	44-48
Ireland	42	48	44-48
Luxembourg	44	44	48
Netherlands	41.5	48	48
Norway	36-48	48	48
Sweden	42	42	48
Switzerland	45.25	48	48
Turkey	36.5	48	48
United Kingdom ² . . .	42	48	44
Yugoslavia	42	42	48
Australia	36.75	40	40
New Zealand	38	40	40

¹ Hours of work in private employment represent the prevailing or most common normal working week in October 1952, as indicated in the replies of governments to the annual October inquiry of the I.L.O. or as established by law.

² The actual working week in London is 45.5 hours. Officials in lower grades are compensated for 3.5 hours per week at overtime rates; officials in higher salary grades receive a flat 8 per cent. salary increment, above nominal salary rates.

employment. Prevailing hours are defined as the normal hours of work applying to the greatest number of recorded industries or occupations.

It appears from the table that government officials generally enjoy shorter hours than workers in private employment, but that letter carriers generally work as long or longer than workers in private employment. The working week in government service appears to be particularly short in both economically underdeveloped and extremely advanced countries, with the bulk of European countries working longer hours in both public and private employment.

CONCLUSIONS

This preliminary investigation leads to certain tentative conclusions:

(1) Remuneration in government service does not appear to bear any uniform relationship to levels of wages in private industry.

(2) The hierarchy of government salaries is such that there is less variability between countries in the levels of living of high-grade officials (as indicated by the food purchasing power of salaries) than for lower-grade officials and industrial wage earners.

(3) Higher-grade officials generally are remunerated at a higher level than industrial wage earners, but the relative position of lower-grade officials and industrial wage earners with respect to remuneration varies from country to country.

(4) The range from high to low in government salaries varies widely from country to country, though there is a tendency for the range to be narrower in industrially advanced countries than in underdeveloped countries.

(5) The normal working week in government service is shorter than that in private industry, with the exception of the postal service. For this reason, the difference in remuneration per hour between public and private employment necessarily departs from the relationship characterising remuneration per year. In addition, unemployment may affect the yearly earnings of industrial wage earners while the salary of established civil servants generally constitutes a "guaranteed annual wage".

The Public Employment Service System in the United States

The Wagner-Peyser Act, which established the United States Employment Service in its present form, was signed by President Roosevelt on 6 June 1933, at the height of the economic depression, when some 23 per cent. of the civilian labour force in the United States was unemployed. Since then the Employment Service and the federal-state system of public employment offices have adapted their administration, procedures and operations to fit the changing demands of depression, prosperity, war and post-war readjustments without losing sight of the purposes for which the system was originally created.

The present article is an abstract of a historical summary of the operations of the Service published on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Wagner-Peyser Act.¹

BACKGROUND

The ever increasing demand for labour in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries led to large-scale immigration. Since the immigrant labour supply was largely concentrated in the coastal cities and the demand for labour was in the inland industrial cities, arrangements were required whereby employers and workers could be brought together. Private fee-charging employment agencies met part of this need, but the growing reliance upon an intermediary between worker and employer in the recruiting process and the consequent power of the intermediary, aggravated by some highly publicised abuses, led to a growing demand for public control or participation. This demand was first met by the establishment of immigrant aid societies and by placement activities on the part of religious, charitable and philanthropic organisations. Civil and political groups began to demand legislative action. The pressure from rural areas grew out of the labour needs in agriculture, mining and construction; urban groups were concerned with unemployment and poverty, which were accentuated during depression periods.

Early efforts to facilitate the employment processes and to eliminate the need for an unemployed worker to pay a fee to get a job were generally local in character. As early as 1834 certain points were designated in New York City where work-seekers could congregate for recruitment by employers. In San Francisco in 1886 the city and state gave financial aid for two years to a free employment office. Public employment offices were established by numerous municipalities as a means of meeting

¹ "The Public Employment Service System, 1933-1953", in *Employment Security Review* (published by the United States Department of Labor), June 1953.

the unemployment problems of depression years, such as 1893, 1907, 1913-14, 1921, and 1931-33. Many of them were connected with local unemployment relief programmes. When the economic crisis ended most of them disappeared. However, during the 20 years following 1890, 11 states provided public employment offices.

To encourage the movement of immigrants from the east coast ports of entry to less congested areas where the demand for their services was greater, a Division of Information was established in the Bureau of Immigration in the Department of Commerce and Labor in 1907. The early activities of the Division were mainly restricted to a few coastal cities, notably New York. When, with the outbreak of the First World War, immigration declined sharply and unemployment increased, the Division turned to the task of finding jobs for the unemployed. It began to guide migratory farm workers to the wheat and fruit areas through co-operative arrangements with the Post Office Department, the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Labor, which had been created in 1913. Similar relationships were established with state and municipal employment exchanges. By 1916 the Division of Information was assisting such diverse groups as farm labour, shipmasters, Mexican refugees, and national guardsmen returning from duty on the Mexican border, as well as immigrants.

Increasing unemployment during 1913 and 1914 led to widespread public discussion of the possibility of establishing a nation-wide system of free public employment offices. Several Bills were introduced in Congress for a federal employment system. Two of them proposed that the nation's 58,000 post offices be used as labour exchanges. Hearings were held, but no further action was taken.

The First World War

After the United States became involved in the First World War the Division of Information proved inadequate to meet the increasing manpower demands of industry and agriculture. An Act passed in October 1917 allocated funds and empowered the Department of Labor to "render assistance in the employment of wage earners". On the basis of this Act the Secretary of Labor ordered the creation of the United States Employment Service within the Department of Labor. President Wilson urged that the Service be regarded by employers as the sole recruiting agency of civilian employees in war work. Scattered state employment offices were used as a nucleus to develop a nation-wide employment service. Under the Employment Service control was centralised, and uniform office methods were established.

By the end of the war, the Employment Service was operating 854 offices with a total personnel of over 7,000 employees under an annual budget of over five-and-a-half million dollars. By autumn 1919 it had placed almost five million workers, at an average cost to the service of \$1.34 per placement.

Post-War Period and Depression

With demobilisation, finding work for returning servicemen became so important that a wide network of veterans' employment bureaux was created to speed their placement. These were operated jointly by states and local organisations, with the Employment Service acting as a clearing house for the exchange of information.

As a result of the retrenchment policy after the war the number of offices was cut to 56, with a staff of some 800. Some 450 of the former Employment Service offices were continued locally for a time, through the efforts of local welfare and civic agencies. The entire field service, with the exception of the Farm Labor Division, was abolished. Only a skeleton administrative organisation was maintained in Washington. The Farm Labor Division maintained about 20 offices and collected information on the need for farm labour, issued bulletins announcing the location of available farm jobs, and often arranged transport and housing for migratory farm labourers. During the 1920s the Employment Service acted largely as a clearing house for information concerning the employment services operated by the states and municipalities.

Unemployment, which had averaged 1.5 million in 1929, mounted to 4.3 million in 1930, 8 million in 1931 and 12 million in 1932. As in previous periods of mounting unemployment, interest in a nationwide, free public employment service increased. Veterans' organisations petitioned Congress for federal assistance in locating jobs. In 1930 Congress voted a small additional appropriation for the Employment Service, to be used in establishing a special employment service for ex-servicemen. Offices were opened in 30 large cities, most of them with a staff of two. Further appropriations during the same year made it possible to establish 100 more federal employment offices in addition to the 30 veterans' and 20 farm placement offices.

Public interest led to the establishment of several demonstration offices during 1931 and 1932. Headed by the Social Science Research Council, several private foundations lent their support to five existing public employment offices. One office experimented with office procedures, lay-out, office routine and practices. Another undertook to discover whether a large metropolitan area could, through proper planning and lay-out of a central office, provide adequate employment services. The three remaining offices centred their attention on the field of occupational research and the development of working tools to assist employment offices in classifying and selecting applicants before referring them to jobs; employment stabilisation and vocational adjustment were also included. Out of these experiences came many of the principles and procedures that were subsequently adopted as employment service standards for the nation.

The Wagner-Peyser Act

In 1933 unemployment was recognised as a national problem. There was almost unanimous agreement that a nation-wide system of public employment services was urgently needed. The Bills introduced in the spring of 1933 envisaged the establishment of a national system for co-operation with the various states and the establishment and maintenance of a national system of public employment offices. The basic financial principle of the Wagner-Peyser proposal was the provision of equal matchings funds; allocations from the federal Government were to be set against equal funds appropriated by the states. To clear the way for the new arrangements the old United States Employment Service in the Department of Labor, which had been operating independently of the states, was to be abolished. The federal Government was to set up standards for employment service operations and statistical control plans, circulate essential information and assist in

bringing all the state offices into one general system. The states were to continue to do the actual placement operations, except for interstate clearance. The federal Government was to be responsible for statistical work and for making statistical figures available to the states, thus saving the states this expense; research work was to be done by the federal Government.

Two amendments were adopted by Congress. The first provided for continuation of the Veterans' Employment Service as a part of the new Employment Service, to be financed by the federal Government. The second made it possible for interim public employment offices to be established in states and areas that had no public employment offices. President Roosevelt signed the Wagner-Peyser Act on 6 June 1933.

ORGANISATION AND OPERATIONS OF THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

1933-39

The new United States Employment Service was established as a separate bureau in the Department of Labor on 1 July 1933. The nation's most pressing problem at this juncture was that of putting people to work. The urgency of this led to the rapid initiation of a number of relief and public works programmes. These, in turn, dictated the early activities, the initial programmes, the organisational structure, the tempo of operations in the local offices, and the fiscal arrangements of the newly created Employment Service.

On the date on which the Employment Service was officially established there were 30 veterans' employment offices, 20 farm placement offices and 192 public employment offices operating in 120 cities. While a few of these were at the time regarded as models, most of them were inadequately staffed, unattractive and poorly located. Within their limited resources they rendered service mainly to domestic, unskilled and casual workers but were not equipped to promote an effective organisation of the labour market. This was done by the National Re-employment Service, which was established in June 1933 by a special Board of Public Works and served as a supplementary part of the Employment Service for several years. Under the direction of the Employment Service it expanded or contracted as the requirements of the various public works programmes increased or diminished. During the years of continued expansion of public relief programmes the National Re-employment Service provided the larger part and the elastic element in the development of the Employment Service. It helped to lay the foundation for the co-ordination of the state systems of employment offices under the Wagner-Peyser Act.

During its first year of operations the Employment Service registered 12.5 million workers and made 7 million job placements, 4.5 million of which were on public relief work. Of the nearly 9 million placements in the succeeding two years some 4 million were on public relief work. Of the remaining 5 million over half were made in the building and construction industry, which carried out many projects promoted by the Public Works Administration and the Bureau of Public Roads.

As a result of the Social Security Act of 1935 unemployment benefit became payable through public employment offices. The influx of unemployment insurance claimants brought new workers to the Employ-

ment Service from every occupational and industrial field. For the first time the local offices had an inventory of workers from almost every type of industry and occupation. With a more varied labour supply registered in the local offices the Employment Service was able to give more and better service to commercial and industrial employers. At the same time a recovery of industrial activity opened up new jobs in private employment. While gains in the active file of applicants were general for the entire Employment Service between November 1937 and April 1938, the percentage increase of registrants in the benefit-paying states was markedly above that of the states that were not as yet paying unemployment benefit. The skills represented in the active files of the benefit-paying states contained substantial additional numbers of craftsmen, production workers and salesmen.

In 1936 the Service made 4.9 million non-agricultural placements, and in 1937 3.1 million. For the years 1938, 1939 and 1940 non-agricultural placements totalled 2.7, 4.2 and 3.7 million respectively.

1939-45

The war in Europe caused the beginning of a large national defence programme in the United States. During the early days of the programme manpower was abundant; before its end manpower was recognised as a prime resource of the nation. The Employment Service was placed under the Bureau of Employment Security, newly created in 1939, and the federal-state system of 1,600 local employment offices and 1,750 itinerant offices were called upon to recruit and place workers in defence industries.

After the entry of the United States into the war the facilities and personnel of state employment offices were transferred to the United States Employment Service. By 1 January 1942 the transfer was accomplished, and only unemployment insurance continued under state administration. To make the most effective use of the available supply of labour a War Manpower Commission was set up. In September 1942 the Employment Service was made part of the Commission and for the duration of the war was its principal operating arm.

The War Manpower Commission was empowered to "review all the estimates of needs for military, agricultural and civilian manpower; and direct the several departments and agencies of the Government as to the proper allocation of available manpower". Its other duties were: to co-ordinate and control to the extent necessary the collection and compilation of labour market data by federal agencies; to establish policies and prescribe regulations for all federal programmes relative to the recruitment, training and placement of workers for industry and agriculture; to prescribe policies and regulations for all federal non-military manpower needs; and to formulate and, with the approval of the President, to recommend the legislative programmes deemed necessary for these purposes.

Immediately after the creation of the War Manpower Commission a national Labor-Management Policy Committee was established, with equal representation of labour and management. Subsequently agriculture was also represented. The Committee advocated voluntary methods in carrying out the manpower programmes—the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission consulted with and rarely overruled a unanimous decision of the National Labor-Management Policy Committee.

In 1942 the Employment Service had a nation-wide network of 1,700 local employment offices and 2,500 branch offices and itinerant offices. The increase in the tasks of the Employment Service as a result of the war made it necessary to change the procedure for dealing with applications for work. In order to refer workers to jobs as rapidly as possible, each case was dealt with at once at the reception desk, with a minimum of formal registration procedure. Priority in referrals was given to war industries. Local labour shortages and the needs of defence employment caused a great increase in clearance activity between states and areas. Total placements almost tripled between 1939 and 1943, rising to about 12.5 million.

With the intensification of war production the local offices found themselves faced with a wide variety of tasks. They became concerned with the transfer of workers from non-essential to essential industries, training programmes, upgrading, better utilisation of workers in plants and projects aimed at reducing absenteeism and labour turnover. Job analysis, in-plant transfers and recruitment from less essential activities became part of the normal work of the employment offices.

1945-53

Expecting that the termination of hostilities would bring the inevitable employment dislocations of a transition period, the Employment Service prepared plans for quick adaptation to a period when it would be faced with the impact of millions of demobilised servicemen and additional millions of discharged war workers. It formulated the following six-point programme, which is still the key to its operations:

(1) effective placement service, to facilitate the employment and re-employment of returning servicemen and women, displaced former farm workers, youths entering the labour market, disabled ex-servicemen and other handicapped workers, women, and all other persons seeking jobs;

(2) employment counselling, to assist applicants of employable age in making sound vocational choices and plans in the light of their present or potential abilities and interests and of reliable information about job requirements and employment opportunities;

(3) special services to ex-servicemen and women, to assist them through employment counselling and preferential placement service (first priority to be given to the disabled for any job for which they are qualified);

(4) personnel management services, to assist employers and labour organisations in the use of personnel tools and techniques, particularly industrial and job analysis, which have been developed by the Employment Service for the effective selection, assignment and transfer of workers;

(5) labour market analysis and information, to provide current information: (a) to workers, to help them to choose from among various employment opportunities or plan their vocational careers; (b) to employers, to help them in planning recruitment activities, locating plants or scheduling production in order to make the best use of available

labour resources; (c) to training authorities; and (d) to community agencies and groups whose programmes are affected by manpower considerations;

(6) co-operation with community organisations and Government agencies in community employment planning, for the initiation and advancement of activities and programmes for increasing economic activity and maintaining high levels of stabilised employment.

The War Manpower Commission was abolished in September 1945 and the Employment Service was turned over to the Department of Labor. The regional offices were continued with a greatly reduced staff. In November 1946 the Employment Service was returned to state administration. During 1947 many activities performed by the Employment Service during the war years were curtailed and others were abolished. The headquarters and field staffs were reduced from 1,860 to 840.

When the Employment Service returned to state administration in 1946 the provisions of the Wagner-Peyser Act under which the states had been required to match federal allocations for their employment services were not resumed. The Employment Service became a federal-state programme financed entirely from federal grants.

The Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1949 transferred the Employment Service from the Department of Labor to the Bureau of Employment Security of the Federal Security Agency. A year later the Bureau of Employment Security was transferred to the Department of Labor.

On the outbreak of the war in Korea in June 1950 emergency measures were taken for the most effective employment of workers. In December 1950 a national emergency was proclaimed and the Office of Defense Mobilization was created, in which a Management-Labor Policy Committee on Defense Manpower was included. This Committee was superseded in April 1951 by the National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee. Recognition of the importance of manpower in defence production was given in the first statement of policy issued by the Office of Defense Mobilization, which stressed the importance of available manpower in the distribution of government contracts, the location of new plants, and in procurement and production schedules. Further statements dealt with the placing of defence contracts in areas of substantial unemployment, training programmes in skilled occupations and professions, the more effective use of specialised personnel, the provision of vocational training for returning servicemen, the retention of skilled year-round workers on the farms, the utilisation of domestic and foreign farm labour, manpower problems encountered by the machine-tool industry and the encouragement of the use of older workers and the handicapped in the defence programme.

In 1950 there were 1,778 local public employment service offices throughout the country under the state employment security agencies, together with over 2,000 itinerant offices which operated as employment exchanges one day a week. The number of local offices was expanded to 1,797 by September 1952 and the number of itinerant offices to 2,067.

During 1950 and 1951 federal grants were made to Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, and the public employment offices in these possessions were affiliated with the United States Employment Service under amendments to the Wagner-Peyser Act.

ACTIVITIES OF THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

Unemployment Insurance

The Social Security Act of 1935 was designed, among other things, to encourage the adoption by all states of unemployment insurance programmes. The Act established a close link between unemployment insurance and the public employment service. No state system of unemployment insurance could receive federal approval and become eligible to receive grants for its administration unless it provided that payment of benefit was to be made through public employment offices or such other agencies as might be approved by the newly created Social Security Board. To qualify for unemployment insurance benefit under the new laws claimants had to be registered for work and found available and willing to accept suitable employment.

While the employment offices and unemployment insurance were administered by a single agency in the states, federally they were administered separately, the unemployment insurance programme by the Social Security Board and the employment offices by the Employment Service in the Department of Labor. By 1938 all the states had passed unemployment insurance laws and provided for affiliation with the Employment Service.

The introduction of unemployment insurance required a great expansion of the employment office system. New offices were opened in many cities that had previously been without a public employment service. Multiple offices were opened in a number of larger cities that had formerly had only single offices. In spite of the attendant problems the over-all effect on the Employment Service of the introduction of unemployment insurance was wholesome. By bringing increased numbers and more varied types of worker into local offices it made the local office active files of registrants a more sensitive barometer of unemployment.

Clearance Activities

Despite the general oversupply of workers during the depression it was found that most communities, at one time or another, experienced a shortage of certain types of skilled worker. Clearance procedures were therefore necessary in accordance with the specifications of the Wagner-Peyser Act. By the middle of 1935 the Employment Service was developing its clearance system to serve both government projects and private industry. Most clearance transactions were within the state and usually between adjacent areas. There was, however, a growing amount of clearance of agricultural labourers involving larger geographical areas and some activity in the higher types of supervisory and technical openings.

The first major demands on the system for clearing labour between the states followed the President's declaration of a national emergency in September 1940. A decentralised national system of clearance was put into operation in October 1940 for inter-state transfers of workers in some 500 occupations essential to defence industries. It was equipped to speed up the inter-state transfer of workers without depleting the localities where there might be a need for the workers in the near future. Requests for workers that could not be met within a state were referred to one of 13 regional clearance offices. Actual job referrals were made

in the local offices. Intra-state clearance of workers and jobs continued to be handled by the states.

Each regional office maintained information regarding the number and type of key workers registered with the state employment services as available for employment in defence industries and advance information on potential labour shortages in any area and occupation. The Employment Service was thus in a position to speed up the recruitment of defence workers by steering requests to areas where qualified workers not needed for local defence work were available.

One unusual feature of labour clearance during these years was that, in many cases, the workers were not seen by the employer until they reported for work. For example, when approximately 27,000 workers were required for overseas employment, the workers were carefully screened against the employers' requirements, and those selected were provided with transport and ordered to report to embarkation points without any personal contact with the employer.

During 1943, as a result of increasing shortages of workers in railway employment and war industries, the War Manpower Commission made arrangements to bring in foreign workers where domestic workers could no longer be obtained. At the end of the war there were 75,000 Mexican nationals and 25,000 West Indians employed under these arrangements. Special funds were made available to repatriate these workers to their homes after the end of hostilities.

The period of partial mobilisation that followed the outbreak of the war in Korea in 1950 resulted in the construction of many new plants. Atomic energy installations required large numbers of workers in isolated areas where there was little or no local industrial labour force. As a result the number of vacancies dealt with by clearance rose from about 12,000 in the month immediately preceding the Korean conflict to a maximum of approximately 63,000 a year later. Thereafter there were between 50,000 and 55,000 a month.

Research Activities

To provide the technical tools and to facilitate the services necessary for a professional employment exchange, an occupational research programme was launched in July 1934. To provide the new and largely unskilled personnel in local offices with information about the content and requirements of jobs, emphasis was first placed on two areas of activity. These were—

- (1) job analysis, in which information about occupations in industry and business was collected, processed and released;
- (2) worker analysis, in which were studied the abilities, aptitudes, educational background and other characteristics needed to do a given job successfully. Tests were developed to measure the abilities and characteristics of applicants for employment in relation to specific jobs.

Two new areas of activity were added to the programme in 1936 and 1937, namely—

- (3) procedural analysis, in which studies were made of employment office procedures and problems; the job analysis and worker analysis programmes were used to improve local office services and interviewing techniques;

(4) economic analysis, in which the statistical reporting procedures of the Service were broadened, data on employment and unemployment were collected and analysed, and methods of measuring the changes in the extent of unemployment were developed.

These research activities of the Employment Service are described below in their above sequence, but it should be stressed that they are mutually interdependent to some extent, and progress in one field of research has frequently had a direct influence on achievements in the other fields. In addition, the activities in procedural and economic analysis were later developed on a much wider basis than was originally conceived within the frame of the occupational research programme of 1934; management control and labour market analysis became major activities of the Employment Service in their own right.

Job Analysis.

Techniques for job analysis were developed in 1934. A small group of technicians began to observe individual jobs in the cotton textile and laundry industries, and in 1935 descriptions of the jobs in the laundry and cotton textile industries were published.

Fifteen occupational research centres were established in 1935 by means of funds obtained from various public and private sources. At these centres the techniques developed in 1934 were refined and applied on an expanded basis; comprehensive information was collected on the nature and content of jobs and the qualifications required. The books of job descriptions were presented in such a way as to serve both as textbooks for general training and as works of reference for the daily operations of an employment office.

The information gathered through the job analysis programme resulted, among other things, in the publication in 1939 of the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, which contained over 29,000 titles. The publication was introduced into the operations of the local offices, and the states were requested to submit information on jobs not adequately covered. The dictionary made it possible to classify workers uniformly on the basis of their skills and experiences and to relate their qualifications to the requirements of employers in an orderly manner. Its adoption led to new techniques facilitating the placement process.

During the war, at the request of the Army, the Employment Service adapted its techniques to analyse 11,000 Army positions.

Simultaneously work was continued on further developing the dictionary. Supplements were published to keep the available information up to date and complete.

During the post-war years job analysis was curtailed. Most of the work was directed toward demobilisation and industrial conversion to peacetime production. A second, enlarged edition of the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* was published in 1949, with over 40,000 titles and over 22,000 definitions. During 1950 the job analysis programme was intensified and data were collected on jobs in agriculture and in non-ferrous metal smelting and refining. From 1951 to 1953 research was conducted to determine whether the analysis of worker aptitudes could be incorporated into the basic job-analysis technique.

Testing.

The test research programme was established in 1935 as a part of the occupational research programme. The first objective was

the development of oral trade questions to assist interviewers in quickly assessing applicants' skills acquired through previous work experience. Procedures were developed, tested and standardised, and analysts in the 15 field research centres collected sets of questions for each job.

After the efficiency of the questions had been established through statistical analyses, tests were made up, usually consisting of about 15 questions. Interviewers were trained in the use and interpretation of the tests and were given a description of how they had been developed.

At the same time attention was given to the development of aptitude tests to evaluate the applicant's aptitude for acquiring the knowledge and skills of an occupation. In the development of these tests the objective was to provide norms for the interpretation of test results in relation to specific occupations.

During the war a volume of *Oral Trade Questions* was made available to the armed forces by the Employment Service. Increased assistance was offered to the states to speed up and extend the use of testing by means of local testing units, the training of personnel in the use of testing materials and publicity lectures. Owing to the pressure of wartime manpower shortages tests were used most widely in selecting rapid learners for training courses and war industries.

Research was continued to determine the basic factors or aptitudes underlying numerous Employment Service tests, so that a single set of tests measuring practically all the important vocational abilities could be developed for use in vocational counselling. By means of such a "test battery" persons receiving vocational counselling can be tested in one sitting in their aptitude for a large number of occupations. Fifteen tests measuring various types of aptitude were combined to make up the "general aptitude test battery".

Because of the necessity to continue research with the general aptitude test battery in order to increase its occupational coverage, decentralisation of test research was initiated in 1947 when budgetary cuts were made in Employment Service funds. Various universities and colleges also began co-operative test projects, which yielded valuable data showing relationships between aptitudes as elicited by the battery and subsequent academic achievement leading to satisfactory occupational adjustment.

The period from 1951-53 saw a marked expansion in the use of tests by local offices. Plans are under consideration for adding to this test battery as additional data are received and for issuing an alternative form of the general aptitude test battery during 1954.

Procedure Analysis.

From 1933 to 1937 no national standards of qualitative management controls existed, although many states developed and established their own. These were brought together about 1940, combined with a body of programme material and suggested procedures, and issued in reference handbooks for local offices.

After the war, as the local situation became clarified, interest in local office management problems was renewed. Proved controls and methods, which had been neglected during the war years, were re-instituted. The best methods used in local offices and state services were integrated into the first comprehensive management system for local office operation, and issued as a part of the *Employment Security Manual*.

in 1948. A similar system for the control of unemployment insurance operations in local offices followed in 1950. The nation-wide acceptance of employment service management tools resulted in a marked increase in efficiency.

Labour Market Analysis.

The Wagner-Peyser Act charged the Employment Service with performing statistical analysis. As soon as local offices started registering applicants for employment and making placements, the statistics gathered became one of the most up-to-date and comprehensive sources of information on the unemployed population of the United States. At the end of the first year the statistical programme was broadened to provide accurate records of the work of the employment offices, to serve as an administrative guide, to provide a comprehensive source of information on the characteristics of the available labour supply and to indicate unemployment trends. From July 1935 initial wages and hours of work for all placements were reported and added to the list of regular monthly statistical tables furnished by the Service.

The upsurge of industry in 1939 and 1940 increased the need for labour market information. At first knowledge of the labour market was based on existing statistics of operations. The principal sources were counts of unemployment compensation claims and employment service registrations and placements. When special needs arose they were met by special studies covering short periods and selected topics. Not until a greater need arose in 1940 did the Employment Service attempt to synthesise all its information into a comprehensive picture of the labour market. It then instituted a broad statistical programme of labour market reporting designed to yield an integrated picture of the national labour market, reveal to what extent the labour supply was being used effectively and indicate the extent to which shortages were developing by occupation, area and industry.

The classification of areas according to the availability of labour supply was begun during the war. The War Manpower Commission made such classifications of some 350 cities every month for the guidance of procurement, production, facility expansion, and similar programmes. For the use of high officials guiding the war effort the Employment Service developed a monthly balance sheet of labour supply and labour requirements, which projected known and estimated requirements and resources 12 months ahead. This device assisted in arriving at such major decisions as the ultimate size of the military establishment, the total effort to be devoted directly to war production and the remainder available to maintain the civilian economy.

Demobilisation and reconversion to civilian production created an urgent need for detailed labour market information. After several experiments a "monthly labor market news letter" proved to be the most effective device at the local level to provide employers, labour unions and the public with information on local labour market conditions. These news letters varied from state to state and even from office to office, but followed a general pattern—a summary of labour market developments, the outlook for the near future, and a description of employment and unemployment trends, together with the major industries and occupations involved.

At the national level *The Labor Market*, a monthly report on area, industrial and occupational trends, issued for administrative use during

the war period, was continued. After the consolidation of the Unemployment Insurance Service and the Employment Service into an enlarged Bureau of Employment Security, a new publication, *The Labour Market and Employment Security*, took its place after January 1950.

With the end of the war employer specifications tightened and, at the same time, job applicants began to seek openings in their occupations rather than in "war industry". To meet this need local offices began to assemble information about specific occupations. Local statements were summarised into brief national statements of occupational labour market information, designed to provide specific information about labour demand and supply, the long-range outlook, and earnings and prospects in certain precisely defined occupations.

The years following 1946 witnessed a steadily growing demand from employers for labour market information to be used in determining new plant locations. When the selection of a plant site had been narrowed to a few areas employers obtained more current and detailed information from a state or local office.

As a result of additional demands for labour market information after the outbreak of the war in Korea, the regular analysis and reporting programme was broadened and streamlined; the number of special analyses to meet new problems was increased; and both the coverage and frequency of area reporting were increased. Expanded operations of the farm placement programme and the importation of foreign labour for agricultural work led to an expansion of information about the agricultural labour market.

The early manpower policy decisions placed upon the Employment Service the responsibility for providing information concerning present and future labour demand and supply for an increasing number of areas. Area labour market information was also required by other governmental agencies for making decisions on such matters as rent control and the location of public housing, the location of new plants, including atomic energy installations, tax amortisation and wage stabilisation decisions for companies having "rare and unusual" problems in securing adequate manpower. The number of areas regularly covered increased from 100 to about 180, and the classification structure was revised to show more clearly the general tightening of labour supply.

Equally important, but less extensive, were the demands for labour market information regarding specific key industries and specific occupations. The results of such studies provided the factual information upon which public policy decisions were made with respect to the control and allocation of scarce materials, the expansion of industrial capacity, the directing of procurement contracts, the determination of "critical occupations" and the establishment of manpower policies for the avoidance of widespread occupational shortages.

Statistics of the activities of the Employment Service have permitted the public accounting of the volume of operations. Activity statistics in 1953 were used in estimating workloads, preparing budgets, allocating funds, evaluating programmes and advising and improving the operations at all levels of administration.

Placement of Young Workers and Employment Counselling

The Wagner-Peyser Act provided that employment office services should be operated for men, women and young persons. A survey of applicants made in early 1935 indicated that while 15.6 per cent. of the

new applicants at employment offices were under 21, only 10.8 per cent. of the placements were from among the younger applicants. The earlier local office counselling programmes were developed during this period as a part of the Junior Placement Service. Special arrangements for the placement of young persons were introduced in a growing number of the state employment offices. By October 1939 there were 177 cities in which the public employment offices had full-time junior-placement counsellors on their staff.

The outbreak of the war and the urgency of the manpower situation put a temporary stop to the studies initiated for the development of a comprehensive counselling (vocational guidance) programme and prevented the continuation of other technical activities in the Employment Service. However, before the hostilities had ended, the return of discharged servicemen and shifts in occupational demands revealed the need for a widespread employment service counselling programme. To meet the immediate demand for a testing tool, an interim counselling battery was released before the general aptitude test battery had been completed.

After a decision by Congress that a counselling programme should be instituted for ex-servicemen, a nation-wide training programme for employment service counselling was started in the spring of 1945. A useful aid to counselling was the *U.S.E.S. Interest Check List*, published in 1946, which helped counsellors to determine the various occupational fields in which applicants had expressed interest. By the middle of 1948 all larger offices in cities of 50,000 inhabitants and more had full-time counsellors or interviewers trained as counsellors on their staff. In smaller offices at least one person was trained to give part-time counselling service. Counselling services were provided for applicants of all ages and for handicapped persons. Applicants normally had at least two interviews.

The counselling programme was organised both at the national and the state level. The basic tools developed at the national office included basic manual sections on employment counselling, selective placement, special services to youth, and services to ex-servicemen; training outlines; labour market information; occupational or job descriptions and classification tools; and worker analysis and testing tools.

State supervisors were assigned and made responsible for technical supervision and leadership in employment counselling and selective placement. Counsellors in local offices were occasionally called upon to do placement work where the special circumstances of an applicant warranted specialised treatment. Follow-up methods were also used to determine the effectiveness of the counselling programme. The local office counsellors were also charged with maintaining working relationships with community organisations concerned with vocational guidance, placement and related services.

Placement of the Handicapped

The pioneering work in specialised counselling and the placement of handicapped workers was done in the Minnesota State Employment Service between 1931 and 1933. A series of job-analysis studies were subsequently carried out in the St. Paul area, which demonstrated that handicapped workers could satisfactorily perform most of the jobs in the plants covered provided that placements were made according to the physical capacities of the individual worker.

A great impetus was given to the selective placement of handicapped workers by the drive to recruit additional workers for war industries and to utilise effectively the millions who were rejected for service in the armed forces. The number of handicapped persons placed in employment rose from 27,657 in 1940 to 299,846 in 1945.

A big step forward was made towards fuller use of handicapped workers when Congress passed the Barden-La Follette Act in 1943. This Act mobilised the resources of the federal Government, in co-operation with the states, to extend assistance to all potentially self-supporting persons for their rehabilitation and subsequent placement in gainful employment. Ultimately 600,000 disabled ex-servicemen were retrained. The "physical demands analysis" technique of the occupational analysis programme was improved to help to make more effective use of the handicapped.

In 1945 the President proclaimed that the first week of October should be observed every year as the "National 'Employ the Physically Handicapped' Week".

Placement of Ex-Servicemen

From the first year of operation of the Employment Service special attention has been given to finding jobs for unemployed ex-servicemen. During the first and second year 850,000 and 370,000 ex-servicemen respectively were placed in employment, but over 440,000 remained in the active file in June 1935.

In early 1938 states paying unemployment benefits reported an increasing proportion of unemployed between the ages of 35 and 44, an age group which included many ex-servicemen of the First World War. The need was stressed by the Veterans' Placement Service for co-operation between the employment offices and community groups to find employment for workers over 40 years of age, especially ex-servicemen.

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (popularly known as the G.I. Bill of Rights), which was passed for the benefit of persons who had been in the armed forces in the Second World War, contained a number of provisions affecting the activities of the Employment Service:

- (1) the \$20 weekly unemployment allowance brought millions of ex-servicemen and women to Employment Service offices;
- (2) the Veterans' Employment Service was reconstituted within the United States Employment Service, and a system was established by which disabled ex-servicemen have priority over ex-servicemen and ex-servicemen have priority over others;
- (3) the Employment Service counselling and selective placement programmes were revitalised;
- (4) educational programmes for ex-service personnel, particularly apprenticeship and on-the-job training, gave wider responsibilities to Employment Service testing, counselling and placement functions.

Public Law 550, passed in 1952, extended benefits similar to those of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 to ex-servicemen of the Korean war. Unemployment benefits of \$26 a week, payable for 26 weeks, were provided. To prevent duplicate filing of claims in more than one state, a central control file was set up in Washington.

CONCLUSION

The most marked feature of the United States Employment Service appears to be its adaptability and resourcefulness. During periods of large-scale unemployment and periods of severe manpower shortages, under federal and under state control, the Service has adapted its operations to the immediate requirements of the economy. During each period new techniques and methods have been introduced and improved. While the Employment Service has already proved its usefulness in the most varied economic circumstances in the United States, it is still engaged in developing its operational tools and procedures to improve the services it renders and to ensure its continued dynamism under changing conditions.

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The International Labour Office has been studying the needs of these workers since 1947. The limited framework of non-metropolitan territories was first selected, as it is probably in such territories that the kind of migration dealt with in this report is most dangerous, and a Committee of Experts was called upon to give its opinion on conclusions suggested by the Office. This Committee met in November-December 1951 and adopted a series of conclusions on the protection of migrant workers in non-metropolitan territories. It also suggested that the Governing Body of the I.L.O. should examine the possibility of submitting these conclusions, possibly in the form of a Recommendation, to a future session of the International Labour Conference. The Governing Body decided, since the problems studied by the Committee of Experts did not solely concern non-metropolitan territories and it would be advisable to study the effects of migratory movements of workers in all underdeveloped countries and areas, to place the question on the agenda of the 37th Session of the Conference to be dealt with by the double-discussion procedure.

The first chapter of the present report is an analysis of the scope of a number of instruments—chiefly the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936, the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939 and the Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949—for the protection of the class of worker dealt with in the report. The second chapter describes the nature and extent of this type of migration, and the legislation on the subject, and the third gives an account of policy and practice in connection with the protection of migrant workers during their journeys to and from their places of employment, the settlement of such workers and their families near their places of employment, the housing of workers and their families, minimum wage rates and wage protection, the employment of migrant workers, their access to skilled employment, their trade union activities, the supply of consumer goods (through the employer or co-operative societies), social security and vocational training. The regions covered in the second and third chapters comprise most of Africa and parts of southern Asia, the West Indies and Latin America.

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Contains a draft of a Recommendation based on the conclusions adopted at the 36th Session of the Conference. The draft is submitted to the governments for their comments. The final decision on a Recommendation on the subject of holidays with pay will be made at the 37th Session of the Conference.

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Economic development, however, the Report points out, is but the raw material of social progress. The benefits it brings to Asian workers depend on the social policies developed by these countries and the improvements made in wage policies, housing, the training and placement of the labour force, labour laws and industrial relations, social security, conditions of work, agricultural reform, the development of co-operation and the handicraft industries and the protection of especially vulnerable workers. This is the subject of the third chapter.

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The eighth report contains an analysis of the complaints presented by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the Workers' group of the Governing Body, cites the main legislative texts governing trade union rights in Czechoslovakia, describes the various stages in the procedure followed by the Committee and reproduces the conclusions of the Committee. The tenth report contains the text of a telegram from the Czechoslovak Government refusing to recognise the competence of the Commission, and repeats the conclusions of the Committee.

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Three of a series of "follow-up" reviews of the progress recently made in increasing productivity in a number of British industries from which productivity teams visited the United States under the auspices of the Anglo-American Council on Productivity. The reports review the main problems of the industries and indicate the fields in which the greatest progress has been made. They all contain appendices drawing attention to interesting developments in individual companies. A major development in the printing industry has been the adoption of incentive schemes by an increasing number of firms. The reports on the clothing and hosiery industries emphasise the serious effects of the recent trade recession in damping enthusiasm for measures to raise productivity. The former report, however, states that questions of productivity that were shelved during the course of the recession are again being seriously considered.

CHINA COMMITTEE FOR THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE. *New China's Economic Achievements, 1949-1952*. Peking, 1952. 285 pp.

Twenty-two reports and articles by Mao Tse-tung, Lin Shao-chi, Chen Yun and other high-ranking government officials on the development of China's economy since 1949. The volume describes progress made during the period in land reform, flood control, agricultural and industrial production, transport and communications, price stabilisation and other aspects of economic reconstruction.

CONTACTGROEP OPVOERING PRODUCTIVITEIT. *De Bodem- en Landclassificatie in de Verenigde Staten van Amerika*. Verslag van een Studiereis van Juli-October 1951. Studierapport Landbouw. With a Summary in English. The Hague, 1952. 173 pp. 6 florins.

— *De Gasindustrie in Amerika*. Rapport Studiegroep Industrie. With a Summary in English. The Hague, 1952. 182 pp. 4.50 florins.

— *Hoe Leeft en Werkt de Amerikaanse Boer?* Nederlandse Jonge Boeren over hun Amerikaanse Ervaringen. Rapport Studiegroep Landbouw. With a Summary in English. The Hague, 1952. 95 pp. 3.50 florins.

- *Pers, Publiciteit en Propaganda in de Amerikaanse Vakbeweging*. Studierapport vakverenigings-journalistenteam. With a Summary in English. The Hague, 1953. 98 pp. 4.75 florins.
- *Productiviteitsverhoging door doelmatige administratieve en commerciële organisatie*. The Hague, 1952. 36 pp.
- *Research en Toepassing van Proefinstallaties in de Textielindustrie in U.S.A.* Studierapport Industrie. With a Summary in English. The Hague, 1952. 16 pp.
- *Veredeling, Teelt en Conservering van Doperwten, Slabonen en Sojabonen*. Studierapport Landbouw. With a Summary in English. The Hague, 1952. 215 pp. 8.50 florins.

ESCARGUEL, Marguerite. *Sète, 1950 — Etude d'économie portuaire et régionale*. Foreword by Jean MORINI-COMBY. Thesis for a doctorate in law at the University of Montpellier. Paris, 1952. 147 pp.

A historical, economic and demographic study of the port of Sète, its development and prospects. Provides an incidental example of technological unemployment. Whereas the revenue of the port and the tonnage passing through it are increasing, improved methods of loading and unloading have resulted in permanent unemployment and a drop in the purchasing power of the population, with the usual consequences for craftsmen and local retailers.

Industrial Relations ; Employers' and Workers' Organisations.

EIJKELBOOM, Jan. *Een halve eeuw van strijd*. Gedenkboek bij het vijftig-jarig bestaan van de Protestants Christelijke Bond van Vervoerspersoneel. Hoorn, N.V., Drukkerij Edecea, 1953. 160 pp.

A history of the Protestant Union of Transport Workers in the Netherlands on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary.

KNAAPEN, A. L. M. *De Ondernemingsraden en de Ontwikkeling van het Medezeggenschap in de particuliere onderneming in Nederland en in België*. Assen, Van Gorcum & Co., N.V., 1952. 171 pp.

This study of works councils and the growth of joint management in private enterprise in the Netherlands and Belgium makes a detailed survey of the Belgian law of 20 September 1948 and the Netherlands law of 4 May 1950, which established works councils in the two countries. The author gives a historical outline of the schemes which preceded the above laws and describes some interesting cases of voluntary co-operation set up on private initiative. A chapter is also included forecasting the future development of works councils. The book contains an appendix giving extracts from legal drafts and legislative texts in force in each country.

SANSEVERINO, Luisa Riva. *Contratto Individuale di Lavoro*. And : LITALÀ, Luigi de. *Contratti Speciali di Lavoro*. Milan, Casa Editrice Dott. Antonio Milani, 1953. 549 pp. 2,800 lire.

This work, the second volume of a treatise on labour rights directed by Professors Borsi and Pergolesi, studies contractual aspects of individual labour relations. While the first part of the volume, by Professor Riva Sanseverino, discusses the individual labour contract in its various forms and characteristics, the second part, by Professor Litalà, studies various special contracts and their legal bases, for example, contracts for home work, for domestic service, for railway and other inland transport workers, workers employed in air and sea transport, dockworkers, rice workers, workers in the entertainment trade and journalistic employment.

The first part consists of a theoretical analysis of the individual contract system in general, and its various aspects are studied mainly in relation to Italian legislation. Its formation is considered in the light of the general requisites it has in common with other contracts in private law, and the importance of various limitations as regards the standard contractual independence. A detailed study is made of the obligations of worker and employer, and of the specific features of this type of contract in regard to suspension and annulment.

SEIDENBERG, Jacob. *The Labor Injunction in New York City, 1935-1950*. Cornell Studies in Industrial and Labor Relations, Vol. IV. Ithaca, New York, Cornell University, 1953. xviii+171 pp. \$2.

Labour Law.

ANTERO DE CARVALHO, J. *O direito do trabalho nos tribunais : jurisprudência e crítica*. Rio de Janeiro, Editorial Sul Americana, S. A., 1952. 343 pp.

DEVEALI, Mario L. *Curso de derecho sindical y de la previsión social*. Buenos Aires, Victor P. de Zavalla, 1952. 363 pp.

ERDMANN, Ernst-Gerhard. *Das Recht der Arbeitnehmer auf Beteiligung an der Verwaltung der Betriebe der gewerblichen Wirtschaft*. Ein internationaler Rechtsvergleich. Schriftenreihe der Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände, Vol. 5. Cologne, 1952. 175 pp.

GALPERIN, Hans. *Kommentar zum Betriebsverfassungsgesetz*. Heidelberg, Verlagsgesellschaft "Recht und Wirtschaft", 1953. 512 pp. 19.60 DM. (cloth) or 17.80 (paper).

Text of the Law of 11 October 1952 respecting workers' representation in public and private enterprise in the Federal Republic of Germany, with a brief comment by the author.

HUECK, Alfred (editor). *Kündigungsschutzgesetz : Kommentar*. 2nd edition. Munich, Berlin, C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1952. xii+196 pp.

Text of the Law of 10 August 1951 respecting workers' protection against dismissal in the Federal Republic of Germany, with a commentary.

MOURA BRANDÃO, F., Filho, and GOMES TALÁRICO, Jese. *Interpretação e Prática da Legislação Trabalhista Brasileira*. Rio de Janeiro, 1952. 338 pp.

VANEETVELDE, Alphonse P. *Etude juridique et commentaire du Code du travail des territoires de la France d'outre-mer*. Dakar, Librairie Clair-afrique, 1953. 302 pp. 220 francs.

Management.

ANDREWS, Kenneth R. (editor). *The Case Method of Teaching Human Relations and Administration*. An Interim Statement. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1953. xvi+271 pp. \$4.50.

Contains a series of 19 papers on the use of the case method in graduate training at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. Since 1945 the authors of these papers, working together, have collected cases for, established and taught in a group of courses which now form part of the curricula of Harvard University.

The book is in a sense a sequel to the publication in 1949 by J. D. Glover and R. M. Hower of "The Administrator : Cases on Human Relations in

Business" (Richard D. Irwin, revised edition, Chicago, 1952) in which the authors gave a few general indications regarding experiences of teaching by the "case study method". The first objective with "The Administrator" was, however, to supply cases, while the present work seeks to explain methods and achievements.

The papers are organised under three general headings: Teaching and Learning; Training in Industry; and Research Problems in Human Relations. In the first part the authors attempt to give as complete a picture as possible of the techniques of teaching by the case method. C. I. Gragg has written the first article: "Because Wisdom Can't Be Told"; explaining the basic reasons for adapting a case study. "The mere act of listening to wise statements and sound advice does little for anyone . . . the key to an understanding of the Business School case plan of training is to be found in the fact that this plan dignifies and dramatises student life by opening the way for students to make positive contributions to thought and, by doing so, to prepare themselves for action." "An outstanding effect of the case system . . . is to put upon students the burden of independent thinking."

Several aspects of teaching technique as applied to the case method are explained in articles by J. D. Glover and R. M. Hower, and by D. N. Ulrich; J. C. Bailey describes a classroom evaluation of the case method, and J. B. Fox and Harriet Ronken give notes on the student angle. The use of lectures is discussed by F. M. Fuller—illustrated by a final lecture by R. M. Hower. Two case discussions are presented by E. P. Learned and J. D. Glover while I. J. Lee and S. H. Fuller discuss general semantics and the judging of examination papers respectively. A. R. Towl concludes this part of the book by an article on "Administrative Practices and Human Relations—For What?"

Two articles on the application of industrial training together form Part Two: F. J. Røthlisberger discusses the training of supervisors and K. R. Andrews executive training.

The third and last part deals with research problems in human relations, in articles by P. R. Lawrence, G. F. F. Lombard, J. F. Scott and R. P. Lynton.

ASSOCIATION FRANÇAISE POUR L'ACCROISSEMENT DE LA PRODUCTIVITÉ.
Cadres et maîtrise: leur formation en tant que chefs aux Etats-Unis.
Rapport de Mission de 12 experts français au Ministre des Affaires Economiques, Président du Comité National de la Productivité. Paris, 1952. 151 pp.

A report by 12 French experts on supervisory and management training on their six weeks mission to the United States in 1952. The group visited many universities, specialised training institutions, private enterprises, trade associations and trade unions, mostly in the north-eastern states.

The studies cover education and training for young executives and supervisors, supplementary and advanced training for management and supervision and co-operation between industry and universities in the same field. A special chapter deals with teaching methods, techniques and aids.

In conclusion the experts make a series of recommendations for the application of their findings to French conditions, outlining a practical programme of action for improving the quality and efficiency of management and supervision in France.

Manpower.

BRECKINRIDGE, Elizabeth Llewellyn. *Effective Use of Older Workers.*
Foreword by Edward L. RYERSON. New York, Chicago, Toronto, Wilcox and Follett Company, 1953. xiv + 224 pp. \$4.

Contains the results of a survey of practices in business and industry affecting the employment and retirement of people as they grow older.

The term "older worker" is defined as "a person who encounters job-related problems because of age". The object of the survey was to explore (1) the ways in which some companies were using older workers more effectively than the average employer, and (2) the procedures devised to facilitate retirement and subsequent adjustment.

The survey does not aim to give a representative sample of what is being done today in American business and industry, although the participating companies represent considerable diversity of practice. Instead, the plan of the study was directed at finding companies with special programmes and procedures for older workers or which were carrying out some pioneering work in the field. Out of a total of 440 companies approached, 90, spread over 24 states, were willing to co-operate and were found eligible to participate on the basis of their programmes for older workers.

The primary aim of the book is to give practical help to management in experimenting with modifications of their own procedures.

DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND, Bundesvorstand, Düsseldorf—Hauptabteilung Jugend. *Arbeitslosigkeit und Berufsnot der Jugend.* 2 vols. Edited by Helmut SCHELSKY for the Sozialwissenschaftliche Arbeitsgemeinschaft zur Erforschung von Jugendfragen. Cologne, Bund Verlag GmbH., 1952. 478 and 435 pp. DM. 15 each.

A study of the employment situation of young workers in the Federal Republic of Germany, undertaken on the initiative of the Youth Division of the German Federation of Trade Unions by a working party of social scientists from the Akademie für Gemeinwirtschaft. Volume I presents a survey of the extent of youth unemployment on the basis of official statistics and field research through interviews with young unemployed persons. The situation thus revealed is put forward as one of the major post-war economic and social problems facing the country. The sociological aspects of this problem are dealt with in Volume II. The study is designed to present the problem to those concerned with its solution, and to stimulate further investigation and action in the field.

— *Arbeitskräftebilanz.* Tabellenwerk über den Altersaufbau der arbeitslosen und beschäftigten Arbeitnehmer sowie über die Lehrlingshaltung in den Ländern der Bundesrepublik und Westberlin, aufgeschlüsselt nach Berufsgruppen, Einzelberufen und Geschlecht nach dem Stand vom 31/10/50. Edited by Walter MEIS. Cologne, 1952. xi + 99 pp.

Conditions of Work.

AUMONT, Michèle. *Femmes en usine: les ouvrières de la métallurgie parisienne.* Paris, Editions Spes, 1953. 156 pp. 260 francs.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR. *The Workers' Story, 1913-53.* Labor Yearbook No. II. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1953. viii + 143 pp. 45 cents.

Published on the 40th anniversary of the United States Department of Labor, this booklet summarises developments in the labour force, the technique of production and workers' living standards during the period covered. It also outlines the measures adopted in social welfare matters and welfare developments through legislation, administration and collective bargaining in the United States. It concludes with an analysis of the organisation and functions of the departments of labour at federal and state levels and explains the relationship between them.

AYE, Hans Adolf. *Das Mutterschutzgesetz vom 24. Januar 1952.* 2nd edition. Essen, Essener Verlag für Sozialversicherung GmbH., 1953. 145 pp.

BACHMAN, George W. and Associates. *Health Resources in the United States: Personnel, Facilities, and Services*. Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1952. xvi+344 pp. \$5.

This survey gives extensive information on the evolution of mortality and, to some extent, morbidity in the United States, as well as on the development of health facilities available, including the number of physicians and members of other health professions, hospitals, etc. It also describes existing health services in industry and in the armed forces. It may be noted that in 1949 there were 121 active physicians per 100,000 of population, exclusive of those in federal service. Of these, 49 were general practitioners, which means that there are, on the average, approximately 2,000 persons per general practitioner. However, there are great variations in this ratio for different parts of the country.

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY, Social Security Administration, International Technical Missions. *Social Security for Egypt*. By Karl de SCHWEINITZ. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1952. iii+71 pp.

LAZARÉVITCH, I. *La médecine en U.R.S.S.* Preface by Jean PARAF. Paris, Les Iles d'Or, 1952. 217 pp.

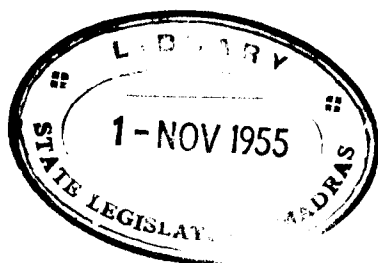
SHAH, N. M. *The Employees' State Insurance Act (Act No. XXXIV of 1948)*. Labour Code, Vol. IV. Ahmedabad, Chandrakant Chimanlal Vora, 1953. 139 pp. 7 rupees 8 annas.

Gives the text of the Act and the regulations issued under it up to the end of 1952, with commentaries and an introduction describing the antecedents of the Act.

TRIPPEL, Martin. *Funktion und Grenzen der Sozialversicherung als Massnahme der Sozialpolitik*. Zürich, St. Gallen, Polygraphischer Verlag A.-G., 1953. viii+189 pp.

TROCLET, L.-E. *Initiation au problème des pensions de vieillesse*. Brussels, Institut E. Vandervelde A.S.B.L., 1953. 118 pp.

WANTZ, Norbert. *Le régime de la sécurité sociale minière: organisation, financement et effets*. Paris, Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, R. Pichon et R. Durand-Auzias, 1953. 206 pp.



The Thirty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference

Geneva, June 1953

The 36th Session of the International Labour Conference was held at Geneva from 4 to 25 June 1953. The following article reviews the more important aspects of the discussions and the principal decisions of the Conference. It does not attempt to be comprehensive; readers wishing more detailed information are referred to the account of the plenary sittings published in Industry and Labour.¹ The texts of the two Recommendations, the observations and conclusions regarding the organisation and working of national labour departments and the resolutions adopted by the Conference will be found in the Official Bulletin.²

WHEN the delegates to the International Labour Conference assembled in Geneva in June 1953 there were mounting indications that the negotiations for an armistice in Korea would lead in the early future to the signal for a cease-fire. Though the outcome of the truce discussions was still obscured by uncertainty and fear and clouded by recriminations, many of the representatives of governments, employers and workers expressed the growing belief that the result of the negotiations would be an agreement that would open the door to a wider settlement and ease the anxieties that had accompanied the war since its outbreak during the 33rd Session of the Conference three years before. It was therefore in a spirit of optimism that the delegates turned to their task of ensuring that this session would mark a further advance towards the goal of peace and social justice.

The varied regions of the world from which the delegates had come all faced problems of greater or less intensity, to which solutions seemed remote as long as hostilities continued. Questions

¹ INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE: *Industry and Labour*, Vol. X, Nos. 1-2, 1 and 15 July 1953.

² Idem: *Official Bulletin*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 3, 31 Aug. 1953.

of social policy, the principal preoccupation of those composing the Conference, were complicated and indeed often appeared to defy solution so long as great parts of the world's economy were geared to the supplying of war materials. The expansion of production to meet human desires and needs was difficult to envisage while nations were devoting their energies to satisfying the demands of defence. International trade permitting a division of the world's labour was impeded by the ranging of many of the world's States into camps on either side of the Korean battle line while other countries sought with difficulty to play a role of conciliation.

The hope that an end to the fighting might permit governments and peoples gradually to turn their energies to these and other problems was evoked in the first words addressed to the delegates. Mr. Fernando García Oldini of Chile, declaring the Conference open in his capacity as chairman of the I.L.O.'s Governing Body, asserted that "the immense resources liberated by a possible relaxation of the present tension could be usefully employed in a vigorous struggle against poverty". It was necessary, he said, for international organisations "to rise above the particular contingencies of the States in order to foresee and to prepare the conditions required for the organisation of lasting peace", and he emphasised his conviction that poverty could be reduced by energetic international action.

Senator Irving Ives, United States Government delegate, who then took the rostrum after his election by acclamation as President of the Conference, told the delegates that they stood at the gateway of opportunity. He predicted that differences of opinion would emerge during the discussions, but he added that true progress was achieved through the blending of differing ideas. He said that the record of achievement of the International Labour Organisation gave the delegates the right to be optimistic. He brought with him President Eisenhower's warm personal greetings and good wishes, and he added that the President had emphasised the belief that such institutions as the I.L.O. are firmly founded on a deep religious faith. "The task before us is challenging", he declared, "but we approach it with powerful weapons: faith in one another and faith in the indestructibility of justice."

The agenda before the Conference comprised eight questions. Three of these concerned particular aspects of conditions of employment—holidays with pay, the protection of the health of workers in places of employment and the minimum age of admission to work underground in coalmines. A fourth item called upon the delegates to consider the organisation and working of national labour departments with a view to formulating observations and

conclusions. Another item required consideration of a proposal advanced by the Governing Body for the enlargement of its membership.

The delegates also had before them three questions normally found upon the agenda of each session of the Conference. These were the adoption of the Organisation's annual budget and other financial matters, information and reports on the application of Conventions and Recommendations approved at previous sessions, and consideration of a Report presented by Mr. David A. Morse, Director-General of the International Labour Office, entitled *World Labour Report 1953*.

From the Conference's three weeks of deliberations emerged two Recommendations—one on the question of the health of workers at the workplace and the other dealing with the minimum age in underground coalmining—and 12 resolutions. Approval of the two Recommendations brought to 97 the total number of international instruments of this kind that have been adopted by the Conference since its first session in 1919.

At this session none of the Conference's decisions took the form of an international labour Convention.

THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S REPORT

To the more than 600 delegates and observers from 58 States who attended, the Conference provided an opportunity not only to come to agreed conclusions on the various "technical" questions on the agenda but also to examine issues of social policy in the widest of contexts. This opportunity was presented in the debate, held in plenary sittings, on the Director-General's Report. Long established as an integral part of the International Labour Conference, this debate has acquired increasing significance over the years as a consequence of the growing universality of the Organisation's membership and as the nations, regions and interests constituting world society have gained a deeper appreciation of their interdependence. In recent years, more than ever in the past, the debate has served to focus attention on the fundamental problems upon whose solution social progress depends. It has extended its significance even beyond that which it holds as one of the principal instruments of the I.L.O. in its role as "the social conscience of the world"—it serves now for the judgment, examination and criticism of national and international policies and measures as these bear upon the social conditions of mankind.

The analyses and evaluations, the ideas and the perspectives, and the range of subjects that came under scrutiny gave the debate this year a scope and depth which in the opinion of many were

unequalled in the debate of any previous session. More than 100 speakers, constituting a broad representation of the world's regions and of the three "groups"—Government, Employers' and Workers' delegates—took their turn on the rostrum to address themselves to the questions evoked by Mr. Morse's Report. When the discussion concluded the Director-General addressed the delegates in reply.

In the introduction to his Report, which was designed to sound a keynote for the debate, Mr. Morse had described the issues facing the Organisation against the setting provided by the dispute-torn world of today. Because nations were engaged in conflict and working within a framework of hostility in an atmosphere of suspicion and fear, he had said, the I.L.O. was being held back. The money it needed was going into funds for rearmament, defence and, in some cases, armed conflict. This meant that basically the Organisation was not holding its ground. It was only partially meeting its obligations to wage the battle for peace.

The past year had therefore been a difficult one, and he had felt this the more keenly because he had found among people a genuine and passionate desire for peace. They hoped for a settlement of political issues so that they might escape from fear and insecurity and enter into an era of expenditure of money and energies for the permanent reinforcement of the basis of world stability and brotherhood. But recently hopes had sprung up that the tension in the international political situation might be eased. Then he had posed the question:

Can we turn this moment's uneasy equilibrium into a continuing way of life, with high employment, stable prices and a world at peace—an environment in which we can apply ourselves wholeheartedly to the supreme task of reducing poverty and promoting social justice? This is what all mankind has been hoping for.

He had then gone on to suggest an answer:

At this possible turning point we are not powerless. The issues of war or peace must not seem beyond us. We can, wherever we are, bring our views to bear on our own leaders We must, as an Organisation, take emergency action to meet the real problems as they are posed. This Organisation was founded to promote peace—peace based upon social justice. Let us then turn this instrument to that end with the daring and vigour which the hour requires. This means a fight on many fronts—it means, too, a reinforcement by governments, workers and employers of each facet of our activities. It is only in this way that we can lend our full weight to the genuine efforts which are being made to find and maintain peace.

In the Report, Mr. Morse had pointed out, he had again selected a special theme for emphasis and debate. This was the problem

of productivity—a subject which he had called "timely to world needs, our over-all efforts and objectives". He had urged that the Conference do what it could "to secure a widespread comprehension and acceptance of the need for higher productivity and of the ways in which it can be achieved", and had continued—

If we will do this I am convinced that we will have taken a long step forward in meeting one of our substantial world responsibilities. We must do more to narrow the great gaps between the standard of living of those who labour in less developed countries and those in more developed countries. We must narrow the gap in production. This must be done if we are to lay a secure basis for peace, and if freedom and liberty are to prevail, and if we are to win our long battle for the dignity of the individual and of labour.

The challenge presented by Mr. Morse met with widespread response. Reflecting a sense that the world might be astride the threshold of new opportunity, the participants in the debate raised their eyes to the wider and more distant horizons suggested in the Report. But while this was the perspective, there was no neglect of immediate, practical questions. Issues relating to productivity were exhaustively canvassed, the role of technical assistance was surveyed, the part to be played by the I.L.O. in the international effort came under scrutiny, the Organisation's function as a regulator of labour conditions was assessed anew, and attention was directed to problems of industrial relations.

The Discussion

Among the participants in the debate were 14 Ministers in national governments who came to the Conference either as members of their national delegations or for the specific purpose of contributing to the discussion. These spokesmen of government brought views representative of most of the world's main regions—Europe, North America, Latin America, the Near and Middle East, the Far East and Oceania.

Speaking with an urgency which echoed that of the Report, Mr. H. E. Holt, the Australian Minister of Labour and National Service, called upon the delegates to give "some organised attention" to the problem of making "a really buoyant and prosperous economy a natural outcome of a more peaceful era". He had "failed to find very much realism, or indeed very much energy applied at the international level to this particular problem". Surely, he demanded, "our statesmanship has not become so barren that we cannot profit from the better era which seems to be opening up before us". The world was moving into a critical stage which at the same time should be one of the brightest, most prosperous and happiest that it had ever entered.

But, he warned, "we can either make or mar that period by the manner in which we harness and link together the productive resources of the world in which we live".

Mr. A. M. Malik, the Pakistan Minister of Labour, sounded a note of alarm when he told the Conference that "the global picture shows that the stability of the advanced countries is at the cost of the raw-material producing ones, which have gone deeper into the abyss of poverty, from where mass discontent and terrible forces which threaten the peace of the world are raising their heads". He warned that "if this process of effecting progress in the advanced countries continues, no power in the world will be in a position to stop agrarian revolution and a world-wide disaster". In some underdeveloped countries, he said, "economic conditions have gone down so much that it has not only become impossible to continue developmental work; it has become difficult to meet the bare necessities of life". Economic problems, he asserted, must be tackled at the level of international responsibility. He then went on to suggest specifically that "the creation and maintenance of a regular demand for primary products should be assured through the intervention of those countries which are principally industrial in economy". He explained that in making this suggestion he was merely asking these industrially advanced countries to fulfil what he considered to be both a moral and a historical obligation, "since many of them owe their present prosperity to those backward areas which until recently formed part of their territories".

Another Asian Labour Minister, Mr. Jose Figueras of the Philippines, added his voice to those that expressed the hope that an armistice in Korea would be only one step in the direction of lightening the world's burden of fears. "We can only pray", he said, "that the time may soon come when all nations can dedicate the whole of their talents and energies to the greatest of all tasks—the betterment of human society."

Apprehensions expressed by a number of speakers were typified by Mr. G. van den Daele, the Belgian Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, when he declared that Mr. Morse was right in drawing attention in his Report to the need for "reducing the economic consequences of the contraction" of armaments programmes to a minimum. With a view to contributing to a solution of this problem, Mr. van den Daele suggested that the I.L.O. should study the question of workers' housing as a means of facilitating the conversion of armaments industries to "industries working for the improvement of the conditions of mankind".

A warning similar to that issued by Mr. Malik was addressed to the Conference by the spokesman for another Asian Govern-

ment—Mr. T. F. Jayewardene, Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Labour of Ceylon. The majority of employers and workers in the Eastern democracies continued to have faith in the West, he said, but "you will be judged not only by what you have done but also by what you have failed to do". If Mr. Morse's Report did not awaken the consciousness of the "haves" among nations to their responsibilities towards the "have-nots", he emphasised, "it may prove disastrous to democracy in the very near future".

Mr. Jayewardene defended Ceylon's long-term trade agreement with the People's Republic of China as having permitted his Government to delay measures which otherwise would have been necessary and which would have resulted in a lowering of Ceylonese living standards. The agreement, he said, "has stabilised for some time the price paid for our sheet rubber at a level above world prices, and the price paid for our rice requirements below the world price". If the democracies were "unable to act collectively and meet the challenge in the field of trade of another portion of the world which believes in a different ideology", no country could be blamed for taking action in the interests of the people and for the better preservation of democracy. The export of primary products was the life-blood of Ceylon's economy, and the wide fluctuations in export prices adversely affected its income and employment and were an obstacle to plans for reasonable living standards for the workers. The well-being and political stability of underdeveloped countries were linked to the degree of prosperity enjoyed by their export industries. Only reasonably high prices could ensure reasonably good wages and thereby counter not only subversive propaganda but also strikes, labour unrest and falling production.

A large number of speakers—for the most part Employers' and Workers' delegates—addressed themselves particularly to questions relating to productivity. A representative view on this subject was expressed by Mr. Gullmar Bergenström, Director of the Swedish Employers' Confederation, who prefaced his address by emphasising that for industrial undertakings it was obviously of the utmost importance that there should be a long period of peace. Only under such conditions, he said, were they able to plan on a long-term basis, to build up their national and international connections and thereby create better conditions for their employees, and to achieve "the continuous rise in efficiency and production which has characterised the periods of peace in our time".

Mr. Bergenström gave particular attention to a suggestion, made by a group of productivity experts whose report was before the Conference, that the benefits of higher productivity should be

shared equitably among capital, labour and consumers. This statement, he said, might give rise to confusion "in that it is not clear what is meant by saying that a fair share should go to capital". The principle that should govern the distribution of the benefits of increased productivity should rather, he suggested, be that "economic policy must be so designed that in every situation and in every period the objects that are considered most desirable are achieved". The way in which the division was to be made must depend on the development that was regarded as desirable for a future period. "As a matter of fact", he said, "in most countries it is probably extremely desirable that as large a part as possible of the increase in productivity should be used for further investments, for this will mean that the rise in the standard of living will be more rapid." Moreover, he argued, since higher productivity in an enterprise or industry was not always due to measures taken by those working in it, there were good reasons for allowing the rise in the standard of living to benefit the consumers through an even rise in the whole income level.

The problem emphasised by Mr. Bergenström was also discussed by Mr. Milton F. Gregg, the Canadian Minister of Labour, who expressed the view that the "important thing" was "to strive to establish the general conditions whereby each group in the country may have confidence that it shares equitably, directly and indirectly, in the general economic improvement". He added that this principle also applied to the wider world community. As a foundation for the realisation of increased productivity, he said, the general objective should be to establish a sound minimum level of economic security for all people. It was also important to foster the kind of labour-management relations that would tend towards higher productivity and a fair distribution of its benefits.

The need for a flow of capital from the more developed countries was stressed by many speakers from underdeveloped areas, and this subject also provided the main theme of the contribution of Mr. Charles E. Shaw, representing United States employers. Mr. Shaw noted first that in most underdeveloped countries there was little or no possibility of accumulating capital through savings. Nor could foreign lending or grants be counted upon to fill the needs of the less advanced countries. The only other source of capital was private foreign investment. He noted in this connection that it was now the intention of the United States Government to direct its foreign economic aid and technical assistance towards encouraging the flow of private capital to the industrially underdeveloped countries.

In assessing the prospect of foreign sources providing private capital for economic development, Mr. Shaw stressed that "free

private capital will flow readily to those areas which are the most attractive for investment", and he cautioned that countries wishing to attract such capital must understand what investors regarded as attractive conditions. He then went on to suggest a number of conditions which private investment would demand. Among these he listed guarantees against expropriation without prompt and adequate compensation, guarantees that foreign capital would be on an equal competitive footing with domestic capital, opportunities for profit at least as great as that expected in the United States, fair treatment under exchange restrictions, freedom from excessive interference in management by government and labour, and the right to employ nationals of the country supplying the capital. No realistic person could say that these were unreasonable conditions, he declared, pointing to Canada as a country which had provided a "very favourable climate for foreign investment" and which, as a result, was attracting new investment capital from abroad at what Mr. Gregg had described earlier in the debate as "a great rate".

From delegates of the industrially underdeveloped countries came a series of statements voicing appreciation of the assistance they had received from the I.L.O. under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance of the United Nations and the Specialised Agencies. These were accompanied by assertions from spokesmen for the developed countries that the Technical Assistance Programme must be not only maintained but enlarged in the interest of raising living standards and redressing the balance between the developed and underdeveloped areas. It was pointed out that the Programme conformed to the principle, enunciated in the I.L.O.'s Declaration of Philadelphia of 1944, that "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere". In the speeches of many delegates technical assistance was linked with the question of productivity, and several emphasised the view that any appreciable improvement in social conditions in the underdeveloped countries depended essentially on the success of efforts to raise productivity and production. It was emphasised that in these efforts technical assistance was already playing a key role and could play a greater one if the Programme were supported by larger financial resources.

Several speakers employed the opportunity presented by the debate to appraise other particular aspects of the I.L.O.'s work. A smaller number used the occasion to express certain reflections upon the work of the Organisation as a whole. Among speeches falling into the latter category the address of Sir Walter Monckton, British Minister of Labour and National Service, was widely regarded by delegates as a significant contribution.

Sir Walter noted that the debate was taking place nearly ten years after the adoption of the Declaration of Philadelphia, and he suggested that in that period so much had happened that "we may sometimes be in danger of forgetting how far-sighted was the re-thinking of the Organisation's future which was undertaken in 1944, and how closely it has been confirmed by events". The Declaration, he said, had set before the Organisation wider and more positive objectives which were to be pursued within a broader framework and with the employment of a more dynamic approach. In fulfilment of the new obligations imposed at Philadelphia there had been a many-sided development of the Organisation's programme. The most significant aspect of this process was, in many ways, the steady growth of its operational activities and their integration with its legislative work. Alongside this development there had been significant changes in the approach of the Conference to its legislative responsibilities.

"But with all this progress," Sir Walter then went on to ask, "can we yet feel satisfied that our annual Conference reflects as fully as it could the present scope and spirit of the Organisation's work and that its existing methods are fully adapted to that purpose?" He was doubtful, he said, whether the Conference was devoting sufficient attention to the Organisation's new tasks and whether its methods and procedure had been adapted flexibly enough to deal effectively with the varied problems which now had to be confronted.

He explained that he wished to make it clear that the United Kingdom Government regarded the adoption of Conventions and Recommendations by the Conference as forming an essential and major element in the present and future work of the Organisation. These instruments, he said, might have weaknesses as well as strengths, but when all had been said that could be said against them it remained true that they had been a direct cause of much progress, of increased happiness and of higher standards of work and living in many countries. He then went on to suggest that the Conference might, like Parliaments in some countries, function as a surveyor of administrative action and, as a guide to action, focus attention and crystallise opinion. Effective action by the Conference, he emphasised, need not require the adoption of international regulations. The problems that the I.L.O. faced were more varied, more closely inter-related and swifter to develop than ever before. The Organisation must be quick to identify these problems as they arose, and must be looking within the framework of the Constitution for techniques complementary to its legislative procedures, whereby it might present conclusions which, even if not cast in the form of international regulations, might nevertheless

provide an impetus to effective action and an opportunity at a later stage of assessing their practical results.

The Director-General's Reply

When he addressed the Conference in reply to the debate, Mr. Morse's first words expressed the widely shared view that the work of the session had been conducted in a spirit of compromise and conciliation which was perhaps a reflection of the uneasy equilibrium of the moment. The Conference had watched the Korean truce negotiations prayerfully because the fortunes of the I.L.O. and its possibilities of effective action were bound up with the issues of war and peace. If there was a possibility that the world might be entering upon a new period in the relations between States, the Organisation must be prepared to consider how it could make its full contribution to permanent peace. Many of the speakers in the debate had emphasised the possibilities of pursuing the war against misery and want which peace would bring. For his part he suggested that the Organisation should, while not encouraging any illusions as to the real obstacles to peace which remained to be overcome, begin to think in terms of the real problems of social policy that a slackening of the present world tension would bring.

Mr. Morse emphasised his view that the I.L.O. must be ready to adapt its policies to changing conditions. It must develop means of carrying its work directly to the areas and the centres where it could be most useful. The Organisation's action rested upon the complementary nature of its function of establishing international social standards and its direct assistance in social policy. Speakers in the debate had stressed the importance of these interlocking functions, and many of the participants had strongly expressed the conviction that the adoption of Conventions and Recommendations should remain an essential part of the Organisation's work. The Conference, however, was working towards an even fuller conception of its role and the means of action at its disposal. The Convention was one of these means, but no one had suggested that the conclusions of the Conference were significant only when they took the form of a Convention. It was becoming clear that the Conference could work through a variety of methods. Any attempt dogmatically to circumscribe the functions of the Organisation within narrow limits—to lay down that it might act through one constitutional means and not through another—would be to attempt to weaken its adaptability at a moment when fruitful new possibilities might be opening before it.

Universality was also fundamental to the I.L.O.'s work, he said. This principle went beyond the question of membership. It was an attitude necessary to the conduct of its activities—an attitude which was required of all members. Its essence was a willingness to compromise. Mr. Morse continued—

Each of us at some time will be faced with decisions made in this Conference or elsewhere in the I.L.O. with which we do not fully agree. No one denies his own legitimate aims and objectives by accepting a democratically reached decision which may not appear immediately to fulfil these aims. This is the normal practice of life in a democratic community. It must become the normal practice of life in the international community if the idea of universality is to have any real meaning. I think we are moving towards this goal. In recent months the world has had some evidence at least of an increasing readiness to consider questions of international dispute in a spirit of calm deliberation. Statements in the debate this year at the Conference have in a measure reflected this new spirit and have shown a greater willingness to proceed with just compromise and with mutual understanding.

Mr. Morse noted that many of the speakers in the discussion had made the point that international factors had a bearing upon productivity. The need for foreign capital investment in the underdeveloped countries was, he said, as acute as the parallel need to stress methods of raising productivity which produce results with a minimum of capital investment. It was nevertheless true that the solution of problems in the drive to raise productivity must be sought largely on the industrial front. Good industrial relations were a guarantee of constructive co-operation both in increasing productivity and in securing an equitable distribution of its proceeds. The I.L.O. was making an appreciable contribution to the promotion of good industrial relations, but this effort could be made even more effective with the co-operation and support of employers' and workers' organisations. Important progress was being made by the Organisation in its effort to develop respect for the principle of freedom of association, a principle basic to sound industrial relations.

The I.L.O., he said in conclusion, must take account of the great dynamic forces that were transforming the world. The Industrial Revolution had entered a new phase with the crystallisation of the determination of the underdeveloped countries to pursue the path of economic development. The century would be a period fraught with dangers. The great dynamic trends in history carried with them always the threat of war as a means of adjusting a changing equilibrium. So far as these changes were determined by economic and social factors, the I.L.O. could make a direct, constructive and vital effort to ensure that they would continue without threat to the peace of the world. But the Organi-

sation could only be equal to this task to the extent that governments, employers and workers realised its possibilities and developed them to the full. The Organisation must be united—and united go forward with the United Nations and the other international organisations—"to create the international atmosphere and framework within which a dynamic world can make its adjustments in conditions of peace".

THE MINIMUM AGE (COAL MINES) RECOMMENDATION

The first of the Conference's important decisions was its adoption by 183 votes to none, with one delegate abstaining, of a Recommendation fixing 16 as the minimum age for underground work in coal-mines. This text, as adopted, came before the delegates on the unanimous recommendation of the tripartite committee to which the question had been referred, although opposite views had been expressed in the committee as to whether it should be in the form of a Recommendation or a Convention. On this issue the Worker members of the committee urged that the instrument of the Convention be employed, and the Employers' delegates were as equally united in pressing for a Recommendation. The question was ultimately put to a vote, and the proposal to adopt a Convention was rejected by 26 votes to 26, with two abstentions.

The Committee's discussions revealed substantial agreement on the substance of the Recommendation, which is based on a resolution adopted by the Conference at its 1952 session and on a resolution approved by the Coal Mines Committee in 1951. The Recommendation urges countries to put the minimum age into effect "as rapidly as national conditions allow". It provides also that young persons 16 and 17 years of age should not be employed in underground mining except for purposes of training under supervision or "under conditions determined by the competent authorities prescribing, after consultation with the employers' and workers' organisations concerned, the places of work and occupations permitted and the measures of systematic medical and safety supervision to be applied".

When the Committee's report came before a plenary sitting for consideration, Mr. Geoffrey C. Veysey, British Under-Secretary of Labour and National Service, told the delegates that adoption of the Recommendation "should constitute a real step forward in safeguarding the well-being of young workers in coalmines", since a considerable amount of coal was mined in countries where the minimum age was below 16. Sir William Lawther of the United Kingdom, who was the spokesman of the Workers on the subject, said that in the committee stage his group had agreed to support

the idea of a Recommendation although they still believed that a Convention "would have been the better method".

THE PROTECTION OF WORKERS' HEALTH RECOMMENDATION

The second Recommendation adopted by the Conference proposes a series of measures to be taken in member countries to protect the health of workers in their places of employment. This text was approved unanimously by the delegates after considerable debate, both in committee and on the Conference floor, as to whether the regulations should take the form of a Recommendation or a Convention or both.

The Recommendation is divided into four detailed parts. One of these sets forth a series of "technical measures" to be taken by the competent authority or by employers to control risks to health at the workplace—measures concerning cleanliness, steps to be taken to prevent overcrowding in workplaces, lighting, atmospheric conditions, sanitary conditions, washing facilities, drinking water, changing rooms, canteens, the prevention of noise and vibrations and the precautions to be taken when storing dangerous substances. Certain measures are also proposed for the prevention, reduction and elimination of risks to health, particularly those caused by harmful substances, radiations and dangerous processes, and the issue of individual protective equipment. Other provisions recommend the regular testing of the air in workrooms, the instruction of workers in the precautions to be taken and the organisation at a national level of consultations between the labour inspectorate or the authorities responsible for the protection of the health of workers and the employers' and workers' organisations concerned.

The second part of the Recommendation provides that workers in occupations involving special risks to their health should undergo initial or periodical medical examinations organised under conditions and at intervals to be determined by national authorities, and that a certificate should be issued when there is no medical objection to a worker being employed in a particular occupation.

The third part requires that occupational diseases be notified to the labour inspectorate and the authorities responsible for the protection of the health of workers, prescribes the manner in which notification should be made, the particulars to be notified and the persons responsible for notification, and lays down the principle that the list of notifiable diseases should be drawn up in consultation with employers' and workers' organisations.

The fourth part states that facilities for first aid and emergency treatment in case of accident, occupational disease, poisoning or indisposition should be provided at the place of employment.

HOLIDAYS WITH PAY

The question of holidays with pay came before the Conference for "first discussion" on the basis of a series of proposed conclusions advanced by the International Labour Office in the light of consultations with governments. As a result of this discussion the delegates voted by 184 to one, with seven abstentions, to place the question on the agenda of the Conference next year in the form of a draft Recommendation. It was also agreed that the Conference in 1954 should have before it a report which would provide an opportunity for the adoption of a resolution on the utilisation of holiday time.

In deciding to pursue its discussion of holidays with pay at the next session the Conference approved a series of conclusions upon which governments will be further consulted. In the light of these consultations the Office will frame the draft Recommendation. If the Recommendation is approved it will complement a Convention and a Recommendation on paid holidays adopted by the Conference in 1936.

The conclusions upon which the delegates agreed declare that workers should have a paid annual holiday of not less than two normal working weeks after one year of continuous service with the same employer. They also suggest that the right to a paid holiday proportionate to the period of service should be acquired after not less than six months of continuous service.

THE ORGANISATION AND WORKING OF NATIONAL LABOUR DEPARTMENTS

In placing on the agenda the question of the organisation and working of national labour departments, the Governing Body had established a precedent in that, for the first time, a "technical" item was laid before the delegates for general discussion and not with a view to the framing of international regulations. Moreover, the Office report on the subject differed from other "technical" reports in that it was not based on replies to a questionnaire.

The subject was referred to a committee of 75 members, which recorded its observations and conclusions in a memorandum. The Conference approved the memorandum unanimously.

When the memorandum was debated Government, Employers' and Workers' delegates united in expressing the view that the discussion had been a success which pointed a way to a new method of Conference action. Mr. Henry A. Bland, Secretary of the Australian Department of Labour and National Service,

who was chairman of the committee, noted that the memorandum had been hammered out by all the committee's members. He said he felt that as a result of the committee's work, and because no labour department could do its job unless it had the support of both sides of industry, that support would be even more readily forthcoming. It would be based, moreover, upon a greater understanding of the problems of labour department administrators and, on their part, upon a greater understanding of the problems that confront particular employers' and workers' organisations.

Mr. Bland added that he agreed with other speakers that there was a whole range of subjects of concern to the I.L.O. that were particularly suitable for such open discussion.

The statement of observations and conclusions adopted by the Conference states why national labour departments are necessary, describes their essential functions, lays down the general principles of their working, examines organisational and staffing problems and makes suggestions concerning the relations of labour departments with the public and the systems and methods adopted to deal with international problems. The need for a specialised administrative organisation with a status corresponding to its high responsibilities springs, the statement points out, from the necessity to administer national laws and regulations in the labour field, to implement government labour policy and to examine and find solutions to labour questions. However, as other national departments frequently handle questions which have serious repercussions on labour problems, and as certain aspects of these problems may even lie directly within their sphere of competence, labour departments should be called upon to take part in the framing of a co-ordinated social policy with such other departments. The functions of a national labour department have to be decided in the light of constitutional factors, the general structure of government administration, the stage reached in the economic and social development of the country and the needs of the country. The experience of the most highly industrialised countries (of which the Committee made considerable use) shows that the functions of labour departments include in particular the general protection of workers, industrial relations and conditions of employment, manpower and full employment questions and social security. Furthermore, in some countries, other questions such as international migration, co-operation, workers' housing and living and working conditions in agriculture may come within the province of the national labour department, and in federal States it is also concerned with encouraging the technical development of the work of the labour departments in the constituent units of the federation and co-ordinating their activities.

The exercise of these various responsibilities makes it essential that the single administrative organisation should comprise services considerably different from one another in character, such as the labour inspectorate (which is responsible for enforcement and supervision, and sometimes for the gradual improvement of physical conditions of work where minimum standards have not already been laid down), study, research and statistical services, which may work independently or in co-operation with other government agencies, and sections dealing with international labour problems. The observations and conclusions of the Conference stress the importance of consultation with employers' and workers' organisations in every sphere of activity of the labour department, mentioning the methods normally adopted to ensure that such co-operation is effective, and point out that other public and private organisations, local authorities and other bodies of various kinds are also interested in labour problems and that it is the duty of the national labour department to encourage their activity, secure their co-operation and obtain every benefit from such activities for the common good in order to achieve greater efficiency and economy in its own activity. In this way the national labour department may be in a better position to represent fully the point of view of labour when national policy in the industrial, economic and social fields is being considered by the government. In this connection it is stressed that the labour department should act with complete impartiality in the implementation of the social legislation and policy laid down by the government.

The Conference included in its observations and conclusions a series of proposals concerning measures to be taken in connection with the organisation and administration of labour departments, the recruitment, training and conditions of work of the staff and the material and administrative resources that should be provided, and pointed out that, since the work of the department is primarily concerned with relations with organisations and individuals, a high degree of decentralisation is necessary if this work is to be fully effective, and that questions of organisation, working methods, staffing and finance should be reviewed periodically to ensure that they are well suited to the existing situation and adaptable to changing needs.

Although the discussion centred mainly on the problems facing labour departments within their respective national boundaries the Conference noted in its observations and conclusions the desirability of developing and intensifying relations between national labour departments in different countries and of encouraging and facilitating exchanges of information and experience for their mutual benefit; it also referred to the functions of labour

departments in the matter of relations with the International Labour Organisation and the characteristics and responsibilities of the sections specialising in international relations and the importance of co-operation between such sections and other governmental agencies taking part in the activities of the various international organisations or negotiating bilateral agreements which have repercussions on labour questions.

Having thus reviewed the needs and the main characteristics of national labour departments, the statement suggests the methods to be employed in order to continue and intensify the action undertaken to help in the organisation of national labour departments and to improve their working. In particular, the Conference instructed the Office to prepare comparative studies and analyses of the situations obtaining in the different countries. It invited the governments of member States to furnish as much information as possible to the Office in order to facilitate these studies and analyses and to enable it to fulfil, under the best possible conditions, its normal functions of giving assistance to member States whenever the latter, confronted by problems of organisation and development of national labour departments, seek its assistance.

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE I.L.O.

For the fourth time in the 34 years of the I.L.O.'s existence the Conference approved proposals for the amendment of the Constitution. This decision took the form of the adoption of an instrument which, when it comes into force, will increase the size of the Governing Body from 32 members to 40. Of the 40 members 20 will be representatives of government, instead of 16 as at present, and employers and workers will each have ten representatives instead of the present eight. Of the 20 government seats ten will be held by the States of chief industrial importance.

In adopting the Instrument of Amendment the Conference also gave unanimous approval to a resolution which urged member States to endeavour to ratify it as promptly as possible so that it might come into force before next June, when new elections for the Governing Body are due to be held to replace the present membership upon the expiration of its three-year term. Under the existing constitutional provisions amendments take effect when they are ratified or accepted by two-thirds of the member States, including five of the eight which hold seats on the Governing Body as States of chief industrial importance. In response to this appeal a number of governments deposited their ratifications in the months immediately following the Conference.

The Governing Body advanced the proposal for the constitutional change so that its composition would reflect the change in the I.L.O.'s membership since the Constitution was last revised in 1946. During the period since that date 16 States had been admitted or readmitted to the Organisation, and the total membership stood at the record figure of 66. The Governing Body therefore reached the conclusion that it should be enlarged so that it might be more representative of the constantly widening range of interests linked in the Organisation, while at the same time maintaining its character as an executive council. There was, however, unanimous agreement that no change should be made in the 2:1:1 ratio according to which the seats are divided among governments, employers and workers.

For these reasons, and with a view to simplifying the matter for the Conference's consideration, the Governing Body's proposals were precisely formulated. The number of government seats would be increased from 16 to 20, and the employers' and workers' representation would be enlarged from eight to ten members.

The proposed amendment found a wide measure of support when it was considered in committee, the final vote being 77 in favour and one against, with five abstentions. A few days later, when the question came before the full Conference, the Ceylonese Government renewed a suggestion it had made in committee for the deletion of the constitutional provision which declares that six of the government members shall represent non-European countries. Senator Ives, as President, thereupon had to determine whether this proposal was in order in view of the terms in which the agenda had been framed. His ruling was that, since the purpose of the Ceylonese suggestion was to delete a clearly obsolete provision from the Constitution, it did not violate the principle that the Conference could only be required to take decisions on items on its agenda. The suggestion was therefore adopted and the amendment was then carried by 136 votes to none, with 16 abstentions.

THE APPLICATION OF CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As is customary, the Conference established a committee to examine the reports submitted by governments under their constitutional obligations concerning the Conventions and Recommendations approved by the Conference in the past. These reports are required to obtain information on the application of ratified Conventions in member countries and in non-metropolitan territories, on the effect given to unratified Conventions and to Recommendations, and on the steps taken by governments to

submit Conventions and Recommendations to their competent national authorities for action. The committee had before it a preliminary study of these reports which had been made by the Organisation's standing Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations.

In its report to the delegates the Conference Committee said that the most notable feature of its meetings had been the "scope and readiness" of the collaboration that governments had given to it. The report then went on to say that the difficulties that governments continue to encounter in discharging their constitutional obligations "should not obscure the evidence of continuing concrete progress which emerges from the statements of many governments". The report concluded by saying that the Committee had finished its work with a feeling of "sober optimism", which was shared by all its members.

RESOLUTIONS

Of the 12 resolutions approved during the Conference, ten related to items on the agenda and were adopted on the recommendation of various of the Conference's regular committees. The two others concerned questions not included in the agenda, and were approved on the proposal of a special Resolutions Committee.

One of these, based on a text submitted by the Ceylonese Government, pointed out that the economies of many underdeveloped countries were closely affected by the prices secured for their exports of primary products. It then went on to request the Director-General to convey to the Secretary-General of the United Nations the Conference's view that the solution of the problems involved in this situation is essential to the full and expeditious achievements of the I.L.O.'s aims, and its hope that the United Nations would actively pursue its efforts to promote their solution.

In the other special resolution, based on a proposal presented by the Polish Government, the Conference stressed the importance attached by the I.L.O. to protecting the working and living conditions of young workers. It urged the Governing Body to pay the closest attention to the further action that might be necessary in order to afford young workers opportunities for employment at adequate rates of remuneration and to develop facilities for their education, vocational guidance and training, and to consider initiating, as a guide to future action by the International Labour Organisation and in all countries, a study of measures to ensure for young workers the best possible conditions of employment and progress.

ADMINISTRATIVE QUESTIONS

The Budget for 1954

On the recommendation of its Finance Committee, composed of one representative of each government participating in the session, the Conference approved a budget of \$6,556,887 to finance the I.L.O.'s work in 1954. This amount exceeds the 1953 figure by \$87,802.

The budget was adopted by 183 votes to none, with one abstention. The Conference at the same time approved a scale of contributions allocating the total among the member States. This scale is identical with that for 1953.

In voting the budget the Conference made no changes in the proposals submitted to it by the Governing Body. Mr. Morse, presenting these proposals to the Finance Committee, pointed out that the suggested total expenditure was some \$300,000 less than the total he had originally proposed to the Governing Body. He expressed the hope, however, that the Committee would accept the budget as recommended. At the same time he emphasised that in the future increased resources would be needed by the Organisation if it was to avoid the stagnation which might occur to an old institution placing undue reliance on tradition rather than on a continual revaluation of its approach to its aims and purposes.

When the budget came before the full Conference for consideration, the Norwegian Government representative, Mr. K. J. Øksnes, told the delegates that his Government would have been ready to support the increased expenditure originally proposed by Mr. Morse. He pointed out that the net increase in expenditure proposed by the Finance Committee for 1954 was less than the increased outlays which the Organisation would incur automatically, and that therefore the proposed budget represented "a real reduction" as compared with 1953. This was a step backward, he said, and if the tendency continued it would have "the most far-reaching consequences on the important role which the I.L.O. has to play".

Mr. Alfred Roberts of the United Kingdom, speaking for the Worker delegates on their unanimous instructions, protested vigorously that the proposed budget was inadequate. The criterion, he declared, should be "what needs to be done, not what governments are prepared to pay". Millions of people, particularly in the underdeveloped parts of the world, looked with hope to what the Organisation could do to help them. "We are reaching a stage", he warned, "when we are going to have to tell these people that it is no use looking any longer with hope to the I.L.O. for assistance and

help in improving their standards because governments are only paying lip-service to the Organisation and are not prepared to find the necessary money for the work needing to be done".

Permission to Vote for a Member State in Arrears in the Payment of its Contribution

Another issue considered by the Finance Committee was a request from the Chinese delegation that it should be permitted to vote at the Conference in spite of the fact that China's contributions to the budget are in arrears. The constitutional regulation on this point declares that a State that is more than two years in arrears shall be permitted to vote only if the Conference, by a two-thirds majority, declares that it is satisfied that the country's failure to pay is due to conditions beyond its control.

The Finance Committee, by 25 votes to 6, with 13 abstentions, agreed that China fulfilled this condition, and therefore recommended that the delegation be permitted to vote. The Committee's recommendation was subsequently upheld by the Conference, after long discussion, by 115 votes to 29, with 47 delegates abstaining.

Delegates' Credentials

A further question involving the Chinese delegation was disposed of by the Conference without discussion when it took note of a report of the Credentials Committee, which found the credentials of the Chinese representatives to be in order. It had been argued by the Polish and Czechoslovak Government delegates at the outset of the session that the Chinese seat should rightfully be occupied by a delegation nominated by the Government of the Chinese People's Republic with its capital at Peking. The Polish and Czechoslovak objections were similar to objections made at the three previous sessions of the Conference.

Among the other objections considered by the Credentials Committee was one lodged by the Employers' group which alleged that Přemysl Tomášek, nominated by the Czechoslovak Government as an Employer delegate, could not properly be seated in that capacity since he was an official of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Heavy Engineering. In its report on this question the Committee said it had approached it in a limited way, and not as an issue of principle under the Constitution. As the result of its examination of the factors involved two of its three members—Mr. Øksnes of Norway, representing governments, and Arnold Sölvén of Sweden, nominated by the workers—had come to the conclusion that the objection should be rejected. They had found, the report explained,

"that the functions of Mr. Tomášek do, in fact, in the circumstances prevailing in Czechoslovakia, correspond to those of an employer". The third member of the Committee, Mr. Julio B. Pons of Uruguay, who represented the Employers, disagreed. It had been shown, he said, that Mr. Tomášek was a representative not of employers but solely of a government department. He proposed, therefore, that the Conference should refuse to seat Mr. Tomášek as the Czechoslovak Employer delegate. When the Committee's report came before the Conference, Mr. Pons' proposal was put to a vote and was rejected by 76 to 45, with 55 abstentions.

Objections were also presented against the seating of the Workers' delegates of France, Italy and Iran, and the Workers' delegate of Ireland and his technical adviser. The objections to the French, Italian and Irish delegates were found by the Credentials Committee to be irreceivable. The objection against the Iranian delegate was rejected.

CONCLUSION

When he brought the Conference to a close, Senator Ives characterised its accomplishments as "splendid". He had never had an opportunity, he said, "to see a group of people coming from so many parts of the world, knowing each other in some ways so little as we do know each other, or did know each other when this Conference started, working together so completely towards one end, that is, the welfare of humanity".

The delegates had learned, he declared, of the troubles, the problems and the difficulties with which the world was confronted. At the same time they had come to realise that if these problems were going to be solved "they must be solved by all of us—not some of us, all of us—standing shoulder to shoulder, not in disagreement but in accord, with the wonderful objective that they must be solved by our determined efforts".

The unity of purpose demonstrated by the delegates was also emphasised in their concluding speeches by Mr. Roberts, vice-president representing the Workers, and Mr. Charles Kuntschen of Switzerland, vice-president representing the Employers. In Mr. Roberts' view co-operation between the three groups had been better than at any time in recent years. Mr. Kuntschen said that all the statements made by the Employer delegates showed that employers wished "to co-operate loyally in the work of the I.L.O. even though they may not always be in a position to agree with the measures proposed". Co-operation between Employers', Workers' and Government delegates had been "a fact". Once again the tripartite character of the Organisation had proved its worth.

Industrial Relations in Great Britain

A Survey of Post-War Developments

by

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In the following survey of the relations between employers and employed in Great Britain since the Second World War the author notes the comparative freedom from industrial conflict not only during this period but also during the whole of the last twenty years, and compares this period with the "period of turbulent industrial relations that culminated in the General Strike of 1926". This change, Professor Kirkaldy emphasises, cannot be ascribed to any fundamental alteration in the system or methods of industrial relations, which have remained essentially the same. "The change must be sought in an altered attitude of mind among the parties to industrial relations."

The author describes the structure of trade unionism in Great Britain and the methods in use for the adjustment of wages—collective bargaining, industrial arbitration and statutory regulation. He also discusses the role of the State, the growth of representative organisations of employers and workers and the development of collaboration between them and of the practice of joint consultation. He finds the outstanding feature of all the arrangements for regulating industrial relations in Great Britain to be the reliance placed on voluntary methods rather than compulsion; the success of such arrangements, he points out, depends to a great extent on "the existence of strong and well-disciplined organisation on both sides of industry".

THE history of industrial relations in Great Britain during the post-war period can be easily summarised. In the first place the period is one of industrial peace or, perhaps more accurately, of absence of industrial conflict. Secondly it is a period that has seen little essential change in the traditional structure and voluntary basis of industrial relations. Thirdly it is a period

in which new ideas and a new sense of purpose have actuated the centre of the system but have not yet permeated to the periphery.

INDUSTRIAL PEACE

There is no completely satisfactory index of the state of industrial relations. Statistics of industrial disputes are far from perfect in themselves and may conceal more than they disclose. Strikes may have little connection with industrial causes, and their explanation may have to be sought in political circumstances. Absence of strikes does not necessarily indicate industrial peace. It is equally consistent with denial of elementary human rights, with preparation for industrial warfare, or with a sullen truce following exhausting hostilities. Nor is industrial peace the end and object of industrial relations, although it may be an essential prerequisite for their attainment.

Nevertheless, the figures of time lost through industrial disputes provide at least a starting point for the examination of the state of industrial relations. In only two of the last 20 years has the number of working days so lost in the United Kingdom exceeded 3 million. In 15 of these years it has been less than 2 million. Over the whole period it has averaged 1,850,000 working days per year, or substantially less than one working hour per worker per year. The loss of productive effort that such figures represent, directly or indirectly, is insignificant. They show, moreover, a remarkable stability in industrial relations, undisturbed by the most diverse conditions, during peace and war, during high and low levels of employment, during free collective bargaining and varying degrees of compulsory arbitration, when strikes were legal and when they were illegal, when labour was uncontrolled and when it was subject to direction.

The year in which the greatest number (3.7 million) of working days was lost was 1944, when strikes were illegal, arbitration compulsory, labour subject to direction, and unemployment practically non-existent. The year in which the next greatest number (3.4 million) of working days was lost was 1937, when each of these conditions was reversed. So, too, the year in which the smallest number (0.94 million) of working days was lost was 1940 and the year in which the next smallest number (0.96 million) was lost was 1934.

Such a lengthy period of calm and stability after the period of turbulent industrial relations that culminated in the General Strike of 1926 would seem to suggest some fundamental change in the system and methods of industrial relations. Strangely, how-

ever, the reverse is true. The basic principles on which the system is founded have altered but little. The change must be sought in an altered attitude of mind among the parties to industrial relations.

GROWTH OF REPRESENTATIVE ORGANISATIONS OF EMPLOYERS AND WORKERS

The basic conceptions of the system of industrial relations in Britain were firmly established by the end of the First World War and have altered in none of their essentials since. They rest on a wide degree of mutual recognition by representative employers' organisations and trade unions, which have built up a voluntary system of collective bargaining on an industry-wide basis. This system has been supplemented by the statutory regulation of wages in cases where the degree of organisation is insufficient to permit of collective bargaining. State intervention, in this as in other respects, has been designed to supplement and not to supersede collective bargaining.

The growth of collective bargaining has been stimulated by, and in its turn has stimulated, the growth of employers' organisations and trade unions. Collective bargaining has had its setbacks, notably in the distributive trades, where it has largely been replaced by statutory wage regulation; but here it was a recent growth, without firm foundations in well-established organisations of employers and workers. On the whole both collective bargaining and statutory regulation have continued to expand at the expense of the so-called unregulated occupations, which now cover merely a fringe of the working population engaged mainly in clerical, commercial and domestic employment.

The expansion of employers' organisations is difficult to assess, as there are no published figures of the number of workers employed by the members of employers' organisations to compare with the number of members of trade unions. All indications suggest, however, that their growth has been considerable. In heavy industry the coverage is known to be almost complete. In nationalised industries there is, of course, no place for employers' organisations; there is in each case but a single employer to negotiate with trade unions. In many of the lighter industries the ability of the employers' organisation to bargain collectively with the trade unions concerned and secure the observance of the agreed conditions suggests a high degree of organisation. On the whole it appears that in any industry there is a close correspondence between the extent of organisation of employers and that of workers. It is interesting to note—although in relation to the coverage of

the industries concerned it may not be of great significance—that certain companies of United States parentage which operate factories in Britain have not adhered to the appropriate British employers' organisation. They have preferred instead the method of their parent companies in the United States of dealing directly in regard to labour relations with the trade unions operating in their works. The structure of employers' organisations, unlike that of trade unions, is invariably by industry or some well-defined division of industry. The tendency—which developed during the First World War and has continued ever since—has been for the central employers' organisation for each industry to increase in importance and for district and sectional organisations to diminish relatively in importance where they have continued to exist. Certain industries still find it advantageous to deal with labour and commercial questions affecting the industry through a single central employers' organisation for the industry; others maintain two such organisations to handle these two types of question.

British employers also continue to reproduce at the centre for industry as a whole the dual nature of organisation that characterises many of the individual industries. The two main organisations dealing respectively at this level with commercial and labour questions—the Federation of British Industries and the British Employers' Confederation—have recently, after prolonged negotiations for a fusion, decided to maintain their separate identities. The British Employers' Confederation has found that in handling labour questions it is desirable to confine its membership to the central employers' organisation in each industry. Unlike the Federation of British Industries, it does not admit to membership individual companies; this difference of structure, although not an insuperable barrier, was certainly a hindrance to plans for amalgamating the two bodies. The British Employers' Confederation now comprises over 60 employers' organisations covering industries in which are employed some 70 per cent. of the industrial workers engaged in privately owned industry. In comparison with the pre-war position it would certainly appear that, apart from the defections resulting from the post-war nationalisation of certain industries, the representative capacity of the British Employers' Confederation has continued to increase.

On the trade union side the growth of organisation is easier to assess, since fairly complete published statistics are available. Total trade union membership has continued to grow until it has reached a figure of over 9 million (even after excluding members in overseas branches and some who continue on trade union membership rolls while serving temporarily in the armed forces). This trade union membership figure compares with a total of a little

over 22 million workers in civil employment, many of whom are engaged outside the field of what is normally regarded as trade union organisation. This great increase in trade union membership—it has approximately doubled in the last quarter-century—is no doubt the result of a large number of causes. Many of these are intangible and in their nature impossible of any accurate assessment, as, for example, the enhancement of trade union status and the successes of its policy. It appears clear from the whole of trade union history, however, that one of the most important conditions for a high level of trade union membership is a high level of employment such as has existed in the war and post-war years. Another factor that has had its influence, though it is particularly difficult of assessment, is the vigorous closed-shop policy pursued by the trade unions in certain industries.

The British trade unions have been rather sensitive about the use of the term "closed shop" to describe their policy. They have felt that the term has unpleasant associations and have preferred to talk of their policy as one of securing 100 per cent. organisation of workers into bona fide trade unions. The policy—by whatever name it is called—has had a considerable measure of success, particularly in some of the nationalised industries, where the trade unions concerned have been able to conclude agreements in respect of certain grades of workers that only trade union members will be employed. In private industry too, although open agreements to that effect are less common, there are many informal understandings which are no less effective. Various preferences to trade union members in regard to promotion and non-dismissal in case of redundancy are also commonly found in practice. Agreements by which the employer undertakes to collect trade union subscriptions and pay them over to the trade union are extremely rare in Britain, though such an arrangement has been made in one of the nationalised industries and has no doubt played its part in maintaining trade union membership in good standing.

TRADE UNION STRUCTURE

The expansion in trade union membership has been accompanied by a continuous decline in the number of trade unions and a corresponding increase in their average size. There are still, however, over 700 separate unions, and the average membership is therefore only about 13,500; but such is not by any means the typical trade union in the sense of the type of trade union to which the majority of workers belong. Two-thirds of all the trade unionists are concentrated into 17 trade unions, each with a membership of over 100,000.

Despite the great increase in the total membership and average size of trade unions there have been few fundamental changes in trade union structure. They still present a curious mixture of craft, industrial and general unions, which can be explained only in terms of their history. It is true that certain of the craft unions have opened their doors to the semi-skilled and even unskilled workers in the industries in which the bulk of their skilled members are employed. Thus, on paper at least, they have become wide enough to constitute industrial unions for the industries concerned. The general unions, however, have shown no inclination to surrender their traditional right to organise such workers. Nor, except in the nationalised coal industry, have the craft unions abated their claims to represent workers exercising the craft in other industries where the process workers are organised into industrial or general unions. The only industry where anything approaching complete trade unionism on an industrial basis has been achieved is the coalmining industry. There the general unions have little foothold, and the National Union of Mineworkers has been able, in agreement with the craft unions, to bring into its membership the maintenance craftsmen.

Such a mixed basis of trade union structure leads to considerable difficulties in effective collective bargaining but these have to some extent been alleviated by the formation of federations of the trade unions operating within particular industries. Some such federations have little function beyond that of providing the means for the central negotiation of wages with the employers' organisation in the industry concerned. Occasionally they perform wider functions and have assisted in regulating the difficulties of inter-union relationship involved in the existing system of trade union structure.

The question of trade union structure is one to which the Trades Union Congress has devoted repeated attention in recent years. The strength and the limitations of the Trades Union Congress as the central body of trade unionism in Britain are perhaps best demonstrated in its handling of this question—and that of trade union wages policy, to which reference is made later in this article. The Trades Union Congress remains completely unchallenged as the central trade union authority. No rival body based on different political, racial or religious affiliation or a different theory of trade union structure has been established, nor has there been any serious suggestion in recent years that such a body should be established. For many years there have been no notable defections from the membership of the Trades Union Congress either by resignation or expulsion. And so, of the total trade union strength of a little over 9 million, 8 million workers, organised in 183 trade

unions, are affiliated to the Trades Union Congress. Moreover, the Trades Union Congress maintains working arrangements with certain of the largest non-affiliated trade unions that organise national and local government employees.

Such unity is the more surprising when one recalls the diversity of size and structure among the individual trade unions brought together by the Congress and the close relations between that body and one of the two great political parties in the country. The explanation of this apparent paradox is perhaps simpler than appears at first sight. On the political side, conflict between socialism and communism, which has been a cause of division in certain other countries, has up to the present been of minor importance in Britain. In certain trade unions, and particularly at the local branch and workshop level, Communist activities have been of concern to the trade union movement. This is witnessed by the various appeals and warnings issued by the Trades Union Congress, especially to the local trades councils. These bodies consist, in the main, of local branches of affiliated trade unions and act as local agents in various matters for the Trades Union Congress. So far as other political parties are concerned, the Trades Union Congress has exhibited neither resentment at trade unionists being members of them nor unwillingness to co-operate with them on industrial matters when they have formed the government of the day.

This willingness to co-operate is, of course, an essential corollary of the demand long since conceded by all British governments for consultation with the Trades Union Congress on matters affecting workers in their industrial life and, indeed, in a much wider sphere. It can manifest itself in ability to differ from, as well as agree with, any political party, including the Labour Party. Although it has never really been in doubt in recent years, it was expressly reaffirmed by the Trades Union Congress in October 1951. After the General Election, in which a Conservative Government was returned, a statement was issued which read in part—

It is our long-standing practice to seek to work amicably with whatever government is in power and through consultation jointly with Ministers and with the other side of industry to find practical solutions to the social and economic problems facing this country. There is no doubt, therefore, of the attitude of the T.U.C. towards the new government.

In joint consultations and in all other activities it will be our constant aim and duty to ensure the steady progress and betterment of the general condition of Britain and of our people. We shall continue in that duty under a Conservative government.

Since the Conservative administrations of pre-war days the range of consultation between Ministers and both sides of industry has considerably increased and the machinery of joint consultation has enormously improved.

We expect of this Government that they will maintain to the full this practice of consultation.¹

The unity of the British trade union movement centrally, despite the structural diversity of its constituent trade unions, is explained by the fact that the Trades Union Congress has consistently refrained from any endeavour to impose uniformity of structure. The matter has been discussed on numerous occasions at the annual meetings of the Congress, particularly at the instance of certain unions which have taken the view that the number of unions should be reduced to a minimum and that the basis of organisation of trade union structure should be the industry. The Trades Union Congress, however, after extensive and prolonged examination of the question, has recognised that it is futile to attempt to impose a uniform structure. It has concluded that, while trade unions should strive for closer unity, and while schemes of amalgamation, federation and joint working should be developed wherever possible, basic alteration of trade union structure is impracticable. It is this very recognition of the limitation of its own authority as a voluntary body that has enabled the Trades Union Congress to enhance that authority.

WAGES POLICY

The central organisations of employers and workers dealing on behalf of industry as a whole with labour matters—the British Employers' Confederation and the Trades Union Congress—do not participate at any stage in the actual negotiation of wages and other conditions of employment. Both, however, have extended their activities in a consultative and advisory role without interfering with the autonomy of their constituent organisations. In the absence of public statements it is not possible to give any detailed information of the action taken in this regard on the employers' side, but the advice tendered by the Trades Union Congress to its members and the effect of that advice on their wage policy during and since the war are well known.

This advice has been closely connected with government intervention in the field of wage policy. It is important to bear in mind—and perhaps it is insufficiently realised—that at no time during the Second World War or later has there been any actual government control of wages. The inflationary dangers of uncontrolled wages in the peculiar circumstances of the period have of course been realised. The Government has preferred, however, to attempt to remove some of the inflationary causes, to issue

¹ *Report of the 84th Trades Union Congress, 1952, p. 300.*

such advice and guidance as seemed reasonable and politic, and, for the rest, to place the responsibility for wage policy fairly and squarely upon the parties themselves, i.e., employers and workers and their organisations.

The cost-of-living subsidies operated during the war, and to a less degree since, were an attempt to reduce the reasons for wage demands. The physical controls on the engagement and movement of labour were an attempt both to ensure that labour was available for vital war needs and to prevent the building up of wages by competing demands. The compulsory arbitration of the war years can in no way be regarded as a wage control. It operated only in the event of failure by the parties to agree on wage demands. The parties were never prohibited from making such agreements as they thought fit.

This policy of giving advice and guidance to the parties was closely associated at the outset with other government measures to counteract and control inflationary tendencies. In July 1941, a document entitled *Price Stabilisation and Industrial Policy*¹ was issued by the Government, in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer was quoted as stating, in relation to the policy of subsidising food prices, "I hope that we may thus create conditions which will enable the wages situation to be held about where it now is". This policy of advice and guidance, of appeals and exhortation, of avoiding any direct control of wages, continued throughout the war and into the post-war period. It is still, indeed, government policy today; but it may be regarded as having reached its culmination in the government White Paper of February 1948 on personal incomes, costs and prices.² That document, despite many qualifying phrases, can be summed up in its own words: "In present conditions, and until more goods and services are available for the home market, there is no justification for any *general* increase of individual money incomes". The policy of moderation and restraint thereby enunciated, in its general principles if not in all its details, obtained for a time at least the qualified support of the trade union movement through the Trades Union Congress; but that position could not be held indefinitely after the conclusion of the war. Here again we find an instance of the growing influence and authority of the Trades Union Congress and, at the same time, of the limitations that are a necessary part of the unwritten constitution of such a voluntary organisation if it is to survive as a united and representative body.

¹ Cmd. 6294 (London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1941).

² *Personal Incomes, Costs and Prices*, Cmd. 7321 (London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1948).

The mere fact that the Trades Union Congress was able to deal at all with such a question, which intimately affects the policy of its members, is almost a revolution in the extent of its authority over the last quarter-century. The undoubted restraining effect of its action on wage demands is a further demonstration of its increased influence. Nevertheless the policy caused strains and stresses within the trade union movement and afforded opportunities to disruptive and unofficial elements to defy trade union authority. These factors led in 1950 to the abandonment of declared support for wage stabilisation; since then there have been changes also in government policy affecting stabilisation of prices and profits, which was at the basis of Trades Union Congress support for wage stabilisation. Meanwhile the government policy of exhortation to restraint and moderation in wage demands has continued and has not been entirely ignored. An acceleration of the rate of wage increase was to be noted after the 1950 decision of the Trades Union Congress. There are indications, as the following figures show, that this has again slackened off as the cost of living has become more stable.

Date	Interim index of retail prices	Index of wage rates	Index of earnings
1947: June	100	100	100 ¹
October	101	102	105
1948: April	108	105	110
October	108	107	113
1949: April	109	108	115
October	112	109	118
1950: April	114	110	120
October	115	111	124
1951: April	121	118	132
October	129	122	136
1952: April	135	128	142
October	138	131	147
1953: April	141	135	152
August	140	136	—

¹ Apr. 1947.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

The actual negotiating machinery by which this process of wage adjustment has been achieved varies considerably in detail from industry to industry. So far as collective bargaining, however, is concerned, the typical pattern is that of national negotiations at irregular intervals between a single trade union or, more often, a group of unions operating in the industry concerned and a national organisation of the employers in the industry. These national

negotiations usually relate primarily to time rates of wages. The adjustment of the rates of workers on systems of payment by results follows in accordance with well-established procedure. The proportion of workers who are paid wholly or partly on systems of payment by results has shown only a moderate increase, although less is now heard than formerly of formal trade union opposition to such systems. Rather is it found that refusal to work systems of payment by results (and also overtime) is used from time to time as a weapon in the trade union armoury in preference to strikes. This new weapon was forged in wartime, when strikes were illegal, and was used to some extent without official trade union sanction. It has continued to have a certain measure of popularity since it can on occasion be as embarrassing to the employer as a strike and much less costly to the worker. This is especially so in the case of unofficial action which would not be sanctioned by trade unions and would therefore not entitle participants to strike pay.

The gap between women's rates of wages and those of men has continued to narrow in the process of collective bargaining. On the basis of June 1947 = 100, women's rates had risen to 140 in July 1953, while men's had risen to 134. In earnings, however, the position has remained more stable. Taking April 1947 = 100, women's earnings had risen to 143 in October 1952, while men's had risen to 145.

The results of collective bargaining have also narrowed the gap between the wage rates of skilled and unskilled labour. This is largely because of the practice commonly followed in wartime, and still continued in many cases, of applying flat-rate advances in wage rates to skilled and unskilled alike.¹

INDUSTRIAL ARBITRATION

One notable development in recent years is the increasing use of arbitration. The fear has frequently been expressed in the past that increased emphasis on arbitration for the settlement of wages and conditions of employment would undermine the system of collective bargaining. The fear is not without some justification. It was the British railway companies' experience of the effects on collective bargaining of the arbitration provisions in the Railways Act, 1921, that caused them to terminate these provisions in 1934. Elaborate arbitration provisions in the legislation of some relatively undeveloped countries can be seen at the present time to be hampering the growth of responsible collective bargaining.

¹ See the article by A. L. BOWLEY in *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 1952, p. 502.

The recent development of arbitration in Britain, however, does not seem to have been at the expense of genuine collective bargaining. It has developed to a considerable extent, both on a voluntary and a compulsory basis, to deal with cases which the parties have genuinely endeavoured—and failed—to settle by collective bargaining. In such cases it can be said to have replaced not collective bargaining but strikes and lockouts or, at least, the sullen acceptance of terms which one party or the other felt unsatisfactory but did not for the moment propose to take to the test of hostilities. It has also developed to some extent on a compulsory basis—mostly in cases affecting small unorganised employers—where there has been failure to negotiate with trade unions. In such cases it can be said to have developed again not at the expense of collective bargaining but of unregulated conditions of employment. It has also, for the greater part, developed as the result of pressure of public opinion. Industrial relations in Britain have always been peculiarly sensitive to public opinion. Both sides of industry sense the unwillingness of the public to tolerate industrial stoppages and the pressure of public opinion to submit unresolved differences to impartial settlement. Neither side, under present conditions, shows any desire to carry industrial disputes to the length of forfeiting public goodwill.

It is, of course, notable that the development of arbitration in this way in Britain has taken place almost entirely during a period of rising wage levels. Whether over the long term it can continue to develop without adversely affecting voluntary collective bargaining and what its chances of success are likely to be if there should be a period of falling wage levels are questions which can hardly be answered at the present time.

It is common to refer to the system introduced in Britain during the Second World War and continued with modifications up to the present time as compulsory arbitration, but this is really a misnomer. It is compulsory only in the sense that arbitration can be demanded at the instance of one of the parties without the agreement and consent of the other and that the award is binding on the parties until varied by subsequent agreement or award. In other words, arbitration takes place only failing agreement between the parties and only then if sought by one or other of the parties. There is not, and never was, any barrier to the parties deciding the matters in dispute for themselves by voluntary agreement. Indeed the Orders instituting the system and regulating the procedure have throughout emphasised that recourse may be had to the arbitration tribunal only after any voluntary negotiating machinery has been applied and its provisions have been exhausted.

The system of compulsory arbitration was introduced during the war with the agreement, and indeed at the request, of the British Employers' Confederation and the Trades Union Congress. It was decided, with the agreement of these two bodies, that strikes and lockouts must not be allowed to impede the war effort and must therefore be prohibited under legal penalties. It was accordingly necessary to provide means for determining unresolved industrial disputes. The means so provided took the form of the National Arbitration Tribunal, which was set up in July 1940, and to which at the request of either party the Minister of Labour was required to refer such disputes. The Tribunal was composed of "appointed" (i.e., independent) members and employers' and workers' representatives; but the latter were also independent in the sense that it was not the practice to select for the hearing of a dispute employers' or workers' representatives from the industry involved in the dispute. This system of compulsory arbitration continued throughout the war and until August 1951; during that period the National Arbitration Tribunal heard and determined over 2,000 cases.

Although during the period of the war 109 prosecutions involving over 6,000 individuals were instituted for illegal strikes, it would be a mistake to suppose that the infrequency of strikes during that period was wholly, or even largely, the result of their legal prohibition. The prohibition proved difficult of enforcement by means of penalties even during the war and impossible of enforcement after it. Moreover, the withdrawal of the prohibition in 1951 has not been followed by any noticeable increase in the frequency or severity of strikes. The few attempts after the end of the war to enforce the prohibition demonstrated that such provisions, far from preventing strikes, were likely to foment them and to undermine the position of trade unions that endeavoured to observe the law. In any event the prohibition had been based on consent and could no longer justifiably be maintained when, as happened in 1951, the Trades Union Congress requested that the matter should be reviewed.

The result was the replacement in August 1951 of the National Arbitration Tribunal by the Industrial Disputes Tribunal, a body similarly constituted and with much the same powers, but with this notable difference in the law—that strikes and lockouts are no longer illegal. The concept of compulsory arbitration is retained in that either party to a dispute (i.e., an employer, an employers' organisation, or a trade union) can demand arbitration on a dispute that cannot be settled by agreement, and that the award of the Tribunal becomes an implied term of the contract of employment until varied by subsequent agreement, award or negotiations.

The Industrial Disputes Tribunal had, in the first two years from its establishment to August 1953, heard and determined over 400 cases—about the same number of cases per year as were dealt with by the National Arbitration Tribunal. The importance of the individual cases dealt with by both tribunals has varied enormously. Some cases have related to the whole of an important industry; others have affected a few workmen in the employment of a single employer.

An incidental but not unimportant provision of the arbitration Orders is that which enabled first the National Arbitration Tribunal and now the Industrial Disputes Tribunal to extend the scope of collective agreements so as to require an employer in the trade or industry concerned to observe its terms even though he had not been a party to the collective agreement. This provision may have done something to strengthen collective bargaining and to prevent its decisions being undermined in industries that are notoriously difficult to organise either on the workers' or the employers' side or both. There are, however, cases where it has proved insufficient for this purpose and where, as for example in some sections of the distributive trades, the machinery of collective bargaining has broken down and has had to be replaced by statutory wages councils.

Alongside this development of compulsory arbitration the war and post-war period has also seen a significant growth of voluntary arbitration. Voluntary arbitration is almost entirely an offshoot of collective bargaining. There were in pre-war days a number of industries where it was the practice—either in virtue of agreements to that effect or by long-established custom—to submit to arbitration any matters on which the parties were unable to reach agreement by their own system of collective bargaining. Such arrangements were perhaps most frequent in industries where in fact they were infrequently used because the parties were able in most cases to settle their affairs without outside intervention, for example, in most sections of the iron and steel industry. The forum to which disputes were referred under such arrangements was frequently the Industrial Court, a permanent court of arbitration established under the Industrial Courts Act, 1919. Often, however, the parties to disputes made use of other facilities for industrial arbitration provided by the State under the Industrial Courts Act or under the earlier Conciliation Act of 1896.

Arrangements of this nature for voluntary arbitration continue to operate in many privately owned industries. They have been adopted also in some of the nationalised industries, e.g., electricity supply, and in government industrial establishments. Another type of voluntary arbitration is that which does not make use of

the facilities provided by the State; instead, the parties have themselves set up arbitration tribunals. Typical of such arrangements are the National Reference Tribunal for the Coal Mining Industry, set up in 1943 before nationalisation and continued since then by agreement between the National Coal Board and the National Union of Mineworkers; the Civil Service Arbitration Tribunal; and the arbitration powers of the Chairman of the National Conciliation Board for retail co-operative societies.

One distinction between such voluntary arrangements and the compulsory arbitration procedure before the Industrial Disputes Tribunal is that the awards in voluntary arbitration have no legally binding force. The issue, however, is one of little practical importance because voluntary arbitration takes place only if both parties have agreed to submit their dispute to arbitration; by agreeing to do so they can be assumed to intend to accept the award; in practice they invariably do so. Indeed the distinction between compulsory and voluntary arbitration has become of less importance since the legal prohibition of strikes and lockouts (which operated from 1940 to 1951) has been abolished. It is true that the awards of the Industrial Disputes Tribunal become part of the contract of employment of the workers concerned and are therefore legally enforceable. A strike or lockout, however, to compel the other side to accept different terms is no longer prohibited; but such strikes and lockouts do not in practice take place in cases that have been referred to the Industrial Disputes Tribunal. It may well be thought, therefore, that even so-called compulsory arbitration—apart from odd cases where it has been used by trade unions to bring to heel recalcitrant employers who have refused to negotiate with them—is in effect voluntary arbitration. The arbitration may be sought by one party only but the award is accepted and applied by both. The future of industrial arbitration—compulsory as well as voluntary—seems to depend on the continued willingness of the parties to accept arbitration as a method of settling otherwise unresolved disputes; the real test of that willingness—which there has been no occasion to apply in recent years—will come if there should again be a period of falling wage rates.

STATUTORY REGULATION OF WAGES

It has been shown that the growth of state intervention in the form of compulsory arbitration cannot be regarded as equivalent to government intervention as a means of implementing a government wages policy. Rather is it—like voluntary arbitration—a means provided by the State for supplementing collective bargaining, for supplying its deficiencies and remedying its failures. The same

can be said of the statutory regulation of wages by means of wages boards and councils, which now regulate the wages of more than 3 million workers. These bodies are no more subject to government direction and control, or even guidance, than are the parties to collective bargaining or the members of arbitration tribunals. It is true that their decisions, except in the case of the agricultural wages boards, can be referred back to them by the Minister for reconsideration, but he cannot himself amend them. They operate only in spheres where there is an insufficiency of organisation among employers and workers to enable them to settle wages and conditions of employment by collective bargaining.

The trade boards, which were formerly the main instrument of statutory regulation of wages, have been replaced by wages councils under the Wages Councils Act, 1945, but their constitution, procedure and functions have not been materially altered. They still consist of representatives of the employers and workers in relation to whom the council operates and of independent members, who endeavour to reconcile the views of the different interests on the council or, failing such reconciliation, decide between them. The proposals of a wages council, when confirmed by the Minister of Labour, are compulsorily enforced and must be observed as a minimum by all employers covered. However, workers are not prohibited, individually or collectively, from seeking to secure higher wages than those determined by the wages council.

In addition to the old trade boards, set up at various dates from 1909 onwards and now converted into wages councils, a number of new wages councils have been established since the war, all in the distributive and allied trades and mostly as the result of the breakdown of collective bargaining arrangements in these trades. A further considerable extension of statutory regulation of wages has also taken place as a result of the enactment of the Catering Wages Act in 1943. Wages boards have been set up under that Act, similar in constitution and functions to wages councils under the Wages Councils Act, to deal with the various sections of the catering industry, such as hotels, restaurants, cafés and works canteens.

The field in which statutory wage regulation operates also includes agriculture, where two wages boards, one for England and Wales and one for Scotland, exercise similar functions. The powers of these two national agricultural wages boards were strengthened during the war by transferring to them most of the wage fixing functions that had previously been exercised by county and district agricultural wages committees. That position has been confirmed and made permanent by post-war legislation. An interesting distinction between statutory wage fixing in agriculture and in other sectors of the economy is that the wages fixed by the

agricultural wages boards do not require ministerial approval before becoming operative and enforceable.

This system of statutory wage fixing embodied in the Wages Councils Acts, the Catering Wages Act and the Agricultural Wages Acts has operated on the whole without undue controversy and with fairly general acceptance. With few exceptions it is supported by the employers and workers in the spheres in which it operates. During the parliamentary debates on the various legislative measures dealing with the subject the hope was generally expressed that the system would lead to a growth of organisation among employers and workers and so enable the system to be superseded by collective bargaining. This hope cannot be said to have been realised in practice. In the whole history of statutory wage regulation there have in fact been only two instances where this has been achieved—in the furniture manufacturing industry and the tobacco industry, where collective bargaining machinery has developed to such an extent as to permit in the post-war period the disbanding of the wages councils that previously existed.

Certain sections of the catering industry provide an exception to the general rule that the system of statutory regulation of wages works smoothly. There has in fact been considerable controversy in these sections regarding the suitability of the system and its effect on the economy of the industry and on the services it can render to the public. The legislative history of the statutory regulation of wages in Britain throws an interesting light on this controversy. The modern system of statutory regulation of wages began with the Trade Boards Act of 1909. Since then Parliament has passed numerous Acts on the subject. On only two occasions has opposition to these legislative measures been carried to the length of a vote on the second reading in the House of Commons—the stage in parliamentary procedure where approval of principle is customarily expressed. One of these occasions concerned the Agricultural Wages Bill of 1924, and the opposition on that occasion was not to the principle of statutory regulation but on the question of whether or not statutory regulation should be decentralised. The other occasion concerned the Catering Wages Bill of 1943. The Bill was introduced by the wartime Coalition Government, which in effect represented all parties, and yet a motion for the rejection of the Bill mustered as many as 116 votes against 283.

The reflection suggested by an examination of these events is that the statutory regulation of wages, although, like compulsory arbitration, mandatory in form, depends for successful operation on consent in the broadest sense. If the system is acceptable to the parties and to the community, it will work with reasonable chances of success whether it is mandatory or voluntary in form. If it is

not so accepted, it will operate under severe handicaps; it will lack the spirit to make it work. Co-operative effort is necessary for success in industrial relations; co-operation must be given; it cannot be imposed even by a legislative majority in a democratically elected Parliament.

STATE INTERVENTION

The system of regulating wages and conditions of employment in Britain outlined above is based on the maximum of liberty to the parties and the minimum of state intervention. Indeed liberty is carried so far that no statutory obligation is imposed to recognise or negotiate with trade unions. This is a liberty that is seldom exercised, but its existence presents a striking contrast with many other countries. The system affords the parties, if sufficiently organised to undertake the task, complete liberty to settle for themselves by collective bargaining the wages and conditions of employment in their industry. The State offers the parties facilities to enforce their agreements against unorganised or recalcitrant minorities within the industry. The State further offers the parties facilities for impartial settlement by arbitration of questions that they cannot themselves resolve. Only when the parties are not sufficiently organised to undertake the task of wage fixing does the State intervene by way of statutory regulation of wages, and such intervention is frequently at the request of the parties themselves.

In these instances of state intervention two things must be emphasised. First, there are no barriers to well-organised employers and workers settling their own affairs; the State intervenes as it were reluctantly and because of the failure or insufficiency of voluntary arrangements. Secondly, state intervention must be clearly distinguished from government intervention. Wages boards and councils and arbitration authorities are no more subject to government control and direction than are the parties themselves. The legislation and Orders under which these bodies are set up gives no indication even as to the principles or considerations upon which their determinations are to be based. They receive no more guidance as to government views on wage policy than do the parties to collective bargaining and are in no way more bound by these views.

In these circumstances the oft repeated and rarely satisfactorily answered question arises—on what considerations do arbitrators and statutory wage fixing authorities reach their decisions? The difficulties of supplying an answer in Britain may seem to be increased by the consistent practice of these bodies,

at least in recent years, not to state reasons for their decisions. It is perhaps just as futile to attempt any general answer to such a question as it is to attempt to assess the fundamental considerations that determine the results of collective bargaining. The most, indeed, that can be said is that the decisions are based on a consideration and balancing of all the relevant factors and arguments. Which factors are relevant and what weight should be given to each of them are matters that will vary from time to time and no doubt also with the adjudicator. It is only possible to suggest that in recent years perhaps more weight has been given to arguments based on advances in the cost of living and comparisons with wages paid to other grades of labour and in other industries than to arguments based on ability to pay. Such a tendency is perhaps natural at a time of high levels of employment but unless exercised with reason and moderation can accentuate the inflationary tendencies in such a period.

COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE CENTRAL ORGANISATIONS OF EMPLOYERS AND WORKERS

Joint machinery for dealing with labour questions is not now confined to matters of domestic concern to the individual industries. Wider questions of general labour policy, legislation and administration were not, however, before the outbreak of the Second World War, the subject of regular joint consideration between the British Employers' Confederation and the Trades Union Congress. Official arrangements for collaboration between these bodies had been slow to develop. Their constituent organisations had been extremely reluctant to entrust them with any powers that might diminish their own freedom of action. The "Mond-Turner" Conferences of 1928, between a group of employers acting in their individual capacity and representatives of the Trades Union Congress, proposed at that time the establishment of a National Industrial Council with wide terms of reference, to be composed of representatives of the Trades Union Congress, the Federation of British Industries and the British Employers' Confederation. The Trades Union Congress was prepared to accept these proposals; the employers' organisations were not. The substituted arrangement agreed on for *ad hoc* discussions between the Trades Union Congress and the two national organisations of employers on matters of common interest had little result and had fallen into desuetude before the outbreak of war.

Although it may seem that an opportunity was thus missed of an advance in industrial co-operation at a critical level, it is doubtful whether the time was yet ripe and whether the leaders

on the two sides of industry, who at that time were genuinely working for a new spirit in industry, would have been able to keep the support of their followers in the detailed collaboration that they contemplated for the work of the proposed National Industrial Council. The 1928 overtures were probably premature; but they proved a turning point in industrial relations and were followed by more intimate and personal contacts between leaders on both sides of industry at the national level. There was thus built up mutual respect and understanding on which wartime arrangements for collaboration could be established on a surer foundation.

The imminence of war produced a new urgency for arrangements for co-operation at the centre between employers and workers. Moreover it enabled those on both sides of industry who were convinced that such arrangements were long overdue to carry their point. The British Employers' Confederation in July 1939 proposed that, in the event of war, a national committee of employers' and workers' representatives should be established under government chairmanship to ensure the most effective use of labour. After joint consultations with the British Employers' Confederation and the Trades Union Congress the Minister of Labour set up in October 1939 the National Joint Advisory Council, consisting of representatives of these two bodies, with himself as chairman, to advise the Government on all matters in which employers and workers had a common interest. That body and its executive committee, known as the Joint Consultative Committee, were reconstituted in 1946 and now include also representatives of the nationalised industries. Although the purpose of these bodies is to advise the Minister of Labour and to provide opportunity for consultation between the Government and industry, they do more. They ensure a close, regular and official contact at the centre between the two sides of industry that was previously lacking.

Consultation and collaboration at this level have not, however, been confined to labour questions. Once again major developments arose out of war conditions and, in this case too, involved not only the central organisations of employers and workers but also the Government. The National Production Advisory Council on Industry, and the regional boards for industry, which work in conjunction with it, are derived from wartime bodies set up to advise the Government on production problems and measures for ensuring the maximum use of industrial resources. They consist of representatives of the government department concerned with production problems, of the central employers' organisations, including the Federation of British Industries and the British Employers' Confederation, of the Trades Union Congress, and of

the nationalised industries. Thus at the centre the pattern in regard to arrangements for consultation and collaboration on production matters presents a certain parallel with that relating to strictly labour questions.

Further evidence of co-operative effort at the centre for higher productivity has been seen in the activities of the Anglo-American Council on Productivity. This body was responsible for the visits of 47 industry teams and 19 specialist teams and expert groups from Britain to the United States to study American methods. The British side of the Council was composed of representatives of the Trades Union Congress, the British Employers' Confederation and the Federation of British Industries. These bodies made substantial contributions from their own funds to the cost of the activities and programme of the Council. Much of its revenue, however, was derived from government grants charged against the counterpart fund, i.e., the sterling receipts in payment for goods supplied under Marshall Aid. The period of Marshall Aid as envisaged for the Anglo-American Council's activities ended in June 1952, and the Council has now been wound up.

A new British Productivity Council has, however, been established, which can be regarded as the successor of the British side of the Anglo-American Council. It too has been extended to include representatives of the nationalised industries. Its stated object is "to stimulate the improvement of productivity in every sector of the national economy". It has formulated a programme largely consisting of local and regional activities for that purpose. The success of its efforts will have to be judged in the future. In the meantime it provides a further interesting example of the will of the central organisations representing both sides of industry as a whole to co-operate nationally for greater efficiency and higher productivity, without regard to doctrinaire considerations of the form of ownership and control of industry.

JOINT CONSULTATION

At the industry and factory level, however, the procedure for dealing jointly with production questions falls at the moment far short of the complete machinery that has been developed at these higher levels for the joint handling of labour questions. Apart from the nationalised industries there are few instances of effective arrangements formally established at this industry level for joint consultation on questions of production, efficiency and development. The absence of such formal arrangements does not, of course, mean that no consultation takes place at this level. It is well known that there are many and close contacts on a personal basis between

prominent trade union leaders and leaders of industry, in which the plans, policy and prospects of industry are discussed. Indeed, it is possible that even on the trade union side such informal and unofficial methods are preferred in certain cases to more formal arrangements. This is particularly so where a trade union may wish to be consulted and informed but prefers not to be committed on managerial decisions. The method also avoids inter-union difficulties as, for example, where an industrial union operating in an industry desires to be consulted but does not wish to share the right of consultation with other unions that have a foothold in the industry.

Formal consultation at this level was contemplated by the Industrial Organisation and Development Act, 1947, which provided for the establishment on a statutory and compulsory basis of development councils for individual industries. Proposals for setting up such councils were in many cases strenuously opposed on the employers' side. Some of those that were established have been abandoned; in a few other cases voluntary bodies have been set up instead, which include employers' and workers' representatives but not the independent members who were an essential feature of the constitution of the development councils contemplated by the Act. However desirable co-operation in industry may be, it has been concluded that co-operation cannot be secured by compulsion. The Industrial Organisation and Development Act is now to all intents and purposes a dead letter; here again compulsion in industrial relations has been rejected.

At the factory and workshop level general interest in joint consultation on production matters, which grew to such heights during the war, has since languished. The reasons for the comparative failure of joint consultation are complex and the more difficult to understand in view of the increasing interest of employers' organisations and trade unions themselves in production and efficiency questions. At the factory level it is the practice to blame apathy where active opposition cannot be detected; but apathy is a symptom rather than a cause. Employer opposition at the factory level can in some cases be traced to lack of conviction of any real benefit to be gained. Trade union enthusiasm has in some cases waned because the arrangements, based as they must be on industry lines, have cut across trade union organisation based on a more complex structure. There have been cases, too, where trade unions have been concerned at the tendency of the workers' representatives elected at factory level to pursue lines to the left—or even occasionally to the right—of official trade union policy. Possibly, however, the greatest barrier to the real success of joint consultation on production and efficiency

questions has been the failure of the new conceptions that actuate industrial relations at the centre to permeate to the workshop level. Misapprehensions still persist in the workshop as to the fundamental purpose of arrangements for joint consultation. Too often it has been regarded by workers as a means of fobbing off claims for a new system of ownership and control of industry; too often it has been regarded by employers as a first step towards the realisation of such claims; too rarely has it been accepted by both sides as a means of securing the maximum efficiency and productivity of industry under private or public ownership and control. The concept of "workers' control" that lies behind these misunderstandings is no longer the official policy of the trade union movement, if it ever was. It has recently been condemned by the Trades Union Congress General Council as a policy coming from a minority of trade unionists with "out-of-date ideas about industrial relations". Nevertheless, it is remarkable how persistent it has been with that minority and what a hindrance it has proved to a proper approach to questions of joint consultation at the factory level. But at this level, no less than at the industry level, it would be a mistake to conclude that workers or their representatives are not consulted. There are some outstandingly successful committees of various kinds and with various terms of reference engaged in joint consultation at the factory level. There are, too, as at the industry level, many instances of close contact on a personal and unofficial basis between management and trade union officials in which the plans and policy of industry are fully discussed. There are cases here, too, where such methods are preferred by both sides to more formal arrangements. The guarantee that the British worker will be consulted about the plans of management depends not on any legal right but on the strength of his trade union organisation and on the close personal contacts that have been established, in practice rather than on paper, between management and trade union officials. The British worker sees little reason to worry himself about the plans of management when he pays a trade union official to safeguard his rights and interests. Such an attitude may remove some of the spontaneity and enthusiasm of joint consultation as a means of ensuring abundant production. It accounts, however, for the absence of any serious demand in Britain for compulsory works councils or other imposed forms of joint consultation.

The increasing interest, within their own organisations, of employers and workers in production and efficiency questions is evidenced in various ways. Much larger funds are now being devoted to industrial research associations; increased interest is

shown in inquiries into the human problems of industry; trade unions and the Trades Union Congress itself are developing productivity departments. Trade union activities in this field can be regarded as having both an educative and a protective purpose. They are directed to educating their officials and members to the need for higher productivity and the benefits that will result from it and are also intended to ensure that their officials will have sufficient understanding of the principles of efficiency methods to be able to protect their members from exploitation under them. Assurances on the latter point are, of course, essential to the success of any campaign for improved efficiency. It is interesting to find that realisation of this has caused at least one large company to invite trade union representatives to attend the training courses in efficiency methods that it has instituted for its own executives.

VOLUNTARY METHODS

The outstanding feature of all the arrangements for regulating industrial relations in Britain is the extent to which reliance has been placed on voluntary methods and the slender degree to which compulsion has entered into the system. The success of such a system depends to a great extent on the existence of strong and well-disciplined organisation on both sides of industry. It depends even more on an abundance of good will, a common philosophy as to the purpose of industry and a genuine desire to make the system work. The individual employer—particularly in matters impinging on managerial functions—is inclined to a more hesitant point of view about sharing his functions than those on whom the responsibility for management rests less directly. The trade union leader has been a leader in this at least—that he has been quicker to adjust himself to a new conception of trade unionism than has the rank and file. The fault has perhaps been one of a mistaken conception in the past of trade union education; it has dwelt too much on past grievances and too little on future hopes. Memories of past struggles of the trade union movement for the right to exist and be recognised have more emotional and organisational appeal than exhortations for co-operative effort towards an efficient and expanding industry.

The events of 1926 and their aftermath did, however, as already suggested, provide a turning point in industrial relations in Britain—not in the system and methods but in the attitude in which they were operated. Disillusionment among the workers over the policy which had led them into the General Strike and its failure to achieve any tangible results afforded the opportunity to some of the more far-sighted trade union leaders to denounce revolutionary,

obstructive and non-co-operative trade union aims and to proclaim a policy of active participation in—

... a concerted effort to raise industry to its highest efficiency by developing the most scientific methods of production, eliminating waste and harmful restrictions, removing causes of friction and avoidable conflict, and promoting the largest possible output so as to provide a rising standard of life and continuously improving conditions of employment.¹

The ideals thus proclaimed did not revolutionise industrial relations overnight. There were many barriers of hostility, timidity and suspicion to be overcome and many of them indeed still remain. The absence of strikes in the years immediately after 1926 may have resulted as much from disillusion and exhaustion as from any new spirit in industrial relations. But freedom from industrial hostilities provided a period in which the seed thus sown could germinate. Strikes are like wars: each contains in itself the causes of the next. Both are habit-forming and contagious, and the only way to be rid of either is to have a long period of peace in which the habit can be forgotten and the disease eradicated. The industrial and economic climate was for a time after the debacle of the 1926 General Strike unfavourable to strikes. The events of that year and the period that led up to them produced a revulsion of feeling which was strong enough to reverse a tendency and afford a breathing space. The opportunity thereby granted was grasped by a number of men of good will, not for spectacular developments but for the building up of personal relations between the leaders of the two sides of industry.

The spirit of tolerance and forbearance thus generated in high places was not always understood or appreciated at lower levels of either side of industry but it was sufficient to carry the industrial truce over to the outbreak of international war, when patriotic motives prevented strikes and indeed accepted their legal prohibition. A period of over a quarter of a century of almost complete absence of strikes has afforded Britain a unique opportunity of demonstrating to itself and to the world that the method of the strike is outdated and outmoded. It will be able to do so, however, only if it can build up for itself as effective means for the promotion of efficiency and productivity as it has for the settlement of wages and conditions of labour and if the new spirit at the centre of industry can manifest itself effectively in the workshop. Industrial disputes are unlikely to be permanently eradicated unless industry can afford continuing material advancement to those engaged in it. Only an expanding, efficient and productive industry can offer such a prospect.

¹ W. M. (now Lord) CITRINE, General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress: article in *Manchester Guardian*, Supplement, 30 Nov. 1927.

Tribal Labour and Social Legislation in French Tropical Africa

by

Sister MARIE-ANDRÉ DU SACRÉ COEUR

In spite of the development of wage-paid employment in French tropical Africa, systems of tribal labour organisation, governed by ancient family and clan traditions, still survive over large territories. A knowledge of such systems, which is essential for the application of social legislation if such legislation is to have the beneficial effects intended, can only be acquired by close and prolonged contact with the African people themselves. The author of the following article, who has spent many years in French tropical Africa studying problems concerning women and the family, here discusses the effects that new economic and social developments may have on the family and women's work, particularly in regions where polygamy is still practised.

ONE of the initial results of the recent promulgation of the Labour Code for French Overseas Territories¹ was somewhat unexpected: the Mossi tribal chiefs in the Upper Volta availed themselves of the provisions of the new Code to realise a long cherished wish, the establishment of a "Union of Traditional Chiefs", to promote the vital interests "of the traditional chieftaincies and the populations administered by them".

The choice of one of the most modern forms of occupational association by representatives of an ancient feudal system whose structure has remained unchanged for eight centuries occasioned some surprise, but would it not be more appropriate to admire their genius for adaptation? The most intelligent and observant of the chiefs are aware of the upheaval in the traditional forms of society brought about by the intrusion of modern economic

¹ Two articles on the Code, "An Answer to an Urgent Problem", by Pierre RIVIÈRE, and "Some Economic Considerations", by Paul DEVINAT, appeared in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXVIII, No. 3, Sep. 1953.

patterns and foresee that such societies are doomed to collapse beneath the weight of an alien economy unless they are able to change and adapt themselves to modern ways of life. The Mossi chiefs, themselves aware of the danger, believe that under the tribal system which makes them "protectors of their subjects" they are responsible for leading them to a better future. They therefore plan, by developing the system of tribal administration, to change a number of customs, both in family life and in tribal work organisation, that have become out of date.

The tribal organisation of labour has not in fact remained completely unchanged; new crops and modern techniques are altering what might be called the material aspect of African life; its human and social aspects are also changing under the influence of external causes. While this latter development is accompanied in some areas by greater respect for the individual and essential human rights, there are others where the old tribal organisation is giving way to a system under which the young people are forming a proletariat, particularly in rural areas—a retrograde development which is storing up difficult problems for the future.

Some practical examples will throw more light on the evolution or decay of century-old working habits in French tropical Africa.

In the past African labour was predominantly agricultural. Food crops were tended by the clan or a smaller family group, the men doing the heavy work and the women being responsible for sowing¹, weeding and harvesting. In the case of cereals the harvesting is done in common, but root crops are left in the fields for the women to fetch, since they are needed by the family.

The clans are now frequently subdivided into smaller economic units and a single monogamous or bigamous household may quite often do all the work needed to provide for its own subsistence. In that case the husband and wife, assisted by the children, work together; the clan is called in to help mostly in the case of death or family disaster, though its assistance continues to be called on by all for larger undertakings such as the repair of huts.

The distribution of labour is different in polygamous families: each wife is allotted a piece of land to tend either alone or with the help of her children if they are old enough, or of an unmarried man belonging to the family. According to local custom the latter is fed either by the woman he helps in her agricultural work or,

¹ In some tropical African tribes the sowing is done exclusively by the women, as it is believed that they ensure fertility. This belief is, however, not universal to all tribes, and in the savanna I have often seen the sowing being done by male Africans, either alone or with their wives.

together with the other unmarried men in the clan, from a common kitchen to which all the women contribute a share.

The wives also prepare their husband's meals in accordance with varying tribal customs, either every evening or in turn. In the latter case the wife sleeps with her husband the night following the cooking day.

The unmarried men working for the chief of the clan expect him to find them a wife, a paternal duty which was formerly much easier for the chief than it is today and was more faithfully carried out. In those days a number of tribes followed a system of exchanging women in marriage, and when goods or even a customary money payment¹ was demanded it was no more than a reasonably well-off family could normally afford.

In addition to agricultural work, handicrafts, carried on with rather rudimentary techniques, satisfied local needs. In the areas where cotton was grown, the women spun and the men wove and made clothes during the dry season. Shoemakers and saddlers did leather work, and smiths made agricultural tools and weapons for the hunters and warriors. All were, however, first and foremost farmers; even the chiefs got their living from their lands, and trade was confined mostly to barter, though there existed heavy and cumbersome native currencies (cowrie shells or iron bars).

Especially among the peoples with marked social divisions the important chiefs had—and still have—a court resembling in some respects the mediaeval courts of ancient Europe and requiring a similar large household. This was in the past made up partly of slaves, but free men also entered the service of the chief and held the most important posts, as ministers, bodyguards, stewards, etc. People who wanted their sons to be well brought up and to learn court customs sent them to serve as pages.

Cooking and household work were done by the women under the direction of the chief's first wife, who had undisputed authority over all the women living at court.

The women were divided into several categories. The chief's young and favourite wives were temporarily absolved from the more unpleasant tasks but took them up later when they were superseded by others. They then joined the rest of the chief's wives and, like the wives of commoners, carried out the agri-

¹ This money payment has been wrongly called a dowry by Europeans. The dowry in tropical Africa consists of goods, animals or a sum of money which the husband must present to the head of his future wife's family in order to be granted the right to marry her. On the origins of this institution (both in Africa and ancient Europe), its local significance, and the abuses to which it has given rise in some areas, see the author's recent work: *La Condition Humaine en Afrique Noire* (Grasset, Paris, 1953).

cultural work necessary for their own and their children's subsistence. The only advantage they enjoyed as the wife of a chief was the possibility of gathering with impunity wood, fruit and vegetables in the fields of private persons; the latter were unable to protest as the produce was for the chief.

The widows of the chief's predecessor or predecessors not passed on either to himself or some other relative of the deceased are still regarded as wives of the chief, and remain at court with their children. The oldest are often responsible for a group of girls, whom they supervise, train and make use of as helpers in farm and household work, until the chief takes them as wives or gives them in marriage.

The young men (pages and others) in the chief's service are provided with board and lodging and after seven, eight or ten years of loyal service are given one of the girls belonging to him, according to ancient custom, but without any right of choice. After marriage the young husband may continue to work for the chief and if so he continues to be fed, housed and clothed at the chief's expense; he may on the other hand return to his home village if he prefers and farm on his own account. In either case his wife no longer needs to work for the chief, but the eldest daughter will become the chief's property and sometimes one of the sons will have to serve him as did his father.

Such in general was the organisation of tribal labour in French tropical Africa, with some local variation. Even in the case of work on the chief's account the organisation always kept its family character, which was strengthened by tribal unity, the insecurity prevailing outside the tribal frontiers and the concern of the majority of chiefs to govern their subjects fairly.

A NEW CONCEPTION OF LABOUR

This rudimentary economic system, limited to the satisfaction of essential needs and totally devoid of profit motive, was upset by the arrival of Europeans.

A new conception of labour was introduced; government and commercial employees, plantation workers and servants of Europeans experienced individual paid employment and, while some of them reached financial heights which far exceeded the traditional wealth of the tribal chiefs, many lost their tribal security and were barely able to meet essential needs out of their inadequate wages.

Labour had to be found for large-scale operations needed in the interests of the community. Workers were recruited on the

spot through the chiefs. If the local population was insufficient or the workers ran away others were brought from further afield. Men and women were impressed in the villages to build and repair roads, to build railways and ports and to cook for schoolchildren, soldiers and workers. Their conditions of life and work varied according to locality and the attitude of the authorities. There were abuses, and some chiefs responsible for recruiting labour for the Government saw nothing wrong in keeping back some of it to work on their own account.

I have known chiefs who invented orders from the District Commissioner to impress hundreds of men and women for work on their own land. It may be added that such chiefs were not local and had been put by the Government over illiterate peasants whose social organisation had remained at the clan level.

Other chiefs, when ordered by the District Commissioner to provide 20 or 50 workers, summoned three times as many and then allowed them to contract out for a money consideration. The more wealthy did so and went home and the others went to work for the Commissioner or the chief. Poor farmers in the French Sudan often lacked sufficient time to cultivate their own land; half the fields of some that I have known remained untended, and if the year was at all bad they were forced to give a daughter in security on a loan with which to pay their taxes.¹ In prosperous areas the Europeans introduced new crops such as groundnuts, coffee and cocoa. The Africans gradually became interested in such crops and Senegalese farmers began to grow groundnuts for sale as they came to realise the value of money. To enlarge the area under cultivation they brought in seasonal workers from the French Sudan, called *navétanes*, who were employed under a traditional system of four days' labour a week in exchange for food and shelter. The other days of the week the *navétanes* worked on their own account and took back precious seeds with them when they returned home.

Groundnuts are a savanna crop; coffee and cocoa need more rain and do well only in the forest belt. Chiefs and local dignitaries acquired plants and, in areas where the chieftaincy system remained powerful, expanded their plantations to the maximum by making use of traditional tribal labour plus impressed labourers—in imitation of the white men—and women bought to work under

¹ Borrowing on security is a common practice in tropical Africa. Custom allows the borrower to pawn one of his children to the creditor; the work done by the child is paid for by its keep and does not serve to reduce the debt. Many Sudanese farmers who pawned their daughters during the famine years—1934-35 among others—were never able to redeem the girls, who became the wives of the creditors; the original loan was then regarded as taking the place of a dowry.

the guise of marriage. One famous case will provide an example of how this very lucrative kind of organisation worked.

Those who lived in the Cameroons before the war will remember one great chief who could always provide the Government with truck-loads of foodstuffs to feed workers, prisoners, etc. This intelligent, energetic and enterprising polygamous chief had remarkable organising ability and had introduced the new crops on his lands; his wives worked on his cocoa and coffee plantations as well as on the normal food crops.

As paid female labour did not then exist he had only one legal means of procuring it, which was to increase the number of his wives. Every year, after paying their families a dowry, he married a certain number of girls in the registry office and sent them to work on his plantations in groups of 15 to 20 under the authority of a woman boss who treated them harshly and watched them closely day and night, for impressed male labourers also worked on the plantations, and the chief brooked no intimacy between them and his wives; the slightest lapse was punished as severely as adultery. It may be wondered when and how often each of the 850 women he married really played the part of a wife. Apart from a few favourites they were wives in name only except on their wedding day; after that they joined the human herd of female workers, with their husband's initials indelibly tattooed on their arms. Those who tried to escape had the same initials tattooed on their cheeks.

The output of these women was considerable; there were 850 officially registered as married, but when in 1939 the chief died 1,047 were actually counted. Many of these fled, and only 585 widows stayed for the funeral. As they no longer had to fear punishment by their master they took whatever they could get, either for themselves or to sell, from the food plots, the produce of which is traditionally the property of the wives who worked them.

The cocoa and coffee plantations, the widows and some 100 children still under age were divided up among the chief's 36 heirs. The eldest son became chief and succeeded to the largest plantations and 80 widows. The other sons inherited between 15 and 30 widows, who continued to work on the plantations but were entitled to return to their families or remarry if they repaid the dowry that had originally been paid for them to their families. Many who had been childless up to then did so and the following year had given birth to more than 200 children.

This example was naturally copied by the other polygamous chiefs. According to their wealth, organising ability and business acumen they gradually increased the number of their wives, who were in fact female workers. Many had 50, 80, 100 or more.

While the chiefs had the necessary authority to impress male workers or exact a certain number of days' work from those who came for a palaver or were suspected of a misdemeanour, the dignitaries had no such powers of coercion, and as they were not prepared to pay their labourers they turned a blind eye to what went on between them and their various wives.

EFFECTS OF THE ABOLITION OF COMPULSORY LABOUR

The abolition of compulsory labour in 1946 was a great blessing for workers in French tropical Africa. The news spread like wildfire. "No more compulsion" became a password, but it was thought to apply only to labour for the white man, and several chiefs kept on for their own purposes the workers that they had previously supplied to the Government.

One whom I know well in Guinea assembled the men who were repairing the road in his district and announced, "Now that you do not have to work for the Commissioner any more you will come and work for me." He set them to work on the construction of a large shop, which he then let to a Syrian. It took time for it to sink in that not even the chiefs might impress labour on their own behalf any more.

Export crops continued to be grown, however, as in the past, and even expanded. There is practically no manpower problem as regards groundnuts: in Senegal there are the *navétanes* who are paid in cash or work part-time for the employer and part-time on their own account, and in the French Sudan and the Upper Volta groundnuts are included in the family crops.

In the forest areas part-time work, cash wages or share-cropping also exist where there has been sufficiently long contact with Europeans to make the idea of individual wages familiar; this is the case in the Ivory Coast and Dahomey, for example.

In other areas, such as Upper Guinea, the Gaboon and the south Cameroons, traditional forms of labour have survived to a much greater extent, and the rise in wages consequent on the Second World War is an incentive to many farmers to make exclusive use of this traditional labour force. As an example let us see what usually happens in the south Cameroons.

Coffee and cocoa have here become family crops, and the monogamous inhabitants continue to grow them as before the war with the help of the wife and children. The work is fairly shared and if need be, for clearing and harvesting, they take on one or more labourers paid at a fixed rate. A correspondent writes from the Cameroons that the feeling of many Christians now is "I will not over-work my wife lest she grow old before

her time", and adds: "The monogamous husband seeks to raise and improve his wife's standard of life, and after the sale of the cocoa crop will buy her a bicycle or a sewing machine. The wife naturally has her husband's interests at heart, since he is no longer a selfish master but a thoughtful friend, and she is assured of a considerable share in the profits from the cocoa or coffee plantation."

The letter goes on to describe how well several Cameroons women looked after their husbands' plantations when the latter were ill, on military service or away.

The polygamous husband gets female labour as before the war by marrying the largest possible number of wives, but it has become practically impossible, even for the chiefs, to impress labourers. Notwithstanding this difficulty very few are willing to pay wages, and they have cleverly revived the old custom of putting unmarried male members of the clan to help their wives in raising food crops. Male labourers are got cheaply by being offered the usufruct of one of the women married by the employer for the sake of their labour. There are various kinds of contracts according to area and the kind of work required. The commonest consists of the labourer working four days a week for the planter in return for the usufruct of one of his wives. The latter cooks for him, and he helps her in her work in the fields. If they have children they are regarded as belonging to the planter, who may do what he will with them.

In order to keep a good worker permanently some chiefs make such usufruct more lasting by a false declaration of marriage to the registrar, but the children still belong to the chief, who is the real owner of the woman. The latter is simply lent to the pseudo-husband, who clears the ground for her, repairs the hut and carries out all the duties of a husband without really being one, since the chief keeps the right to dismiss him; if he himself decides to leave he may not take with him either the woman or the children. Many such labourers would like to enter into a religious marriage, either Catholic or Protestant, but the missionaries usually refuse to bless such unions because of their impermanent nature.

This kind of employment contract is fairly frequent in the Gaboon and in the south Cameroons. The Bulu word *mintobo*, which means "those who remain", used to designate such usufructuary labourers, shows how they are bound to their employers.

Apart from the *mintobo* themselves, the women with whom they live would also rather marry, but they are not free to do so. In order to leave their owner-husband, they would have to divorce him and repay the dowry originally given to their families in exchange for them, and the money is not forthcoming. Their

work on the coffee or cocoa plantations is not paid, since it is done for their husbands, and the *mintobo* are not paid any wages either.

"It goes without saying", writes a correspondent from the Cameroons, "that brutal methods are used against any woman who shows no inclination for work." The view expressed by some husbands is that the women are really labourers, and so they are not allowed to miss a day's work; they are, however, allowed a "holiday" at home after a confinement. Although they are not bound by custom to do so, many polygamous husbands give their wives, particularly the young ones, a present after the cocoa crop is sold, and this, in many cases, is the best way of keeping up labour output.

Some wives are not satisfied with this, however, as when they married their husband he was monogamous and they believed that he would remain so; when he turns polygamous, enabled to do so by the profit made out of their labour, they are unable to hide their disappointment from their family. A correspondent writes from the Cameroons: "All they get in return for their arduous work is two or three dresses, a scarf and a blouse. This is a terrible disappointment for a woman who married to protect herself from poverty and now finds that she has been reduced to slavery. If we put ourselves in her place we can readily see that such a situation can only result in mute rebellion and ill-concealed discontent, and a woman in this position will take the first opportunity that presents itself to divorce her husband." I knew one polygamous Cameroons husband who was humane and had worked out how to get the best out of his farm and his wives, of whom he then had 18. They were divided into three gangs. The youngest, whom he kept for himself, looked after the house and made the dresses (on a sewing machine) that were to be given by the master to each of his wives after the harvest. They also helped the older women on the plantation and harvested the cocoa under their supervision. The second gang were the female labourers, who had been married for several years. They looked after the 25,000 cocoa trees on the plantation, assisted by ten labourers, who were paid no wages since they had the use of the women. The third gang was made up of the old women, who were simply expected to help in the harvest, in drying the cocoa beans and in supervising the young wives. After the first of January any cocoa left in the fields belonged to the women, who sold it; some of them made up to 1,000 francs in this way. This particular man did not demand more work from his wives than they were capable of and preferred to bind them to him by a few well-timed presents to stimulate their enthusiasm for work. "Since you hand these women over to your

labourers", I said, "you ought to allow them to marry; it would be more regular, and they would both go on working for you." "I cannot", he replied, "for if they were married the wife would work for her husband. If she came to work for me on the harvest I would have to pay her and I would also have to pay her husband's wages, which would all cost me much more than simply paying the wife's dowry."

This planter's annual profits amounted to nearly a million C.F.A. francs, which enabled him to pay dowries for fresh wives and expand his plantations. He now has 22 officially registered wives, without counting the others; he has a motor-cycle, a luxurious American car, and has built himself a permanent house. The net profit on the last cocoa harvest was over a million C.F.A. francs, and he is now planning to build a hotel-restaurant, where he will have even more scope for his talents as a procurer.

This dignitary is no exception; in another area of the south Cameroons there are ten senior chiefs, each with between 30 and 50 wives, who bring in a similar profit each year under the same conditions.

In Africa, as in Europe, money-grubbing can lead to the worst kinds of baseness. The way in which European procurers exploit the unfortunate women they enslave is even more deplorable, but in Europe even poor young men and women are at least free to marry. Such is not the case in Africa, where, as everywhere else, there are approximately the same number of adult males as females.¹ If a chief has 50 wives, 49 of his subjects will have to go without; if there are 50 polygamous husbands each with three wives, 100 young men will remain unmarried. As most of the women are taken by polygamous husbands there are no wives available for the young men, and many Africans have to wait until the age of 40 or 50 before they can marry. They therefore consider polygamy as anti-democratic and anti-social. Out of a population of 24 million in French tropical Africa nearly 2 million males are obliged to remain unmarried.

¹ The following are typical recent demographic statistics.

Area	Men	Women	Under 15	
			Boys	Girls
Togoland	281,612	280,882	227,667	222,043
French Equatorial Africa	1,284,200	1,442,500	867,700	792,000
Belgian Congo	3,206,725	3,478,960	2,403,516	2,242,592
Metropolitan France	20,417,000	21,950,000	4,926,000	4,779,000

Detailed figures for the Cameroons are—738,662 adult males as against 773,232 women; 529,624 boys as against 483,140 girls; 239,780 older women (over 60) as against 130,784 older men.

A census is at present being carried out in French West Africa.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in Article 16, recognises the elementary right of all men and women to marry and found a family, "without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion". As was suggested by several United Nations delegations, it would perhaps have been advisable to add "without any limitation due to the financial circumstances of the husband-to-be", for it is a limitation of this kind that prevents many workers in tropical Africa from setting up a home and compels them to put up with the usufruct of a polygamous man's wife as the only remuneration for their labour.

Dowries, which everybody could afford formerly, have risen with the rise in export prices. In the farming areas of the south Cameroons dowries of 35,000 C.F.A. francs and more, plus presents, are quite common for an unmarried girl (between 8,000 and 20,000 francs for a widow) whereas a labourer's average wages, if he is paid in cash, range between 50 and 80 francs a day. In the towns and more prosperous areas a labourer's wage is about 100 francs a day, but dowries are commonly more than 100,000 francs.

This explains why only rich men can marry and become polygamous; polygamy is a means of acquiring fresh wealth through the wives' labour and thus in turn more wives, who make the husband still richer.

REFORM OF ABUSES

Is there any way of stopping such abuses? There is. The institutions of a people form a balanced whole, and if a particular institution degenerates into abuses which upset the social equilibrium to the advantage of a few privileged persons, the other institutions will break up and decay in their turn. If the original purity of basic institutions is restored, however, or if they are encouraged to develop towards a fairer balance, then abuses will be halted and gradually decrease, and order will be restored.

To restore to African workers the essential human right to enter into a lawful marriage, the first measure to be taken is to cut the dowry rate. A legally imposed cut of this kind would not be difficult in the Cameroons, where the abolition of the dowry has already been called for by various Assemblies of Notables (in Bafia, December 1950; in Ebolowa, January 1951; in Dschang, December 1952). The French Government was not prepared to go to that length and decided that the dowry rate should be fixed by the territorial governor for each area. In order to make it possible for everyone to marry, this measure was embodied

in the provisions of the Decree of 14 September 1951. The text of the Decree is as follows :

1. In French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, the Cameroons and Togoland, the marriage contract for citizens who have retained their personal rights [under some traditional system] shall be according to their own particular customs, subject to the provisions of the Decree of 15 June 1939 and of the following articles.

2. Even in areas where the dowry is a traditional institution young women over 21 and women who have had a previous marriage legally dissolved may freely marry ; no one shall have the right to derive any material profit from such marriage, either on betrothal or during the marriage.

3. In the said countries failure to obtain the parents' consent shall be no bar to the marriage of a young woman under 21 if the withholding of consent is due to excessive demands on the parents' part.

The parents' demands shall be considered to be excessive if the dowry demanded exceeds the figure fixed for the area by the governor of the territory.

4. Disputes arising from the application of Article 3 shall come under the jurisdiction of first-degree courts, which shall be obliged to furnish an appropriate attestation to the applicant whenever they find that there has been a case of excessive demands by parents. The attestation shall enable the applicant to have his marriage registered by the registrar without the consent of the bride's parents.

5. Any citizen who has retained his personal rights may at the time of contracting marriage have a statement entered on the marriage certificate by the registrar to the effect that he undertakes not to take another wife so long as the present marriage is not dissolved in a regular manner.

Such statement shall constitute the special certificate referred to in Article 339 (2) of the Penal Code for French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, the Cameroons and Togoland.

When the dowry rate has been fixed—there are still areas where this remains to be done—it will be necessary to see that the Decree and the Labour Code are applied to all workers of both sexes, whether employed in industrial or commercial undertakings or in agriculture ; the lot of the *mintobo* is just as wretched as that of the town labourer, if not worse.

Many of the *mintobo* will probably be afraid to complain lest they be deprived of their mistresses, and, as we saw above, some employers have recourse to deliberately false registration of marriage ; but where the *mintobo* has worked for a number of years without pay, such unpaid work should be regarded as the equivalent of a dowry, so that even if the employer declares that the registration of marriage with the registrar was fictitious it should be upheld as valid by the courts. It might reasonably be expected that this is what would happen if personal cases were always tried by first-degree courts under the chairmanship of the administrative officer, as prescribed by the law, instead of by the

tribal court, where, in some areas, the chief judge and his Native assessors are only too often polygamous employers on whose cocoa plantations the *mintobo* work.

PROGRESSIVE DEVELOPMENT

I do not believe that traditional forms of labour in tropical Africa are inevitably doomed to be superseded by individual paid employment ; on the contrary, I believe that they may progressively develop while at the same time retaining their typically African features. The full significance of the example set by the Mossi chiefs, referred to in the beginning of this article, may now be understood. The Mossi is a poor land, partly uncultivable owing to laterite, where crops can only be made to grow during the four or five months rainy season. If the rains are inadequate or irregular the harvest is spoiled and this means shortages for everybody and starvation for the poorest people. An irrigation and soil restoration policy is being carefully studied by the competent services to make the country more prosperous. Such prosperity would, however, be a danger in itself if abuses similar to those that have occurred in wealthier areas were not prevented from the beginning by a conception of labour based on respect for individual human rights.

In order to stave off such a danger good Christians (there have been Catholic missions in the Mossi for 50 years) decided to promote the social development of the country. They have succeeded in slowly changing the traditional institutions and purging them of the intolerable effects on socially developed young men and women of a conception of paternal rights and feudal authority as absolute as it was in mediaeval Europe.

The Traditional Chiefs' Union has adopted these ideas and in April 1953 the Moro-Naba (Emperor of the Mossi) reminded his subjects that every human being "whether weak or powerful, man or woman, adult or child, must be respected and protected equally . . . The position of chief today is a responsibility and not *ribo* (personal power, with all its privileges and prerogatives) as in the past."

This forthright statement is the sure herald of social progress. The chiefs have decided not to impress their subjects for work on the land any longer but to confine themselves to issuing "tribal invitations" for one or two days' work during the digging and harvesting seasons. These invitations are accepted by all able-bodied males because they know that they will be given a good meal with millet beer and will not be ashamed after the harvest to take part in the celebrations held by the chief.

Pages and retainers in the chief's household are still given the customary remuneration consisting of board, lodging and clothing, but I know of chiefs who offered to pay their agricultural workers in cash. Those that took up the offer regretted it the following year, because locusts destroyed the harvest; millet and rice prices rocketed, and those who had opted for wages were hardly able to subsist, while the chief, whose own crops had been affected, made personal sacrifices so that his household should not suffer.

The difference between the old and new order is especially obvious on marriage. Whereas formerly a chief presented his retainers with brides in whose choice they had no part, now the free consent of both sides is required. The chief bears all the expense of the wedding and provides all that the young couple need to set up house, the house itself and food to tide them over to the next harvest.

A number of chiefs have made gardens which they gladly hand over to the care of their married retainers, who work half-time for the chief and half-time on their own account in gardens made available to them free of charge. The proceeds from the sale of the vegetables represent additional remuneration, since they are still fed, housed and clothed at the chief's expense.

This modernised version of tribal labour organisation has great advantages in savanna country, where food shortages are common, and the chiefs would like to extend it in order to develop new crops and increase the country's prosperity by attaching to the land the 50,000 Mossi who migrate every year during the dry season to the Gold Coast or the Lower Ivory Coast to earn money, often to pay their taxes. Most of them return, but several thousand stay behind each year, attracted by the lure of the towns, or simply because they have not enough money to return home and do not want to work on the land any more.

THE FOUR-YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN

The aims of the four-year development plan for the French Overseas Territories include prospecting for mineral and other deposits, the improvement of housing conditions, better farming techniques, the intensification of existing crops, the introduction of new crops, reafforestation, the irrigation of savanna land, etc.

All these things will improve the Africans' material circumstances, but they expect more than that: a bold social policy which, while taking account of the population's conditions of life, will try to remedy the worst injustices, which are only too often the lot of the mass of the people. A healthy evolution of

traditional institutions may speed and assist the application of the Labour Code. The prohibition of compulsory labour should abolish not only the impressing of labour but also all other methods of exploiting the workers. Both the *mintobo* and the wives of polygamous husbands are entitled to legal protection as regards conditions of work and remuneration.

Any allowances to which the African wife is entitled (prenatal and confinement benefits, family allowances or household allowances) should be paid direct to the African woman herself, no matter what the circumstances of her husband may be, and whether he be in government or private employment. For it is the wives who bear the strain of pregnancy, childbirth and breast-feeding and who bear the brunt of the work needed to support themselves and their children—food-growing, trading or handicraft work. The only husbands who share this responsibility with their wives are those who are really monogamous from choice; the others, like the polygamous husbands, regard these various allowances as extra personal wages and keep them for themselves, while the children continue to be the responsibility of their respective mothers.

CONCLUSION

Those responsible for the Labour Code in the French Overseas Territories are to be congratulated on their intention to safeguard African workers from the danger of becoming a proletariat; this commendable design should, however, include rural dwellers, who represent more than 80 per cent. of the total population of French tropical Africa, for—and the danger was pointed out as early as 1948 by Governor-General Delavignette in an address at Lyons—in the savanna the African farmers already constitute a proletariat. In spite of grinding toil, lack of money condemns them to constant insecurity and prevents them from modernising their equipment; furthermore, work on the land is despised and considered degrading by their literate compatriots, who refuse to have anything to do with it.

Thus the whole conception of work on the land must be given a new dignity; African villages and housing conditions must be modernised; and the village schools must provide agricultural instruction designed, without neglecting general elementary education, to turn out really first-class farmers firmly attached to the land and determined to promote agricultural progress and raise the living standards of African farm workers.

That, briefly, is the crux of the matter: the workers, whether wage earners in industry or commerce or employed on the land

to produce the food essential for all, are first and foremost men—or women—whose work should contribute to the development of their personalities.

The goal is not to replace the centuries-old civilisation which has produced such fine human qualities in the Africans, but to guide it in the direction of essential social progress. The most modern material techniques are capable of bringing about the destruction of civilisation and the enslavement of whole peoples; the only real progress is moral and social. In order to promote such progress properly adjusted social legislation must revive and transform the African tribal labour system.

(Translated from the French.)

Trade Unionism among Agricultural Workers in Chile

by

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In Latin America the organisation of workers in industry has in general followed the same lines as in Europe and North America; but trade union organisation has been slower among rural workers, mainly because of the special conditions of agricultural work and the different agricultural methods used in the various countries and regions. Agriculture is still one of the principal sources of wealth, however, in the Latin American countries, in spite of the constant progress of industrialisation in most of these countries. In the following critical study of the trade union organisation of agricultural workers in one of the most industrialised countries in South America the author describes the general situation of the rural workers and shows the backwardness of their trade union organisation in comparison with that of urban workers and workers in industry.

Professor Walker Linares, the author of the article, has taken part in the work of a number of international organisations as the representative of the Government of Chile and as a Government delegate has attended a number of sessions of the International Labour Conference, both before and since the war.

CONDITIONS OF WORK IN AGRICULTURE IN CHILE

IF the problem of the organisation of agricultural workers into trade unions in Chile is to be viewed in its proper perspective, some account must first be given of the agricultural system now prevailing and of the living conditions of rural workers in that country. Chile's geographical, racial, political and economic characteristics give the country a distinctive stamp among the countries of Latin America. Its geography is extravagant and capricious—a narrow jagged strip of land over 4,000 kilometres long, "like a sabre hanging at America's side" in the words of the French writer

Jean Giraudoux, bounded on one side by the misnamed Pacific Ocean and walled in on the other by the snowy barrier of the Andes. The northern part of the country is a harsh and barren desert, under whose surface lies great mineral wealth, particularly copper and nitrates, the country's two staple exports. The central region is a smiling land of green and fertile valleys, mild in climate and moderate in size, with torrential rivers and surrounded by mountains; this is the leading agricultural region, whose products are similar to those of western Europe. The south, unlike the northern and central regions, is a land of woods, lakes, fiords, innumerable islands and superb scenery, which lives by its thriving timber and stockraising industries.

Although Chile has an area of 280,000 square miles, the amount of farm land available is fairly small—not more than 17 per cent. of the country's area; the rest is made up of mountains, desert or land that cannot be brought into cultivation. The amount of cultivable land under irrigation accounts for only a small proportion—some 3 per cent.—of the total area of the country. Despite the small amount of farm land available, its ownership is very unevenly distributed, the dominant feature being the big estate with its insufficiently intensive methods of cultivation. The small minority of property owners with more than 5,000 acres (numbering 1,464, or less than one in 4,000 of the total population of the country) own 68.7 per cent. of the cultivable land; 129,127 small farmers with fewer than 50 acres each own only 2.5 per cent. of the land; while farms of under 12 acres account for only 0.6 per cent. of the land.¹ Although the number of these small inefficient farms has greatly increased of late, they have not encroached upon the big estates; nor has there been sufficient growth in the numbers of the more efficient medium-sized farms. It can be seen from these figures that Chile has a land problem, with its attendant social repercussions, brought about by the unequal distribution of land and by the low standard of living of agricultural workers. Professor Moisés Poblete Troncoso comments in his latest book: "Alongside the system of big estates which prevails in some areas there is an excessive number of tiny farms which are both economically undesirable and unable to afford a living to their owners. They are usually situated on the periphery of the big towns, so that in the aggregate large areas of land are thereby lost to efficient and intensive farming."² In many important respects Chilean farm

¹ See FRANCISCO WALKER LINARES: *Panorama del Derecho Social Chileno* (Editorial Jurídico de Chile, Santiago, 1950), pp. 51-52.

² Moisés POBLETE TRONCOSO: *La Economía Agraria de América Latina y el trabajador campesino* (Ediciones de la Universidad de Chile, Santiago, 1953), p. 57.

output is today unable to meet the needs of the population and it is increasing at a lower rate than the natural population growth. Industrial output on the other hand is growing at a faster rate, and the country is tending to become more and more industrialised.

According to calculations made by the Chilean Development Corporation the number of workers employed in Chilean agriculture in 1950 was 770,000. Agricultural occupations stand first in the distribution of the national labour force, and roughly half the population of Chile lives in the countryside. A high proportion of these workers are wage earners—there are over 110,000 *inquilinos* and 250,000 agricultural workers of other kinds. Generally speaking, the agricultural wage earner leads a life of insecurity and poverty. His housing is inadequate and often unfit for human habitation, despite recent progress in this field. He has few opportunities of bettering his lot; he is frequently, though not always, unkempt, ignorant, fatalistic and unenterprising, the result of generations of serfdom. His education is rudimentary, though the new rural schools are rapidly reducing illiteracy in the countryside. Alcohol is one of his greatest distractions, and he squanders his scanty income on wine and *chicha*, ignoring his duty to his family. On the other hand he has many fine qualities—unselfishness, generosity, courage, self-sacrifice and a strong sense of hospitality. He is remarkably quick-witted, shrewd and sensible. He is capable both of back-breaking toil and of surprising dexterity. Referring to the *huaso* (Chilean rural worker), the North American Professor McBride says:

The Chilean *huaso* and his fellow, the city *roto*, possess an energy, a sturdy vigour, and an endurance that have made them famous in warfare, in athletic achievement, and in routine labour of farm, mine or waterfront. They are enterprising, too, to a surprising degree, considering the almost total lack of incentive offered them by their position in life. . . . As compared with other Latin American labourers, the Chilean workman has no equal.¹

The Chilean rural worker is indeed an attractive, colourful figure. Seated upright and gaily dressed on his horse, with his brightly coloured blanket, on his way to some local festivity or rodeo, he strikes a picturesque note against the tranquil scene of the Chilean valleys. A product of the fusion of Indian and Spanish races that took place during colonial times, over two centuries ago—the Chileans of today are a homogeneous people—until modern times he gave unconditional obedience to his employers, but for some years now a marked spirit of revolt has been spreading through

¹ George M. MCBRIDE: *Chile: Land and Society* (American Geographical Society, New York, 1936), p. 384.

the Chilean countryside, particularly near the cities. Political agitators found fertile soil in the poverty of the country folk and tried to give them the power to resist by organising them into trade unions. Strikes of farm workers took place with this aim, and the agitation had such a disturbing effect upon food production that the Government refused to authorise the formation of agricultural workers' unions until special legislation had been passed. This took the form of the Act of 8 July 1947 (No. 8811), which has since been incorporated in Part III of the Labour Code and will be examined in detail below.

Agricultural workers' wages are so low as to be inadequate to cover the necessities of life, though they have risen somewhat over the past few years. There are no accurate statistics available on this point, as very often remuneration is not paid in cash but in kind (e.g., housing, food, allotments, the right to keep animals, etc.), and the value of these is difficult to assess. It is calculated, however, that agricultural wages are well below the wages of other workers; according to the Chilean Development Corporation they are equal to 35 per cent. of the wages paid in industry and to 30 per cent. of those in mining. In order to raise the incomes of farm workers a Legislative Decree of 1 August 1953 (No. 244) has just been issued entitling them to a minimum wage. In addition they are now covered by the recent Legislative Decrees on family allowances (No. 245 of 31 July 1953) and compensation for seniority (No. 243 of 3 August 1953). In common with other Chilean wage earners, farm workers are covered by a comprehensive scheme of social security, although the extension of this scheme to the countryside has hitherto encountered certain difficulties, mainly geographical, which are gradually being overcome. The recent reform of the Compulsory Social Security Act of 8 August 1953 (No. 10383), which brings substantial benefits to agricultural workers in cases of sickness and maternity, will provide better pensions for sickness and old age as well as for widows and orphans. Agricultural occupations are also covered by the employment injury legislation (Part II, Book II of the Labour Code).

"The hacienda continues to be the most characteristic feature in Chile's agricultural organisation, as also in the entire social structure of the nation", to quote Professor McBride.¹ This is quite true, and the big landowners who form the most die-hard section of Chile's aristocracy and have hitherto dominated the country are still a powerful force, though their influence is not as great as formerly. The big estates are the successors and, up to a point, the continuation of the estates assigned or granted by the

¹ Op., cit., p. 122.

Crown of Spain in the days of Spanish colonisation. The *inquilino*, partly bound as he is to the estate, is the serf of bygone years. The landowner manages his property with lordly paternalism and takes an interest in the affairs and problems of the families who have lived on his estates for generations, but he sees to it that his ignorant labourers vote at election time in support of his own political ideas. Moreover, he does not take kindly to the prospect of seeing his employees join a trade union, which in his eyes is dangerous, subversive and a threat to the upper classes. Nowadays this form of patriarchal feudalism is disappearing. The big estates are no longer managed directly by their old paternal owners but by intermediaries concerned only with money, agents and lessees who have no link with the land, which does not belong to them, and who care nothing about the conditions of the labourers or the *inquilinos*.

Trade unionism in Chile has been growing among the workers since the end of the nineteenth century, though specific trade union legislation dates only from 1924. It should, nevertheless, be emphasised that the tendency to combine in unions has scarcely been noticeable among agricultural workers, partly because of their lack of education and partly because of the isolation in which they live and the consequent absence of any feeling of class solidarity among them. The Chilean trade union movement was originally based on the friendly society; later, when it came into conflict with the employers, it showed marked anarchist tendencies. Since the passing of the trade union legislation of 1924 the workers' associations, in line with trade unions all over the world, have developed advanced political and social leanings, and there has been a struggle between socialism and communism within the unions for control of the working class movement.¹ The unions have called strikes, sometimes legally, sometimes illegally, not merely for better working conditions but also for political or revolutionary ends; in doing so they have often come near to falling foul of the law and have hindered production. It was the fear that something similar might happen in agriculture that lay behind the opposition to the granting of full trade union rights to agricultural workers.

The Chilean Trade Unions Act of 8 September 1924, which has since been embodied with some modifications in Part III of the Labour Code of 13 May 1931, was intended, although this did not work out in practice, to apply to agricultural workers. The Act recognises two categories of trade unions, industrial unions

¹ FRANCISCO WALKER LINARES: *Noticias Elementales de Derecho del Trabajo* (Santiago, Editorial Nascimento, 1947).

and occupational unions. Industrial unions are composed exclusively of the workers in any given industrial, mining or business establishment. This is the form of union favoured by the Act, and membership is compulsory for all the workers in an undertaking when over 55 per cent. of them are in favour of forming a union. The union is entitled to a share in the profits but, in principle, may not federate with other unions. These unions have, however, circumvented the law and have organised themselves into powerful confederations whose conduct has at times tended to violence. Under this legislation there was nothing to prevent agricultural workers from forming industrial unions, since agriculture must be looked upon as an industry. The occupational unions—the real trade unions—are those formed by persons pursuing the same occupation or similar or allied occupations. There was nothing in the law to prevent agricultural workers from organising themselves into unions of this category. Nevertheless, during the period between 1924 and 8 July 1947, when Act No. 8811 was promulgated, there were only sporadic instances of trade unions being formed among agricultural workers. Their creation was prevented by the fear of agitation and strikes in the countryside and by the opposition of the employers and the powerful National Agricultural Association. The Government instructed its labour inspectors not to assist in the formation of unions, and since their assistance was essential under the Act and the regulations thereunder, this made it impossible for such unions to be formed at all.

In the author's view there was no legal ground under the legislation which preceded Act No. 8811 to prevent the formation of agricultural workers' unions. This was also the opinion of the Government's legal advisers and of the Directorate of Labour. There may have been other perfectly proper and adequate reasons for the change but these were connected with a totally different problem which necessitated a legal reform. There was also a reason of international origin for favouring these unions: in 1925 Chile unconditionally ratified the Right of Association (Agriculture) Convention adopted at the Third Session of the International Labour Conference at Geneva in 1921, under which all those engaged in agriculture are assured of the same rights of association and combination as industrial workers; consequently the rights enjoyed by industrial workers in respect of freedom of association should have applied to agricultural workers without any discrimination, i.e., they should have been authorised to form industrial or occupational unions without any restriction upon their rights.

LEGISLATION CONCERNING AGRICULTURAL TRADE UNIONS

The special Act of 8 July 1947 (No. 8811) respecting the formation of unions by agricultural workers¹ has been incorporated in the Labour Code to form Parts IV and V (Articles 418-493 inclusive). The Bill was vetoed by Mr. Gabriel González Videla, the President of the Republic, but on the insistence of Parliament the Bill passed into law in accordance with the Constitution. Besides dealing with unions, the Act contained provisions concerning labour disputes in agriculture and the granting of family allowances to agricultural workers, though the latter have since been superseded by Legislative Decree No. 245 of 31 July 1953. Under Act No. 8811 agricultural workers may not form any unions other than those permitted by the Act, nor are they allowed to join industrial or occupational unions. The Act applies solely to agricultural workers and does not cover other persons employed in agriculture, such as agents, specialists, agronomists, accountants, etc. It was laid down by the General Directorate of Labour and by the labour judge of Punta Arenas that the cattlemen of the Magellan region are not agricultural workers and are, therefore, entitled to form an occupational union, it being considered that the work involved in stockraising is not strictly agricultural. In trade union matters the cattlemen are therefore covered by the general provisions of the Labour Code and not by the special provisions governing agricultural workers' unions. I am not convinced by this distinction; stockraising would certainly appear to be a form of agricultural work.

Certain regulations are made for agricultural unions, similar to those affecting other unions, namely, that they must work for the mutual collaboration of capital and labour and may not pursue objectives other than those laid down by the Act; that they may not take action tending to impair the freedom to work or the freedom of industry, or detrimental to labour discipline and order (Articles 419 and 425 of the Labour Code); in consequence any action tending towards politics, revolt or class warfare is forbidden. They may acquire and hold, without restriction, any form of property (Article 420). Women may take part in the administration and the management of a trade union; in order to do this or to join a trade union they do not require the permission of their husbands (Article 421); under Chilean social legislation married women enjoy complete freedom and independence in entering into contracts of employment and their earnings are considered

¹ *Diario Oficial de la República de Chile*, No. 20813, 29 July 1947, p. 1367; for the English translation see INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE: *Legislative Series*, 1947, Chil. 1.

to be their own property. The unions are also empowered to establish co-operative societies, stores for employees of undertakings and, in general, any co-operative, assistance, educational and welfare services, though the latter may not be established without the prior authorisation of the Department of Social Welfare (Articles 423 and 424); it is a primary concern of these unions to work for the improvement of housing in country districts (Article 419). All these purposes are, of course, admirable enough, but there is no hope of their being achieved by unions confined to a single estate, forbidden to federate and backed by insignificant funds.

Agricultural unions may only be formed and managed within the estates to which they relate and in no circumstances are meetings or confederations of these unions permitted (Articles 426 and 431); no agricultural worker may be a member of more than one union. These provisions, which are opposed to the principles of trade unionism, mean that the agricultural unions, composed in most cases of a handful of members, most of them uneducated and with scanty funds, are bound to remain feeble, isolated bodies without representative value or the strength to safeguard the interests of agricultural wage earners. Such unions are governed by their own rules in so far as the latter are not contrary to the provisions of the Act (Article 429), they are subject to the supervision of the General Directorate of Labour (Article 430) and may not take part in legal actions except in cases affecting the joint or general economic interests of their members (Article 428). For legal purposes, with the object of defining what is meant by agricultural workers, the Act somewhat arbitrarily divides them into the following categories: (a) the *inquilino*, an agricultural worker who is given a house for himself and his family, together with some grazing land and is entitled to supply a substitute. The *inquilino* is a type of wage earner peculiar to the big estates of Chile; in many cases his family has lived for generations on the estate where he works and has his home, which may be a wretched hovel or perhaps a slightly more tolerable dwelling or, in a few cases, a good one. He also receives various forms of payment in kind, such as an allotment, food, etc., and, in fact, the larger part of his income does not consist of a cash wage but of these other forms of remuneration; (b) the "substitute", who works on the estate on behalf of the *inquilino* whose place he has taken; (c) the "volunteer", who lives on the estate and works casually or permanently for a wage and an allowance of food; (d) the "outside worker", who does not live on the estate but is employed casually under a contract specially made for certain seasonal types of work—he is, in short, a seasonal migrant worker who is taken on

at harvest time; (e) the share farmer, who receives land under an agreement in an agricultural estate and has the sole responsibility for the day labourers working with him (Article 432). The share farmer would not appear to have any of the distinguishing characteristics of an agricultural worker; he is rather a kind of partner bound under civil law by a share contract which has social implications.

The above workers may form only agricultural workers' unions and are forbidden to join any other form of trade union organisation. On the other hand specialist employees in agriculture (agents, experts or employees of estates or other agricultural undertakings) and the owners of land may form normal occupational unions for the legitimate safeguarding of their common interests.

An agricultural union may be formed on any farm with more than 20 workers who are over 18 years of age and have completed one year's continuous service on the same farm, provided they represent at least 40 per cent of the workers employed on the farm. At least ten workers must be able to read and write (Article 433); it follows that the workers employed on small estates are excluded from any trade union organisation. Membership of such a union is not compulsory; whenever workers desire to form a union the proposal must be approved by 55 per cent. of the votes of those present at a meeting composed solely of the workers on the farm where it is proposed to form the union. The intention of this provision is to stop interference by political agents or agitators. Within five days of receiving the record of proceedings of this meeting, the local labour inspector summons all the workers who have signed it to a meeting for the constitution of the union and, at the same time, notifies the employer in writing (Article 435).

At the meeting for the constitution of the union, which is presided over by the labour inspector, a provisional committee of management is elected and the union rules are adopted. Full minutes are taken of the proceedings and a copy of these, together with the rules, is sent to the labour inspection office, which, in turn forwards the documents to the General Directorate of Labour. The latter submits them to the Ministry of Justice with a request that legal personality be conferred upon the union (Articles 436 and 437). The union is not deemed to be fully constituted until the President of the Republic has issued a decree conferring legal personality upon it (Article 440)—under Chilean law no union can have legal existence until it has been granted legal personality. The decision concerning legal personality must be issued as soon as possible and in any case within 60 days of the date of the meeting held to form the union. During this period the employer may not dismiss the workers who were present at the constitution of the

union except for some lawful reason considered adequate by the labour judge (Articles 438 and 439). This is the only case in which agricultural workers who are members of trade unions are considered to be irremovable.

Agricultural unions, in common with other Chilean unions, are administered by a committee of management of five persons, irrespective of their total membership. They are elected by secret ballot with cumulative voting at a meeting held for this purpose. Each worker is entitled to vote once, but those who have completed three or more years of continuous service on the estate are entitled to vote twice. (It is hoped in this way to encourage older workers who have closer links with the estate and so exercise a steadying influence on the union.) The regular committee of management must be elected within 60 days of the date of the decree conferring legal personality; where this is not done it is assumed that the workers no longer desire to form a union (Articles 441 and 442). The committee of management elects a chairman, a secretary and a treasurer from among its members, who must fulfil the following requirements: (a) they must have Chilean nationality (although in the case of other unions committee members may, in certain circumstances, be foreigners); (b) they must have attained the age of 21 (despite the fact that anyone over the age of 18 in Chile may conclude a contract of employment); (c) they must not have been convicted of, or be on trial for, any felony or simple misdemeanour; good character is thus essential in any management post; (d) they must possess an identity card.

The committee members hold office for one year and, although the Act does not specifically say so, they can be re-elected (Articles 443 to 445). The committee of management concludes collective employment agreements where it has the unanimous support of its members. Should this unanimity not be obtained, a decision may be taken by a favourable vote of 75 per cent. of the workers in the union at a general meeting (Article 447). In practice it is very difficult for collective employment agreements to be negotiated by small unions confined to a single estate and managed by uneducated agricultural workers with no security of tenure in their posts. Moreover, despite the provision made in the Labour Code, collective employment agreements are unfortunately not common in Chile. This is due to the weakness of the country's trade union organisations and the employers' fear that they cannot rely upon the workers to abide by the terms of any collective agreement. The committee of management exercises all rights arising out of contracts of employment on behalf of the workers in the union whenever the latter so request (Article 448); in other words, the union represents its members in safeguarding their rights and

occupational interests whenever its members so desire. The committee members of agricultural unions are not protected against dismissal from their employment as are the committee members of the other types of Chilean trade unions (industrial and occupational unions), who cannot be dismissed or evicted without legal authority during their term of office and for six months after its expiry. The position of the leaders of agricultural unions is thus precarious, and they are unable to discharge their duties with complete independence, since an employer can at any moment get rid of a trade union leader who claims better working conditions, or whom he finds objectionable, simply by evicting him at short notice. The result is that the unions are paralysed by their members' fear of losing their jobs.

The funds of these unions are largely made up of dues (which are inevitably small) imposed on members by a two-thirds majority vote of the general meeting and of a contribution by the employer equal to only 3 per cent. of the cash wages paid (not including payments in kind) to the members of the union (Article 453). Owing to the limited scope of these unions and their restriction to a single estate with a handful of badly paid agricultural workers, their funds are insignificant. The Act contains provisions to ensure the proper administration of union funds and places the funds under the supervision of the labour inspection service. A committee composed of the chairman of the union, the employer or his representative, and an official appointed by the labour judge is set up to decide on the disposal of these funds, which must be spent by the committee of management in accordance with their budget proposals. The funds may not be spent for political purposes, nor on fees or grants, except for sickness. The committee members are thus forbidden to vote remuneration for themselves. Disbursements must be made jointly by the chairman and the treasurer, and operations involving sums of over 2,000 pesos cannot be undertaken without the authorisation of the labour inspector (Articles 455 to 459).

The dissolution of agricultural unions is effected by an order of the labour courts. In this respect these unions enjoy more safeguards than the ordinary unions in Chile, which can be dissolved simply by administrative order. Dissolution may be ordered in the following circumstances: (a) in the case of infringement of the laws and regulations governing trade unions or of the union's own rules; (b) where the work of the union is paralysed through the deliberate non-attendance of more than 55 per cent. of the workers in the union or the violation of the rules governing conciliation and arbitration; (c) on the closing down of the undertaking or its failure to give work during the year to 25 or more workers;

(d) on the failure of the union to function for over a year; (e) by decision of 55 per cent. of its members; and (f) where there is a drop in membership to less than 20 workers (Article 463).

The judge must make a decision within ten days of the request to dissolve the union (Article 464). Except where the laws or regulations or the union rules have been broken, or there has been a deliberate collective stoppage of work, the property of the dissolved union must be distributed among all the workers with over two years' service on the estate concerned (Article 468). This is opposed to the principle recognised by other Chilean trade union legislation, under which the property of a trade union is inalienable, the union being a legal personality distinct from its individual members.

COLLECTIVE LABOUR DISPUTES IN AGRICULTURE

The Agricultural Unions Act also lays down that collective labour disputes in agriculture must be submitted to compulsory conciliation and arbitration, in which the unions are entitled to participate; it also forbids strikes in agriculture. Agricultural workers may not present claims to their employers more than once a year and in order that there shall be no interruption of production they are forbidden to present claims during the sowing and harvesting seasons (Article 470). On estates where a union exists only the union may initiate a collective dispute and to do so it must have the support of 55 per cent. of the votes of the workers in the union at a general meeting to which all the members of the union have been called; where no union exists action may also be taken in furtherance of a collective dispute (Article 471). The decision must be communicated to the employer and to the local labour inspector in writing, with the signatures of at least three members of the committee of management of the union. The employer or his representative must receive the committee of management within three days; if the parties do not come to an agreement either party may make application for a special conciliation and arbitration board. The workers are represented by the committee of management, and persons not concerned with the dispute are not permitted to intervene (Articles 472 to 476). The dispute is settled by a special conciliation and arbitration board, which is invariably composed of three members, one appointed by the committee of management of the union (or by a delegation of the workers, where no union exists), one appointed by the employer and one by the two parties or, should they fail to agree, the local labour judge (Article 477). These boards act with all possible speed. They summon the parties to appear before

them within the following three days and the proceedings continue despite the failure of a party to appear. If agreement is reached it is entered in a record made at the meeting; if no agreement is reached the board announces the failure in writing. The same special board then acquires arbitral powers and makes an arbitration award within five days of the failure of negotiations by conciliation (Articles 478 to 482). If the representative of the employer or of the workers fails to attend, the board may sit, carry on proceedings and make its award so long as the third party, who is the chairman, is present (Article 484). The awards of the board, both under the conciliation and arbitration procedures, are binding upon the parties for the periods they specify, which may not be less than six months or more than one year. An appeal against an arbitration award may be made to the proper labour court provided it is lodged within five days (Article 486). It follows that the labour courts in Chile form arbitration boards of second instance in collective disputes in agriculture. It should be noted that in Chilean social legislation the labour courts are courts of second instance empowered to deal only with individual labour disputes, individual disputes coming in the first instance before the labour judges. This power to deal with collective disputes in agriculture forms an exception to the general rule.

This Act, which forbids strikes in agriculture, punishes offences against freedom to work in agriculture together with stoppages of work and in certain circumstances imposes penalties on the unions concerned. In thus punishing the union responsible, in some cases by dissolution, it thereby conforms to the modern theory of the penal liability of legal personalities. Agricultural unions are guilty of an offence against freedom to work when they exercise pressure on either workers or employers by means of threats (Article 487). The union is liable not only for the abandonment of work by any of the workers belonging to it during a period covered by a collective agreement with the undertaking but also for any loss caused by failure to supply substitutes; the amount of the damages is fixed by the special conciliation and arbitration board (Article 489). In any event, where refusal to work is of a collective character and involves more than 55 per cent. of the workers in the union (i.e., in the event of an agricultural strike), the union suffers the maximum penalty of dissolution (Article 490). Any refusal by the workers to appear before the special conciliation and arbitration board is punishable by a fine ranging from 100 to 1,000 pesos, payable from the union funds (Article 491). If the award is not accepted by the workers a fine equal in amount to the previous fine may be imposed upon their trade union, which may also be dissolved should the competent authority so decide. These penalties

ties may be imposed upon unions whenever they fail to adopt disciplinary action against the guilty workers (Article 492).

CONCLUSIONS

It will readily be appreciated from the foregoing that Chilean legislation upon agricultural trade unions suffers from very serious defects. It offends against the most elementary principles of trade unionism and in practice, so far from achieving any positive results, it has completely stifled trade unionism among agricultural workers. It is a regrettable exception to the rest of the Chilean labour laws, which form a balanced, efficient and advanced body of social legislation and are a model to the whole of Latin America. The main objections against the Agricultural Unions Act are the following: (a) a trade union based on a single estate with only a handful of members is bound to be completely ineffective; (b) the ban on the formation of federations of agricultural unions prevents any action being taken to safeguard the rights and interests of agricultural workers; (c) the scanty funds of the unions inevitably cramp their work; (d) the fact that their leaders are not guaranteed security in their employment leaves the unions at the mercy of the employer, who can evict the union leaders at any time and thereby reduce the union to impotence; (e) legislation which places the agricultural unions in a position of inferiority vis-à-vis the other Chilean trade unions is absolutely contrary to the Right of Association (Agriculture) Convention adopted at the Third Session of the International Labour Conference in Geneva in 1921, which has been ratified by Chile. As already stated, this Convention guarantees to agricultural workers the same rights of association and combination as industrial workers.

It would still be difficult and premature to set up a sound trade union organisation for Chilean agricultural workers. They have neither the experience nor the education needed to run a union, and their general educational level is still far below that of the workers in manufacturing or mining. Present conditions are thus not favourable to the development of a real agricultural trade union movement in Chile along proper lines. A similar situation exists in other Latin American countries, especially where the rural population is made up of uneducated and largely illiterate indigenous peoples.

Apart from these factors it will be necessary, in any attempt to reform the country's legislation on agricultural trade unions, to take measures to prevent sudden outbreaks of strikes in the countryside, which could cause great harm to the country, particularly at harvest time. It will therefore be essential to regulate labour

disputes in agriculture while giving full weight to the right of rural workers to better conditions of work. Agricultural trade union legislation must be suitably adapted to the country's circumstances and to the special features of agricultural employment, though without departing from the basic principles of trade unionism and freedom of association. It will, of course, be a difficult task to evolve legislation of this kind so as to respect the rights of association of rural workers and safeguard legitimate trade union interests without disrupting the agricultural production needed to feed the people and maintain the life of the community.

(Translated from the Spanish.)

REPORTS AND INQUIRIES

Payment by Results in the Building Industry in Eastern Europe¹

The system of payment by results is an inherent part of the planned economies of the U.S.S.R. and other Eastern European countries. It constitutes a basis for economic and social planning and a means of controlling the fulfilment of plans at various levels and stages. Systems of payment by results are highly developed in these countries, and particular attention is given to their introduction and application in the building industry.

The I.L.O. is closely concerned with the various methods of increasing labour productivity applied throughout the world. Since payment by results is a means of increasing productivity, the following analysis of the information available on its use in the building industry in Eastern Europe may contribute to further the studies of a subject which is of great contemporary interest.

The information is based entirely on the sources quoted. The analysis of the information bears on the methods of applying this system and its economic effects. The analysis of the effects of this system on the workers is confined to a comparative study of earnings of time and piece workers and to the disparities in earnings of piece workers resulting from the application of different systems of payment by results, different methods of setting output targets and of fixing wages and bonus rates and different systems of organisation of work within the general framework of wage policies in the countries concerned.

MAIN FEATURES OF INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP SYSTEMS OF PAYMENT BY RESULTS

The system of payment by results that seems to be most frequently applied in the U.S.S.R. and in most other countries in Eastern Europe is the so-called "progressive bonus system" (accelerating premium).

¹ This study draws mainly on data from the U.S.S.R. and Poland—the former because the U.S.S.R. has the oldest tradition in the application of payment by results in a planned economy, the latter because special building and work organisation techniques developed for the rapid repair of war-damaged construction have contributed to the extension of payment by results. Payment by results is, however, widespread in the building industry throughout Eastern Europe, the systems in use in the different countries are similar, and the conclusions reached in the course of this survey appear to be broadly applicable to the whole area.

Under such a system a straight piece rate is paid for output within the limits of the norm and a bonus for excess output is paid at an accelerating rate.

In systems where standard times or output targets are fixed on the basis of technical indices¹, the bonus rate (or acceleration rate) is much higher than in systems with statistical norms.² It is claimed that the results obtained under accelerating premium systems are particularly satisfactory.³

In recent policies regarding the organisation of work emphasis is laid upon teamwork, and norms (standard times) are generally fixed for a two-man or three-man team. However, individual bonuses are paid wherever individual output can be measured.

Some systems combine merit rating with rewards for quantitative results. For example, in Poland, workers performing contract jobs in "brigades"⁴ are remunerated according to results as well as for punctuality, co-operation, general conduct, etc. The weekly individual payments are made on the basis of the number of "points per working hour" awarded in respect of the above-mentioned factors. A collective bonus for the saving of materials is paid to the brigade at the finishing date and distributed among the workers according to the prevailing rules.⁵

It is generally agreed that payment by results may lead to a deterioration in the quality of work. In Eastern Europe a number of measures have been taken to counteract the adverse effects of the system on the quality of output. For example, quality indices are determined together with the standard times or output targets. In such cases the basic rate and bonus are paid only if the quality of output corresponds with the standard laid down. If quality is below normal the worker may be penalised by the payment of a correspondingly lower bonus.

Other systems provide for rewarding the worker according to different levels of quality of output. In the U.S.S.R. the yearly collective agreements determine quality classifications by which output may be evaluated as "satisfactory", "good" or "excellent".⁶ The output targets are set in accordance with such classifications, and the bonus rates reflect

¹ See below, p. 529.

² B. B. VESELOVSKY: Курс экономики и планирования коммунального хозяйства (Narkomkhov, R.S.F.S.R., Leningrad, 1945), p. 317.

³ Cf. N. S. MASLOVA: Производительность труда в промышленности СССР (Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1949).

⁴ A brigade is a group of teams of workers working on a contract basis with a building enterprise. The elected chief of the brigade, in agreement with the workers, makes an estimate of the quantity of materials and equipment and the number of working days (or hours) necessary for the execution of a given job and establishes finishing dates. The enterprise provides equipment, materials and funds for workers' wages according to the estimate made by the brigade. A brigade is constituted of homogeneous teams of workers (e.g., bricklayers or plasterers) or of teams combining workers of various skills carrying out a common task (such as transport teams made up of drivers and loaders). Generally a brigade does not include more than 30 workers.

⁵ C. STRZELECKI, in *Publikacja No. 37* (Ministry of Construction, Warsaw, 1949), Vol. 1, Part IB, pp. 8-10.

⁶ V. M. DOGADOV, in Вестник Академии Наук СССР, Отделение Экономики и Права, 1948; No. 2, and Профессиональные Союзы, Feb. 1947, pp. 3-10.

reward for both quality and quantity of output. The bonus may in some cases reach 25 per cent. of the standard wage rate even when the quantitative target is not exceeded, provided 91 to 100 per cent. of output is of "excellent" quality. The bonus rate increases at an accelerating rate where there is a rise in either quantity or quality above the fixed norm. The system seems, however, to require intensive supervision and a complicated apparatus for the evaluation of output and calculation of the bonus.¹

Individual or collective straight or accelerating premiums are also granted in certain cases for the saving of materials, efficient utilisation of equipment, fulfilment and overfulfilment of production plans in terms of output and costs, keeping of finishing dates, etc. Incentive schemes of this kind are mostly applied to technical personnel and workers who, on account of the nature of their jobs, are remunerated by time.

EXTENT OF APPLICATION OF PAYMENT BY RESULTS

No statistical data are available on the extent to which payment by results is applied in the building industry. However, information concerning the application of such systems in industry as a whole and the legislation in force in the countries concerned may provide certain indications as to the position in the building industry.

In 1937 74.9 per cent. of all workers in the medium and key industries in the U.S.S.R. were paid by results (as against 57.5 per cent. in 1928, 63.7 per cent. in 1932 and 69.8 per cent. in 1935).² According to certain sources the proportion of work done at piece-work rates before the war corresponded to about 75 per cent. of all man-hours worked.³

Judging by the number of decrees and instructions issued since the war concerning the introduction and extension of incentive schemes in the building industry the proportion of the building workers paid by results must now be very high. The goals of the post-war reconstruction policies, especially in respect of industrial and housing construction heavily damaged during the war, necessitated increased labour productivity. In order to achieve higher productivity a revision of the system of payment (i.e., the extension and reinforcing of the system of "progressive" piece work) was considered imperative.

The extent of payment by results may also be deduced from the official compulsory handbooks ("catalogues") fixing piece rates and work unit values. In the U.S.S.R. such handbooks cover 75-80 per cent. of all jobs in the building industry, and in Poland about 65 per cent.⁴ The uniform norms and tariffs in the building industry in Czechoslovakia (which were reported to have come into effect in the third quarter of 1953) cover 80 per cent. of all existing jobs.

¹ For the effects of payment by results on quality standards in the U.S.S.R. see A. GRIGORIEV, in *Плановое Хозяйство*, 1938, No. 10, and 1945, No. 1; and B. MARCUS, in *Проблемы Экономики*, 1939, No. 3.

² N. S. MASLOVA, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

³ 1938 data from *Большая Советская Энциклопедия*, p. 1117.

⁴ M. HELFGOT, in *Zycie Gospodarcze*, No. 13, 16 June 1952, p. 693.

THE SETTING OF NORMS

In Eastern Europe the setting of output targets or standard times is not left solely to individual enterprises but is of particular concern to the planning authorities. Since payment by results predominates in the wage system, the output norms are centrally set and revised in order to ensure that the relationship laid down in the plan between increases of labour productivity and increases of wages is put into effect. The national economic plan determines the figures for increases in labour productivity and wages and gives directions for the revision of output norms.¹

The provision for, and extent of, adjustments of norms are intended to reflect consistently the results of past or expected economic developments in the production of equipment and materials whose application in a given industry should bring higher efficiency. Planned adjustments of norms may also be related to planned wide-scale vocational training and the raising of the level of workers' skill.

Norms of work enable allocation of the planned production among individual workers and teams of workers, and convert the plan of an enterprise into a sum of tasks faced daily by all workers.

General Regulations for the Setting and Adjusting of Norms

In accordance with the general principles laid down by legislation special bodies are in charge of setting standard norms in particular industries.² The central authorities establish handbooks of standard norms, which indicate the output targets or standard times for jobs carried out under average conditions of work and equipment in a given industry. Such handbooks also include indices of conditions differing from the standard laid down, which may justify or necessitate the adjustment of the standard norms. Individual enterprises set norms for local application on the basis of the standard norms and in accordance with coefficients for different degrees of deviation from standard conditions.

In the U.S.S.R. the 1944 handbook of standard norms for the building industry covers 4,940 jobs, including 224 jobs for masons and bricklayers and related occupations, 217 jobs for plasterers, 870 for concrete workers and 980 for carpenters. In Poland 9,000 standard norms were fixed in the 1952 handbook³; the handbook under preparation⁴ covers 5,000 items.

¹ Cf. M. YAMPOLSKY, in *Плановое Хозяйство*, No. 5, 1951, pp. 81-91.

² In the U.S.S.R. a council for the setting of norms was established in 1927 by the All-Union Council of the National Economy. The principles for setting output targets and standard times which, with few modifications, are still followed, were laid down by the Party in 1935. In Poland the principles for setting norms were first outlined by the Industrial Conference in 1945, and followed generally an instruction of the Minister of Industry (No. 119 of 2 June 1945) and a decision of 15 June 1945 establishing committees for setting output targets for individual industries and trades.

³ A. FERSKI: *Organizacja Pracy i Plac* (P.W.G., Warsaw, 1952), pp. 145-146.

⁴ Data for 1952.

The general trend, which may be observed in Czechoslovakia, Poland and other countries of Eastern Europe, is to decrease the number of standard norms and to limit them to the most typical operations under the most typical conditions of work. Adequate setting of standard norms by individual enterprises is ensured by the establishment of a wide range of coefficients for various conditions of work and an indication of the conditions under which given coefficients should be applied. Although the standard norms fixed in the past covered a comparatively large number of jobs, the list could not be complete as regards less repetitive operations, different materials handled, etc. On the other hand the enterprises were not free to adjust standard norms to particular conditions, and no adequate basis for such adjustments was provided. The recent measures have been taken with a view to diminishing the rigidity of the previous regulations, which resulted in the arbitrary setting of output targets by individual enterprises and adversely affected the output and earnings of several categories of workers.¹

Special provisions regulate the periodic adjustment of norms at the industry level and within individual enterprises. For example in Poland the over-all adjustment of norms requires a decision of the Presidium of the Government in agreement with the Central Council of Trade Unions, and may take place only once a year.² Current adjustments of norms at the level of the enterprise may and should be made only in the case of a lasting and substantial change in the production process or in the organisational and technical conditions of work.³ In enterprises where norms have a technical basis (in contradistinction to the so-called statistical norms)⁴ they must not be adjusted more often than once a year even if they are substantially exceeded by a majority of the workers. A Government decision of 26 May 1951 states expressly that, irrespective of the method used for setting the norm (provided it was set in accordance with prevailing regulations), the mere fact of over-fulfilment of norms shall not be considered as a reason for adjustment. Indeed, managements of both central organisations and individual enterprises are instructed to provide for optimum conditions and organisation of work, which may enable the workers to exceed the prevailing norms considerably.

In several of the countries concerned special regulations provide for an agreed grievance procedure for the handling of disputes concerning the setting, adjustment or application of norms in individual enterprises. For example, in Poland special works committees for arbitration in disputes arising from the application of norms were established by an instruction of the Chairman of the State Economic Planning Board dated 9 May 1950 in accordance with a decision of 21 April 1950 of the chairman of the economic committee of the Council of Ministers.⁴

Procedures Used

The norms of work applied in the building industry are of three types: (a) "statistical average"; (b) "progressive average"; and (c)

¹ See below.

² Decision of the Presidium of the Government of 26 May 1951 (*Monitor Polski*, No. A-49, 1951, Item 644, 27 May 1951).

³ Decision of the Ministers' Council of 14 April 1951.

⁴ *Monitor Polski*, No. A-61, 1950, Item 714.

"technically based". In the initial stages of application of payment by results in the U.S.S.R., standard norms—then generally taking the form of output targets per unit of time—were based on statistical average results of past work. In Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland the norms for the building industry fixed in 1948, 1947 and 1949 respectively¹ were also based on statistical average results of past work.²

The effect of such norms on labour productivity was considered unsatisfactory. The need to increase output according to the planned targets necessitated frequent revision of norms, and this was moreover justified by rapidly changing technical conditions. For example in Poland, while the post-war output targets were principally based on pre-war average results, the mechanical equipment coefficient per worker in the building industry in 1948 was 0.05 horsepower compared with 0.01 horsepower in 1939.³ The reforms and adjustments of norms in 1950 and 1951 in Czechoslovakia and Poland⁴ continued, in the majority of cases, to be based on statistical average results. It is claimed repeatedly that the adjusted norms still do not provide effective incentives for competent workers⁵, that the equipment capacity is not efficiently used⁶ and that the prevailing norms are not sufficiently closely related to the progress planned and achieved in the mechanisation of the building industry.⁷

Consequently it has become apparent that norms should be based on more scientific and technically justifiable factors than the mere mechanical computation of average results of past work. A series of studies were made to provide a basis for new norms (this time expressed mainly in terms of standard times) on the capacity of equipment in the hands of a competent worker using the best methods of operation. Among several types of study the most popular was the so-called "photograph of the working day", representing not a mere time and motion study of direct operations on the job but covering all time spent on the building site, including the preparation of tools, equipment and material, moving round the site, resting, and waiting for instructions.

The findings of such studies help to establish time and progress schedules setting out the starting and finishing dates for each phase of work and order dates for materials. Detailed charts are distributed to

¹ Cf. "Payment by Results in the Building Industry", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXIII, No. 1, Jan. 1951.

² Cf. A. FERSKI, op. cit., pp. 30-33; and F. VÁVROVSKÝ, in *Statistický Obzor* (State Office of Statistics, Prague), No. 6, 1953, pp. 220-225.

³ R. DOWGIRD, in *Publikacja No. 37* (Warsaw, 1949), Part IB, p. 62.

⁴ M. HELFGOT, in *Zycie Gospodarcze*, loc. cit.

⁵ Ibid.; see also p. 532 below.

⁶ R. RUCKI, in *Publikacja No. 37*, op. cit., pp. 100-104.

⁷ "In Poland provision is made in the Six-Year Plan for the mechanisation of 47 per cent. of navvying work, 71 per cent. of all mortar preparation, 89 per cent. of concrete preparation and 90 per cent. of vertical haulage (*Dziennik Ustaw*, 30 Aug. 1950). Similar trends can be observed in other Eastern European countries. In addition, considerable emphasis has been given to producing increasing quantities and new types of building machinery, particularly for earth moving, concrete mixing and vertical haulage." (U.N. ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE, Housing Subcommittee: *The Cost of House Construction: A Preliminary Study of Measures to Reduce Housing Costs and of the Development of the Building Industry* (Document E/ECE/165/IM/HOU/51/Rev.1, 25 May 1953, pp. 29-30).)

individual workers, teams or brigades, depending on the system of work organisation. The actual results of performance entered by the workers themselves on the charts under special headings are compared with the targets laid down.

In some cases workers are asked to record only the "negative times" (time spent waiting for instructions, materials or tools and time not worked because of machine breakdowns, power failures and similar contingencies).

A "photograph of the working day" and the data included in the time and progress charts help to establish a detailed "balance of the working day". The balance divides all elements of the working day into "norm time" and "lost time" and measures them as percentages of total time. The "norm time" includes such elements as preparatory and concluding operations, direct operations, secondary operations, rest, necessary interruptions, etc. In each case a separate specification indicates whether or not the operation performed corresponded to the skill category of the worker concerned and what percentage of the time spent on a given operation did not require the qualifications of its performer. "Lost time" covers unnecessary and incidental work and unnecessary interruptions of work caused by the fault of the management and the worker respectively.¹ The findings of such inquiries provide necessary elements for the correct setting of technically based norms and aid in the search for greater efficiency.

In the technically based norms allowance is made not only for the actual organisation and conditions of work and equipment but also for the fatigue involved in a given job. Provision for rest time, which is included in the "norm time", depends upon the coefficient of fatigue determined for each professional category. For example in the U.S.S.R. rest time varies from 10 per cent. of the total "norm time" for painters, stucco-appliers and glaziers to 35 per cent. for loaders, stonecutters, etc.²

The reorganisation of labour on the basis of a transfer to flow methods of production and to working according to a time schedule (at first a daily and now increasingly an hourly one³), widespread distribution of team work, rationalisation of the building site, improved organisation, standardisation of building materials—all have contributed substantially to the introduction and extension of technically based norms.

In the U.S.S.R. technically based norms have been applied increasingly since December 1935. According to the report of Mr. G. M. Malenkov to the 19th Party Congress, the majority of norms in industry⁴ are not yet technically based, though gradual progress was reported in that direction.⁵ In Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary recent deve-

¹ For example, in Poland the balance of an average working day of a building worker recorded in 1949 by an experimental station shows that "lost time" represents 14.5 per cent. of the total, direct operations 60.5 per cent., and preparatory, concluding and secondary operations 16.2 per cent. In the U.S.S.R. the latter (indirect) operations represent about 1.5 to 5 per cent. of the total working day (M. UZWIJ, in *Ekonomika i Organizacja Pracy*, No. 4, Apr. 1950, p. 153).

² S. V. BASHYNSKY: *Техническое нормирование в строительстве* (Stroizdat, Moscow, 1948).

³ G. R. BARKER, in *Bulletins on Soviet Economic Development*, Series 2, No. 7 (University of Birmingham, 1952), pp. 22-29; K. N. KARTASHOV, in *Строительная Промышленность*, No. 1, 1951.

⁴ All industries.

⁵ *Большевик*, No. 5, 1952, p. 57.

lopments show the steadily growing importance of technically based norms in the building industry.

The establishment of guiding principles for technically based standard norms requires long studies by productivity experts and the training of technical staff for setting operative norms in individual building enterprises. Moreover the successful application of systems with technically based norms depends upon the close co-operation of the workers, the efficiency of management and the raising of the over-all level of technical equipment.

Wherever standard times cannot yet be technically established a system called the "progressive average norm" is applied. The time allowed for a given output is based on the statistical average of the past results of all workers and of the results of outstanding workers. This system is intended to eliminate to some degree the lowering effect of the former average statistical norm on labour productivity by making the results of outstanding workers play an important role in setting the norm. In order to enable less efficient workers to reach and exceed the progressive average norm the working methods of outstanding workers are widely publicised and the workers are trained on the job.

EFFECTS ON OUTPUT

The systems of payment by results applied in the Eastern European countries are designed to aid in the fulfilment of national economic plans to raise productivity and reduce costs progressively. These systems of payment are therefore a vehicle for planning production at various levels and discovering the maximum possibilities of increasing productivity. Payment by results also constitutes an important means of administrative control over the use of material and financial balances by authorities in charge of production. It helps, furthermore, in maintaining a constant check on the dynamics of the relationship between increases in labour productivity and in wages.

In the Eastern European countries long-term plans and yearly operational plans not only fix the targets for productivity increases and cost reduction but also provide for specific measures to achieve these targets. The introduction and extension of payment by results and improvements in the efficiency of the technical equipment and the organisation and methods of work are usually the most important of these measures.

The progress achieved in the field of labour productivity seems to be substantial. In the U.S.S.R. labour productivity in construction was 36 per cent. higher in 1951 than in 1940.¹ (The planned target of a 40 per cent. increase was not reached, probably because of substantial wartime shifts of labour and equipment to armament industries. However, during the post-war period the rate of increase in productivity was raised substantially and "payment by results appears to have produced good results".)² In Poland labour productivity in 1950 is reported to have increased by 20 per cent. over the 1949 level.³ An increase of 16 per cent. and 17 per cent. over the preceding year was reported in 1951 and 1952

¹ G. M. MALENKOV: *Report to the Nineteenth Party Congress of the Work of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.)* (Moscow, 1952), p. 61.

² U.N. ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE, op. cit., p. 33.

³ K. JAWORSKI, in *Zycie Gospodarcze*, No. 8, 16-30 Apr. 1951, p. 448.

respectively. It thus seems quite probable that the productivity increases aimed at for the building industry (86 per cent. over the 1949 level¹) fixed in the Polish long-term plan will be reached during the six-year period. Substantial increases in labour productivity in construction are also reported by planning authorities of other Eastern European countries.

Since the system of payment by results is applied by administrative decision, and all jobs for which piece and bonus rates are fixed are remunerated according to such systems in all building enterprises, it is not possible to find comparative output data regarding workers paid by time and those paid by results. However, the fact that the application of the systems of payment by results in the building industry in the countries concerned was steadily increasing suggests that increases in output per worker may to a considerable extent be ascribed to this system. The role played by mechanisation and rationalisation of the industry during the last years should nevertheless not be underestimated.

Economic incentives to increase output, besides those directly involved in the system of payment by results, may be found in various bonus schemes for speeding up production, over-fulfilment of plans, etc., based on the principle of competition ("labour emulation") between individual workers, teams and brigades.

The effect of payment by results on output is generally reported as satisfactory. However, substantial disparities in labour productivity exist between building enterprises carrying out similar jobs. On the one hand they reveal latent possibilities for increasing the average level of labour productivity; on the other hand an analysis of such disparities suggests that different systems of payment by results have varying effects on output.²

The variations in the effects of different systems of payment by results on output may depend upon the economic incentive to the worker or on the system of organisation of work proper to a given system of payment, or both. With respect to the economic incentive, in the U.S.S.R. the so-called "progressive bonus systems" are reported to have a most positive effect on output, and among these the systems using "technically based norms" are claimed to be superior to those using "statistical norms". This is because the economic incentive to raise output is higher in the case of technically based norms owing to the higher bonus rate for excess output. Moreover the detailed instructions regarding standard coefficients of utilisation of equipment capacity and of raw materials, as well as the time and progress schedules applied under such a system, also help to speed up production.³ Relatively high levels of output were attained in Poland with a system combining individual labour productivity records with merit-rating

¹ *Dziennik Ustaw*, 30 Aug. 1950.

² In 1949 in some Soviet enterprises labour productivity rose by 50-75 per cent. in house building and by 300 per cent. in road construction as a result of mechanisation of production, scientific organisation of work and the introduction of a system of payment on technically based norms with relatively high corresponding bonus rates (A. LYAPIN: *Труд при социализме* (Gospolitizdat, Moscow 1949), p. 90; and M. SPIRIDINOV: *Производительность труда в социалистическом обществе* (Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1951), p. 24).

³ B. B. VESELOVSKY, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-317.

elements in brigades.¹ This result may, however, be due to the organisation of work rather than to the application of this particular system.

It appears that whatever system is applied its effect on output depends largely on the conditions of its introduction and application, on the adequate classification of a building site into a proper category of technical equipment (and the fixing of output norms accordingly), on co-operation between workers and management and on a number of other organisational and economic factors.

EFFECTS ON COSTS

With regard to cost of production, the system of payment by results plays a twofold role in the economy of Eastern European countries. First, it facilitates estimates and control of financial plans. Secondly, through reduction of man-hours it generally means some reduction of costs.

Estimates and Control of Costs

The actual execution of an economic plan depends on the success of the numerous individual economic units that are each responsible for carrying out integral parts of the plan. Supervision of the estimates and financial plans of enterprises and institutions is therefore essential not only in order to secure the fulfilment of the plan but also to reveal the weaknesses in the economy and in the plans themselves. By these procedures it is possible to determine what factors have led to the failure to achieve planned tasks.² This supervision is carried out in two ways: by the auditing of accounts or other financial controls and by detailed day-to-day supervision by planning and executive authorities at various levels in both the drawing up of plans and in the course of efforts to fulfil targets to increase production and reduce financial disbursements.

The operational financial plans for a given industry represent a sum of financial estimates made by every enterprise down to the level of individual building sites or workshops. Labour cost estimates and planned reduction of such costs are based on the system of payment by results. The labour cost of a planned job is converted into an estimated wages fund which, in turn, is computed on the basis of prevailing norms of output (number of workers) and wage and bonus rates (earnings per worker). The planned reduction of labour costs depends directly upon the anticipated adjustments of output (or time) norms and wage and bonus rates.³

The planned economies of Eastern Europe attach particular importance to a frequent control of costs of production in general and of labour costs (in terms of wage funds) in particular. This is because the wage bill is one of the most important charges to be considered in the drafting of industry's financial and production plans. Annual plans

¹ C. STRZELECKI, in *Publikacja No. 37*, *op. cit.*

² A. BAYKOV: *Development of the Soviet Economic System* (Cambridge, 1947), pp. 451-452.

³ Cf. P. A. PARFANAK: *Финансовый контроль за расходованием фондов заработной платы* (Gosfinizdat, Moscow, 1945).

for the development of industry always make provision in specified percentages for a rise in labour productivity and in the general wages fund.

A large amount of legislation in the countries concerned deals with the problems of control of costs and wage funds.¹ The system of payment by results is directly linked to the machinery for control. In Czechoslovakia the monthly chart of an individual worker who is paid by results indicates the required and actual output, fixed wage and bonus rate and actual earnings. It constitutes the basic document for control of labour cost per unit of output and of wages in general.² Similar control arrangements are made in other Eastern European countries.

At a higher level payment by results likewise serves as a means of control in the auditing of the accounts of a given industry by financial authorities and in the granting of credit by the banks. In the U.S.S.R., according to Decision (No. 1215) of 15 August 1939 of the Sovnarkom, the amount of credit for the quarterly wage funds is granted to the extent of estimates based on lists of norms and wage and bonus rates. If the demand for credit by the enterprise exceeds the estimate, it should be justified by excess output or similar circumstances which oblige the enterprise to employ more workers than originally determined or to pay more in bonuses for excess output.³

In both cases the quantitative and qualitative output norms and corresponding wage and bonus rates on the one hand and the actual output and earnings records per worker on the other hand constitute the main controls over expenditure on labour costs. They also help to control other cost factors and the extent to which the plan of production has been fulfilled. This control is possible because the cross-checking of credits for new equipment, for example, and wage funds compared with the actual output figures may reveal irregularities in the cost structure of an enterprise (or particular job).⁴ For example, if the provision of special credits for equipment, without changes in actual

¹ The following is the principal legislation:

In the U.S.S.R.—

- (a) Decision of the Sovnarkom (Council of Ministers) of 21 February 1933 concerning control of the wage funds by banks;
- (b) Decision of the Sovnarkom of 11 June 1935 concerning detailed control of expenditure on the wage funds;
- (c) Decision of the Sovnarkom of 5 April 1939 concerning labour planning in the construction industry and the extension of control of long-term credits granted to building enterprises for wage funds (quoted by B. B. VESELOVSKY, op. cit.);

In Poland—

- (a) Instruction of the National Bank of Poland, No. 122 of 13 November 1951, on the control of wage funds;
- (b) Service instruction of the National Bank of Poland, Part V, March 1952 (quoted by B. PIŁAWSKI in *Zycie Gospodarcze*, No. 17, 11 Aug. 1952, pp. 966-967).

² F. VÁVROVSKÝ, in *Statistický Obzor*, No. 6, 1953, pp. 220-225.

³ N. N. ROVINSKY: *Финансовый контроль в СССР* (Gosfinizdat, Moscow, 1947), pp. 210-213.

⁴ Cf. *Организация финансов и кредита капиталовложений*, edited by N. N. ROVINSKY (Gosfinizdat, Moscow, 1951), pp. 225-246.

output, does not correspond to a decrease of expenditure on wage funds, one of the following irregularities may be revealed:

- (1) the minimum output norms applied by the enterprise are too low¹;
- (2) the number of workers is too high for the new technical conditions²; or
- (3) the equipment capacity is not fully used, and consequently the unit cost of the equipment is too high.³

Reduction of Costs

The ramified and meticulous control of costs carried out in Eastern Europe is intended to help in attaining planned reductions in costs. In the Polish Six-Year Plan provision was made for a reduction in building costs by 26 per cent.⁴ A special Order of the Ministry of Construction of 8 April 1952 provided for further measures to reduce building costs.⁵ In the U.S.S.R. the Government ordered as from 1 July 1950 the lowering of estimated costs of construction by an average of 25 per cent.

The progress achieved appears to have lagged behind the plans. Many complaints have appeared in Czechoslovak official journals throughout the last three years that plans for cost reduction are not being fulfilled.⁶ In Eastern Germany the 1951 Plan Fulfilment Report mentioned that building costs were "still much too high" and that allocations in 1951 had to be increased because the fall in building costs was not so great as had been expected.⁶ In Hungary in 1950 and 1951 some reductions of costs were achieved, but after wage increases at the end of 1951 and during 1952 building costs were reported to be rising again.⁶ In the U.S.S.R. it was stated in December 1950 that "many Ministries, departments and draughting and construction organisations" had not carried out the provisions of the above-mentioned order on cost reduction of 1 July 1950.⁷ In 1951 building organisations had "reduced the costs and time of building compared with 1950. However, many organisations have not completely fulfilled . . . planned tasks as regards the reduction of construction costs."⁸

¹ The output norms per worker are determined for a given category of enterprise, and changes in equipment capacity should result in adjustment of output norms.

² The costs estimates for each construction unit (or building) are based on a so-called catalogue of cost norms, which includes labour cost coefficients for each equipment classification of the enterprise concerned. Labour cost should equal the sum of man-hours provided by such classification for various categories of skill multiplied by the wage coefficients of the corresponding categories.

³ Each industry (or enterprise) is bound to abide by fixed "norms" of equipment capacity (i.e., by fixed coefficients of equipment utilisation per worker and per unit of output).

⁴ *Dziennik Ustaw*, 30 Aug. 1950.

⁵ *Monitor Polski*, No. A-42, 1952, Item 606.

⁶ U.N. ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

⁷ *Известия*, 8 Dec. 1950.

⁸ *Idem*, 29 Jan. 1952.

Although the plans for reducing costs have not been entirely fulfilled, considerable progress in this direction has often been reported by the authorities of the countries concerned. As no information is available with regard to the cost of building materials and equipment over the corresponding period it is not possible to ascertain the extent to which the system of payment by results has contributed to the reduction of building costs. However, the data quoted above on increases in labour productivity show that there have been substantial reductions in man-hours. This has been accompanied by a general raising of norms, but accelerating bonuses would probably have absorbed a considerable proportion of savings in direct labour costs.

Numerous incentive schemes have been adopted with a view to reducing the cost of other input factors besides labour costs. Thus collective and individual bonuses are paid to the technical staff for fulfilment (and over-fulfilment) of the financial plan of the enterprise (or a particular job)¹, and in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the U.S.S.R. collective and individual bonuses are paid to the workers, over and above the normal output incentives, for saving raw materials and for using equipment to its full capacity.

The co-operation of the workers in the nation-wide movement for reducing costs also seems to be valuable. In all the countries concerned individual and collective efforts to save raw materials and avoid damage to equipment, within the framework of voluntary competition (labour emulation) and the movement for rationalisation, are reported to have yielded substantial results in terms of reduction of costs.²

As a whole, the experience with payment by results seems to have proved satisfactory with respect to labour costs. Unfavourable effects on the cost of equipment and materials appear to be counterbalanced by the introduction of technically based norms and by the application of special incentive schemes for saving input factors.

EFFECTS ON WORKERS' EARNINGS

According to the planning authorities the application of payment by results is intended to raise the living standard of the workers. In the first place this objective is to be attained by increases in labour productivity, which are to be reflected immediately in higher money earnings and more and cheaper consumer goods. A further rise in workers' welfare is to be achieved through capital investment financed through past increases in labour productivity. Such investment implies an increase in the national wealth of the country, which in its turn means further increases in consumer goods and in "social wages" (social security, facilities for culture, education, health, leisure, etc.).

The funds necessary for accumulation are to be provided by the difference between the gains of the economy from increased labour productivity and the value of wages and goods immediately distributed to the workers as a reward for their efficiency. Therefore the earnings

of the worker depend mainly on the determination of the order of priorities between present and future welfare. In practice all systems of payment by results are subordinated to a predetermined relationship between increases in earnings and increases in output in accordance with the objectives fixed by the over-all economic plan.

Time and Piece Workers

Compared with time payment, payment by results affects workers' earnings in two ways: first because of basic wage differentials, and secondly because of the effects of linking earnings to output; these factors vary under different systems and conditions of introduction and application. In the countries concerned the basic hourly wage rates of piece workers are generally considerably higher than those of workers of equal or corresponding skill paid by time. This is due to the attempt of the authorities to introduce and extend payment by results in as many industries, trades and skills as possible. Therefore the basic hourly wage of a worker paid by results is in itself an economic incentive to accept employment under that system, irrespective of the additional bonus earned by excess output. For example, in the U.S.S.R. the basic hourly wage rates fixed in 1935 for seven classifications of building workers were nearly 20 per cent. higher for piece workers than for time workers in corresponding categories.¹ Similar measures were taken after the Second World War in other Eastern European countries, especially in the initial stages of shifting from time payment to systems of payment by results.

This does not mean, however, that the "basic hourly wage rate" of workers remunerated by results is paid without regard to output. In most of the countries concerned and under the majority of prevailing systems no minimum guaranteed hourly wage is used. The minimum output requirements per hour fixed for piece workers did not initially exceed the output records of an average time worker, while the corresponding hourly wage rates were higher. Available information on the average fulfilment of output norms by building workers shows that the earning of such a "basic hourly wage rate" is very common, and the earnings of a piece worker are therefore, if only by virtue of the differential "hourly rate", higher than those of the time worker. The difference is increased if the piece-work norm is exceeded, and this too is very common. For example, in Poland output norms were exceeded on the average in the building industry in the second half of 1949 and the first half of 1950 by between 160 and 200 per cent.² In 1950 the norms were increased but, owing to the mechanisation of the industry and the introduction of new methods of work, the new norms were substantially exceeded, frequently by as much as 200 per cent.³

In general the importance of bonus payments in total earnings is steadily growing. In the U.S.S.R. the award of bonuses was extended on a considerable scale to engineering and technical personnel for fulfilment and over-fulfilment of production plans, so that such premiums rose from 11 per cent. of earnings in 1940 to 28 per cent. in 1944,

¹ Decision of the Sovnarkom of 11 February 1936, quoted by B. B. VESELOVSKY, op. cit., p. 218.

² Cf. Z. KORYZNA: *Współzawodnictwo pracy i jego organizacja* (P.W.G., Warsaw, 1951), p. 119.

¹ Decision of the Economic Council of the Sovnarkom of 11 March 1935, quoted by B. B. VESELOVSKY, op. cit.

² A. FERSKI, op. cit., p. 33.

³ M. HELFGOT, loc. cit.

carrying the incentive principle to the point where one-quarter of the total salary bill (in all industries) depended directly on results.¹

The earnings of the workers are affected by other factors besides the payment of regular bonuses for excess output under any given system of payment by results. The granting of premiums and awards to individuals outstanding in the fulfilment of production tasks (quantity and quality of output, saving of raw materials, etc.) in the course of individual or collective competition has a special importance. In the U.S.S.R. the proportion of bonuses and premiums of this type in the earnings of workers in all industries rose from 4.5 per cent. in 1940 to 8 per cent. in 1944.² In other Eastern European countries the bonuses and premiums awarded within the framework of voluntary work competition have come to play a substantial role in workers' earnings.³

Irrespective of the system applied the earnings of the workers remunerated by results are adversely affected in the case of non-fulfilment of the output norm. As was mentioned above, a guaranteed minimum wage is generally not applied if the output norm is not reached owing to negligence, bad work or lack of ability. In such cases the worker is penalised and his earnings are computed in proportion to his output. If deficiencies in quality or quantity of output are caused by no fault of the worker, his earnings are generally affected, but to a lesser degree. In such cases the regulations in the U.S.S.R. provide for a payment of 75 per cent. of the normal rate. Hours not worked by no fault of the worker are paid at a rate equal to 50 per cent. of the corresponding basic wage.⁴ On the other hand, in Poland workers paid by results receive the full daily rate if they are not responsible for the failure to reach the output target. A full normal rate is also paid for time not worked because of a stoppage of work not caused by the fault of the worker. In the latter case the payment of full wages is subject to certain conditions. Thus full wages are paid, provided the worker concerned immediately reports the stoppage of work to his supervisor; or, where such stoppage can be anticipated by the worker (e.g., insufficient allocation of materials, deficient equipment, etc.), if he informs his foreman or the supervisor of the building site in due time. If the work on a building site is interrupted for more than five days the management of the building enterprise has to provide work on another construction job or put the workers at the disposal of the Central Building Organisation. It is, however, stipulated that in such circumstances workers shall be remunerated at their normal wage rates and that skilled workers must not be employed on unskilled jobs, even in emergency cases.⁵

Earnings of Individual Piece Workers

It is obvious that the earnings of individual workers vary with output. In many instances, however, large disparities in the earnings

¹ *Bulletins on Soviet Economic Development*, Series 2, No. 6 (University of Birmingham, 1951), p. 10.

² *Большевик*, No. 13, 1949, pp. 16-26; cf. N. S. MASLOVA, op. cit.

³ Articles by K. JAWORSKI and J. KOSIOWSKI, in *Publikacja No. 37*, op. cit.; see also Z. KORYZNA, op. cit.

⁴ N. N. ROVINSKY: *Финансовый контроль в СССР*, loc. cit.

⁵ Decision of 4 May 1950 (*Przepisy Prawa Pracy* (Warsaw, 1951), pp. 251-254).

of workers of corresponding skill and efficiency are due to the inadequate setting and application of output norms or wage and bonus rates, or both. Prior to a recent reform of the Polish system of payment in the building industry (15 June 1953) it was admitted that the system of payment in the industry was not uniform. Different premiums at different rates were paid to workers in the same occupational category. This was due to the fact that the prevailing regulations fixed standard times (or output targets) for each individual case, but did not provide for a uniform interpretation of jobs carried out under conditions even slightly different from those covered by the regulations. Consequently the final fixing of norms and wage and bonus rates was left to the management of individual building enterprises, who made different decisions in identical cases.

Furthermore some disparities in earnings were observed in the case of team workers. Methods of distributing the earnings of team workers were criticised for not taking into consideration the prevailing wage coefficients based on occupational categories and skill classifications of the individual workers.¹

Earnings of individual workers were also affected by differences in norms and tariffs according to the system of work. The unit price of one square metre of plastering, for example, depended upon whether or not it was carried out by team workers or individual workers. In many cases the earnings of skilled workers were adversely affected because, in fixing the unit price, no allowance was made for the degree of skill involved in a particular job. For example, in the bricklaying or plastering of one square metre of a wall, the same unit price was fixed for a simple wall as for a wall of a complicated design and structure. Thus the earnings of a skilled worker carrying out a complicated job reflected (besides the quantity of output) only the wage differential based on standard coefficients of the corresponding occupational category and degree of skill, and no allowance was made for the particular skill required or difficulties involved in the performance of such a job. In practice the existence of non-differentiated unit prices resulted in "good" and "bad" jobs, in which the earning of a bonus by workers of equal skill and efficiency was relatively very easy or very difficult.² Similar shortcomings in the fixing and application of norms and wage and bonus rates, resulting in unjustifiable disparities in earnings, have been criticised in Czechoslovakia and other countries in Eastern Europe.³

Successive adjustments of prevailing systems of payment by results have been gradually eliminating many factors that have had an undesirable effect on workers' earnings and labour productivity. Under the 1953 reforms in Czechoslovakia and Poland separate unit prices depending upon the system of work (whether collective or individual) were cancelled and, as in the U.S.S.R., uniform prices were substituted. In Poland, wherever possible, output targets and standard times are fixed for a two-man team. The output norms of team workers have been considerably lowered.

Regarding jobs of different degrees of difficulty, a number of measures have been taken to eliminate differentials in earnings arising from factors other than skill and labour productivity. These measures are

¹ M. HELFGOT, loc. cit.

² A. FERSKI, op. cit., pp. 18-19; and K. JAWORSKI, in *Zycie Gospodarcze*, No. 21, 12 July 1953, pp. 751-753.

³ F. VÁVROVSKÝ, loc. cit.

of two types. First, jobs of different degrees of difficulty are allocated to teams of different skill composition.¹ This is designed to link the particular skill required for the performance of a job with the skill category of the worker concerned. It eliminates the previous effects on earnings resulting from relatively high coefficients of difficulty combined with a relatively low basic wage coefficient, or vice versa. Secondly, on the basis of determined "coefficients of difficulty", separate standard times are fixed for the carrying out of quantitatively uniform output targets.² This measure is intended to provide an equal chance to reach and exceed the output norm for workers employed on jobs of different degrees of difficulty.

The recent reforms of systems of payment by results in the building industry seem to create the necessary conditions for increases in earnings by efficient workers. Several factors resulting in unjustifiable disparities in earnings, which tend to discourage the raising of skill and efficiency, have gradually been eliminated. Moreover, particular attention to vocational training, the raising of skills and improvements in the organisation of work on the building site, etc., is intended to facilitate increases in efficiency and earnings. It appears, therefore, that after a certain period of trial and error payment by results in the building industry has become an effective economic incentive.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of systems of payment in the building industry in Eastern Europe reveals a rapid extension of payment by results. This has been accompanied by substantial mechanisation of the industry, the establishment of research institutions for rationalising the organisation of building sites and intensive training of workers. All these factors appear to have contributed to a considerable increase in labour productivity, but there is no means of knowing how far this is attributable to the extension and improvement of systems of payment by results, and how far to other factors.

Planned reductions in costs of construction have not in all cases been achieved. It is not known how far this is due to a failure to reduce the cost of materials and how far to a failure to reduce labour costs. Reductions in labour costs attributable to higher productivity and to a raising of norms and standards must have been at least partly offset by the payment of bonuses at progressive rates. Incentive schemes for the saving of materials and equipment have constituted an important feature of the general drive for reduction of construction costs. Besides

¹ For example, the bricklaying of a simple wall is carried out by a team composed of a mason of the fifth category and a helper of the third category; of a more complicated wall by a mason of the sixth category and a helper of the fourth category; in the case of extremely complicated construction the team must be composed of a mason of the seventh (highest) category and a helper of the fourth category.

² For example, walls are divided into five categories. Where niches, half pillars and pilasters exceed 40 per cent. of the total surface the wall is placed in the fifth category; where they represent 30 to 40 per cent. the wall is placed in the fourth category, and so on. A simple standard wall is in the first category. For each category of wall a corresponding "coefficient of difficulty" is fixed. The standard times computed on the basis of such coefficients vary substantially.

encouraging higher output, the systems of payment in use serve an important purpose as a basis for the control of costs and the planning of cost reductions.

A number of shortcomings in the setting of output norms and the fixing of wage and bonus rates, which have adversely affected workers' earnings and labour productivity, have been gradually eliminated in successive reforms, and the money earnings of piece workers, within the framework of general wage policy, seem to constitute an adequate economic incentive to the worker.

Finally, the full employment policies of Eastern European countries, based on interdependent plans of production, consumption and allocation of manpower, seem to provide adequate safeguards against possible adverse effects of payment by results on levels of employment. Long-term plans for capital investment show that, even assuming a substantial increase in labour productivity, a growing number of workers will be needed for many years to carry out important civil engineering and industrial construction projects and housing programmes.

The Development of Labour Legislation on Young Workers in Certain Industrialised Countries

The following study follows on the study of the development of labour legislation concerning young workers in the United Kingdom that appeared in the January 1953 issue of the Review. Here a brief account is given of the development of legislation in five countries that underwent a period of rapid industrial expansion soon after the United Kingdom and were faced with similar problems—Belgium, France, Germany, Switzerland and the United States. Both articles were prepared from material collected in response to a resolution adopted by the I.L.O. Regional Conference in 1950 calling for a study by the International Labour Office of the solutions found in industrially advanced countries to certain problems raised by the adoption and enforcement of legislation for the protection of young workers.

BACKGROUND

The Industrial Revolution, which started in the United Kingdom in the second half of the eighteenth century, soon spread to other European countries, notably Belgium, France, Germany and Switzerland, and to the United States, and produced there conditions largely resembling those in the United Kingdom in the early days of its industrialisation. Large-scale mechanised factories, particularly in the cotton industry, replaced handicraft enterprise in these countries during the first decades of the nineteenth century. The change-over led to the concentration in the industrial centres of considerable masses of wage earners who, in the absence of any protective legislation, were compelled either to accept work under any conditions or risk starvation.

Here, too, the introduction of machines facilitated the extensive employment of small children, who provided a cheap labour force to the employers and a contribution, however small, to the meagre earnings of their parents. As in the United Kingdom, most of these children, often employed from the age of five or six years, worked long hours (working days of 16 and 18 hours have been reported), and frequently had to tend defective and dangerous machines amidst dust and noise, in dark, dingy and overcrowded workrooms, under merciless supervisors. Many of them were crippled by accidents or bad posture or died before they reached adulthood.

It was not long before certain philanthropic statesmen and employers and a number of far-sighted educators such as the Minister of Education von Altenstein in Prussia and the employer Le Grand in France began to plead for the elimination of the abuses of child labour in factories.

Various inquiries were undertaken, such as those made at the instance of the councils of education in the Swiss cantons of Zürich (1812) and St. Gall (1813), of the Minister of Education in Prussia (1818) and the Academy of Science in France (Report of Villermé, 1839-40). The publication of their reports aroused public opinion and led to the adoption of the first regulations for the protection of children in employment at a time when economic liberalism, with its abhorrence of all intervention by the State in employer-employee relations, was still the prevailing economic doctrine. These regulations included the Order of 1815 of the canton of Zürich, the Prussian regulations of 1839, the French Act of 1841 and the law of Massachusetts (United States) of 1842. From these first attempts to provide legal protection for children, the wage earners least able to defend themselves, developed slowly but steadily the present structure of modern labour legislation, which, extended first to women workers, now covers all workers and is based on the conviction that it is one of the principal duties of the State to guard and promote the well-being of all its citizens.

Various factors contributed to the development of public opinion in favour of the protection of children in factories. There is no doubt that before the Industrial Revolution children of all ages had worked in their fathers' workshops and homes under conditions detrimental to their physical and moral development, but in the new factories, where the children had to adapt themselves to the rhythm of the machines and were without any parental protection, the hardships were far greater. Moreover conditions in factories became known to the public more readily than those prevailing in a child's home, and the sufferings of the factory children were more striking because of their concentration in large numbers in the workplaces.

Furthermore there was a change in the attitude towards children. Formerly it was considered to be to a child's advantage to earn his own living by the work of his hands as soon as possible. This attitude may be explained in part by the scarcity of free schools and the widespread poverty, as yet unrelieved by economic development or social security and public assistance schemes. In addition, children were looked upon as undersized adults, and their special physical and mental needs were still undiscovered. The nineteenth century, it has been said, not only discovered the machines, it also discovered the children.¹ It was during this century that the teachings of educators like Pestalozzi in Switzerland and Froebel in Germany drew attention to the needs of children for suitable education, recreation, and play. These were revolutionary principles when they were formulated. Thus, while formerly only the duties of the child were considered, the nineteenth century saw the beginnings of the movement to safeguard the "rights of the child", and the twentieth century has with reason been called the "century of the child".

There were of course other factors that favoured the development of legislation for the protection of working children. The introduction of universal suffrage, closely related to the development and progress of democracy, together with the growth of trade unionism, increasingly permitted the working classes to voice their demands and to obtain satisfaction for them; the spread of social and economic doctrines calling for the intervention of the State in favour of the working classes

¹ Jean-Marcel LECHNER: *Le Travail Industriel de l'Enfance en Suisse et sa Protection Légale jusqu'en 1874* (Geneva, 1942).

was also influential. Undoubtedly the rising interest in social legislation as a whole and in social betterment stimulated the development of child labour legislation.

This development, however, was slow. It took as a rule many years of agitation before the first laws were enacted and when they were adopted they were not enforced because of the inadequacy of administrative machinery. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that a minimum enforcement of these laws was ensured by the introduction of factory inspection on modern lines. In Belgium, for instance, a committee appointed in 1843 to inquire into the conditions of the working classes and child labour revealed abuses that made a deep impression in the country, but no action was taken at that time to remedy the situation; not until 1884 was a law adopted regulating child labour in the mines; a law of 1889 concerning the work of women and children introduced for the first time factory inspection for the enforcement of its provisions.¹

There were a number of reasons for this slow progress. The guild system, which had afforded some protection to workers, had been swept away by the French Revolution and its repercussions in the different countries, and it was necessary to build up from practically nothing a new protective system adapted to the changed economic and social conditions created by modern industrialisation. It must also be borne in mind that while the changes wrought by the new factory system were so rapid that the word "revolution" was justified, these changes at first affected only a very limited sector of the economy of the countries concerned. Industrialisation as we now understand the term was not completed in these countries for many years. In Switzerland, for instance, the Industrial Revolution started at the beginning of the nineteenth century but was said to be complete only about 1874, when the separation between agriculture and industry was completed.² In the middle of the nineteenth century industry was still in the early stages of development even in countries such as France, Germany, Belgium and the United States. The bulk of the population of these countries was still occupied in agriculture and handicrafts. In 1850 only 14.4 per cent. of the total population of France and 12 per cent. of the population of the United States were living in towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants. Most of the important inventions and discoveries (aluminium, aniline dyes, the exploitation of oilfields and potash mines, the production of ferro-concrete, dynamos and the industrial application of electricity, the telephone, diesel motors, cinematography and synthetic nitrogen) were not made until the second half of the nineteenth century. Manufacturing industries, especially the textile industry, were the most developed, whereas the industries producing capital goods, especially iron smelting, were only at the beginning of their development. Around 1845 Germany was producing 4 to 5 million tons of coal a year, France 2 to 3 million and the United States about 5 million; at the beginning of the twentieth century the output was 25 times as high in Germany, 10 to 16 times as high in France and nearly 50 times as high in the United States. Transport and communications were still rudimentary in 1850. At that time the average speed of railway trains was 10 miles an hour, and the total network of railways in the world (i.e., in Europe and North America)

¹ Emile CORNEZ: *Cent Ans de Législation Sociale en Belgique* (Brussels, 1948).

² Antony BABEL: *Essai sur les Causes et le Développement de la Législation du Travail en Suisse* (Geneva, 1925), pp. 125-126.

covered only about 24,000 miles as compared with over 800,000 miles (81 per cent. in Europe and America) at the beginning of the Second World War. Steamboats were rare in 1850, and the total tonnage of the world's mercantile marine was around 9 million, whereas it attained 70 million during the period between the First and Second World Wars.

It may be presumed that there is a very definite relation between the development of the legal protection of working children and the development in the countries concerned of the economic resources that eventually brought about a rise in the standard of living. Moreover this economic development was accompanied by a decline in the birth rate, first in France, in the 1820s, and in the other countries of western Europe, with the exception of Germany, from 1880 onwards. It is possible that this decline, by reducing the cost of rearing children to the families, also facilitated to some extent the elimination of premature child labour.¹

It will be seen that the economic and social background in the countries we are now considering had many features similar to those observed in the United Kingdom in the course of its industrialisation. The solutions adopted in these countries as regards the protection of young workers are also, in many respects, comparable with those adopted in the United Kingdom.

EARLY LEGISLATION

The Education of Working Children

The more the factories increased in number, the more they competed with the neighbouring schools; the children deserted the schools in order to enter the factories. Long working hours not only affected the children's health and physical development; they also made them unfit even to profit from the instruction given in Sunday schools and evening classes, and thus they were left without any education. Consequently, as had been the case in the United Kingdom, the religious and primary education of the factory children was one of the first concerns of the early reformers.

In the United States the first state laws adopted merely required the proprietors of manufacturing establishments in which children were employed to provide education for them. In the countries of western Europe the first child labour regulations not only prohibited the night work of factory children and restricted their hours of work but also in many cases made attendance at school compulsory from the legal age of admission to employment up to a specified age. The Order of 1815 adopted in the Swiss canton of Zürich, which fixed a working day of 12 to 14 hours for all children between the ages of 9 and 16 employed in the spinning mills, prescribed that the father should see to it that the child attended school and received religious instruction and that the factory owners should encourage their child employees to attend school. The Prussian regulations of 1839 limited the daily working hours of factory children between 9 and 16 years of age to ten, and in addition required children under 14 to attend school for five hours daily, and a French law of 1841 prescribed an eight-hour day for factory children

¹ M. BOURGEOIS-PICHAT: "Evolution de la population enfantine dans le monde", in *Courrier* (Paris, International Children's Centre), Vol. II, No. 8, Sep. 1952, pp. 447-457.

between 8 and 12 years of age and required that all children admitted to employment should attend school.

These first provisions for compulsory schooling were, however, hardly applied, not only because of the absence of adequate machinery for enforcement but also because the working day was still too long to permit supplementary schooling. The children of 8 or 9 years of age who were allowed, under the regulations cited above, to work eight, ten and even 14 hours a day, could be in no condition to attend school as required (in Prussia for five hours a day in addition to ten hours' work). To remedy situations of this kind certain countries introduced for children obliged to attend school a half-time system under which the children's work was organised in shifts, each child normally working six hours a day either in the morning or in the afternoon. Thus, in Prussia under a law of 1853 children between 12 and 14 years of age were not allowed to work more than six hours daily and in addition had to attend school for three hours. A working day of six hours was also introduced in the Swiss canton of Schaffhausen in 1873 for children between 13 and 14 years and in France in 1874 for children between 10 and 12 years employed in certain branches of work, including spinning mills and glass works. However, the half-time system, although it led to the restriction of working hours for children, had various disadvantages. It was difficult for the inspectors to control different hours of work for different groups of workers or to ascertain whether a child found at work in one shift had not been working in the other too. Even where young children were only employed during legal hours they were too tired, after having worked in the factory for six hours, to profit by the instruction given at school, and their mental and physical development suffered from the double strain of school and work. Employers, too, did not seem to consider this system as advantageous to them. In France, for instance, inspectors reported in 1886 that for several years the employers had not made use of the possibility of employing children between 10 and 12 years of age under the half-time system.¹ The gradual raising of the age of admission to employment and the introduction of compulsory primary education for children finally led to the abolition of the half-time system. The system nevertheless served a purpose during a transition period in discouraging the employment of young children.

Another system combining the work of the children with education was established by some of the earlier state laws of the United States. In Pennsylvania, for instance, a law of 1849 applying mainly to textile and paper factories provided that children between 13 and 16 years could be employed for only nine months a year and had to attend school for the remaining three months. Like most of the laws of this period, however, it was not applied owing to the lack of enforcement provisions. Later laws of the United States made the admission of children to employment dependent upon the attainment of a minimum of instruction, such as ability to read and write. Other countries prescribed similar conditions. In the Swiss canton of Zürich, for instance, an Order of 1837 applying to the spinning mills provided that children were not to be admitted to employment unless they had reached the age of 12 years and produced a certificate of elementary schooling; and much later the French law of 1874 prescribing compulsory primary

education provided that children between 12 and 15 years of age had to obtain a certificate of primary education before being admitted to employment. In the United States, too, most of the more recent state laws have made admission to employment dependent on the attainment of a prescribed school grade.

In spite of the limited practical effect of the early legislation the educational requirements laid down stimulated school attendance. At the outset, naturally, there was a general lack of the necessary school facilities. At that time general compulsory and free education did not yet exist and the schools were largely the work of the Church or other voluntary agencies, sometimes subsidised by the State. Although their numbers had considerably increased after the beginning of the nineteenth century under the influence of public opinion, which more and more recognised the value of education both for the individual and for the community, the schools were still far from providing education for all children in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was reported in France, for example, that there were no school facilities for 70,000 children between 8 and 12 years employed in 500 establishments for whom the law of 1841 prescribed compulsory schooling.¹

Employers who wished to employ children therefore often had themselves to provide the schools. Sometimes, as in the Austrian Primary School Act of 1869, the responsibility of the employer for providing the necessary schooling facilities was explicitly stated in the law.² The utility of such factory schools has been recognised, especially in the case of undertakings far removed from centres of population, though the schools were often of little educational value owing to the inadequacy of the accommodation, equipment and teaching staff. The first factory inspectors, whose duties often included the supervision of the schooling of factory children (for instance, in Prussia)³, found it difficult to improve this situation. Thus it became more and more evident that the introduction of a state-controlled system of free and compulsory education was the only effective remedy, and in the latter part of the century this measure was increasingly adopted.⁴

It is at present recognised that free compulsory education for all children is necessary in democratic countries to ensure equality of education and vocational opportunity to all citizens. Only through compulsory education can a child acquire the necessary basis for his vocational training and working life; it is indispensable, therefore, for the building up of the skilled labour force required in modern industrialised States, for the effective development of the nation's economic resources and for the increase of productivity. It is also an indispensable prerequisite for the elimination of premature child labour and the effective enforcement of provisions concerning the legal minimum age of employment.

¹ E. LEVASSEUR: *Histoire des classes ouvrières et de l'industrie en France de 1789 à 1870* (Paris, 1904), Vol. II, p. 131.

² S. KRAUS: *Kinderarbeit und Gesetzlicher Kinderschutz in Österreich* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1904), p. 31.

³ Stephan POERSCHE: *Die Entwicklung der Gewerbeaufsicht in Deutschland* (Jena, 1913), pp. 30-31.

⁴ In the United States, where school regulations fall within the competence of the states, the first general attendance law was introduced as early as 1852 in Massachusetts; it was followed in 1871 by the attendance law of Michigan, which was copied by about six other states. In France primary schooling became compulsory between 1874 and 1882. In the Swiss cantons free compulsory schooling was first introduced (in the Republic of Geneva) in 1872.

¹ MINISTÈRE DU COMMERCE ET DE L'INDUSTRIE: *Rapport sur l'Application de la Loi du 19 mai 1874, ... pendant l'Année 1886* (Paris, 1887), pp. 9-10.

Age of Admission to Employment

The first laws regulating child labour applied mostly to textile factories; they fixed a minimum age of admission to employment, usually at a very low level (between 8 and 10 years)¹, and for a long time the minimum age remained low in most of the countries concerned. It must be recalled, however, that at a time when education had not yet been made compulsory for all children the factory laws alone ensured education for factory children, and this education began with the age of admission to employment. It appears that the increasing enactment of a higher age for admission to employment became possible, as a rule, only with the provision of education for all children. In France, for instance, where in 1874 general compulsory education began to be introduced for all children up to 12 years of age, the minimum age of admission to employment was raised from 8 to 12 years (10 years in specified industries) in the same year.²

At present the compulsory school-leaving age and the age of admission to employment have come to be closely related in industrially advanced countries. Schooling is now compulsory up to the age when the child is admitted to employment, so that there is no gap left during which the child is deprived of beneficial occupation, and in certain laws special provisions are made to ensure that when the school-leaving age is raised the minimum age of admission to employment is also raised. In France, for instance, the amendment of the Labour Code adopted in 1948 has closely linked the provisions concerning the minimum age of employment to those of compulsory education by prohibiting the employment of children before the age of completing compulsory education (at present 14 years). Any future change in the school-leaving age in France will therefore automatically result in a corresponding change in the age of admission to work. In certain states in the United States the compulsory school attendance age is fixed at a very high level, such as 18 years, but children may be exempted from school attendance at a lower age, either 14 or 16 as a rule, if they are regularly and lawfully employed; if they are unemployed they must return to school.

For some time primary compulsory education was the only means of providing restriction on the full-time employment of children in agriculture and in various non-industrial occupations. Child labour regulations in the industrially advanced countries have been extended to occupations outside industry until they cover nearly all branches of work, but school attendance regulations are still of special significance in relation to employment in such occupations as industrial home work, itinerant trades, domestic service and agriculture, for which legislation provides numerous exceptions and in which enforcement is difficult.

Even in industrially advanced countries school attendance regulations may still fail to prevent premature employment in certain cases where they are subject to exceptions on various grounds. In the United States and some other countries school regulations often permit children to leave school before the normal leaving age for such reasons as distance

¹ In the Swiss canton of Zürich, 10 years (in 1815); in Prussia, 9 years (in 1839); in France, 8 years (in 1841).

² The age has been raised subsequently by stages: it is at present 14 in France and Germany, 15 in Switzerland and 16 (under federal legislation) in the United States.

from school or economic necessity. From many countries, however, it is reported that exemptions on these grounds are now being scrutinised with greater care and are being increasingly eliminated.¹

Medical Examination to Determine Physical Fitness for Employment

One of the most important means of protecting the health of young workers is the requirement that they undergo a medical examination to test their physical fitness for work. However, since no adequate medical services existed at the time of the first regulations for the protection of young workers, no such provision was made.² Some of the earlier laws merely entrusted inspectors with the general health supervision of the young workers. In France the law of 1841, which remained a "dead letter", provided that the inspectors to be appointed by the Government could ask a physician to accompany them when visiting the factories. In Germany the duties of the first factory inspectors under the Act of 1853 included the supervision of hygiene and safety in factories as far as the young workers were concerned.

The first provisions concerning the medical examination of young workers took the form of laws empowering the factory inspectors to order an examination if they considered it necessary. Such a provision was introduced in respect of employed children under 12 and girls of any age in the French law of 1874. In the United States such legislation was first enacted in the states of Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey and New York. The next form of legal provision adopted in the United States permitted the officer issuing employment certificates to require a child who did not appear physically fit for work to be examined by a physician before he could secure an employment certificate. It became recognised, however, that a medical examination based merely on the discretionary power of the inspectors or other officers who, for the most part, were not physicians and had many other duties, was not sufficient safeguard for the health of the young workers concerned. In more recent years, therefore, certain industrial countries have made the medical examination of young workers a condition for their admission to work. At present in the majority of the states of the United States one of the conditions for issuing an employment certificate is that the young person has been medically examined and found physically fit for his work. The age up to which employment certificates are required varies between 16 and 18 years. In Belgium, under present legislation, the compulsory pre-employment medical examination applies to young persons under 21 years of age; in France this examination is prescribed for workers of all ages.

The protection of the health of the young workers is, however, not complete unless after admission to employment they are required to undergo renewed medical examination to ascertain continued fitness for work. Provisions of this kind, which were the last to be introduced, exist at present in Belgium (annual medical re-examination of young workers under 21) and France (medical re-examination three times a year for young workers under 18). In the United States hardly any

¹ U.N.E.S.C.O.-I.B.E.: *Compulsory Education and its Prolongation*, Publication No. 133 (Paris and Geneva, 1951), p. 160.

² In Austria, however, a decree of 1786 on the protection of factory children provided that the public physician of the district (*Kreisphysikus*) should see the children twice a year, and present Austrian legislation still prescribes that young workers must be medically examined twice a year.

provision for regular re-examination seems to exist, but in many states the law requires the young person to be re-examined each time he changes his employment.

The practical value of the laws requiring an assessment of the physical fitness for work of young workers will, of course, depend on the qualifications and professional conscience of the physicians entrusted with the examination. In industrial countries, therefore, the examining physician is in most cases dependent on some public (labour, public health or school) authority. Only efficient State supervision can provide uniform and adequate medical examination of the children concerned throughout the national territory.

Hours of Work

The shortening of the long hours that children had to work in the early period of industrialisation was, with their education, one of the first concerns of the legislature in these countries. In the United States the restriction of the working hours of children, which was first introduced (in two states) in 1842, even preceded by some years the fixing of a minimum age of employment. In other countries, such as France and Germany, the first laws laying down a minimum age of admission to employment also restricted the hours of work of factory children and, as indicated above, closely linked these provisions with educational requirements. With the exception of the half-time system provided under these laws for younger children who were obliged to attend school, the legal maximum working day for young persons under 16 years, as defined by these laws, was still of inordinate length. Under the Order of 1837 of the Swiss canton of Zürich, for instance, children of 12 years were still allowed to work 14 hours a day, and in other countries the legal working day for children of this age varied between 10 and 12 hours. In the United States the first laws limited the daily hours of work of children to ten.

The historical development of the regulation of working hours of children and young persons can best be illustrated by the example of France, where a 12-hour day for young industrial workers aged from 12 to 16 years was in force for more than 50 years, i.e., from 1841 to 1892. Twelve hours was also the maximum working day for all workers in large-scale industry under a law passed in 1848. The detrimental effects of such working hours on children were described by one of the French factory inspectors in his report for the year 1887. He stated that many of the children who were employed for 12 hours a day died before they reached the age of 18. Many of the girls died of consumption. As for those who survived, the inspector raised the question of what could be expected of a generation that had thus been blighted in its youth.¹ Gradually the working day of French children was reduced. A law of 1892 fixed the working day at ten hours for those under the age of 16 and at eleven hours for those aged 16 to 18, simultaneously limiting, for the first time, the hours of adult women (eleven hours a day and 60 hours a week). The inconvenience of a working day of different lengths for different groups of workers and the difficulties of enforcing such provisions led first to the introduction of the working day of ten hours for all young persons under 18 and for women (law of 1900) and finally to the

¹ MINISTÈRE DU COMMERCE ET DE L'INDUSTRIE: *Rapport sur l'Application de la Loi du 19 mai 1874* (Paris, 1888), p. 31.

provision that men employed in the same workplaces as women and children should also not work longer than ten hours a day (law of 1913). Thus the legislation reducing the hours of work of young persons also favoured the reduction of the working hours of adults and paved the way for the introduction in 1919 of the eight-hour day and the 48-hour week (reduced to 40 hours in 1936) for all workers irrespective of sex or age.

In other industrial countries, too, the hours were gradually shortened, and the eight-hour day now applies to all workers in the majority of industrial countries.

EXTENSION OF THE LEGISLATION

In most cases the first regulations concerning the employment of children and young workers applied only to textile factories, the branch of industry first affected by the Industrial Revolution. Usually also they applied to the larger undertakings only, so that employers began to complain of the unfair competition to which they were exposed by smaller undertakings that were not covered by the law. As the earlier legislation became more strictly enforced—and the machinery became more complicated with the development of industry—children were eventually excluded from the regulated undertakings. However, it became more and more evident that the children excluded from these undertakings were flocking to unregulated branches of work. In Germany, for instance, an inquiry undertaken towards the end of the nineteenth century by the Association of German School Teachers showed that premature child labour in factories had disappeared but that more children than ever were employed in industrial home work, commerce, transport and communications and other occupations.¹ The conditions under which children had to work in this unregulated employment largely resembled those existing in the factories of the early days of industrialisation. Thus the necessity of extending the protective legislation to all branches of work became apparent, and this extension was facilitated by the gradual spreading of compulsory school attendance laws.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the regulations for the protection of children and young workers were progressively extended to cover new branches of work, first in enterprises or occupations where legislation was easier to enforce, such as large factories outside the textile industry, then in smaller workshops, non-industrial occupations and, lastly, even agriculture, though there are numerous exceptions as regards the last two branches of work. In France, for example, the first law of 1841 applied only to industrial establishments using water power and employing 20 workers or more. In 1874 legislation was adopted applying to children in factories, mines and workshops of any size. At present the French Labour Code, as amended in 1928, also covers young workers in commercial undertakings. In Germany the legislation applying to factories was extended to mines and quarries by the Industrial Code of 1869; an amendment to the Code in 1891 extended the application of the law to small workshops and some home industries. A law of 1903 protected children of school age in industrial home work

¹ KONRAD AGARD: *Kinderarbeit und Gesetz gegen die Ausnützung kindlicher Arbeitskraft in Deutschland* (Jena, 1902), p. 17.

and non-industrial occupations such as public entertainment and itinerant trading. Both France and Germany still rely entirely on their compulsory school attendance laws to regulate the employment of children in agriculture.

In Pennsylvania (United States) the legislation covering young workers was successively extended as follows: from cotton, wool, silk or flax factories (in 1848) to paper and bagging factories (1849), mills and manufacturing industries (1887), mercantile establishments employing 12 persons or more (1889), all employment except agriculture and domestic service (1905)¹ and all establishments, newspaper selling, agricultural work and domestic service while schools are in session (1915). At present farm work and domestic service outside school hours are still exempted, but special permits are required for such work under the Compulsory School Attendance Law.²

The need for a geographical extension and unification of the protective legislation also made itself felt in federal States such as Switzerland and the United States. In these States there were cases of industries that were regulated in one canton or state being moved to another where no legislation had yet been introduced or where legislation was still of a lower standard. It was reported that, in order to be able to employ children, there was a tendency for the spinning factories of Zürich to emigrate to the predominantly agricultural cantons, where no labour laws yet existed.³ In the United States many cotton mills moved from the north to the south, not only to be near to the cotton fields and water power, but also to have at their disposal more cheap labour, including child labour. Sometimes the children themselves were sent from one part of the national territory to another; thus, when a good law respecting child labour was passed and enforced in Tennessee, shipments of children were made under a labour contract boss from Tennessee to South Carolina.⁴ Such practices led to a demand for the adoption of federal legislation for the protection of working children, which was enacted in Switzerland in 1875 and in the United States in 1938, when the Fair Labor Standards Act was adopted.⁵

ENFORCEMENT

Enforcement Authorities

As in the United Kingdom, the first regulations for the protection of young workers adopted in other industrial countries were largely ineffective owing to the lack or inadequacy of enforcement machinery. Some of these laws, such as the Pennsylvania law of 1848⁶, were mere statements of standards and contained no enforcement provisions. The

¹ As the title of the law only mentioned industrial establishments, it was only to these establishments that the law was applied, but in 1909 the employment covered was defined in detail.

² DEPARTMENT OF LABOR AND INDUSTRY, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania: *A History of Child Labor Legislation in Pennsylvania*, Special Bulletin No. 27 (Harrisburg, Penn., 1928); and U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, Bureau of Labor Standards: *State Child Labor Standards, 1952*, Bulletin 158.

³ J.-M. LECHNER, op. cit., p. 249.

⁴ Julia E. JOHNSON: *Selected Articles on Child Labor* (New York, 1925), pp. 77 and 296.

⁵ Two earlier federal Acts of 1916 and 1919 were declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court.

⁶ DEPARTMENT OF LABOR AND INDUSTRY, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, op. cit., p. 15.

application of others was entrusted to local committees composed of voluntary inspectors. These were often themselves manufacturers who were either not particularly interested in their work or had to fight against so many obstacles that they resigned, as was the case in France (law of 1841).¹ Sometimes, as in the Order of 1815 of the Swiss canton of Zürich, the responsibility for enforcement was placed on the school authorities, whose staff was insufficient, or on the police, who in most cases could only act when a complaint was lodged, as in Prussia (Regulations of 1839). The inadequacy of these systems soon became apparent, and it was recognised that the only remedy lay in the introduction of a system of factory inspectors appointed and paid by the State, such as had existed in the United Kingdom since 1833. The first country on the European Continent to introduce factory inspection on modern lines was Prussia (in 1853); the other German states followed suit, and factory inspection was made compulsory in the whole of Germany in 1878. In other countries also inspection services began to function effectively in the latter part of the nineteenth century: in France in 1874, in Switzerland (under federal legislation) in 1877, in Belgium in 1888. With the extension of legislation the duties of the inspectors were also gradually extended to branches of work outside factories, so that they became known as "labour inspectors" rather than "factory inspectors".

As in the United Kingdom, the activity of the inspectors from the outset proved to be most useful. For the first time the laws began to be effectively enforced. Furthermore, governments as well as public opinion were constantly kept informed as to the actual working conditions of children and the changes that were necessary in the law; the development of the protection of young workers in all industrial countries has been largely due to the advice and assistance of the inspectors.

But, while the work of labour inspectors is essential for the proper enforcement of the laws protecting young workers, it has been found that their activity often needs to be supplemented by the work of other bodies, not only because the staff of the inspection services is often not large enough to cope with the great variety of tasks involved in the enforcement of modern labour legislation but also because the legal protection of working children needs the collaboration of a variety of agencies: the school authorities, for the enforcement of school attendance—the indispensable corollary of minimum-age provisions—and for checking the educational requirements prescribed for working children; the health services, for the supervision of the child's health and physical fitness for work; the police, for the enforcement of the law in certain kinds of non-industrial occupations, such as street trading and public entertainment. The choice of the agencies to supplement and assist labour inspection has of course largely depended on the content of the law and on the economic and social conditions in the different countries.

In addition to the labour inspection services, these industrialised countries have sometimes set up special administrative bodies to supervise the application of the law protecting young workers, to carry out investigations into their conditions of employment and to advise the competent authority on the need for changes in the law on the subject. In Belgium, for instance, a special service for the protection of young workers, women and children has been created recently within the Ministry of Labour to supervise the enforcement of regulations covering women and young workers and to advise the Ministry as to ways of

¹ E. LEVASSEUR, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 131.

improving their conditions of work. In France a body was set up in 1874 within the Ministry of Commerce to supervise the application of labour laws concerning women and children and to advise on new legislation, and local labour committees were set up in the départements to advise on the problems of the employment of women and children.¹ In the United States agencies for the control and improvement of the working conditions of young workers have been established within the Department of Labor of many states. At the federal level the United States Children's Bureau was established in 1912 within the Department of Labor to investigate, among other subjects, legislation affecting child labour and the protection of the young worker. In time the Bureau developed an advisory service for state groups that were working to strengthen the labour laws affecting children and young workers in their states.²

The necessity for co-operation between the various government departments in the protection of young workers has led to the establishment of inter-ministerial committees in a number of countries. In the United States, for example, there has been established an Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth, on which various federal agencies are represented, such as the Departments of Agriculture, the Interior, Justice, Labor, and Welfare. The education and employment of children and young persons were early recognised by the Committee as constituting an area in which the joint framing of objectives would be advantageous.³

The work of private bodies in investigating the working conditions of children and minors also constitutes a precious help in the improvement of such conditions. As an example may be cited the activity in the United States of the National Child Labor Committee, founded in 1904 with the object of eliminating harmful employment and promoting educational opportunities for children and young persons. One of the most important functions of these various bodies is to inform and arouse public opinion, whose collaboration is essential for any kind of social progress.

Procedures to Facilitate Enforcement

The labour laws of the industrially advanced countries of today prescribe various measures to facilitate enforcement, such as the posting of the law in the undertaking and the listing of the names, ages and hours of work of all minors employed. The most widespread practice is to require a register to be kept by the employer showing the names, dates of birth and conditions of employment of children employed by him and workbooks or employment certificates to be presented to the employer by the young person when entering employment, showing that the prescribed conditions for admission to work (age, physical

¹ With the extension of labour legislation these bodies were for a period given wider terms of reference covering all workers without distinction of age or sex.

² In July 1946 the U.S. Children's Bureau was transferred to the Federal Security Agency and has since been in charge of the administration of Title III of the Social Security Act (Maternal and Child Welfare Provisions), whereas the improvement of labour standards of working youths is now the concern of the Bureau of Labor Standards, and the enforcement of the child labour provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act is carried out by the Wages and Hours Division, both within the U.S. Department of Labor.

³ U.S. INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH: *Youth, the Nation's Richest Resource: Their Education and Employment Needs* (1951), p. ix.

fitness and educational requirements) have been fulfilled. Both registers and workbooks must be made available by the employer for inspection.

Measures of this kind were already prescribed in some of the earliest labour laws. A register of children in employment was prescribed in Prussia in 1839, and workbooks were required by a French law of 1841 and a Prussian law of 1853. The system of employment certificates is at present especially developed in the United States, where they are considered to be "the cornerstone of all child labour law enforcement".¹

In most cases the workbooks or employment certificates have to be reissued or officially stamped at each change of employment. The authority responsible for their issue may be the labour authority or the school or health authorities; their establishment needs the collaboration of all these services—the health services to confirm the age of the young person and his fitness for employment, and the school authorities to certify that the young person has attained a certain degree of instruction.²

An important means of enforcement is, of course, the provision of penalties in the case of contraventions. Some of the fines provided for in the earlier laws were too small to be a deterrent³, and some, for example in the United States, imposed on the parents a greater penalty for the violation of the law than upon the employer, who was made liable only where it could be proved that he had knowingly committed an offence. Gradually, it has become recognised, however, that the fines must be sufficiently heavy to be effective and must be liable to cumulation in the case of multiple offences. It is now mainly the employer who is held responsible for any contravention and who is subject to penalty. A special system of penalties in a number of state laws in the United States makes employers who illegally employ children or minors liable, in the event of an accident to such children or minors in the course of employment, for double the normal compensation, a charge which may not be passed on to the insurance companies.

Age Determination

Another difficult problem in the early period was to ascertain the age of the children in employment so as to prevent them from working under the legal minimum age or for longer hours than those prescribed. Developments in this respect can best be illustrated by the laws of the United States, from which more information is available on this subject than for any of the other countries under review. In the United States the first state laws provided that the child must be in possession of an affidavit of legal age. In Pennsylvania, for instance, these affidavits were required from 1889 onwards for all minors between 12 and 16 years of age who obtained employment, and were to be made by the parents

¹ CHILDREN'S BUREAU, U.S. Department of Labor: *Administration of Child Labor Laws, Part 5: Standards Applicable to the Administration of Employment-Certificate Systems* (Washington, 1924).

² The utility of such documents for the supervision of the law, notably in relation to non-industrial occupations, has been especially acknowledged in the I.L.O. Night Work of Young Persons (Non-Industrial Occupations) Recommendation, 1946, Paragraph 8 of which is in the following terms: "When deciding on the form of document which the employer shall be required by law to keep for the purpose of furnishing the inspection services with the means of supervising the enforcement of the regulations restricting night work, it is desirable to take into consideration the advantages of the work permit or the workbook which, as they must be issued or officially stamped on each change of employment, make it easy to identify the young worker, provide proof of age and fix his conditions of work, ...".

³ Jean-Marcel LECHNER: *op. cit.*, p. 209.

or guardians or, if there were no parents or guardians, by the children themselves. For 20 years such affidavits continued to be required, but since parents and guardians had every opportunity to make false statements about the children concerned, these affidavits were found not only to defeat their purpose but in reality to favour the illegal employment of children. Even where, as in the state of New York, the affidavit had to be established, after 1886, by a notary public and sworn to by the parent or guardian, the document often proved to be false. Eventually the laws required not only an affidavit of age but also a birth certificate.

Under a well-developed system of birth registration a birth certificate is the most reliable proof of age, but until recently no adequate system existed in some states of the United States. It was reported, even as late as 1924, that in many of the states birth registration at that date was still comparatively new and that in nearly half the states less than 90 per cent. of the births were recorded.¹ In the absence of birth certificates, baptismal certificates, bible records, passports and even school records were used as evidence of age, but proved to be of doubtful value. It was sometimes required that evidence of age should be given by a physician, either in addition to the affidavit of age, as in the states of New York (1896) and Pennsylvania (1915), or at the request of the inspector when he had reason to believe that an employed child was under the legal minimum age, as in the state of Illinois (1893). While it would appear that a physician's certificate would, in the absence of a birth certificate, be the next best means of ascertaining the age of the child, the degree of reliability of a physical examination as evidence of age will, of course, depend upon the character and quality of the examination and upon the standards used. As in the case of a medical examination of fitness for work, there is a greater probability that the examination will be adequate if the physician is responsible to some public authority and not to the employer. It may also be necessary to have an official definition of standards to determine age or the normal development of a child of the age claimed. With the progress of birth registration the method of ascertaining the age of the child by means of a doctor's certificate has lost much of its former importance in the industrialised countries today.

Social and Economic Measures for Facilitating Enforcement

The first purpose of the laws regulating child labour is the abolition of the premature employment of children. This employment being related to larger social problems, such as poverty and ignorance, its elimination is not possible through child labour laws alone but requires in addition the adoption of various measures to promote education and welfare and to assist in the maintenance of the children. What is needed, in particular, is the provision of adequate educational facilities, assistance to poor families, scholarships and free school meals for the children concerned. Such measures have now been adopted in all industrially advanced countries and, particularly in the matter of financial assistance to families, public opinion has undergone a notable evolution. In former times assistance was often only made available to poor parents when they could prove that full use had been made of the earning

capacity of their children of school age. At present one of the main purposes of family allowances in many countries has been stated to be compensation for the loss of gain the family may suffer through the strict enforcement of the regulations concerning child labour and compulsory school attendance.

EFFECTS OF THE LEGISLATION

Legislation for the protection of young workers has two purposes: to eliminate premature child labour and to protect young workers in employment. The first purpose was gradually attained in industrial countries with the raising of the minimum age for admission to employment; the widening of the scope of the laws, the introduction of compulsory schooling and the improvement of the machinery for enforcing the law, and there has been a constant endeavour to eliminate defects in the legislation and its application as these became evident with experience. As regards the effects of the legislation protecting young workers in employment data are relatively scarce but certain conclusions seem justifiable. The two subjects will be reviewed in turn.

Economic and Social Effects of Restricting Child Labour

The opponents of the first child labour laws argued that the restriction of child labour would lead to a decline in the regulated industries or would make it impossible for them to compete effectively with foreign industry. In Prussia the proposals for the restriction of child labour, which were made from 1820 onwards, were opposed by the Department of Commerce of the Ministry of the Interior because it was feared that Prussian industry, which was then in its beginning, would not be able to compete with British industry if it were deprived of cheap child labour. It was assumed that costs of production would rise and cause prices to increase. Even as late as 1888 a Bill restricting child labour which was adopted by the Reichstag was rejected by the Bundesrat because it was thought that child labour was indispensable in the interests of industry.¹ It was argued equally, however, that these apprehensions were not justified. In 1855 the Prussian Minister of Commerce, Industry and Public Works reported that up to that date the argument that the elimination of child labour made competition with foreign industry difficult was without foundation.²

In general, and after experience of regulation, it has been recognised that, far from being beneficial to industry, child labour is an obstacle to industrial progress. It makes it impossible for the children to acquire adequate general education and vocational training and thus reduces the supply of skilled manpower for the future. It also permits the inefficient and ill-equipped employers to carry on, whereas where child labour has been restricted employers have tended to introduce new machinery and to rationalise their undertakings.

Another argument put forward to defend child labour in the early period of industrialisation was that poor children must be allowed to work in order to support themselves and their families and thus escape starvation. Experience has led to the conclusion, however, that pre-

¹ K. AGARD, op. cit., pp. 4 and 14.

² S. POERSCHKE, op. cit., p. 34.

¹ CHILDREN'S BUREAU, U.S. Department of Labor: Publication No. 133, p. 55.

mature child labour not only is engendered by poverty, but that it also creates poverty by encouraging low wages. Instead of offering a solution to poverty, therefore, it merely perpetuates it. In fact experience has shown that the competition of cheap child labour tends to create unemployment among adults as well as to depress their wages. Children were frequently employed in thousands when their parents or other adults were unable to obtain work. For example, it was reported in Prussia in 1895 that 553,676 workers were recorded as unemployed and at the same time it was estimated that at least 250,000 children were in employment as wage earners.¹ Again, the reports of the Prussian labour inspectors for the years around 1900 called attention to the fact that child labour in brickworks had depressed the wages of adults. In more recent years in agriculture, even in a country like the United States, where children have often worked inside a family group hired by the employer, especially in areas employing migrant labour, the wages, usually on a piece-rate basis, are as a rule set so low that it takes the combined efforts of all the members of the family to earn the family's bare living. Thus, the parents have no benefit from their children's work but may, on the contrary, be compelled to work at less than a man's living wage.

In normal circumstances, therefore, it has come to be thought that the restriction of child labour creates more employment and better pay for adults, so that the loss of the trifling earnings of the children is eventually more than offset by advantages to the parents. Moreover, children who have been kept at school up to a higher age have proved better able to learn a trade and therefore capable of earning better wages afterwards.

In addition to the harm that premature employment might do to the children's preparation for working life and their prospects of earning a decent living when adult, it became apparent also that it might seriously impair their health and morals. Reliable reports from the earlier periods in the industrially advanced countries have shown that in many cases the health of young working children was gravely injured and that many died before reaching adulthood. Many were crippled through accidents not only because of slips due to their fatigue and the absence of safety provisions but also because children in general, through ignorance or irresponsibility, are more accident-prone than adults. Moreover, tuberculosis was reported to be rife among children employed in textile mills.

In more recent years it has also been thought that child labour leads to increased juvenile delinquency, particularly when the child is engaged in street trades or is in contact with the public. In the United States, for instance, a report prepared under the direction of the United States Department of Labor between 1905 and 1910 on the conditions of women and child wage earners showed that at that time among the children from 10 to 14 years of age who were at work in Boston 16 per cent. were delinquent, while among children of the same age at school the percentage was only 1.5.²

As knowledge of these matters became more widely known, a considered opinion developed that the unrestricted employment of children at too early an age not only was an obstacle in the way of economic development, the increase of productivity and the elimination of poverty but also tended to destroy the physical, mental and moral fibre of the

rising generation. Thus the conviction began to spread that the abolition of child labour was essential to preparing a better future for the young and to raising the standard of life for the nation as a whole.

The Protection of Young Workers and Opportunities of Employment

Somewhat varying conclusions have been drawn regarding the influence upon the opportunities of employment of young adolescent workers of legislation drawn up to ensure the protection of their health and welfare during their formative years. The movement to adopt such legislation has developed in the industrialised countries in conjunction with the experience arising from industrialisation. Its impetus, however, has come from the increased knowledge of the physical and psychological needs of young persons which has followed scientific study of them.

Upon certain aspects of the impact of such legislation upon employment there seems to be considerable agreement. Within limits, the restriction of the working day of young workers has not as a rule been thought to lead to a permanent decrease in their employment. It is clear that such restrictions, nevertheless, need careful and continual analysis.

In France, for instance, the factory inspectors reported in 1906 that although the law of 1900, which reduced the hours of work to ten a day in establishments employing young workers, appeared at first to be inducing certain employers to dismiss their young workers and to refrain from engaging apprentices, the situation soon seemed to change. In 1906 it was reported from Limoges and Lille that the dismissal of young persons had stopped, and that various undertakings had recalled them and adopted a ten-hour working day; in the iron foundries of Roubaix the employers recognised that if they refrained from training apprentices they would soon lack a sufficient supply of skilled workers; and from Dijon the inspectors reported that only in the small establishments, where a reduction in the hours of work was more difficult, were young persons under 18 years of age excluded as a consequence of the law.¹

Similar experience was reported from the United States. When, in 1924, the New York Child Labor Committee made an inquiry among the states that had introduced the eight-hour working day as to whether young persons were being discharged under the operation of such a law, the reply was that it had not imposed any hardship on minors.

The situation was different, however, where work was prohibited during a rigidly defined period of the night. The Commissioner of Labor of New York State, in his report for 1908, stated that "the operation of the law restricting the hours of employment of minors under 16 years of age to eight hours a day between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m. has practically closed the door to steady industrial employment to such boys and girls in the state of New York".²

Experience has shown that, while it is of primary importance to safeguard an adequate night rest for young workers, their employment opportunities in industrial undertakings working under a shift system will be reduced if they are forbidden to work after such an early hour as 8 p.m., as the second shift will, as a rule, end later. It is for this reason, presumably, that at present the state of New York, while

¹ MINISTÈRE DU TRAVAIL: *Rapport sur l'Application de la Loi du 2 novembre 1892 pendant l'Année 1906*, pp. XXVII-XXXVIII.

² Mary S. CALLCOTT: *Child Labor Legislation in New York* (New York, 1931), p. 148.

¹ K. AGAHD, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

² Julia E. JOHNSON, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

prohibiting the work of children under 16 in industry after 8 p.m., allows boys between 16 and 18 years to work until 12 midnight. In most of the European industrial countries development of legislation on this question has been similar. Earlier laws made rigid provisions for prohibiting the night work of young persons during periods varying between 8 or 9 p.m., and 5 or 6 a.m., whereas at present most of the industrialised countries tend to provide a flexible definition of the night period during which young persons under 18 years of age are not allowed to work. While prescribing that the young persons must have a night rest of a specified number of consecutive hours (mostly 11), including a prohibited interval, they tend to establish a shorter prohibited interval, such as the hours between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m., as in Belgium and France. In Germany the law provides that young persons over 16 years of age working under the shift system may be employed up to 11 p.m. and even 12 midnight.

Provisions of this kind, if surrounded by the necessary safeguards, are beneficial for the young persons' employment opportunities and their vocational training and apprenticeship. It is for this reason that the international labour Conventions concerning night work of young persons, and particularly the Night Work of Young Persons (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1948, also provide a definition of the term "night" that combines the provisions for an adequate night rest for young persons under 18 years with the flexibility necessary for apprenticeship under the multiple-shift system for young persons of 16 years and over.

The example of night work regulation and its repercussions on the employment opportunities of young persons have indicated that the laws designed to protect young persons in employment need careful drafting and periodic review in order to combine adequate protection with the necessity of safeguarding the opportunities of young persons for suitable training and employment.

It may therefore be concluded from the experience of the industrially advanced countries that the governments have deliberately chosen, as a matter of principle, to discourage the employment of children under a certain age, usually 14 or 15 years. In place of employment they have made every effort possible to substitute free and compulsory education. Both the restriction of the employment of children and their compulsory schooling have been achieved by legal regulations, strictly enforced. This substitution of education for employment has been the first concern of all these industrialised countries as their economies have developed and as they have sought to protect and provide for the welfare of their youth.

Protection of the young worker from the age of admission to employment up to the age of 18 and, in particularly hazardous occupations, up to 21 years has followed the successful application of minimum-age laws. It has been recognised increasingly, however, that such protection must take account of the long-term interests of the young person and the industries and occupations concerned. Apprenticeship and vocational training, as well as the opportunity of employment in occupations where experience may lead to advancement and a stable career, have been recognised as important for the young persons as well as for the industries concerned.

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The report puts forward a number of practical recommendations on general policies, organisation and the establishment of new institutions, monetary and fiscal policies and specific development policies with respect to agriculture and colonisation, power, industry, transport and communications, public health, education and technical assistance. One important recommendation is the setting up of a Ceylon Development Corporation to promote and assist in the financing of new commercial ventures in industry, agriculture or other business fields.

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PATTERSON, Sheila. *Colour and Culture in South Africa.* A Study of the Status of the Cape Coloured People within the Social Structure of South Africa. International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1953. vi+402 pp. 30s.

A study, at once sympathetic and objective, of the cultural, political, economic and social conditions of the Cape Coloured People—the people of mixed race whose franchise rights have given rise to the present constitutional crisis in South Africa. The author points out that these people, numbering about a million, or 9 per cent. of the total South African population, have no roots in, and few contacts with, Bantu tribal life. The alien cultures to which their non-white ancestors belonged have largely died out, and today they differ from the European population of South Africa in little except poverty and pigmentation. They are, however, assigned a status inferior to that of the Europeans, though in some respects superior to that of the other non-European groups. "Politically conscious Coloureds", says the author, "are not prepared to continue to accept their present status in the larger society, much less to submit to a lower status. The same consideration applies to the acculturated sections of the African and Indian groups. Acculturation has brought and will continue to bring these sections and groups closer together. As unity and resistance spread, as they must ultimately do despite such obstacles as geographical separation, inter-group

prejudice, envy, poverty and ignorance, it is difficult to see how a violent upheaval of the social structure can be avoided unless the dominant group reverts to a cultural basis for its status-hierarchy."

PICKLES, Dorothy. *French Politics: The First Years of the Fourth Republic.* London, New York, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1953. xii+302 pp. 25s.

SAVRAMI, D. *Tó vónima tñs épyaías.* Foreword by E. Mazarachi. Athens, 1953. 102 pp.

This study, the first of its kind published in Greece, examines the various social aspects of labour and in particular its relations with religion. It is very well documented.

STAMP, L. Dudley. *Africa: A Study in Tropical Development.* New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc.; London, Chapman & Hall, Limited, 1953. vii+568 pp.

Social and Economic Questions.

ADAMSON, Olge J. (editor). *Industries of Norway: Technical and Commercial Achievements.* Oslo, Dreyers Forlag, 1952. 392 pp.

Presents a comprehensive and up-to-date review of Norwegian industries and includes a discussion of foreign trade, labour problems, industrial research and industrial organisation.

AGGARWAL, S. C. *Industrial Housing in India.* With a foreword by the Hon. Shri Jagjivan RAM. New Delhi, 1952. 528 pp. 13 rupees 8 annas. 23s.

This study provides the first comprehensive analysis of housing problems and policies in India. It includes a review of historical developments in housing policy and detailed information concerning policies and programmes in the individual Indian states and in the major Indian industries, and concludes with a number of proposals concerning housing requirements, standards, prefabrication, housing finance, town planning and rent control.

ALBRECHT, Gerhard, and ARNDT, Helmut (editors). *Kapitalbildung und Kapitalverwendung.* Verhandlungen auf der Tagung in Salzburg, Oktober 1952. Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik, Gesellschaft für Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften, Neue Folge, Vol. 5. Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 1953. 270 pp.

ALEXANDROWICZ, Charles Henry. *International Economic Organisations.* Published under the auspices of the London Institute of World Affairs. London, Stevens and Sons, Ltd., 1952. xii+263 pp. 30s.

Professor Alexandrowicz presents his description and analysis of international economic organisations against the background of world economic developments and their impact on the need for and the nature and shape of arrangements for international economic co-operation, both at the private and at the public level. The I.L.O. differs from all other international organisations in its mixed composition. It convenes in the framework of one organisation representatives of governments and of private interests to discuss their conflicting views and achieve satisfactory solutions. "This example, though now confined to the field of labour, may in future be of great importance to other international economic organisations also."

The author analyses the legal as well as the economic aspects of, among other things, cartels and international commodity agreements, international public unions, the International Co-operative Alliance, the I.L.O., the Economic and Social Council, the Bretton Woods institutions and the Havana Charter.

ANGLO-AMERICAN COUNCIL ON PRODUCTIVITY. *Final Report of the Council.* London, 1952. vii+40 pp.

PAHL, Walther. *Rohstoffe: Der Kampf um die Güter der Erde*. Munich, Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, 1952. 397 pp.

PANAGOS, Chr. Th. *Τά παγκόσμια οικονομικά προβλήματα και τó διεθνές Έμπορικόν Έπιμελητήριο*. Athens, 1953. 100 pp.

Mr. Panagos, a distinguished economist who acts as secretary-general of both the Athens Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Greek Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce, is certainly the person in Greece most qualified to handle this absorbing subject, including as it does the influence of Greek economy on world problems, the history of the chambers of commerce, and the part played by the Greek Committee of the International Chamber. In the last 20 pages the author reviews the most important features of the decisions reached by I.C.C. post-war congresses and gives extracts from the chief speeches made by leading delegates.

PLANNING COMMISSION. *Five-Year Plan: Progress Report for 1951-52 and 1952-53*. New Delhi, 1953. ii+174 pp.

Deals with economic trends and the financing of the Plan during the two years under review and gives a summary of achievements under it in respect of agricultural programmes, national extension service and community projects, irrigation and power, industry, transport and communications, social services, land reform, public co-operation and public participation.

SCHLESINGER, Eugène Richard. *Multiple Exchange Rates and Economic Development*. Princeton University Press, 1952. 76 pp. \$1.00.

Modern systems of multiple exchange rates are particularly popular with countries that have low average incomes. This suggests that they are also particularly suited to the economic structure and problems of such countries. At the same time there exists a widespread distrust of the application of multiple rates. The purpose of this monograph is to discover whether and to what extent the exigencies of economic development justify the use of this device, with particular reference to the systems applied in Latin American countries.

SEERS, Dudley, and Ross, C. R. *Report on Financial and Physical Problems of Development in the Gold Coast*. Accra, Government Printing Department, 1952. iii+219 pp. 5s.

The investigation was originally planned as an inquiry into building costs in the Gold Coast, and into the organisation and utilisation of building resources in relation to the economy of the territory. The report covers a far wider field, as its title indicates.

After a brief discussion of the essential features of the "fragile" economic structure, and of the main economic developments in recent years, there follows a lucid analysis of inflationary forces and related financial problems consequent upon development, and of likely physical problems—shortages of labour, technicians, materials, etc. The four final chapters are devoted to an examination of practical techniques of planning in the Gold Coast. The appendices contain valuable estimates of the national income and accounts, an analysis of trends in building costs, and recommendations on types of necessary development statistics, together with suggestions for their collection.

In dealing with labour problems the report points out that the successful prosecution of development projects entails "increasing by over one-half the number of people employed on building and construction—in only four years". The prospects of achieving such an increase are gloomy. Besides, labour productivity is low, owing, among other reasons, to poor and inadequate supervision, poor discipline, high rates of labour turnover, absenteeism, low dietary intakes, and inadequate training facilities. The report makes detailed recommendations for remedying these defects.

It is perhaps unfortunate that, in dealing with housing, the report devotes attention almost entirely to the housing of the higher-paid civil servants. Working-class housing, though primitive and unhygienic, is cursorily dismissed as being of low priority in development planning. Nowhere in the report is it mentioned that physical improvements in working-class houses can improve not only health and efficiency (and consequently work productivity) but can produce a stable and satisfied labour force—of prime importance if developmental planning is to succeed.

SINGH, Baljit. *Federal Finance and Underdeveloped Economy*. Bombay, Hind Kitabs Limited, 1952. v+176 pp.

The first report of the Public Finance Research Project at Lucknow University. The author puts forward the concept of an optimum budget which, by virtue of its size and structure, leads to a maximum increase in national production and income. He maintains that public investment should aim at activating private enterprise by promoting basic development and social services and that the financing of public investment should rely more on loans from the public than on taxation and more on consumption tax than on progressive income tax. The limitations and principles of federal finance and the problem of fiscal integration between federal and local governments are discussed at length in the light of the experience of the Western countries. The book also contains an interesting analysis of the mechanism of economic development in which the terms of trade between the agricultural sector and other economic sectors are assigned a pivotal role.

SMULDERS, A. M. F. *Inkomensverdeling en Werkgelegenheid*. Leiden, H. E. Stenfert Kroese N. V., 1952. xiv+174 pp. 9.75 guilders.

STALIN, J. *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1952. 104 pp.

A commentary on orthodox Marxist economic thought in the light of experience in the U.S.S.R. and the present economic and social situation in the world.

SURÁNYI-UNGER, Theo. *Comparative Economic Systems*. New York, Toronto, London, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952. x+628 pp. \$5.50.

VILLAR PALASÍ, José Luis. *Administración y Planificación*. Madrid, Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1952. 171 pp.

WU, Yuan-Li. *Economic Warfare*. New York, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1952. xii+403 pp. \$6.

A scholarly work on the principles and practice of economic warfare. Applying the modern tools of economic analysis, the author appraises different methods of economic warfare, including the control of international buying and selling, financial controls and operations, and long-term penetration or exploitation of foreign economies. A lucid account is given of the experience of economic warfare during the Second World War. The book concludes with a discussion of the present economic policy of the United States in relation to the Soviet bloc.

Industrial Relations; Employers' and Workers' Organisations.

BURCKHARDT, Lukas. *Der Ausbau der Basler Gesamtarbeitsverträge seit der Schaffung des Arbeitsrappens in den Jahren 1936 bis 1946. Mit einem Anhang über ihre Entwicklung bis 1952*. Basle, Volksdruckerei, 1953. 87 pp.

FLANDERS, Allan. *Trade Unions*. London, New York, Melbourne, Sydney, Capetown, Hutchinson's University Library, 1952. vii+172 pp. 8s. 6d.

LEEK, John H. *Government and Labor in the United States*. American Government in Action Series. New York, Toronto, Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1952. viii + 336 pp.

LEITER, Robert D. *Labor Problems and Trade Unionism*. College Outline Series. New York, Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1952. xvi + 320 pp.

MÖRI, Jean; GAGNEBIN, Paul-Henri; GIROUD, Emile; FREY, Constant; ARAGNO, Pierre; MURALT, Bruno; RAYMOND, Pierre; GHELFI, André. *Le Syndicalisme libre en Suisse*. Preface by Robert BRASCHI. Geneva, Les Editions Radar, 1953. 172 pp. 8.70 Swiss francs.

This volume contains a series of articles and documents prepared by a number of leaders of the Swiss Trade Union Federation.

After an introduction by Mr. Robert Bratschi, the President of the Swiss Trade Union Federation, Mr. Jean Möri, a member of the Governing Body of the I.L.O., describes the origin of the trade union movement, its organisations, its powers, its freedom from all religious and political influences and its international functions. Mr. P. H. Gagnebin examines the problem of collective labour agreements; Mr. E. Giroud studies the evolution of "the promotion of labour by the occupational community" and refers to the work of the International Labour Organisation; and Mr. C. Frey describes labour relations in federal services and undertakings in Switzerland, while Mr. P. Aragno studies "the legal protection of workers". Educational problems are dealt with by Mr. B. Muralt (of the Swiss Central Organisation for Workers' Education) and Mr. P. Raymond; the latter observes that "the trade union movement is playing a part of the first importance in modern society; it is enabling great numbers of men to raise themselves above the humdrum life to which they seem to be condemned by calling on them unceasingly to make new sacrifices and by facing them with problems whose solution demands great efforts. These efforts are beneficial to the development of their intellectual, moral and spiritual life."

VIVIER, Gérard. *Le Logement Accessoire au Contrat de Travail*. Préface de Pierre VOIRIN. Paris, Librairies Techniques, Librairie de la Cour de Cassation, 1953. 164 pp.

A study of the legal problems arising when on account of his employment a worker lives in a dwelling provided by his employer. In consequence of the housing shortage in France such a worker finds himself in a very difficult situation if he is dismissed and so has to leave the house he lives in. On the other hand the employer, who wishes to have the dwelling available for a person employed by him (in many cases the employment will not be accepted unless suitable housing is provided) is placed in an equally difficult situation when the dismissed worker invokes the protection given to tenants by the law. Situations of this kind raise many legal questions, the difficulties of which are frequently increased by faults in the contracts drawn up by the parties concerned. The author studies these questions systematically in the light of French law and precedent.

Labour Law.

CESARINO JÚNIOR, A. F. *Direito Social Brasileiro*. 3rd edition, 2 vols. Rio de Janeiro, Livraria Freitas Bastos S.A., 1953. xiv + 300 and xvi + 743 pp.

An enlarged and revised edition of the very useful work on Brazilian labour law by the professor of the São Paulo Faculty of Law, the first edition of which appeared in 1940. Since Brazilian labour law has undergone far-reaching changes through the "consolidation" of 1943, by which scattered legal provisions were codified and systematically arranged, and through the discarding of certain political features prominent in the pre-war period, this work is of the greatest importance.

MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Juan. *Derecho Social Español*. 2 vols. Madrid, Editorial Revista de Derecho Privado, 1952. 474 and 480 pp.

A treatise on labour law characterised by a broad approach as well as outstanding erudition and care for detail. The author, who is a labour court judge, has been at pains to find concrete solutions to the problems raised in Spanish law. The work is divided into five parts, which deal respectively with the study of fundamental concepts of social law, an analysis of the law applying to administrative and judicial bodies, labour contracts and labour relations, social security, the non-metropolitan law of Spain, and the International Labour Organisation. The work, in its theoretical part, is based on natural law influenced by Thomistic thought.

Management.

CENTRE ECONOMIQUE ET SOCIAL de PERFECTIONNEMENT DES CADRES. *Premier cycle : Relations sociales, 1952-53. Deuxième cycle : Relations humaines, 1953. Troisième cycle : Organisation scientifique du travail, 1952-53. Quatrième cycle : L'économie et la vie de l'entreprise, 1952-53.* Paris, Fédération Nationale des Syndicats d'Ingénieurs et de Cadres Supérieurs, 1953. 133, 91, 97 and 110 pp.

GIBBONS, Charles C. *Stabilization of Employment is Good Management*. A talk before the Personnel Conference, American Management Association, Chicago, Illinois, 17 February 1953. Kalamazoo, Michigan, The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Community Research, 1953. 17 pp.

The author states and develops briefly the five following propositions: (1) a company can do much to stabilise its employment; (2) steady jobs result from steady sales and production; (3) steady sales and production result, in turn, from good management in all phases of the business; (4) the personnel manager can make an important contribution to the stabilisation of employment; (5) a company can guarantee employment only after it has been successful in stabilising its sales and production.

PHOTIAS, N. G. *'H' Εργασία συντελεστής δράσεως των έκμεταλλεύσεων*. Vol. I. 4th edition. Athens, Ekdosis Arguri Papazisi, 1952. 232 pp.

A general study of the human factor in production. In the first part of the book, which deals with the actual performance of work, the author analyses the different categories of work and the technical problems (such as the calculation of output) arising from this division; in particular he emphasises the importance of psychological factors. He also examines in detail the question of co-operation in the undertaking and studies its main principles and forms. The second part discusses the remuneration of labour and reviews the different systems in use today. The third part, which treats of the protection of labour at the national and international level, contains an account of Greek legislation on the subject and the work of the International Labour Organisation.

Manpower.

ASSOCIAZIONE PER LO SVILUPPO DELL'INDUSTRIA NEL MEZZOGIORNO. *Popolazione e forze di lavoro*. Prospettive demografiche fino al 2000 per: Italia Meridionale, Sicilia, Sardegna, Mezzogiorno, Italia. Rome, 1952. 178 pp. 1,000 lire.

EULER, Hans, and STEVENS, Hans. *Die analytische Arbeitsbewertung als Hilfsmittel zur Bestimmung der Arbeitsschwierigkeit*. Sozialwirtschaftliche Schriftenreihe, herausgegeben vom Ausschuss für Sozialwirtschaft der Wirtschaftsvereinigung Eisen- und Stahlindustrie, Vol. 3. Düsseldorf, Verlag Stahleisen m.b.H., 1952. 94 pp.

A second edition, revised and brought up to date, of a study first published in 1950. Job evaluation and job analysis are increasingly used

in the approach to merit rating and wage determination in accordance with the requirements of industrial economies. It makes possible the comparison of job requirements and of jobs with a view to job rating as well as to transferability of individual workers. In Part I the authors describe the principles of job evaluation and analysis, give definitions and discuss methodological problems. A comprehensive bibliography referring to the subject matter is contained in this part. The second part gives practical directions for carrying out job evaluation and analysis work, including samples of job descriptions for individual jobs. The authors point out that the method described was in use at the beginning of 1952 as the basis for fixing the wages of 80,000 manual workers in the iron and steel industry in Western Germany, and preparatory work to cover another 90,000 workers was proceeding.

NATIONAL OLD PEOPLE'S WELFARE COMMITTEE. *Age is Opportunity. A New Guide to Practical Work for the Welfare of Old People.* London, National Council of Social Service, 1952. 143 pp.

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY, School of Business and Public Administration, Bureau of Economic and Business Research; and COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY, Department of Labor and Industry. *Proceedings of the Joint Conference on the Problem of Making a Living while Growing Old.* Philadelphia, 1952. 167 pp.

THOMAS, Dorothy Swaine, with the assistance of KIKUCHI, Charles and SAKODA, James. *The Salvage.* Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1952. xii+637 pp. \$7.50.

This is the second volume of a two-volume study of the social aspects of the wartime evacuation and resettlement of Japanese Americans. The first volume, entitled *The Spoilage*, analysed "the experiences of that part of the minority group whose status in America was impaired: those of the immigrant generation who returned, after the war, to defeated Japan; those of the second generation who relinquished American citizenship".

The present volume is concerned with an analysis of the position of the section of the minority "whose status was, at least temporarily, improved through dispersal and resettlement". The study includes life histories of resettlers drawn from diverse communities and occupations and a social and historical analysis of the Japanese American group. After tracing the immigration of 200,000 Japanese to the United States between 1885 and 1924 the author presents a well documented description of the demographic characteristics of the minority, including excellent graphic material. The economic and cultural characteristics of the community are treated in special chapters on agricultural and urban enterprise, occupational mobility, language, politics, religion and education. The wartime evacuation, its effects on the attitudes of the group, and the course of resettlement are presented in detail.

Vocational Training.

BINOIS, René. *La Psychologie Appliquée.* Collection "Que Sais-Je?". Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1952. 127 pp.

Conditions of Work.

APOSTOLAKOS, Christos. I. Πανδέκτης Ἀποδοχῶν Ἑργαζομένων. Athens Tupois "Pursou", 1952. 2 vols., 351 and 171 pp. 80,000 and 20,000 drachmai.

Before the last war the wages of workers in Greece were fixed by collective agreement and arbitration awards. During the war this system

was abolished and wage rates were fixed by regulations with a view to the maintenance of monetary stability. However, the system of collective agreements was reintroduced in 1947. The large number of texts fixing wages (especially collective agreements) in force today convinced Mr. C. Apostolakos, the Director of the Ministry of Labour, that there was a need for this compendium of wage fixing instruments. He examines in turn the interpretation of existing provisions, legislation, collective agreements and arbitration awards applicable in this field. The last part of the book contains texts of general application and texts applying to the various occupations in Greece. There is a detailed alphabetical index to make consultation easier.

Living Conditions.

ALLBAUGH, Leland G. *Crete: A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area.* Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1953. xx+572 pp. \$7.50.

This "case study" was made in 1948, at the invitation of the Greek Government, by the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation. Its purpose was to see whether the standard of living in Crete could be raised. The Foundation regarded the project as an experiment in fact finding.

To offset the limitations of conventional sources of information, a survey on a sampling basis was planned, i.e., a scientifically selected house-to-house canvass carried out by specially trained Greek interviewers. The results were considered richly revealing, and the Foundation thinks that a method may have been set for scientific factual exploration in other underdeveloped areas in advance of industrial planning.

Among the possible lines of action to improve living levels in Crete the author mentions vocational education and training, the utilisation of co-operatives for purposes of education in problems of production and distribution, the expansion of small industries connected directly with needed materials and the processing of agricultural production. It is suggested, finally, that the many institutions and agencies interested in Crete may take up some of the data and recommendations in this survey with a view either to dealing seriatim with carefully selected problems or to carrying out demonstration projects and, possibly, "integrated" programmes involving the joint and prolonged action of several experts. It is considered that such an effort could help Cretans to help themselves to a fuller life and might also have significance for other Mediterranean countries.

ARETAIOS, Dem. G. *Ἡ Λαϊκή Κಾರικία.* Athens, 1952. 25 pp.

This small pamphlet, which was written by an official of the Social Insurance Institute, is the first published work to examine methodically the problem of workers' housing throughout Greece. It cites numerous Greek and foreign publications and gives special attention to the activities of the International Labour Organisation in this field and the publications of the International Labour Office.

FÉDÉRATION DES FAMILLES DE FRANCE, FAMILLES NOMBREUSES ET JEUNES FOYERS. *La Famille Usagère de l'Ecole.* Compte rendu des travaux du IV^{me} Congrès National, Reims, 8-10 novembre 1952. Special Number. Supplement to No. 222. Paris, 1953. 153 pp.

HIORT, Esbjorn. *Housing in Denmark since 1930.* Translated into English by Eve M. WENDT. London, The Architectural Press; Copenhagen, Jul. Gjellerups Forlag, 1952. 112 pp.

This study, published at the instance of the Danish Ministry of Housing and with the financial support of the State, the Municipality of Copenhagen, the Joint Organisation of Social Welfare Housing Societies and several housing societies in Denmark, gives a concise but complete account of the

development of Danish housing since 1930. It also discusses the economic factors involved, the technical aspects of housing, form and design, reconstruction and slum clearance. Photographs illustrate clearly the advanced standards that have been achieved in numerous housing projects despite increases in construction costs.

JAMES, H. E. O., and TENEN, Cora. *The Teacher Was Black*. An Experiment in International Understanding Sponsored by U.N.E.S.C.O. Melbourne, London, Toronto, William Heinemann Ltd., 1953. viii + 120 pp. 10s. 6d.

This book shows by various tests that personal contact with two Negro teachers improved the attitudes towards the Negro people of two mixed classes of thirteen-year-olds. The conclusion is reached that contacts in similarly favourable circumstances might cause similar changes in attitude towards other peoples. The risks of bad reactions in less favourable circumstances and the limits imposed by such obstacles as immigration restrictions are duly noted.

Agriculture.

ASSOCIATION FRANÇAISE POUR L'ACCROISSEMENT DE LA PRODUCTIVITÉ. *Elevage, Lait et Viande aux Etats-Unis*. Rapport commun des Missions Lait et Elevage-Viande aux Etats-Unis, mai-juin et octobre-novembre 1950. Paris, 1952. 359 pp.

HATHCOCK, James S. *A Study of Agricultural Conditions in the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi*. Paris, Economic Co-operation Administration, Office of the United States Special Representative in Europe, Food and Agriculture Division, 1952. 73 pp.

INDIAN MINISTRY OF LABOUR. *Agricultural Labour Enquiry: Agricultural Wages in India*. Vol. I. Delhi, Government of India Press, 1952. vii + 417 pp. 6 rupees 8 annas; 10s.

The title of this report does not provide an adequate indication of the variety of its contents. The object of the inquiry, which covered all the states of the Indian Union except the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, was to collect data on employment, earnings, cost and standard of living and indebtedness of agricultural workers, with a view to considering the protective and ameliorative measures to be taken, including the fixation of minimum wages under the Minimum Wages Act, 1948. As numerous complex factors—climatic, historical, traditional, social and economic—enter into the determination of wages, a comprehensive inquiry into the conditions of agricultural workers was considered necessary. The report, therefore, includes valuable information concerning not only wages, conditions of employment and prices but also a variety of relevant topics such as physical features, area, population, rainfall, land utilisation, area under principal crops, together with their yields, and an agricultural calendar for different parts of the country.

The inquiry was probably the largest socio-economic survey so far undertaken in Asia and the Far East. It covered 813 of the 560,000 villages in the Indian Union, selected on the principle of stratified random sampling. The country was divided into 23 units, each under a supervisor, and 264 investigating officers were appointed for the collection of primary data. The inquiry was conducted in three different stages: the principal object of the first two stages was to secure an understanding of general economic conditions and the employment structure in the village, and to determine which families should be regarded as agricultural labour families for the purpose of an intensive family survey, which constituted the third stage. An opening chapter gives an all-India summary of the findings. This is followed by 27 chapters, each devoted to one state, which give detailed information concerning climate and rainfall, soils, the agricultural calendar,

land utilisation, area and yield of principal crops, land tenure and land reforms, a quantitative analysis of agricultural labour families, wages and conditions of employment, prices, the fixing of minimum wages in agriculture, and *begar* (involuntary labour).

The report provides, in a clear, simple style, a wealth of valuable, reliable and up-to-date information concerning various questions relating to agriculture and agricultural labour in India.

LAMBTON, ANN K. S. *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*. A Study of Land Tenure and Land Revenue Administration. London, New York, Toronto, Oxford University Press, under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1953. xxxi + 459 pp. 42s.

MENDRAS, Henri. *Etudes de Sociologie Rurale: Novis et Virgin*. Preface by Gabriel LE BRAS. Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, No. 40. Paris, Armand Colin, 1953. viii + 152 pp.

NALSON, John S. *Labour in Relation to Economic Efficiency on Dairy Farms*. Loughborough, University of Nottingham, School of Agriculture, Department of Agricultural Economics, 1952. 100 pp. 5s.

A well-balanced study of the many factors, human, economic and technical, affecting labour efficiency in dairying, with special reference to the East Midlands area of England.

NELSON, Lowry. *The Mormon Village*. A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement. Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1952. xvii + 296 pp. + appendix. \$5.

This study has two main themes: an analysis of land settlement patterns and the influence on these patterns and on community structure of the Mormon Church. The first topic is of particular interest, since Mormon settlements are among the few in the United States where land settlement assumed the form of the rural village typical of Europe rather than the scattered farmstead. The characteristics of three of these villages were studied by the author in the twenties, only some 50 years after they were first settled, and again in 1950 to observe the changes that had taken place in the interval. In general these were in the direction of greater urbanisation, the introduction of more amenities and services, and out-migration of the younger population. Of the three villages, one was definitely on the decline by 1950, the second—which was settled a generation earlier—had adjusted itself to new conditions and had reached a "plateau" of stable development, while the third was becoming rapidly urbanised under the influence of a new large-scale industrial plant in the neighbourhood. The author does not foresee any great changes in the future apart from a continuation of the trends already noted; two characteristics of Mormon culture, agrarianism and theocracy, keep the villages together as social entities.

CO-OPERATION AND MARKETING ADVISER, Pakistan Ministry of Food and Agriculture: *Crop Wealth of Pakistan*. Marketing Series. Karachi, Manager of Publications, 1952. v + 288 pp. 3 rupees.

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STATISTICAL SUPPLEMENT

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JULY 1953

CONTENTS

1. Retail Prices of Food, Fuel, etc., October 1952.
2. Unemployment Statistics.
3. Consumer Price Indices.

Retail Prices of Food, Fuel, etc., October 1952

The results of the latest annual inquiry conducted by the International Labour Office into the retail prices of selected articles of ordinary consumption are given in the following table. The figures relate to 59 countries and have been supplied by the official statistical services of the countries concerned. Prices are shown in local currencies.

Data are usually given for the capital or for some of the principal cities of the country. In a few cases, averages of the prices in several cities are given; unless otherwise indicated, these are simple arithmetic averages.

It should be noted that the quality of the articles specified varies from country to country; where additional information concerning quality is available, this is indicated in footnotes. In a few cases goods are still rationed and only limited quantities are available at the prices quoted; this has been indicated in footnotes whenever possible.

The results of previous retail price surveys have been published in the *International Labour Review* since 1924 and in the *Year Book of Labour Statistics* since its inception.

* * *

SYMBOLS AND TYPES EMPLOYED

- . = inapplicable or figures not available.
- ... = not yet received.
- * = provisional.
- † = revised since previous issue.

A line — placed between two figures in a column indicates that the figures above and below it are not strictly comparable or that a new series begins below the line (see footnotes).

Italics: index numbers based on another year than 1948.

The countries are arranged by continents in the alphabetical order of their English names.

RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD, FUEL, ETC., OCTOBER 1952

Article	Unit	AFRICA								
		Algeria	Belgian Congo	Egypt 1	Ethiopia	Kenya 2	Morocco	Nigeria 3	N. Rhodesia	S. Rhodesia
		Algiers	Leopoldville	Cairo	Addis Ababa	Nairobi	Casablanca	Lagos	Salisbury	Salisbury
		Francs	Francs	Piastres	Cents	Cents	Francs	Pence	Pence	Pence
1. White wheat bread . . .	Kg.	58	14.00	4.5	35-45	110	48	26.4	15.4	16.5
2. Other bread	"			2.6	25-50			25.8	14.1	15.44
3. Flour (wheat)	"	65	18.25	2.9	35-40		65			20.7
4. Oatmeal or rolled oats . .	"		31.00		35					39.6
5. Rice	"		12.00	3.1	125		121			39.6
6. Macaroni	"	138	38.85	5.6	100		140			48.5
7. Beef : sirloin (without bone) . .	"	650	70.00	41.6	100	396	775	52.9	41.8	59.58
brisket (without bone) . .	"	250 5	40.00	59.0	50-75		290		37.4	37.4
8. Pork : loin chops (with bone) . .	"	484	80.00		400 7		485			70.5
shoulder (without bone) . .	"		90.00		300 7		405 6			55.18
9. Mutton: leg (without bone) .	"	384 6	110.00	21.2	50-100	398	550 6			92.58
10. Veal: leg (without bone) . .	"		200.00		75-100		700 6			39.68
11. Ham, cooked, sliced (without bone)	"		221.50 6		800 7			79.3		145.4
12. Bacon, smoked, sliced . .	"		70.00	27.2	400 7		465			92.5
13. Fresh fish	"	347 8	45.00 9	10.0	100 10		54 11			44.118
14. Salted fish	"		35.00	31.2	150					52.918
15. Margarine (10% butter or less)	"		47.31				330			59.5
16. Lard	"		25.00		300 7					70.5
17. Cooking oil	Litre	220 14	29.32 14	8.5	90		246 14			65.944
18. Milk (unskimmed, past.) . .	"	55		4.4	25	74	67	79.3	112.3	9.7
19. Butter (table)	Kg.	589	90.31-105.73	35.6	600	694	606	83.7		105.7
20. Cheese (not processed) . .	"		76.75	39.2	400-500		735		4.8	78.7
21. Eggs (fresh)	1	15		0.8	25	17	13			8.8
22. Peas (dried)	Kg.		32.00	11.8	20		81			58.9
23. White or red beans (dried) .	"	142	11.00	4.0	35		423			66.1
24. Potatoes	"	33	5.00-7.00	2.6	30	24	34			9.8
25. Cabbage, green or red . .	"		23.00-25.00		25	42	56			11.0
26. Onions	"		14.50	1.8	33		23			24.2
27. Apples (eating)	"		34.00 6		125-150		167			35.2
28. Oranges	"		6.00	3.8	50-75		67			19.3
29. Prunes (dried)	"		66.00	28.3	500					74.9
30. Sugar (white; granulated) .	"	123	12.50	8.0	75	104	120	13.2	18.7	17.6
31. Coffee (pure; roasted) . .	"	626	40.00-100.00		275	903	890	277.5		168.0
32. Tea	"	528	90.00	81.9	325	584	830			185.6
33. Cocoa (not sweetened) . .	"		118.94		600		14	30.8	6.6	90.3
34. Salt (cooking)	"		3.50		18					8.8
35. Beer (bottled)	Litre		11.88		100	208				31.0
36. Firewood	100kg.		35.00		175-225					37.2
37. Coal (household)	"				30		21	1.5		78.3
38. Electricity (lighting) . .	Kwh.	32	6.28							1.5
39. Gas (cooking)	100 cu. m.	3200								2.4
40. Soap (laundry)	100 g.	11	1.50		10		14			15.04
41. Cigarettes	20	46	6.00		30-60 15	100	40	31.2		

1 Dec. 2 Aug. 3 May. 4 Brown. 5 With bone. 6 Imported. 7 Not consumed by working people.
8 Whiting. 9 Cod. 10 Carp. 11 Sardines. 12 Hake. 13 Haddock. 14 Peanut. 15 Domestic produce.

RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD, FUEL, ETC., OCTOBER 1952 (cont.)

Article	Unit	AFRICA (concl.)					AMERICA				
		Sudan	Tanganyika 1	Tunisia	Union of South Africa		Alaska 2	Canada			
		Khartoum	Dar-es-Salaam	Tunis	Cape town	Witwatersrand	Ju-neau	Ot-tawa	To-ron-to	Van-couver	Win-nipeg
		Piastres	Cents	Francs	Pence	Pence	Cents	Cents	Cents	Cents	Cents
1. White wheat bread . . .	Kg.	5.6	125.6	55	9.4	9.3	55.1	26.4	26.4	32.8	30.8
2. Other bread	"	5.6					55.1				
3. Flour (wheat)	"	5.6		63	8.7	8.5	28.6	16.7	16.7	15.9	15.6
4. Oatmeal or rolled oats . .	"	30.9			31.4	31.6	43.4	26.7	26.2	25.3	24.9
5. Rice	"	12.0	120.0		41.6	41.8	55.1	45.4	41.6	43.0	46.9
6. Macaroni	"	15.2		93			71.4	37.4	36.6	36.8	36.8
7. Beef : sirloin (without bone) . .	"	11.2 8	660.8	513	48.5	52.6	297.4	178.0	191.6	207.5	186.3
brisket (without bone) . .	"			233 8	33.0	33.9	196.0	122.9 4	130.0 4	143.8 4	123.3 4
8. Pork : loin chops (with bone) . .	"	36.8		432	63.9	63.9	196.0	140.5	148.0	166.3	138.3
shoulder (without bone) . .	"	36.8			37.4	49.8	187.2	101.8	95.6	124.7	122.0
9. Mutton: leg (without bone) .	"	20.0	572.7	442 8	68.3	72.9		180.2 5	181.7 5	167.0 5	168.9 5
10. Veal: leg (without bone) . .	"	16.0					209.3		135.7	178.0	146.0
11. Ham, cooked, sliced (without bone)	"	66.1			153.7	155.1	330.4	168.1	143.2	139.6	159.7
12. Bacon, smoked, sliced . .	"	57.3		350	89.4	86.6	174.0	129.5	139.6	165.6	146.3
13. Fresh fish	"	18.0	627.8	273	22.0	24.7	152.0 6		94.9 7	91.8 7	93.6 7
14. Salted fish	"	44.1					152.0 8				
15. Margarine (10% butter or less)	"	28.7					77.1	81.7	82.6	83.3	86.1
16. Lard	"	30.9		350	58.8	55.3	77.1	34.4	35.7	32.6	28.9
17. Cooking oil	Litre	9.9 9		220 10	62.1	61.0	125.8 11				
18. Milk (unskimmed, past.) . .	"	7.7 12	79.2	68	10.7	11.1	36.0	19.3 18	19.3 18	19.3 18	17.5 18
19. Butter (table)	Kg.	57.3	759.9	593	80.4	80.4	196.0	137.4	139.6	146.7	137.9
20. Cheese (not processed) . .	"	28.8		454	65.0	65.0	242.3	152.0	146.7	151.5	152.9
21. Eggs (fresh)	1	12.5	37.0	13	2.7	2.7	11.2	6.2	6.0	5.4	5.2
22. Peas (dried)	Kg.	9.6		79	22.2	32.4	39.6				
23. White or red beans (dried) .	"	6.4		150	21.6	18.5	48.5	30.4	34.4	33.5	33.3
24. Potatoes	"	5.6	50.7	33	18.9	17.0	26.2	12.9	12.5	12.1	11.3
25. Cabbage, green or red . .	"	6.4	127.8		17.6	6.8	41.8	10.8	9.3	13.0	11.7
26. Onions	"	3.3	145.4		24.4	15.6	33.0	25.3	19.4	20.0	20.7
27. Apples (eating)	"	20.0			24.0	34.1	63.9 14	27.3	26.7	22.2	30.0
28. Oranges	"	16.0	24.2		9.7	8.8	50.0 14	23.2	23.2	24.2	27.4
29. Prunes (dried)	"	30.8			55.1	60.4	121.1	58.1	61.5	53.7	59.5
30. Sugar (white; granulated) .	"	8.8	132.2	103	11.0	12.1	39.2	22.9	22.2	22.9	21.9
31. Coffee (pure; roasted) . .	"	57.2	1046.3	812	130.2	138.6	209.3	229.3	222.7	212.8	219.8
32. Tea	"	44.0	936.1	935	159.3	156.6	372.2	243.2	238.8	230.0	232.6
33. Cocoa (not sweetened) . .	"	44.0					143.2	169.2	178.0	185.9	185.9
34. Salt (cooking)	"	5.5	37.4	25	5.6	5.7	21.8	13.4	12.6	15.2	13.9
35. Beer (bottled)	Litre	15.9	191.4				55.1	26.4	26.4	34.0	30.8
36. Firewood	100kg.	20.0	569.6		84.6	94.3					
37. Coal (household)	"	114.5 16			75.8	42.0	616.7	291.8	271.1	224.8	228.5
38. Electricity (lighting) . .	Kwh.	3.4			1.1	1.3	5.0 15	1.7	1.4	4.1	2.2
39. Gas (cooking)	100 cu. m.	2.4 17		3600			759.2	904.0	656.8	550.8	
40. Soap (laundry)	100 g.	1.2		97	1.8	1.7	3.8	5.0	4.9	5.2	4.8
41. Cigarettes	20	11.0	130.0	55	14.5	14.5	25.0	39.0	39.0	40.0	39.0

1 Aug. 2 Feb. 3 With bone. 4 Stew meat. 5 Lamb. 6 Halibut. 7 Fresh or frozen cod filets.
8 Cod. 9 Cottonseed oil. 10 Olive. 11 Peanut. 12 Unpasteurised. 13 Bottled, delivered. 14 Imported.
15 First 100 Kwh.; 4.5 cents per Kwh. thereafter. 16 Charcoal. 17 Kerosene, per litre.

RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD, FUEL, ETC., OCTOBER 1952 (cont.)

Article	Unit	AMERICA (cont.)									Cuba
		Canada	United States	Bolivia	British Honduras	Chile					
		Whole country	56 large cities	La Paz	Belize	Antofagasta	Concepción	Santiago	Valparaíso		
		Cents	Cents	Bolivianos	Cents	Pesos	Pesos	Pesos	Pesos	Pesos	
1. White wheat bread	Kg.	27.5	35.7 1	20.00	28.6	14.40	14.00	12.60	13.20	0.15	
2. Other bread	"			26.00		18.00	14.00	20.00	15.00		
3. Flour (wheat)	"	16.7	22.9	13.00	22.0	14.40	11.20	11.20	11.60	0.08	
4. Oatmeal or rolled oats . .	"	27.5	32.5	60.00		20.00	30.00		25.00	0.19	
5. Rice	"	45.2	40.5	22.00	35.2	36.00	27.20	20.80	24.00	0.40	
6. Macaroni	"	37.9		20.00		26.00	36.00	25.00	32.00		
7. Beef : sirloin (without bone) . .	"	193.8		60.00	74.9	65.00	90.00	70.00	75.00	0.45	
brisket (without bone) . .	"	131.1 2	159.7 3	60.00	81.5	44.00	45.00	58.00	52.00	0.85	
8. Pork : loin chops (with bone) . .	"	141.6	191.8	140.00		140.00	100.00	92.00	80.00	0.60	
shoulder (without bone) . .	"	110.1		140.00	74.9					0.80	
9. Mutton : leg (without bone)	"	179.7 4		120.00			75.00	56.00	76.00		
10. Veal : leg (without bone)	"	153.5		125.00			90.00	88.00	75.00		
11. Ham, cooked, sliced (without bone)	"	148.9	148.5 5	300.00		240.00	160.00	240.00	220.00	1.16	
12. Bacon, smoked, sliced . .	"	140.5	154.2	228.00		140.00	120.00	120.00	120.00	0.40	
13. Fresh fish	"	90.7 7	100.7 6 1	60.00		28.00		11.00	8.00 10	0.36	
14. Salted fish	"			260.00 8		50.00 8	100.00 9	85.00 8	50.00 11	0.49 9	
15. Margarine (10% butter or less)	"	83.5	68.5 1			98.00	110.00	89.00	88.00	0.22	
16. Lard	"	34.4	37.4	90.00		90.00	90.00	92.00	90.00	0.50 12	
17. Cooking oil	Litre			130.00 12		52.40	51.20 13	48.00 14	48.00 15		
18. Milk (unskimmed, past.) .	"	18.6 15	24.6 16	15.00 17		15.70	9.00	8.40	11.00	0.25 17	
19. Butter (table)	Kg.	140.7	187.4	400.00		180.00	160.00	200.00	200.00	2.68	
20. Cheese (not processed) . .	"	152.9	135.9	210.00		120.00	100.00	100.00	120.00	0.06	
21. Eggs (fresh)	1	5.9	6.7	8.50		6.00	3.33	3.60	4.00		
22. Peas (dried)	Kg.			37.00		90.00	24.00	24.00	45.00	0.10	
23. White or red beans (dried)	"	32.2	36.3	39.00	63.9	32.00	24.00	24.00	45.00	0.19	
24. Potatoes	"	12.2	15.5	23.90	37.4	16.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	0.09	
25. Cabbage, green or red . .	"	13.7	15.2	22.00		17.00	9.00 18	10.00 19	5.00	0.25 18	
26. Onions	"	21.8	21.2	21.00		5.00			24.00	0.10	
27. Apples (eating)	"	26.0	29.5 19	33.00		28.00	32.00	28.00	20.00	0.27	
28. Oranges	"	25.2	41.0 19	25.00		40.00	17.80	12.00	20.00	0.30	
29. Prunes (dried)	"	60.6	60.1	190.00		74.00	80.00	56.00	40.00		
30. Sugar (white ; granulated)	"	24.2	23.1	15.00	22.0	12.60	11.00	11.20	11.00	0.09	
31. Coffee (pure ; roasted) . .	"	232.4	190.8	90.00		184.00	224.00	200.00	200.00	0.75	
32. Tea	"	240.1		360.00		129.60	129.60	129.60	129.60	0.60	
33. Cocoa (not sweetened) . .	"	178.9		380.00		224.00		240.00	240.00	0.05	
34. Salt (cooking)	"	13.9		15.00		4.00	3.20	3.00	2.80		
35. Beer (bottled)	Litre			32.00							
36. Firewood	100kg.			380.00	137.7	200.00	200.00	160.00	280.00 20	2.00	
37. Coal (household)	"	246.3		750.00		360.00		700.00 20	640.00 20	6.25	
38. Electricity (lighting) . . .	Kwh.			2.14		4.85	3.80	2.51	2.55	0.18	
39. Gas (cooking)	100 cu. m.					910.00	330.00	515.00	714.00	0.04	
40. Soap (laundry)	100 g.	5.0		9.00	5.1		6.10	5.60	10.00	0.13	
41. Cigarettes	20	40.4		25.00	54.0	8.00	9.00	7.00			

1 Average of fewer towns than indicated in heading. 2 Stew meat. 3 Chuck roast with bone. 4 Lamb.
5 Frozen ocean-perch fillets. 6 Fresh or frozen cod fillets. 7 Cod. 8 Conger. 9 Hake. 10 Corvina.
11 Peanut. 12 Mixture of sunflower and peanut oils. 13 Soybean oil. 14 Bottled, delivered. 15 Stew
price. 16 Unpasteurised. 17 Per piece. 18 Domestic produce. 19 Charcoal.

RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD, FUEL, ETC., OCTOBER 1952 (cont.)

Article	Unit	AMERICA (concl.)								ASIA
		Cuba	Ecuador	El Salvador	Jamaica ²	Puerto Rico	St. Vincent ³	Trinidad ⁴	Venezuela	Ceylon
		30 cities	Quito	San Salvador	Kings-ton				Caracas	Colombo
		Pesos	Sucres	Colonos	Pence	Centavos	Cents	Cents	Bolivares	Rupees
1. White wheat bread . . .	Kg.	.	.	1.30	31.9	30.8	40.8	.	1.50	0.55 ⁶
2. Other bread	"	0.16	4.26	1.70 ⁸	.	.	.	32.1	1.04	0.51 ⁵
3. Flour (wheat)	"	.	3.80	0.85	18.7	.	.	15.6	1.68	2.65
4. Oatmeal or rolled oats . .	"	0.10	11.06	2.19	46.5	.	.	.	1.31	0.28 ⁶
5. Rice	"	0.19	3.30	0.50	.	28.6	27.5	28.9	1.00	3.09
6. Macaroni	"	0.40	.	1.80	.	.	.	.	.	.
7. Beef : sirloin (without bone) . .	"	0.45	8.80	2.70	70.5	149.8	105.7	168.9	5.00	1.98
brisket (without bone) . .	"	0.35	6.84	2.15	.	102.0	.	.	2.75	1.68 ⁷
8. Pork : loin chops (with bone) . .	"	0.48	.	2.20	.	.	.	.	5.50	2.51
shoulder (without bone) . .	"	.	11.60	2.37	101.3	115.4	.	154.4	5.00	.
9. Mutton : leg (without bone)	"	0.80	6.04	2.14	.	.	96.9	.	.	4.96
10. Veal : leg (without bone) .	"	.	.	2.17	.	.	.	.	5.00	.
11. Ham, cooked, sliced (without bone)	"	1.19	.	6.17	.	154.6	.	.	10.50	18.74
12. Bacon, smoked, sliced . .	"	0.40	.	5.84	.	47.6	.	.	.	8.27
13. Fresh fish	"	0.34	8.32 ⁹	2.48	.	.	37.4	.	4.00	7.69
14. Salted fish	"	0.47 ¹⁰	.	3.17	66.1	52.6 ¹⁰	.	88.1	3.50	4.59
15. Margarine (10% butter or less)	"	.	.	.	119.8	.	.	.	.	4.74
16. Lard	"	0.20	13.94	2.06	.	39.6	.	.	4.00	3.86
17. Cooking oil	Litre	0.51 ¹¹	.	1.35 ¹²	.	106.8-129.7	.	66.9	7.50 ¹²	1.10
18. Milk (unskimmed, past.) .	"	0.25 ¹³	1.00 ¹³	0.77	21.1	22.0	6.2 ¹³	.	1.00	1.23
19. Butter (table)	Kg.	2.60	19.40	296.5	.	.	.	227.1	9.87	6.89
20. Cheese (not processed) . .	"	.	6.40	1.62	172.5	.	.	.	4.55	5.73
21. Eggs (fresh)	1	0.06	1.07	0.14	10.0	7.4	.	.	0.20	0.20
22. Peas (dried)	Kg.	0.10	.	0.75	43.2	.	.	40.7	1.20	.
23. White or red beans (dried)	"	0.13	3.50	0.44	.	37.0 ¹⁴	.	.	1.40	.
24. Potatoes	"	0.09	2.00	0.50	20.5	14.1 ¹⁴	.	22.0	0.75	0.62
25. Cabbage, green or red . .	"	0.25 ¹⁵	0.44	0.20	.	.	11.0	.	0.75	1.74
26. Onions	"	0.14	2.40	1.41	32.2	22.9 ¹⁴	.	.	1.12	1.17
27. Apples (eating)	"	1.60	.	2.17	.	.	.	.	3.20	2.36
28. Oranges	"	0.22	1.46	0.37	.	.	.	.	1.00	3.00
29. Prunes (dried)	"	0.30	.	2.20	.	.	.	.	3.40	6.28 ¹⁵
30. Sugar (white ; granulated)	"	0.09	2.58	0.54	14.3	22.0	19.8 ¹⁶	18.1	1.10	1.48 ⁵
31. Coffee (pure ; roasted) . .	"	0.76	21.60	2.65	205.3	162.6	.	.	5.77	6.79
32. Tea	"	3.00	.	13.90	500.0	.	.	.	.	4.72
33. Cocoa (not sweetened) . .	"	0.60	13.66 ¹⁷	2.69	.	.	.	254.2	6.00	7.10
34. Salt (cooking)	"	0.05	2.12	0.15	.	.	.	.	0.15	0.13
35. Beer (bottled)	Litre	.	4.48	1.03	.	.	.	.	3.79	2.64
36. Firewood	100kg.	2.00	29.07 ¹⁹	16.90	.	.	.	.	20.00	3.96
37. Coal (household)	"	6.23	53.40 ²⁰	25.00	.	.	424.0 ²⁰	.	30.00	.
38. Electricity (lighting) . . .	Kwh.	0.10	0.48	0.20	.	5.0	.	.	0.30	0.06
39. Gas (cooking)	100 cu. m.	.	.	0.17 ²¹	.	6.1 ²¹	.	.	.	35.33
40. Soap (laundry)	100 g.	0.04	1.15	0.15	.	2.8	.	.	0.17	0.18
41. Cigarettes	20	0.12	1.22	0.33 ²²	.	24.0 ²²	34.0 ²²	.	0.75 ²²	1.50

1 Mar. 1953. 2 Aug. 3 Average Oct.-Dec. 4 Sep. 5 Controlled prices. 6 Rationed. Outside ration :
Rs. 1.01. 7 With bone. 8 Rye bread. 9 Corvina. 10 Cod. 11 Peanut. 12 Olive. 13 Unpasteurised.
14 Imported. 15 July. 16 Unrefined. 17 Bar chocolate. 18 Per piece. 19 Eucalyptus. 20 Charcoal.
21 Kerosene, per litre. 22 Domestic produce. 23 Imported.

RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD, FUEL, ETC., OCTOBER 1952 (cont.)

Article	Unit	ASIA (cont.)									
		China	Hong-kong	India			Iran ¹	Iraq ¹	Israel		
		Taipeh		Bombay	Calcutta	Delhi	Tehran	Baghdad	Haifa	Jerusalem	
		\$	\$	Pies	Pies	Pies	Rials	Fils	Prutot	Prutot	
1. White wheat bread . . .	Kg.	4.45	1.10	.	.	.	10.00	60	153	153	
2. Other bread	"	.	.	.	.	.	3.00-5.00	25 ⁴	79 ⁵	79 ⁵	
3. Flour (wheat)	"	4.00	1.24	104	106	90	4.35-8.00	55	120 ⁵	120 ⁵	
4. Oatmeal or rolled oats . .	"	11.12	3.25	.	.	.	.	100	125	125	
5. Rice	"	2.30	0.84 ²	159	90	128	12.00-12.50	75	120 ⁵	120 ⁵	
6. Macaroni	"	16.15	3.17	.	.	.	30.00-32.00	125	300 ⁵	300 ⁵	
7. Beef : sirloin (without bone) . .	"	13.33	9.07	.	.	.	27.50-30.00	160	.	.	
brisket (without bone) . .	"	11.67	.	.	.	.	27.50-30.00	160	.	.	
8. Pork : loin chops (with bone) ⁶ .	"	18.67	5.74	.	.	.	65.00-70.00	.	.	.	
shoulder (without bone) . .	"	14.17	.	.	.	.	.	500	.	.	
9. Mutton : leg (without bone)	"	26.67	4.63	509	593 ⁸	328	28.00-32.00 ⁷	200	.	.	
10. Veal : leg (without bone)	"	15.00	.	.	.	.	27.50-30.00 ⁷	150	.	.	
11. Ham, cooked, sliced (without bone)	"	58.33	9.69	.	.	.	27.50-30.00 ⁷	900	.	.	
12. Bacon, smoked, sliced . .	"	20.00	8.81	.	.	.	80.00-90.00	600	.	.	
13. Fresh fish	"	16.00	2.05	.	601	.	12.00-14.00	180	440 ⁵	440 ⁵	
14. Salted fish	"	12.00	2.51	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
15. Margarine (10% butter or less)	"	28.73	4.07	.	.	.	50.00-60.00	300	300 ⁵	300 ⁵	
16. Lard	"	9.17	5.47	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
17. Cooking oil	Litre	8.65 ⁹	1.57 ⁹	289 ¹⁰	244 ¹¹	244 ¹¹	60.00-100.00 ¹²	550	270 ⁵	270 ⁵	
18. Milk (unskimmed, past.) .	"	6.66	2.42 ¹³	212	212 ¹⁴	132 ¹⁵	12.00	68	200 ¹⁵	212 ¹⁵	
19. Butter (table)	Kg.	39.30	7.49	.	.	.	133.00	500	420 ⁵	420 ⁵	
20. Cheese (not processed) . .	"	40.00	4.85	.	.	.	35.00-50.00	200	360	360	
21. Eggs (fresh)	1	1.00	0.14	.	.	.	1.50	9	50 ⁵	50 ⁵	
22. Peas (dried)	Kg.	3.22	.	.	.	.	10.00-12.00	40	120	120	
23. White or red beans (dried)	"	4.67	.	.	.	.	10.00-12.00	70	120 ⁵	120 ⁵	
24. Potatoes	"	0.57	0.69	126	143	148	4.00-5.00	45	200	173	
25. Cabbage, green or red . .	"	2.67	0.98	.	.	.	6.00-7.50	25	240 ⁵	250 ⁵	
26. Onions	"	3.33	0.83	48	59	42	4.00-5.00	12	.	.	
27. Apples (eating)	"	40.00	3.30	.	.	.	25.00-30.00	170	.	.	
28. Oranges	"	13.33	2.20	.	.	.	30.00-72.00	80	125 ¹⁷	125 ¹⁷	
29. Prunes (dried)	"	26.67	3.52	.	.	.	18.00-25.00	.	.	.	
30. Sugar (white ; granulated)	"	3.67	1.28	187	181	172	18.00-21.75	82	90 ⁵	90 ⁵	
31. Coffee (pure ; roasted) . .	"	106.67	11.01	.	.	.	180.00-200.00	820	2170 ⁵	2170 ⁵	
32. Tea	"	19.44	9.92	.	.	.	180.00-320.00	625	1700 ⁵	1700 ⁵	
33. Cocoa (not sweetened) . .	"	142.13	7.59	.	.	.	100.00-135.00	525	1300 ⁵	1300 ⁵	
34. Salt (cooking)	"	1.17	0.21	18	22	15	2.00-3.00	12	50	50	
35. Beer (bottled)	Litre	16.67	.	.	.	.	22.50	147	320	320	
36. Firewood	100kg.	50.00	16.12	1322	1542	1542	95.00-110.00	500	.	.	
37. Coal (household)	"	40.00	41.00	3304 ¹⁸	881 ¹⁸	3965 ¹⁸	250.00-300.00	2000	34 ²⁰	51 ²⁰	
38. Electricity (lighting) . . .	Kwh.	0.44	0.35	.	.	.	3.00-4.50	18	.	.	
39. Gas (cooking)	100 cu. m.	.	45.90	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
40. Soap (laundry)	100 g.	.	0.16	.	.	.	3.00-5.00	25	29 ⁵	29 ⁵	
41. Cigarettes	20	2.60	0.60	.	.	.	6.00	30	170	170	

¹ Feb. ² Siam A 1 super, rationed. ³ Rationed. ⁴ Barley. ⁵ Brown bread, standard. ⁶ Goat. ⁷ With bone. ⁸ Frozen imported cod fillets. ⁹ Peanut. ¹⁰ Coconut. ¹¹ Mustard oil. ¹² Olive. ¹³ Bottled. ¹⁴ Buffalo milk. ¹⁵ Unpasteurised. ¹⁶ Cow. ¹⁷ Nov. ¹⁸ Charcoal. ¹⁹ Bituminous. ²⁰ Plus 100 prutot meter charge and 210 prutot per room. ²¹ Plus 50 prutot meter charge and 90 prutot per 10 square metres floor area.

RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD, FUEL, ETC., OCTOBER 1952 (cont.)

Article	Unit	ASIA (cont.)								
		Israel	Japan					Pakistan		
		Tel-Aviv	Fukuoka	Hiroshima	Osaka	Sapporo	Tokyo	Karachi	Lahore	Peshawar
		Prutot	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Pies	Pies	Pies
1. White wheat bread . . .	Kg.	153	60.53	62.93	60.53	72.00	57.07	.	.	.
2. Other bread	"	79 ¹	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
3. Flour (wheat)	"	120 ²	54.40	51.20	52.00	49.60	52.53	68	100	.
4. Oatmeal or rolled oats . .	"	135	51.40	51.70	53.10	51.00	50.50	.	.	.
5. Rice	"	120 ²	106.43	112.86	128.57	90.00	99.29	74	116	129
6. Macaroni	"	300 ²	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
7. Beef : sirloin (without bone) . .	"	.	437.33	384.00	424.00	402.67	426.67	219	154	116
brisket (without bone) . .	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
8. Pork : loin chops (with bone) . .	"	.	370.67	346.67	346.67	373.33	386.67	.	.	.
shoulder (without bone) . .	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
9. Mutton : leg (without bone)	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	408	412	289
10. Veal : leg (without bone)	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
11. Ham, cooked, sliced (without bone)	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
12. Bacon, smoked, sliced . .	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
13. Fresh fish	"	440 ²	84.53 ⁴	85.33 ⁴	84.27 ⁴	82.40 ⁴	84.80 ⁴	103	.	322
14. Salted fish	"	.	482.67 ⁵	456.00 ⁵	448.00 ⁵	282.67 ⁵	354.67 ⁵	.	.	.
15. Margarine (10% butter or less)	"	300 ²	272.44	348.00	348.00	355.56	351.56	.	.	.
16. Lard	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
17. Cooking oil	Litre	270 ²	168.33	193.89	210.56	222.78	208.33	281 ⁶	234 ⁷	266 ⁶
18. Milk (unskimmed, past.) .	"	200 ⁹	84.44	71.11	81.11	56.11	72.22	133	106	106
19. Butter (table)	Kg.	420 ²	1000.00	968.89	968.89	933.33	960.00	1408	.	1507
20. Cheese (not processed) . .	"	360	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
21. Eggs (fresh)	1	50 ²	16.30	16.74	16.15	14.12	15.85	.	24	21
22. Peas (dried)	Kg.	120	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
23. White or red beans (dried)	"	.	140.00	134.29	150.00	115.00	137.86	.	.	.
24. Potatoes	"	120 ²	27.20	25.17	21.97	16.00	20.80	103	77	71
25. Cabbage, green or red . .	"	180	52.53	37.07	32.53	9.84	25.57	.	.	.
26. Onions	"	240 ²	38.13	33.33	32.27	32.80	31.47	48	42	13
27. Apples (eating)	"	.	53.33	66.67	.	42.13	54.40	.	.	.
28. Oranges	"	125 ¹⁰	61.87	46.93	74.13	60.00	72.27	.	.	.
29. Prunes (dried)	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
30. Sugar (white ; granulated)	"	90 ²	139.73	134.40	134.13	150.13	134.67	238	257	238
31. Coffee (pure ; roasted) . .	"	2170 ²	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
32. Tea	"	1706 ²	1127.75	1136.56	1101.32	1180.62	1030.84	964	911	964
33. Cocoa (not sweetened) . .	"	1300 ²	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
34. Salt (cooking)	"	50	20.90	20.90	20.90	22.00	20.70	26	32	26
35. Beer (bottled)	Litre	320	180.56	180.56	181.94	180.56	180.56	.	.	.
36. Firewood	100kg.	.	473.75	395.00	575.00	500.00	701.25	1013	1568	1110
37. Coal (household)	"	.	852.00	830.00	1052.00	694.00	1098.00	2701 ¹¹	.	3475 ¹¹
38. Electricity (lighting) . . .	Kwh.	34 ¹²	22.00 ¹³	22.00 ¹³	24.06 ¹³	20.90 ¹³	16.50 ¹³	54	84	.
39. Gas (cooking)	100 cu. m.	.	2010.00 ¹⁴	2140.00 ¹⁴	2370.00 ¹⁴	2140.00 ¹⁴	2370.00 ¹⁴	.	.	.
40. Soap (laundry)	100 g.	29 ²	30.00 ¹⁴	30.00 ¹⁴	29.80 ¹⁴	30.00 ¹⁴	29.60 ¹⁴	20	20	28
41. Cigarettes	20	170	60.00	60.00	60.00	60.00	60.00	60	60	96

¹ Brown bread, standard. ² Rationed. ³ Frozen imported cod fillets. ⁴ Mackerel. ⁵ Sliced salt salmon. ⁶ Sarson oil. ⁷ Toria oil. ⁸ Peanut. ⁹ Unpasteurised. ¹⁰ Nov. ¹¹ Charcoal. ¹² Plus 100 prutot meter charge and 210 prutot per room. ¹³ Basic rate. ¹⁴ Toilet soap.

RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD, FUEL, ETC., OCTOBER 1952 (cont.)

Article	Unit	ASIA (cont.)			EUROPE						
		Pakistan		Singapore ¹	Belgium			Denmark	Finland	France	
		Chittagong	Narayan-Ganj		Antwerp	Brussels	Liège				
		Pies	Pies	\$	Francs	Francs	Francs	Kroner	Markkas	Francs	
1. White wheat bread . . .	Kg.	.	.	.	7.50	7.50	7.50	1.57	61.25	56.0	
2. Other bread	"	.	.	0.62	.	.	.	0.30 ²	45.63 ²	71.4	
3. Flour (wheat)	"	109	106	0.46	8.20	8.25	7.90	1.07	54.75	105.6	
4. Oatmeal or rolled oats . .	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.62	59.50	.	
5. Rice	"	103	151	.	13.45	14.75	13.05	.	135.00	200.0	
6. Macaroni	"	.	.	.	23.45	24.35	25.40	.	142.00	226.0	
7. Beef : sirloin (without bone) . .	"	296	309	4.00	108.00	106.50	106.65	6.35	272.92 ⁸	728.0	
brisket (without bone) . .	"	.	.	3.64	44.50 ³	45.85 ³	45.85 ³	4.82	228.75 ⁸	281.0 ⁸	
8. Pork : loin chops (with bone) . .	"	.	.	4.89	78.80	79.25	77.50	7.46	386.73	492.0	
shoulder (without bone) . .	"	.	.	3.85	.	.	.	7.27	290.00 ⁸	492.0 ⁸	
9. Mutton : leg (without bone)	"	514	514	3.09	65.00	65.00	66.00	.	290.10	731.0 ⁸	
10. Veal : leg (without bone) .	"	.	.	.	116.90	116.35	112.60	6.00	307.50	720.0	
11. Ham, cooked, sliced (without bone)	"	.	.	.	113.00	116.00	106.65	6.61	525.00	911.0	
12. Bacon, smoked, sliced . .	"	.	.	.	41.80	42.90	40.00	6.94	664.0	664.0	
13. Fresh fish	"	257	206	2.53 ⁴	42.00 ⁵	58.00 ⁵	42.50 ⁶	1.73 ⁵	99.00 ⁶	227.0 ⁷	
14. Salted fish	"	.	.	2.35 ⁴	24.00 ⁶	25.00 ⁶	22.00 ⁶	4.13 ⁸	57.50 ⁸	198.5 ⁸	
15. Margarine (10% butter or less)	"	.	.	1.49	24.00	24.00	24.00	3.48	100.00	323.0	
16. Lard	"	359 ⁸	382 ⁸	.	28.60	32.00	23.00	3.00	.	360.0	
17. Cooking oil	Litre	.	.	.	28.30 ⁹	28.20 ⁹	27.45 ⁹	.	.	323.0 ⁹	
18. Milk (unskimmed, past.) .	"	133	193	.	6.35	6.20	6.75	0.45	25.00	48.0	
19. Butter (table)	Kg.	1480	1586	3.85	93.15	95.30	96.60	7.30	440.00	780.0	
20. Cheese (not processed) . .	"	.	.	.	44.50	50.70	48.40	5.79	307.00	617.0	
21. Eggs (fresh)	1	.	.	0.16	3.60	3.65	3.50	0.37	25.40	24.6	
22. Peas (dried)	Kg.	.	.	.	12.60	13.85	13.40	2.16	55.00	135.3	
23. White or red beans (dried)	"	.	.	.	13.50	13.95	13.35	.	14.22	174.5	
24. Potatoes	"	257	257	0.40	2.00	2.05	2.00	0.34	18.50	51.9	
25. Cabbage, green or red . .	"	.	.	0.69	.	.	.	1.03	95.75	71.5	
26. Onions	"	51	39	0.38	.	.	.	1.13	170.00	83.5	
27. Apples (eating)	"	.	.	1.65	.	.	.	.	180.00	128.5	
28. Oranges	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	161.00	461.0	
29. Prunes (dried)	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
30. Sugar (white ; granulated)	"	232	232	0.63	11.75	13.15	12.05	0.70	55.00	124.9	
31. Coffee (pure ; roasted) . .	"	.	.	6.61 ¹⁴	109.50	109.50	106.65	14.88	700.00	924.0	
32. Tea	"	1071	1071	6.50	227.00	230.00	230.50	21.00	1400.00	2460.0	
33. Cocoa (not sweetened) . .	"	.	.	.	63.00	68.00	66.40	15.28	.	609.0	
34. Salt (cooking)	"	51	80	0.17	2.45	2.40	2.25	0.30	11.00	43.1	
35. Beer (bottled)	Litre	.	.	.	5.70	6.20	5.80	0.63	100.00	44.0	
36. Firewood	100kg.	1126	1029	.	255.00	155.00	215.00	26.00	508.33	1020.0	
37. Coal (household)	"	1448 ¹⁰	1544 ¹⁰	.	197.80 ¹¹	196.50 ¹¹	178.80 ¹¹	16.57	800.00	1494.5 ¹²	
38. Electricity (lighting) . . .	Kwh.	.	.	.	3.80	3.17	2.69	0.12	14.00	26.4	
39. Gas (cooking)	100 cu. m.	.	.	.	305.00	309.00	253.00	35.00	1650.00	3110.0	
40. Soap (laundry)	100 g.	31	31	.	2.10	2.10	2.10	0.65	10.50	14.8	
41. Cigarettes	20	216	192	.	8.80	8.80	8.80	3.00 ¹³	80.00	80.0 ¹³	

¹ Sep. ² Rye bread. ³ With bone. ⁴ Jenggiri. ⁵ Cod. ⁶ Herring. ⁷ Whiting. ⁸ Sarson oil.
⁹ Peanut. ¹⁰ Bituminous. ¹¹ Low volatile. ¹² Semi-bituminous. ¹³ Domestic produce. ¹⁴ In tins.

RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD, FUEL, ETC., OCTOBER 1952 (cont.)

Article	Unit	EUROPE (cont.)									
		Germany		Greece	Iceland	Ireland ¹			Italy		
		(Fed. Repub.)	Western Berlin	Athens	Reykjavik	Cork	Dublin	Dundalk	Genoa	Milan	
		Marks	Marks	Drachmas	Kronur	Pence	Pence	Pence	Lire	Lire	
1. White wheat bread . . .	Kg.	0.87	0.87	2 496	5.40	10.2	10.7	10.2	125	130	
2. Other bread	"	0.69 ²	0.52	.	3.13 ³	.	.	.	.	.	
3. Flour (wheat)	"	0.78	0.79	2 962	3.25	8.2	8.3	8.9	120	123	
4. Oatmeal or rolled oats . .	"	1.96	1.15	1 715	4.20	17.0	16.6	17.0	.	.	
5. Rice	"	1.66	1.55	4 053	5.52	36.3	31.4	30.8	134	130	
6. Macaroni	"	1.19	.	4 443	13.20	41.3	34.7	36.9	184	184	
7. Beef : sirloin (without bone) . .	"	4.41 ⁴	4.72	11 691	48.00	72.1	82.0	76.0	1053	1149	
brisket (without bone) . .	"	4.18 ⁵	.	.	19.95	56.7	55.1	55.6	.	.	
8. Pork : loin chops (with bone) . .	"	4.89	4.77	14 030	40.00	.	.	.	916	888	
shoulder (without bone) . .	"	4.23 ⁶	.	.	26.00 ⁶	92.5	87.0	85.9	1038	1252	
9. Mutton : leg (without bone)	"	3.73 ⁸	4.15	26 812	21.60	78.7	80.4	82.6	876 ¹⁰	.	
10. Veal : leg (without bone) .	"	4.86 ⁶	4.93	21 824	19.95	.	.	.	1491	1597	
11. Ham, cooked, sliced (without bone)	"	7.52	7.18	59 236	65.00	95.8 ⁹	105.2 ⁹	109.0 ⁹	2269 ¹¹	2281 ¹¹	
12. Bacon, smoked, sliced . .	"	4.69	4.35	14 030	35.00	105.2	104.1	101.9	587	469	
13. Fresh fish	"	1.79 ¹²	1.72 ¹²	15 588	1.85 ¹²	19.8 ¹³	19.8 ¹³	19.8 ¹³	365 ¹⁴	879 ¹⁵	
14. Salted fish	"	1.06 ¹⁷	1.04 ¹⁷	15 588	5.60 ¹⁸	46.3	49.6	52.9	329 ¹⁸	295 ¹⁸	
15. Margarine (10% butter or less)	"	2.09	2.22	14 030	5.50	40.2	39.6	39.6	.	.	
16. Lard	"	3.98	4.11	14 030	20.00	44.6	44.1	44.1	501	449	
17. Cooking oil	Litre	2.45 ¹⁹	3.55 ¹⁹	11 194 ²⁰	20.40	.	.	.	476 ²⁰	473 ²⁰	
18. Milk (unskimmed, past.) .	"	0.39	0.44	3 507	3.40	8.6	10.1	10.6	82	80	
19. Butter (table)	Kg.	6.83	6.84	35 853	29.30	101.3	101.3	101.3	1297	1267	
20. Cheese (not processed) . .	"	5.50	3.23	14 497	22.15	70.5	63.9	63.9	1285	1263	
21. Eggs (fresh)	1	0.27	0.27	1 000	1.56	5.9	6.2	6.2	43	40	
22. Peas (dried)	Kg.	1.41 ²¹	1.52 ²¹	3 663	3.91	34.1	34.7	30.8	.	.	
23. White or red beans (dried)	"	.	.	3 741	.	36.3	31.4	28.1	178	185	
24. Potatoes	"	0.20	0.19	1 403	2.45	4.3	3.6	3.6	45	58	
25. Cabbage, green or red . .	"	0.27-0.35	0.35-0.38	1 715	3.00	8.0 ²²	4.2 ²²	4.0 ²²	.	.	
26. Onions	"	0.67	0.65	740	7.50	18.2	16.5	17.6	61	80	
27. Apples (eating)	"	0.77	0.89	4 677	11.60 ²³	20.0	16.0	20.0	117	88	
28. Oranges	"	1.28	1.12	4 832	7.50	34.1	27.5	29.7	.	.	
29. Prunes (dried)	"	2.13	1.88	18 706	9.50	36.9	36.3	35.2	.	.	
30. Sugar (white ; granulated)	"	1.35	1.36	12 081	4.20	14.3	14.3	14.3	257	257	
31. Coffee (pure ; roasted) . .	"	32.50	31.34	62 354	44.00	155.3	144.3	165.2	1850	1759	
32. Tea	"	46.80	47.80	113 016	31.36	136.0	123.9	141.0	2870	3600	
33. Cocoa (not sweetened) . .	"	8.24	7.36	56 898	29.30	84.3	88.1	88.1	1400	1280	
34. Salt (cooking)	"	0.29	.	1 052	0.65	13.2	12.1	13.2	50	50	
35. Beer (bottled)	Litre	1.36 ²⁴	1.40	7 719	3.35	24.2	23.3	21.1	200	175	
36. Firewood	100kg.	9.02 ²⁴	10.35 ²⁴	42 868	.	.	.	.	1500	1475	
37. Coal (household)	"	6.14 ²⁵	8.02 ²⁵	128 605	50.00	194.8	194.8	189.0	5000	4500	
38. Electricity (lighting) . . .	Kwh.	0.23 ²⁶	0.12	950	0.85	7.0	5.9	.	39	36	
39. Gas (cooking)	100 cu. m.	24.80 ²⁷	.	217 300	185.00	467.7	339.0	441.4	3395	3030	
40. Soap (laundry)	100 g.	0.23	0.16 ³⁰	624	1.91	3.4	3.4	3.3	20	22	
41. Cigarettes	20	2.00	2.00	2 900 ²⁸	8.95 ²⁹	28.0	28.0	28.0	220 ²⁸	220 ²⁸	

¹ Nov. ² Mixed rye and wheat. ³ Rye. ⁴ Stew meat. ⁵ Soup meat. ⁶ With bone. ⁷ Belly. ⁸ Belly and breast. ⁹ Uncooked. ¹⁰ Lamb. ¹¹ Uncooked, Parma type. ¹² Cod. ¹³ Herring. ¹⁴ Sardine. ¹⁵ Eel. ¹⁶ Soft soap. ¹⁷ Salt herring. ¹⁸ Dried cod. ¹⁹ Vegetable oil. ²⁰ Olive. ²¹ Unshelled. ²² Per piece. ²³ Domestic lager sold by the glass. ²⁴ Hard wood. ²⁵ Brown-coal briquettes, delivered. ²⁶ For 2-room apartment with kitchen. ²⁷ Incl. DM. 0.72 per month meter charge. ²⁸ Domestic produce. ²⁹ Imported.

RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD, FUEL, ETC., OCTOBER 1952 (cont.)

Article	Unit	EUROPE (cont.)									
		Italy			Netherlands			Norway	Portugal		
		Naples	Palermo	Rome	Amsterdam	Groningen	Heerlen	Oslo	Lisbon	7 towns	
		Lire	Lire	Lire	Florins	Florins	Florins	Kroner	Escudos	Escudos	
1. White wheat bread . . .	Kg.	100	140	122	0.54	0.54	0.54	1.21	3.40	3.30	
2. Other bread	"	"	"	"	0.44 ¹	0.45 ¹	0.45 ¹	0.88 ²	2.70 ³	2.25 ³	
3. Flour (wheat)	"	114	125	131	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.74	6.40	6.40	
4. Oatmeal or rolled oats . .	"	"	"	"	1.01	1.01	1.01	0.80	8.88	9.50 ⁴	
5. Rice	"	134	149	140	1.31	1.38	1.48	2.45	5.30	5.30	
6. Macaroni	"	134	135	180	"	"	"	2.44	5.70	5.83	
7. Beef : sirloin (without bone) . .	"	970	953	1175	5.23	5.48	6.34	11.80	28.00	24.20	
brisket (without bone) . .	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	6.40	21.00	16.53 ⁴	
8. Pork : loin chops (with bone) . .	"	822	783	"	4.46	4.26	4.80	8.75	23.60	21.57 ⁴	
shoulder (without bone) . .	"	860	880	"	"	"	"	6.20	25.60	22.91	
9. Mutton : leg (without bone)	"	617 ⁶	598 ⁶	700	"	"	"	5.90-6.30	16.40	14.73 ⁴	
10. Veal : leg (without bone) .	"	1317	1200	1503	7.00	4.81	7.10	8.80	32.00	23.40	
11. Ham, cooked, sliced (without bone)	"	1718 ⁷	2137 ⁷	1600 ⁷	5.20	6.26	5.82	"	36.00 ⁵	31.57 ⁵	
12. Bacon, smoked, sliced . .	"	559	736	430	4.50	4.62	4.46	10.80	14.40	14.50	
13. Fresh fish	"	201 ¹¹	608 ⁸	993 ⁸	"	"	"	1.95 ⁹	26.50 ¹⁰	22.11 ¹⁰	
14. Salted fish	"	284 ⁹	280 ⁹	484 ⁹	"	"	"	2.30	13.40 ⁹	13.57 ⁹	
15. Margarine (10% butter or less)	"	"	"	"	1.56	1.56	1.56	2.55	26.50	28.68 ⁴	
16. Lard	"	540	504	445	1.81	1.69	2.00	2.75	15.80	15.89	
17. Cooking oil	Litre	477 ¹³	423 ¹³	493 ¹³	1.88 ¹⁴	1.88 ¹⁴	1.88 ¹⁴	2.61	12.80 ¹³	12.20 ¹³	
18. Milk (unskimmed, past.) .	"	80	100	80	0.21	0.20	0.21	0.61	3.00 ¹⁵	2.67 ¹⁵	
19. Butter (table)	Kg.	1273	1555	1328	5.00	4.92	4.72	8.00	40.00	40.29	
20. Cheese (not processed) . .	"	995	978	1200	4.00	3.78	4.00	5.75 ¹²	28.00	28.29	
21. Eggs (fresh)	1	37	44	39	0.24	0.23	0.24	0.46	1.12	0.95	
22. Peas (dried)	Kg.	"	"	"	0.80	0.76	0.82	1.83	12.80	6.77 ⁴	
23. White or red beans (dried)	"	160	190	196	0.99	0.94	0.89	1.95	6.66	5.54	
24. Potatoes	"	30	34	39	0.17	0.17	0.14	0.33	1.50	1.40	
25. Cabbage, green or red . .	"	"	"	"	0.24	0.22	0.28	0.50	1.50 ¹⁶	0.92 ¹⁶	
26. Onions	"	56	55	77	0.26	0.27	0.35	1.75	1.00	0.90	
27. Apples (eating)	"	116	127	88	0.35	0.35	0.30	3.13 ¹⁷	5.33	3.57	
28. Oranges	"	"	"	"	0.96	1.15	1.00	2.40 ¹⁷	16.00	10.44 ⁴	
29. Prunes (dried)	"	"	"	"	2.32	2.38	2.46	4.20	28.00	19.08 ⁴	
30. Sugar (white ; granulated)	"	260	260	260	0.91	0.91	0.91	1.65	5.30	5.49	
31. Coffee (pure ; roasted) . .	"	1780	1742	1845	7.64	7.64	7.64	16.00	12.00 ¹⁸	12.21 ¹⁸	
32. Tea	"	2760	3080	3080	6.44	6.44	6.44	29.63	70.00	62.14	
33. Cocoa (not sweetened) . .	"	1330	1420	1630	5.10	5.10	5.10	10.00	48.00	43.00	
34. Salt (cooking)	"	50	9	50	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.37	0.60 ¹⁹	0.45 ¹⁹	
35. Beer (bottled)	Litre	198	208	186	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.50	7.50	7.50	
36. Firewood	100kg.	750	1000	1280	"	"	"	12.88	60.00	49.39 ⁴	
37. Coal (household)	"	3325	5000	4000	12.57	12.29	11.93	20.65	140.00	127.14	
38. Electricity (lighting) . . .	Kwh.	40	53	39	0.28	0.26	0.22	"	2.00	2.17	
39. Gas (cooking)	100 cu. m.	4099	4070	2970	15.50	14.50 ²⁰	13.00	23.00	180.00	"	
40. Soap (laundry)	100 g.	20	22	22	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.50	0.59	0.62	
41. Cigarettes	20	220 ²¹	220 ²¹	220 ²¹	0.60	0.60	0.60	3.20	3.10	3.10	

¹ Brown bread. ² Rye. ³ Corn bread. ⁴ Average of fewer towns than indicated in heading. ⁵ With bone. ⁶ Lamb. ⁷ Uncooked, Parma type. ⁸ Hake. ⁹ Cod. ¹⁰ Whiting. ¹¹ Anchovy. ¹² Goat cheese. ¹³ Olive. ¹⁴ Peanut. ¹⁵ Unpasteurised, bulk sale. ¹⁶ Per piece. ¹⁷ Nov. ¹⁸ Mixture containing 20 per cent. coffee. ¹⁹ Per litre. ²⁰ Fixed rate : 0.80 fl. ²¹ Domestic produce.

RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD, FUEL, ETC., OCTOBER 1952 (cont.)

Article	Unit	EUROPE (cont.)									
		Saar	Spain			Sweden			Switzerland		
		Saarbrücken	Barcelona	Madrid	4 cities	Göteborg	Malmö	Stockholm	Basle	Berne	Geneva
		Francs	Pesetas	Pesetas	Pesetas	Kronor	Kronor	Kronor	Francs	Francs	Francs
1. White wheat bread . . .	Kg.	74.0	4.90	4.90	4.90	1.54	1.54	1.69	0.70 ¹	0.70 ¹	0.71 ¹
2. Other bread	"	58.0 ²⁰	5.60	5.60	5.60	0.96	0.83	0.96	0.49 ²	0.51 ²	0.52 ²
3. Flour (wheat)	"	98.0	"	7.00	"	1.05	1.06	1.05	0.82 ¹	0.82 ¹	0.75 ¹
4. Oatmeal or rolled oats . .	"	206.0	"	"	"	1.29	1.28	1.30	1.10	1.05	1.25
5. Rice	"	158.0	8.50	8.00	7.25	2.28	1.70	2.28	1.64	1.27	1.30
6. Macaroni	"	186.0	10.00	11.00	10.00	1.94	1.94	1.90	0.95	1.16	1.10
7. Beef : sirloin (without bone) . .	"	460.0 ³	40.00	36.00	33.00	5.57 ³	5.00 ³	5.04 ³	6.20 ³	6.40 ³	7.00 ³
brisket (without bone) . .	"	360.0 ³	23.00	24.00	26.00	4.23 ³	4.07 ³	3.94 ³	5.20 ³	5.54 ³	4.40 ³
8. Pork : loin chops (with bone) . .	"	620.0	40.00	30.00	29.50	6.13	5.80	6.06	8.80	8.50	9.20
shoulder (without bone) . .	"	460.0 ³	50.00	40.00	39.25	6.00	6.40	6.15	7.20 ³	7.30 ³	8.50 ³
9. Mutton : leg (without bone)	"	500.0	30.00	28.00	23.00	5.80	6.50	5.95	7.20 ³	7.58 ³	7.50 ³
10. Veal : leg (without bone) .	"	600.0	45.00	44.00	36.25	3.50	2.40	3.00	10.70 ³	9.28 ³	8.00 ³
11. Ham, cooked, sliced (without bone)	"	1100.0	80.00	80.00	66.25	9.86 ⁴	8.00 ⁴	9.06 ⁴	9.50	9.50	9.50
12. Bacon, smoked, sliced . .	"	480.0	"	"	"	7.50	8.60	8.00	8.20	8.28	8.50
13. Fresh fish	"	180.0 ²¹	20.00 ⁵	15.00 ⁵	13.50 ⁵	3.00 ⁶	2.00 ⁶	3.66 ⁶	3.00 ⁶	4.00 ⁶	5.50 ⁶
14. Salted fish	"	130.0 ⁸	10.00 ⁷	9.00 ⁷	7.50 ⁷	2.48 ⁸	2.33 ⁸	2.31 ⁸	"	"	"
15. Margarine (10% butter or less)	"	320.0	"	"	"	3.85	3.85	3.85	3.00	2.90	3.40
16. Lard	"	353.0	"	"	"	3.50	3.30	3.15	2.60 ¹⁰	2.95 ¹⁰	3.25 ¹⁰
17. Cooking oil	Litre	376.0 ¹⁰	13.90 ⁹	13.20 ⁹	13.50 ⁹	6.25	6.25	6.25	2.60 ¹⁰	2.95 ¹⁰	3.25 ¹⁰
18. Milk (unskimmed, past.) .	"	41.0	4.50	3.90	3.12 ¹¹	0.42	0.40	0.43	0.51 ¹¹	0.51 ¹¹	0.52 ¹¹
19. Butter (table)	Kg.	930.0	60.00	65.00	54.50	6.70	6.70	6.70	9.97	9.97	10.00
20. Cheese (not processed) . .	"	240.0-300.0	35.00	32.00	29.25	5.30	5.48	5.66	6.20	5.56	5.50
21. Eggs (fresh)	1	25.0	2.67	2.08	2.10	0.29	0.29	0.30	0.37	0.34	0.35
22. Peas (dried)	Kg.	113.0	"	"	"	1.09	1.10	1.10	1.30	1.30	1.15
23. White or red beans (dried)	"	139.0	8.00	7.20	7.82	1.68	1.66	1.66	1.00	1.07	1.05
24. Potatoes	"	25.0	2.00	1.80	1.64	0.35	0.32	0.39	0.35	0.34	0.35
25. Cabbage, green or red . .	"	30.0-60.0	3.50 ¹²	4.00 ¹²	2.69 ¹²	0.53	0.24	0.41	0.45	0.50	0.52
26. Onions	"	70.0	2.75	2.00	2.56	1.27	0.97	1.20	0.70	0.60	0.75
27. Apples (eating)	"	64.0	8.00	10.00	4.75	2.00 ¹³	1.65 ¹³	2.11 ¹³	0.75	0.80	0.88
28. Oranges	"	180.0	5.00	5.00	4.75	1.53	1.58	1.61	1.50	1.50	1.08
29. Prunes (dried)	"	320.0	"	"	"	2.12	2.12	2.21	"	2.45	2.20
30. Sugar (white ; granulated)	"	109.0	11.20	11.00	11.12	1.23	1.21	1.23	0.96	1.02	1.00
31. Coffee (pure ; roasted) . .	"	1072.0	105.00	125.00	105.00	12.04	12.04	12.04	8.20	8.97	8.50
32. Tea	"	"	"	"	"	20.00	20.00	20.00	14.00	16.58	13.10
33. Cocoa (not sweetened) . .	"	561.0	"	"	"	7.65	7.65	7.65	5.40	5.57	5.60
34. Salt (cooking)	"	23.0	1.20	1.20	1.00	0.62	0.58	0.62	0.30	0.25	0.50
35. Beer (bottled)	Litre	75.0	14.20	10.00	8.25	1.26	1.20	1.23	1.10	1.10	1.10
36. Firewood	100kg.	640.0	70.00	90.00	56.25	11.50	10.00	11.56	19.00 ¹⁴	16.10 ¹⁵	16.30 ¹⁴
37. Coal (household)	"	568.0	110.00	85.00	66.88	10.96	8.93	11.11	21.70 ¹⁶	22.00 ¹⁶	22.50 ¹⁶
38. Electricity (lighting) . . .	Kwh.	32.0	1.55	1.50	1.21	0.15	0.18	0.16	0.08 ¹⁷	0.37	0.08 ¹⁸
39. Gas (cooking)	100 cu. m.	1700.0	164.00	130.00	135.25	25.00	21.00	20.00	25.00	27.00	31.00
40. Soap (laundry)	100 g.	17.5	1.20	1.25	1.15	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.21	0.25	0.24
41. Cigarettes	20	80.0	1.75	1.75	1.75	2.40	2.40	2.40	0.70 ¹⁹	0.70 ¹⁹	0.70 ¹⁹

¹ Whole wheat. ² Black. ³ With bone. ⁴ Smoked. ⁵ Hake. ⁶ Cod. ⁷ Sardine. ⁸ Salt herring. ⁹ Olive. ¹⁰ Peanut. ¹¹ Unpasteurised. ¹² Per piece. ¹³ Domestic produce. ¹⁴ Kindling. ¹⁵ Logs. ¹⁶ Anthracite. ¹⁷ Plus fixed charge ; fr. 2.20 per month. ¹⁸ Winter, plus fixed charge ; fr. 5.50 per month. ¹⁹ Summer ; fr. 0.06 per Kwh. plus fr. 3.50 fixed charge. ²⁰ Mixed rye and wheat. ²¹ Haddock.

RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD, FUEL, ETC., OCTOBER 1952 (concl.)

Article	Unit	EUROPE (concl.)				OCEANIA			
		Switzer-land	Trieste	United Kingdom	Yugo-slavia	Australia		Fiji	New Zealand
		Zurich	British-United States Zones	7 cities	51 cities	Mel-bourne	Sydney	Suva	Wellington
		Francs	Lire	Pence	Dinars	Pence	Pence	Pence	Pence
1. White wheat bread . . .	Kg.	0.70 1	140	9.4	32.31	13.8	13.0	14.5	7.2
2. Other bread	"	0.51 2	110	"	27.1 2	"	"	"	"
3. Flour (wheat)	"	0.76 1	123	12.3	29.7	7.9	11.2	12.1	7.2
4. Oatmeal or rolled oats . .	"	1.03	"	"	"	24.1	26.3	43.0	22.6
5. Rice	"	1.32	133	"	299.0	19.8	19.8	26.7	"
6. Macaroni	"	0.98	165	"	"	31.9	"	59.5	"
7. Beef: sirloin (without bone) .	"	6.50 7	980	79.33 6	140.0	83.14	88.44	66.1	55.1
8. Pork: loin chops (with bone) .	"	6.02 7	"	39.68 6 7	"	70.94	66.64	61.7	"
9. Mutton: leg (without bone) .	"	9.04	870	"	179.0	110.94	124.04	56.2	61.7
10. Veal: leg (without bone) .	"	7.26 7	1053	74.98 6	"	109.74	120.44	56.2	"
11. Ham, cooked, sliced (without bone)	"	8.66 7	1400	74.98 6	140.0	52.24	49.84	57.3	54.37
12. Bacon, smoked, sliced . .	"	9.50	"	211.5	"	"	"	185.0	148.7
13. Fresh fish	"	8.02	406	81.5-121.1	256.0	148.4	134.1	92.5	92.5
14. Salted fish	"	4.20 9	362 8	43.06 9	103.0 10	"	"	33.0	44.1 11
15. Margarine (10% butter or less)	"	"	497	35.2	"	68.3	66.1	61.7	"
16. Lard	"	2.92	348	39.6 14	185.0	"	"	"	"
17. Cooking oil	Litre	2.90 17	456 15	"	192.0 17	"	"	107.7 17	"
18. Milk (unskimmed, past.) .	"	0.52 18	70	11.4	27.1 18	14.9 18	18.4 18	"	7.0 19
19. Butter (table)	Kg.	9.97	1223	79.3	383.0	109.0	109.0	94.7	44.1
20. Cheese (not processed) . .	"	5.50	1071 20	57.3	139.0	72.7	73.8	74.9	48.5
21. Eggs (fresh)	1	0.36	38	3.5-5.0	13.9	4.9	5.2	5.5	4.2
22. Peas (dried)	Kg.	1.36	185	"	"	35.2	"	24.2	17.9
23. White or red beans (dried)	"	1.06	169	"	94.0	46.0	48.5	"	13.2
24. Potatoes	"	0.37	46	4.3 5	26.4	7.5	10.6	14.3	17.2
25. Cabbage, green or red . .	"	0.50	37 22	9.9 5	31.6	"	"	19.8	11.7
26. Onions	"	0.75	72	13.2 5	26.6	10.1	12.9	14.3	28.4
27. Apples (eating)	"	0.90	81	12.3 5	27.0	"	"	33.0	33.0 24
28. Oranges	"	1.60	120 23	28.0 5	"	"	"	"	63.7
29. Prunes (dried)	"	2.36	"	"	97.0 22	"	"	85.9	"
30. Sugar (white; granulated)	"	1.00	285	15.4	145.0	19.4	19.8	19.8	18.9
31. Coffee (pure; roasted) . .	"	9.87	1807	"	1944.0	"	"	251.1	227.1
32. Tea	"	15.90	2830	117.6	"	104.8	105.0	165.2	159.3
33. Cocoa (not sweetened) . .	"	6.45	1360	92.5 5	"	94.7	"	149.8	92.5
34. Salt (cooking)	"	0.30	50	"	30.0	5.5	"	7.7	10.4
35. Beer (bottled)	Litre	1.10	190	38.2	56.4	"	"	50.1	"
36. Firewood	100kg.	13.80 13	1613	"	445.0 25 30	"	"	107.6	224.4
37. Coal (household)	"	21.80 16	3450 26	117.0-128.05	327.0 27 30	"	"	"	167.7
38. Electricity (lighting) . . .	Kwh.	0.45	35	"	16.3	"	"	5.0 28	3.0 29
39. Gas (cooking)	100 cu. m.	25.00	3265	"	"	"	"	"	370.8
40. Soap (laundry)	100 g.	0.24	27	"	16.5	"	"	3.3	2.6
41. Cigarettes	20	0.70 21	120	"	45.0	"	"	27.0	24.0

1 Whole wheat. 2 Black bread. 3 Maximum prices. 4 Fourth quarter, 1952. 5 Average of London and six other towns. 6 Home killed. 7 With bone. 8 Mackerel. 9 Cod. 10 Carp. 11 Groper. 12 Sardine. 13 Logs. 14 Compound cooking fat. 15 Olive. 16 Anthracite. 17 Peanut. 18 Unpasteurised. 19 Bottled, delivered. 20 Parmesan. 21 Domestic produce. 22 Nov. 23 Dec. 24 Imported. 25 Beech. 26 Coke. 27 Brown coal. 28 Minimum charge: 54d. 29 First 8 Kwh. per month in 5-room house; balance: 0.5d. per Kwh. 30 Employed persons receive fuel allowance up to 1,100 dinars per year.

Unemployment

Date	AFRICA		AMERICA			
	Southern Rhodesia	Union of South Africa	Canada			
			I		II	
	V (B)	V (B)		%		%
1937	.	4 510	406 000 1	9.1 1	96 760	4.5
1946	5 390	10 266 r	142 000 r	3.0	68 254	3.0
1947	253	12 173	98 000	2.0	88 909	3.6
1948	280	15 138	102 000 r	2.1	135 626	5.4
1949	246	16 282	135 000 r	2.7	190 643 2	6.0 2
1950	244	10 189	167 000 r	3.2 r	148 218 2	4.9 2
1951	193	12 140 r	108 000 r	2.1	...	...
1952	234	"	130 000 r	2.5	...	...
1952: May	172	13 243	107 000	2.0	149 490	4.7 r
June	237	13 539 r	"	"	122 691	4.0 r
July	340	13 243	"	"	112 582	3.6
Aug.	301	13 393	86 000	1.6	102 000	3.2
Sep.	275	12 899	"	"	92 600	2.9
Oct.	274	11 832	"	"	111 539	3.5
Nov.	299	11 294	114 000	2.2	161 900	5.0
Dec.	276	11 243	132 000	2.5	278 600 2	8.5 2
1953: Jan.	277	12 667	187 000	3.6	354 700 2	10.8 2
Feb.	293	12 926	179 000	3.4	363 200 2	...
Mar.	298	11 598	172 000	3.3	360 100 2	...
Apr.	...	...	165 000	3.1	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	.	5 304 (1952)		3 051 (June 1951)	

Date	AMERICA (concl.)			ASIA			
	United States	Chile	Puerto Rico	Burma 3	Ceylon	India	Israel 4
				V (A)	V (A)	V (A)	V (B)
1937	7 700 000 1	14.3 1	2 315	"	29 182	"	1 870
1946	2 270 000	8.9	3 433	3 139 2	32 995	"	2 772
1947	2 142 000	8.6	3 700	2 446	53 513	224 900	1 320 7
1948	2 064 000	3.4	3 203	777	68 358	293 043	6 851
1949	8 895 000	5.5	8 445	"	"	"	"
1950	3 142 000	5.0	2 937	2 049	68 471	314 336	5 908
1951	1 879 000	3.0	2 562	4 149	56 844	338 402	6 336
1952	1 673 000 r	2.7 r	3 274	4 782	51 603	383 992	9 418
1952: May	1 602 000	2.6	2 675	4 949	48 113	866 595	7 296
June	1 818 000	2.8	2 761	4 927	49 020	381 739	8 254
July	1 942 000	3.0	2 762	4 835	51 041	418 909	10 239
Aug.	1 604 000	2.5 r	2 708	4 728	50 975	412 101	10 732
Sep.	1 438 000	2.3 r	2 477	4 580	51 641	407 872	10 155
Oct.	1 284 000	2.0	2 375	4 435	52 792	413 498	10 950
Nov.	1 418 000	2.2	2 486	4 388	52 563	420 722	14 220
Dec.	1 412 000 r	2.2	2 819	4 373	53 023	437 571	16 200
1953: Jan.	1 892 000	3.0 r	3 083	...	55 022	434 428	18 900
Feb.	1 788 000	2.9 r	2 961	...	54 432	426 107	18 950
Mar.	1 674 000	2.7 r	...	...	...	425 178	20 700
Apr.	1 582 000	2.5	...	...	...	...	18 300
Persons cov. (thousands)	63 558 (1952)	.	770 (1950)	.	.	.	.

I. Labour force sample surveys. V. Employment office statistics.
 II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics. V (A) Applicants for work registered.
 III. Unemployment relief statistics. V (B) Unemployed registered.
 IV. Trade union returns.
 1 Official estimate. 2 Incl. claimants for supplementary benefits. 3 1947-49: Rangoon exchange only. 4 Daily average during the month. 5 Mar.-Dec. 6 May-Dec.
 7 Jan.-Mar., July-Dec.

UNEMPLOYMENT (cont.)

Date	ASIA (concl.)			EUROPE				
	Japan		Pakistan	Austria		Belgium		
	I	%	V (A)	V (B) 1	%	II 2	II 3	%
1937	295 443	3.7	.	320 961	.	125 929	13.8	.
1946	590 318	5.4	.	74 105	.	48 035	2.6	19 257
1947	370 000	1.1	.	31 737	1.7	35 639	1.8	31 921
1948	242 000	0.7	77 983	43 409	2.3	80 959	4.0	48 244
1949	378 000	1.0	70 996	91 238	4.6	173 998	8.6	60 908
1950	436 000	1.2	96 439	124 850	6.2	169 972	8.3	53 565
1951	386 000	1.1	103 913	116 243	5.7	153 452	7.3	53 068
1952	468 000	1.2	107 087	156 975	7.7	173 570	8.3	72 968
1952: May	490 000	1.3	111 446	123 552	6.1	166 020	7.9	68 231
June	420 000	1.1	93 186	118 053	5.8	163 865	7.8	68 266
July	400 000	1.0	99 474	116 144	5.7	158 380	7.6	58 623
Aug.	430 000	1.1	104 029	114 905	5.6	151 707	7.2	53 325
Sep.	420 000	1.1	103 682	115 297	5.7	150 136	7.2	46 849
Oct.	480 000	1.2	108 589	126 505	6.2	146 575	7.0	44 713
Nov.	490 000	1.2	107 055	175 144	8.6	169 970	8.1	71 958
Dec.	470 000	1.2	105 721	248 292	12.2	204 054	9.7	121 075
1953: Jan.	460 000	1.2	105 424	284 479	14.1	224 062	10.7	119 716
Feb.	510 000	1.4	102 429	279 229	13.8	212 794	10.1	98 689
Mar.	610 000	1.5	103 348	227 060	11.3	189 581	9.0	56 618
Apr.	530 000	...	100 994	...	...	178 463	8.5	57 479
Persons cov. (thousands)	36 600 (1951)			2 039 (1951)		2 095 (June 1951)		

Date	EUROPE (cont.)					
	Denmark		Finland	France		Germany (Fed. Rep.)
	s	%	V (B)	III	V (A)	V (B)
1937	95 630	21.7	3 695	354 554	379 994	.
1946	51 636	8.9	892	15 663	56 633	.
1947	51 998	8.9	.	7 389	45 777	588 050 10
1948	51 644	8.7	3 473	16 737	77 803	591 532
1949	59 041	9.6	25 683	39 748	131 062	1 229 711
1950	54 829	8.7	19 194	52 855	152 891	1 579 766
1951	63 024	9.7	5 622	40 318	120 128	1 432 323
1952	81 645	12.5	8 294	39 269	131 799	1 379 203
1952: May	58 003	8.9	2 514	37 912	120 540	1 311 968
June	50 951	7.8	151	36 103	110 506	1 239 966
July	48 984	7.5	58	33 615	105 539	1 155 456
Aug.	60 285	9.2	37	34 137	108 784	1 108 537
Sep.	62 197	9.5	1 068	33 203	118 624	1 050 565
Oct.	60 256	9.2	4 139	37 324	142 867	1 028 091
Nov.	72 583	11.0	17 208	44 473	158 020	1 247 354
Dec.	162 721	24.6	35 501	54 387	182 084	1 687 719
1953: Jan.	115 019	17.4	54 207	67 093	210 710	1 822 676
Feb.	103 069	15.5	65 726	75 214	216 673	1 810 695
Mar.	63 087	9.5	61 582	75 524	206 980	1 392 870
Apr.	53 095	8.0	40 181	71 025	195 471	1 234 339
May	...	...	...	...	...	1 156 168
Persons cov. (thousands)	650 (1951)		.	.	.	16 431 (1952)

I. Labour force sample surveys. V. Employment office statistics.
 II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics. V (A) Applicants for work registered.
 III. Unemployment relief statistics. V (B) Unemployed registered.
 IV. Trade union returns.

1 Prior to 1947: applicants for work registered. 2 Daily average of numbers wholly unemployed. 3 Daily average of days lost through interruption of operations or intermittent work. 4 Official estimate. 5 Voluntary unemployment insurance statistics incl. partial unemployment. 6 Census of 26 Apr. 7 Oct. 8 Unemployed among insured members of trade union fund. 9 Applicants for work registered. 10 Mar.-Dec.

UNEMPLOYMENT (cont.)

Date	EUROPE (cont.)					
	Ireland		Italy	Luxembourg	Netherlands	
	II	V (A)	V (B)	III	V (B) 1	
1937	.	.	81 760	874 000	18	324 044
1946	35 067	10.6	59 726	1 324 000	15	53 079
1947	33 266	9.3	55 623	1 620 000	50	30 701
1948	35 129	9.4	61 203	1 742 000 2	17	29 032
1949	34 906	9.0	60 606	1 672 708	18	42 124
1950	30 347	7.5	53 415	1 614 940	38	57 681
1951	30 406	7.3	50 453	1 721 087	28	67 750
1952	38 565	9.1	60 688	2 073 000*	26	104 256
1952: May	39 411	9.2	63 913	1 836 984	11	86 634
June	35 031	8.2	48 148	1 799 325	10	79 854
July	34 269	8.1	46 702	1 828 742	8	86 927
Aug.	35 910	8.4	48 940	1 808 910	13	88 640
Sep.	32 570	7.6	46 113	1 535 000*	11	84 810
Oct.	34 399	8.1	49 443	1 693 000*	12	91 301
Nov.	38 899	9.1	67 861	1 792 000*	15	105 916
Dec.	38 885	9.1	68 865	1 975 000*	32	140 651
1953: Jan.	50 778	11.9	84 610	...	...	140 571
Feb.	52 731	12.3	88 095	...	...	128 187
Mar.	53 395	12.5	88 853	...	...	95 000*
Apr.	51 458	12.0	...	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	427* (1951)		.	.	.	.

Date	EUROPE (cont.)					
	Norway	Saar	Spain	Sweden		
	V (B)	s	%	V (B)	IV	%
1937	29 881	.	.	.	67 351	10.8
1946	12 246	.	.	178 165	27 554	3.2
1947	8 514	.	.	138 771	24 446	2.8
1948	9 026	6 640	2.5	117 020	25 747	2.8
1949	7 715	6 070	2.2	160 056	26 116	2.7
1950	8 972	6 343	2.2	166 182	22 124	2.2
1951	11 132	4 270	1.5	144 238	18 238	1.8
1952	11 634	...	...	106 377	22 330	2.3
1952: May	7 484	3 480	1.2	106 108	14 145	1.5
June	4 081	3 389	1.1	94 390	17 309	1.8
July	3 171	...	...	92 077	18 368	1.9
Aug.	5 418	...	...	97 167	14 009	1.4
Sep.	6 941	...	...	100 229	12 877	1.3
Oct.	8 161	...	...	107 391	16 081	1.7
Nov.	14 731	...	...	106 128	22 070	2.3
Dec.	24 248	...	...	105 907	54 464	5.6
1953: Jan.	31 041	...	...	109 228	41 740	4.3
Feb.	27 894	...	...	109 717	40 591	4.2
Mar.	23 868	...	...	110 389	30 062	3.1
Apr.	16 447	...	...	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	293 (1951)		.	1 020 (1951)	

I. Labour force sample surveys. V. Employment office statistics.
 II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics. V (A) Applicants for work registered.
 III. Unemployment relief statistics. V (B) Unemployed registered.
 IV. Trade union returns.

1 Excl. persons employed on emergency public works. 2 Average of first, second and fourth quarter. 3 Labour registration statistics. 4 Applicants for work registered. 5 Excl. Finnmark and evacuated communes in Troms. 6 Since 1946 also covers unions of agricultural workers. 7 June-Dec.

UNEMPLOYMENT (concl.)

Date	EUROPE (concl.)				
	Switzerland	United Kingdom			
	V (B) 1	V (B) 1	%	V (B) 2	%
1937	57 949	1 324 027	8.5	205 063	1.5
1946	4 262	390 106 3	2.5	4 058 3	—
1947	3 473	342 295 3	2.0	158 028 3	1.0
1948	2 971	325 818 4	1.6 r	8 555 4	—
1949	8 059	328 426	1.6	9 571	—
1950	9 599	332 057	1.6	9 036	—
1951	3 799 r	264 103	1.2	17 258	0.1
1952	5 314	368 401	1.7	94 132	0.4
1952: May	1 711	359 924	1.7	158 686	0.7
June	1 417	335 512	1.6	154 111	0.7
July	1 451	331 966	1.6 r	121 851	0.6
Aug.	1 750	365 465	1.7	83 678	0.4
Sep.	1 918	365 570	1.7	68 484	0.3
Oct.	3 218	389 151	1.8	50 607	0.2 r
Nov.	6 295	411 778	1.9	38 538	0.2
Dec.	11 720	411 286	1.9	33 823	0.2
1953: Jan.	19 335	460 635	2.2	42 698	0.2
Feb.	11 597	432 004	2.0	43 498	0.2
Mar.	4 154	397 306	1.9	41 650	0.2
Apr.	2 512	383 768	1.8	31 715	0.1 r
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	21 216 (June 1951)			

Date	OCEANIA				
	Australia		Hawaii	New Zealand	
	IV	5	I	II 6	V (B)
1937	9.3	.	.	.	.
1946	1.4	7 603	2 133 r	1.1 r	172
1947	1.2	6 684	2 953 r	1.6 r	47
1948	0.9	2 629	9 448 r	4.9 r	33
1949	2.0	10 332	21 436 r	11.2 r	48
1950	0.8	1 224	17 698 r	9.4 r	21
1951	0.7	791	8 298	4.3	14
1952	2.8	16 601	8 422 r	4.4	11
1952: May	2.2	5 245	7 150	3.8	4
June	.	8 294	10 244	5.3	56
July	.	13 680	8 800	4.4	8 r
Aug.	4.0 r	24 877	7 650	3.8	10
Sep.	.	27 806	8 850	4.5	16
Oct.	.	31 550	9 200	4.8	19
Nov.	4.1 r	34 130	9 450 r	4.9	19
Dec.	.	40 086	9 397 r	4.9	33
1953: Jan.	.	41 633	9 848 r	5.2	33
Feb.	3.4	34 761	9 516 r	5.0	23
Mar.	.	29 674	9 050	4.8	15
Apr.	.	...	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	861 (1951)	.	192 (1951)	.	.

I. Labour force sample surveys. V. Employment office statistics.
 II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics. V (A) Applicants for work registered.
 III. Unemployment relief statistics. V (B) Unemployed registered.
 IV. Trade union returns.

1 Wholly unemployed. 2 Temporarily unemployed. 3 Excl. persons classified as unsuitable for ordinary employment. 4 July-Dec. Until June 1948 the statistics referred to persons insured under the Unemployment Insurance Acts. With the introduction in July 1948 of the National Insurance Acts, the coverage of the series has been extended to include all registered unemployed; the percentages are based on the estimated total numbers of employees aged 15 years and over. 5 Unemployment benefit statistics. 6 Persons in receipt of unemployment benefit. 7 Annual estimates (June).

Consumer Price Indices

Country	AFRICA						AMERICA	
	Algeria	Egypt	Northern Rhodesia	Southern Rhodesia	Tunisia	Union of South Africa	Canada	United States
	Algiers	Cairo	Whole country	6 6	Tunis	9	8-33 10	46 12
Town or no. of localities								
1937	1	36 2	70 5	.	.	65	65	60
1946	43	102	91	91	45	91	80	81
1947	61	99	97	93	67	95	87	93
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	122	99	104	106	124	104	104	99
1950	123	104	108	114	129	108	107 11	100
1951	132	114	114	121	144	116	118	108
1952	...	113	121	132	163	126	121	110
1952: Apr.	140	116	120	132	153	124	121	110
May	139	115	120	131	153	124	120	110
June	138	114	121	133	163	125	120	110
July	141	114	121	134	164	125	120	111
Aug.	144	113	122	134	167	125	120	111
Sep.	145	113	122	133	168	129	120	111
Oct.	138	106	123	134	170	129	120	111
Nov.	...	106	123	133	169	129	121	111
Dec.	...	105	123	133	168	129	120	111
1953: Jan.	...	105	123	134	167	128	120	111 13
Feb.	...	106	124	134	168	128	120	110
Mar.	...	...	124	135	170	128	119	111
Apr.	...	...	124	136	170	...	119	111
May	...	...	124	136	...	...	119	...

Country	AMERICA (cont.)							
	Argentina	Barbados	Brazil	British Honduras	Chile	Colombia	Costa Rica	Dominican Republic
	Buenos Aires		São Paulo	Belize	Santiago	Bogotá	San José	Ciudad Trujillo
Town or no. of localities								
1937	49	.	24 14	15	22	35	46	.
1946	78	89	71	48 16	63	73	85	88
1947	88	98	92	98	85	86	97	99
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	131	99	98	97	119	107	108	96
1950	165	103	104	98	137	129	119	96
1951	225	116	113	116	167	140	127	105
1952	312	135	133	127	204	137	122 17	106
1952: Apr.	314	135	130	129	193	138	122	106
May	319	135	132	128	204	143	122	106
June	325	135	134	128	205	141	123	107
July	312	135	136	129	211	138	123	106
Aug.	311	134	136	130	213	135	121	107
Sep.	321	133	138	130	221	134	121	107
Oct.	324	134	137	129	222	135	121	107
Nov.	325	134	139	124	220	137	122	107
Dec.	326	134	143	124	205	138	122	106
1953: Jan.	...	134	146	124	214	139	122	107
Feb.	...	134	153	122	221	139	122	105
Mar.	...	135	162	122	...	143	122	103
Apr.	...	137	...	122	...	...	122	104
May	...	...	...	...	...	...	122	106

1 Food group only. 2 June-Aug. 1939. 3 Excl. indigenous population. 4 Excl. "miscellaneous". 5 Aug. 1939. 6 Prior to Jan. 1952: 5 towns. 7 1946-50: averages of Mar., June, Sep. and Dec. 8 Europeans only. 9 Incl. direct taxes. 10 Prior to 1950: food prices collected in 39 towns; other items priced in 11-33 towns. 11 New series linked to old series. 12 Prior to 1953: food prices collected in 56 towns; other items priced in 34 towns. 13 Revised series linked to previous series. 14 1939. 15 1946-49: July. 16 Sep. 1939. 17 New series spliced to old series.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)

Country	AMERICA (cont.)						
	Guatemala	Jamaica	Mexico	Neth. Antilles	Panama	Peru	Puerto Rico
Town or no. of localities	Guatemala City	Kingston	Mexico City	Curaçao	Panama City	Lima	6
1937	.	43 ²	27	.	51 ⁸	30	89
1946	92 ¹	70	84	.	89	59	101
1947	94	83	94	.	99	76	101
1948	100	100	100	.	100	100	100
1949	107	104	105	100 ⁴	94	115	92
1950	115	109	112	97	91	129	90
1951	120	126	126	102 ⁶	95	142	99
1952	118	138	144	104 ⁸	96	152	105
1952: Apr.	121	138	142	104	96	149	104
May	122	137	144	104	100	150	104
June	123	139	146	104	100	151	104
July	122	140	146	.	98	152	105
Aug.	115	140	146	104	97	154	105
Sep.	114	139	146	104	95	154	105
Oct.	114	139	146	104	95	155	106
Nov.	120	138	147	104	95	156	106
Dec.	114	138	147	104	94	156	106
1953: Jan.	121	...	145	104	95	157	106
Feb.	116	...	143	104	95	157	106
Mar.	118	...	141	105	94	...	...
Apr.	118	...	...	...	...	...	...
May	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Country	AMERICA (concl.)				ASIA			
	St. Vincent	Trinidad	Uruguay	Venezuela	Burma	Ceylon	Cyprus	Hong-kong
Town or no. of localities			Montevideo	Caracas	Rangoon	Colombo	4	
1937	.	.	56	10	28	42 ¹⁸	30 ²	.
1946	87	.	85	72	106 ^{11 12}	88 ¹¹	73	102
1947	93	.	98	83	108	97	80 ¹⁴	102
1948	100	.	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	99	.	105	98	135	99	96 ¹	112
1950	103	.	101	97	114	105	103 ¹⁶	117
1951	111	.	115	99	112	109	116	128
1952	124	100 ⁹	131	98	107	108	121	128
1952: Apr.	120	105	129	101	101	108	121	.
May	124	106	129	100	104	108	121	.
June	127	106	130	100	107	107	122	128
July	127	107	132	102	120	107	119	.
Aug.	126	106	132	97	119	106	119	.
Sep.	127	107	135	94	118	107	121	132
Oct.	128	106	134	95	101	108	125	.
Nov.	128	106	136	97	101	110	126	.
Dec.	127	105	138	102	102	110	123	127
1953: Jan.	132	106	138	101	103	109	123	124
Feb.	131	107	136	95	102	108	124	128
Mar.	131	108	136	...	99	108	125	124
Apr.	130	108	...	...	101	...	126	127
May	...	108	...	...	...	...	126	...

¹ Aug.-Dec. ² Aug. 1939. ³ Excl. rent and "miscellaneous". ⁴ June. ⁵ Average of Feb.-Mar., July-Nov. ⁶ Average of Jan.-June, Aug.-Dec. ⁷ Food group only. ⁸ Oct. 1939-June 1940. ⁹ Jan. ¹⁰ Food, soap, and coal only. ¹¹ New series, spliced by I.L.O. to old series. ¹² Sep.-Dec. 1939. ¹³ Aug.-Dec. 1939. ¹⁴ Jan.-Sep. ¹⁵ New series; Jan. 1950=100. ¹⁶ Clerical and skilled technical workers.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)

Country	ASIA (cont.)							
	India			Indonesia	Iran	Israel	Japan	South Korea
Town or no. of localities	Ahmedabad	Bombay	Delhi	Djakarta ¹	7	2	28	Pusan
1937	31	35	.	8 ²	13	30 ⁵	.	9
1946	86	85	81	.	90	79	.	35
1947	90	92	92	179	91	80	.	59
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	102	101	100	97	109	103	132	123
1950	106	103	100	113	89	95	123	281
1951	107	109	107	189	93	101 ⁶	143 ⁸	1 397
1952	107	111	108	199	101	153 ⁷	150	3 446
1952: Apr.	108	114	110	204	103	144	150	2 836
May	109	112	112	193	103	150	149	3 391
June	108	112	110	190	102	157	149	3 532
July	108	109	108	189	101	162	151	3 798
Aug.	110	112	108	187	100	165	152	4 287
Sep.	111	113	110	192	98	169	151	4 569
Oct.	113	114	111	189	101	173	152	4 032
Nov.	112	115	108	191	102	175	150	3 580
Dec.	108	114	104	202	104	178	150	3 904
1953: Jan.	107	114	102	201	102	181	153	4 291
Feb.	109	116	103	206	102 ^r	182	153	4 830
Mar.	109	118	103	209	102 ^r	184	156	4 769
Apr.	110	118	104	211	103	187	...	...
May	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Country	ASIA (concl.)						
	Lebanon ¹⁰	Malaya	Pakistan	Philippines	Thailand	Viet-Nam	
Town or no. of localities	Beirut	Kuala Lumpur	Karachi	Narayan-ganj	Manila	Bangkok	Saigon
1937	11	.	.	.	24	23	3 18
1946	90 ¹²	.	.	.	144	86	46 19
1947	102	106	.	.	106	100	74
1948	100	100	.	.	100	100	100
1949	94	94	100 ¹⁵	100 ¹⁶	94	96	100 ²⁰
1950	87	101	108	95	93	99	102
1951	94	133	136	99	102	99	116
1952	94	138	138	101	110	95	142
1952: Apr.	96	140	139	98	99	94	123
May	94	139	138	99	109	94	127
June	93	138	138	100	111	95	126
July	92	137	137	102	114	95	123
Aug.	92	136	135	101	113	96	123
Sep.	92	136	135	101	114	96	121
Oct.	93	136	137	102	116	95	121
Nov.	91	134	135	104	119	95	129
Dec.	91	136	134	105	110	96	122
1953: Jan.	92	133	134	103	102	95	127
Feb.	91	133	134	110	102	91	130
Mar.	91	134	135	115	104	89	128
Apr.	...	134	135	...	...	...	...
May	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

¹ Index of free-market retail prices of 19 foodstuffs, based on the consumption in 1932 of Indonesian families with monthly incomes of fl. 25-50. ² Food group only. ³ July 1939. ⁴ Prior to Sep. 1951 incl. direct taxes. ⁵ Aug. 1939. ⁶ Jan.-Aug. ⁷ New series (Sep. 1951=100) based on family budget inquiries conducted in Aug. 1950 and Mar. 1951. ⁸ New series linked to old series. ⁹ Excl. rent. ¹⁰ Salaried employees. ¹¹ Incl. direct taxes. ¹² June-Aug. 1939. ¹³ Chinese labourers. ¹⁴ Malay labourers. ¹⁵ Jan. ¹⁶ Apr. 1948-Mar. 1949. ¹⁷ Clerical workers and civil servants. ¹⁸ 1939. ¹⁹ Mar.-Dec. ²⁰ New index.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)

Country	EUROPE					
	Austria	Belgium	Denmark	Finland	France	Germany (Federal Republic) ⁵
Town or no. of localities	Vienna	62	200	33 ⁶	Paris	
1937	1	1	4		67	59 ⁷
1946	20 ⁸	26	59			
1947			95	57		
1948		87	98	74		100 ⁸
1949	100 ⁸	100	100	100	86	99
1950	123	97	101	108	100	93
1951	140	96	107	123	111	100
1952	179	105	119	148	130	102
	203	106	123	154 ⁶	145	
1952: Apr.	201	106	122	154	147	102
May	203	105		154	141	101
June	203	105		154	143	101
July	204	105	124	154	143	101
Aug.	204	105		154	145	101
Sep.	205	105		154	146	101
Oct.	205	105	124	155	145	102
Nov.	204	106		155	144	102
Dec.	204	106		155	145	
1953: Jan.	204	106	124	155	146	102
Feb.	204	105		157	146	101
Mar.	202	105		157	145	101
Apr.	201	105	123	157	145	101
May	...	105	...	...	...	100

Country	EUROPE (cont.)					
	Greece	Iceland	Ireland	Italy	Luxembourg	Netherlands
Town or no. of localities	Athens	Reykjavik	120	62 ¹²	9	9 ¹³
1937	0.4	32 ⁹	54	27	33	49
1946	59	91	92	58	90	93 ¹⁴
1947	71	98	98 ¹¹	94	94	97
1948	100	100	100	100	100 ⁸	100
1949	115	102	101	101	106	108
1950	124	163 ¹⁰	102	100	110	109 ¹⁵
1951	139	200	110	110	119	120
1952	146	225	119	114	121	120
1952: Apr.	148	222		114	120	119
May	148	222	116	114	120	119
June	146	224		115	121	119
July	145	224		115	121	120
Aug.	144	224	123	115	122	119
Sep.	147	228		116	122	120
Oct.	145	231		116	122	120
Nov.	146	232	124	116	121	119
Dec.	145	231		116	121	120
1953: Jan.	146	224		116	121	120
Feb.	145	224	124	116	121	120
Mar.	148	222		116	120	120
Apr.	...	222		117	119	120
May	...	222	127	...	119	...

¹ Excl. rent. ² Mar. 1938. ³ July-Dec. ⁴ Incl. direct taxes. ⁵ Prior to 1950: 32 towns. ⁶ New series, spliced by I.L.O. to old series. ⁷ 1938. ⁸ Consumer group with consumption expenditure of approx. DM. 300. ⁹ 1939. ¹⁰ Mar.-Dec.; new series spliced by I.L.O. to old series. ¹¹ From Aug. 1947, interim index, excl. "miscellaneous", spliced by I.L.O. to old series. ¹² Towns of over 50,000 inhabitants. ¹³ Prior to 1949: 6 towns. ¹⁴ Average for Mar.-Sep. and Dec. ¹⁵ New series, 1949=100.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (concl.)

Country	EUROPE (cont.)						
	Norway	Portugal	Saar	Spain	Sweden	Switzerland	Trieste
Town or no. of localities	53 ¹	Lisbon	Saarbrücken	50	95	34	
1937	61			34 ²	64	61	27
1946	100			80	93	93 ³	
1947	101			94	96	97	
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	100	103	109	105	102	102	102
1950	105 ⁴	102	112	117	103	103	101
1951	122	100	137	128	119	120	108
1952	133	100	157	125	129	129	111
1952: Apr.	131	100	157	126		129	113
May	131	98	153	125		130	110
June	131	98	153	124	131	131	111
July	135	99	155	124		130	110
Aug.	135	100	159	124		131	111
Sep.	136	101	159	125	131	130	111
Oct.	136	102	160	125		130	112
Nov.	136	102	157	125		130	111
Dec.	135	102	158	126	131	130	
1953: Jan.	134	102	162	126		130	111
Feb.	134	102	162	127		130	111
Mar.	135	102	160	...	131	130	...
Apr.	135	...	159	...		130	...
May	135	...	159	...		130	...

Country	EUROPE (concl.)			OCEANIA			
	Turkey	United Kingdom	Yugoslavia	Australia	Fiji	Hawaii	New Zealand
Town or no. of localities	Istanbul	200 ⁵	51	30	Suva ¹¹	Honolulu	21 ¹²
1937	29 ⁷	76		67	48 ¹³		70
1946	99	100		88	81	84	90
1947	100	94 ⁹		92	92	95	93
1948	100	100		100	100	100	100
1949	110	103		109	101	97	102 ³
1950	104	106		120	103	95	107
1951	103	116	100	146	112	101	119
1952	109	126 ¹⁰	76	170	126	103	128
1952: Apr.	110	125	76		126		
May	109	125	77	171		103	128
June	108	128	80				
July	109	128	78	173	127		129
Aug.	109	127	75			104	
Sep.	109	126	74		125		
Oct.	110	128	76	173			130
Nov.	110	128	77			105	
Dec.	111	128	79				
1953: Jan.	110	128	80		127		
Feb.	110	129	82	175			132
Mar.	110	130	83			103	
Apr.	...	131	88 ⁷		...		
May	...	...	97		...		

¹ Prior to 1950: 31 towns. ² New series, spliced by I.L.O. to old series. ³ July-Dec. 1939. ⁴ Weights based mainly on family budget inquiries. ⁵ Weights based on total estimated consumption in the country. ⁶ Prior to Apr. 1950: excl. "miscellaneous". ⁷ 1938. ⁸ Since Aug. 1947: food prices collected in 200 areas, other items priced in 12-200 areas. ⁹ July-Dec., interim index. ¹⁰ New series (Jan. 1952=100) based on 1950 consumption data linked to the old series. ¹¹ Indian workers. ¹² Aug. 1939. ¹³ Prior to 1949: 25 towns.

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1. Unemployment Statistics.
2. Consumer Price Indices.

Errata.

SYMBOLS AND TYPES EMPLOYED

- . = inapplicable or figures not available.
- ... = not yet received.
- * = provisional.
- r = revised since previous issue.

A line — placed between two figures in a column indicates that the figures above and below it are not strictly comparable or that a new series begins below the line (see footnotes).

Italics : index numbers based on another year than 1948.

The countries are arranged by continents in the alphabetical order of their English names.

Unemployment

Date	AFRICA		AMERICA			
	Southern Rhodesia	Union of South Africa	Canada			
	V (B)	V (B)	I		II	
				%		%
1937	.	4 510	406 000 ¹	9.1 ¹	.	.
1946	.	5 390	142 000	3.0	96 760	4.5
1947	253	10 266	98 000	2.0	68 254	3.0
1948	280	12 173	102 000	2.1	88 909	3.6
1949	246	15 138	135 000	2.7	135 626	5.4
1950	244	16 282	167 000	3.2	190 643 ²	6.0 ²
1951	193	10 189	108 000	2.1	148 218 ²	4.9 ²
1952	234	12 140	130 000	2.5	...	...
1952: June	237	13 539	.	.	122 691	4.0
July	340	13 243	.	.	112 582	3.6
Aug.	301	13 393	86 000	1.6	102 000	3.2
Sep.	275	12 899	.	.	92 600	2.9
Oct.	274	11 832	.	.	111 539	3.5
Nov.	299	11 294	114 000	2.2	161 900	5.0
Dec.	276	11 243	132 000	2.5	278 600 ²	8.5 ²
1953: Jan.	277	12 667	187 000	3.6	354 700 ²	10.8 ²
Feb.	293	12 926	179 000	3.4	363 200 ²	...
Mar.	298	11 598	172 000	3.3	360 100 ²	...
Apr.	...	11 871	165 000	3.1	...	...
May	...	12 046	114 000	2.1	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	.	5 304 (1952)		3 097 (June 1952)	

Date	AMERICA (concl.)			ASIA			
	United States	Chile	Puerto Rico	Burma ²	Ceylon	India	Israel ⁴
	I	V (B)	I	V (A)	V (A)	V (A)	V (B)
			%				
1937	7 700 000 ¹	14.3 ¹	2 315	.	29 182	.	1 870
1946	2 270 000	3.9	3 433	12.0 ⁵	32 995	.	2 772
1947	2 142 000	3.6	3 700	11.1	3 139 ⁶	53 513	1 320 ⁷
1948	2 064 000	3.4	3 203	10.4	2 446	224 900	6 351
1949	3 395 000	5.5	3 445	11.2	777	293 043	5 908
1950	3 142 000	5.0	2 937	14.8	2 049	314 336	6 336
1951	1 879 000	3.0	2 562	15.7	4 149	338 402	9 413
1952	1 673 000	2.7	3 274	...	4 782	383 992	8 254
1952: June	1 818 000	2.8	2 761	...	4 927	381 739	10 239
July	1 942 000	3.0	2 762	...	4 835	51 041	10 732
Aug.	1 604 000	2.5	2 706	...	4 728	50 975	10 155
Sep.	1 438 000	2.3	2 477	...	4 580	51 641	10 950
Oct.	1 284 000	2.0	2 375	...	4 435	52 792	14 220
Nov.	1 418 000	2.2	2 488	...	4 388	52 563	16 200
Dec.	1 412 000	2.2	2 819	...	4 373	53 023	18 900
1953: Jan.	1 892 000	3.0	3 083	...	...	434 428	18 950
Feb.	1 788 000	2.9	2 961	...	54 432	426 107	20 700
Mar.	1 674 000	2.7	2 931	...	...	425 178	18 300
Apr.	1 582 000	2.5	...	...	...	455 417	17 000
May	1 306 000	2.0	...	...	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	62 966 (1952)	.	770 (1950)	.	.	.	.

I. Labour force sample surveys.
 II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics.
 III. Unemployment relief statistics.
 IV. Trade union returns.

V. Employment office statistics.
 V (A) Applicants for work registered.
 V (B) Unemployed registered.

¹ Official estimate.
² Incl. claimants for supplementary benefits.
³ 1947-49: Rangoon exchange only.
⁴ Daily average during the month.
⁵ Mar.-Dec.
⁶ May-Dec.

UNEMPLOYMENT (cont.)

Date	ASIA (concl.)		EUROPE					
	Japan		Pakistan	Austria		Belgium		
	I	%	V (A)	V (B) 1	%	II 2	%	II 3
	I	%	V (A)	V (B) 1	%	II 2	%	II 3
1937	295 443 4	3.7 4	.	320 961	.	125 929 6	13.8 6	.
1946	590 318 6	5.4 6	.	74 105	.	48 035	2.6	19 257
1947	370 009 7	1.1 7	.	31 737	1.7	35 639	1.8	31 921
1948	242 000	0.7	77 983	43 409	2.3	80 959	4.0	48 244
1949	378 000	1.0	70 996	91 238	4.6	173 998	8.6	60 908
1950	436 000	1.2	96 439	124 850	6.2	169 972	8.3	53 565
1951	386 000	1.1	103 913	116 243	5.7	153 452	7.3	53 068
1952	468 000	1.2	107 087	156 975	7.7	173 570	8.3	72 968
1952: June	420 000	1.1	93 186	118 053	5.8	163 865	7.8	68 266
July	400 000	1.0	99 474	116 144	5.7	158 380	7.6	58 623
Aug.	430 000	1.1	104 029	114 905	5.6	151 707	7.2	53 325
Sep.	420 000	1.1	103 682	115 297	5.7	150 136	7.2	46 849
Oct.	480 000	1.2	108 589	126 505	6.2	146 575	7.0	44 713
Nov.	490 000	1.2	107 055	175 144	8.6	169 970	8.1	71 958
Dec.	470 000	1.2	105 721	218 292	12.2	204 054	9.7	121 075
1953: Jan.	460 000	1.2	105 424	284 479	14.1	224 062	10.7	119 716
Feb.	510 000	1.4	102 429	279 229	13.8	212 794	10.1	98 689
Mar.	610 000	1.5	103 348	227 060	11.3	189 581	9.0	56 618
Apr.	530 000	...	100 994	176 425	...	178 463	8.5	57 479
May	...	...	95 575	...	...	171 233	8.2	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	36 600 (1951)	.	.	2 035 (1952)	.	2 098 (June 1952)	.	.

Date	EUROPE (cont.)					
	Denmark		Finland	France		Germany (Fed. Rep.)
	s	%	V (B)	III	V (A)	V (B)
	s	%	V (B)	III	V (A)	V (B)
1937	95 630	21.7	3 695 9	354 554	379 994	.
1946	51 636	8.9	892	15 663	56 633	.
1947	51 998	8.9	—	7 389	45 777	.
1948	51 644	8.7	3 473	16 737	77 803	4.2
1949	59 041	9.6	25 683	39 748	131 062	1 229 711
1950	54 829	8.7	19 194	52 355	152 891	1 579 766
1951	63 024	9.7	5 622	40 313	120 128	1 432 323
1952	81 645	12.5	8 294	39 269	131 799	1 379 203
1952: June	50 951	7.8	151	36 103	110 506	1 239 966
July	48 984	7.5	58	33 615	105 539	1 155 456
Aug.	60 285	9.2	37	34 137	108 764	1 106 537
Sep.	62 197	9.5	1 068	33 203	118 624	1 050 565
Oct.	60 256	9.2	4 139	37 324	142 867	1 028 091
Nov.	72 583	11.0	17 208	44 473	158 020	1 247 354
Dec.	162 721	24.6	35 501	54 387	182 084	1 687 719
1953: Jan.	115 019	17.4	54 207	67 093	210 710	1 822 676
Feb.	103 069	15.5	65 726	75 214	216 673	1 810 695
Mar.	63 087	9.5	61 582	75 524	206 980	1 392 870
Apr.	52 475	7.9	40 181	71 025	195 471	1 234 339
May	42 019*	6.3*	21 457	67 013	179 464	1 156 168
Persons cov. (thousands)	655 (1952)	.	.	.	.	16 374 (1952)

I. Labour force sample surveys.
 II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics.
 III. Unemployment relief statistics.
 IV. Trade union returns.

V. Employment office statistics.
 V (A) Applicants for work registered.
 V (B) Unemployed registered.

1 Prior to 1947: applicants for work registered.
 2 Daily average of days lost through interruption of operations or intermittent work.
 3 Official estimate.
 4 Voluntary unemployment insurance statistics incl. partial unemployment.
 5 Census of 26 Apr.
 6 Applicants for work registered.
 7 Oct.
 8 Unemployed among insured members of trade union fund.
 9 Applicants for work registered.
 10 Mar.-Dec.

UNEMPLOYMENT (cont.)

Date	EUROPE (cont.)					
	Ireland 1		Italy	Luxembourg	Netherlands	
	II	%	V (A)	V (B)	III	V (B) 2
	II	%	V (A)	V (B)	III	V (B) 2
1937	.	.	81 760	874 000	18	324 044
1946	35 067	10.6	59 726	1 324 000	15	53 079
1947	33 266	9.3	55 623	1 620 000	50	30 701
1948	35 129	9.4	61 203	1 742 000 3	17	29 032
1949	34 906	9.0	60 606	1 672 708	18	42 124
1950	30 347	7.5	53 415	1 614 940	38	57 681
1951	30 406	7.3	50 453	1 721 087	28	67 750
1952	38 565	9.1	60 688	1 849 680	26	104 256
1952: June	35 031	8.2	48 148	1 799 325	10	79 854
July	34 269	8.1	46 702	1 828 742	8	88 927
Aug.	35 910	8.4	48 940	1 808 910	13	88 640
Sep.	32 570	7.6	46 113	1 535 041	11	84 810
Oct.	34 399	8.1	49 443	1 693 301	12	91 301
Nov.	38 899	9.1	67 861	1 792 064	15	105 916
Dec.	38 885	9.1	68 885	1 974 997	32	140 651
1953: Jan.	50 778	11.2r	84 610	...	95	140 571
Feb.	52 731	11.7r	88 095	...	130	128 187
Mar.	53 395	11.8r	88 853	...	27	94 864
Apr.	51 458	11.4r	85 186	...	...	83 221
May	47 791	10.6	79 129	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	452 (1952)	.	.	.	.	.

Date	EUROPE (cont.)					
	Norway	Saar	Spain	Sweden		
	V (B)	4	V (B)	IV	%	
	V (B)	4	V (B)	IV	%	
1937	29 881 6	.	.	67 351	10.8	
1946	12 246 6	.	.	27 554 7	3.2 7	
1947	8 514 6	.	.	24 446	2.8	
1948	9 026	6 640 8	2.5 8	25 747	2.8	
1949	7 715	6 070	2.2	160 056	2.7	
1950	8 972	6 343	2.2	166 182	2.2	
1951	11 132	4 318 r	1.5	144 238	1.8	
1952	11 634	3 862	1.3	106 377	2.3	
1952: June	4 081	3 389	1.1	94 390	1.8	
July	3 171	3 815	1.3	92 077	1.9	
Aug.	5 418	3 851	1.3	97 167	1.4	
Sep.	6 941	3 828	1.3	100 229	1.3	
Oct.	8 161	3 620	1.2	107 391	1.7	
Nov.	14 781	3 634	1.2	106 128	2.3	
Dec.	24 248	3 899	1.3	105 907	5.6	
1953: Jan.	31 041	4 374	1.4	109 228	4.3	
Feb.	27 894	4 536	1.5	109 717	4.2	
Mar.	23 868	3 927	1.3	110 389	3.2	
Apr.	16 447	3 818	1.2	107 491	2.2*	
May	8 400	...	...	...	...	
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	300 (1952)	.	973 (1952)	.	

I. Labour force sample surveys.
 II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics.
 III. Unemployment relief statistics.
 IV. Trade union returns.

V. Employment office statistics.
 V (A) Applicants for work registered.
 V (B) Unemployed registered.

1 Since Jan. 1952, scope of registrations increased owing to effects of Social Welfare Act, 1952.
 2 Excl. persons employed on emergency public works.
 3 Average of first, second and fourth quarter.
 4 Labour registration statistics.
 5 Applicants for work registered.
 6 Excl. Finnmark and evacuated communes in Troms.
 7 Since 1946 also covers unions of agricultural workers.
 8 June-Dec.

UNEMPLOYMENT (concl.)

Date	EUROPE (concl.)				
	Switzerland	United Kingdom			
	V (B) 1	V (B) 1	V (B) 2		
1937	57 949	1 324 027	8.5	205 063	1.5
1946	4 262	390 106 3	2.5	4 058 2	—
1947	3 473	342 295 3	2.0	156 028 3	1.0
1948	2 971	325 818 4	1.6	8 555 4	—
1949	8 059	328 426	1.6	9 571	—
1950	9 599	332 057	1.6	9 036	—
1951	3 799	264 103	1.2	17 258	0.1
1952	5 314	368 401	1.7	94 132	0.4
1952: June	1 417	335 512	1.6	154 111	0.7
July	1 451	331 966	1.6	121 851	0.6
Aug.	1 750	365 465	1.7	83 678	0.4
Sep.	1 918	365 570	1.7	68 484	0.3
Oct.	3 218	389 151	1.8	50 607	0.2
Nov.	6 295	411 778	1.9	38 538	0.2
Dec.	11 726	411 286	1.9	33 823	0.2
1953: Jan.	19 335	460 635	2.2	42 698	0.2
Feb.	11 597	432 004	2.0	43 498	0.2
Mar.	4 154	397 306	1.9	41 650	0.2
Apr.	2 512	383 768	1.8	31 715	0.1
May	1 937	353 097	1.7	24 915	0.1
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	21 266 (June 1952)			

Date	OCEANIA				
	Australia		Hawaii	New Zealand	
	IV	5	I	II 6	V (B)
1937	9.3	.	.	.	.
1946	1.4	7 603	2 133 7	1.1 7	986
1947	1.2	6 684	2 953 7	1.6 7	92
1948	0.9	2 629	9 448	4.9	67
1949	2.0	10 332	21 436	11.2	92
1950	0.8	1 224	17 698	9.4	37
1951	0.7	791	8 298	4.3	38
1952	2.8	16 601	8 422	4.4	47
1952: June	.	8 294	10 244	5.3	58
July	.	13 680	8 800	4.4	70
Aug.	4.0	24 877	7 650	3.8	49
Sep.	.	27 806	8 850	4.5	60
Oct.	.	31 550	9 200	4.8	56
Nov.	4.1	34 130	9 450	4.9	42
Dec.	.	40 086	9 397	4.9	62
1953: Jan.	.	41 633	9 848	5.2	61
Feb.	3.4	34 761	9 516	5.0	52
Mar.	.	29 674	9 050	4.8	49
Apr.	.	28 905	9 000	4.8	...
May	...	...	8 500	4.5	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	856 (1952)	.	193 (1952)	.	.

I. Labour force sample surveys.
 II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics.
 III. Unemployment relief statistics.
 IV. Trade union returns.
 V. Employment office statistics.
 V (A) Applicants for work registered.
 V (B) Unemployed registered.

1 Wholly unemployed. 2 Temporarily unemployed. 3 Excl. persons classified as unsuitable for ordinary employment. 4 July-Dec. Until June 1948 the statistics referred to persons insured under the Unemployment Insurance Acts. With the introduction in July 1948 of the National Insurance Acts, the coverage of the series has been extended to include all registered unemployed; the percentages are based on the estimated total numbers of employees aged 15 years and over. 5 Unemployment benefit statistics. 6 Persons in receipt of unemployment benefit. 7 Annual estimates (June).

Consumer Price Indices

Country	AFRICA						AMERICA	
	Algeria	Egypt	Northern Rhodesia	Southern Rhodesia	Tunisia	Union of South Africa 8	Canada	United States
	Algiers	Cairo	Whole country	6 7	Tunis	9	8-33 10	46 12
Town or no. of localities	1	36 3	6	.	1	9	65	60
1937	6	36 3	70 6	.	45	65	80	81
1946	43	102	91	91	67	95	87	93
1947	61	99	97	93	100	100	100	100
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	122	99	104	106	124	104	104	99
1950	123	104	108	115 r	129	108	107 11	100
1951	132	114	114	122 r	144	116	118	108
1952	142 2	113	121	133 r	163	126	121	110
1952: May	139	115	120	131	153	124	120	110
June	138	114	121	133	163	125	120	110
July	141	114	121	135 r	164	125	120	111
Aug.	144	113	122	135 r	167	125	120	111
Sep.	145	113	122	133	168	129	120	111
Oct.	138	106	123	135 r	170	129	120	111
Nov.	...	106	123	133	169	129	121	111
Dec.	...	105	123	133	168	129	120	111
1953: Jan.	...	105	123	135 r	167	128	120	111 13
Feb.	...	106	124	135 r	168	128	120	110
Mar.	...	...	124	136 r	170	128	119	111
Apr.	...	...	124	137 r	170	129	119	111
May	...	...	124	137 r	166	...	119	111
June	...	...	125	137	...	...	119	...

Country	AMERICA (cont.)							
	Argentina	Barbados	Brazil	British Honduras	Chile	Colombia	Costa Rica	Dominican Republic
	Buenos Aires		São Paulo	Belize	Santiago	Bogotá	San José	Ciudad Trujillo
Town or no. of localities	16	.	24 14	48 16	22	35	46	.
1937	49	.	71	80	63	73	85	88
1946	78	89	92	98	85	86	97	99
1947	88	98	100	100	100	100	100	100
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	131	99	104	98	137	129	119	96
1950	165	103	104	98	167	140	127	105
1951	225	116	113	116	204	137	122 17	106
1952	312	135	133	127	204	143	122	106
1952: May	319	135	132	128	205	141	123	107
June	325	135	134	129	211	138	123	106
July	312	135	136	129	213	135	121	107
Aug.	311	134	136	130	221	134	121	107
Sep.	321	133	138	130	222	135	121	107
Oct.	324	134	137	129	222	137	122	107
Nov.	325	134	139	124	220	138	122	106
Dec.	326	134	143	124	205	138	122	106
1953: Jan.	322	134	146	124	214	139	122	107
Feb.	...	134	153	122	221	139	122	105
Mar.	...	135	162	122	...	143	122	103
Apr.	...	137	164	122	...	148	122	104
May	...	137	...	123	...	...	122	106
June	...	...	...	123	...	...	124	106

1 Food group only. 2 Jan.-Oct. 3 June-Aug. 1939. 4 Excl. indigenous population.
 5 Excl. "miscellaneous". 6 Aug. 1939. 7 Prior to Jan. 1952: 5 towns. 8 Europeans only.
 9 Incl. direct taxes. 10 Prior to 1950: food prices collected in 33 towns; other items priced in 11-33 towns. 11 New series linked to old series. 12 Prior to 1953: food prices collected in 56 towns; other items priced in 34 towns. 13 Revised series linked to previous series. 14 1939. 15 1946-49: July. 16 Sep. 1939. 17 New series spliced to old series.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)

Country	AMERICA (cont.)						
	Guatemala	Jamaica	Mexico	Neth. Antilles	Panama	Peru	Puerto Rico
	Guatemala City	Kingston	Mexico City	Curaçao	Panama City	Lima	6
1937	.	43 ²	27	.	51 ⁸	30	89
1946	91 ¹	70	84	.	89	59	101
1947	94	83	94	.	99	76	100
1948	100	100	100	.	100	100	100
1949	107	104	105	100 ⁴	94	115	92
1950	115	109	112	97	91	129	90
1951	120	126	126	102 ⁵	95	142	99
1952	117 ^r	138	144	104 ⁶	96	152	105
1952 : May	122	137	144	104	100	150	104
June	123	139	146	104	100	151	104
July	122	140	146	.	98	152	105
Aug.	115	140	146	104	97	154	105
Sep.	114	139	146	104	95	154	106
Oct.	114	139	146	101	95	155	106
Nov.	120	138	147	104	95	156	106
Dec.	114	138	147	104	94	156	106
1953 : Jan.	121	140	145	104	95	157	106
Feb.	115 ^r	139	143	104	95	157	106
Mar.	118	...	141	105	94	158	...
Apr.	117 ^r	...	...	104	...	158	...
May	121	...	...	104	...	...	...
June	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Country	AMERICA (concl.)				ASIA			
	St. Vincent	Trinidad	Uruguay	Venezuela	Burma	Ceylon	Cyprus	Hong-kong ¹⁶
			Montevideo	Caracas	Rangoon	Colombo	4	
1937	.	.	56	48	28	42 ¹⁸	30 ²	.
1946	87	.	85	72	106 ^{11 12}	88 ¹¹	73	102
1947	93	.	98	83	108	97	80 ¹⁴	100
1948	100	.	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	99	.	105	98	135	99	96	112
1950	103	.	101	97	114	105	103 ¹⁵	117
1951	111	.	115	99	112	109	116	128 ^r
1952	124	100 ⁹	131	98	107	108	121	129 ^r
1952 : May	124	106	129	100	104	106	121	128
June	127	106	130	100	107	107	122	.
July	127	107	132	102	120	107	119	.
Aug.	126	106	132	97	119	106	119	.
Sep.	127	107	135	94	118	107	121	132
Oct.	128	108	134	95	101	108	125	.
Nov.	128	108	136	97	101	110	126	.
Dec.	127	106	138	102	102	110	123	127
1953 : Jan.	132	106	138	101	103	109	123	124
Feb.	131	107	136	95	102	108	124	128
Mar.	131	108	136	...	99	108	125	124
Apr.	130	108	137	...	101	...	126	127
May	...	108	...	...	109	...	126	...
June	...	107	...	...	...	...	128	...

¹ Aug.-Dec. Mar., July-Nov. ² Aug. 1939. ³ Excl. rent and "miscellaneous". ⁴ June. ⁵ Average of Feb., Mar., July-Nov. ⁶ Average of Jan.-June, Aug.-Dec. ⁷ Food group only. ⁸ Oct. 1939-June 1940. ⁹ Jan. ¹⁰ Food, soap, and coal only. ¹¹ New series, spliced by I.L.O. to old series. ¹² Sep.-Dec. ¹³ Aug.-Dec. 1939. ¹⁴ Jan.-Sep. ¹⁵ New series; Jan. 1950=100. ¹⁶ Clerical and skilled technical workers.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)

Country	ASIA (cont.)							
	India			Indonesia	Iran	Israel	Japan	South Korea
	Ahmedabad	Bombay	Delhi	Djakarta ¹	7	2	28	Pusan
1937	31	35	.	8 ³	13	30 ⁵	.	35
1946	86	85	81	.	90	79	.	59
1947	90	92	92	179	91	80	.	100
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	102	101	100	97	109	103	132	123
1950	106	103	100	113	89	95	123	281
1951	107	109	107	189	93	101 ⁶	143 ⁸	1 397
1952	107	111	108	199	101	153 ⁷	150	3 446
1952 : May	109	112	112	193	103	150	149	3 391
June	108	112	110	190	102	157	149	3 532
July	108	109	108	189	101	162	151	3 798
Aug.	110	112	108	187	100	165	152	4 287
Sep.	111	113	110	192	98	169	151	4 569
Oct.	113	114	111	189	101	173	152	4 032
Nov.	112	115	108	191	102	175	150	3 580
Dec.	108	114	104	202	104	178	150	3 904
1953 : Jan.	107	114	102	201	102	181	153	4 291
Feb.	109	116	103	206	102	182	153	4 830
Mar.	109	118	103	209	102	184	156	4 769
Apr.	110	118	104	211	103	187	157	4 450
May	113	120	105	208	104	191	156	4 344
June	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Country	ASIA (concl.)							
	Lebanon ¹⁰	Malaya		Pakistan		Philippines	Thailand ¹⁷	Viet-Nam
	Beirut	Kuala Lumpur	Lumpur	Karachi	Narayan-ganj	Manila	Bangkok	Saigon
1937	11	.	.	.	.	24	23	3 ¹⁸
1946	20 ¹²	.	.	.	.	143 ^r	86	46 ¹⁹
1947	112	106	.	.	.	106	100	74
1948	100	100	.	100 ¹³	100 ¹⁶	100	100	100
1949	94	94	100 ¹⁵	99	103	94	96	100 ²⁰
1950	87	101	108	95	98	93	99	102
1951	94	133	136	99	102	99	110	116
1952	94	138	138	101	110	95	122	142
1952 : May	94	139	138	99	109	94	127	137
June	93	138	138	100	111	95	126	138
July	92	137	137	102	114	95	123	143
Aug.	92	136	135	101	113	96	123	149
Sep.	92	136	135	101	114	96	121	148
Oct.	93	136	137	102	116	95	121	150
Nov.	91	134	136	104	119	95	129	151
Dec.	91	136	134	105	110	96	122	151
1953 : Jan.	92	133	134	108	102	95	127	155
Feb.	91	133	134	110	102	91	130	160
Mar.	91	134	135	115	104	89	128	156
Apr.	...	134	135	114	102	...	...	152
May	...	...	...	111	107	...	...	...
June	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

¹ Index of free-market retail prices of 19 foodstuffs, based on the consumption in 1932 of Indonesian families with monthly incomes of fl. 25-50. ² Food group only. ³ July 1939. ⁴ Prior to Sep. 1951 incl. direct taxes. ⁵ Aug. 1939. ⁶ Jan.-Aug. ⁷ New series (Sep. 1951=100) based on family budget inquiries conducted in Aug. 1950 and Mar. 1951. ⁸ New series linked to old series. ⁹ Excl. rent. ¹⁰ Salaried employees. ¹¹ Incl. direct taxes. ¹² June-Aug. 1939. ¹³ Chinese labourers. ¹⁴ Malay labourers. ¹⁵ Jan. ¹⁶ Apr. 1948-Mar. 1949. ¹⁷ Clerical workers and civil servants. ¹⁸ 1939. ¹⁹ Mar.-Dec. ²⁰ New index.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)

Country	EUROPE					
	Austria	Belgium	Denmark	Finland	France	Germany (Federal Republic) ⁶
Town or no. of localities	Vienna	62	200	33 ⁸	Paris	
1937	20 ²	26	59	.	67	64 ^{7 r}
1946	.	.	95	57	.	82
1947	.	87	98	74	.	87
1948	100 ³	100	100	100	86	100
1949	123	97	101	108	100	107 ^r
1950	140	96	107	123	111	100 ^r
1951	179	105	119	148	130	108 ^r
1952	203	106	123	154 ⁶	145	110 ^r
1952: May	203	105	.	154	144	109 ^r
June	203	105	.	154	143	109 ^r
July	204	105	124	154	143	109 ^r
Aug.	204	105	.	154	145	109 ^r
Sep.	205	105	.	154	146	109 ^r
Oct.	205	105	124	155	145	110 ^r
Nov.	204	106	.	155	144	110 ^r
Dec.	204	106	.	155	145	110 ^r
1953: Jan.	204	106	124	155	146	110 ^r
Feb.	204	105	.	157	146	109 ^r
Mar.	202	105	.	157	145	109 ^r
Apr.	201	105	123	157	145	109 ^r
May	199	105	.	157	146	108 ^r
June	...	105	.	157	145	...

Country	EUROPE (cont.)					
	Greece	Iceland	Ireland	Italy	Luxembourg	Netherlands
Town or no. of localities	Athens	Reykjavik	120	62 ¹²	9	9 ¹³
1937	0.4	32 ⁹	54	27	33	49
1946	59	91	92	58	90	93 ¹⁴
1947	71	98	98 ¹¹	94	94	97
1948	100	100	100	100	100 ⁶	100
1949	115	102	101	101	106	106
1950	124	163 ¹⁰	102	100	110	109 ¹⁵
1951	139	200	110	110	119	120
1952	146	225	119	114	121	120
1952: May	148	222	116	114	120	119
June	146	224	.	115	121	119
July	145	224	.	115	121	120
Aug.	144	224	.	115	122	120
Sep.	147	228	123	116	122	120
Oct.	145	231	.	116	122	119
Nov.	146	232	124	116	121	120
Dec.	145	231	.	116	121	120
1953: Jan.	146	224	.	116	121	120
Feb.	145	224	124	116	121	120
Mar.	148	222	.	116	120	120
Apr.	148	222	.	117	119	120
May	...	222	127	118	119	121
June	...	...	.	...	120	...

¹ Excl. rent. ² Mar. 1938. ³ July-Dec. ⁴ Incl. direct taxes. ⁵ Prior to 1950: 89 towns. ⁶ New series, spliced by I.L.O. to old series. ⁷ 1938. ⁸ Consumer group with consumption expenditure of approx. DM. 300. ⁹ 1939. ¹⁰ Mar.-Dec.; new series spliced by I.L.O. to old series. ¹¹ From Aug. 1947, interim index, excl. "miscellaneous", spliced by I.L.O. to old series. ¹² Towns of over 50,000 inhabitants. ¹³ Prior to 1949: 6 towns. ¹⁴ Average for Mar.-Sep. and Dec. ¹⁵ New series, 1949=100.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (concl.)

Country	EUROPE (cont.)						
	Norway	Portugal	Saar	Spain	Sweden		Switzerland
Town or no. of localities	53 ¹	Lisbon	Saarbrücken	50	60	35-60	34
1937	61	.	.	34 ³	64	60	61
1946	100	.	.	80	93	93	93 ²
1947	101	.	.	94	96	94	97
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	100	103	109	105	102	102	99
1950	105 ⁴	102	112	117	103	103	98 ⁶
1951	122	100	137	128	119	120	102
1952	133	100	157	125	129	129	105
1952: May	131	98	153	125	.	130	105
June	131	98	153	124	131	131	105
July	135	99	155	124	.	130	105
Aug.	135	100	159	124	.	131	105
Sep.	136	101	159	125	131	130	105
Oct.	136	102	160	125	.	130	105
Nov.	136	102	157	125	.	130	105
Dec.	135	102	158	126	131	130	105
1953: Jan.	134	102	162	126	.	130	104
Feb.	134	102	162	127	.	130	104
Mar.	135	102	160	128	131	130	104
Apr.	135	...	159	128	.	130	104
May	135	98	159	...	.	130	104
June	...	101	...	...	130	130	104

Country	EUROPE (concl.)			OCEANIA			
	Turkey	United Kingdom	Yugoslavia	Australia	Fiji	Hawaii	New Zealand
Town or no. of localities	Istanbul	200 ⁸	51	30	Suva ¹¹	Honolulu	21 ¹²
1937	29 ⁷	76	.	67	48 ¹³	.	70
1946	99	100	.	88	81	84	90
1947	100	94 ⁹	.	92	92	95	93
1948	100	100	.	100	100	100	100
1949	110	103	.	109	101	97	102 ³
1950	104	106	.	120	103	95	107
1951	103	116	100	146	112	101	119
1952	109	126 ¹⁰	76	170	126	103	128
1952: May	109	125	77	.	.	103	.
June	108	128	80	.	.	.	.
July	109	128	78	.	127	.	.
Aug.	109	127	75	173	.	.	129
Sep.	109	126	74	.	.	104	.
Oct.	110	128	76	.	125	.	.
Nov.	110	128	77	173	.	.	130
Dec.	111	128	79	.	.	105	.
1953: Jan.	110	128	80	.	127	.	.
Feb.	110	129	82	175	.	.	132
Mar.	110	130	83	.	.	103	.
Apr.	...	131	83	.	123	.	.
May	...	130	97	...	.	.	...
June	...	...	94	.	.	104	...

¹ Prior to 1950: 31 towns. ² New series, spliced by I.L.O. to old series. ³ July-Dec. 1939. ⁴ Weights based mainly on family budget inquiries. ⁵ Weights based on total estimated consumption in the country. ⁶ Prior to Apr. 1950: excl. "miscellaneous". ⁷ 1938. ⁸ Since Aug. 1947: food prices collected in 200 areas, other items priced in 12-200 areas. ⁹ July-Dec, interim index. ¹⁰ New series (Jan. 1952=100) based on 1950 consumption data linked to the old series. ¹¹ Indian workers. ¹² Aug. 1939. ¹³ Prior to 1949: 25 towns.

STATISTICAL SUPPLEMENT

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ERRATA

1953 - Vol. LXVII

Statistical Supplement, No. 5, May. "Hourly wages of adult males in 43 occupations in October 1952", p. 100.

The following corrections should be made in the columns for the United Kingdom:

Industry and occupation	Town	Figure printed	Correct figure
<i>Manufacture of machinery</i>			
22. Patternmakers	Birmingham	3.25	3.32
<i>Construction</i>			
26. Structural steel workers	London	3.50	3.25
27. Concrete workers . . .	London	3.25	3.12
28. Carpenters and joiners .	London	3.12	3.50

1953 - Vol. LXVIII

Statistical Supplement, No. 1, July. "Retail Prices of Food, Fuel, etc.", p. 4.

The fifth, sixth and seventh footnotes should read as follows: "5 Whole ham. 6 Frozen ocean perch fillets. 7 Fresh or frozen cod fillets."

CONTENTS

1. Unemployment Statistics.
2. Indices of General Level of Employment.
3. Indices of Employment in Manufacturing—
(a) Numbers employed;
(b) Total hours worked.
4. Consumer Price Indices.
(a) All groups;
(b) Food group.
5. General Level of Wages.
6. Wages in Manufacturing.
7. General Level of Hours of Work.
8. Hours of Work in Manufacturing.

Unemployment

Changes in the Tables

Puerto Rico. A revised series is shown, beginning April 1950. The original monthly figures obtained from labour force sample surveys were revised on the basis of the census of population of April 1950 and of monthly statistics of net movement of persons into the Armed Forces, deaths and net migration.

Consumer Price Indices

Changes in the Tables

The series for the following countries have been recalculated on the bases indicated below because the data for 1948 were insufficient to permit use of that year as base period:

British	Malaya
Honduras 1950 = 100	(Malay labourers) . 1949 = 100
Trinidad . . 1952 = 100	Austria 1949 = 100
Cyprus . . 1950 = 100	United Kingdom . . 1952 = 100
	(food group only)

Sudan. An index (original base 1938=100) is introduced in this issue. It relates to families of low-salaried government officials (with monthly incomes in 1938 of less than £E12) living in government houses in Khartoum, Khartoum North and Omdurman. The weights used up to January 1951 are based on a 1938 expenditure survey. The index is calculated as a weighted arithmetic average with fixed base. The number of items in each group and the percentage weights are as follows:

Group	Number of items	Percentage weights
Food, drink and toilet articles	14	67
Rent, rates, light, water, and fuel	5	22
Clothing	1	11

Starting January 1951 a new set of weights based on expenditure in 1950 has been introduced in the calculation as follows:

Group	Number of items	Percentage weights
Food, drink and toilet articles	27	63.6
Rent, rates, light, water, and fuel	5	20.4
Clothing	6	9.9

Ceylon. Starting with this issue, a new consumer price index with original base 1952=100 has been introduced. It is based on a survey carried out in 1949-50 covering 455 manual workers' families in Colombo with monthly income in 1949-50 ranging from Rs.50 to Rs.485. Prices of articles of consumption are weighted averages of prices collected weekly on the free market and in co-operative stores. Rents are obtained quarterly. The index is calculated as a weighted arithmetic average with fixed base. The number of items and the percentage weights of each group are as follows:

Group	Number of items	Percentage weight
Food	85	61.89
Fuel and light	4	4.29
House rent	1	5.70
Clothing	63	9.42
Miscellaneous	54	18.71
Total. . .	207	100.00

China (Taiwan). An index (original base 1937=100) relating to workers' families living in Taiwan is introduced in this issue. A description of this series will be published in a subsequent issue of the *Supplement*.

India. (a) The index for Ahmedabad has been deleted and has been replaced by a similar series for Jamshedpur (original base 1944=100). A description of this series will be published in a subsequent issue of the *Supplement*.

(b) A new All-India interim consumer price index (original base 1944=100) has been introduced. This series is a weighted average of working class consumer price index numbers in 24 important centres of industrial employment.

Netherlands. The index number has been recalculated back to 1950, excluding direct taxes.

General Level of Wages

Changes in the Tables

Colombia. A series is introduced for Colombia, representing average earnings per day in pesos in Bogotá in mining, manufacturing, transport, and services. The data cover both males and females, and are based on the payrolls of establishments of given importance.

Jamaica. An index number of wage rates per hour in Kingston is introduced. The index covers males and females, and is based on a sample of establishments in manufacturing, commerce, transportation, and services.

Turkey. A series is introduced showing average earnings per hour in piastres in mining, manufacturing, construction, and services. The data cover both males and females, and are based on the payrolls of establishments.

Wages in Manufacturing

Changes in the Tables

Brazil. The index number of average earnings per month in manufacturing is no longer published.

Jamaica. An index number of average earnings per day is introduced. It is similar in method to the index of wage rates described above.

China (Taiwan). A series of average earnings per day in Taiwan dollars is introduced. It covers both males and females, and is based on the payrolls of a sample of establishments.

India. A series of average earnings per month in rupees is introduced. It covers males, females and juveniles, and is based on average earnings per worker per year reported for establishments covered by the Factories Act.

Yugoslavia. An index number of average earnings per month is introduced. It covers males and females, and includes family allowances and bonuses. Some variation in the monthly figures is due to the prevalence of profit-sharing. Profits are generally distributed to the workers at the end of the establishment's accounting period, and are included in the statistics of earnings for the month in question, which varies from one establishment to another.

General Level of Hours of Work

Changes in the Tables

Jamaica. An index number of average hours of work per week in Kingston is introduced, corresponding to the index number of the general level of wage rates described above.

Malta. A series showing average hours of work in mining, manufacturing, construction, commerce, transport, and services is introduced. The figures are based on labour inspection reports and their coverage virtually constitutes a census.

Hours of Work in Manufacturing

Jamaica. An index number of average hours of work per week in Kingston is introduced, corresponding to the index of average earnings in manufacturing described above.

China (Taiwan). A series showing average hours worked per month, separately for males and females, is introduced. It is based on payrolls of a sample of establishments, and corresponds to the workers covered in the statistics of average earnings in manufacturing described above.

West Berlin. A series showing average hours worked per week in West Berlin is introduced. The statistical techniques employed correspond in general to those used for statistics of hours of work in the Federal Republic of Germany, but from June 1950 the average includes a number of relief programme workers whose time is limited to 40 hours per week.

* * *

SYMBOLS AND TYPES EMPLOYED

- . = inapplicable or figures not available.
- ... = not yet received.
- * = provisional.
- † = revised since previous issue.

A line — placed between two figures in a column indicates that the figures above and below it are not strictly comparable or that a new series begins below the line (see footnotes).

Italics: index numbers based on another year than 1948.

The countries are arranged by continents in the alphabetical order of their English names.

Unemployment

Date	AFRICA		AMERICA			
	Southern Rhodesia	Union of South Africa	Canada			
	V (B)	V (B)	I		II	
				%		%
1937	.	4 510	406 000 ¹	9.1 ¹	.	.
1946	.	5 390	142 000	3.0	96 760	4.5
1947	253	10 266	68 000	2.0	68 254	3.0
1948	280	12 173	98 000	2.1	88 909	3.6
1949	246	15 138	102 000	2.7	135 626	5.2 ²
1950	244	16 282	135 000	3.2	165 874 ²	6.1 ²
1951	193	10 189	167 000	2.1	148 222 ²	4.9 ²
1952	234	12 140	108 000	2.5	191 564	6.1
			130 000			
1952: July	340	13 243	.	.	112 582	3.6
Aug.	301	13 393	86 000	1.6	101 980 ²	3.2
Sep.	275	12 899	.	.	92 627 ²	2.9
Oct.	274	11 832	.	.	111 593	3.5
Nov.	299	11 294	114 000	2.2	161 912 ²	5.0
Dec.	276	11 243	132 000	2.5	278 646 ²	8.5 ²
1953: Jan.	277	12 667	187 000	3.6	354 660 ²	10.8 ²
Feb.	293	12 926	179 000	3.4	363 165 ²	11.1 ²
Mar.	298	11 598	172 000	3.3	360 100 ²	11.0 ²
Apr.	273	11 871	165 000	3.1	215 200	...
May	220	12 046	114 000	2.1	143 100	...
June	251	11 869	90 000	1.7	119 800	...
July	...	...	90 000	1.6	124 396	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	.	5 304 (1952)		3 097 (June 1952)	

Date	AMERICA (concl.)					ASIA			
	United States		Chile	Puerto Rico		Burma ²	Ceylon	India	Israel ⁴
	I	%	V (B)	I	%	V (A)	V (A)	V (A)	V (B)
1937	7 700 000 ¹	14.3 ¹	2 315	.	.	.	29 182	.	1 870
1946	2 270 000	3.9	3 433	.	.	3 139 ²	32 995	.	2 772
1947	2 142 000	3.6	3 700	.	.	2 446	53 513	224 900	1 320 ⁷
1948	2 064 000	3.4	3 203	.	.	777	68 358	293 043	6 351
1949	3 395 000	5.5	3 445	.	.	.	.	.	.
1950	3 142 000	5.0	2 937	104 000 ⁵	14.5 ⁶	2 049	68 471	314 336	5 908
1951	1 879 000	3.0	2 562	114 000	16.2	4 149	56 844	338 402	6 336
1952	1 673 000	2.7	3 274	100 000	15.2	4 782	51 603	383 992	9 413
1952: July	1 942 000	3.0	2 762	90 000	13.6	4 835	51 041	418 909	10 239
Aug.	1 604 000	2.5	2 706	.	.	4 728	50 975	412 101	10 732
Sep.	1 438 000	2.3	2 477	.	.	4 580	51 641	407 872	10 155
Oct.	1 284 000	2.0	2 375	106 000	16.5	4 435	52 792	413 498	10 950
Nov.	1 418 000	2.2	2 486	.	.	4 388	52 563	420 722	14 220
Dec.	1 412 000	2.2	2 819	.	.	4 373	53 023	437 571	16 200
1953: Jan.	1 892 000	3.0	3 083	...	...	4 333	55 022	434 428	18 900
Feb.	1 786 000	2.9	2 961	.	.	4 329	54 432	426 107	18 950
Mar.	1 674 000	2.7	2 931	.	.	4 087	54 483	425 178	20 700
Apr.	1 582 000	2.5	2 840	...	...	3 883	53 176	455 417	18 300
May	1 306 000	2.1 ²	2 608	.	.	3 757	...	466 228	17 000
June	1 562 000	2.4	...	.	.	...	...	473 917	15 850
July	1 548 000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17 600
Persons cov. (thousands)	62 966 (1952)		.	.	.	.	.	.	.

- I. Labour force sample surveys. V. Employment office statistics.
 II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics. V (A) Applicants for work registered.
 III. Unemployment relief statistics. V (B) Unemployed registered.
 IV. Trade union returns.
- ¹ Official estimate. ² Incl. claimants for supplementary benefits. ³ 1947-49: Rangoon exchange only. ⁴ Daily average during the month. ⁵ Mar.-Dec. ⁶ May-Dec. ⁷ Jan.-Mar., July-Dec.

UNEMPLOYMENT (cont.)

Date	ASIA (concl.)			EUROPE						
	Japan		Pakistan	Austria		Belgium				
	I	%	V (A)	V (B) 1	%	II 2	%	II 3	%	
1937	295 443 ⁴	3.7 ⁴	.	320 961	.	125 929 ⁵	13.8 ⁵	.	.	.
1946	1 590 318 ⁶	5.4 ⁶	.	74 105	.	48 035	2.6	19 257	1.0	.
1947	370 000 ⁷	1.1 ⁷	.	31 737	1.7	35 639	1.8	31 921	1.6	.
1948	242 000	0.7	77 983	43 409	2.3	80 959	4.0	48 244	2.4	.
1949	378 000	1.0	70 996	91 238	4.6	173 998	8.6	60 908	3.0	.
1950	436 000	1.2	96 439	124 850	6.2	169 972	8.3	53 565	2.6	.
1951	386 000	1.1	103 913	116 243	5.7	153 452	7.3	53 068	2.5	.
1952	470 000	1.2	107 087	156 975	7.7	173 570	8.3	72 968	3.5	.
1952: July	400 000	1.0	99 474	116 144	5.7	158 380	7.6	58 623	2.8	.
Aug.	430 000	1.1	104 029	114 905	5.6	151 707	7.2	53 325	2.5	.
Sep.	420 000	1.1	103 682	115 297	5.7	150 136	7.2	46 849	2.2	.
Oct.	480 000	1.2	108 589	126 505	6.2	146 575	7.0	44 713	2.1	.
Nov.	490 000	1.2	107 055	175 144	8.6	169 970	8.1	71 958	3.4	.
Dec.	470 000	1.2	105 721	248 292	12.2	204 054	9.7	121 075	5.8	.
1953: Jan.	460 000	1.2	105 424	284 479	14.1	224 062	10.7	119 716	5.7	.
Feb.	510 000	1.4	102 429	279 229	13.8	212 794	10.1	98 689	4.7	.
Mar.	610 000	1.5	103 348	227 060	11.3	189 581	9.0	56 618	2.7	.
Apr.	530 000	1.3	100 994	176 426 ⁸	8.7	178 463	8.5	57 479	2.7	.
May	500 000	1.2	95 575	155 913	...	171 233	8.2	57 445	2.7	.
June	440 000	1.1	90 834	142 193	...	171 249	8.1	56 242	2.7	.
July	...	...	...	...	...	171 921	8.2	51 607	2.5	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	36 600 (1951)			2 035 (1952)		2 098 (June 1952)				

Date	EUROPE (cont.)					
	Denmark		Finland	France		Germany (Fed. Rep.)
	s	%	V (B)	III	V (A)	V (B)
1937	95 630	21.7	3 695 ⁹	354 554	379 994	.
1946	51 636	8.9	892	15 663	56 633	.
1947	51 998	8.9	—	7 389	45 777	588 050 ¹⁰
1948	51 644	8.6 ⁷	3 473	16 737	77 803	591 532
1949	59 041	9.6	25 683	39 748	131 062	1 229 711
1950	54 829	8.7	19 194	52 355	152 891	1 579 766
1951	63 024	9.7	5 622	40 313	120 128	1 432 323
1952	81 645	12.5	8 294	39 269	131 799	1 379 203
1952: July	48 984	7.5	58	33 615	105 539	1 155 456
Aug.	60 285	9.2	37	34 137	108 764	1 106 537
Sep.	62 197	9.5	1 068	33 203	118 624	1 050 565
Oct.	60 256	9.2	4 139	37 324	142 867	1 028 091
Nov.	72 583	11.0	17 208	44 473	158 020	1 247 354
Dec.	162 721	24.6	35 501	54 337	182 084	1 687 719
1953: Jan.	115 019	17.4	54 207	67 093	210 710	1 822 676
Feb.	103 069	15.5	65 726	75 214	216 673	1 810 695
Mar.	63 087	9.5	61 582	75 524	206 980	1 392 870
Apr.	52 475	7.9	40 181	71 025	195 471	1 234 339
May	41 823	6.3	21 457	67 013	179 464	1 156 168
June	27 194	4.1	2 390	60 075	159 277	1 073 272
July	29 058 [*]	4.4 [*]	696	54 218	148 243	1 012 516 [*]
Persons cov. (thousands)	655 (1952)		.	.	.	16 374 (1952)

- I. Labour force sample surveys. V. Employment office statistics.
 II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics. V (A) Applicants for work registered.
 III. Unemployment relief statistics. V (B) Unemployed registered.
 IV. Trade union returns.

¹ Prior to 1947: applicants for work registered. ² Daily average of numbers wholly unemployed. ³ Daily average of days lost through interruption of operations or intermittent work. ⁴ Official estimate. ⁵ Voluntary unemployment insurance statistics incl. partial unemployment. ⁶ Census of 26 Apr. ⁷ Oct. ⁸ Unemployed among insured members of trade union fund. ⁹ Applicants for work registered. ¹⁰ Mar.-Dec.

UNEMPLOYMENT (cont.)

Date	EUROPE (cont.)				
	Ireland 1		Italy	Luxembourg	Netherlands
	II	%	V (A)	V (B)	V (B) 2
1937	.	.	81 760	874 000	324 044
1946	35 067	10.6	59 726	1 324 000	53 079
1947	33 266	9.3	55 623	1 620 000	30 701
1948	35 129	9.4	61 203	1 742 000 ³	29 032
1949	34 906	9.0	60 606	1 672 708	42 124
1950	30 347	7.5	53 415	1 614 940	57 681
1951	30 406	7.3	50 453	1 721 087	67 750
1952	38 565	9.1	60 688	1 849 680	104 256
1952: July	34 269	8.1	46 702	1 828 742	86 927
Aug.	35 910	8.4	48 940	1 808 910	88 640
Sep.	32 570	7.6	46 113	1 535 041	84 810
Oct.	34 399	8.1	49 443	1 693 301	91 301
Nov.	38 899	9.1	67 861	1 792 064	105 916
Dec.	38 885	9.1	68 885	1 974 997	140 651
1953: Jan.	50 778	11.2	84 610	2 069 725	140 571
Feb.	52 731	11.7	88 095	2 068 334	128 187
Mar.	53 395	11.8	88 853	2 017 528	94 864
Apr.	51 458	11.4	85 186	1 987 241	83 221
May	47 791	10.6	79 129	...	68 065
June	44 442	9.8	73 322	...	61 360
July	37 740	8.4	57 307	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	452 (1952)		.	.	.

Date	EUROPE (cont.)				
	Norway	Saar	Spain	Sweden	
	V (B)	4	V (B)	IV	
1937	29 881 ⁵	.	.	67 351	10.8
1946	12 246 ⁶	.	.	27 554 ⁷	3.2 ⁷
1947	8 514 ⁶	.	.	24 446	2.8
1948	9 026	6 640 ⁸	2.5 ⁸	117 020	2.8
1949	7 715	6 070	2.2	160 056	2.7
1950	8 972	6 343	2.2	166 182	2.2
1951	11 132	4 318	1.5	144 238	1.8
1952	11 634	3 862	1.3	106 544 [*]	2.3
1952: July	3 171	3 815	1.3	92 077	1.9
Aug.	5 418	3 851	1.3	97 167	1.4
Sep.	6 941	3 828	1.3	100 229	1.3
Oct.	8 161	3 620	1.2	107 391	1.7
Nov.	14 731	3 634	1.2	106 128	2.3
Dec.	24 248	3 899	1.3	105 907	5.6
1953: Jan.	31 041	4 374	1.4	109 228	4.3
Feb.	27 894	4 536	1.5	109 717	4.2
Mar.	23 868	3 927	1.3	110 389	3.2
Apr.	16 447	3 818	1.2	107 491	2.3 [*]
May	8 400	...	...	96 905	1.8 [*]
June	3 554	...	...	...	...
July	3 699	...	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	300 (1952)	.	973 (1952)	

- I. Labour force sample surveys. V. Employment office statistics.
 II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics. V (A) Applicants for work registered.
 III. Unemployment relief statistics. V (B) Unemployed registered.
 IV. Trade union returns.

¹ Since Jan. 1953, scope of data increased owing to effects of Social Welfare Act, 1952. ² Average of first, second and fourth quarter. ³ Excl. persons employed on emergency public works. ⁴ Labour registration statistics. ⁵ Applicants for work registered. ⁶ Excl. Finnmark and evacuated communes in Troms. ⁷ Since 1946 also covers unions of agricultural workers. ⁸ June-Dec.

UNEMPLOYMENT (concl.)

Date	EUROPE (concl.)					
	Switzerland		United Kingdom			
	V (B) 1		V (B) 1		V (B) 2	
1937	57 949		1 324 027	8.5	205 063	1.5
1946	4 262		390 106 ³	2.5	4 058 ³	—
1947	3 473		342 295 ³	2.0	156 028 ³	1.0
1948	2 971		325 818 ⁴	1.6	8 555 ⁴	—
1949	8 059		328 426	1.6	9 571	—
1950	9 599		332 057	1.6	9 036	—
1951	3 799		264 103	1.2	17 258	0.1
1952	5 314		368 401	1.7	94 132	0.4
1952: July	1 451		331 966	1.6	121 851	0.6
Aug.	1 750		365 465	1.7	83 678	0.4
Sep.	1 918		365 570	1.7	68 484	0.3
Oct.	3 218		389 151	1.8	50 607	0.2
Nov.	6 295		411 778	1.9	38 538	0.2
Dec.	11 726		411 286	1.9	33 823	0.2
1953: Jan.	19 335		460 635	2.2	42 698	0.2
Feb.	11 597		432 004	2.0	43 498	0.2
Mar.	4 154		397 306	1.9	41 650	0.2
Apr.	2 512		383 768	1.8	31 715	0.1
May	1 937		353 097	1.7	24 915	0.1
June	2 076		311 200	1.5	23 320	0.1
July	1 579		291 256	1.4	16 158	0.1
Persons cov. (thousands)	21 266 (June 1952)					

Date	OCEANIA					
	Australia		Hawaii		New Zealand	
	IV		I		II ⁶	
					V (B)	
1937	9.3					386
1946	1.4	7 603	2 133 ⁷	1.1 ⁷	172	92
1947	1.2	6 684	2 953 ⁷	1.6 ⁷	47	67
1948	0.9	2 629	9 448	4.9	33	67
1949	2.0	10 332	21 436	11.2	48	32
1950	0.8	1 224	17 698	9.4	21	37
1951	0.7	791	8 298	4.3	14	38
1952	2.8	16 601	8 422	4.4	11	47
1952: July		13 680	8 800	4.4	8	70
Aug.	4.0	24 877	7 650	3.8	10	49
Sep.		27 806	8 850	4.5	16	60
Oct.		31 550	9 200	4.8	19	56
Nov.	4.1	34 130	9 450	4.9	19	42
Dec.		40 086	9 397	4.9	33	62
1953: Jan.		41 633	9 848	5.2	33	61
Feb.	3.4	34 761	9 516	5.0	23	52
Mar.		29 674	9 050	4.8	15	49
Apr.		28 905	9 000	4.8	18	56
May	3.1	26 787	8 500	4.5	23	67
June		25 914	11 400	5.9	23	132
July		25 505	...	...	37	156
Persons cov. (thousands)	856 (1952)		193 (1952)			

I. Labour force sample surveys. V. Employment office statistics.
 II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics. V (A) Applicants for work registered.
 III. Unemployment relief statistics. V (B) Unemployed registered.
 IV. Trade union returns.

¹ Wholly unemployed. ² Temporarily unemployed. ³ Excl. persons classified as unsuitable for ordinary employment. ⁴ July-Dec. Until June 1948 the statistics referred to persons insured under the Unemployment Insurance Acts. With the introduction in July 1948 of the National Insurance Acts, the coverage of the series has been extended to include all registered unemployed; the percentages are based on the estimated total numbers of employees aged 15 years and over. ⁵ Unemployment benefit statistics. ⁶ Persons in receipt of unemployment benefit. ⁷ Annual estimates (June).

General Level of Employment

Indices of numbers employed

Date	AFRICA		AMERICA			
	Union of South Africa		Canada		United States	
	Europeans	Total			B.L.S. ¹	B.C. ²
	IV (A/B)		IV (A)	I	IV (A/B)	I
	M.I.T.		M.I.T.C.S. ³	A.M.I.T.C.S.	M.I.T.C.S.	A.M.I.T.C.S.
	W.S.		W.S.	4	W.S.	4
1937	77.3	77.8	60.4	82.8 ⁺	69.5	78.0 ⁵
1946	94.1	96.8	88.5	95.6 ⁺	93.3 ⁺	93.0
1947	96.8	98.7	95.9	98.1 ⁺	97.9 ⁺	97.7
1948	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1949	102.9	104.3	100.3	101.1 ⁺	97.6 ⁺	98.9
1950	103.8	106.3	101.8	102.5 ⁺	100.7 ⁺	101.0
1951	104.8	109.1	109.2	105.2 ⁺	106.4 ⁺	102.7
1952	107.1	112.1	111.9	106.2 ⁺	108.1 ⁺	103.2 ⁺
1952: June	107.2	113.1	110.6		106.8 ⁺	105.4
July	107.3	112.5	112.4		106.1 ⁺	104.8
Aug.	107.4	112.2	114.4	108.5 ⁺	108.5 ⁺	105.0 ⁺
Sep.	107.3	111.6	115.5		110.2 ⁺	104.9 ⁺
Oct.	107.3	112.0	116.7		110.6 ⁺	104.2 ⁺
Nov.	107.4	111.3	116.5	105.3 ⁺	111.1 ⁺	104.8 ⁺
Dec.	107.6	111.1	116.5	104.7 ⁺	113.0 ⁺	103.6 ⁺
1953: Jan.	107.8	109.3	113.3	102.2 ⁺	109.0	101.9 ⁺
Feb.	108.8	112.8	110.3	102.0 ⁺	109.0	102.6 ⁺
Mar.	108.8	113.8	110.3	102.1	109.6 ⁺	103.5 ⁺
Apr.	108.9	113.1	110.3	103.3	109.9 ⁺	106.0
May	...	...	111.2	105.9	110.3 ⁺	109.0
June	...	...	114.1 ⁺	107.8	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	253	950	2 147	4 915	44 382	59 378

Date	ASIA			EUROPE		
	Japan		Philippines	Austria	Belgium ⁶	France
	I		IV (B)	II	II	IV (A)
	A.M.I.T.C.S.	M.I.T.C.S.	M.I.T.C.S.	A.M.I.T.C.S.	M.I.T.C.S.	M.I.T.C.S.
	4	W.S.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S.
1937				73.2		92.9
1946				91.5	76.8 ⁷	92.1
1947	100.2 ⁸	97.4 ⁸		98.5	97.2	97.4
1948	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0
1949	104.2	99.0	100.0	100.4	94.9	101.7
1950	103.3	102.7 ⁺	99.5	100.5	96.8	102.1
1951	104.7	112.2	100.8	102.5	101.2 ⁺	104.7
1952	107.8 ⁹	117.0 ⁹	103.6	100.1	99.8	105.5
1952: June	112.5	116.8	105.0	102.1	99.8	105.8
July	111.5	118.1	103.1	102.3		
Aug.	108.4 ⁺	118.3	102.5	102.6		
Sep.	108.6 ⁺	116.9	101.1	102.5		105.8
Oct.	111.8 ⁺	114.8	103.6	102.2		
Nov.	112.7 ⁺	119.3 ⁹	104.7	99.7		
Dec.	112.4 ⁺	124.3	107.9	94.9	...	103.7
1953: Jan.	107.2 ⁺	123.5	...	92.5		
Feb.	104.7 ⁺	123.3 ⁺	...	92.9		
Mar.	113.6	123.5	...	95.4		...
Apr.	114.2	122.3	...	98.6		
May	117.6	120.2	...	100.1		
June	...	...	...	...		...
Persons cov. (thousands)	34 596	11 750	158	1 876	1 840	7 534

I. Labour force sample surveys. II. Compulsory social insurance statistics (sickness, accidents, etc.). III. Labour registration statistics. IV. Statistics of establishments.
 IV (A): all establishments of a given importance; IV (B): sample of establishments; IV (A/B): type B series (for the recent period) linked to a type A series. A. Agriculture. M. Mining. I. Industry (manufacturing industries and construction). T. Transport. C. Commerce. S. Services. W. Wage earners. S. Salaried employees.

¹ Bureau of Labor Statistics. ² Bureau of the Census. ³ Incl. logging. Monthly figures: first of the month. ⁴ Incl. all categories of workers in the labour force. ⁵ B.L.S. estimations. ⁶ Annual figures: June. ⁷ Excl. temporary workers of the national and local railways. ⁸ Oct. ⁹ Beginning Nov. 1952 sampling design revised.

GENERAL LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT (concl.)
Indices of numbers employed (concl.)

Date	EUROPE (cont.)						
	Germany (Fed. Rep.)	Ireland	Luxem- bourg	Netherlands	Norway	Poland	Saar
	IV (A)	II	IV (A)	II	II 1	II	III
	M.I.T.C.S.	A.M.I.T.C.S.	M.I.T.C. 2	M.I.T.C.S.	3	M.I.T.C.S.	M.I.T.C.
	W.S.	W.S.	W.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S.
1937	.	87.0	98.5	67.8	.	.	.
1946	.	92.9	87.1 ⁴	79.9	97.7	.	70.6 ⁵
1947	.	96.3	90.9	90.1	104.7	87.8	91.4
1948	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0 ⁶	100.0	100.0
1949	102.4	98.6	106.6	104.1	102.2 ⁷	116.6	105.1
1950	106.0	100.7	105.6	104.5 ⁷	109.9 ⁷	140.6	110.6 ⁷
1951	112.7	102.6	110.4	111.7 ⁸	105.6 ⁷	152.5 ⁷	116.4
1952	116.8	105.9	...	...	106.8 ⁷	...	120.1
1952: June	118.0	.	...	.	108.6 ⁷	...	119.4
July	.	.	...	.	108.6 ⁷	...	119.6
Aug.	.	.	...	.	108.4 ⁷	...	120.3
Sep.	120.4	.	...	.	108.4 ⁷	...	121.6
Oct.	.	.	...	.	108.6 ⁷	...	122.0
Nov.	.	.	...	.	108.1 ⁷	...	122.6
Dec.	116.8	.	...	.	105.8 ⁷	...	122.8
1953: Jan.	.	.	...	.	105.2 ⁷	...	122.4
Feb.	.	.	...	.	106.3 ⁷	...	122.6
Mar.	118.8	.	...	.	106.5 ⁷	...	...
Apr.	.	.	...	.	107.3	...	...
May	.	.	...	.	109.0	...	...
June	...	.	...	.	111.2	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	11 983	486	33	1 878	791	3 232	212

Date	EUROPE (concl.)			OCEANIA		
	United Kingdom ⁸		Yugoslavia	Australia	Hawaii	New Zealand
	II ⁹		IV (A)	IV (A/B)	I	IV (A)
	A.M.I.T.C.S.	M.I.T.C.S.	M.I.T.C.S.	M.I.T.C.S. ¹⁰	A.M.I.T.C.S.	M.I.T.C.S.
	11	W.S. ¹²	W.S.	W.S.	13	W.S.
1937	100.0	100.0	.	.	.	.
1946	98.6	98.6	.	88.7	.	.
1947	105.6	105.6	.	95.9	.	97.0
1948	100.0	100.0	.	100.0	100.0	100.0
1949	100.8	100.9	100.0	102.8	92.2	102.3
1950	102.0	102.3	96.3	107.3	92.3	104.3
1951	103.0	103.6	87.5	110.7	99.5	105.9
1952	102.6	103.5	...	108.8	100.2	...
1952: June	102.6	103.5	...	109.1	99.7	107.6
July	.	.	...	108.3	102.9	107.3
Aug.	.	.	...	107.5	105.4	107.4
Sep.	.	.	...	107.0	101.0	107.6
Oct.	102.6	103.6	...	106.9	99.8	107.8
Nov.	102.6	103.7	...	106.8	99.2	...
Dec.	102.1	103.2	...	106.9	99.4	...
1953: Jan.	102.1	103.2	...	106.4	98.1	...
Feb.	102.1	103.2	...	107.3	98.0	...
Mar.	102.1	103.2	...	107.8	...	...
Apr.	102.5	103.6	...	107.9	...	...
May	102.8	103.8	...	108.0	...	...
June	...	...	...	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	21 684	19 109	1 654	2 371	184	440

The Roman numerals and other abbreviations used in this table are explained on p. 43.
¹ 1946 and 1947: unemployment insurance statistics, base 1941=100. ² Beginning 1950 excl. handicraft enterprises employing less than six wage earners, workshops of the Luxembourg railways, the State and local authorities. ³ All non-agricultural employment; prior to 1948 agriculture was included. ⁴ June-Dec. ⁵ June. ⁶ Mar.-Dec. ⁷ Jan.-Aug. ⁸ Excl. Northern Ireland. ⁹ Annual figures: June. ¹⁰ Incl. forestry, fishing and trapping. ¹¹ 1937 to 1948: estimated total of persons in employment (men aged 14-64 and women 14-59) excl. indoor private domestic service; since June 1948 (introduction of National Insurance): estimated total of persons aged 15 and over in employment. ¹² 1937 to 1948: estimated number of employed wage and salary earners subject to the Unemployment Insurance Acts; since June 1948 (introduction of National Insurance): estimated total of employed wage and salary earners aged 15 years and over. ¹³ All persons 16 years of age and over in employment.

Employment in Manufacturing
(a) Indices of numbers employed

Date	AFRICA		AMERICA			
	Union of South Africa		Canada ¹	United States	Argentina	Brazil
	Europeans	Total	IV (A)	IV (A/B)	IV (A/B)	IV (B) ³
	IV (A/B) ²		IV (A)	IV (A/B)	IV (A/B)	IV (B) ³
	W.S.		W.S.	W.	W.	W.S.
1937	81.4	64.1	57.3 ⁺	68.2 ⁺	50.0	.
1946	91.9	91.3	95.2	95.2	93.5	103
1947	96.1	94.8	97.1	100.6	.	102
1948	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100
1949	101.9	102.9	99.9	91.2	98.8	102
1950	101.1	103.2 ⁺	100.9 ⁺	96.9 ⁺	97.0	98
1951	103.8	109.2	107.9	103.3 ⁺	97.6	...
1952	104.7	111.5	109.3	102.6 ⁺	93.7	...
1952: June	104.9	111.9	108.4	98.1 ⁺	95.7	...
July	104.6	111.4	108.7	96.2 ⁺	94.5	...
Aug.	104.6	110.8	110.2	102.8 ⁺	93.1	...
Sep.	104.5	111.0	112.7	106.0 ⁺	91.7	...
Oct.	104.2	111.3	114.0	106.6 ⁺	88.9	...
Nov.	104.4	111.0	113.5	107.2 ⁺	88.7	...
Dec.	104.2	111.6	113.3	107.7	88.2	...
1953: Jan.	104.3	110.8	111.5	107.1	...	...
Feb.	105.9	113.9	112.2	108.0	...	...
Mar.	106.0	114.6	113.3	108.8 ⁺	...	...
Apr.	105.9	112.7	114.2	108.3 ⁺	...	...
May	...	...	114.0	107.8 ⁺	...	...
June	...	...	114.9 ⁺	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	100	332	1 019	12 717	928	70

Date	AMERICA (concl.)		ASIA				EUROPE
	Mexico	Puerto Rico	India ⁴	Israel	Japan	Philippines	Belgium ⁵
	IV (B)	I	IV (A)	IV (B)	I	IV (B)	II
	W.	W.	W.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S.
	W.	W.	W.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S.
1937	73.0	.	100.0	.	.	.	72.4
1946	101.6	.	147.0	136	.	.	98.4
1947	100.0	.	96.4	116	103.8 ⁶	.	100.0
1948	100.0	.	100.0	100	100.0	.	93.7
1949	101.8	100.0	103.1 ⁺	123	103.4	100.0	94.3
1950	...	106.2	100.0	139	100.0 ⁷	97.9	101.3
1951	...	112.1	102.8	139	121.1	98.9	96.7
1952	...	121.5	...	95 ⁸	114.1 ⁹	99.1	96.7
1952: June	...	131.1 ⁺	.	99	115.7	97.0	96.7
July	...	120.7	.	94	116.4	95.0	.
Aug.	...	118.7	.	94	114.7	94.5	.
Sep.	...	125.5	.	90	112.9	90.9	.
Oct.	...	124.7	.	94	111.9	98.0	.
Nov.	...	123.2	.	93	114.5 ⁹	102.2	.
Dec.	...	120.9	.	90	119.4	110.6	...
1953: Jan.	...	...	.	86	117.8	...	...
Feb.	...	...	.	88	116.8 ⁺	...	...
Mar.	...	...	.	90	115.4	...	...
Apr.	...	...	.	...	117.8	...	...
May	...	...	.	...	115.2	...	...
June	...	...	.	...	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	127	47	1 676/2 360 /2 468	34	4 280 (July 1950)	56	987

The Roman numerals and other abbreviations used in this table are explained on p. 43.
¹ Monthly figures: first of the month. ² Incl. building. ³ Large factories only.
⁴ 1937 and 1946: former British India; from 1947: Indian Union. ⁵ Annual figures: June.
⁶ Oct. ⁷ July 1950=100 (new industrial classification introduced in that month). ⁸ Beginning Jan. 1952 new series (base Dec. 1951=100), covering wage earners only. ⁹ Beginning Nov. 1952 sampling design revised.

EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING (cont.)

(a) Indices of numbers employed (concl.)

Date	EUROPE (cont.)							
	Denmark	Finland	France	Germany (Fed. Rep.)	Ireland ¹	Italy	Netherlands	
	IV (A/B)	IV (B)	IV (A)	IV (A)	IV (A)	IV (A)	II	IV (B)
	W.	W.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S. ²	W.	W.S.	W.
1937	74	.	90.7	.	.	.	66.1	.
1946	89	88.5	89.0	.	90.2	.	74.7	77.7
1947	94	94.9	96.6	.	102.7	101.8	88.6	91.0
1948	100	100.0	100.0	100.0 ³	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1949	104	100.6	102.4	106.1	106.2	98.7	105.0	104.9
1950	112	104.1	103.3	113.0	109.8	98.2	110.0	109.6
1951	112	107.8	106.5	121.7	106.6	99.0	112.1	110.1
1952	...	103.2	106.4	125.5	...	98.5	...	106.5
1952: June	.	.	106.4	125.7	99.5	98.3	.	105.9
July	.	102.4	.	.	.	98.8	.	.
Aug.	.	.	.	.	.	101.1	.	.
Sep.	.	.	106.3	128.3	100.5	101.6	.	107.4
Oct.	.	100.8	.	.	.	99.7	.	.
Nov.	.	.	.	.	.	98.1	.	.
Dec.	.	.	104.3	127.1	...	97.4	.	106.2
1953: Jan.	.	98.8	.	.	.	.	.	.
Feb.	.	.	.	.	.	96.4	.	.
Mar.	.	.	...	...	...	.	.	...
Apr.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
May	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
June	.	.	...	...	...	.	.	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	223	95	3 767	5 058 ³	122	1 696	946	616

Date	EUROPE (concl.)						OCEANIA	
	Norway	Saar	Sweden	Switzerland	United Kingdom ⁴	Yugoslavia	Australia	New Zealand
	II ⁶	III	IV (A) ⁶	IV (B)	II ⁷	IV (A)	IV (A/B)	IV (A)
	W.S.	W.S.	W.	W.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S. ⁸
1937	.	.	79.4	73.8	100.0	.	62.5	100.0
1946	110.6	65.4 ⁹	98.0	91.0	94.7	.	90.7	130.4
1947	124.1	89.9	98.7	98.4	102.0	.	95.8	98.0
1948	100.0 ¹⁰	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	.	100.0	100.0
1949	103.1	108.6	99.3	93.7	102.0	.	101.1	102.0
1950	105.7 [*]	117.6	99.4	92.2	104.7	100.0	106.1	104.9
1951	108.1 [*]	128.2	101.0	101.0	107.6	97.2	109.2	106.5
1952	106.6	133.2	98.3	102.6	106.3	...	103.8	108.8
1952: June	108.4 [*]	132.5	.	102.4	106.3	...	103.8	109.5
July	107.0 [*]	132.7	97.5	.	.	...	102.6	107.9
Aug.	105.9 [*]	133.4	97.4	.	.	...	101.7	107.6
Sep.	105.9 [*]	134.6	98.3	102.8	.	...	100.9	108.0
Oct.	106.3 [*]	135.3	97.9	.	107.0	...	101.2	107.6
Nov.	106.7 [*]	135.7	97.9	.	107.3	...	101.2	107.3
Dec.	105.1 [*]	136.1	96.6	102.6	107.0	...	100.8	109.7
1953: Jan.	105.0 [*]	135.7	95.6	.	107.2	...	101.0	110.6
Feb.	107.2 [*]	135.7	95.7	.	107.1	...	102.8	112.3
Mar.	105.8 [*]	...	95.8	101.6	107.0	...	103.9	112.3
Apr.	105.8	...	95.7	.	107.4	...	104.2	112.1
May	107.0	...	93.1	.	107.5	...	104.4	...
June	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	281	87	653	.	7 853	564	830	140

The Roman numerals and other abbreviations used in this table are explained on p. 43.
¹ Annual figures: Oct., except 1951: Sep. ² Incl. working proprietors. ³ Average of last three quarters. ⁴ Excl. Northern Ireland. Annual figures: June. ⁵ 1946 and 1947: unemployment insurance statistics incl. mining, base 1941=100. ⁶ Incl. mining. ⁷ 1937 to 1948: estimated number of employed wage and salary earners subject to the Unemployment Insurance Acts; since June 1948 (introduction of National Insurance): estimated number of employees aged 15 years and over in employment. ⁸ Up to 1946: wage earners only. ⁹ June. ¹⁰ Mar.-Dec.

EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING (concl.)

(b) Indices of total hours worked

Date	AMERICA		ASIA	EUROPE	
	United States ¹	Argentina	Israel ²	Denmark	Finland
	IV (A/B)	IV (A/B)	IV (B)	IV (A/B)	IV (B)
	W.	W.	W.S.	W.	W.
1937	65.6	.	135	.	87.1
1946	95.9	.	118	.	93.6
1947	101.3	.	100	100	100.0
1948	100.0	100.0	123	104	98.8
1949	99.2	97.7	138	112	103.0
1950	97.9 [*]	97.3	136	111	107.3
1951	104.8 [*]	97.5	...	105	101.4
1952	104.1 [*]	93.2	96 ³	.	.
1952: June	99.1 [*]	92.4	98	108	.
July	95.7 [*]	94.8	97	76	94.3
Aug.	103.8 [*]	94.2	95	106	.
Sep.	108.9 [*]	95.9	95	110	.
Oct.	110.0 [*]	91.6	95	110	101.0
Nov.	109.9 [*]	83.3	96	110	.
Dec.	112.0	84.8	94	105	.
1953: Jan.	109.4	...	89	104	99.7
Feb.	110.2	...	91	107	.
Mar.	...	...	92	112	.
Apr.	...	...	...	111	...
May	...	...	...	116	.
June	...	...	...	...	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	12 717	928	34	.	95

Date	EUROPE (concl.)					
	France	Germany (Fed. Rep.)	Ireland ⁴	Italy	Norway	Sweden
	IV (A)	IV (A) ⁵	IV (A) ⁵	IV (A)	IV (A) ⁵	IV (A) ⁵
	W.	W.	W.	W.	W.	W.
1937	82.0	.	79.5	.	75.9	81.4
1946	86.5	.	91.4	.	82.6	98.0 [*]
1947	96.6	.	96.8	103.7	93.9	98.0
1948	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1949	100.5	108.6	106.6	100.1	103.2	99.7 [*]
1950	103.0	108.0	113.7	102.3	109.5	100.2
1951	107.0	118.0	...	104.7	114.7	101.7 [*]
1952	105.3	121.3 [*]	...	103.7	...	97.8 [*]
1952: June	104.5	113.5 [*]	.	99.9	.	.
July	.	121.3	.	108.2	.	.
Aug.	.	118.9	.	87.6	.	.
Sep.	105.2	125.8	.	110.9	.	.
Oct.	.	134.9	.	115.3	.	.
Nov.	.	125.2	.	105.4	.	.
Dec.	102.2	123.3	.	101.1	.	.
1953: Jan.	.	120.4	.	98.9	.	.
Feb.	...	...	.	...	.	.
Mar.	...	...	.	...	.	.
Apr.	...	...	.	...	.	.
May	...	...	.	...	.	.
June	...	...	.	...	.	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	3 767	4 414	122	1 696	199	653

The Roman numerals and other abbreviations used in this table are explained on p. 43.
¹ Calculated by the I.L.O. by multiplying the index of numbers employed by the index of hours worked per worker. ² Index of total man-days worked. ³ Beginning Jan. 1952 new series (base Dec. 1951=100), covering wage earners only. ⁴ Week in Oct. of each year. ⁵ Incl. mining.

Consumer Price Indices

(a) All groups

Country	AFRICA							AMERICA	
	Algeria	Egypt	Northern Rhodesia ⁴	Southern Rhodesia	Sudan ⁵	Tunisia	Union of South Africa ¹¹	Canada	United States
Town or no. of localities	Algiers	Cairo	Whole country	67	3	Tunis	9	8-33 ¹²	46 ¹³
1937	6	36 ³	70 ⁶	.	37 ⁹	1	12	65	60
1946	43	102	91	91	65	45	91	80	81
1947	61	99	97	93	79	67	95	87	93
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	122	99	104	106	106	124	104	104	99
1950	123	104	108	115	107	129	108	107 ¹⁴	100
1951	132	114	114	122	100 ¹⁰	144	116	118	108
1952	144 ¹	113	121	133	114	163	126	121	110
1952: June	138	114	121	133	120	163	125	120	110
July	141	114	121	135	123	164	125	121 ¹	111
Aug.	144	113	122	135	117	167	125	120	111
Sep.	145	113	122	133	114	168	129	121 ¹	111
Oct.	147 ¹	106	123	135	108	170	129	120	111
Nov.	149	106	123	133	107	169	129	121	111
Dec.	150	105	123	133	104	168	129	120	111
1953: Jan.	150	105	123	135	110	167	128	120	111 ¹⁴
Feb.	150	106	124	135	110	168	128	120	110
Mar.	146	...	124	136	110	170	128	119	111
Apr.	147	...	124	137	109	170	128 ¹	119	111
May	147	...	124	137	111	166	129	119	111
June	145	...	125	137	...	...	131	119	111
July	144	...	125	137	...	...	...	120	112

Country	AMERICA (cont.)							
	Argentina	Barbados	Brazil	British Honduras	Chile	Colombia	Costa Rica	Dominican Republic
Town or no. of localities	Buenos Aires		São Paulo	Belize	Santiago	Bogotá	San José	Ciudad Trujillo
1937	49	.	24 ¹⁸	17	22	35	46	.
1946	78	89	71	82 ¹⁸	63	73	85	88
1947	88	98	92	100	85	86	97	99
1948	100	100	100	102	100	100	100	100
1949	131	99	98	99	119	107	108	96
1950	165	103	104	100	137	129	119	96
1951	225	116	113	119	167	140	127	105
1952	312	135	133	130	204	137	122 ¹⁴	106
1952: June	325	135	134	130	205	141	123	107
July	312	135	136	131	211	138	123	106
Aug.	311	134	136	132	213	135	121	107
Sep.	321	133	138	132	221	134	121	107
Oct.	324	134	137	131	222	135	121	107
Nov.	325	134	139	127	220	137	122	107
Dec.	326	134	143	126	205	138	122	106
1953: Jan.	322	134	146	126	214	139	122	107
Feb.	...	134	153	124	221	139	122	105
Mar.	...	135	162	124	...	143	122	103
Apr.	...	137	164	124	...	148	122	104
May	...	137	...	126	...	146	122	106
June	...	...	...	126	...	147	124	106
July	...	...	...	126	...	...	124	105

¹ Food group only. ² Revised. ³ June-Aug. 1939. ⁴ Index for non-indigenous population. ⁵ Excl. "miscellaneous". ⁶ Aug. 1939. ⁷ Prior to Jan. 1952: 5 towns. ⁸ Index for low salaried government officials living in government houses. ⁹ 1938. ¹⁰ New series replacing former series. ¹¹ Index for Europeans. ¹² Incl. direct taxes. ¹³ Prior to 1950: food prices collected in 33 towns; other items priced in 11-33 towns. ¹⁴ New series linked to former series. ¹⁵ Prior to 1953: food prices collected in 56 towns; other items priced in 34 towns. ¹⁶ 1939. ¹⁷ 1946-49: July. ¹⁸ Sep. 1939.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)

(a) All groups (cont.)

Country	AMERICA (cont.)						
	Guatemala	Jamaica	Mexico	Neth. Antilles	Panama	Peru	Puerto Rico
Town or no. of localities	Guatemala City	Kingston	Mexico City	Curaçao	Panama City	Lima	6
1937	.	43 ²	27	.	51 ⁸	30	.
1946	91 ¹	70	84	.	89	59	89
1947	94	83	94	.	99	76	101
1948	100	100	100	.	100	100	100
1949	107	104	105	100 ⁴	94	115	92
1950	115	109	112	97	91	129	90
1951	120	126	128	102 ⁵	95	142	99
1952	117	138	144	104 ⁶	96	152	105
1952: June	123	139	146	104	100	151	104
July	122	140	146	.	98	152	105
Aug.	115	140	146	104	97	154	105
Sep.	114	139	146	104	95	154	105
Oct.	114	139	146	104	95	155	106
Nov.	120	138	147	104	95	156	106
Dec.	114	138	147	104	94	156	106
1953: Jan.	121	140	145	104	95	157	106
Feb.	115	139	143	104	95	157	106
Mar.	118	140	141	105	94	158	107
Apr.	117	139	141	104	93	158	108
May	121	141	141	104	94	170	108
June	...	...	141	...	...	169	...
July	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Country	AMERICA (concl.)				ASIA				
	St. Vincent	Trinidad	Uruguay	Venezuela	Burma	Ceylon	China (Taiwan)	Cyprus	Hong-kong ¹⁶
Town or no. of localities			Montevideo	Caracas	Rangoon	Colombo		4	
1937	.	.	56	48	28	42 ¹²	.	30 ²	.
1946	87	.	85	72	106 ^{10 11}	88 ¹⁰	.	73	.
1947	93	.	98	83	108	97	.	80 ¹⁴	102
1948	100	.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	99	.	105	98	135	99	100	96	112
1950	103	.	101	97	114	105	296	100 ¹⁶	117
1951	111	.	115	99	112	109	441	112	128
1952	124	100	131	98	107	108	573	118	129
1952: June	127	101	130	100	107	107	586	118	128
July	127	101	132	102	120	107	570	115	.
Aug.	126	101	132	97	119	106	569	115	.
Sep.	127	102	135	94	118	107	574	117	132
Oct.	128	101	134	95	101	108	575	121	.
Nov.	128	101	136	97	101	110	580	122	.
Dec.	127	100	138	102	102	110	585	119	127
1953: Jan.	132	101	138	101	103	100 ¹³	...	119	124
Feb.	131	102	136	95	102	...	...	120	128
Mar.	131	102	136	97	99	99	...	121	124
Apr.	130	102	137	...	101	100	...	122	127
May	134	102	137	...	109	101	...	122	...
June	134	102	...	...	105	102	...	124	...
July	...	102	...	...	...	103	...	123	...

¹ Aug.-Dec. ² Aug. 1939. ³ Excl. rent and "miscellaneous". ⁴ June. ⁵ Average of Feb., Mar., July-Nov. ⁶ Average of Jan.-June, Aug.-Dec. ⁷ Food group only. ⁸ Oct. 1939-June 1940. ⁹ Food, soap and coal only. ¹⁰ New series linked to former series. ¹¹ Sep.-Dec. ¹² Aug.-Dec. 1939. ¹³ New series (base 1952=100), replacing former series. ¹⁴ Jan.-Sep. ¹⁵ New series replacing former series. ¹⁶ Index for clerical and skilled technical workers.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)

(a) All groups (cont.)

Country	ASIA (cont.)							
	India				Indonesia	Iran	Israel	Japan
	Town or no. of localities	24	Bombay	Delhi	Jamshed-pur	Djakarta ¹	7	2
1937			35			8 ³	13	4
1946		79	85	81	76		90	79
1947		90	92	92	90		91	80
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949		103	101	100	101	97	109	103
1950		103	103	100	107	113	89	95
1951		107	109	107	118	189	93	101 ⁶
1952		105	111	108	113	199	101	153 ⁷
1952: June		104	112	110	112	190	102	157
July		106	109	108	118	189	101	162
Aug.		107	112	108	118	187	100	165
Sep.		107	113	110	115	192	98	169
Oct.		107	114	111	113	189	101	173
Nov.		107	115	108	110	191	102	175
Dec.		104	114	104	110	202	104	178
1953: Jan.		104	114	102	110	201	102	181
Feb.		105	116	103	110	206	102	182
Mar.		106	118	103	...	209	102	184
Apr.		106	118	104	...	211	103	187
May		108	120	105	112	208	104	191
June		...	122	106	115	217	106	197
July		...	...	...	...	218	106	200

Country	ASIA (concl.)						
	Lebanon ¹⁰	Malaya		Pakistan		Philippines	Thailand ¹⁶
	Town or no. of localities	Beirut	Kuala Lumpur ¹³	14	Karachi	Narayan-ganj	Manila
1937		11					23
1946		20 ¹²					86
1947		112					100
1948	100	102	106			106	100
1949		94	94	100		99	96
1950		87	101	110	95	103	94
1951		94	133	139	99	102	97 ⁺
1952		94	138	141	101	110	93 ⁺
1952: June		93	138	141	100	111	93 ⁺
July		92	137	140	102	114	93 ⁺
Aug.		92	136	138	101	113	94 ⁺
Sep.		92	136	138	101	114	94 ⁺
Oct.		93	136	140	102	116	93 ⁺
Nov.		91	134	138	104	119	93 ⁺
Dec.		91	136	137	105	110	94 ⁺
1953: Jan.		92	133	137	108	102	93 ⁺
Feb.		91	133	137	110	102	89 ⁺
Mar.		91	134	138	115	104	87 ⁺
Apr.		89	134	138	114	102	87 ⁺
May		89	133	136	111	107	86 ⁺
June		88	...	...	110	109	86 ⁺
July		...	...	...	...	...	87 ⁺

¹ Index of free-market retail prices of 19 foodstuffs. ² Food group only. ³ July 1939. ⁴ Prior to Sep. 1951 incl. direct taxes. ⁵ Aug. 1939. ⁶ Jan.-Aug. ⁷ New series (Sep. 1951 = 100) based on family budget inquiries conducted in Aug. 1950 and Mar. 1951. ⁸ New series linked to former series. ⁹ Excl. rent. ¹⁰ Index for salaried employees. ¹¹ Incl. direct taxes. ¹² June-Aug. 1939. ¹³ Index for Chinese labourers. ¹⁴ Index for Malay labourers. ¹⁵ Apr. 1948-Mar. 1949. ¹⁶ Index for clerical workers and civil servants. ¹⁷ 1939. ¹⁸ Mar.-Dec. ¹⁹ New series replacing former series.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)

(a) All groups (cont.)

Country	EUROPE					
	Austria	Belgium	Denmark	Finland	France	Germany (Federal Republic) ⁸
	Town or no. of localities	Vienna	62	200	33 ⁵	Paris
1937		1	1	4		64 ⁷
1946		25 ²	26	59		82
1947			87	95		87
1948		82 ³	100	100	100	100
1949		100	97	101	108	107
1950		115	96	107	123	100
1951		146	105	119	148	108
1952		166	106	123	154 ⁶	110
1952: June		166	105		154	109
July		166	105	124	154	109
Aug.		166	105		154	109
Sep.		167	105		154	109
Oct.		167	105	124	155	110
Nov.		167	106		155	110
Dec.		166	106		155	110
1953: Jan.		166	106	124	155	110
Feb.		166	105		157	109
Mar.		165	105		157	109
Apr.		163	105	123	157	109
May		162	105		157	108
June		163	105		157	108
July		163	105	123	157	108

Country	EUROPE (cont.)					
	Greece	Iceland	Ireland	Italy	Luxembourg	Netherlands
	Town or no. of localities	Athens	Reykjavik	120	62 ¹²	9
1937		0.4	32 ⁹	54	27	14
1946		59	91	92	58	49
1947		71	98	98 ¹¹	94	93 ¹⁵
1948	100	100	102	101	106	106
1949	115	102	101	101	106	106
1950	124	163 ¹⁰	102	100	110	109 ¹⁶
1951	139	200	110	110	119	122
1952	146	225	119	114	121	122
1952: June	146	224		115	121	121
July	145	224		115	121	121
Aug.	144	224	123	116	122	122
Sep.	147	228		116	122	122
Oct.	145	231		116	121	122
Nov.	146	232	124	116	121	122
Dec.	145	231		116	121	122
1953: Jan.	146	224		116	121	122
Feb.	145	224	124	116	121	122
Mar.	148	222		116	120	122
Apr.	148	222		117	119	122
May	152	222	127	118	119	123
June	159	222		118	120	123
July	...	224		...	121	123

¹ Excl. rent. ² Mar. 1938. ³ July-Dec. ⁴ Incl. direct taxes. ⁵ Prior to 1950: 32 towns. ⁶ New series linked to former series. ⁷ 1938. ⁸ Consumer group with monthly consumption expenditure in 1950 of approx. DM. 300. ⁹ 1939. ¹⁰ Mar.-Dec.; new series linked to former series. ¹¹ Since Aug. 1937, interim index excl. "miscellaneous", linked to former series. ¹² Towns of over 50,000 inhabitants. ¹³ Prior to 1952: 9 towns; prior to 1949: 6 towns. ¹⁴ Prior to 1950: incl. direct taxes. ¹⁵ Average for Mar.-Sep., and Dec. ¹⁶ New series, base 1949 = 100, replacing former series.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)

(a) All groups (concl.)

Country	EUROPE (cont.)							Trieste
	Norway	Portugal	Saar	Spain	Sweden		Switzer-land	
Town* or no. of localities	53 ¹	Lisbon	Saar-brücken	50	60	35-60	34	
1937	61	.	.	34 ³	4	60	61	27
1946	100	.	.	80	93	93	93 ²	.
1947	101	.	.	94	96	94	97	100
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	102
1949	100	103	109	105	102	102	99	101
1950	105 ²	102	112	117	103	103	98 ³	108
1951	122	100	137	128	119	120	102	111
1952	133	100	157	125	129	129	105	110
1952: June	131	98	153	124	131	131	105	111
July	135	99	155	124	.	130	105	110
Aug.	135	100	159	124	.	131	105	111
Sep.	136	101	159	125	131	130	105	111
Oct.	136	102	160	125	.	130	105	112
Nov.	136	102	157	125	.	130	105	111
Dec.	135	102	158	126	131	130	105	111
1953: Jan.	134	102	162	126	.	130	104	111
Feb.	134	102	162	127	.	130	104	111
Mar.	135	102	160	128	131	130	104	115
Apr.	135	101	159	128	.	130	104	115
May	135	98	159	128	.	130	104	115
June	135	100	161	...	130	130	104	...
July	135	99	157	...	.	130	104	...

Country	EUROPE (concl.)			OCEANIA			
	Turkey	United Kingdom	Yugoslavia	Australia	Fiji	Hawaii	New Zealand
Town or no. of localities	Istanbul	12-200 ⁸	51	30	S. 11	Honolulu	21 ¹³
1937	29 ⁷	76	.	67	48 ¹²	.	70
1946	99	100	.	88	81	84	90
1947	100	94 ⁹	.	92	92	95	93
1948	100	100	.	100	100	100	100
1949	110	103	.	109	101	97	102 ²
1950	104	106	.	120	103	95	107
1951	103	116	100	146	112	101	119
1952	109	126 ¹⁰	75	170	126	103	128
1952: June	108	128	80	.	.	103	.
July	109	128	78	.	127	.	129
Aug.	109	127	75	173	.	104	130
Sep.	109	126	74	.	.	.	.
Oct.	110	128	76	173	125	.	130
Nov.	110	128	77	.	.	.	.
Dec.	111	128	79	.	.	105	.
1953: Jan.	110	128	80	.	127	.	132
Feb.	110	129	82	175	.	.	.
Mar.	110	130	83	.	103	.	133
Apr.	...	131	88	.	123	.	.
May	...	130	97	177	.	.	.
June	...	131	94	.	.	104	.
July	...	131	83	.	123	.	.

¹ Prior to 1950: 31 towns. ² New series linked to former series. ³ July-Dec. 1939.
⁴ Weights based mainly on family budget inquiries. ⁵ Weights based on estimated national consumption. ⁶ Prior to Apr. 1950: excl. "miscellaneous". ⁷ 1938. ⁸ Since Aug. 1947: food prices collected in 200 areas, other items priced in 12-200 areas. ⁹ July-Dec., interim index replacing former series. ¹⁰ New series (Jan. 1952=100) based on 1950 consumption data linked to former interim index. ¹¹ Index for Indian workers. ¹² Aug. 1939. ¹³ Prior to 1949: 25 towns.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)

(b) Food group

Country	AFRICA							AMERICA	
	Algeria	Egypt	Northern Rhodesia ²	Southern Rhodesia	Sudan ⁵	Tunisia	Union of South Africa ⁸	Canada	United States
Town or no. of localities	Algiers	Cairo	Whole country	6 ⁴	3	Tunis	9	8-33 ⁹	46 ¹¹
1937	6	.	62 ³	81	35 ⁶	45	61	53	50
1946	43	104	88	88 ⁷	64	67	92	72	76
1947	61	100	94	88 ⁷	81	100	97	82	92
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	103	100	100
1949	122	102	107	106 ⁷	110	124	103	104	96
1950	123	113	111	121	113	129	109	107 ¹⁰	97
1951	132	120	119	132 ⁷	100 ⁷	144	116	121	108
1952	144 ⁷	117	130	149 ⁷	122	163	137	121	110
1952: June	138	120	129	152 ⁷	131	163	137	120	110
July	141	119	129	153 ⁷	136	164	135	120	112
Aug.	144	118	131	151 ⁷	131	167	137	120	112
Sep.	145	118	131	150 ⁷	122	168	140	120	111
Oct.	147 ⁷	107	134	150 ⁷	112	170	142	120 ⁷	110
Nov.	149	107	134	149 ⁷	110	169	143	120	110
Dec.	150	107	136	149 ⁷	106	168	142	118	109
1953: Jan.	150	106	135	149 ⁷	113	167	140	118	109 ¹⁰
Feb.	150	107	135	153 ⁷	113	168	139	117	107
Mar.	146	...	136	154 ⁷	111	170	140	116	107
Apr.	147	...	136	160 ⁷	111	170	141	115	107
May	147	...	137	159	114	166	142	114	108
June	145	...	138	158	...	...	147	116	109
July	144	...	139	157	...	...	...	117	109

Country	AMERICA (cont.)							
	Argentina	Barbados	Brazil	British Honduras	Chile	Colombia	Costa Rica	Dominican Republic
Town or no. of localities	Buenos Aires		São Paulo	Belize	Santiago	Bogotá	San José	Ciudad Trujillo
1937	47	.	24 ¹²	18	23	33	46	.
1946	76	.	73	49 ¹⁴	64	73	86	87
1947	88	.	88	106	86	87	100	105
1948	100	100	100	107	100	100	100	100
1949	130	.	96	102	115	104	101	87
1950	167	.	103	100	134	129	110	92
1951	227	.	108	123	169	141	119	104
1952	330	131	131	139	216	134	117 ¹⁰	103
1952: June	345	132	130	140	219	140	120	106
July	334	132	134	141	226	135	120	103
Aug.	332	131	134	142	228	132	116	104
Sep.	333	131	138	142	241	130	115	105
Oct.	346	131	188	141	242	131	115	106
Nov.	348	131	140	136	233	135	116	102
Dec.	352	131	147	134	205	136	117	102
1953: Jan.	342	131	151	135	210	137	119	100
Feb.	...	132	162	132	221	136	119 ⁷	102
Mar.	...	133	176	132	...	141	118	101
Apr.	...	136	178	132	...	148	118	102
May	...	136	...	134	...	145	118	106
June	...	...	...	134	...	146	120	106
July	...	...	...	135	...	...	121	104

¹ Revised. ² Index for non-indigenous population. ³ Aug. 1939. ⁴ Prior to Jan. 1952: 5 towns. ⁵ Index for low salaried government officials living in government houses. ⁶ 1938.
⁷ New series replacing former series. ⁸ Index for Europeans. ⁹ Prior to 1950: food prices collected in 33 towns. ¹⁰ New series linked to former series. ¹¹ Prior to 1953: food prices collected in 56 towns. ¹² 1939. ¹³ 1946-49: July. ¹⁴ Sep. 1939.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)
(b) Food group (cont.)

Country	AMERICA (cont.)						
	Guatemala	Jamaica	Mexico	Neth. Antilles	Panama	Peru	Puerto Rico
	Guatemala City	Kingston	Mexico City	Curaçao	Panama City	Lima	6
1937	.	45 ²	27	.	51 ⁶	27	.
1946	88 ¹	69	83	.	89	54	85
1947	90	80	95	.	99	74	101
1948	100	100	100	.	100	100	100
1949	110	106	104	100 ³	94	116	89
1950	121	115	108	96	91	134	88
1951	128	135	124	107 ⁴	95	150	100
1952	124	158	144	111 ⁵	96	162	106
1952: June	134	160	146	113	100	159	105
July	131	161	146	...	98	161	106
Aug.	120	161	147	112	97	164	106
Sep.	118	161	146	112	95	165	107
Oct.	118	161	146	111	95	165	107
Nov.	125	159	147	111	95	167	108
Dec.	118	159	146	111	94	167	108
1953: Jan.	131	160	144	111	95	168	107
Feb.	120	158	142	112	95	167	108
Mar.	125	160	139	113	94	167	109
Apr.	123	158	138	113	93	168	110
May	129	159	138	112	94	187	110
June	...	...	138	...	...	185	...
July	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Country	AMERICA (concl.)				ASIA				
	St. Vincent	Trinidad	Uruguay	Venezuela	Burma	Ceylon	China	Cyprus	Hong-kong ¹³
			Montevideo	Caracas	Rangoon	Colombo	(Taiwan)	4	
1937	.	.	51	48	25	39 ⁹	.	31 ¹⁰	.
1946	87	.	83	72	151 ⁸	82 ⁸	.	77	101
1947	92	.	102	83	115	91	.	83 ¹¹	101
1948	100	.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	97	.	100	98	142	104	100	94	119
1950	102	.	91	97	120	112	277	100 ¹²	127
1951	110	.	106	99	120	112	346	115	136
1952	127	100	129	98	115	110	451	123	136
1952: June	130	101	127	100	116	109	456	125	136
July	130	102	130	102	137	107	439	120	.
Aug.	129	102	129	97	135	106	459	120	.
Sep.	131	104	134	94	134	108	466	123	142
Oct.	131	103	134	94	106	118	467	128	.
Nov.	131	103	136	95	106	115	469	130	.
Dec.	131	102	139	102	106	116	468	124	135
1953: Jan.	139	102	138	101	108	...	...	124	130
Feb.	139	104	135	95	107	...	...	126	139
Mar.	138	105	136	97	105	...	...	127	132
Apr.	141	105	137	...	105	...	...	129	136
May	140	105	138	...	118	...	...	129	...
June	140	105	...	...	112	...	...	131	...
July	...	105	...	...	...	...	...	127	...

¹ Aug.-Dec. ² Aug. 1939. ³ June. ⁴ Average of Feb., Mar., July-Nov. ⁵ Average of Jan.-June, Aug.-Dec. ⁶ Oct. 1939-June 1940. ⁷ Incl. soap and coal. ⁸ New series linked to former series. ⁹ Aug.-Dec. 1939. ¹⁰ Aug. 1939. ¹¹ Jan.-Sep. ¹² New series replacing former series. ¹³ Index for clerical and skilled technical workers.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)
(b) Food group (cont.)

Country	ASIA (cont.)						
	India			Indonesia	Iran	Israel	Japan
	Bombay	Delhi	Jamshedpur	Djakarta ¹	7	2	28
1937	33	.	77	8 ²	13	23 ³	.
1946	91	86	94	179	89	77	47
1947	99	99	100	100	90	100	64
1948	100	100	100	97	111	100	100
1949	105	101	101	113	85	125	131
1950	109	101	105	189	88	112	302
1951	115	112	117	199	88	129 ⁶	1 573
1952	118	111	112	199	98	154 ⁶	4 489
1952: June	120	113	112	190	100	157	4 746
July	115	112	121	189	98	166	5 162
Aug.	121	113	121	187	97	167	5 896
Sep.	121	115	117	192	92	172	6 324
Oct.	123	117	114	189	96	178	5 367
Nov.	124	114	109	191	99	178	4 492
Dec.	124	106	112	202	101	183	4 785
1953: Jan.	123	104	111	201	102	186	5 043
Feb.	126	105	112	206	101	188	5 883
Mar.	129	106	...	209	102	191	5 851
Apr.	130	106	...	211	104	195	5 463
May	131	108	114	208	104	201	5 334
June	135	109	120	217	105	208	...
July	...	...	...	218	105	...	...

Country	ASIA (concl.)						
	Lebanon ⁷	Malaya		Pakistan		Philippines	Thailand ¹³
	Beirut	Kuala Lumpur		Karachi	Narayan-ganj	Manila	Bangkok
1937	16 ⁸	11	11	.	.	.	314
1946	106	.	.	.	.	108	44 ¹⁶
1947	96	.	.	100 ¹²	100 ¹²	100	74
1948	100	100	100	100	104	93	100
1949	91	90	99	93	97	86	96
1950	81	84	107	99	101	94	104
1951	91	89	113	103	102	90	141
1952	94	95	113	103	102	90	141
1952: June	92	95	114	102	114	90	135
July	90	96	115	106	118	91	143
Aug.	89	97	116	104	117	90	152
Sep.	91	98	117	103	118	91	150
Oct.	92	97	116	104	121	89	153
Nov.	92	98	118	105	124	90	154
Dec.	92	98	117	106	112	90	155
1953: Jan.	92	99	118	107	102	89	160
Feb.	91	98	118	110	102	83	168
Mar.	90	101	120	116	103	81	161
Apr.	88	100	120	116	101	81	167
May	87	100	121	111	106	80	...
June	85	...	...	107	108	79	...
July	...	...	...	...	...	81	...

¹ Index of free-market retail prices of 19 foodstuffs. ² July 1939. ³ Aug. 1939. ⁴ Jan.-Aug. ⁵ New series (Sep. 1951=100) based on family budget inquiries conducted in Aug. 1950 and Mar. 1951. ⁶ New series linked to former series. ⁷ Index for salaried employees. ⁸ June-Aug. 1939. ⁹ Index for Chinese labourers. ¹⁰ Index for Malay labourers. ¹¹ Rice and rice equivalents. ¹² Apr. 1948-Mar. 1949. ¹³ Index for clerical workers and civil servants. ¹⁴ 1939. ¹⁵ Mar.-Dec. ¹⁶ New series replacing former series.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)
(b) Food group (cont.)

Country	EUROPE					
	Austria	Belgium	Denmark	Finland	France	Germany (Federal Republic)
Town or no. of localities	Vienna	62	200	33 ³	Paris	7
1937	221	26	58	11	5	67 ⁸
1946	.	.	94	52	40	80 ⁷
1947	.	79	98	76	65	85 ⁷
1948	74 ²	100	100	100	100	100 ²
1949	100	95	101	103	100 ⁶	116 ⁷
1950	108	92	118	118	111	109 ⁷
1951	132	99	131	126	128	118 ⁷
1952	154	102	138	136 ⁴	141	124 ⁷
1952: June	155	102	.	136	137	122 ⁷
July	155	101	140	135	136	122 ⁷
Aug.	156	102	.	135	140	123 ⁷
Sep.	156	102	.	136	142	124 ⁷
Oct.	157	103	140	138	141	124 ⁷
Nov.	157	103	.	138	140	124 ⁷
Dec.	156	103	.	135	141	125 ⁷
1953: Jan.	155	103	139	135	141	124 ⁷
Feb.	155	102	.	138	142	122 ⁷
Mar.	153	102	.	138	140	123 ⁷
Apr.	150	102	137	138	140	122
May	147	100	.	138	141	122
June	149	102	.	136	141	122
July	148	102	139	138	...	123

Country	EUROPE (cont.)					
	Greece	Iceland	Ireland	Italy	Luxembourg	Netherlands
Town or no. of localities	Athens	Reykjavik	120	621 ²	9	211 ⁸
1937	0.3	29 ⁹	53	2 ⁸	35	43
1946	54	100	90	59	88	85 ¹⁴
1947	66	104	97 ¹¹	96	94	93
1948	100	100	100	100	100 ⁴	100
1949	116	101	100	100	111	109
1950	122	152 ¹⁰	100	97	119	111 ¹⁵
1951	130	193	107	103	123	121
1952	136	215	119	108	127	123
1952: June	137	211	.	108	126	124
July	136	208	.	108	128	123
Aug.	133	208	124	108	129	120
Sep.	134	219	.	109	129	123
Oct.	133	225	.	110	129	123
Nov.	134	225	126	110	128	122
Dec.	132	227	.	109	128	122
1953: Jan.	134	212	.	109	128	123
Feb.	133	212	124	109	128	124
Mar.	135	212	.	109	127	123
Apr.	135	212	.	110	126	124
May	140	212	130	111	126	125
June	150	212	.	112	127	127
July	...	212	.	...	129	127

¹ Mar. 1938. ² July-Dec. ³ Prior to 1950: 32 towns. ⁴ New series linked to former series. ⁵ 1937-48: index of retail food prices. ⁶ New index of consumer prices. ⁷ Consumers group with monthly consumption expenditures in 1950 of approx. 300 DM. ⁸ 1938. ⁹ 1939. ¹⁰ Mar.-Dec.; new series linked to former series. ¹¹ From Aug. 1947, interim index, linked to former series. ¹² Towns of over 50,000 inhabitants. ¹³ Prior to 1952: 9 towns; prior to 1949: 6 towns. ¹⁴ Average of Mar.-Sep. and Dec. ¹⁵ New series, base 1949=100, replacing former series.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (concl.)
(b) Food group (concl.)

Country	EUROPE (concl.)						
	Norway	Portugal	Saar	Spain	Sweden		Switzerland
Town or no. of localities	53 ¹	Lisbon	Saarbrücken	50	60	35-60	34
1937	63	47 ³	.	30 ⁴	60	60	57
1946	104	103	.	82	88	90	91 ²
1947	103	104	.	97	93	93	97
1948	100	100 ³	100	100	100	100	100
1949	99	104	102	104	101	101	99
1950	108 ²	104	105	116	103	103	100
1951	127	101	123	127	120	121	103
1952	144	100 ⁷	143	122	135	136	105
1952: June	142	96	137	120	138	134	105
July	148	98	139	120	.	139	106
Aug.	148	101	145	120	.	140	106
Sep.	150	103	146	121	140	140	106
Oct.	150	104	147	121	.	139	106
Nov.	149	105	144	121	.	139	107
Dec.	146	104	145	121	139	138	106
1953: Jan.	144	105	148	122	.	138	105
Feb.	144	105	148	122	.	138	105
Mar.	145	105	145	123	139	138	104
Apr.	144	105	143	123	.	139	105
May	145	99	143	123	138	138	105
June	146	103	147	...	.	137	105
July	146	101	140	...	.	.	...

Country	EUROPE (concl.)			OCEANIA			
	Turkey	United Kingdom	Yugoslavia	Australia	Fiji ¹⁰	Hawaii	New Zealand
Town or no. of localities	Istanbul	200 ⁷	51	30	Suva	Honolulu	211 ¹²
1937	24 ⁸	82	.	68	50 ¹¹	.	69
1946	99	100	.	83	78	78	83
1947	97	93 ⁸	.	88	92	93	89
1948	100	100	.	100	100	100	100
1949	112	105	.	111	104	96	103 ³
1950	106	113	.	125	107	91	113
1951	102	126	100	162	114	99	130
1952	110	100 ⁹	63	201	134	103	143
1952: June	109	103	70	.	.	101	144
July	109	103	68	.	135	104	145
Aug.	109	101	60	206	.	104	143
Sep.	111	101	58	.	136	103	147
Oct.	112	103	61	202	.	103	151
Nov.	111	102	62	.	.	103	144
Dec.	112	104	64	.	.	104	146
1953: Jan.	112	104	67	205	139	103	146
Feb.	111	104	68	.	.	101	147
Mar.	111	105	71	.	135	100	145
Apr.	...	107	77	207	.	100	147
May	...	107	91	.	.	101	150
June	...	108	88	.	135	102	150
July	...	108	69	.	.	.	149

¹ Prior to 1950: 31 towns. ² New series linked to former series. ³ 1938. ⁴ July-Dec. 1939. ⁵ Weights based mainly on family budget inquiries. ⁶ Weights based on estimated national consumption. ⁷ Since Aug. 1947: food prices collected in 200 areas. ⁸ July-Dec.; interim index replacing former series. ⁹ New series based on 1950 consumption data, replacing former interim index. ¹⁰ Index for Indian workers. ¹¹ Aug. 1939. ¹² Prior to 1949: 25 towns.

General Level of Wages

Rates or earnings per hour, day, week or month

Date	AFRICA		AMERICA							
	Egypt		Canada		Argentina	Bolivia (La Paz)			Brazil (Federal District)	Colombia ¹ (Bogotá)
	Mi., man., constr., trp., serv.	Mi., man., constr., trp., serv.	Mi., man., constr., trp., serv.	Mi., man., constr., trp., serv.	Mi., man., serv.	Man., constr., com., transp., serv.			Mi., man., constr., serv.	Mi., man., transp., serv.
	Week	Hour	Week	Month	Month	Day			Month	Day
	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.	M.	W.	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.
	Earnings ²	Rates ³	Earnings ⁴	Earnings ⁵	Earnings ⁶	Earnings ⁷			Earnings ⁸	Earnings ⁹
	Piastres	Index	\$	Pesos	Boliv.	Boliv.	Boliv.	Cruzeiros	Pesos	
1937	.	49	.	111.2	.	.	.	.	2.50	.
1946	124.0	79	32.48	186.8	.	.	.	800.80	2.50	.
1947	133.0	89	36.19	264.2	.	.	.	873.75	3.03	.
1948	146.5	100	40.06	360.5	60.16	49.47	58.36	949.85	3.35	.
1949	145.0	104	42.96	490.5	70.70	50.12	66.74	1 085.40	4.09	.
1950	160.0	110	44.84	594.3	71.07	55.46	67.94	1 176.65	5.50	.
1951	183.5	124	49.61	752.6	122.20	75.44	112.54	1 257.15	5.38	.
1952	...	134	54.13	925.0	145.80	90.29	136.12	1 451.00*	...	.
1951: Dec.	199.0	.	50.42	1373.9	122.20	75.44	112.54	1 293.90	6.32	.
1952: Mar.	.	.	54.32	743.0*	119.47	77.02	111.83	1 441.00*	...	.
June	...	.	53.96	854.0*	.	.	.	1 449.00*	...	.
Sep.	...	.	55.12	916.0*	172.13	103.56	160.41	1 457.00*	...	.
Dec.	...	.	53.81	1747.0	.	.	.	1 457.00*	...	.
1953: Mar.	.	.	57.31	...	...	...	...	...	...	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	129 (1951)	.	2 407 (1952)	945 (1951)	9.8	2.6	12.4	.	.	.

(Oct.-Dec. 1951)

Date	AMERICA (concl.)				ASIA			
	Dominican Republic (Ciudad Trujillo)			Jamaica (Kingston) ¹	Peru	Japan	Philippines (Manila)	
	Man., transp., serv.			Man., com., transp., serv.	Agr., mi., man., constr., transp., com., serv.	Mi., man., com., transp.	Man., constr., transp.	
	Day			Hour	Day	Month	Day	
	M.	W.	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.	
	Earnings ⁷			Rates	Earnings	Earnings ⁸	Rates ⁹	
	Pesos	Pesos	Pesos	Index	Soles	Yen	Pesos	Pesos
1937	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
1946	.	.	.	.	5.01	.	6.73	4.53
1947	1.95	1.12	1.79	.	6.12	1 740	7.54	4.66
1948	2.16	1.18	1.96	100	8.62	4 770	7.47	4.69
1949	2.13	1.23	1.95	110	11.89	8 019	7.61	4.90
1950	2.19	1.38	2.03	117	14.02	9 687	7.59	4.29
1951	2.36	1.40	2.16	133	...	12 200	7.43	4.56
1952	...	...	...	...	...	14 434	7.46	4.64
1951: Dec.	2.39	1.45	2.19	.	.	19 658	7.45	4.64
1952: Mar.	.	.	.	.	.	12 883	7.49	4.60
June	...	...	...	.	.	15 331	7.49	4.61
Sep.	...	...	...	.	.	13 638	7.43	4.63
Dec.	...	...	...	.	.	23 084	7.50	4.71
1953: Mar.	.	.	.	.	.	14 805	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	3.4	0.9	4.3	.	111 (1950)	4 872 (1952)	.	.
	(Nov. 1951)			.			.	.

¹ New series; see introductory note, p. 37. ² Annual figures: averages of Jan. and July. ³ Incl. logging. Oct. of each year. ⁴ Incl. forestry. Incl. salaried employees. ⁵ Annual figures: averages for selected periods: 1948, 1949, 1951: 4th quarter; 1950: Mar.; 1952: 1st and 3rd quarters. Monthly figures: averages for quarter ending in month indicated. ⁶ Annual figures: 1946-1951: averages June and Dec. 1952: average of Mar., June, Sep. and Dec. ⁷ Annual figures: averages May and Nov. ⁸ Incl. salaried employees and family allowances. ⁹ Incl. salaried employees.

GENERAL LEVEL OF WAGES (cont.)

Rates or earnings per hour, day, week or month (cont.)

Date	ASIA (concl.)		EUROPE					
	Viet-Nam (Saigon-Cholon)		Belgium		Denmark			
	Man., constr., com., transp., serv.		Mi., man., constr., transp.		Man., constr., com., transp., serv.			
	Day		Day		Hour			
	Labourers (M.)	Labourers (W.)	M.	W.	M. sk.	M. unsk.	W.	M. W.
	Earnings ¹		Earnings		Rates ²			
	Piastres	Piastres	Fr.	Fr.	Øre	Øre	Øre	Øre
1937	.	.	.	.	158	133	88	135
1946	.	.	.	.	286	247	174	249
1947	9.43	6.13	149.2	87.7	304	259	186	263
1948	11.27	7.31	165.8	96.5	330	278	202	284
1949	15.40	11.30	172.8	99.4	345	290	212	297
1950	16.40	12.00	175.5	100.9	361	304	224	312
1951	20.50	17.60	194.2	111.0	396	336	245	343
1952	22.80	18.70	...	...	425	364	263	370
1951: Dec.	20.50	17.60	200.8	113.3	415	354	254	360
1952: Mar.	.	.	201.4	113.0	412	351	255	357
June	.	.	207.2	116.4	424	364	263	369
Sep.	.	.	...	...	428	367	265	373
Dec.	22.80	18.70	...	...	437	374	269	380
Persons cov. (thousands)	3.6	1.6	695	162	77	109	53	239

(Dec. 1952)

(31 Mar. 1952)

(Dec. 1951)

Date	EUROPE (cont.)								
	France			Ireland					
	Man., constr., com., transp., serv.			Mi., man., constr., transp., serv.					
	Hour			Hour			Week		
	M.	W.	M. W.	M.	W.	M. W. ³	M.	W.	M. W. ³
	Rates			Earnings ⁴					
	Fr.	Fr.	Fr.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1937	32.5	25.9	30.6	1 2.0	0 7.9	0 11.9	51 9	28 11	43 7
1946	45.1	38.3	43.2	1 8.2	1 0.2	1 5.3	76 6	44 3	64 5
1947	48.2	39.1	43.5	2 0.1	1 2.2	1 8.6	91 1	51 5	76 5
1948	68.2	59.1	65.5	2 2.6	1 3.4	1 10.7	100 4	55 11	84 5
1949	76.2	66.3	73.5	2 3.7	1 4.2	1 11.6	105 5	59 0	88 4
1950	84.1	73.1	81.1	2 4.4	1 4.8	2 0.2	108 1	61 6	90 7
1951	107.4	94.2	103.7	...	...	...	...	...	...
1952	125.4	108.1	120.6	...	...	...	...	...	...
1951: Dec.	123.0	106.7	118.4	.	.	.	.	.	.
1952: Mar.	124.6	107.7	119.9	.	.	.	.	.	.
June	125.7	108.2	120.8	.	.	.	.	.	.
Sep.	126.5	108.7	121.5	.	.	.	.	.	.
Dec.	126.7	108.6	121.7	.	.	.	.	.	.
1953: Mar.	128.4	109.5	123.1	.	.	.	.	.	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	3 320	1 260	4 580	.	.	186 (1949)	.	.	186 (1949)

(1 Jan. 1951)

¹ Annual figures: 1947, 1949, 1951: Dec.; 1948 and 1950: June. ² Incl. cost-of-living allowance. ³ Incl. juveniles. ⁴ One week in Oct. of each year. ⁵ Monthly figures: averages for quarter ending in month indicated.

GENERAL LEVEL OF WAGES (cont.)

Rates or earnings per hour, day, week or month (cont.)

Date	EUROPE (cont.)						
	Luxem- bourg	Nether- lands ¹	Saar		Sweden		
	Mi., man., constr., etc.	Mi., man., constr., trp., serv.	Man., constr., serv.		Mi., man., constr., com., transp.		
	Hour	Day	Hour	Week	Hour		
	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.		M.	W.	M. W. ²
	Earnings	Earnings	Earnings		Earnings		
	Fr.	Fl.	Fr.	Fr.	Kr.	Kr.	Kr.
1937	.	3.52	.	.	1.29	0.77	1.15
1946	21.03	5.81	.	.	2.15	1.38	1.98
1947	22.78	6.52	.	.	2.45	1.62	2.27
1948	25.40	6.78	.	.	2.67	1.80	2.48
1949	26.74	6.93	83.71	3 904	2.75	1.87	2.56
1950	...	7.44	90.79	4 276	2.85	1.93	2.65
1951	...	8.26*	120.34	5 755	3.44	2.32	3.28
1952	...	...	145.86	7 236 ³	...	...	...
1951: Dec.	.	.	140.65	6 615	.	.	.
1952: Mar.	.	.	144.42	.	.	.	.
June	.	.	148.06	.	.	.	.
Sep.	.	.	147.90	7 305	.	.	.
Dec.	.	.	145.83	6 855	.	.	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	2 098 (1951)	134 (1952)		490	84 (1949)	607

Date	EUROPE (cont.)								Turkey ⁵
	Switzerland ⁴								Mi., man, constr., serv.
	Mi., man., constr., com., transp.								Hour
	Hour				Week				M. W.
	M. skill., semi-skill.	M. unskill.	W.	M. W.	M. skill., semi-skill.	M. unskill.	W.	M. W.	Earnings ⁶
	Fr.	Fr.	Fr.	Index	Fr.	Fr.	Fr.	Index	Piastres
1937	1.36	1.07	0.70	50	67.05	53.60	33.75	50	.
1946	2.23	1.88	1.34	87	110.75	95.20	64.10	87	.
1947	2.42	2.04	1.49	94	119.80	103.00	70.80	95	.
1948	2.56	2.15	1.58	100	126.55	108.25	75.00	100	.
1949	2.60	2.19	1.62	102	127.65	109.45	76.95	101	.
1950	2.62	2.20	1.63	102	128.60	109.75	77.20	102	50.8
1951	2.67	2.25	1.66	104	131.60	112.70	78.80	104	52.0
1952	2.76	2.34	1.74	109	135.85	117.55	82.50	109	55.0
1951: Dec.	2.69	2.29	1.69	106	133.20	115.25	80.15	106	.
1952: Mar.									.
June	2.75	2.33	1.74	108	135.15	116.35	82.20	108	.
Sep.									.
Dec.	2.77	2.36	1.75	...	136.75	119.20	82.95	...	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	49	40	14	103	49	40	14	103	248 (1952)
	(1952)				(1952)				

¹ Accident insurance statistics; incl. salaried employees. ² Incl. foremen and juveniles. ³ Second half-year. ⁴ Average earnings of wage earners involved in industrial accidents; adults; incl. forestry. ⁵ New series; see introductory note, p. 37. ⁶ Monthly figures: averages for half-year ending in month indicated.

GENERAL LEVEL OF WAGES (cont.)

Rates or earnings per hour, day, week or month (cont.)

Date	EUROPE (concl.)						
	United Kingdom ¹						
	Mi.2, man., constr., transp. ³ , serv.						
	Hour			Week			
	M. W.	M.	W.	M. W. ⁴	M.	W.	M. W. ⁴
	Rates ⁵	Earnings ⁶					
	Index	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1937	58	.	.	.	.	.	.
1946	100	2 6.4	1 6.4	2 2.2	120 9	65 3	101 0
1947	96 ⁷	2 9.0	1 8.1	2 4.7	128 1	69 7	108 2
1948	100	2 11.4	1 9.5	2 7.1	137 11	74 6	117 4
1949	102	3 0.6	1 10.7	2 8.2	142 8	78 9	121 9
1950	106	3 1.9	1 11.6	2 9.3	150 5	82 7	128 0
1951	118	3 5.7	2 2.0	3 0.7	166 0	90 1	141 1
1952	125	3 8.9	2 3.7	3 3.5	178 6	96 4	151 11
1951: Dec.	118	.	.	.	.	.	.
1952: Mar.	119	3 8.0	2 3.0	3 2.8	173 7	92 2	147 3
June	121	.	.	.	.	.	.
Sep.	122	3 8.9	2 3.7	3 3.5	178 6	96 4	151 11
Dec.	125	.	.	.	.	.	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	.	.	6 500 (Oct. 1952)	.	.	6 500 (Oct. 1952)

Date	OCEANIA					
	Australia				Hawaii	
	Mi., man., constr. com., transp., serv.				Mi., man., constr., com., transp., serv.	
	Hour		Week		Week	
	M.	W.	M.	W.	M. ⁸	M. W.
	Rates ⁹				Earnings ¹⁰	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	£A.	\$
1937	2 0	1 1	89 10	47 10	6.40	45.20
1946	2 9½	1 8½	122 8	76 5	6.99	50.66
1947	3 1	1 11	133 2	83 5	7.99	51.46
1948	3 8½	2 4½	149 0	94 9	8.77	49.68
1949	4 0½	2 7½	162 6	105 5	9.93	51.63
1950	4 6½	3 0½	180 7	121 4	12.55	54.37
1951	5 6½	3 10½*	222 3	155 8*	14.52	...
1952	6 6½	4 8	261 1	186 1	14.04	58.60
1951: Dec.	6 0	4 3	239 6	170 4	13.34	54.21
1952: Mar.	6 3	4 5½	249 8	177 11*	14.46	54.94
June	6 5	4 6½	256 1	182 4	14.62	55.68
Sep.	6 8½	4 9½	267 5	190 9	15.66	...
Dec.	6 9½	4 10	271 1	193 5	14.22	...
1953: Mar.	6 9½	4 10	...	...	.	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	.	.	.	.	96 (1951)

¹ Manual workers. ² Excl. coal mines. ³ Excl. railways. ⁴ Incl. juveniles. ⁵ Annual figures: index of wage rates in force at 31 Dec. of each year. ⁶ Annual figures: Oct. of each year. Monthly figures: Apr. and Oct. of each year. ⁷ Beginning 1947: scope of series enlarged. ⁸ Incl. salaried employees. ⁹ Minimum rates. Adults. ¹⁰ Monthly figures: averages for quarter ending in month indicated.

GENERAL LEVEL OF WAGES (concl.)
Rates or earnings per hour, day, week or month (concl.)

Date	OCEANIA (concl.)						
	New Zealand						
	Mi., man., constr., com., transp., serv.			Mi., man., constr., transp., serv.			
	Hour			Week			
	M. W.			M. W.			
	M.	W.	M. W.	M.	W.	M. W.	
	Rates ¹						
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	
1937	2 4.37	1 3.17	2 1.66			88 0 1/4	
1946	3 2.99	1 11.66	2 11.84	131 7	79 1	120 8 1/2	
1947	3 4.79	2 0.98	3 1.53	136 2	83 3	125 3	
1948	3 7.07	2 3.30	3 3.83	143 6	91 0	132 8 1/4	
1949	3 9.66	2 5.50	3 6.33	151 10	98 4	140 9 1/4	
1950	4 0.57	2 7.80	3 9.09	161 6	106 0	150 0 1/4	
1951	4 7.19	2 11.73	4 3.16	183 6	119 1	170 2 1/4	
1952	4 9.42	3 1.26	4 5.25	190 11	124 3	...	
1951 : Dec.	4 7.91	.	.	185 11	.	.	
1952 : Mar.	4 8.29	.	.	187 2	.	.	
June	4 8.34	.	.	187 4	.	.	
Sep.	4 11.55	.	.	198 0	.	.	
Dec.	4 11.55	.	.	198 1	.	.	
1953 : Mar.	...	.	.	198 5	.	.	
Persons cov. (thousands)	196	64	260				
	(1945)						

¹ Minimum rates. Adults.

Wages in Manufacturing

Earnings per hour, day, week or month

Date	AMERICA									
	Canada		United States ¹		Argentina	Chile	Dominican Republic (Ciudad Trujillo)			Jamaica ² (Kingston)
	Hour	Week	Hour	Week	Month	Day	Day ³			Day
	M. W.		M. W.		M. W.	M. W.	M.	W.	M. W.	M. W.
	Cents	\$	\$	\$	Pesos	Pesos	Pesos	Pesos	Pesos	Index
1937			0.62	24.05	109.9	12.60	.	.	.	.
1946	70.0	29.87	1.09	43.82	185.1	56.51	1.92	1.01	1.74	.
1947	80.3	34.13	1.24	49.97	.	76.45	2.12	1.08	1.91	100
1948	91.3	38.53	1.35	54.14	356.5	94.14	2.12	1.08	1.91	112
1949	98.6	41.71	1.40	54.92	483.2	111.52	2.08	1.13	1.90	116
1950	103.6	43.82	1.47	59.33	587.7	129.73	2.13	1.29	1.97	129
1951	116.8	48.82	1.59	64.71	744.0	143.45	2.29	1.34	2.09	...
1952	129.2	53.62	1.67	67.97	915.0	...	...	...	...	...
1951 : Dec.	127.1	48.43	1.63	67.16	1 366.2	165.90	2.30	1.39	2.10	.
1952 : Mar.	129.0	54.31	1.65	66.99	735.0	171.31	.	.	.	.
June	128.6	53.11	1.65	66.83	836.0	175.84	...	...	...	.
Sep.	129.9	54.69	1.69	69.63	905.0	190.32	...	...	...	.
Dec.	134.0	51.32	1.73	72.14	1 751.0	200.01	...	...	...	.
1953 : Mar.	134.9	56.79	1.75	71.93	...	...	.	.	.	.
Pers. cov. (thousands)	823 (1952)		11 207 (1952)		905 (1951)	28 (1952)	2.8	0.8	3.6	.
							(Nov. 1951)			

Date	AMERICA (concl.)				ASIA					
	Mexico ⁶	Peru	Puerto Rico ⁷		China (Taiwan) ²	India ²	Israel ⁷			
	Month	Day	Hour	Week	Day	Month ⁸	Hour		Week	
	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.		M. W.	M. W.	M.	W.	M.	W.
	Pesos	Soles	Cents	\$	\$	Rs.	Prutoth	Prutoth	£l.	£l.
1937			35.6	12.57	0.81	61.34	.	.	.	.
1946	255	6.34	41.3	14.30	195.73	61.4	190	129	9.3	5.5
1947	276	9.74	42.9	15.21	1 656.83	73.6	.	.	.	.
1948	304	12.50					309	210	13.7	8.8
1949	330	16.14	42.8	14.72	1.64	82.2	.	.	.	.
1950	359	19.97	42.5	14.79	5.09	80.4	.	.	.	.
1951	399	...	45.3	15.76	8.62	...	...	...	...	...
1952	...	...	...	...	12.27	...	.	.	.	.
1951 : Dec.	433	.	45.3	16.08	10.33	.	.	.	.	.
1952 : Mar.	420	.	50.8	19.10	12.17	.	.	.	.	.
June	412	.	48.6	17.79	12.05	.	.	.	.	.
Sep.	...	.	44.4	16.12	13.27	.	.	.	.	.
Dec.	...	.	...	...	...	.	.	.	.	.
Pers. cov. (thousands)	110 (1951)	29 (1950)	57 (1952)		35 (1952)	.	11	5	11	5
							(Mar. 1949)			

¹ Production workers only. ² New series; see introductory note, p. 37. ³ Annual figures: averages of May and Nov. ⁴ Average of Jan.-Sep. and Dec. ⁵ Average of Mar., June, Sep. and Dec. ⁶ Series calculated by I.L.O. Total wages paid to wage earners per month divided by the number of wage earners employed on the last working day of the month. ⁷ Jewish workers; adults. 1947: Feb.; 1949: Mar. ⁸ Yearly earnings divided by 12. ⁹ Average of Apr.-Dec. ¹⁰ Former British India, excl. Punjab and North West Frontier Province. ¹¹ New currency introduced June 1949: 1 new \$ exchanged for 40,000 old \$. ¹² Average Jan.-Oct.

WAGES IN MANUFACTURING (cont.)
Earnings per hour, day, week or month (cont.)

Date	ASIA (concl.)			EUROPE					
	Israel (concl.)	Japan ¹	Republic of Korea (Pusan) ²	Austria ³ (Vienna)	Belgium		Finland ⁴		France ⁵
	Day ⁶ 7	Month	Day	Hour	Day ⁷		Hour ⁷		Hour
	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.	M.	W.	M.	W.	M. W.
	Index	Yen	Index	Index	Fr.	Fr.	Mk.	Mk.	Fr.
1937	77	.	1	.	.	.	46.21	31.14	30.3
1946	85	1 580	73	.	144.2	88.0	63.07	41.19	43.2
1947	100	4 379	100	100	158.8	96.3	92.04	60.86	66.1
1948	117	7 516	195	122	165.2	99.2	97.19	64.70	73.9
1949	126	9 133	489	138	168.4	100.8	117.24	76.29	81.4
1950	150	11 708	2 691	180	188.7	110.9	156.21	105.26	104.3
1951	24.37 ⁸	13 516	7 157	207	...	...	163.53	108.46	120.8
1952	164	17 967	4 414	208	195.4	113.2	162.06	107.02	117.9
1951: Dec.	164	17 967	4 414	208	195.4	113.2	162.06	107.02	117.9
1952: Mar.	164	17 967	4 414	208	195.4	113.2	162.06	107.02	117.9
1952: June	164	17 967	4 414	208	195.4	113.2	162.06	107.02	117.9
1952: Sep.	164	17 967	4 414	208	195.4	113.2	162.06	107.02	117.9
1952: Dec.	164	17 967	4 414	208	195.4	113.2	162.06	107.02	117.9
1953: Mar.	164	17 967	4 414	208	195.4	113.2	162.06	107.02	117.9
Persons cov. (thousands)	34 (1952)	2 622 (1952)	.	.	429	158	70	42	3 180 (1952)

Date	EUROPE (cont.)								
	Germany								
	Federal Republic ⁹						Western Berlin ¹⁰		
	Hour			Week			Hour		
	M.	W.	M. W.	M.	W.	M. W.	M.	W.	M. W.
1937	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.
1946	0.96 ¹¹	0.58 ¹¹	0.90 ¹¹	38.74 ¹¹	20.75 ¹¹	35.71 ¹¹	.	.	.
1947	1.01	0.61	0.94	40.10	21.89	36.78	.	.	.
1948	1.12	0.69	1.05	48.25	27.60	44.30	.	.	.
1949	1.30	0.83	1.20	61.58	36.26	55.57	1.40 ¹¹	0.96 ¹¹	1.28 ¹¹
1950	1.39	0.89	1.27	68.40	40.59	61.45	1.39	0.94	1.27
1951	1.59	1.02	1.45	76.96	44.85	68.52	1.48 ¹²	1.00 ¹²	1.36 ¹²
1952	1.71	1.07	1.56	82.99	48.02	74.00	1.64	1.08	1.50
1951: Dec.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
1952: Mar.	1.68	1.06	1.53	79.86	46.02	70.82	1.58	1.07	1.45
1952: June	1.70	1.07	1.56	82.23	47.00	73.41	1.63	1.08	1.50
1952: Sep.	1.72	1.07	1.57	84.01	47.98	75.02	1.67	1.07	1.52
1952: Dec.	1.74	1.09	1.58	85.53	50.84	76.38	1.69	1.11	1.54
1953: Mar.	1.77	1.10	1.60	82.46	48.66	73.36	1.67	1.09	1.52
Persons cov. (thousands)	3 241	1 161	4 402	3 241	1 161	4 402	63	23	87

¹ Incl. family allowances. Incl. salaried employees. ² Rates. Incl. building. 1937-1949: Seoul; from 1950: Pusan. ³ Series calculated by the Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung. ⁴ Incl. mining. ⁵ Rates. ⁶ Incl. salaried employees. ⁷ Monthly figures: averages for quarter ending in month indicated. ⁸ Starting Jan. 1952, revised series. Index 1952: 146 (base Dec. 1951=100). ⁹ Prior to 1951: Bizone area. Incl. building. 1952, monthly figures: Feb., May, Aug. and Nov. ¹⁰ Incl. building. Beginning June 1950 incl. relief programme workers: earnings 1.10 marks per hour; from Aug. 1952, 1.42 marks per hour. Monthly figures: Feb., May, Aug. and Nov. ¹¹ Average June, Sep. and Dec. ¹² Average Mar., June and Sep.

WAGES IN MANUFACTURING (cont.)
Earnings per hour, day, week or month (cont.)

Date	EUROPE (cont.)						
	Ireland ¹						Italy
	Hour ²			Week ²			Hour
	M.	W.	M. W. ³	M.	W.	M. W. ³	M. W.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	Lire
1937	1 2.9	0 7.9	0 11.4	56 3	28 10	41 11	.
1946	1 9.2	1 0.4	1 4.8	81 7	44 10	62 7	101.97
1947	2 1.5	1 2.3	1 7.8	97 9	52 0	73 6	134.21
1948	2 4.1	1 3.5	1 9.7	107 9	56 4	80 9	140.92
1949	2 5.0	1 4.2	1 10.4	111 9	59 4	83 9	143.45
1950	2 6.0	1 4.9	1 11.0	115 7	61 9	86 3	157.48 ⁴
1951	...	...	2 1.9	...	...	95 9 ⁴	164.99
1952	...	...	2 3.9 ⁴	...	...	103 4 ⁴	164.99
1951: Dec.	.	.	2 3.3	.	.	100 5	163.80
1952: Mar.	.	.	2 2.9	.	.	97 5	163.76
1952: June	.	.	2 3.5	.	.	99 6	165.94
1952: Sep.	.	.	2 3.9	.	.	103 4	164.13
1952: Dec.	.	.	2 5.2	.	.	110 2	167.96
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	.	129 ⁵ (Dec. 1952)	.	.	129 ⁵ (Dec. 1952)	1 619 (Dec. 1952)

Date	EUROPE (cont.)							Norway ¹	
	Netherlands						Day ⁷	Hour ⁸	
	Hour ⁶			Week ⁶				M. W.	M.
	M.	W.	M. W. ³	M.	W.	M. W. ³			
	Cents	Cents	Cents	Fl.	Fl.	Fl.	Fl.	Kr.	Kr.
1937	.	.	74	43.29	25.03	35.97	3.21	2.54	1.52
1946	89	55	79	45.95	26.88	38.37	5.68	2.80	1.75
1947	94	59	79	48.82	28.61	40.71	6.38	2.96	1.88
1948	100	62	84	49.53	29.11	40.92	6.64	3.10	1.98
1949	101	63	84	54.38	31.48	44.42	6.78	3.28	2.12
1950	111	68	91	58.01	33.07	47.14	7.27	3.67 ⁹	2.49 ⁹
1951	119	70	98	...	...	...	8.05 [*]	4.09 ⁹	2.82 ⁹
1952	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.89 ⁹	2.67 ⁹
1951 : Dec.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3.90 ⁹	2.69 ⁹
1952 : Mar.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4.12 ⁹	2.83 ⁹
June	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4.13 ⁹	2.85 ⁹
Sep.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4.22 ⁹	2.89 ⁹
Dec.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4.18 ⁹	...
1953 : Mar.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	323	32	446	323	32	446	1 060 (1951)	.	.
(1951)									

¹ Incl. mining. ² Annual figures: one week in Oct. of each year. ³ Incl. juveniles. ⁴ Sep. ⁵ Incl. working proprietors and salaried employees. ⁶ Production and related workers. One week in Sep. or Oct. of each year. ⁷ Accident insurance statistics. Incl. salaried employees; incl. electricity, gas and water supply. ⁸ Monthly figures: averages for quarter ending in month indicated; adults. ⁹ From 1951, expanded sample.

WAGES IN MANUFACTURING (cont.)
Earnings per hour, day, week or month (cont.)

Date	EUROPE (cont.)									
	Saar		Sweden ¹			Hour ²	Switzerland			
	Hour	Week	Hour				Hour ³			
	M. W.		M.	W.	M. W. ⁴		M. W.	M. skil., semi-skil.	M. unskil.	W.
	Fr.	Fr.	Kr.	Kr.	Kr.	Index	Fr.	Fr.	Fr.	Index
1937	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.32	1.07	0.70	50
1946	.	.	2.04	1.37	1.87	89	2.21	1.87	1.34	86
1947	.	.	2.33	1.61	2.15	96	2.40	2.04	1.49	94
1948	.	.	2.53	1.79	2.34	100	2.55	2.16	1.58	100
1949	84.53	4 025	2.61	1.86	2.43	101	2.60	2.21	1.63	102
1950	91.47	4 442	2.72	1.92	2.53	101	2.61	2.21	1.63	103
1951	121.72	5 969	3.29	2.31	3.11	103	2.66	2.26	1.66	104
1952	147.71	7 334 ⁵	3.92	2.73	3.72	107	2.75	2.36	1.74	109
1951 : Dec.	141.61	6 902	3.31	2.28	3.05	105	2.68	2.30	1.69	106
1952 : Mar.	146.31	.	3.69	2.58	3.42	106	.	.	.	.
June	149.16	.	3.75	2.59	3.48	106	.	.	.	108
Sep.	148.76	7 327	3.76	2.61	3.48	107	2.74	2.35	1.74	.
Dec.	149.81	7 088	3.80	2.62	3.51	107	2.76	2.38	1.75	109
1953 : Mar.	...	...	3.82	2.63	3.53	107	.	.	.	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	102 (1952)		399 (1952)	88 (1952)	494 (1950)	245 (Dec. 1952)	30	17	14	61 (1952)

Date	EUROPE (concl.)							Yugoslavia ⁷
	United Kingdom ⁶							
	Hour ⁸			Week ⁸			Month	
	M.	W.	M. W. 4	M.	W.	M. W. 4	M. W.	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	Index	
1937							.	
1946	2 7.8	1 6.5	2 2.3	126 7	65 10	100 10	.	
1947	2 10.9	1 8.2	2 5.1	134 5	70 2	108 4	.	
1948	3 1.0	1 9.6	2 7.2	143 4	74 11	116 10	.	
1949	3 2.1	1 10.8	2 8.2	148 1	79 3	120 10	.	
1950	3 3.6	1 11.7	2 9.5	156 8	83 2	127 5	.	
1951	3 7.4	2 2.2	3 0.8	172 1	90 7	139 10	100	
1952	3 10.6	2 3.7	3 3.6	184 9	96 10	150 10	88	
1951 : Dec.	.	.	.	.	.	.	85	
1952 : Mar.	.	.	.	.	.	.	85	
June	3 9.7	2 3.2	3 2.9	179 4	92 6	145 11	85	
Sep.	3 10.6	2 3.7	3 3.6	184 9	96 10	150 10	88	
Dec.	.	.	.	.	.	.	89	
1953 : Mar.	...	...	...	...	...	...	89	
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	.	4 800 (Oct. 1952)	.	.	4 800 (Oct. 1952)	.	

¹ Incl. mining. ² Rates (incl. cost-of-living allowance). Incl. building. ³ Average earnings of wage earners involved in industrial accidents. Monthly figures: averages for half-year ending in month indicated; adults. ⁴ Incl. juveniles. ⁵ Second half-year. ⁶ Manual workers. ⁷ New series; see introductory note, p. 37. Incl. family allowances. ⁸ Annual figures: Oct. of each year. Monthly figures: Apr. and Oct. of each year.

WAGES IN MANUFACTURING (concl.)
Earnings per hour, day, week or month (concl.)

Date	OCEANIA					
	Australia ¹	Hawaii	New Zealand			
	Week ²	Week ²	Week ³	Week ⁴		
	M.	M. W.	M.	M.	W.	M. W.
	Index	\$	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1937	.	.	.	.	.	.
1946	79	42.25	.	86 6	37 4	73 6
1947	87	49.51	.	140 5	72 8	123 10
1948	100	51.13	144 10	154 3	81 2	136 6
1949	110	49.56	153 9	176 2	89 7	155 0
1950	126	52.19	164 6	176 6	95 0	156 11
1951	158	54.37	186 6	197 7	107 11	175 2
1952	...	...	194 10	...	...	...
1951 : Dec.	169	60.63	188 11	.	.	.
1952 : Mar.	175	53.89	190 11	.	.	.
June	179	55.05	191 2	.	.	.
Sep.	184	56.60	202 2	.	.	.
Dec.	...	...	202 2	.	.	.
1953 : Mar.	...	...	202 9	.	.	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	26 (1951)	87 (1945)	.	.	128 (Mar. 1951)

¹ Incl. salaried employees. ² Monthly figures: averages for quarter ending in month indicated. ³ Minimum rates; adults. ⁴ Averages of 12 months beginning Apr. of year indicated.

General Level of Hours of Work

Hours of work per week

Date	AFRICA		AMERICA					ASIA	
	Egypt ¹	Mi., man., constr., transp., serv.	United States	Argentina	Bolivia (La Paz)	Jamaica ² (Kingston)	Man., com., transp., serv.	Japan	
								Mi., man., constr., com., transp., serv.	Mi., man., com., transp., etc.
1937				Index			Index	3	4
1946	51.0		43.0	103					
1947	51.5		42.3	102				50.6 ⁵	183.3
1948	51.5		41.6	100			100	50.4	182.5
1949	51.5		40.9	99	46.9 ⁶		96	49.0	181.0
1950	50.5		40.7	100	47.17		97	49.9	189.4 ⁸
1951	50.5		41.3	99	49.1 ⁶		99	50.4	192.2
1952	...		41.6	...	...		...	50.5	192.5
1951 : Sep. Dec.	51.0		38.1 41.5	102 96				49.0 50.8	194.0 198.6
1952 : Mar. June Sep. Dec.	...		41.1 41.7 42.0 41.9	102 97 105 ...				49.2 52.1 51.7 51.3	193.0 196.0 197.1 196.1
1953 : Mar.			41.1	...				...	190.8
Persons cov. (thousands)	129 (1951)		51 868 (1952)	945 (1951)	12.4 (Oct.-Dec. 1951)			20 640 (1952)	4 872 (1952)

Date	EUROPE				OCEANIA		
	France	Ireland ⁹	Malta ²	United Kingdom ¹⁰	Australia ¹¹		New Zealand ¹²
					Mi., man., constr., com., transp., serv.	Mi., man., constr., com., transp., etc.	
1937	40.7	43.9			45.08	44.59	41.16
1946	44.0	44.7		46.2	43.59	44.03	40.42
1947	45.0	44.6		45.2	43.57	44.03	40.05
1948	45.0	44.6		45.3	39.96	40.00	39.98
1949	44.5	44.9		45.4	39.96	40.00	39.92
1950	45.0	45.0	51.00	46.1	39.96	40.00	39.92
1951	45.2	...	50.75	46.1	39.96	40.00	39.92
1952	44.9	...	...	46.1	39.95	40.00	39.92
1951 : Sep. Dec.	45.3 45.1			46.1	39.95 39.95	40.00 40.00	
1952 : Mar. June Sep. Dec.	44.9 44.8 45.0 44.5			45.6 46.1	39.95 39.95 39.95 39.95	40.00 40.00 40.00 40.00	
1953 : Mar.	44.5			...	...	...	
Persons cov. (thousands)	7 600 (1951)	186 (1949)		6 500 (Oct. 1952)			508 (1945)

Hours of Work in Manufacturing

Hours of work per week

Date	AMERICA					ASIA			
	Canada	United States	Argen- tina	Jamaica ¹ (Kingston)	Puerto Rico	China (Taiwan) ^{1 2}		Israel ³	
						M.	W.	M.	W.
1937			Index	Index					
1946	42.7	38.6			35.3 ⁴				
1947	42.5	40.4			34.6			48.9 ⁵	42.5 ⁶
1948	42.2	40.1	100	100	35.5				
1949	42.3	39.2	99	96	34.4			44.4 ⁶	42.0 ⁶
1950	42.3 ⁷	40.5	100	95	34.8	267.1 ⁷	253.7 ⁷	...	...
1951	41.8	40.7	100	98	34.8	263.3	271.3	...	...
1952	41.5 ⁷	40.7	...	...	...	249.4 ⁸	258.4 ⁸	...	...
1951 : Sep. Dec.	41.9 38.1	40.6 41.2	103 97		35.3 35.5 ⁷	214.5 272.5	287.1 281.8		
1952 : Mar. June Sep. Dec.	42.1 41.3 42.1 38.3	40.6 ⁷ 40.5 41.2 ⁷ 41.7	103 97 105 ...		37.6 ⁷ 36.6 36.3 ...	263.2 248.4 246.2 ...	244.4 274.2 270.6 ...		
1953 : Mar.	42.1	41.1	...		...	...	...		
Pers. cov. (thousands)	823 (1952)	11 207 (1952)	905 (1951)			35 (1952)		11 (Mar. 1949)	5

Date	ASIA (concl.)		EUROPE					
	Japan		Austria ⁹ (per month)	Fin- land ¹⁰	France ¹¹	Germany ¹²		Ireland ^{9 13}
	Per day	Per month				Fed. Rep. ¹⁴	West Berlin	
1937	9.91			45.0	40.4			
1946				44.3	43.3	39.7 ¹⁵		44.7
1947	8.0	181.6	164.4	44.3	44.6	39.1		44.6
1948	7.9	183.3	178.7	45.0	44.6 ³	42.4	42.4	44.6
1949	7.8	182.5	185.8 ¹⁶	44.1	43.8	46.5	41.7	44.9
1950	8.0 ¹⁷	189.0 ¹⁷	191.0 ¹⁸	44.3	44.4	48.2	44.0 ¹⁹	45.0
1951	8.2	192.9	190.4	44.6	44.8	47.4	44.8 ²⁰	44.2
1952	...	194.4	187.9	44.0	44.2	47.5	45.2	44.5
1951 : Sep. Dec.		196.8 197.4	189.3 191.8	44.7 45.0	44.8 44.7	47.1 47.1	46.3 46.3	44.2 44.2
1952 : Mar. June Sep. Dec.		191.5 198.6 201.0 201.0	188.8 185.2 185.8 191.7	44.7 41.2 45.1 45.1	44.2 43.8 44.1 43.7	46.4 ⁵ 47.1 ²¹ 47.9 ²² 48.4 ²³	44.0 ⁵ 44.5 ²¹ 46.2 ²² 46.0 ²³	43.5 43.4 44.5 45.2
1953 : Mar.		190.0	187.4	44.9	43.4	45.9	...	...
Pers. cov. (thousands)	2 622 (1952)		395 (1952)	108 (1952)	4 000 (1951)	4 402 (Nov. 1952)	99 (Sep. 1951)	129 ²⁴ (Dec. 1952)

¹ New series; see introductory note, p. 38. ² Hours per month. ³ Jewish workers; adults.
⁴ Average of Apr.-Dec. ⁵ Feb. ⁶ Mar. ⁷ Average July-Dec. ⁸ Average Jan.-Oct.
⁹ Incl. mining. ¹⁰ Annual figures: averages of Jan., Apr., July and Oct. of each year. Monthly
figures: month following the month indicated. ¹¹ Incl. salaried employees. ¹² Incl. building.
¹³ Annual figures: one week in Oct. of each year, except 1951 and 1952 (Sep.). ¹⁴ Prior to 1951:
Bizzone area. ¹⁵ Average of June, Sep. and Dec. ¹⁶ Average of Jan.-June, Sep. and Dec.
¹⁷ Beginning Jan. 1950, incl. salaried employees. ¹⁸ Beginning 1950: averages of Mar., June, Sep.
and Dec. ¹⁹ Beginning June 1950, incl. relief programme workers (working 40 hours per week).
²⁰ Average of Mar., June and Sep. ²¹ May. ²² Aug. ²³ Nov. ²⁴ Incl. working proprietors
and salaried employees.

HOURS OF WORK IN MANUFACTURING (concl.)

Hours of work per week (concl.)

Date	EUROPE (concl.)						
	Italy (per day)	Nether- lands ¹	Norway ²	Saar	Switzer- land	United King- dom ³	Yugo- slavia (per month)
1937	.	.	45.5	.	47.1	.	.
1946	.	48.7	43.1	.	47.8	46.0	.
1947	8.00	48.8	43.8	.	47.9	44.7	.
1948	7.95	48.7	44.2	.	47.7	44.9	.
1949	7.97	48.9	44.0	47.4	47.4	45.0	.
1950	7.97	48.8	44.4 ⁴	48.2	47.5	45.7	.
1951	8.06 ⁴	48.5	44.3	48.5	47.8	45.6	172
1952	8.06	...	...	48.8 ⁴	47.7	45.7	...
1951: Sep.	8.08	.	.	...	47.8	45.6	167
Dec.	8.03	.	.	...	47.7	.	176
1952: Mar.	8.00	.	.	...	47.6	45.0	...
June	8.07 ⁴	.	.	...	47.6	.	...
Sep.	8.12	.	.	...	47.7	45.7	...
Dec.	8.03	.	.	...	47.7	.	...
1953: Mar.	...	.	.	...	47.7	...	...
Pers. cov. (thousands)	1 619 (Dec. 1952)	276 (1951)	230 (1950)	102 (1952)	360 (1952)	4 800 (Oct. 1952)	.

¹ Adult male production workers. ² Incl. mining. Based on full working week (without public holidays). ³ Manual workers. Annual figures: Oct. of each year; monthly figures: Apr. and Oct. of each year. ⁴ Second half-year.



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International Comparisons of Food Price Levels, October 1952

Each year the International Labour Office makes an international comparison of food price levels in the month of October. The indices presented in table I show the relative levels of food prices in 17 countries in October 1952. The food items taken into account represent the greater part of household food expenditure in the different countries. The price data used in calculating the indices refer to retail prices paid by wage earners in the principal urban areas of each country and are based on the annual inquiry into retail prices in October, which is described in the July issue of the *Statistical Supplement*.¹ Prices are converted to U.S. dollars at official exchange rates.

The prices of the individual items are weighted according to the quantities consumed in the respective countries. These "food baskets" are derived from family living studies indicating the average yearly consumption of the specified items per adult male wage earner, and are shown in table II. In a few cases a substitute item was taken in place of a specified item which did not enter significantly into the consumption of a given country.

The geographical scope of the price data is as follows: *Union of South Africa*: Capetown, Witwatersrand. *Canada*: Whole country. *United States*: 56 cities. *Belgium*: Antwerp, Brussels, Liège. *Denmark*: Copen-

¹ "Retail Prices of Food, Fuel, etc., October 1952", *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXVIII, No. 1, *Statistical Supplement*, July 1953. In two or three cases, where price data for a specified item were not obtained in the October inquiry, estimates were made on the basis of supplementary information.

TABLE I. INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS OF

	Official exchange rate		AFRICA Union of S. Africa	AMERICA Canada United States		EUROPE Belgium Denmark Finland France			
	Unit	U.S. cents							
AFRICA : Union of South Africa	£	278.88	100	54	47	65	100	62	49
AMERICA : Canada	\$	103.41	185	100	85	113	181	107	96
United States	\$	100.00	211	117	100	133	202	124	112
EUROPE : Belgium	Fr.	1.99	154	88	75	100	146	91	87
Denmark	Kr.	14.45	100	55	49	69	100	57	56
Finland	Markka	0.433	161	93	81	111	175	100	91
France	Fr.	0.286	203	104	90	115	179	110	100
Germany (Fed. Rep.)	DM.	23.78	158	93	85	123	184	103	93
Ireland	£	280.31	106	59	52	70	107	64	56
Italy	Lira	0.160	174	91	78	113	153	95	84
Netherlands	Fl.	26.28	109	62	55	77	117	67	65
Norway	Kr.	13.99	121	67	59	83	129	72	68
Portugal	Esc.	3.45	92	53	45	65	87	59	52
Sweden	Kr.	19.31	127	74	63	89	130	75	72
Switzerland	Fr.	23.33	172	92	83	112	172	102	98
United Kingdom . . .	£	280.00	104	57	50	63	99	62	51
OCEANIA : Australia	£	223.00	103	54	46	65	105	64	49

FOOD PRICE LEVELS, OCTOBER 1952

Ger- many (Fed. Rep.)	Ire- land	Italy	Ne- ther- lands	Nor- way	Por- tugal	Swe- den	Swit- zerland	United King- dom	OCEANIA Aus- tralia	
63	95	57	91	83	109	79	58	96	97	AFRICA : Union of South Africa
108	169	110	160	149	190	134	108	176	185	AMERICA : Canada
118	192	128	182	170	221	158	121	201	219	United States
82	143	89	130	121	155	113	89	158	154	EUROPE : Belgium
54	94	65	85	78	114	77	58	101	95	Denmark
97	156	105	150	139	170	133	98	162	157	Finland
107	179	106	153	147	192	139	102	197	204	France
100	156	99	150	146	186	133	100	172	154	Germany (Fed. Rep.)
64	100	65	96	88	114	82	65	107	110	Ireland
101	154	100	141	135	174	117	100	168	170	Italy
67	104	71	100	92	122	86	67	111	110	Netherlands
68	113	74	109	100	129	93	73	120	106	Norway
54	88	58	82	77	100	70	59	95	91	Portugal
75	122	86	116	108	142	100	75	130	123	Sweden
100	155	100	149	137	170	133	100	166	170	Switzerland
58	94	60	90	83	105	77	60	100	106	United Kingdom
65	91	59	91	95	110	82	59	95	100	OCEANIA : Australia

TABLE II. COMPOSITION OF "BASKETS" USED

Foodstuff	Unit	AFRICA Union of S. Africa	AMERICA Canada United States		EUROPE Belgium Denmark Finland France				Ger- many (Fed. Rep.)
Wheat bread	Kg.	58.6	61.2	58.5	195.4	11.8	—	115.7	21.4
Other bread	"	—	9.6	9.7	1.2	84.9	39.9	—	90.9
Flour	"	72.1	19.8	29.3	7.2	12.8	78.3	2.4	15.6
Rice	"	13.5	1.1	2.9	1.8	1.2	6.2	3.4	2.0
Beef	"	31.5	29.0	23.1	21.5	9.5	11.0	15.9	6.8
Pork	"	12.2	6.3	7.8	8.0	9.2	9.2	1.5	8.3
Mutton	"	8.4	4.1	4.9	—	1.7	—	4.6	0.6
Veal	"	3.3	3.2	4.8	2.8	7.9	1.5	8.4	1.6
Lard	"	2.3	1.1	5.4	2.9	3.6	1.1	1.2	3.7
Milk	Litre	132.0	178.0	120.4	145.1	118.1	331.6	96.4	158.6
Butter	Kg.	12.9	18.7	10.7	17.5	11.1	14.7	5.8	6.2
Cheese	"	3.0	2.1	4.0	5.3	6.1	1.1	5.8	5.1
Eggs	"	201.0	218.0	302.0	192.0	193.0	61.0	106.0	161.0
Peas, beans	Kg.	1.5	1.3	4.0	3.1	3.4	1.6	10.8	2.9
Potatoes	"	61.7	88.5	81.9	200.0	97.7	114.7	62.7	182.7
Sugar	"	45.5	34.8	32.9	14.7	38.0	29.8	12.1	17.6
Coffee	"	2.8	1.2	7.6	12.3	6.8	6.1	2.4	5.6
Tea	"	3.0	3.0	1.1	—	—	—	—	—

FOR WEIGHTING THE PRICE DATA

Ireland	Italy	Ne- ther- lands	Nor- way	Por- tugal	Sweden	Swit- zerland	United King- dom	OCEANIA Aus- tralia	Foodstuff
172.5	130.0	93.0	20.5	131.4	3.3	89.9	106.3	102.8	Wheat bread
—	—	52.1	100.9	—	34.2	—	—	—	Other bread
22.1	16.6	6.1	19.1	16.8	62.4	10.1	34.7	16.3	Flour
—	5.2	3.6	0.6	10.9	1.5	3.8	4.9	—	Rice
20.5	5.0	13.9	9.7	5.4	6.9	6.8	19.4	38.7	Beef
2.0	3.5	7.1	3.9	4.4	11.6	8.1	4.7	3.2	Pork
9.9	0.9	0.3	3.3	1.0	0.5	0.1	10.8	29.3	Mutton
2.3	1.6	1.4	1.4	1.7	5.3	2.2	2.1	3.1	Veal
3.3	—	2.1	0.7	—	0.8	0.7	4.0	0.2	Lard
177.3	27.1	198.8	205.9	37.1	251.5	270.4	110.5	176.2	Milk
14.5	1.0	4.9	2.7	2.9	11.9	8.5	14.3	19.8	Butter
2.5	4.0	5.5	8.6	5.3	6.8	6.6	5.6	2.3	Cheese
270.0	107.0	165.0	145.0	100.0	238.0	176.0	245.0	256.0	Eggs
2.1	3.6	3.1	2.4	15.7	1.9	1.0	4.6	0.7	Peas, beans
162.5	28.3	169.9	93.5	99.9	114.9	65.6	108.7	62.1	Potatoes
25.2	5.5	20.9	24.9	18.1	40.0	29.8	37.9	32.1	Sugar
—	0.5	2.8	6.2	4.3	5.9	3.4	—	0.3	Coffee
4.7	—	1.4	—	—	—	—	5.6	2.9	Tea

hagen. *Finland*: Helsinki. *France*: Paris. *Germany (Federal Republic)*: Various cities. *Ireland*: Cork, Dublin, Dundalk. *Italy*: Genoa, Milan, Naples, Palermo, Rome. *Netherlands*: Amsterdam, Groningen, Heerlen. *Norway*: Oslo. *Portugal*: Castelo Branco, Coimbra, Evora, Faro, Porto, Viana do Castelo, Villa Real, Lisbon. *Sweden*: Göteborg, Malmö, Stockholm. *Switzerland*: Basle, Berne, Geneva, Zurich. *United Kingdom*: Birmingham, Bristol, Glasgow, Leeds, London, Manchester, Newcastle. *Australia*: Melbourne, Sydney.

The method of construction of the indices is as follows: considering the first two countries in the table, the Union of South Africa and Canada, with the first country taken as base (= 100), the ratio of the cost of the Union of South Africa "food basket" at Canadian prices to its cost at South African prices is calculated; then the ratio of the cost of the Canadian "basket" at Canadian prices to its cost in South African prices is computed; finally, the two ratios are combined in a geometric average to yield an index of average food prices in Canada, on the base South Africa = 100.

The indices should be read as follows: the country indicated at the head of each column is the base country, whose food price level is set equal to 100. Each figure in the column refers to the index for the country indicated in the side heading. Thus the index for Canada, on the base South Africa = 100, is found in the first column opposite the side heading "Canada". Similarly, the index for South Africa on the base Canada = 100 is found in the second column opposite the side heading "Union of South Africa".

Certain reservations apply to the interpretation of the indices of food price levels. The use of official exchange rates, often fixed by exchange control authorities, may introduce an element of artificiality into the results in some cases. If a free rate exists, however, the indices can easily be adjusted to make the comparison on a free-rate basis. It should also be noted that the indices refer to the principal food items only, and do not provide any indication of retail or consumer price levels in general, in which the prices of clothing, fuel, housing, and other items also figure. Finally, it should be noted that the Fisher formula utilised here represents a compromise between sets of weights based on the different patterns of consumption in each pair of countries compared, and that the resulting index numbers provide an approximate indication rather than a precise measure of relative food price levels.

* * *

SYMBOLS AND TYPES EMPLOYED

- . = inapplicable or figures not available.
- ... = not yet received.
- * = provisional.
- † = revised since previous issue.

A line — placed between two figures in a column indicates that the figures above and below it are not strictly comparable or that a new series begins below the line (see footnotes).

Italics: index numbers based on another year than 1948.

The countries are arranged by continents in the alphabetical order of their English names.

Unemployment

Date	AFRICA		AMERICA			
	Southern Rhodesia	Union of South Africa	Canada			
	V (B)	V (B)	I		II	
1937	.	4 510	406 000 ¹	% 9.1 ¹	96 760	% 4.5
1946	.	5 390	142 000	3.0	68 254	3.0
1947	253	10 266	98 000	2.0	88 909	3.6
1948	280	12 173	102 000	2.1	135 626	5.2
1949	246	15 138	135 000	2.7	165 874 ²	6.1 ²
1950	244	16 282	167 000	3.2	148 222 ²	4.9 ²
1951	193	10 189	108 000	2.1	191 564	6.1
1952	234	12 140	130 000	2.5		
1952: Aug.	301	13 893	86 000	1.6	101 980	3.2
Sep.	275	12 899	.	.	92 627	2.9
Oct.	274	11 832	.	.	111 539	3.5
Nov.	299	11 294	114 000	2.2	161 912	5.0
Dec.	276	11 243	132 000	2.5	278 646 ²	8.5 ²
1953: Jan.	277	12 667	187 000	3.6	354 660 ²	10.8 ²
Feb.	293	12 926	179 000	3.4	363 165 ²	11.1 ²
Mar.	298	11 598	172 000	3.3	360 100 ²	11.0 ²
Apr.	273	11 871	165 000	3.1	215 200	6.8
May	220	12 046	114 000	2.1	143 100	4.5
June	251	11 869	90 000	1.7	119 800	...
July	237*	12 089	90 000	1.6	110 900 [†]	...
Aug.	...	...	92 000	1.7	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	.	5 304 (1952)		3 097 (June 1952)	

Date	AMERICA (concl.)				ASIA			
	United States	Chile	Puerto Rico		Burma ³	Ceylon	India	Israel ⁴
	I	V (B)	I	%	V (A)	V (A)	V (A)	V (B)
1937	7 700 000 ¹	14.3 ¹	2 315	.	.	29 182	.	1 870
1946	2 270 000	3.9	3 433	.	.	32 995	.	2 772
1947	2 142 000	3.6	3 700	.	3 139 ⁶	32 995	.	2 772
1948	2 064 000	3.4	3 203	.	2 446	53 513	224 900	1 320 ⁷
1949	3 395 000	5.5	3 445	.	777	68 358	293 043	6 351
1950	3 142 000	5.0	2 937	104 000 ⁵	14.5 ⁵	2 049	68 471	314 336
1951	1 879 000	3.0	2 562	114 000	16.2	4 149	56 844	338 402
1952	1 673 000	2.7	3 274	100 000	15.2	4 782	51 603	383 992
1952: Aug.	1 604 000	2.5	2 706	.	4 728	50 975	412 101	10 732
Sep.	1 438 000	2.3	2 477	.	4 580	51 641	407 872	10 155
Oct.	1 284 000	2.0	2 375	106 000	16.5	4 435	52 792	413 498
Nov.	1 418 000	2.2	2 486	.	4 388	52 563	420 722	14 220
Dec.	1 412 000	2.2	2 819	.	4 373	53 023	437 571	16 200
1953: Jan.	1 892 000	3.0	3 083	...	4 333	55 022	434 428	18 900
Feb.	1 788 000	2.9	2 961	.	4 329	54 432	426 107	18 950
Mar.	1 674 000	2.7	2 931	.	4 087	54 483	425 178	20 700
Apr.	1 582 000	2.5	2 840	...	3 883	53 176	455 417	18 300
May	1 306 000	2.1	2 606	.	3 757	52 126	466 228	17 000
June	1 582 000	2.4	2 404	.	3 235	...	473 917	15 850
July	1 548 000	2.4	...	...	3 183	...	493 408	17 600
Aug.	1 240 000	1.9	...	.	...	...	...	15 650
Persons cov. (thousands)	62 966 (1952)				.	.	.	.

- I. Labour force sample surveys.
- II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics.
- III. Unemployment relief statistics.
- IV. Trade union returns.

- V. Employment office statistics.
- V (A) Applicants for work registered.
- V (B) Unemployed registered.

¹ Official estimate. ² Incl. claimants for supplementary benefits. ³ 1947-49: Rangoon exchange only. ⁴ Daily average during the month. ⁵ Mar.-Dec. ⁶ May-Dec. ⁷ Jan.-Mar., July-Dec.

UNEMPLOYMENT (cont.)

Date	ASIA (concl.)		EUROPE							
	Japan		Pakistan	Austria		Belgium				
	I		V (A)	V (B) 1		II 2		II 3		
		%			%		%		%	
1937	295 443 4	3.7 4	.	320 961	.	125 929 5	13.8 5	.	.	.
1946	1 590 318 6	5.4 6	.	74 105	.	48 035	2.6	19 257	1.0	.
1947	370 000 7	1.1 7	.	31 737	1.7	35 639	1.8	31 921	1.6	.
1948	242 000	0.7	77 983	43 409	2.3	80 959	4.0	48 244	2.4	.
1949	378 000	1.0	70 996	91 238	4.6	173 998	8.6	60 908	3.0	.
1950	436 000	1.2	96 439	124 850	6.2	169 972	8.3	53 565	2.6	.
1951	386 000	1.1	103 913	116 243	5.7	153 452	7.3	53 068	2.5	.
1952	470 000	1.2	107 087	156 975	7.7	173 570	8.3	72 968	3.5	.
1952: Aug.	430 000	1.1	104 029	114 905	5.6	151 707	7.2	53 325	2.5	.
Sep.	420 000	1.1	103 682	115 297	5.7	150 136	7.2	46 849	2.2	.
Oct.	480 000	1.2	108 589	126 505	6.2	146 575	7.0	44 713	2.1	.
Nov.	490 000	1.2	107 055	175 144	8.6	169 970	8.1	71 958	3.4	.
Dec.	470 000	1.2	105 721	248 292	12.2	204 054	9.7	121 075	5.8	.
1953: Jan.	460 000	1.2	105 424	284 479	14.1	224 062	10.7	119 716	5.7	.
Feb.	510 000	1.4	102 429	279 229	13.8	212 794	10.1	98 689	4.7	.
Mar.	610 000	1.5	103 348	227 060	11.3	189 581	9.0	56 618	2.7	.
Apr.	530 000	1.3	100 904	176 426	8.7	178 463	8.5	57 479	2.7	.
May	500 000	1.2	95 575	155 913	7.7	171 233	8.2	57 445	2.7	.
June	440 000	1.1	90 834	142 193	7.0	171 249	8.1	56 242	2.7	.
July	430 000	1.1	91 367	133 460	6.5	171 921	8.2	51 607	2.5	.
Aug.	...	...	...	...	...	163 749	7.8	45 470	2.2	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	36 600 (1951)		.	2 035 (1952)		2 098 (June 1952)				.

Date	EUROPE (cont.)							
	Denmark		Finland	France		Germany (Fed. Rep.)		
	s		V (B)	III	V (A)	V (B)		
		%					%	
1937	95 630	21.7	3 695 9	354 554	379 994	.	.	.
1946	51 636	8.9	892	15 663	56 633	.	.	.
1947	51 998	8.9	—	7 389	45 777	588 050 10	.	.
1948	51 644	8.6	3 473	16 737	77 803	591 532	4.2	.
1949	59 041	9.6	25 683	39 748	131 062	1 229 711	8.3	.
1950	54 829	8.7	19 194	52 355	152 891	1 579 766	10.2	.
1951	63 024	9.7	5 622	40 313	120 128	1 432 323	9.0	.
1952	81 645	12.5	8 294	39 269	131 799	1 379 203	8.4	.
1952: Aug.	60 285	9.2	37	34 137	108 764	1 106 537	.	.
Sep.	62 197	9.5	1 068	33 203	118 624	1 050 565	6.4	.
Oct.	60 256	9.2	4 139	37 324	142 867	1 028 091	.	.
Nov.	72 583	11.0	17 208	44 473	158 020	1 247 354	.	.
Dec.	162 721	24.6	35 501	54 337	182 084	1 687 719	10.9	.
1953: Jan.	115 019	17.4	54 207	67 093	210 710	1 822 676	.	.
Feb.	103 069	15.5	65 726	75 214	216 673	1 810 695	.	.
Mar.	63 087	9.5	61 582	75 524	206 980	1 392 870	8.4	.
Apr.	52 475	7.9	40 181	71 025	195 471	1 234 339	.	.
May	41 823	6.3	21 457	67 013	179 464	1 156 168	.	.
June	27 194	4.1	2 390	60 075	159 277	1 073 272	6.4	.
July	28 793	4.3	696	54 218	148 243	1 012 516*	.	.
Aug.	39 051	5.9	1 056	54 010	145 526	968 000*	.	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	655 (1952)		.	.	.	16 374 (1952)		

I. Labour force sample surveys.
 II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics.
 III. Unemployment relief statistics.
 IV. Trade union returns.

V. Employment office statistics.
 V (A) Applicants for work registered.
 V (B) Unemployed registered.

1 Prior to 1947: applicants for work registered.
 2 Daily average of days lost through interruption of operations or intermittent work.
 3 Daily average of numbers wholly unemployed.
 4 Official estimate.
 5 Voluntary unemployment insurance statistics incl. partial unemployment.
 6 Census of 26 Apr.
 7 Oct.
 8 Unemployed among insured members of trade union fund.
 9 Applicants for work registered.
 10 Mar.-Dec.

UNEMPLOYMENT (cont.)

Date	EUROPE (cont.)					
	Ireland 1		Italy	Luxembourg	Netherlands	
	II		V (A)	V (B)	III	V (B) 2
		%				
1937	.	.	81 760	874 000	18	324 044
1946	35 067	10.6	59 726	1 324 000	15	53 079
1947	33 266	9.3	55 623	1 620 000	50	30 701
1948	35 129	9.4	61 203	1 742 000 3	17	29 032
1949	34 906	9.0	60 606	1 672 708	18	42 124
1950	30 347	7.5	53 415	1 614 940	38	57 681
1951	30 406	7.3	50 453	1 721 087	28	67 750
1952	38 565	9.1	60 688	1 849 680	26	104 256
1952: Aug.	35 910	8.4	48 940	1 808 910	13	88 640
Sep.	32 570	7.6	46 113	1 535 041	11	84 810
Oct.	34 399	8.1	49 443	1 693 301	12	91 301
Nov.	38 899	9.1	67 861	1 792 064	15	105 916
Dec.	38 885	9.1	68 885	1 974 997	32	140 651
1953: Jan.	50 778	11.2	84 610	2 069 725	95	140 571
Feb.	52 731	11.7	88 095	2 068 334	130	128 187
Mar.	53 395	11.8	88 553	2 017 528	27	94 864
Apr.	51 458	11.4	85 186	1 987 241	22	83 221
May	47 791	10.6	79 129	...	19	68 065
June	44 442	9.8	73 322	...	12	61 360
July	37 740	8.4	57 307	...	...	...
Aug.	38 291	8.5	56 378	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	452 (1952)		.	.	.	.

Date	EUROPE (cont.)					
	Norway	Saar	Spain	Sweden		
	V (B)	4	V (B)	IV		
		%			%	
1937	29 881 5	.	.	67 351	10.8	.
1946	12 246 6	.	178 165	27 554 7	3.2 7	.
1947	8 514 6	.	138 771	24 446	2.8	.
1948	9 026	6 640 8	117 020	25 747	2.8	.
1949	7 715	6 070	160 056	26 116	2.7	.
1950	8 972	6 343	166 182	22 124	2.2	.
1951	11 132	4 318	144 238	18 238	1.8	.
1952	11 634	3 862	106 544	22 330	2.3	.
1952: Aug.	5 418	3 851	97 167	14 009	1.4	.
Sep.	6 941	3 328	100 229	12 877	1.3	.
Oct.	8 161	3 620	107 391	16 081	1.7	.
Nov.	14 731	3 634	106 128	22 070	2.3	.
Dec.	24 248	3 899	105 907	54 464	5.6	.
1953: Jan.	31 041	4 374	109 228	41 740	4.3	.
Feb.	27 894	4 536	109 717	40 591	4.2	.
Mar.	23 868	3 927	110 389	31 320	3.2	.
Apr.	16 447	3 818	107 491	22 549	2.3	.
May	8 400	3 711	96 905	16 900*	1.8*	.
June	3 554	3 719	...	16 034*	1.7*	.
July	3 699	4 362	...	...	...	.
Aug.	5 528	...	...	...	...	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	300 (1952)	.	973 (1952)		.

I. Labour force sample surveys.
 II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics.
 III. Unemployment relief statistics.
 IV. Trade union returns.

V. Employment office statistics.
 V (A) Applicants for work registered.
 V (B) Unemployed registered.

1 Since Jan. 1953, scope of data increased owing to effects of Social Welfare Act, 1952.
 2 Excl. persons employed on emergency public works.
 3 Average of first, second and fourth quarter.
 4 Labour registration statistics.
 5 Applicants for work registered.
 6 Excl. Finnmark and evacuated communes in Troms.
 7 Since 1946 also covers unions of agricultural workers.
 8 June-Dec.

UNEMPLOYMENT (concl.)

Date	EUROPE (concl.)				
	Switzerland	United Kingdom			
	V (B) 1	V (B) 1	%	V (B) 2	%
1937	57 949	1 324 027	8.5	205 063	1.5
1946	4 262	390 106 ³	2.5	4 058 ³	—
1947	3 473	342 295 ³	2.0	156 028 ³	1.0
1948	2 971	325 818 ⁴	1.6	8 555 ⁴	—
1949	8 059	328 426	1.6	9 571	—
1950	9 599	332 057	1.6	9 036	—
1951	3 799	264 103	1.2	17 258	0.1
1952	5 314	368 401	1.7	94 132	0.4
1952: Aug.	1 750	365 465	1.7	83 678	0.4
Sep.	1 918	365 570	1.7	68 484	0.3
Oct.	3 218	389 151	1.8	50 607	0.2
Nov.	6 295	411 778	1.9	38 538	0.2
Dec.	11 726	411 286	1.9	33 823	0.2
1953: Jan.	19 335	460 635	2.2	42 698	0.2
Feb.	11 597	432 004	2.0	43 498	0.2
Mar.	4 154	397 306	1.9	41 650	0.2
Apr.	2 512	383 768	1.8	31 715	0.1
May	1 937	353 097	1.7	24 915	0.1
June	2 076	311 200	1.5	23 320	0.1
July	1 579	291 256	1.4	16 158	0.1
Aug.	1 725	314 873	1.5	12 407	0.1
Persons cov. (thousands)		21 266 (June 1952)			

Date	OCEANIA				
	Australia		Hawaii	New Zealand	
	IV	5	I	II ⁶	V (B)
1937	9.3	7 603	2 133 ⁷	172	386
1946	1.4	6 684	2 953 ⁷	47	92
1947	1.2	6 629	9 448	33	67
1948	0.9	10 332	21 436	48	92
1949	2.0	1 224	17 698	21	37
1950	0.8	791	8 298	14	38
1951	0.7	16 601	8 422	11	47
1952	2.8				
1952: Aug.	4.0	24 877	7 650	10	49
Sep.	.	27 806	8 850	16	60
Oct.	.	31 550	9 200	19	56
Nov.	4.1	34 130	9 450	19	42
Dec.	.	40 086	9 397	33	62
1953: Jan.	.	41 633	9 848	33	61
Feb.	3.4	34 761	9 516	23	52
Mar.	.	29 674	9 050	15	49
Apr.	.	28 905	9 000	18	56
May	3.1	26 787	8 500	23	67
June	.	25 914	11 400	23	132
July	.	25 505	8 020	37	156
Aug.	.	22 297	...	38	110
Persons cov. (thousands)	856 (1952)		193 (1952)		

- I. Labour force sample surveys. V. Employment office statistics.
 II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics. V (A) Applicants for work registered.
 III. Unemployment relief statistics. V (B) Unemployed registered.
 IV. Trade union returns.

¹ Wholly unemployed. ² Temporarily unemployed. ³ Excl. persons classified as unsuitable for ordinary employment. ⁴ July-Dec. Until June 1948 the statistics referred to persons insured under the Unemployment Insurance Acts. With the introduction in July 1948 of the National Insurance Acts, the coverage of the series has been extended to include all registered unemployed; the percentages are based on the estimated total numbers of employees aged 15 years and over. ⁵ Unemployment benefit statistics. ⁶ Persons in receipt of unemployment benefit. ⁷ Annual estimates (June).

Consumer Price Indices

Country	AFRICA							AMERICA	
	Algeria	Egypt	Northern Rhodesia ³	Southern Rhodesia	Sudan ⁷	Tunisia	Union of South Africa ¹⁰	Canada	United States
	Algiers	Cairo	Whole country	6 6	3	Tunis	9	8-33 ¹²	46 ¹⁴
1937	6	36 ²	70 ⁵	.	37 ⁸	1	11	65	60
1946	43	102	91	91	65	45	91	80	81
1947	61	99	97	93	79	67	95	87	93
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	123 ⁺	99	105 ⁺	106	106	124	104	104	99
1950	123	104	108	115	107	129	108	107 ¹³	100
1951	132	114	114	122	100 ⁹	144	116	118	108
1952	144	113	121	133	114	163	126	121	110
1952: Aug.	144	113	122	135	117	167	125	120	111
Sep.	145	113	122	133	114	168	129	121	111
Oct.	147	106	123	135	108	170	129	120	111
Nov.	149	106	123	133	107	169	129	121	111
Dec.	150	105	123	133	104	168	129	120	111
1953: Jan.	150	105	123	135	110	167	128	120	111 ¹⁵
Feb.	150	106	124	135	110	168	128	120	110
Mar.	146	106	124	136	110	170	128	119	111
Apr.	147	106	124	137	109	170	128	119	111
May	147	105	124	137	111	166	129	119	111
June	145	...	125	137	108	166	131	119	111
July	144	...	125	137	...	167	130	120	112
Aug.	...	...	125	138	...	167	132	120	112
Sep.	...	...	125	137	...	...	...	121	...

Country	AMERICA (cont.)							
	Argentina	Barbados	Brazil	British Honduras	Chile	Colombia	Costa Rica	Dominican Republic
	Buenos Aires		São Paulo	Belize	Santiago	Bogotá	San José	Ciudad Trujillo
1937	49	.	24 ¹⁵	16	22	35	46	.
1946	78	89	71	82 ¹⁷	63	73	85	88
1947	88	98	92	100	85	86	97	99
1948	100	100	100	102	100	100	100	100
1949	131	99	98	99	119	107	108	96
1950	165	103	104	100	137	129	119	96
1951	225	116	113	119	167	140	127	104 ⁺
1952	312	135	133	130	204	137	122 ¹⁸	105 ⁺
1952: Aug.	311	134	136	132	213	135	121	107
Sep.	321	133	138	132	221	134	121	107
Oct.	324	134	137	131	222	135	121	107
Nov.	325	134	139	127	220	137	122	107
Dec.	326	134	143	126	205	138	122	106
1953: Jan.	322	134	146	126	214	139	122	107
Feb.	341	134	153	124	221	139	122	105
Mar.	324	135	162	124	...	143	122	103
Apr.	304	137	164	124	...	148	122	104
May	298	137	161	126	...	146	122	106
June	...	...	163	126	...	147	124	106
July	...	...	165	126	...	146	124	105
Aug.	...	...	...	126	...	...	122	102
Sep.	...	...	...	124	...	...	122	...

¹ Food group only. ² June-Aug. 1939. ³ Index for non-indigenous population. ⁴ Excl. "miscellaneous". ⁵ Aug. 1939. ⁶ Prior to Jan. 1952: 5 towns. ⁷ Index for low salaried government officials living in government houses. ⁸ 1938. ⁹ New series replacing former series. ¹⁰ Index for Europeans. ¹¹ Incl. direct taxes. ¹² Prior to 1950: food prices collected in 33 towns; other items priced in 11-33 towns. ¹³ New series linked to former series. ¹⁴ Prior to 1953: food prices collected in 56 towns; other items priced in 34 towns. ¹⁵ 1939. ¹⁶ 1946-49: July. ¹⁷ Sep. 1939.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)

Country	AMERICA (cont.)						
	Guatemala	Jamaica	Mexico	Neth. Antilles	Panama	Peru	Puerto Rico
Town or no. of localities	Guatemala City	Kingston	Mexico City	Curaçao	Panama City	Lima	6
1937	.	43 ²	27	.	51 ⁸	30	89
1946	91 ¹	70	84	.	89	59	101
1947	94	83	94	.	99	76	100
1948	100	100	100	.	100	100	100
1949	107	104	105	100 ⁴	94	115	92
1950	115	109	112	97	91	129	90
1951	120	126	126	102 ⁵	95	142	99
1952	117	138	144	104 ⁶	96	152	105
1952: Aug.	115	140	146	104	97	154	105
Sep.	114	139	146	104	95	154	105
Oct.	114	139	146	104	95	155	106
Nov.	120	138	147	104	95	156	106
Dec.	114	138	147	104	94	156	106
1953: Jan.	121	140	145	104	95	157	106
Feb.	115	139	143	104	95	157	106
Mar.	118	140	141	105	94	158	107
Apr.	117	139	141	104	93	158	108
May	121	141	141	104	94	170	108
June	131	...	141	...	...	169	108
July	124	...	140	...	...	...	...
Aug.	119	...	141	...	...	...	...
Sep.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Country	AMERICA (concl.)				ASIA				
	St. Vincent	Trinidad	Uruguay	Venezuela	Burma	Ceylon	China (Taiwan)	Cyprus	Hong-kong
Town or no. of localities	Vincent	Trinidad	Montevideo	Caracas	Rangoon	Colombo	Taipei	4	18
1937	.	.	56	48	28	42 ¹²	.	30 ²	.
1946	87	.	85	72	106 ^{10 11}	88 ¹⁰	.	73	102
1947	93	.	98	83	108	97	.	100 ¹⁴	100
1948	100	.	100	100	100	100	.	100	112
1949	99	.	105	98	135	99	100	96	117
1950	103	.	101	97	114	105	296	100 ¹⁶	128
1951	111	.	115	99	112	109	441	112	129
1952	124	100	131	98	107	108	573	118	127
1952: Aug.	126	101	132	97	119	106	569	115	132
Sep.	127	102	135	94	118	107	574	117	.
Oct.	128	101	134	95	101	108	575	121	.
Nov.	128	101	136	97	101	110	580	122	127
Dec.	127	100	138	102	102	110	586 ⁷	119	124
1953: Jan.	132	101	138	101	103	100 ¹⁸	619	119	128
Feb.	131	102	136	95	102	100	642	120	124
Mar.	131	102	136	97	99	99	628	121	127
Apr.	130	102	137	97	101	100	635	122	125
May	134	102	137	97	109	101	675	122	128
June	134	102	137	99	105	102	655	124	130
July	134	102	...	...	...	103	632	123	...
Aug.	...	102	...	...	...	106	...	121	...
Sep.	...	102	...	...	...	105	...	123	...

¹ Aug.-Dec. ² Aug. 1939. ³ Excl. rent and "miscellaneous". ⁴ June. ⁵ Average of Feb.-Mar., July-Nov. ⁶ Average of Jan.-June, Aug.-Dec. ⁷ Food group only. ⁸ Oct. 1939-June 1940. ⁹ Food, soap and coal only. ¹⁰ New series linked to former series. ¹¹ Sep.-Dec. ¹² Aug.-Dec. 1939. ¹³ New series (base 1952=100), replacing former series. ¹⁴ Jan.-Sep. ¹⁵ New series replacing former series. ¹⁶ Index for clerical and skilled technical workers.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)

Country	ASIA (cont.)								
	India				Indonesia	Iran	Israel	Japan	Korea
Town or no. of localities	24	Bombay	Delhi	Jamshedpur	Djakarta ¹	7	2	28	Pusan
1937	.	35	81	76	8 ³	13	30 ⁵	.	35
1946	79	85	92	90	179	91	80	55	59
1947	90	92	92	90	100	100	100	100	100
1948	100	100	100	100	97	109	103	132	123
1949	103	101	100	101	113	89	95	123	281
1950	103	103	100	107	118	93	101 ⁶	143 ⁸	1 397
1951	107	109	107	118	189	100	153 ⁷	150	3 446
1952	105	111	108	113	199	100	165	152	4 287
1952: Aug.	107	112	108	118	187	100	165	151	4 569
Sep.	107	113	110	115	192	98	169	152	4 032
Oct.	107	114	111	113	189	100 ⁷	173	150	3 580
Nov.	107	115	108	110	191	102	175	150	3 904
Dec.	104	114	104	110	202	104	178	150	...
1953: Jan.	104	114	102	110	201	102	181	153	4 291
Feb.	105	116	103	110	206	101 ⁷	182	153	4 830
Mar.	106	118	103	109	209	101 ⁷	184	156	4 769
Apr.	106	118	104	109	211	103	187	157	4 450
May	108	120	105	112	208	104	191	156	...
June	112	122	106	115	217	105 ⁷	197	158	...
July	...	123	108	116	218	106	200	161	...
Aug.	...	...	...	...	...	107	201	163	...
Sep.	...	...	...	...	...	...	205	...	...

Country	ASIA (concl.)							
	Lebanon ¹⁰	Malaya		Pakistan		Philippines	Thailand ¹⁶	Viet-Nam
Town or no. of localities	Beirut	Kuala Lumpur		Karachi	Narayan-ganj	Manila	Bangkok	Saigon
1937	11	13	14	.	.	.	23	317
1946	20 ¹²	.	.	.	.	106	86	461 ¹⁸
1947	112	106	.	.	.	100	100	74
1948	102	100	.	100 ¹⁵	100 ¹⁵	100	100	100
1949	94	94	100	99	103	94	96	100 ¹⁹
1950	87	101	110	95	98	91	99	102
1951	94	133	139	99	102	97	110	116
1952	94	138	141	101	110	93	122	142
1952: Aug.	92	136	138	101	113	94	123	149
Sep.	92	136	138	101	114	94	121	143
Oct.	93	136	140	102	116	93	121	150
Nov.	91	134	138	104	119	93	129	151
Dec.	91	136	137	105	110	94	122	151
1953: Jan.	92	133	137	108	102	93	127	155
Feb.	91	133	137	110	102	89	130	160
Mar.	91	134	138	115	104	87	128	156
Apr.	89	134	138	114	102	87	130	152
May	89	133	136	111	107	86	131	169
June	88	133	136	110	109	86	132	187
July	87	132	135	111	113	87	134	...
Aug.	85	...	...	112	118	87	143	...
Sep.	...	...	...	...	...	87	...	...

¹ Index of free-market retail prices of 19 foodstuffs. ² Food group only. ³ July 1939. ⁴ Prior to Sep. 1951 incl. direct taxes. ⁵ Aug. 1939. ⁶ Jan.-Aug. ⁷ New series (Sep. 1951=100) based on family budget inquiries conducted in Aug. 1950 and Mar. 1951. ⁸ New series linked to former series. ⁹ Excl. rent. ¹⁰ Index for salaried employees. ¹¹ Incl. direct taxes. ¹² June-Aug. 1939. ¹³ Index for Chinese labourers. ¹⁴ Index for Malay labourers. ¹⁵ Apr. 1948-Mar. 1949. ¹⁶ Index for clerical workers and civil servants. ¹⁷ 1939. ¹⁸ Mar.-Dec. ¹⁹ New series, replacing former series.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)

Country	EUROPE					
	Austria	Belgium	Denmark	Finland	France	Germany (Federal Republic) ⁸
Town or no. of localities	Vienna	62	200	33 ⁶	Paris	
1937	1	1	4		67	647
1946	252	26	59	57	82	82
1947	.	.	95	74	.	87
1948	823	87	98	100	86	100
1949	100	97	101	108	100	107
1950	115	96	107	123	111	100
1951	146	105	119	148	130	108
1952	166	106	123	154 ⁶	145	110
1952: Aug.	166	105	.	154	145	109
Sep.	167	105	.	154	146	109
Oct.	167	105	124	155	145	109
Nov.	167	106	.	155	144	110
Dec.	166	106	.	155	145	110
1953: Jan.	166	106	124	155	146	110
Feb.	166	105	.	157	146	109
Mar.	165	105	.	157	145	109
Apr.	163	105	123	157	145	109
May	162	105	.	157	146	108
June	163	105	.	157	145	108
July	163	105	123	157	144	108
Aug.	164	106	.	157	143	108
Sep.	165	106	.	157	141	...

Country	EUROPE (cont.)					
	Greece	Iceland	Ireland	Italy	Luxembourg	Netherlands
Town or no. of localities	Athens	Reykjavik	120	6212	9	2112
1937	0.4	32 ⁹	54	27	33	14
1946	59	91	92	58	90	49
1947	71	98	9811	94	94	9315
1948	100	100	100	100	100 ⁶	97
1949	115	102	101	101	106	100
1950	124	16310	102	100	110	106
1951	139	200	110	110	119	10916
1952	146	225	119	114	121	122
1952: Aug.	144	224	123	115	122	121
Sep.	147	228	.	116	122	122
Oct.	145	231	.	116	122	122
Nov.	146	232	124	116	121	122
Dec.	145	231	.	116	121	122
1953: Jan.	146	224	.	116	121	122
Feb.	145	224	124	116	121	122
Mar.	148	222	.	116	120	122
Apr.	148	222	.	117	119	122
May	152	222	127	118	119	123
June	159	222	.	118	120	123
July	163	224	.	116	121	123
Aug.	167	222	126	...	121	123
Sep.	...	227	.	...	121	...

¹ Excl. rent. ² Mar. 1938. ³ July-Dec. ⁴ Incl. direct taxes. ⁵ Prior to 1950: 82 towns. ⁶ New series linked to former series. ⁷ 1938. ⁸ Consumer group with monthly consumption expenditure in 1950 of approx. DM. 300. ⁹ 1939. ¹⁰ Mar.-Dec.; new series linked to former series. ¹¹ Since Aug. 1937, interim index excl. "miscellaneous", linked to former series. ¹² Towns of over 50,000 inhabitants. ¹³ Prior to 1952: 9 towns; prior to 1950: 6 towns. ¹⁴ Prior to 1950: incl. direct taxes. ¹⁵ Average for Mar.-Sep., and Dec. ¹⁶ New series, base 1949=100, replacing former series.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (concl.)

Country	EUROPE (cont.)						
	Norway	Portugal	Saar	Spain	Sweden		Switzerland
Town or no. of localities	531	Lisbon	Saarbrücken	50	60	35-60	34
1937	61	.	.	34 ³	64	60	61
1946	100	.	.	80	93	93	93 ²
1947	101	.	.	94	96	94	97
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	100	103	109	105	102	102	99
1950	105 ²	102	112	117	103	103	98 ⁶
1951	122	100	137	128	119	120	102
1952	133	100	157	125	129	129	105
1952: Aug.	135	100	159	124	.	131	105
Sep.	136	101	159	125	131	130	105
Oct.	136	102	160	125	.	130	105
Nov.	136	102	157	125	131	130	105
Dec.	135	102	158	126	.	130	104
1953: Jan.	134	102	162	126	.	130	104
Feb.	134	102	162	127	.	130	104
Mar.	135	102	160	128	131	130	104
Apr.	135	101	159	128	.	130	104
May	135	98	159	128	.	130	104
June	135	100	161	128	130	130	104
July	135	99	157	127	.	130	104
Aug.	136	100	156	...	130	130	104
Sep.	136	102	156	...	130	130	104

Country	EUROPE (concl.)			OCEANIA			
	Turkey	United Kingdom	Yugoslavia	Australia	Fiji	Hawaii	New Zealand
Town or no. of localities	Istanbul	12-200 ⁸	51	30	Suva ¹¹	Honolulu	21 ¹³
1937	297	76	.	67	4812	.	70
1946	99	100	.	88	81	84	90
1947	100	94 ⁹	.	92	92	95	93
1948	100	100	.	100	100	100	100
1949	110	103	.	109	101	97	102 ³
1950	104	106	.	120	103	95	107
1951	103	116	100	146	112	101	119
1952	109	12610	77 ¹	170	126	103	128
1952: Aug.	109	127	75	173	.	104	129
Sep.	109	126	74	.	125	.	.
Oct.	110	128	76	173	.	105	130
Nov.	110	128	77	.	.	.	.
Dec.	111	128	79	.	.	.	.
1953: Jan.	110	128	80	175	127	.	132
Feb.	110	129	82	.	.	103	.
Mar.	110	130	83	.	123	.	.
Apr.	111	131	88	177	.	104	133
May	112	130	97	.	.	.	.
June	...	131	94	.	123	.	.
July	...	131	83	...	.	.	.
Aug.	...	130	75	.	.	105	.
Sep.	...	...	...	.	.	.	...

¹ Prior to 1950: 31 towns. ² New series linked to former series. ³ July-Dec. 1939. ⁴ Weights based mainly on family budget inquiries. ⁵ Weights based on estimated national consumption. ⁶ Prior to Apr. 1950: excl. "miscellaneous". ⁷ 1938. ⁸ Since Aug. 1947: food prices collected in 200 areas, other items priced in 12-200 areas. ⁹ July-Dec., interim index replacing former series. ¹⁰ New series (Jan. 1952=100) based on 1950 consumption data linked to former interim index. ¹¹ Index for Indian workers. ¹² Aug. 1939. ¹³ Prior to 1949: 25 towns.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

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STATISTICAL SUPPLEMENT

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Consumer Price Indices

Changes in the Tables

India. An index number of consumer prices in the town of Jamshedpur (original base 1944 = 100) was introduced in the issue of September 1953. It is based on the budgets of 1,199 workers' families surveyed at Jamshedpur between February and June 1945. Prices are collected weekly (every Sunday) from retail stores. The index is calculated as a weighted arithmetic average of price relatives with fixed base. The number of items and the percentage weights of each group are as follows:

Group	No. of items	Percentage weights
Food	22	65.76
Fuel and light	5	5.43
House rent	1	4.69
Clothing	5	10.16
Miscellaneous	8	13.96
Total	41	100.00

Further details on this series may be obtained by reference to the *Report on an Inquiry into Family Budgets of Industrial Workers in Jamshedpur*, by S. R. DESHPANDE, Director, Cost-of-Living Index Scheme, Government of India, 1948.

China. An index number of consumer prices in the island of Taiwan (original base 1937 = 100) was introduced in the issue of September 1953. It is based on a family expenditure survey carried out during the period November 1937–October 1938 among 211 workers' families. Data are compiled by the Provisional Department of Reconstruction on the basis of retail market price investigations carried out twice a week (every Wednesday and Saturday) in Taipeh City. The compilation of the index began in January 1946, but it is published in the *Supplement* only from 1949—the year following the introduction of the currency reform in Taiwan. The index is calculated as a weighted arithmetic average of price relatives with fixed base. The number of items is as follows:

Group	No. of items
Food	19
Clothing	4
Fuel and light	4
Rent	2
Miscellaneous	4
Total	33

Algeria. Starting with this issue the retail price index (original base 1939 = 100) for Algeria has been replaced by a consumer price index, original base 1949 = 100. It is based on a study of national consumption carried out during the year 1949. Prices are compiled weekly from retail stores and markets.

The index is calculated as a weighted arithmetic average of price relatives with fixed base. The number of items and percentage weights of each group are as follows:

Group	No. of items	Percentage weights
Food (including beverages)	41	65.8
Fuel and light	7	2.3
Manufactured goods	115	18.5
Services	47	10.5
Miscellaneous	3	2.8
Total	213	100.0

Further details on this series may be obtained by reference to: *Bulletin de Statistique générale*, 1953, No. 3, Gouvernement général de l'Algérie, Direction générale des Finances, Service de la Statistique générale.

General Level of Wages

Changes in the Tables

Dominican Republic: The series representing average earnings per day in pesos published until now for Ciudad Trujillo has been replaced by a similar series covering the whole Republic.

Wages in Manufacturing

Changes in the Tables

Dominican Republic: The series representing average earnings per day in pesos published until now for Ciudad Trujillo has been replaced by a similar series covering the whole Republic.

* * *

SYMBOLS AND TYPES EMPLOYED

- . = inapplicable or figures not available.
- ... = not yet received.
- * = provisional.
- † = revised since previous issue.

A line — placed between two figures in a column indicates that the figures above and below it are not strictly comparable or that a new series begins below the line (see footnotes).

Italics: index numbers based on another year than 1948.

The countries are arranged by continents in the alphabetical order of their English names.

Unemployment

Date	AFRICA		AMERICA			
	Southern Rhodesia	Union of South Africa	Canada			
	V (B)	V (B)	I	II	I	II
1937	.	4 510	406 000 ¹	9.1 ¹	96 760	4.5
1946	.	5 390	142 000	3.0	68 254	3.0
1947	253	10 266	98 000	2.0	88 909	3.6
1948	280	12 173	102 000	2.1	135 626	5.2
1949	246	15 138	135 000	2.7	165 871 ²	6.1 ²
1950	244	16 282	167 000	3.2	148 222 ²	4.9 ²
1951	193	10 189	108 000	2.1	191 564	6.1
1952	234	12 140	130 000	2.5		
1952: Oct.	274	11 832			111 539	3.5
Nov.	299	11 294	114 000	2.2	161 912	5.0
Dec.	276	11 243	132 000	2.5	278 646 ²	8.5 ²
1953: Jan.	277	12 667	187 000	3.6	354 660 ²	10.8 ²
Feb.	293	12 926	179 000	3.4	363 165 ²	11.1 ²
Mar.	298	11 598	172 000	3.3	360 100 ²	11.0 ²
Apr.	273	11 871	165 000	3.1	215 200	6.8
May	220	12 046	114 000	2.1	143 100	4.5
June	251	11 869	90 000	1.7	119 800	3.8
July	237*	12 089	90 000	1.6	110 900	3.5
Aug.	...	12 490	92 000	1.7	111 300	...
Sep.	...	12 138	84 000	1.6	119 400	...
Oct.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	.	5 304 (1952)		3 097 (June 1952)	

Date	AMERICA (concl.)				ASIA			
	United States		Chile	Puerto Rico	Burma ³	Ceylon	India	Israel ⁴
	I	%	V (B)	I	V (A)	V (A)	V (A)	V (B)
	I	%	V (B)	I	V (A)	V (A)	V (A)	V (B)
1937	7 700 000 ¹	14.3 ¹	2 315	.	.	.	.	1 870
1946	2 270 000	3.9	3 433	.	.	29 182	.	2 772
1947	2 142 000	3.6	3 700	.	3 139 ⁶	32 995	224 900	1 320 ⁷
1948	2 064 000	3.4	3 203	.	2 446	53 513	293 043	6 351
1949	3 395 000	5.5	3 445	.	777	68 358		5 908
1950	3 142 000	5.0	2 937	104 000 ⁵	2 049	68 471	314 336	6 336
1951	1 879 000	3.0	2 562	114 000	4 149	56 844	338 402	9 413
1952	1 673 000	2.7	3 274	100 000	4 782	51 603	383 992	
1952: Oct.	1 284 000	2.0	2 375	106 000	4 435	52 792	413 498	10 950
Nov.	1 418 000	2.2	2 486	.	4 388	52 563	420 722	14 220
Dec.	1 412 000	2.2	2 819	.	4 373	53 023	437 571	16 200
1953: Jan.	1 892 000	3.0	3 083	...	4 333	55 022	434 428	18 900
Feb.	1 788 000	2.9	2 961	...	4 329	54 432	426 107	18 950
Mar.	1 674 000	2.7	2 931	...	4 087	54 483	425 178	20 700
Apr.	1 582 000	2.5	2 810	...	3 883	53 176	455 417	17 000
May	1 306 000	2.1	2 606	...	3 757	52 126	466 228	15 850
June	1 562 000	2.4	2 404	...	3 235	...	473 917	17 600
July	1 548 000	2.4	2 315	...	3 183	...	493 408	15 650
Aug.	1 240 000	1.9	...	...	3 118	...	498 891	13 300
Sep.	1 246 000	2.0	...	...	3 095	...	512 353	...
Oct.	1 162 000	1.8	...	...	...	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	62 966 (1952)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

I. Labour force sample surveys.
 II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics.
 III. Unemployment relief statistics.
 IV. Trade union returns.

1 Official estimate. 2 Incl. claimants for supplementary benefits. 3 1947-49: Rangoon exchange only. 4 Daily average during the month. 5 Mar.-Dec. 6 May-Dec. 7 Jan.-Mar., July-Dec.

UNEMPLOYMENT (cont.)

Date	ASIA (concl.)			EUROPE					
	Japan		Pakistan	Austria		Belgium			
	I	%	V (A)	V (B) ¹	%	II ²	%	II ³	%
	I	%	V (A)	V (B) ¹	%	II ²	%	II ³	%
1937	295 443 ⁴	3.7 ⁴	.	320 961	.	125 929 ⁵	13.8 ⁵	.	.
1946	1 590 318 ⁶	5.4 ⁶	.	74 105	.	48 035	2.6	19 257	1.0
1947	370 000 ⁷	1.1 ⁷	77 983	31 737	1.7	35 639	1.8	31 921	1.6
1948	242 000	0.7	70 996	43 409	2.3	80 959	4.0	48 244	2.4
1949	378 000	1.0	96 439	91 238	4.6	173 998	8.6	60 908	3.0
1950	436 000	1.2	103 913	124 850	6.2	169 972	8.3	53 565	2.6
1951	386 000	1.1	107 087	116 243	5.7	153 452	7.3	53 068	2.5
1952	470 000	1.2		156 975	7.7	173 570	8.3	72 968	3.5
1952: Oct.	480 000	1.2	108 589	126 505	6.2	146 575	7.0	44 713	2.1
Nov.	490 000	1.2	107 055	175 144	8.6	169 970	8.1	71 958	3.4
Dec.	470 000	1.2	105 721	248 292	12.2	204 054	9.7	121 075	5.8
1953: Jan.	460 000	1.2	105 424	284 479	14.1	224 062	10.7	119 716	5.7
Feb.	510 000	1.4	102 429	279 229	13.8	212 794	10.1	98 689	4.7
Mar.	610 000	1.5	103 348	227 060	11.3	189 581	9.0	56 618	2.7
Apr.	530 000	1.3	100 994	176 426	8.7	178 463	8.5	57 479	2.7
May	500 000	1.2	95 575	155 913	7.7	171 233	8.2	57 445	2.7
June	440 000	1.1	90 834	142 193	7.0	171 249	8.1	56 242	2.7
July	430 000	1.1	91 367	133 460	6.5	171 921	8.2	51 607	2.5
Aug.	430 000	1.1	87 218	128 280	6.3	163 749	7.8	45 470	2.2
Sep.	400 000	1.0	88 329	128 143	...	162 045	7.7	42 151	2.0
Oct.	...	...	...	...	...	163 607	7.8	43 875	2.1
Persons cov. (thousands)	36 600 (1951)	.	.	2 035 (1952)	.	2 098 (June 1952)	.	.	.

Date	EUROPE (cont.)					
	Denmark		Finland	France		Germany (Fed. Rep.)
	I	%	V (B)	III	V (A)	V (B)
	I	%	V (B)	III	V (A)	V (B)
1937	95 630	21.7	3 695 ⁹	354 554	379 994	.
1946	51 636	8.9	892	15 663	56 633	588 050 ¹⁰
1947	51 998	8.9	.	7 389	45 777	591 532
1948	51 644	8.6	3 473	16 737	77 803	1 229 711
1949	59 041	9.6	25 683	39 748	131 062	1 579 766
1950	54 829	8.7	19 194	52 355	152 891	1 432 323
1951	63 024	9.7	5 622	40 313	120 128	1 379 203
1952	81 645	12.5	8 294	39 269	131 799	
1952: Oct.	60 256	9.2	4 139	37 324	142 867	1 028 091
Nov.	72 583	11.0	17 208	44 473	158 020	1 247 354
Dec.	162 721	24.6	35 501	54 337	182 084	1 687 719
1953: Jan.	115 019	17.4	54 207	67 093	210 710	1 822 676
Feb.	103 069	15.5	65 726	75 214	216 673	1 810 695
Mar.	63 087	9.5	61 582	75 524	206 980	1 392 870
Apr.	52 475	7.9	40 181	71 025	195 471	1 234 339
May	41 823	6.3	21 457	67 013	179 464	1 156 168
June	27 194	4.1	2 390	60 075	159 277	1 073 272
July	28 793	4.3	696	54 218	148 243	1 012 516
Aug.	39 051	5.9	1 056	54 010	145 526	968 164
Sep.	35 136	5.3	5 562	51 870	154 515	941 179*
Oct.	41 080*	6.1*	16 037	53 249	168 160	963 793*
Persons cov. (thousands)	655 (1952)	.	.	.	.	16 374 (1952)

I. Labour force sample surveys.
 II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics.
 III. Unemployment relief statistics.
 IV. Trade union returns.

V. Employment office statistics.
 V (A) Applicants for work registered.
 V (B) Unemployed registered.

1 Prior to 1947: applicants for work registered. 2 Daily average of numbers wholly unemployed.
 3 Daily average of days lost through interruption of operations or intermittent work.
 4 Official estimate. 5 Voluntary unemployment insurance statistics incl. partial unemployment.
 6 Census of 26 Apr. 7 Oct. 8 Unemployed among insured members of trade union fund. 9 Applicants for work registered. 10 Mar.-Dec.

UNEMPLOYMENT (cont.)

Date	EUROPE (cont.)				
	Ireland ¹	Italy		Luxembourg	Netherlands
	II %	V (A)	V (B)	III	V (B) ²
1937	.	81 760	874 000	18	324 044
1946	35 067	59 726	1 324 000	15	53 079
1947	33 266	55 623	1 620 000	50	30 701
1948	35 129	61 203	1 742 000 ³	17	29 032
1949	34 906	60 606	1 672 708	18	42 124
1950	30 347	53 415	1 614 940	38	57 681
1951	30 406	50 453	1 721 087	28	67 750
1952	38 565	60 688	1 849 680	26	104 256
1952: Oct.	34 399	49 443	1 693 301	12	91 301
Nov.	38 899	67 861	1 792 064	15	105 916
Dec.	38 885	68 885	1 974 997	32	140 651
1953: Jan.	50 778	84 610	2 069 725	95	140 571
Feb.	52 731	88 095	2 068 331	130	128 187
Mar.	53 395	88 853	2 017 528	27	94 864
Apr.	51 458	85 186	1 987 211	22	83 221
May	47 791	79 129	1 948 000*	19	68 065
June	44 442	73 322	...	12	61 360
July	37 740	57 307	...	...	61 000*
Aug.	38 291	56 378	...	...	60 268*
Sep.	33 557	50 742	...	...	...
Oct.	33 728	50 926	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	452 (1952)	.	.	.	.

Date	EUROPE (cont.)				
	Norway	Saar		Spain	Sweden
	V (B)	4	%	V (B)	IV %
1937	29 881 ⁵	.	.	.	67 351 10.8
1946	12 246 ⁶	.	.	178 165	27 554 ⁷ 3.2 ⁷
1947	8 514 ⁶	.	.	138 771	24 446 2.8
1948	9 026	6 640 ⁸	2.5 ⁸	117 020	25 747 2.8
1949	7 715	6 070	2.2	160 056	26 116 2.7
1950	8 972	6 343	2.2	166 182	22 124 2.2
1951	11 132	4 818	1.5	144 238	18 238 1.8
1952	11 634	3 862	1.3	106 544	22 330 2.3
1952: Oct.	8 161	3 620	1.2	107 391	16 081 1.7
Nov.	14 731	3 634	1.2	106 128	22 070 2.3
Dec.	24 248	3 899	1.3	105 907	54 464 5.6
1953: Jan.	31 041	4 374	1.4	109 228	41 740 4.3
Feb.	27 894	4 536	1.5	109 717	40 591 4.2
Mar.	23 868	3 927	1.3	110 389	31 320 3.2
Apr.	16 447	3 818	1.3	107 491	22 549 2.3
May	8 400	3 711	1.2	96 905	17 268 1.8
June	3 554	3 719	1.2	91 463	16 656 1.7
July	3 699	4 362	1.4	93 961	...
Aug.	5 328	...	...	104 370	14 506* 1.5*
Sep.	7 258	...	...	...	...
Oct.	...	...	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	300 (1952)	.	.	973 (1952)

- I. Labour force sample surveys.
 II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics.
 III. Unemployment relief statistics.
 IV. Trade union returns.
- V. Employment office statistics.
 V (A) Applicants for work registered.
 V (B) Unemployed registered.

¹ Since Jan. 1953, scope of data increased owing to effects of Social Welfare Act, 1952.
² Excl. persons employed on emergency public works. ³ Average of first, second and fourth quarters. ⁴ Labour registration statistics. ⁵ Applicants for work registered. ⁶ Excl. Finnmark and evacuated communes in Troms. ⁷ Since 1946 also covers unions of agricultural workers. ⁸ June-Dec.

UNEMPLOYMENT (concl.)

Date	EUROPE (concl.)				
	Switzerland	United Kingdom			
	V (B) ¹	V (B) ¹	%	V (B) ²	%
1937	57 949	1 324 027	8.5	205 063	1.5
1946	4 262	390 106 ³	2.5	4 058 ³	—
1947	3 473	342 295 ³	2.0	156 028 ³	1.0
1948	2 971	325 818 ⁴	1.6	8 555 ⁴	—
1949	8 059	328 426	1.6	9 571	—
1950	9 599	332 057	1.6	9 036	—
1951	3 799	264 103	1.2	17 258	0.1
1952	5 314	368 401	1.7	94 132	0.4
1952: Oct.	3 218	389 151	1.8	50 607	0.2
Nov.	6 295	411 778	1.9	38 538	0.2
Dec.	11 726	411 286	1.9	33 823	0.2
1953: Jan.	19 335	460 635	2.2	42 698	0.2
Feb.	11 597	432 004	2.0	43 498	0.2
Mar.	4 154	397 306	1.9	41 650	0.2
Apr.	2 512	383 768	1.8	31 715	0.1
May	1 937	353 097	1.7	24 915	0.1
June	2 076	311 200	1.5	23 320	0.1
July	1 579	291 256	1.4	16 158	0.1
Aug.	1 725	314 873	1.5	12 407	0.1
Sep.	1 911	310 857	1.4	12 580	0.1
Oct.	2 411	...	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	21 266 (June 1952)			

Date	OCEANIA				
	Australia	Hawaii	New Zealand		
	IV	5	I	II ⁶	V (B)
1937	9.8	.	.	.	386
1946	1.4	7 603	2 133 ⁷	172	92
1947	1.2	6 684	2 953 ⁷	47	67
1948	0.9	2 629	9 448	33	92
1949	2.0	10 332	21 436	48	37
1950	0.8	1 224	17 698	21	38
1951	0.7	791	8 298	14	47
1952	2.8	16 601	8 422	11	47
1952: Oct.	.	31 550	9 200	19	56
Nov.	4.1	34 130	9 450	19	42
Dec.	.	40 086	9 397	33	62
1953: Jan.	.	41 633	9 848	33	61
Feb.	3.4	34 761	9 516	23	52
Mar.	.	29 674	9 050	15	49
Apr.	.	28 905	9 000	18	56
May	3.1	26 787	8 500	23	67
June	.	25 914	11 400	24 ⁷	132
July	.	25 505	8 020	45 ⁷	156
Aug.	...	22 297	8 500	38	110
Sep.	...	18 528	...	46	103
Oct.	...	...	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	856 (1952)	.	193 (1952)	.	.

- I. Labour force sample surveys.
 II. Compulsory unemployment insurance statistics.
 III. Unemployment relief statistics.
 IV. Trade union returns.
- V. Employment office statistics.
 V (A) Applicants for work registered.
 V (B) Unemployed registered.

¹ Wholly unemployed. ² Temporarily unemployed. ³ Excl. persons classified as unsuitable for ordinary employment. ⁴ July-Dec. Until June 1948 the statistics referred to persons insured under the Unemployment Insurance Acts. With the introduction in July 1948 of the National Insurance Acts, the coverage of the series has been extended to include all registered unemployed; the percentages are based on the estimated total numbers of employees aged 15 years and over. ⁵ Unemployment benefit statistics. ⁶ Persons in receipt of unemployment benefit. ⁷ Annual estimates (June).

General Level of Employment

Indices of numbers employed

Date	AFRICA		AMERICA					Guatemala
	Union of South Africa		Canada		United States			
	Europeans	Total			B.L.S. ¹	B.C. ²		
	IV (A/B)		IV (A)	I	IV (A/B)	I	IV (B)	
	M.I.T.		M.I.T.C.S. ³	A.M.I.T.C.S. ⁴	M.I.T.C.S.	A.M.I.T.C.S.	I.T.C.S. ⁵	
	W.S.		W.S.	4	W.S.	4	W. ⁶	
1937	77.3	77.8	60.4	82.8	69.5	78.0 ⁶	.	
1946	94.1	96.8	88.5	95.6	93.3	93.0	.	
1947	96.8	98.7	95.9	98.1	97.9	97.7	.	
1948	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1949	102.9	104.3	100.3	101.1	97.6	98.9	99.7	
1950	103.8	106.3	101.8	102.5	100.7	101.0	100.6	
1951	104.8	109.1	109.2	105.2	106.4	102.7	97.3	
1952	107.1	112.1	111.9	106.2	108.1	103.2	95.1	
1952: Sep.	107.3	111.6	115.5	.	110.2	104.9	95.1	
Oct.	107.3	112.0	116.7	.	110.6	104.2	97.1	
Nov.	107.4	111.3	116.5	105.3	111.1	104.8	97.3	
Dec.	107.6	111.1	116.5	104.7	113.0	103.6	97.0	
1953: Jan.	107.8	109.3	113.3	102.2	109.0	101.9	...	
Feb.	108.8	112.8	110.3	102.0	109.0	102.6	...	
Mar.	108.8	113.8	110.3	102.1	109.7	103.5	...	
Apr.	108.9	113.1	110.3	103.3	110.1	103.8 ⁷	...	
May	109.2	113.1	111.2	105.9 ⁸	110.5	106.4 ⁷	...	
June	108.8	112.4	113.6	107.8	111.3*	106.3	...	
July	108.6	111.6	115.9	110.4	110.9*	106.8	...	
Aug.	108.9	112.1	116.3*	110.2	111.3*	101.9	...	
Sep.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Persons cov. (thousands)	253	950	2 147	4 915	44 382	59 378	41 (1949)	

Date	ASIA			EUROPE		
	Japan		Philippines	Austria	Belgium ⁷	France
	I		IV (B)	II	II	IV (A)
	A.M.I.T.C.S. ⁴		M.I.T.C.S. ⁵	A.M.I.T.C.S.	M.I.T.C.S.	M.I.T.C.
	4	W.S.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S.
1937				73.2		92.9
1946				91.5	76.8 ⁸	92.1
1947	100.2 ⁹	97.4 ⁹		98.5	97.2	97.4
1948	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0
1949	104.2	99.0	100.0	100.4	94.9	101.7
1950	103.3	102.7	99.5	100.5	96.8	102.1
1951	104.7	112.2	100.8	102.5	101.2	104.7
1952	107.8 ¹⁰	117.0 ¹⁰	103.6	100.1	99.8	105.5
1952: Sep.	108.6	116.9	101.1	102.5		105.8
Oct.	111.8	114.8	103.5	102.2		
Nov.	112.7 ¹⁰	119.3 ¹⁰	101.7	99.7		103.7
Dec.	112.4	124.3	107.9	94.9		
1953: Jan.	107.2	123.5	108.6	92.5		
Feb.	104.6 ⁷	123.3	108.2	92.9		103.6
Mar.	111.8 ⁷	123.5	109.0	95.4		
Apr.	112.8 ⁷	122.3	107.1	98.6		
May	116.1 ⁷	120.2	106.7	100.1		
June	116.5	116.2	106.2	100.9		104.3
July	116.7	116.9		101.6		
Aug.	113.6 ⁸	117.2 ⁸		102.5		
Sep.	...	...	...			
Persons cov. (thousands)	34 596	11 750	158	1 876	1 840	7 534

I. Labour force sample surveys. II. Compulsory social insurance statistics (sickness, accidents, etc.). III. Labour registration statistics. IV. Statistics of establishments. IV (A): all establishments of a given importance; IV (B): sample of establishments; IV (A/B): type B series (for the recent period) linked to a type A series. A. Agriculture. M. Mining. I. Industry (manufacturing industries and construction). T. Transport. C. Commerce. S. Services. W. Wage earners. S. Salaried employees.

¹ Bureau of Labor Statistics. ² Bureau of the Census. ³ Incl. logging. Monthly figures: first of the month. ⁴ Incl. all categories of workers in the labour force. ⁵ Annual figures: Sep. ⁶ B.L.S. estimations. ⁷ Annual figures: June. ⁸ Excl. temporary workers of the national and local railways. ⁹ Oct. ¹⁰ Beginning Nov. 1952 sampling design revised.

GENERAL LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT (concl.)

Indices of numbers employed (concl.)

Date	EUROPE (concl.)						
	Germany (Fed. Rep.)	Ireland	Luxem- bourg	Netherlands	Norway	Poland	Saar
	IV (A)	II	IV (A)	II	II ¹	II	III
	M.I.T.C.S. ²	A.M.I.T.C.S.	M.I.T.C. ²	M.I.T.C.S.	3	M.I.T.C.S.	M.I.T.C.
	W.S.	W.S.	W.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S.
1937		87.0	98.5	67.8			70.6 ⁵
1946		92.9	87.1 ⁴	79.9	97.7		91.4
1947		96.3	90.9	90.1	104.7	87.8	
1948	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0 ⁶	100.0	100.0
1949	102.4	98.6	106.6	104.1	102.2	116.6	105.1
1950	106.0	100.7	105.6 ²	109.9	104.5	140.6	110.6
1951	112.7	102.6	110.4	111.7 [*]	105.6	152.5 ⁷	116.4
1952	116.8	105.9	114.3	...	106.8	...	120.1
1952: Sep.	120.4		117.9		108.4	...	121.6
Oct.			117.7		108.6	...	122.0
Nov.			115.8		108.1	...	122.6
Dec.	116.8		110.5		105.8	...	122.8
1953: Jan.			109.0		105.2	...	122.4
Feb.			109.9		106.3	...	122.6
Mar.	118.8		115.6		106.5	...	...
Apr.			118.4		107.3	...	...
May			121.1		109.0	...	...
June	123.5		...		111.2	...	...
July			...		111.5	...	...
Aug.			...		111.6	...	...
Sep.	...		...		111.6	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	11 983	486	33	1 878	791	3 232	212

Date	EUROPE (concl.)			OCEANIA		
	United Kingdom ⁸		Yugoslavia	Australia	Hawaii	New Zealand
	II ⁹		IV (A)	IV (A/B)	I	IV (A)
	A.M.I.T.C.S.	M.I.T.C.S.	M.I.T.C.S.	M.I.T.C.S. ¹⁰	A.M.I.T.C.S.	M.I.T.C.S.
	11	W.S. ¹²	W.S.	W.S.	13	W.S.
1937	100.0	100.0		88.7		
1946	98.6	98.5		95.9		97.0
1947	105.6	105.6				
1948	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0
1949	100.8	100.9	100.0	102.8	92.2	102.3
1950	102.0	102.3	96.3	107.3	92.3	104.3
1951	103.0	103.6	87.5	110.7	99.5	105.9
1952	102.6	103.5	...	108.8	100.2	...
1952: Sep.			...	107.0	101.0	107.6
Oct.	102.6	103.6	...	106.9	99.8	107.8
Nov.	102.6	103.7	...	106.8	99.2	...
Dec.	102.1	103.2	...	106.9	99.4	...
1953: Jan.	102.1	103.2	...	106.4	98.1	...
Feb.	102.1	103.2	...	107.3	98.0	...
Mar.	102.1	103.2	...	107.8	...	...
Apr.	102.5	103.6	...	107.9	...	...
May	102.8	103.8	...	108.0	...	...
June	102.9	103.9	...	108.0	...	...
July	103.0	104.0	...	108.0	...	...
Aug.	...	...	...	107.8	...	...
Sep.	...	...	...	108.1	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	21 684	19 109	1 654	2 371	184	440

The roman numerals and other abbreviations used in this table are explained on p. 92.

¹ 1946 and 1947: unemployment insurance statistics, base 1941=100. ² Beginning 1950 excl. handicraft enterprises employing less than six wage earners, workshops of the Luxembourg railways, the State and local authorities. ³ All non-agricultural employment; prior to 1948 agriculture was included. ⁴ June-Dec. ⁵ June. ⁶ Mar.-Dec. ⁷ Jan.-Aug. ⁸ Excl. Northern Ireland. ⁹ Annual figures: June. ¹⁰ Incl. forestry, fishing and trapping. ¹¹ 1937 to 1948: estimated total of persons in employment (men aged 14-64 and women 14-59) excl. indoor private domestic service; since June 1948 (introduction of National Insurance): estimated total of persons aged 15 and over in employment. ¹² 1937 to 1948: estimated number of employed wage and salary earners subject to the Unemployment Insurance Acts; since June 1948 (introduction of National Insurance): estimated total of employed wage and salary earners aged 15 years and over. ¹³ All persons 16 years of age and over in employment.

Employment in Manufacturing

(a) Indices of numbers employed

Date	AFRICA		AMERICA				
	Union of South Africa		Canada ¹	United States	Argentina	Brazil	Guatemala ⁴
	Europeans	Total					
	IV (A/B) ²	W.S.	IV (A)	IV (A/B)	IV (A/B)	IV (B) ³	IV (B)
		W.S.	W.	W.	W.S.	W.	
1937	81.4	64.1	57.3	68.2	50.0	.	.
1946	91.9	91.3	.	95.2	93.5	103	.
1947	96.1	94.8	97.1	100.6	.	102	.
1948	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100	100.0
1949	101.9	102.9	99.9	91.2	98.8	102	100.6
1950	101.1	103.2	100.9	96.9	97.0	98	103.1
1951	103.8	109.2	107.9	103.3	97.6	...	95.9
1952	104.7	111.5	109.3	102.6	93.7	...	91.2
1952 : Sep.	104.5	111.0	112.7	106.0	91.7	...	91.2
Oct.	104.2	111.3	114.0	106.6	88.9	...	97.5
Nov.	104.4	111.0	113.5	107.2	88.7	...	97.3
Dec.	104.2	111.6	113.3	107.7	88.2	...	97.4
1953 : Jan.	104.3	110.8	111.5	107.1	...	...	...
Feb.	105.9	113.9	112.2	108.0	...	...	...
Mar.	106.0	114.6	113.3	108.8	...	...	...
Apr.	105.9	112.7	114.2	108.2	...	...	...
May	105.9	112.4	114.0	107.7	...	...	...
June	105.9	112.0	114.5	108.3*	...	...	...
July	105.1	111.6	115.6	107.3*	...	...	...
Aug.	105.4	112.0	115.0*	108.7*	...	...	...
Sep.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	100	332	1 019	12 717	928	70	22 (1949)

Date	AMERICA (concl.)		ASIA				EUROPE
	Mexico	Puerto Rico	India ⁵	Israel	Japan	Philippines	Belgium ⁶
	IV (B)	I	IV (A)	IV (B)	I	IV (B)	II
	W.	W.	W.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S.
1937	73.0	.	100.0	.	.	.	72.4
1946	101.6	.	147.0	136	.	.	98.4
1947	100.0	.	96.4	116	103.8 ⁷	.	100.0
1948	100.0	.	100.0	100	100.0	.	93.7
1949	101.8	100.0	103.1	123	103.4	100.0	94.3
1950	...	106.2	100.0	139	100.0 ⁸	97.9	101.3
1951	...	112.1	102.8	139	121.1	98.9	96.7
1952	...	121.5	...	95 ⁹	114.1 ¹⁰	99.1	.
1952: Sep.	...	125.5	.	90	112.9	90.9	.
Oct.	...	124.7	.	94	111.9	98.0	.
Nov.	...	123.2	.	93	114.5 ¹⁰	102.2	.
Dec.	...	120.9	.	90	119.4	110.6	...
1953: Jan.	...	...	.	86	117.8	111.1	.
Feb.	...	...	.	88	116.8	110.9	.
Mar.	...	...	.	90	115.4	114.1	.
Apr.	...	...	.	88	117.8	109.5	.
May	...	...	.	93	116.2	108.0	...
June	...	...	.	92	112.4	106.9	.
July	...	...	.	...	112.4	...	.
Aug.	...	...	.	...	110.5*	...	.
Sep.	...	...	.	...	...	...	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	127	47	1 676/2 360 /2 468	34	4 280 (July 1950)	56	987

The roman numerals and other abbreviations used in this table are explained on p. 92.
¹ Monthly figures: first of the month. ² Incl. building. ³ Large factories only.
⁴ Annual figures: Sep. ⁵ 1937 and 1946: former British India; from 1947: Indian Union.
⁶ Annual figures: June. ⁷ Oct. ⁸ July 1950=100 (new industrial classification introduced in that month). ⁹ Beginning Jan. 1952 new series (base Dec. 1951=100), covering wage earners only.
¹⁰ Beginning Nov. 1952 sampling design revised.

EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING (cont.)

(a) Indices of numbers employed (concl.)

Date	EUROPE (cont.)						
	Denmark	Finland	France	Germany (Fed. Rep.)	Ireland ¹	Italy	Netherlands
	IV (A/B)	IV (B)	IV (A)	IV (A)	IV (A)	IV (A)	IV (B)
	W.	W.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S. ²	W.	W.
1937	74	.	90.7	.	90.2	.	77.7
1946	89	88.5	89.0	.	102.7	101.8	91.0
1947	94	94.9	96.6	100.0 ³	100.0	100.0	100.0
1948	100	100.0	102.4	106.1	106.2	98.7	104.9
1949	104	100.6	103.3	113.0	114.7 ⁴	98.2	109.6
1950	112	104.1	106.5	121.7	116.3 ⁵	99.0	110.1
1951	112	107.8	106.4	125.5	106.0	98.5	106.5
1952	...	103.2	106.3	128.3	106.0 ⁶	101.6	107.4
1952: Sep.	.	.	.	.	.	99.7	.
Oct.	.	100.8	.	.	.	98.1	.
Nov.	.	.	104.2 ⁷	127.1	108.6	97.4	106.2
Dec.	.	.	.	.	.	96.1	.
1953: Jan.	.	98.8	.	.	.	96.4	.
Feb.	.	.	103.5	126.5	107.4	97.3	...
Mar.	.	.	.	.	.	98.0	.
Apr.	.	97.2	.	.	.	98.2	.
May	.	.	103.8	130.7	108.8	98.3	...
June	.	.	.	.	.	...	.
July	.	98.8	.	.	.	...	.
Aug.	.	.	...	...	...	...	.
Sep.	.	.	...	...	...	...	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	223	95	3 767	5 058 ³	122	1 696	616

Date	EUROPE (concl.)						OCEANIA	
	Norway	Saar	Sweden	Switzerland	United Kingdom ⁴	Yugoslavia	Australia	New Zealand
	II ⁶	III	IV (A) ⁶	IV (B)	II ⁷	IV (A)	IV (A/B)	IV (A)
	W.S.	W.S.	W.	W.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S.	W.S. ⁸
1937	.	.	79.4	73.8	100.0	.	62.5	100.0
1946	110.6	65.4 ⁹	98.0	91.0	94.7	.	90.7	130.4
1947	124.1	89.9	98.7	98.4	102.0	.	95.8	98.0
1948	100.0 ¹⁰	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	.	100.0	100.0
1949	103.1	108.6	99.3	93.7	102.0	100.0	101.1	102.0
1950	105.7	117.6	99.4	92.2	104.7	97.2	106.1	104.9
1951	108.1	128.2	101.0	101.0	107.6	...	109.2	106.5
1952	106.6	133.2	98.3	102.6	106.3	...	103.8	107.0 ⁹
1952: Sep.	105.9	134.6	98.3	102.8	.	...	100.9	105.3 ⁹
Oct.	106.3	135.3	97.9	.	107.0	...	101.2	105.0 ⁹
Nov.	106.7	135.7	97.9	.	107.3	...	101.2	104.6 ⁹
Dec.	105.1	136.1	96.6	102.6	107.0	...	100.8	107.0 ⁹
1953: Jan.	105.0	135.7	95.6	.	107.2	...	101.0	107.9 ⁹
Feb.	107.2	135.7	95.7	.	107.1	...	102.8	109.5 ⁹
Mar.	105.8	...	95.8	101.6	107.0	...	103.9	109.6 ⁹
Apr.	105.8	...	95.7	.	107.4	...	104.2	109.3 ⁹
May	107.0	...	93.1	.	107.5	...	104.4	...
June	109.3	...	95.4	102.4	107.5	...	104.7	...
July	108.2	...	95.4	.	107.6	...	105.0	...
Aug.	107.8	...	95.4	.	...	...	105.3	...
Sep.	107.7	...	...	103.1	...	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	281	87	653	.	7 853	564	830	140

The roman numerals and other abbreviations used in this table are explained on p. 92.
¹ Annual figures: Oct., except 1952: Sep. ² Incl. working proprietors. ³ Average of last three quarters. ⁴ Excl. Northern Ireland. Annual figures: June. ⁵ 1946 and 1947: unemployment insurance statistics incl. mining, base 1941=100. ⁶ Incl. mining. ⁷ 1937 Insurance Acts; since June 1948 (introduction of National Insurance): estimated number of employees aged 15 years and over in employment. ⁸ Up to 1946: wage earners only. ⁹ June. ¹⁰ Mar.-Dec.

EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING (concl.)
(b) Indices of total hours worked

Date	AMERICA		ASIA	EUROPE	
	United States ¹	Argentina	Israel ²	Denmark	Finland
	IV (A/B)	IV (A/B)	IV (B)	IV (A/B)	IV (B)
	W.	W.	W.S.	W.	W.
1937	65.6	.	.	.	.
1946	95.9	.	135	.	87.1
1947	101.3	.	118	.	93.6
1948	100.0	100.0	100	100	100.0
1949	89.2	97.7	123	104	98.8
1950	97.9	97.3	138	112	103.0
1951	104.8	97.5	136	111	107.3
1952	104.1	93.2	96 ³	105	101.4
1952 : Sep.	108.9	95.9	95	110	.
Oct.	110.0	91.6	95	110	101.0
Nov.	109.9	83.3	96	110	.
Dec.	112.0	84.8	94	105	.
1953 : Jan.	109.4	...	89	104	99.7
Feb.	110.2	...	91	107	.
Mar.	111.5	...	92	112	.
Apr.	110.1	...	90	111	97.5
May	108.5	...	94	116	.
June	...	...	93	75	.
July	...	...	...	110	99.0
Aug.	...	...	...	118	.
Sep.	...	...	...	...	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	12 717	928	34	.	95

Date	Europe (concl.)					
	France	Germany (Fed. Rep.)	Ireland ⁴	Italy	Norway	Sweden
	IV (A)	IV (A) ⁵	IV (A) ⁵	IV (A)	IV (A) ⁵	IV (A) ⁵
	W.	W.	W.	W.	W.	W.
1937	82.0	.	79.5	.	75.9	81.4
1946	86.5	.	91.4	.	82.6	98.0
1947	96.6	.	96.8	103.7	93.9	98.0
1948	100.0	.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1949	100.5	100.0	106.6	100.1	103.2	99.7
1950	103.0	108.6	115.7 ^r	102.3	109.5	100.2
1951	107.0	118.0	116.2	104.7	114.7	101.7*
1952	105.3	121.3	...	103.7	...	97.8*
1952 : Sep.	105.2	125.8	.	110.9	.	.
Oct.	.	134.9	.	115.3	.	.
Nov.	.	125.2	.	105.4	.	.
Dec.	102.1 ^r	123.3	.	101.1	.	.
1953 : Jan.	.	120.4	.	102.8 ^r	.	.
Feb.	.	111.1	.	98.9	.	.
Mar.	101.1	123.6	.	106.1	.	.
Apr.	.	123.0	.	104.8	.	.
May	.	118.9	.	108.0	.	.
June	103.1	124.3	.	101.5	.	.
July	.	129.2	.	...	.	.
Aug.	.	124.3	.	...	.	.
Sep.	...	...	.	...	.	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	3 767	4 414	122	1 696	199	653

The roman numerals and other abbreviations used in this table are explained on p. 92.
¹ Calculated by the I.L.O. by multiplying the index of numbers employed by the index of hours worked per worker. ² Index of total man-days worked. ³ Beginning Jan. 1952 new series (base Dec. 1951=100), covering wage earners only. ⁴ Week in Oct. of each year.
⁵ Incl. mining.

Consumer Price Indices
(a) All groups

Country	AFRICA							AMERICA	
	Algeria	Egypt	Northern Rhodesia ⁶	Southern Rhodesia ⁸	Sudan ¹⁰	Tunisia	Union of South Africa ⁸	Canada	United States
	Town or no. of localities	Algiers	Cairo	Whole country	6 ⁹	3	13	8-33 ¹⁵	46 ¹⁷
1937	6	36 ⁴	70 ⁷	.	37 ¹¹	.	65	65	60
1946	43	102	91	91	65	45	91	80	81
1947	61	99	97	93	79	67	95	87	93
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	123	99	105	106	106	124	104	104	99
1950	123	104	108	115	107	129	108	107 ¹⁶	100
1951	132	114	114	122	100 ¹²	144	116	118	108
1952	141 ²³	113	121	133	114	163	126	121	110
1952 : Sep.	.	113	122	133	114	168	129	121	111
Oct.	140	106	123	135	108	170	129	120	111
Nov.	141	106	123	133	107	169	129	121	111
Dec.	142	105	123	133	104	168	129	120	111
1953 : Jan.	142	105	123	135	110	167	128	120	111 ¹⁸
Feb.	142	106	124	135	110	168	128	120	110
Mar.	139	106	124	136	110	170	128	119	111
Apr.	141	106	124	137	109	170	128	119	111
May	141	105	124	137	111	166	129	119	111
June	138	101	125	137	108	166	131	119	111
July	138	105	125	137	...	167	130	120	112
Aug.	139	105	125	138	...	167	132	120	112
Sep.	139	...	125	137	...	167	133	121	112
Oct.	139	...	126	137	...	...	...	121	112

Country	AMERICA (cont.)							
	Argentina	Barbados	Brazil	British Honduras	Chile	Colombia	Costa Rica	Dominican Republic
	Town or no. of localities	Buenos Aires	São Paulo	Belize	Santiago	Bogotá	San José	Ciudad Trujillo
1937	49	.	24 ¹⁸	19	22	35	46	.
1946	78	89	71	48 ²⁰	63	73	85	88
1947	88	98	92	100	85	86	97	99
1948	100	100	100	102	100	100	100	100
1949	131	99	98	99	119	107	108	96
1950	165	103	104	100	137	129	119	96
1951	225	116	113	119	167	140	127	104
1952	312	135	133	130	204	137	122 ¹⁶	105
1952 : Sep.	321	133	138	132	221	134	121	107
Oct.	324	134	137	131	222	135	121	107
Nov.	325	134	139	127	220	137	122	107
Dec.	326	134	143	126	205	138	122	106
1953 : Jan.	322	134	146	126	214	139	122	107
Feb.	341	134	153	124	221	139	122	105
Mar.	339	135	162	124	...	143	122	103
Apr.	325	137	164	124	...	148	122	104
May	320	137	161	126	...	146	122	106
June	319	...	163	126	...	147	124	106
July	320*	...	165	126	...	146	124	105
Aug.	322	...	165	126	...	146	122	102
Sep.	...	...	...	124	...	...	122	102
Oct.	...	...	...	125	...	...	122	102

¹ 1937-51: index of retail food prices. ² New index of consumer prices, base 1949=100 (index for Oct. 1951: 132.4). ³ Oct.-Dec. ⁴ June-Aug. 1939. ⁵ Index for non-indigenous population. ⁶ Excl. "miscellaneous". ⁷ Aug. 1939. ⁸ Index for Europeans. ⁹ Prior to Jan. 1952: 5 towns. ¹⁰ Index for low-salaried government officials living in government houses. ¹¹ 1938. ¹² New series replacing former series. ¹³ Food group only. ¹⁴ Incl. direct taxes. ¹⁵ Prior to 1950: food prices collected in 33 towns; other items priced in 11-33 towns. ¹⁶ New series linked to former series. ¹⁷ Prior to 1953: food prices collected in 56 towns; other items priced in 34 towns. ¹⁸ 1939. ¹⁹ 1946-49: July. ²⁰ Sep. 1939.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)
(a) All groups (cont.)

Country	AMERICA (cont.)						
	Guatemala	Jamaica	Mexico	Neth. Antilles	Panama	Peru	Puerto Rico
Town or no. of localities	Guatemala City	Kingston	Mexico City	Curaçao	Panama City	Lima	6
1937	.	43 ²	27	.	.	30	.
1946	91 ¹	70	84	.	51 ⁸	59	89
1947	94	83	94	.	89	101	100
1948	100	100	100	.	99	100	100
1949	107	104	105	.	100	100	100
1950	115	109	112	100 ³	94	115	92
1951	120	126	126	97	94	129	90
1952	117	138	144	102 ⁵	95	142	99
				104 ⁶	96	152	105
1952: Sep.	114	139	146	104	95	154	105
Oct.	114	139	146	104	95	155	106
Nov.	120	138	147	104	95	156	106
Dec.	114	138	147	104	94	156	106
1953: Jan.	121	140	145	104	95	157	106
Feb.	115	139	143	104	95	157	106
Mar.	118	140	141	105	94	158	107
Apr.	117	139	141	104	93	158	108
May	124	141	141	104	94	170	108
June	131	140	141	...	...	169	108
July	124	139	140	...	...	169	...
Aug.	119	138	141	...	...	168	...
Sep.	119	...	142	...	...	...	...
Oct.	120	...	...	...	...	...	...

Country	AMERICA (concl.)				ASIA				
	St. Vincent	Trinidad	Uruguay	Venezuela	Burma	Ceylon	China (Taiwan)	Cyprus	Hong-kong ¹⁶
Town or no. of localities			Montevideo	Caracas	Rangoon	Colombo	Taipei	4	
1937	.	.	56	9	28	42 ¹²	.	30 ²	.
1946	87	.	85	72	106 ^{10 11}	88 ¹⁰	.	73	102
1947	93	.	98	83	108	97	.	80 ¹⁴	100
1948	100	.	100	100	100	100	.	100	112
1949	99	.	105	98	135	99	100	96	117
1950	103	.	101	97	114	105	296	100 ¹⁶	128
1951	111	.	115	99	112	109	441	112	129
1952	124	100	131	98	107	108	573	118	132
1952: Sep.	127	102	135	94	118	107	574	117	132
Oct.	128	101	134	95	101	108	575	121	.
Nov.	128	101	136	97	101	110	580	122	.
Dec.	127	100	138	102	102	110	586 ⁷	119	127
1953: Jan.	132	101	138	101	103	100 ¹³	619	119	124
Feb.	131	102	136	95	102	100	642	120	128
Mar.	131	102	136	97	99	99	628	121	124
Apr.	130	102	137	97	101	100	635	122	127
May	134	102	139 ⁷	99	105	102	655	124	125
June	134	102	137	...	109	103	632	123	128
July	134	102	138	...	107	106	...	121	130
Aug.	134	102	137	...	...	105	...	123	135
Sep.	135	102	...	...	...	103	...	122	...
Oct.	135	101	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

¹ Aug.-Dec. ² Aug. 1939. ³ Excl. rent and "miscellaneous". ⁴ June. ⁵ Average of Feb.-Mar., July-Nov. ⁶ Average of Jan.-June, Aug.-Dec. ⁷ Food group only. ⁸ Oct. 1939-June 1940. ⁹ Food, soap and coal only. ¹⁰ New series linked to former series. ¹¹ Sep.-Dec. ¹² Aug.-Dec. 1939. ¹³ New series (base 1952=100), replacing former series. ¹⁴ Jan.-Sep. ¹⁵ New series replacing former series. ¹⁶ Index for clerical and skilled technical workers.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)
(a) All groups (cont.)

Country	ASIA (cont.)								
	India				Indonesia	Iran	Israel	Japan	Korea
Town or no. of localities	24	Bombay	Delhi	Jamshedpur	Djakarta ¹	7	2	28	Pusan ⁹
1937	.	35	81	76	2	13	4	.	35
1946	79	85	92	90	8 ³	89	30 ⁵	.	59
1947	90	92	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1948	100	100	100	101	97	109	103	132	123
1949	103	101	100	107	113	89	95	123	281
1950	103	103	100	107	189	93	101 ⁶	143 ⁸	1 397
1951	107	109	107	118	199	100	153 ⁷	150	3 446
1952	105	111	108	113	192	98	169	151	4 569
1952: Sep.	107	113	110	115	189	100	173	152	4 032
Oct.	107	114	111	110	191	102	175	150	3 580
Nov.	107	115	108	110	202	104	178	150	3 904
Dec.	104	114	104	110	201	102	181	153	4 291
1953: Jan.	104	114	102	110	206	101	182	153	4 830
Feb.	105	116	103	110	209	101	184	156	4 769
Mar.	106	118	103	109	211	103	187	157	4 450
Apr.	106	118	104	109	208	104	191	156	4 344
May	108	120	105	112	217	105	197	158	4 514
June	112	122	106	115	218	106	200	161	5 073
July	113	123	108	116	215	107	201	163	...
Aug.	113	124	109	118	208	109	205	163	...
Sep.	...	122	110	120	...	...	...	...	...
Oct.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

		ASIA (concl.)						
Country	Lebanon ¹⁰	Malaya		Pakistan		Philip- pines	Thailand 16	Viet- Nam
Town or no. of localities	Beirut	Kuala Lumpur 13	14	Karachi	Narayan- ganj	Manila	Bangkok	Saigon
	11	.	.	.	.	.	23	317
1937	20 ¹²	.	.	.	.	.	86	461 ⁸
1946	112	106	.	.	.	106	100	74
1947	102	106	.	100 ¹⁵	100 ¹⁵	100	100	100
1948	100	100	.	.	.	.	.	.
1949	94	94	100	99	103	94	96	100 ¹⁹
1949	94	101	110	95	98	91	99	102
1950	87	133	139	99	102	97	110	116
1951	94	133	141	101	110	93	123 ^r	142
1952	94	138	.	.	.	.	.	.
1952 : Sep.	92	136	138	101	114	94	121	148
Oct.	93	136	140	102	116	93	121	150
Nov.	91	134	138	104	119	93	129	151
Dec.	91	136	137	105	110	94	122	151
1953 : Jan.	92	133	137	108	102	93	127	155
Feb.	91	133	137	110	102	89	130	160
Mar.	91	134	138	115	104	87	128	156
Apr.	89	134	138	114	102	87	130	152
May	89	133	136	111	107	86	131	169
June	88	133	136	110	109	86	132	187
July	87	132	135	111	113	87	134	193
Aug.	85	133	137	112	118	87	143	197
Sep.	85	...	...	113	124	87	...	...
Oct.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

¹ Index of free-market retail prices of 19 foodstuffs. ² Food group only. ³ July 1939. ⁴ Prior to Sep. 1951 incl. direct taxes. ⁵ Aug. 1939. ⁶ Jan.-Aug. ⁷ New series (Sep. 1951=100) based on family budget inquiries conducted in Aug. 1950 and Mar. 1951. ⁸ New series linked to former series. ⁹ Excl. rent. ¹⁰ Index for salaried employees. ¹¹ Incl. direct taxes. ¹² June-Aug. 1939. ¹³ Index for Chinese labourers. ¹⁴ Index for Malay labourers. ¹⁵ Apr. 1948-Mar. 1949. ¹⁶ Index for clerical workers and civil servants. ¹⁷ 1939. ¹⁸ Mar.-Dec. ¹⁹ New series replacing former series.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)
(a) All groups (cont.)

Country	Europe					
	Austria	Belgium	Denmark	Finland	France	Germany (Federal Republic) ⁸
Town or no. of localities	Vienna	62	200	33 ⁵	Paris	
1937	25 ²	26	4	59	67	64 ⁷
1946	100	100	100	100	100	100
1947	82 ³	100	100	100	100	100
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	115	96	107	123	111	100
1950	146	105	119	148	130	108
1951	166	106	123	154 ⁶	145	110
1952 : Sep.	167	105	.	154	146	109
Oct.	167	105	124	155	145	109
Nov.	167	106	.	155	144	110
Dec.	166	106	.	155	145	110
1953 : Jan.	166	106	124	155	146	110
Feb.	166	105	.	157	146	109
Mar.	165	105	.	157	145	109
Apr.	163	105	123	157	145	109
May	162	105	.	157	146	108
June	163	105	.	157	145	108
July	163	105	123	157	144	108
Aug.	164	106	.	157	143	108
Sep.	165	106	.	157	141	107
Oct.	165	106	123	159	141	107

Country	Europe (cont.)					
	Greece	Iceland	Ireland	Italy	Luxembourg	Netherlands
Town or no. of localities	Athens	Reykjavik	120	621 ²	9	211 ³
1937	0.4	32 ⁹	54	27	1	14
1946	59	91	92	58	33	49
1947	71	98	98 ¹¹	94	90	93 ¹⁶
1948	100	100	100	100	100 ⁶	100
1949	115	102	101	101	106	106
1950	124	163 ¹⁰	102	100	110	109 ¹⁶
1951	139	200	110	110	119	122
1952	146	225	119	114	121	122
1952 : Sep.	147	228	.	116	122	122
Oct.	145	231	.	116	122	122
Nov.	146	232	124	116	121	122
Dec.	145	231	.	116	121	122
1953 : Jan.	146	224	.	116	121	122
Feb.	145	224	124	116	121	122
Mar.	148	222	.	116	120	122
Apr.	148	222	.	117	119	122
May	152	222	127	118	119	123
June	159	222	.	118	120	123
July	163	224	.	116	121	123
Aug.	167	222	126	116	121	122
Sep.	171	223	.	116	121	122
Oct.	...	224	.	116	121	...

¹ Excl. rent. ² Mar. 1938. ³ July-Dec. ⁴ Incl. direct taxes. ⁵ Prior to 1950 : 32 towns. ⁶ New series linked to former series. ⁷ 1938. ⁸ Consumer group with monthly consumption expenditure in 1950 of approx. DM. 300. ⁹ 1939. ¹⁰ Mar.-Dec. ; new series linked to former series. ¹¹ Since Aug. 1937, interim index excl. "miscellaneous", linked to former series. ¹² Towns of over 50,000 inhabitants. ¹³ Prior to 1952 : 9 towns ; prior to 1950 : 6 towns. ¹⁴ Prior to 1950 : incl. direct taxes. ¹⁵ Average for Mar.-Sep., and Dec. ¹⁶ New series, base 1949=100, replacing former series.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)
(a) All groups (concl.)

Country	Europe (cont.)							
	Norway	Portugal	Saar	Spain	Sweden		Switzerland	Trieste
Town or no. of localities	53 ¹	Lisbon	Saarbrücken	50	60	35-60	34	
1937	61	.	.	34 ³	64	60	61	27
1946	100	.	.	80	93	93	93 ²	.
1947	101	.	.	94	96	94	97	.
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	100	103	109	105	102	102	99	102
1950	105 ²	102	112	117	103	103	98 ⁶	101
1951	122	100	137	128	119	120	102	108
1952	133	100	157	125	129	129	105	111
1952 : Sep.	136	101	159	125	131	130	105	111
Oct.	136	102	160	125	.	130	105	111
Nov.	136	102	157	125	.	130	105	111
Dec.	135	102	158	126	131	130	105	111
1953 : Jan.	134	102	162	126	.	130	104	111
Feb.	134	102	162	127	.	130	104	112
Mar.	135	102	160	128	131	130	104	111
Apr.	135	101	159	128	.	130	104	115
May	135	98	159	128	.	130	104	115
June	135	100	161	128	130	130	104	114
July	135	99	157	127	.	130	104	109
Aug.	136	100	156	...	130	130	104	111
Sep.	136	102	156	...	.	130	105	...
Oct.	137	103	156	...	.	130	105	...

Country	Europe (concl.)			OCEANIA			
	Turkey	United Kingdom	Yugoslavia	Australia	Fiji ¹¹	Hawaii	New Zealand
Town or no. of localities	Istanbul	12-200 ⁸	51	30	Suva	Honolulu	21 ¹³
1937	29 ⁷	76	.	67	48 ¹²	.	70
1946	99	100	.	88	81	84	90
1947	100	94 ⁹	.	92	92	95	93
1948	100	100	.	100	100	100	100
1949	110	103	.	109	101	97	102 ²
1950	104	106	.	120	103	95	107
1951	103	116	100	146	112	101	119
1952	109	126 ¹⁰	77 ⁷	170	126	103	128
1952 : Sep.	109	126	74	.	.	104	.
Oct.	110	128	76	173	125	.	130
Nov.	110	128	77	.	.	105	.
Dec.	111	128	79	.	.	.	.
1953 : Jan.	110	128	80	175	127	.	132
Feb.	110	129	82	.	.	.	.
Mar.	110	130	83	.	123	103	133
Apr.	111	131	88	177	.	.	.
May	112	130	97	.	.	104	.
June	113	131	94	.	123	.	135
July	113	131	83	179	.	.	.
Aug.	114	130	75	.	.	105	.
Sep.	114	130	73	.	125	.	.
Oct.	...	130	73	.	.	.	.

¹ Prior to 1950 : 31 towns. ² New series linked to former series. ³ July-Dec. 1939. ⁴ Weights based mainly on family budget inquiries. ⁵ Weights based on estimated national consumption. ⁶ Prior to Apr. 1950 : excl. "miscellaneous". ⁷ 1938. ⁸ Since Aug. 1947 : food prices collected in 200 areas, other items priced in 12-200 areas. ⁹ July-Dec., interim index replacing former series. ¹⁰ New series (Jan. 1952=100), based on 1950 consumption data linked to former interim index. ¹¹ Index for Indian workers. ¹² Aug. 1939. ¹³ Prior to 1949 : 25 towns.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)
(b) Food group

Country	AFRICA							AMERICA	
	Algeria	Egypt	Northern Rhodesia ¹	Southern Rhodesia ²	Sudan ³	Tunisia	Union of South Africa ⁴	Canada	United States
Town or no. of localities	Algiers	Cairo	Whole country	6 ⁵	3	Tunis	9	8-3341	46 ¹³
1937	6	.	625	.	339	.	61	53	50
1946	43	101	88	81	61	45	92	72	76
1947	61	100	91	88	81	67	97	82	92
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	123 ⁷	102	107	106	110	124	103	104	96
1950	123	113	111	121	113	129	109	107 ¹²	97
1951	132	120	119	132	100 ¹⁰	141	116	121	108
1952	136 ²³	117	130	149	122	163	137	121	110
1952: Sep.	.	118	131	150	122	168	140	120	111
Oct.	131	107	131	150	112	170	142	120	110
Nov.	136	107	131	149	110	169	143	120	110
Dec.	133	107	136	149	106	168	142	118	109
1953: Jan.	137	106	135	149	113	167	140	118	109 ¹²
Feb.	137	107	135	153	113	168	139	117	107
Mar.	133	109	136	151	111	170	140	116	107
Apr.	136	109	136	160	111	170	141	115	107
May	135	108	137	159	111	166	142	114	108
June	131	108	138	158	...	166	147	116	109
July	131	110	139	157	...	167	145	117	109
Aug.	132	110	139	156	...	167	145	117	110
Sep.	131	...	139	155	...	167	150	118	109
Oct.	131	...	141	151	...	...	...	109	...

Country	AMERICA (cont.)							
	Argentina	Barbados	Brazil	British Honduras	Chile	Colombia	Costa Rica	Dominican Republic
Town or no. of localities	Buenos Aires		Sao Paulo	Belize	Santiago	Bogotá	San José	Ciudad Trujillo
1937	47	.	214	15	23	33	46	.
1946	76	.	73	49 ¹⁶	61	73	86	87
1947	88	.	88	106	86	87	100	105
1948	100	100	100	107	100	100	100	100
1949	130	.	96	102	115	101	101	87
1950	167	.	103	100	131	129	110	92
1951	227	.	108	123	169	141	119	103 ⁷
1952	330	131	131	139	216	134	117 ¹²	103
1952: Sep.	333	131	138	142	241	130	115	105
Oct.	346	131	138	141	242	131	115	106
Nov.	348	131	140	136	233	135	116	102
Dec.	352	131	147	131	205	136	117	102
1953: Jan.	342	131	151	135	210	137	119	100
Feb.	379	132	162	132	221	136	119	102
Mar.	371	133	176	132	...	141	118	101
Apr.	342	136	178	132	...	148	118	102
May	332	136	172	131	...	145	118	106
June	331	...	175	131	...	146	120	106
July	331	...	177	135	...	145	121	104
Aug.	331	...	178	136	...	145	118	103
Sep.	326*	...	...	132	...	...	117	99
Oct.	...	...	...	133	...	...	118	98

¹ 1937-51: Index of retail food prices. ² New index of consumer prices, base 1949=100 (index for Oct. 1951: 127.4). ³ Oct.-Dec. ⁴ Index for non-indigenous population. ⁵ Aug. 1939. ⁶ Index for Europeans. ⁷ Prior to Jan. 1952: 5 towns. ⁸ Index for low-salaried government officials living in government houses. ⁹ 1938. ¹⁰ New series replacing former series. ¹¹ Prior to 1950: food prices collected in 33 towns. ¹² New series linked to former series. ¹³ Prior to 1953: food prices collected in 56 towns. ¹⁴ 1939. ¹⁵ 1946-49: July. ¹⁶ Sep. 1939.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)
(b) Food group (cont.)

Country	AMERICA (cont.)						
	Guatemala	Jamaica	Mexico	Neth. Antilles	Panama	Peru	Puerto Rico
Town or no. of localities	Guatemala City	Kingston	Mexico City	Curaçao	Panama City	Lima	6
1937	.	45 ²	27	.	51 ⁶	27	.
1946	881	69	83	.	89	54	85
1947	90	80	95	.	99	74	101
1948	100	100	100	.	100	100	100
1949	110	106	104	100 ³	94	116	89
1950	121	115	108	96	91	134	88
1951	128	135	124	107 ⁴	95	150	100
1952	124	158	144	111 ⁵	96	162	106
1952: Sep.	118	161	146	112	95	165	107
Oct.	118	161	146	111	95	165	107
Nov.	125	159	147	111	95	167	108
Dec.	118	159	146	111	94	167	108
1953: Jan.	131	160	144	111	95	168	107
Feb.	120	158	142	112	95	167	108
Mar.	125	160	139	113	94	167	109
Apr.	123	158	138	113	93	168	110
May	129	159	138	112	91	167	110
June	147	160	138	...	...	185	110
July	138	158	138	...	...	185	...
Aug.	125	156	139	...	...	184	...
Sep.	126	...	140	...	...	...	...
Oct.	128	...	...	...	...	...	...

Country	AMERICA (concl.)				ASIA				
	St. Vincent	Trinidad	Uruguay	Venezuela	Burma	Ceylon	China (Taiwan)	Cyprus	Hong-kong ¹⁴
Town or no. of localities			Montevideo	Caracas	Rangoon	Colombo	Taipei	4	
1937	.	.	51	48	25	39 ⁹	.	31 ¹¹	.
1946	87	.	83	72	151 ⁸	82 ⁸	.	77	.
1947	92	.	102	83	115	91	.	83 ¹²	101
1948	100	.	100	100	100	100	.	100	100
1949	97	.	100	98	142	104	100	94	119
1950	102	.	91	97	120	112	277	100 ¹³	127
1951	110	.	106	99	120	112	346	115	136
1952	127	100	129	98	115	110	451	123	136
1952: Sep.	131	104	134	94	134	108	466	123	142
Oct.	131	103	134	95	106	113	467	128	.
Nov.	131	103	136	97	106	115	469	130	.
Dec.	131	102	139	102	106	116	468	124	135
1953: Jan.	139	102	138	101	108	102 ¹⁰	474	124	130
Feb.	139	104	135	95	107	102	536	126	139
Mar.	138	105	136	97	105	101	524	127	132
Apr.	141	105	137	97	105	103	577	129	136
May	140	105	140	97	118	104	652	129	134
June	140	105	137	97	112	107	627	131	139
July	141	105	135	99	119	108	594	127	142
Aug.	141	105	...	...	116	112	...	124	152
Sep.	141	105	...	...	...	112	...	127	...
Oct.	141	103	...	...	...	109	...	124	...

¹ Aug.-Dec. ² Aug. 1939. ³ June. ⁴ Average of Feb., Mar., July-Nov. ⁵ Average of Jan.-June, Aug.-Dec. ⁶ Oct. 1939-June 1940. ⁷ Incl. soap and coal. ⁸ New series linked to former series. ⁹ Aug.-Dec. 1939. ¹⁰ New series, base 1952 = 100, replacing former series. ¹¹ Aug. 1939. ¹² Jan.-Sep. ¹³ New series replacing former series. ¹⁴ Index for clerical and skilled technical workers.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)
(b) Food group (cont.)

Country	ASIA (cont.)						
	India	Indonesia	Iran	Israel	Japan	Korea	
Town or no. of localities	Bombay	Delhi	Jamshedpur	Djakartat	7	2	28 Pusan
1937	33	.	.	82	13	243	47
1946	91	86	77	.	89	77	64
1947	99	99	94	179	90	77	100
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	105	101	101	97	111	97	131
1950	109	101	105	113	85	86	302
1951	115	112	117	189	88	884	1 573
1952	118	111	112	199	98	1545	4 489
1952 : Sep.	121	115	117	192	92	172	6 324
Oct.	123	117	114	189	96	178	5 367
Nov.	124	114	109	191	99	178	4 492
Dec.	124	106	112	202	101	183	4 785
1953 : Jan.	123	104	111	201	102	186	5 043
Feb.	126	105	112	206	101	188	5 883
Mar.	129	106	109	209	102	191	5 851
Apr.	130	106	110	211	103	195	5 463
May	131	108	114	208	103	201	5 344
June	135	109	120	217	105	208	5 593
July	135	111	122	218	105	213	6 425
Aug.	136	114	124	215	108	214	...
Sep.	133	117	127	208	109	222	...
Oct.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Country	ASIA (cont.)						
	Lebanon ¹	Malaya	Pakistan	Philippines	Thailand ¹³	Viet-Nam	
Town or no. of localities	Beirut	Kuala Lumpur ⁹	Karachi	Narayan-ganj	Manila	Bangkok	Saigon
1937	168	11	.	.	.	.	314
1946	106	.	.	.	.	80	4415
1947	96	.	.	.	.	99	74
1948	100	100	100 ¹²	100 ¹²	108	99	100
1949	91	90	100	101	93	95	100 ¹⁶
1950	81	84	99	97	86	97	96
1951	91	89	107	99	94	106	104
1952	94	95	113	103	102	119	141
1952 : Sep.	91	98	117	103	118	91	150
Oct.	92	97	116	104	121	89	153
Nov.	92	98	118	105	124	90	154
Dec.	92	98	117	106	112	90	155
1953 : Jan.	92	99	118	107	102	89	160
Feb.	91	98	118	110	102	83	168
Mar.	90	101	120	116	103	81	161
Apr.	88	100	120	116	101	81	167
May	87	100	121	111	106	80	172
June	85	100	121	107	108	79	180
July	82	99	121	110	113	81	186
Aug.	79	101	123	111	118	81	190
Sep.	79	...	...	112	126	81	...
Oct.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

1 Index of free-market retail prices of 19 foodstuffs. 2 July 1939. 3 Aug. 1939. 4 Jan.-Aug. 1951. 5 New series (Sep. 1951=100) based on family budget inquiries conducted in Aug. 1950 and Mar. 1951. 6 New series linked to former series. 7 Index for salaried employees. 8 1939. 9 1939. 10 Index for Chinese labourers. 11 From Aug. 1947, interim index, linked to group with monthly consumption expenditures in 1950 of approx. DM. 300. 12 Prior to 1952: 9 towns; prior to 1950: former series. 13 Towns of over 50,000 inhabitants. 14 Average of Mar.-Sep. and Dec. 15 New series, base 1949=100, replacing former series. 16 New series replacing former series.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (cont.)
(b) Food group (cont.)

Country	EUROPE					
	Austria	Belgium	Denmark	Finland	France	Germany (Federal Republic)
Town or no. of localities	Vienna	62	200	333	Paris	7
1937	221	26	58	11	5	678
1946	.	79	94	52	40	80
1947	.	79	98	76	65	85
1948	742	100	100	100	100	100
1949	100	95	101	103	100 ⁶	116
1950	108	92	118	118	111	109
1951	132	99	131	126	128	118
1952	154	102	138	1364	141	124
1952 : Sep.	156	102	.	136	142	124
Oct.	157	103	140	138	141	124
Nov.	157	103	.	138	140	124
Dec.	156	103	.	135	141	125
1953 : Jan.	155	103	139	135	141	124
Feb.	155	102	.	138	142	122
Mar.	153	102	.	138	140	123
Apr.	150	102	137	138	140	122
May	147	100	.	138	141	122
June	149	102	.	136	141	122
July	148	102	139	138	137	123
Aug.	150	103	.	139	136	122
Sep.	152	104	.	138	132	121
Oct.	153	104	139	139	132	122

Country	EUROPE (cont.)					
	Greece	Iceland	Ireland	Italy	Luxembourg	Netherlands
Town or no. of localities	Athens	Reykjavik	120	6212	9	2118
1937	0.3	29 ⁹	53	28	35	43
1946	54	100	90	59	88	8514
1947	66	104	9711	96	94	93
1948	100	100	100	100	1004	100
1949	116	101	100	100	111	109
1950	122	15210	100	97	119	11115
1951	130	193	107	103	123	121
1952	136	215	119	108	127	123
1952 : Sep.	134	219	.	109	129	123
Oct.	133	225	126	110	129	123
Nov.	134	225	.	110	128	122
Dec.	132	227	.	109	128	122
1953 : Jan.	134	212	124	109	128	124
Feb.	133	212	.	109	127	123
Mar.	135	212	.	110	126	124
Apr.	135	212	130	111	126	125
May	140	212	.	112	127	127
June	150	212	.	109	129	127
July	152	212	129	109	129	123
Aug.	156	219	.	110	130	126
Sep.	155	212	.	...	129	...
Oct.	...	212	.	...	...	...

1 Mar. 1938. 2 July-Dec. 3 Prior to 1950: 32 towns. 4 New series linked to former series. 5 1937-48: index of retail food prices. 6 New index of consumer prices. 7 Consumers series. 8 1938. 9 1939. 10 1937-48: index of retail food prices. 11 From Aug. 1947, interim index, linked to group with monthly consumption expenditures in 1950 of approx. DM. 300. 12 Prior to 1952: 9 towns; prior to 1950: former series. 13 Towns of over 50,000 inhabitants. 14 Average of Mar.-Sep. and Dec. 15 New series, base 1949=100, replacing former series. 16 New series replacing former series.

CONSUMER PRICE INDICES (concl.)
(b) Food group (concl.)

Country	EUROPE (concl.)						
	Norway	Portugal	Saar	Spain	Sweden	Switzer-land	Trieste
Town or no. of localities	53 ¹	Lisbon	Saar-brücken	50	60	35-60	34
1937	63	473	.	304	5	6	57
1946	104	103	.	82	60	90	91 ²
1947	103	104	.	97	93	93	97
1948	100	100 ²	100	100	100	100	100
1949	99	101	102	101	101	101	102
1950	108 ²	104	105	116	103	103	100
1951	127	101	123	127	120	121	103
1952	144	100	143	122	135	136	107
1952: Sep.	150	103	146	121	140	140	107
Oct.	150	104	147	121	.	139	107
Nov.	149	105	141	121	.	139	108
Dec.	146	104	145	121	139	138	106
1953: Jan.	144	105	148	122	.	138	106
Feb.	144	105	148	122	.	138	107
Mar.	145	105	145	123	139	138	107
Apr.	144	105	143	123	.	138	111
May	145	99	143	123	.	138	111
June	146	103	147	122	138	137	111
July	146	104	140	121	.	137	103
Aug.	147	102	138	...	.	138	104
Sep.	147	105	137	...	138	106	106
Oct.	148	106	139	...	.	107	...

Country	EUROPE (concl.)			OCEANIA			
	Turkey	United Kingdom	Yugoslavia	Australia	Fiji ¹⁰	Hawaii	New Zealand
Town or no. of localities	Istanbul	2007	51	30	Suva	Honolulu	2112
1937	243	82	.	68	5011	.	69
1946	99	100	.	83	78	78	83
1947	97	93 ⁸	.	88	92	93	89
1948	100	100	.	100	100	100	100
1949	112	105	.	111	104	96	103 ²
1950	106	113	.	125	107	91	113
1951	102	126	100	162	114	99	130
1952	110	100 ⁹	63	201	134	103	143
1952: Sep.	111	101	58	.	.	104	147
Oct.	112	103	61	.	136	103	151
Nov.	111	102	62	202	.	103	144
Dec.	112	104	64	.	.	104	146
1953: Jan.	112	104	67	.	139	103	146
Feb.	111	104	68	205	.	101	147
Mar.	112 ⁷	105	71	.	.	100	145
Apr.	113	107	77	.	135	100	147
May	114	107	91	207	.	100	150
June	114	108	88	.	.	101	150
July	115	108	69	.	135	102	149
Aug.	115	106	57	214	.	102	150
Sep.	115	105	56	.	.	102	157
Oct.	...	105	56	.	137	101	164

¹ Prior to 1950: 31 towns. ² New series linked to former series. ³ 1938. ⁴ July-Dec. 1939. ⁵ Weights based mainly on family budget inquiries. ⁶ Weights based on estimated national consumption. ⁷ Since Aug. 1947: food prices collected in 200 areas. ⁸ July-Dec. interim index replacing former series. ⁹ New series based on 1950 consumption data, replacing former interim index. ¹⁰ Index for Indian workers. ¹¹ Aug. 1939. ¹² Prior to 1949: 25 towns. Expanded sample.

General Level of Wages
Rates or earnings per hour, day, week or month

Date	AFRICA		AMERICA						
	Egypt	Canada	Argentina	Bolivia (La Paz)	Brazil (Federal District)	Colombia (Bogotá)			
	Mi., man., constr., trp., serv.	Mi., man., constr., com., trp., serv.	Mi., man., constr., trp., serv.	Mi., man., constr., com., trp., serv.	Mi., man., constr., serv.	Mi., man., constr., serv.			
	Week	Hour	Week	Month	Day	Month			
	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.			
	Earnings ¹	Rates ²	Earnings ³	Earnings ⁴	Earnings ⁵	Earnings ⁶			
	Piastres	Index	\$	Pesos	Boliv.	Boliv.	Boliv.	Cruzeiros	Pesos
1937	.	49	22.48	111 ^r	.	.	.	801 ^r	2.50
1946	124.0	79	36.19	187 ^r	.	.	.	874 ^r	3.03
1947	133.0	89	36.19	361 ^r	60.16	49.47	58.36	950 ^r	3.35
1948	146.5	100	40.06	490 ^r	70.70	50.12	66.74	1085 ^r	4.09
1949	145.0	104	42.96	594 ^r	71.07	55.46	67.94	1177 ^r	5.50
1950	160.0	110	44.84	753 ^r	122.20	75.44	112.54	1257 ^r	5.38
1951	183.5	124	49.61	925	145.80	90.29	136.12	1451*	...
1952	190.0	134	54.13						
1952: Mar.	.	.	54.32	743	119.47	77.02	111.83	1441*	...
June	181.0	.	53.96	854	172.13	103.56	160.41	1449*	...
Sep.	.	.	55.12	916	.	.	.	1457*	...
Dec.	...	.	53.81	1747	.	.	.	1457*	...
1953: Mar.	.	.	57.33 ^r	...	...	...	...	1457*	...
June	...	.	57.57 ^r	...	...	...	...	1497*	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	128 (1952)	.	2 407 (1952)	945 (1951)	9.8	2.6	12.4	.	.
					(Oct.-Dec. 1951)				

Date	AMERICA (concl.)			ASIA		
	Dominican Republic ⁶	Jamaica (Kingston)	Peru	Japan	Philippines (Manila)	
	Man., transp., serv.	Man., com., transp., serv.	Agr., mi., man., constr., transp., com., serv.	Mi., man., com., transp.	Man., constr., transp.	
	Day	Hour	Day	Month	Day	
	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.	Skilled Unskilled	
	Earnings ⁷	Rates	Earnings	Earnings ⁸	Rates ⁹	
	Pesos	Pesos	Soles	Yen	Pesos	Pesos
1937	.	.	5.01	.	6.73	4.53
1946	.	.	6.12	1 740	7.54	4.66
1947	.	.	8.62	4 770	7.47	4.69
1948	2.07	1.10	1.92	8 019	7.61	4.90
1949	2.02	1.10	1.86	9 687	7.59	4.29
1950	2.01	1.18	1.88	12 200	7.43	4.56
1951	2.23	1.28	2.08	14 434	7.46	4.64
1952	1.88 ¹⁰	0.88 ¹⁰	1.77 ¹⁰	.	.	.
1952: Mar.	...	...	.	12 883	7.49	4.60
June	...	...	.	15 331	7.49	4.61
Sep.	...	...	.	13 638	7.43	4.63
Dec.	...	...	.	23 084	7.50	4.71
1953: Mar.	.	.	.	14 805	...	...
June	...	...	.	17 347	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	24.4	3.1	27.5	111 (1950)	4 872 (1952)	.
	(Nov. 1952)					

¹ Annual figures: averages of Jan. and July. ² Incl. logging. Oct. of each year. ³ Incl. forestry. ⁴ Annual figures: averages for selected periods: 1948, 1949, 1951; 4th Incl. salaried employees. ⁵ Annual figures: averages for quarter ending in quarter; 1950: Mar.; 1952: 1st and 3rd quarters. Monthly figures: averages for quarter ending in month indicated. ⁶ Annual figures: 1946-1951: average of June and Dec.; 1952: average of Mar., June, Sep. and Dec. ⁷ Annual figures: see introductory note, p. 87. ⁸ Annual figures: averages May and Nov. ⁹ Incl. salaried employees and family allowances. ¹⁰ Nov. Expanded sample.

GENERAL LEVEL OF WAGES (cont.)

Rates or earnings per hour, day, week or month (cont.)

Date	ASIA (cont.) Viet-Nam (Saigon-Cholon)		EUROPE					
	Man., constr., com., transp., serv.		Belgium		Denmark			
	Day		Mi., man., constr., transp.		Man., constr., com., transp., serv.			
	Labourers (M.) Labourers (W.)		Day		Hour			
	Earnings ¹		M. W.		M. sk. M. unsk. W. M. W.			
	Piastres	Piastres	Fr.	Fr.	Ore	Ore	Ore	Ore
1937	.	.	.	.	158	133	88	135
1946	.	.	.	.	286	247	174	249
1947	9.43	6.13	149.2	87.7	304	259	186	263
1948	11.27	7.31	165.8	96.5	330	278	202	284
1949	15.40	11.30	172.8	99.4	345	290	212	297
1950	16.40	12.00	175.5	100.9	361	304	224	312
1951	20.50	17.60	194.2	111.0	396	336	245	343
1952	22.80	18.70	...	...	425	364	263	370
1952: Mar.	.	.	201.4	113.0	412	351	255	357
June	.	.	207.2	116.4	421	364	263	369
Sep.	.	.	...	...	428	367	265	373
Dec.	22.80	18.70	...	...	437	374	269	380
1953: Mar.	.	.	...	...	...	...	...	...
June	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	3.6	1.6	695	462	77	109	53	239
(Dec. 1952)			(31 Mar. 1952)		(Dec. 1951)			

Date	EUROPE (cont.)									
	France			Ireland						
	Man., constr., com., transp., serv.			Mi., man., constr., transp., serv.						
	Hour			Hour			Week			
	M.	W.	M. W.	M.	W.	M. W. ³	M.	W.	M. W. ³	M. W. ³
	Rates			Earnings ⁴			Earnings ⁴			
1937	.	.	.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1946	32.5	25.9	30.6	1 2 0	0 7 9	0 11 9	51 9	28 11	43 7	7
1947	45.1	38.3	43.2	1 8 2	1 0 2	1 5 3	76 6	44 3	64 5	5
1948	68.2	59.1	65.5	2 0 1	1 2 2	1 8 6	91 1	51 5	76 5	5
1949	76.2	66.3	73.5	2 2 6	1 3 1	1 10 7	100 4	55 11	84 5	5
1950	84.1	73.1	81.1	2 3 7	1 4 2	1 11 6	105 5	59 0	88 4	4
1951	107.4	94.2	103.7	2 4 4	1 4 8	2 0 2	107 11	61 6	90 8	8
1952	125.4	108.1	120.6	2 7 6	1 6 6	2 3 2	119 9	66 4	101 2	2
1952: Mar.	124.6	107.7	119.9	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
June	125.7	108.2	120.8	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Sep.	126.5	108.7	121.5	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Dec.	126.7	108.6	121.7	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
1953: Mar.	128.4	109.5	123.1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
June	129.0	109.6	123.7	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	3 320	1 260	4 580	144	36	202	144	36	202	202
(1 Jan. 1951)				(Oct. 1951)						

¹ Annual figures: 1947, 1949, 1951, 1952: Dec.; 1948 and 1950: June.
allowance. Monthly figures: averages for quarter ending in month indicated.
⁴ One week in Oct. of each year.

² Incl. cost-of-living
³ Incl. juveniles.

GENERAL LEVEL OF WAGES (cont.)

Rates or earnings per hour, day, week or month (cont.)

EUROPE (cont.)									
Date	Luxem- bourg	Nether- lands ¹	Saar		Sweden				
	Mi., man., constr., etc.	Mi., man., constr., trp., serv.	Man., constr., serv.		Mi., man., constr., com., transp., serv.				
	Hour	Day	Hour	Week	Hour				
	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.	M.	W.	M. W.	2	
	Earnings	Earnings	Earnings	Earnings	Earnings				
	Fr.	Fl.	Fr.	Fr.	Kr.	Kr.	Kr.		
1937	.	3.52	.	.	1.29	0.77	1.15		
1946	21.03	5.81	.	.	2.15	1.38	1.98		
1947	22.78	6.52	.	.	2.45	1.62	2.27		
1948	25.40	6.78	.	.	2.67	1.80	2.48		
1949	26.74	6.93	83.71	3 904	2.75	1.87	2.56		
1950	...	6.93	90.79	4 276	2.85	1.93	2.65		
1951	...	7.44	120.34	5 755	3.45 ²	2.32	3.21 ²		
1951	...	8.26*	.	.	.	.	.		
1952	...	...	145.86	7 236 ³	...	...	...		
1952: Mar.	.	.	144.42	.	.	.	.		
June	.	.	148.06	.	.	.	.		
Sep.	.	.	147.90	7 305	.	.	.		
Dec.	.	.	145.83	6 855	.	.	.		
1953: Mar.	.	.	...	...	.	.	.		
June	.	.	...	...	.	.	.		
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	2 098 (1951)	134 (1952)	.	490	84 (1949)	607		

Date	EUROPE (cont.)									
	Switzerland ⁴									Turkey
	Mi., man., constr., com., transp.									Mi., man., constr., serv.
	Hour			Week						Hour
	M. skil., semi-skil.	M. unskil.	W.	M. W.	M. skil., semi-skil.	M. unskil.	W.	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.
	Earnings ⁵									Earnings
1937	Fr.	Fr.	Fr.	Index	Fr.	Fr.	Fr.	Index	Fr.	Piastres
1946	1.36	1.07	0.70	50	67.05	53.60	33.75	50	.	.
1947	2.23	1.88	1.34	87	110.75	95.20	64.10	87	.	.
1948	2.42	2.04	1.49	94	119.80	103.00	70.80	95	.	.
1949	2.56	2.15	1.58	100	126.55	108.25	76.95	101	.	.
1950	2.60	2.19	1.62	102	127.65	109.45	77.20	102	50.8	50.8
1951	2.62	2.20	1.63	102	128.60	109.75	78.80	104	52.0	52.0
1952	2.67	2.25	1.66	104	131.60	112.70	82.50	109	55.0	55.0
1952: Mar.	2.76	2.34	1.74	109	135.85	117.55	.	.	.	.
June	.	.	.	108	135.15	116.35	82.20	108	.	.
Sep.	2.75	2.33	1.74	...	136.75	119.20	82.95	...	.	.
Dec.	2.77	2.36	1.75	...	.	.	.	...	.	.
1953: Mar.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.	.
June	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	49	40	14	103	49	40	14	103	248 (1952)	248
(1952)					(1952)					

¹ Accident insurance statistics; incl. salaried employees. ² Incl. foremen and juveniles. ³ Second half-year. ⁴ Average earnings of wage earners involved in industrial accidents; adults; incl. forestry. ⁵ Monthly figures: averages for half-year ending in month indicated.

GENERAL LEVEL OF WAGES (cont.)

Rates or earnings per hour, day, week or month (cont.)

Date	Korea (cont.)									
	United Kingdom ¹									
	ML, man., constr., transp., serv.									
	Hour					Week				
	M. W.	M.	W.	M. W.	M.	M. W.	M.	W.	M. W.	M. W.
1937	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1946	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1947	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1950	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1951	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1952	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1953: Mar.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
June	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sept.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Dec.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1953: Mar.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
June	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Persons cov. (thousands)	100									

Date	Australia									
	ML, man., constr., transp., serv.									
	Hour					Week				
	M. W.	M.	W.	M. W.	M.	M. W.	M.	W.	M. W.	M. W.
	Korea ¹									
1937	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1946	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1947	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1950	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1951	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1952	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1953: Mar.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
June	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sept.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Dec.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1953: Mar.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
June	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Persons cov. (thousands)	100									

¹ Manual workers. ² Rail. construction. ³ Rail. railways. ⁴ Incl. juveniles. ⁵ Annual figures: index of wage rates in force at 31 Dec. of each year. ⁶ Annual figures: Oct. of each year. ⁷ Monthly figures: Apr. and Oct. of each year. ⁸ Unemployed 1947: scope of survey enlarged. ⁹ Unemployed employees. ¹⁰ Minimum rates. Adults. ¹¹ Monthly figures: averages for quarter ending in month indicated.

GENERAL LEVEL OF WAGES (concl.)

Rates or earnings per hour, day, week or month (concl.)

Date	OCEANIA (concl.)									
	New Zealand									
	Mi., man., constr., com., transp., serv.					Mi., man., constr., transp., serv.				
	Hour					Week				
	M.	W.	M. W.	M.	W.	M.	W.	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.
1937	2	4.37	1	3.17	2	1.66	131	7	79	1
1946	3	2.99	1	11.66	2	11.84	136	2	83	3
1947	3	4.79	2	0.98	3	1.53	143	6	91	0
1948	3	7.07	2	3.30	3	3.83	151	10	98	4
1949	3	9.66	2	5.50	3	6.33	161	6	106	0
1950	4	0.57	2	7.80	3	9.09	183	6	119	1
1951	4	7.19	2	11.73	4	3.16	190	11	124	3
1952	4	9.42	3	1.26	4	5.25	187	2	187	4
1952: Mar.	4	8.29	.	.	.	.	198	0	198	1
June	4	8.34	.	.	.	.	198	5	198	11
Sept.	4	11.55	.	.	.	.	198	11	198	11
Dec.	4	11.55	.	.	.	.	198	11	198	11
1953: Mar.	...	...	...	...	...	...	198	11	198	11
June	...	...	...	...	...	...	198	11	198	11
Persons cov. (thousands)	196	64	260	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	(1945)									

¹ Minimum rates. Adults.

Wages in Manufacturing

Earnings per hour, day, week or month

Date	AMERICA										Jamaica (Kingston)
	Canada		United States 1		Argentina	Chile	Dominican Republic 2				
	Hour	Week	Hour	Week	Month	Day	Day 3				
	M. W.		M. W.		M. W.	M. W.	M.	W.	M. W.		
	Cents	\$	\$	\$	Pesos	Pesos	Pesos	Pesos	Pesos	Index	
1937	.	.	0.62	24.05	110	12.60	.	.	.	.	
1946	70.0	29.87	1.09	43.82	185	56.51	.	.	.	.	
1947	80.3	34.13	1.24	49.97		76.45	.	.	.	.	
1948	91.3	38.53	1.35	54.14	357	94.14	2.00	1.00	1.85	100	
1949	98.6	41.71	1.40	54.92	483	111.52	1.95	1.01	1.79	112	
1950	103.6	43.82	1.47	59.33	588	129.73	1.98	1.12	1.82	116	
1951	116.8	48.82	1.59	64.71	744	143.45	2.16	1.23	2.00	129	
1952	129.2	53.62	1.67	67.97	915	...	1.80 ⁶	0.99 ⁶	1.71 ⁶	...	
1952 : Mar.	129.0	54.31	1.65	66.99	735	171.31	.	.	.	.	
June	128.6	53.11	1.65	66.83	836	175.84	.	.	.	.	
Sep.	129.9	54.69	1.69	69.63	905	190.32	.	.	.	.	
Dec.	134.0	51.32	1.73	72.14	1 751	200.01	.	.	.	.	
1953 : Mar.	134.9	56.79	1.75	71.93	...	...	.	.	.	.	
June	136.2	56.25	1.76	71.63	...	...	.	.	.	.	
Pers. cov. (thousands)	823 (1952)		11 207 (1952)		905 (1951)	28 (1952)	13.0	1.7	14.8	.	
							(Nov. 1952)				

Date	AMERICA (concl.)				ASIA					
	Mexico 7	Peru	Puerto Rico		China (Taiwan)	India	Israel 8			
	Month	Day	Hour	Week	Day	Month 9	Hour		Week	
	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.		M. W.	M. W.	M.	W.	M.	W.
	Pesos	Soles	Cents	\$	\$	Rs.	Prutot	Prutot	£l.	£l.
1937										
1946	255	6.34	35.610	12.5710	0.81	51.611				
1947	276	9.74	41.3	14.30	61.34	61.4	190	129	9.3	5.5
1948	304	12.50	42.9	15.21	195.73	73.6				
1949	330	16.14	42.8	14.72	1 656.83	82.2	309	210	13.7	8.8
1950	359	19.97	42.5	14.79		80.4				
1951	399	...	45.3	15.76	1 644.12	...				
1952	437	...	...	...	5.09	...				
					8.62	...				
					12.2713	...				
1952: Mar.	407		50.8	19.10	12.17					
June	415		48.6	17.79	12.05					
Sep.	421		44.4	16.12	13.27					
Dec.	...		...	...	...					
1953: Mar.	...		...	...	...					
June	...		...	...	...					
Pers. cov. (thousands)	110 (1951)	29 (1950)	57 (1952)		35 (1952)		11	5	11	5

1 Production workers only. 2 New series; see introductory note, p. 87. 3 Annual figures: averages of May and Nov. 4 Average of Jan.-Sep. and Dec. 5 Average of Mar., June, Sep. and Dec. 6 Nov. Expanded sample. 7 Series calculated by I.L.O. Total wages paid to wage earners per month divided by the number of wage earners employed on the last working day of the month. 8 Jewish workers; adults, 1947: Feb.; 1949: Mar. 9 Yearly earnings divided by 12. 10 Average of Apr.-Dec. 11 Former British India, excl. Punjab and North West Frontier Province. 12 New currency introduced June 1949: 1 new dollar exchanged for 40,000 old dollars. 13 Average Jan.-Oct.

WAGES IN MANUFACTURING (cont.)

Earnings per hour, day, week or month (cont.)

Date	ASIA (concl.)			EUROPE					
	Israel (concl.)	Japan 1	Republic of Korea (Pusan) 2	Austria 3 (Vienna)	Belgium		Finland 4		France 5
	Day 6 7	Month	Day	Hour	Day 7		Hour 7		Hour
	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.	M.	W.	M.	W.	M. W.
	Index	Yen	Index	Index	Fr.	Fr.	Mk.	Mk.	Fr.
1937									
1946	77		35				48.21	31.14	30.3
1947	85	1 580	73		144.2	88.0	63.07	41.19	43.2
1948	100	4 379	100	100	158.8	96.3	92.04	60.86	66.1
1949	117	7 516	195	122	165.2	99.2	97.19	64.70	73.9
1950	126	9 133	489	138	168.4	100.8	117.24	76.29	81.4
1951	150	11 708	2 691	180	188.7	110.9	156.21	105.26	104.3
1952	24.37*8	13 516	7 157	207	...	...	163.53	108.46	120.8
1952: Mar.	3.45	11 631	5 415	201	195.0	112.9	160.63	107.75	120.2
June	4.33	14 021	6 955	213	212.6	116.3	164.24	108.09	121.0
Sep.	5.08	12 626	8 633	211	...	...	165.40	109.00	121.9
Dec.	5.24	21 054	9 648	204	...	...	163.85	108.99	122.4
1953: Mar.	5.54	12 978	10 256	209	...	...	160.50	110.10	123.2
June	5.73	16 099	...	211	...	...	165.80	112.00	123.9
Pers. cov. (thousands)	34 (1952)	2 622 (1952)			429 (31 Mar. 1951)	158	70 (1952)	42	3 180 (1952)

Date	EUROPE (concl.)								
	Germany						Western Berlin 10		
	Federal Republic 9						Hour		
	Hour		Week		M. W.		M.	W.	M. W.
	M.	W.	M. W.	M.	W.	M. W.	M.	W.	M. W.
1937									
1946	0.9611	0.5811	0.9011	38.7411	20.7511	35.7111			
1947	1.01	0.61	0.94	40.10	21.89	36.78			
1948	1.12	0.69	1.05	48.25	27.60	44.30			
1949	1.30	0.83	1.20	61.58	36.26	55.57	1.4011	0.9611	1.2811
1950	1.39	0.89	1.27	68.40	40.59	61.45	1.39	0.94	1.27
1951	1.59	1.02	1.45	76.96	44.85	68.52	1.4812	1.0012	1.3612
1952	1.71	1.07	1.56	82.99	48.02	74.00	1.64	1.08	1.50
1952: Mar.	1.68	1.06	1.53	79.86	46.02	70.82	1.58	1.07	1.45
June	1.70	1.07	1.56	82.23	47.00	73.41	1.63	1.08	1.50
Sep.	1.72	1.07	1.57	84.01	47.98	75.02	1.67	1.07	1.52
Dec.	1.74	1.09	1.58	85.53	50.84	76.38	1.69	1.11	1.54
1953: Mar.	1.77	1.10	1.60	82.46	48.66	73.36	1.67	1.09	1.52
June	1.79	1.13	1.63	87.57	51.28	78.39	1.73	1.13	...
Pers. cov. (thousands)	3 241	1 161	4 402	3 241	1 161	4 402	63	23	87

1 Incl. family allowances. Incl. salaried employees. 2 Rates. Incl. building. 1937-1949: Seoul; from 1950: Pusan. 3 Series calculated by the Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung. 4 Incl. mining. 5 Rates. 6 Incl. salaried employees. 7 Monthly figures: averages for quarter ending in month indicated. 8 Starting Jan. 1952, revised series. Index 1952: 146 (base Dec. 1951=100). 9 Prior to 1951: Bizone area. Incl. building. 1952, monthly figures: Feb., May, Aug. and Nov. 10 Incl. building. Beginning June 1950 incl. relief programme workers: earnings 1.10 marks per hour; from Aug. 1952, 1.42 marks per hour. Monthly figures: Feb., May, Aug. and Nov. 11 Average of June, Sep. and Dec. 12 Average of Mar., June and Sep.

WAGES IN MANUFACTURING (cont.)
Earnings per hour, day, week or month (cont.)

Date	EUROPE (cont.)							Italy
	Ireland ¹						Hour	
	Hour ²			Week ³			M. W.	
	M.	W.	M. W. ³	M.	W.	M. W. ³		
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	Lire	
1937	1 2.9	0 7.9	0 11.4	56 3	28 10	41 11	.	
1946	1 9.2	1 0.4	1 4.8	81 7	44 10	62 7	101.97	
1947	2 1.5	1 2.3	1 7.8	97 9	52 0	73 6	134.21	
1948	2 4.1	1 3.5	1 9.7	107 9	56 4	80 9	140.92	
1949	2 5.0	1 4.2	1 10.4	111 9	59 4	83 9	143.45	
1950	2 5.8	1 4.9	1 11.0	114 7	61 9	86 2	157.48	
1951	2 8.7	1 6.6	2 1.8	125 10	66 5	95 9	164.99	
1952	...	...	2 3.9	...	...	103 4	163.76	
1952 : Mar.	.	.	2 2.9	.	.	97 5	165.94	
June	.	.	2 3.5	.	.	99 6	164.13	
Sep.	.	.	2 3.9	.	.	103 4	167.96	
Dec.	.	.	2 5.2	.	.	110 2	168.77	
1953 : Mar.	.	.	2 5.0	.	.	107 5	...	
June	.	.	2 5.6	.	.	109 8		
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	.	137 ⁵ (June 1953)	.	.	137 ⁶ (June 1953)	1 619 (Dec. 1952)	

Date	EUROPE (cont.)							Norway ¹	
	Netherlands							Hour ⁸	
	Hour ⁶			Week ⁶			Day ⁷		
	M.	W.	M. W. ⁸	M.	W.	M. W. ³	M. W.	M.	W.
	Cents	Cents	Cents	Fl.	Fl.	Fl.	Fl.	Kr.	Kr.
1937									
1946	89	55	74	43.29	25.03	35.97	3.21	2.54	1.52
1947	94	59	79	45.95	26.88	38.37	5.68	2.80	1.75
1948	100	62	84	48.82	28.61	40.71	6.64	2.96	1.88
1949	101	63	84	49.53	29.11	40.92	6.78	3.04 ⁹	1.98 ⁹
1950	111	68	91	54.38	31.48	44.42	7.27	3.22	2.12
1951	119	70	98	54.38	31.48	44.42	7.27	3.22	2.49
1952	...	...	...	58.01	33.07	47.14	8.05*	3.67	2.82
				...	...	...	...	4.09	
1952: Mar.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3.90	2.69
June	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4.12	2.83
Sep.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4.13	2.85
Dec.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4.22	2.89
1953: Mar.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4.18	2.86
June	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4.32	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	323	32	446	323	32	446	1 060 (1951)	.	.

(1951)

¹ Incl. mining. ² Annual figures: one week in Oct. of each year. ³ Incl. juveniles. ⁴ Sep.
⁵ Incl. working proprietors and salaried employees. ⁶ Production and related workers. One week in
 Sep. or Oct. of each year. ⁷ Accident insurance statistics. Incl. salaried employees; incl. electricity,
 gas and water supply. ⁸ Monthly figures: averages for quarter ending in month indicated; adults.
 * From 1949, expanded sample.

WAGES IN MANUFACTURING (cont.)
Earnings per hour, day, week or month (cont.)

Date	EUROPE (cont.)								
	Saar			Sweden ¹			Switzerland		
	Hour		Week	Hour			Hour ²	Hour ³	
	M. W.	M. W.	M. W.	M.	W.	M. W. ⁴	M. W.	M. skil., semi-skil.	M. unskil.
	Fr.	Fr.	Kr.	Kr.	Kr.	Index	Fr.	Fr.	Fr.
1937	.	.	2.04	1.37	1.87	89	1.32	1.07	0.70
1946	.	.	2.33	1.61	2.15	96	2.21	1.87	1.34
1947	.	.	2.53	1.79	2.34	100	2.40	2.04	1.49
1948	84.53	4 025	2.61	1.86	2.43	101	2.55	2.16	1.58
1949	91.47	4 442	2.72	1.92	2.53	101	2.60	2.21	1.63
1950	121.72	5 969	3.29	2.31	3.11	103	2.61	2.21	1.63
1951	147.71	7 334 ⁵	3.92	2.73	3.72	107	2.66	2.26	1.66
1952	146.31	.	3.69	2.58	3.42	106	2.75	2.36	1.74
1952: Mar.	149.16	.	3.75	2.59	3.48	107	2.74	2.35	1.74
June	148.76	7 327	3.76	2.61	3.48	107	2.76	2.38	1.75
Sep.	149.81	7 088	3.80	2.62	3.51	107	...	...	...
Dec.	...	...	3.82	2.63	3.53	107	...	...	...
1953: Mar.	...	...	...	...	...	107	...	...	...
June	...	...	...	...	...	107	...	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	102 (1952)	399 (1952)	88 (1950)	494 (1952)	245 (Dec. 1952)	30 (1952)	17 (1952)	14 (1952)	61 (1952)

Date	EUROPE (concl.)							Yugoslavia ⁷			
	United Kingdom ⁶						Month				
	Hour ⁸			Week ⁸							
	M.		W.	M. W. ⁴	M.		W.	M. W. ⁴	M. W.		
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	Index		
1937									.		
1946	2	7.8	1	6.5	2	2.3	126	7	65 10	100 10	.
1947	2	10.9	1	8.2	2	5.1	134	5	70 2	108 4	.
1948	3	1.0	1	9.6	2	7.2	143	4	74 11	116 10	.
1949	3	2.1	1	10.8	2	8.2	148	1	79 3	120 10	.
1950	3	3.6	1	11.7	2	9.5	156	8	83 2	127 5	.
1951	3	7.4	2	2.2	3	0.8	172	1	90 7	139 10	100
1952	3	10.6	2	3.7	3	3.6	184	9	96 10	150 10	88
1952 : Mar. June Sep. Dec.	3	9.7	2	3.2	3	2.9	179	4	92 6	145 11	85
	3	10.6	2	3.7	3	3.6	184	9	96 10	150 10	88
	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	89
1953 : Mar. June	4	0.4	2	4.9	3	5.0	191	11	101 0	156 0	94
	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	89
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	90
	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
					4 800 (Oct. 1952)				4 800 (Oct. 1952)		.

¹ Incl. mining. ² Rates (incl. cost-of-living allowance). Incl. building. ³ Average earnings of
 wage earners involved in industrial accidents. Monthly figures: averages for half-year ending in month
 indicated; adults. ⁴ Incl. juveniles. ⁵ Second half-year. ⁶ Manual workers. ⁷ Incl. family
 allowances. ⁸ Annual figures: Oct. of each year. Monthly figures: Apr. and Oct. of each year.

WAGES IN MANUFACTURING (concl.)

Earnings per hour, day, week or month (concl.)

Date	OCEANIA					
	Australia ¹	Hawaii	New Zealand			
	Week 2	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4		
	M.	M. W.	M.	M.	W.	M. W.
	Index		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1937	.	.	.	86 6	37 4	73 6
1946	79	42.25	.	140 5	72 8	123 10
1947	87	49.51	.	154 3	81 2	136 6
1948	100	51.13	144 10	176 2	89 7	155 0
1949	110	49.56	153 9	176 6	95 0	156 11
1950	126	52.19	164 6	197 7	107 11	175 2
1951	158	54.37	186 6	...	...	...
1952	181	...	194 10	...	...	...
1952 : Mar.	175	53.89	190 11	.	.	.
June	179	55.05	191 2	.	.	.
Sep.	184	56.60	202 2	.	.	.
Dec.	187	...	202 2	.	.	.
1953 : Mar.	186	...	202 9	.	.	.
June	189	...	203 1	.	.	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	.	26 (1951)	87 (1945)	.	.	128 (Mar. 1951)

¹ Incl. salaried employees. ² Monthly figures: averages for quarter ending in month indicated.
Minimum rates; adults. ⁴ Averages of 12 months beginning Apr. of year indicated.

General Level of Hours of Work

Hours of work per week

Date	AFRICA	AMERICA				ASIA	
	Egypt ¹	United States	Argentina	Bolivia (La Paz)	Jamaica (Kingston)	Japan	
	Mi., man., constr., transp., serv.	Mi., man., constr., com., transp., serv.	Mi., man., serv.	Man., constr., com., transp., serv.	Man., com., transp., serv.	Mi., man., constr., com., transp., serv.	Mi., man., com., transp.
			Index		Index	2	3
1937	.	.	103	.	.	.	.
1946	51.0	43.0	102	.	.	50.6 ⁴	183.3
1947	51.5	42.3	102	.	.	50.4	182.5
1948	51.5	41.6	100	46.9 ⁵	100	49.0	181.0
1949	51.5	40.9	99	.	96	49.9	189.4 ⁷
1950	50.5	40.7	100	47.1 ⁶	97	50.4	192.2
1951	50.5	41.3	99	49.1 ⁵	99	50.5	192.5
1952	51.0	41.6	...	...	...	.	.
1951 : Dec.	51.0	41.5	96	.	.	50.8	198.6
1952 : Mar.	.	41.1	102	.	.	49.2	193.0
June	51.0	41.7	97	.	.	52.1	196.0
Sep.	.	42.0	105	.	.	51.7	197.1
Dec.	...	41.9	...	.	.	51.3	196.1
1953 : Mar.	.	41.1	...	.	.	...	190.8
June	...	...	...	.	.	...	...
Persons cov. (thousands)	128 (1952)	51 868 (1952)	945 (1951) ⁸	12.4 (Oct.-Dec. 1951)	.	20 640 (1952)	4 872 (1952)

Date	EUROPE				OCEANIA		
	France	Ireland ⁸	Malta	United Kingdom ⁹	Australia ¹⁰		New Zealand ¹¹
	Mi., man., constr., com., transp., serv.	Mi., man., constr., transp., serv.	Mi., man., constr., com., transp., serv.	Mi., man., constr., transp., serv.	Mi., man., constr., com., transp., serv.	Mi., man., constr., com., transp.	Mi., man., constr., com., transp.
					M.	W.	
1937	40.7	43.9	.	.	45.08	44.59	41.16
1946	44.0	44.7	.	46.2	43.59	44.03	40.42
1947	45.0	44.6	.	45.2	43.57	44.03	40.05
1948	45.0	44.6	.	45.3	39.96	40.00	39.98
1949	44.5	44.9	.	45.4	39.96	40.00	39.92
1950	45.0	45.0	51.00	46.1	39.96	40.00	39.92
1951	45.2	46.6	50.75	46.1	39.96	40.00	39.92
1952	44.9	...	...	46.1	39.95	40.00	39.92
1951 : Dec.	45.1	.	.	.	39.95	40.00	.
1952 : Mar.	44.9	.	.	45.6	39.95	40.00	.
June	44.8	.	.	.	39.95	40.00	.
Sep.	45.0	.	.	46.1	39.95	40.00	.
Dec.	44.5	.	.	.	39.95	40.00	.
1953 : Mar.	44.5	.	.	46.2	39.95	40.00	.
June	45.0	.	.	.	39.95	40.00	.
Persons cov. (thousands)	7 600 (1951)	231 (Oct. 1951)	.	6 500 (Oct. 1952)	.	.	508 (1945)

¹ Annual figures: average of Jan. and July. ² Incl. working proprietors and family workers.
³ Hours per month. ⁴ Dec. ⁵ Average of Oct.-Dec. ⁶ Mar. ⁷ Beginning Jan. 1950, incl. salaried employees. ⁸ One week in Oct. of each year. ⁹ Manual workers. Annual figures: Oct. of each year. Monthly figures: Apr. and Oct. of each year. ¹⁰ Normal hours: Adults; June of each year. ¹¹ Normal hours. Adults. ¹² Excl. coalmines. ¹³ Excl. railways.

Hours of Work in Manufacturing

Hours of work per week

Date	AMERICA					ASIA			
	Canada	United States	Argentina	Jamaica (Kingston)	Puerto Rico	China (Taiwan) ¹		Israel ²	
						M.	W.	M.	W.
1937		38.6							
1946	42.7	40.4			35.3 ⁸				
1947	42.5	40.4			34.6			48.9 ⁴	42.5 ⁶
1948	42.2	40.1	100	100	35.5				
1949	42.3	39.2	99	96	34.8 ⁷			44.4 ⁵	42.0 ⁵
1950	42.3	40.5	100	95	34.8	267.1 ⁶	253.7 ⁶		
1951	41.8	40.7	100	98	34.8	263.3	271.3		
1952	41.5	40.7				249.4 ⁷	258.4 ⁷		
1951: Dec.	38.1	41.2	97		35.5	272.5	281.8		
1952: Mar.	42.1	40.6	103		37.6	263.2	244.4		
June	41.3	40.5	97		36.6	248.4	274.2		
Sep.	42.1	41.2	105		36.3	246.2	270.6		
Dec.	38.3	41.7							
1953: Mar.	42.1	41.1							
June	41.3	40.7							
Pers. cov. (thousands)	823 (1952)	11 207 (1952)	905 (1951)		57 (1952)	35 (1952)		11 (Mar. 1949)	5

Date	ASIA (concl.)		EUROPE					
	Japan		Austria ⁸ (per month)	Finland ⁹	France ¹⁰	Germany ¹¹		Ireland ¹²
	Per day	Per month				Fed. Rep. ¹³	West Berlin	
1937	9.91			45.0	40.4			44.7
1946				44.3	43.3	39.7 ¹⁴		44.6
1947	8.0	181.6	164.4	44.3	44.6	39.1		44.6
1948	7.9	183.3	178.7	45.0	41.6	42.4	42.4	44.9
1949	7.8	182.5	185.8 ¹⁵	44.1	43.8	46.5	41.7	44.9 ⁷
1950	8.0 ¹⁶	189.0 ¹⁶	191.0 ¹⁷	44.3	44.4	48.2	44.0 ¹⁸	44.6 ⁷
1951	8.2	192.9	190.4	44.6	44.8	47.4	44.8 ¹⁹	44.5
1952	8.2	194.4	187.9	44.0	44.2	47.5	45.2	44.9
1951: Dec.		197.4	191.8	45.0	44.7			48.5
1952: Mar.		191.5	188.8	44.7	44.2	46.4 ⁴	44.0 ⁴	43.4
June		198.6	185.2	41.2	43.8	47.1 ²⁰	44.5 ²⁰	44.5
Sep.		201.0	185.8	45.1	44.1	47.9 ²¹	46.2 ²¹	45.2
Dec.		201.0	191.7	45.1	43.7	48.4 ²²	46.0 ²²	44.4
1953: Mar.		190.0	187.4	44.9	43.5 ⁷	45.9 ⁴		44.5
June		203.5	185.3		44.3	48.0 ²⁰		
Pers. cov. (thousands)	2 622 (1952)		395 (1952)	108 (1952)	4 000 (1951)	4 402 (Nov. 1952)	99 (Sep. 1951)	137 ²³ (June 1953)

HOURS OF WORK IN MANUFACTURING (concl.)

Hours of work per week (concl.)

Date	EUROPE (concl.)						
	Italy (per day)	Netherlands ¹	Norway ²	Saar	Switzerland	United Kingdom ³	Yugoslavia (per month)
1937			45.5		47.1		
1946		48.7	43.1		47.8	46.0	
1947	8.00	48.8	43.8		47.9	44.7	
1948	7.95	48.7	44.2		47.7	44.9	
1949	7.97	48.9	44.0	47.4	47.4	45.0	
1950	7.97	48.8	44.4	48.2	47.5	45.7	
1951	8.06	48.5	44.3	48.5	47.8	45.6	172
1952	8.06			48.8 ⁴	47.7	45.7	
1951: Dec.	8.03				47.7		176
1952: Mar.	8.00				47.6	45.0	
June	8.07				47.6		
Sep.	8.10 ⁷				47.7	45.7	
Dec.	8.03				47.7		
1953: Mar.	8.08				47.7	45.7	
June					47.7		
Pers. cov. (thousands)	1 619 (Dec. 1952)	276 (1951)	230 (1950)	102 (1952)	360 (1952)	4 800 (Oct. 1952)	

¹ Adult male production workers. ² Incl. mining. Based on full working week (without public holidays). ³ Manual workers. Annual figures: Oct. of each year; monthly figures: Apr. and Oct. of each year. ⁴ Second half-year. Beginning July 1952, adjusted to eliminate influence of workers changing jobs.



¹ Hours per month. ² Jewish workers; adults. ³ Average of Apr.-Dec. ⁴ Feb. ⁵ Mar.
⁶ Average July-Dec. ⁷ Average Jan.-Oct. ⁸ Incl. mining. ⁹ Annual figures: averages of Jan.
Apr., July and Oct. of each year. Monthly figures: month following the month indicated. ¹⁰ Incl.
salaried employees. ¹¹ Incl. building. ¹² Annual figures: one week in Oct. of each year, except
1952 (Sep.). ¹³ Prior to 1951: Bizzone area. ¹⁴ Average of June, Sep. and Dec. ¹⁵ Average
of Jan., June, Sep. and Dec. ¹⁶ Beginning Jan. 1950, incl. salaried employees. ¹⁷ Beginning 1950
averages of Mar., June, Sep. and Dec. ¹⁸ Beginning June 1950, incl. relief programme workers
(working 40 hours per week). ¹⁹ Average of Mar., June and Sep. ²⁰ May. ²¹ Aug. ²² Nov.

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