

X7910K796.41
F2

4391

COPYRIGHT, 1922

BY

THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE OF
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

NOVEMBER 12, 1919.

The National Industrial Conference Board,
Fifteen Beacon Street,
Boston, Massachusetts.

Gentlemen: We offer to you in this book the results of our observations, interviews, and research on industrial, and particularly on labor, conditions in Great Britain, France, and Italy. The subject is too vast to be dealt with comprehensively or in full detail, but in so far as we have been able to do so, we have given the essence of the situation. Many problems suggested by our investigations must be left undeveloped; many opinions and convictions, which we were not able for lack of time and opportunity fully to demonstrate by facts, must be left unexpressed.

It is our conviction that great new forces have been let loose on the world which will affect every phase of human life, industrial no less than political and social. Great Britain, France, and Italy have been earlier and more deeply influenced by these forces than our own country, and yet the problems on both sides of the sea are in many ways strikingly analogous. We feel, therefore, that it is peculiarly important for American industrialists to know more about these forces in order that they may learn valuable lessons from European experience.

Our industrial institutions are Anglo-Saxon in character; American industry is a transplanted British industry, developed and made unique by the ingenuity, the enterprise, and the daring of our American pioneer spirit. Your Commission has, therefore, given a very large portion of its attention to the labor problems of Great Britain. What we could learn and understand of the temperament and institutions of the Latin peoples in France and Italy, that had an interesting bearing upon the general industrial situation, has been included.

We want to acknowledge here the honor conferred upon us in being chosen for this mission. The results of our labors we shall leave to justify themselves.

It is our desire also to mention the cordial and generous co-operation which we received everywhere. Business men and officials showed us an earnest and sincere desire to help in every way possible. In many cases we have expressed an appreciation personally, but we wish to make this permanent record of it.

Very sincerely yours,

CHARLES W. ASBURY, *Chairman*
S. PEMBERTON HUTCHINSON
J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN
OLIVER S. LYFORD
LOYALL A. OSBORNE
WILLIAM H. VAN DERVOORT

Itinerary

Your Commission sailed March 1, 1919, and returned May 18, 1919. It visited establishments in the north of England, in Scotland, in Wales, and in the Midlands. About April 1st the Commission went to France and studied conditions in the industries in the neighborhood of Paris, Lille, Douai, Lyons, and Saint-Etienne. Two members of the Commission went to Italy and visited industries in Genoa, Milan, and Turin. In each country high officials and executive managers furnished freely all available information on the points of inquiry, and no difficulty arose in seeing industrial works of all kinds. In general it was attempted to get the point of view of government officials, of employers, and of labor leaders.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

	PAGE
1. UPHEAVAL OF WAR	1
2. NEW CONDITIONS	2
3. WAR DEBTS	3
4. EMPHASIS ON LABOR PROBLEMS	3
5. CAUSES OF DISCONTENT	4
6. MODERATE AND RADICAL ATTITUDES CONTRASTED	5
7. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING	7
8. "LABOR NOT TO BE TREATED AS MERCHANDISE"	9
9. NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY	13
10. DEMOCRATIZATION OF INDUSTRY	17
11. ORGANIZATION OF MATERIAL	18

CHAPTER II

EFFICIENCY OF PRODUCTION

1. DEPENDENCE OF THE PRODUCER ON EFFICIENCY	20
2. RELATIVE COSTS IN AMERICA AND GREAT BRITAIN	20
3. RESTRICTION ON OUTPUT	21
4. THE NETWORK OF RESTRICTIONS	22
5. RESTORATION OF RESTRICTIONS	27
6. BONUS AND PREMIUM SYSTEMS	29
7. PIECEWORK	31
8. PROFIT-SHARING AND EDUCATION	34
9. ATTITUDE TOWARD SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT	35
10. THE COAL INDUSTRY	38
11. EFFICIENCY IN SHIPYARDS	40
12. EFFICIENCY IN WAR WORK	42
13. CONCLUSION	43

CHAPTER III

MANAGEMENT

1. CONFUSED TALK ON ECONOMIC PROBLEMS	44
2. LITTLE ATTENTION GIVEN TO MANAGEMENT	46
3. MANAGER A SKILLED LABORER	48

	PAGE
4. DIRECTORS AS MANAGERS	49
5. SCIENCE OF MANAGEMENT	50
6. LABOR DEMANDS A SHARE IN MANAGEMENT	51
7. CO-OPERATION AS A SOURCE OF MANAGERS	52

CHAPTER IV

ORGANIZATIONS OF WORKERS AND OF EMPLOYERS

1. GREAT BRITAIN	54
2. EDUCATION OF LABOR OFFICIALS	59
3. FRENCH LABOR ORGANIZATIONS	60
4. ITALIAN LABOR ORGANIZATIONS	62
5. EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN	63
6. EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS IN FRANCE	66
7. EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS IN ITALY	67

CHAPTER V

UNIONISM IN GREAT BRITAIN

1. PRESENT TENDENCIES OF UNIONISM	68
2. STRENGTH OF TRADE UNIONS	68
3. LINES OF DEVELOPMENT	70
4. INDUSTRIAL UNREST	77
5. LABOR DEFINITION OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING	80
6. CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION	81
7. STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS	84
8. ATTITUDE OF BRITISH EMPLOYERS TOWARD UNIONISM	86

CHAPTER VI

EMPLOYERS' ORGANIZATIONS

1. BASIS OF THE REPORT	94
2. IMPULSE TOWARD CO-OPERATION	94
3. DEMAND FOR REPRESENTATIVE BODIES	97
4. METHOD OF ASSOCIATION	98
5. FEDERATION OF BRITISH INDUSTRIES	100
6. OTHER ASSOCIATIONS	103
7. CONTROL OVER MEMBERS	105
8. FUNCTIONS OF EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS	106
9. NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYED	111
10. SOME OTHER PURPOSES	114
11. FRENCH AND ITALIAN ORGANIZATIONS	116
12. RESULTS	119
13. SUMMARY	122

CHAPTER VII

SHOP STEWARDS

	PAGE
1. THE QUESTION OF OUTSIDE INFLUENCE	123
2. SHOP STEWARDS	123
3. EFFECT OF WAR CONDITIONS	124
4. ATTEMPT TO REGULARIZE SHOP STEWARDS	127
5. EXPANSION OF FUNCTIONS OF SHOP STEWARDS	130
6. UNION TO ABSORB SHOP STEWARDS	132

CHAPTER VIII

WORKS COMMITTEES

1. JUSTIFICATION OF WORKS COMMITTEES IN SIMPLEST FORM	138
2. KINDS OF WORKS COMMITTEES	139
3. COMMITTEES AS MACHINERY FOR SETTLING DIFFERENCES	145
4. SHOP STEWARDS ON COMMITTEES	146
5. FUNCTION OF COMMITTEES	149

CHAPTER IX

EIGHT-HOUR DAY

1. GREAT BRITAIN	151
2. FRANCE	159
3. ITALY	165

CHAPTER X

MINIMUM WAGE

1. IN GREAT BRITAIN	170
2. IN FRANCE	176
3. IN ITALY	178

CHAPTER XI

UNEMPLOYMENT

1. IN GREAT BRITAIN	180
2. IN FRANCE	188
3. IN ITALY	189

CHAPTER XII

HOUSING

	PAGE
1. IN GREAT BRITAIN	191
2. IN FRANCE AND ITALY	199

CHAPTER XIII

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN

1. ITS SIGNIFICANCE	201
2. TYPES OF CO-OPERATION	201
3. HISTORY AND PROGRESS	202
4. PRINCIPLES BEHIND CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT	202
5. ENTRANCE UPON POLITICS	206
6. RELATIONS TO LABOR MOVEMENT	207
7. RELATION OF BRITISH AND RUSSIAN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES	209

CHAPTER XIV

NOTABLE EXAMPLES OF WELFARE WORK

1. THREE PROMINENT INSTANCES IN GREAT BRITAIN	212
2. SCOPE OF CARE FOR EMPLOYEES	213
3. EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNGER PERSONS	214
4. WORKING CONDITIONS	215
5. WAGES AND PROFIT-SHARING	217
6. HOURS OF LABOR	218
7. HOUSING	221
8. A FRENCH EXAMPLE	223
9. CRITICISM	225

CHAPTER XV

INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL LABOR MOVEMENT

1. FUNCTION OF THE STATE	228
2. POLITICAL <i>versus</i> INDUSTRIAL ACTION	230
3. LABOR IN PARLIAMENT	231
4. LABOR IN THE CABINET	232
5. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL LABOR MOVEMENT	233
6. DANGERS OF POLITICS	233
7. PLAN OF DISCUSSION	234

CHAPTER XVI

THE WHITLEY PLAN

	PAGE
1. PRECURSORS OF THE WHITLEY PLAN	235
2. FIRST WHITLEY REPORT	238
3. SECOND WHITLEY REPORT	242
4. THIRD, FOURTH, AND FINAL REPORTS	243
5. GOVERNMENT ENDORSEMENT OF WHITLEY PLAN	244
6. AIM OF WHITLEY PLAN DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF WORKS COMMITTEES	245
7. FEAR OF GOVERNMENTAL INTERFERENCE	250
8. GOVERNMENT AID IN SETTING UP WHITLEY COUNCILS	253
9. ULTIMATE AIM TO GIVE LABOR A SHARE IN CONTROL	256

CHAPTER XVII

THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE

1. A POLITICAL MOVE	258
2. ATTITUDE OF GOVERNMENT AT CONFERENCE	260
3. REPORT OF PROVISIONAL JOINT COMMITTEE	264
4. REPORT ACCEPTED BY NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE	267
5. MEETING OF JOINT COMMITTEE, MAY 1ST	267
6. CRITICISM OF GOVERNMENT PROCRASTINATION BY NATIONAL ALLIANCE	269
7. CONCLUSION	271

CHAPTER XVIII

POLITICAL INFLUENCES IN FRENCH LABOR MOVEMENT

1. THE GENERAL SITUATION	274
2. ORGANIZATIONS OF EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES	275
3. FRENCH LABOR IN THE WAR	279
4. METHODS OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN FRANCE	282
5. ATTITUDE OF GOVERNMENT TO SYNDICATS	285
6. RELATION BETWEEN EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE	287

CHAPTER XIX

THE POLITICAL LABOR SITUATION IN ITALY

1. THE GENERAL SITUATION	293
2. ITALIAN LABOR IN THE WAR	298
3. ITALIAN LABOR SINCE THE ARMISTICE	303

CHAPTER XX

THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL LABOR MOVEMENT PAGE

1. THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT BEFORE THE WAR	308
2. THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE WAR	312
3. THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT AND THE PEACE CONFERENCE	319
4. CONCLUDING SUMMARY	324

CHAPTER XXI

NATIONALIZATION OF BRITISH RAILWAYS

1. INTRODUCTION	328
2. METHOD OF APPROACH	328
3. GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF BRITISH RAILWAYS	329

CHAPTER XXII

NATIONALIZATION OF BRITISH COAL INDUSTRY

1. INTRODUCTION	343
2. OUTPUT	346
3. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION	362
4. SUMMARY	370

CHAPTER XXIII

NATIONALIZATION OF "KEY INDUSTRIES"

1. SHIPPING AND SHIPBUILDING	373
2. NATIONALIZATION OF "KEY INDUSTRIES"	378
3. SIGNIFICANCE OF KEY INDUSTRIES AND KEY MEN	381

CHAPTER XXIV

PROPERTY RIGHTS

1. INTRODUCTION	382
2. SOCIAL LEGISLATION AFFECTING PROPERTY RIGHTS PRIOR TO THE WAR	384
3. WAR MEASURES AND CLAIMS	385
4. DEMANDS FOR CONTROL	388

CHAPTER XXV

FINDINGS OF EUROPEAN COMMISSION		PAGE
1.	INDUSTRIAL UNREST	395
2.	EFFICIENCY OF PRODUCTION	395
3.	MANAGEMENT	396
4.	UNIONISM	397
5.	EMPLOYERS' ORGANIZATIONS	398
6.	SHOP STEWARDS AND WORKS COMMITTEES	398
7.	EIGHT-HOUR DAY AND MINIMUM WAGE	399
8.	UNEMPLOYMENT	399
9.	HOUSING	400
10.	CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT	400
11.	POLITICAL LABOR MOVEMENT	400
12.	NATIONALIZATION	402
13.	COAL INDUSTRY	402
14.	KEY INDUSTRIES	403
15.	PROPERTY RIGHTS	403
16.	POINTS TO BE EMPHASIZED	403