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# REPORT

OF FIRST TRIENNIAL CONGRESS

HELD AT

CAMBRIDGE (ENGLAND)

JULY 1928

ON THE SUBJECT OF

FUNDAMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS  
BETWEEN ALL SECTIONS OF THE  
INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY

IN TWO SECTIONS

SECTION I

CONTAINING REPORTS FROM COUNTRIES EDITED IN THE  
ORIGINAL LANGUAGES FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS

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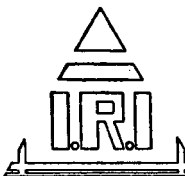
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# INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY AND IMPROVEMENT OF HUMAN RELATIONS AND CONDITIONS IN INDUSTRY



## PRELIMINARY PROGRAMME OF THE 1928 CONGRESS

TO BE HELD AT GIRTON COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND, FROM  
JUNE 27TH (EVENING) TO  
JULY 3RD (MORNING)

### SUBJECT

FUNDAMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN  
ALL SECTIONS OF THE INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY

### SPEAKERS, CHAIRMEN, OPENERS OF DISCUSSION

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SECRETARIAT I.R.I. 66 JAVASTRAAT THE HAGUE HOLLAND

**THE AIM OF THE ASSOCIATION** is indicated by its title. Membership is on an individual basis and is open to all who are engaged in any undertaking involving the employment of persons, or who are occupied in work of scientific research or social significance bearing on Industry, and who are in sympathy with the aims of the Association.

A meeting ground is thus offered within Industry itself for the fulfilment of these aims by cooperation among Directors, Managers, Engineers, Forepeople, General Employees, Personnel (Welfare) Workers, Psychologists, Factory Doctors, Factory Inspectors, Officers of Employers', Workers' and other industrial Organizations, Industrial Research Workers, Industrial Educationalists, Industrial Social Workers.

At the present time the Association draws its Members from 27 countries, thus giving a wide scope to its studies and findings.

There exist few platforms which provide an opportunity for the dispassionate study and consideration of the basic matters in Industry from all angles and from every point of view. To provide such a platform is precisely the aim of the Association, open as it is to all alike in the Industrial Community.

Too little recognition has hitherto been given to the great truth that all in Industry are mutually dependent, each in his own place forming a link indispensable in the chain of Production.

In choosing for its first Congress the subject of "Fundamental Relationships between all Sections of the Industrial Community" the Association was guided by a desire to search for and define the natural elements composing each section, to promote within the industrial world a fuller knowledge of their relative value and to awaken a greater consciousness of their underlying unity.

## **LE BUT POURSUIVI PAR L'ASSOCIATION** ressort de son titre même.

Peuvent en être membres tous ceux qui se trouvent amenés à sympathiser avec les buts poursuivis par l'Association et qui participent à une entreprise impliquant l'emploi d'un certain nombre de personnes, ou bien qui s'occupent d'un travail de recherche scientifique ou d'une oeuvre de portée sociale ayant trait à l'Industrie.

Ainsi se trouve établi un terrain de rencontre, au sein de l'industrie même, pour la réalisation de ces buts déterminés, grâce à la collaboration de toutes les personnes: directeurs, administrateurs, ingénieurs, contre-maitres, ouvriers et employés, surintendants, psychologues, médecins d'usine, inspecteurs de fabrique, fonctionnaires des organisations patronales et ouvrières, ou de toute autre organisation industrielle, investigateurs industriels, pédagogues et travailleurs sociaux en général.

A l'heure actuelle, les membres de l'Association se recrutent dans 27 pays différents, diversité qui a pour résultat d'élargir intensément la possibilité des études et des découvertes.

Il n'existe que bien peu de tribunes permettant d'étudier et de discuter sans passion les questions fondamentales relatives à l'Industrie et de les examiner sous tous leurs aspects et à tous les points de vue.

Créer une telle tribune, c'est là précisément le but de l'Association puisqu'elle accueille indifféremment tous ceux qui participent à la Communauté Industrielle.

Jusqu'à présent on a trop peu voulu reconnaître cette grande vérité que tous, dans l'industrie, nous dépendons les uns des autres, chacun formant, à son poste, l'un des anneaux indispensables dans la chaîne de la production. En choisissant pour sujet de son premier Congrès "Les Relations Fondamentales entre toutes les diverses Sections de la Communauté Industrielle", l'Association a obéi au désir de rechercher et de définir les éléments naturels composant chacune de ces sections, au voeu d'accroître, au sein du monde industriel, la véritable connaissance de leur valeur respective et à l'espoir d'éveiller une conscience plus distincte de l'unité qui leur est à toutes sous-jacente.

**DIE ZIELE DER VEREINIGUNG** gehen aus ihrem Namen hervor. Mitglieder der Vereinigung können alle Personen werden, die als Arbeitgeber oder -nehmer in einem mehrere Personen beschäftigenden Betriebe tätig sind oder die in betriebswissenschaftlicher oder sozialer Arbeit in irgend einer Beziehung zur Industrie stehen, und sich den Bestrebungen der Vereinigung anschliessen.

Das Gebiet der gemeinsamen Interessen liegt also in der Industrie selbst. Die Verwirklichung der Ziele der Vereinigung soll in einem Zusammenwirken von Direktoren, Betriebsleitern, Ingenieuren, Werkmeistern und Vorarbeitern, Arbeitern und Angestellten, Betriebswohlfahrtspflegern und Personalbeamten, Psychologen, Fabrikärzten, Gewerbeinspektoren, Beamten von Arbeitgeber-, Arbeitnehmer- und andern industriellen Organisationen, Betriebswissenschaftlichen Forschern, Pädagogen und industriellen Sozialarbeitern erreicht werden.

Die Vereinigung zählt jetzt Mitglieder aus 27 Ländern, die für ihre Untersuchungen und Arbeiten einen weiten Rahmen bieten.

Seiten findet man einen geeigneten Boden und die Möglichkeit, Grundfragen der Industrie objektiv von allen Seiten her und unter Berücksichtigung aller Gesichtspunkte zu studieren und zu diskutieren.

Es ist das Ziel der Vereinigung, die allen an der Industrie Beteiligten offen steht, einen solchen gemeinsamen Boden zu schaffen.

Bisher hat sich die Erkenntnis noch zu wenig Bahn gebrochen, dass alle an der Industrie Beteiligten von einander abhängig sind, und dass jeder so an seinem Platz ein unentbehrliches Glied in der Kette der Produktion bildet.

Bei der Wahl des für den ersten Kongress in Aussicht genommenen Themas: „Grundlegende Beziehungen zwischen allen an der Industrie beteiligten Gruppen“ wurde die Vereinigung von dem Wunsch geleitet, die Elemente jeder Gruppe zu erforschen und zu bestimmen, in Wirtschaftskreisen eine grössere Kenntnis ihrer relativen Bedeutung zu verbreiten und ein tieferes Verständnis für ihre innere Verbundenheit zu wecken.

## PREFACE

The volume here presented is the first section of the Report which will record the full proceedings of the first triennial Congress of the Association \* to be held at Girton College, Cambridge, from June 28th - July 3rd 1928.

The present volume contains reports from countries which have been prepared in advance of the Congress, both with a view to making the most economical use of the time available for meeting together and in order to allow for a preliminary orientation on the part of Congress members.

Of the 27 countries where the I. R. I. has established contact, reporters from 18 countries were in a position to respond to the request for a report.

The lines along which these reporters were invited to draw up their reports were those indicating the development of fundamental relationships within industry, chiefly as affected by: Cooperation within and between the various Groups in Industry; Education and Training for all Groups in Industry; Industrial Welfare Work, including Personnel and Employment Management; Scientific Management; Industrial Psychology and Vocational Guidance.

As the size of the reports had to be kept within very restricted limits, they are naturally not intended to give more than a bare outline of the position in each respective country.

An exception has been made for the Report of the United States of America, which territory must be regarded as a continent rather than as a country. Also the U. S. A. is showing trends and developments in Industry which are being observed on that continent, as well as in Europe and other parts of the world, with an almost universal interest.

\* Since its inception at Flushing, Holland, in 1925, the Association has organized two smaller meetings, the first in 1926 at the Rigi-Scheidegg, Switzerland, the second in 1927 at Baveno, Italy, the latter taking the form of a Summer School.



## PREFACE

Attention must be drawn to the fact that the majority of the reports here presented are a sequence to those given at the 1925 Flushing Congress dealing chiefly with the general industrial background of each country, and that the information available in those reports - edited in 1925 - has not here been repeated.

THE HAGUE, June 1928.

## PRÉFACE

Le présent volume constitue la première partie du Rapport destiné à retracer l'ensemble des travaux accomplis par le premier Congrès triennal de l'Association, \* devant avoir lieu au Girton College de Cambridge, du 28 juin au 23 juillet 1928.

Ce volume est formé des rapports relatifs aux différents pays. Les rapports eux-mêmes ont été rédigés à l'avance et préalablement au Congrès de manière à faciliter, d'une part, l'emploi le plus économique possible du temps dont on disposera pour se réunir et, d'autre part, à permettre une certaine orientation préliminaire chez les membres du Congrès.

Sur les 27 pays avec lesquels l'I. R. I. se trouve en contact, il y en a 18 dont les rapporteurs ont été à même de répondre à notre demande d'un exposé.

Ces rapporteurs ont été invités à établir leur travail selon des directives permettant de montrer le développement des relations fondamentales dans l'industrie, particulièrement dans la mesure où ces relations se trouvent influencés par les facteurs suivants: la collaboration dans et entre les différents groupes de l'industrie; l'éducation et l'entraînement professionnels dans tous les groupes de la vie économique; le service social industriel, y compris la direction du personnel et de l'embauche; l'organisation scientifique; la psychologie industrielle et l'orientation professionnelle.

Les rapports ayant dû être maintenus dans les limites fort étroites, on s'est naturellement borné à y tracer de simples tableaux d'ensemble de la situation dans chacun des pays respectif.

Toutefois, on a fait une exception en ce qui concerne les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, dont le territoire doit plutôt être

\* Depuis sa création à Flessingue, Hollande, en 1925, l'Association a organisé deux réunions de caractère plus intime, la première en 1926, à la Rigi-Scheidegg, Suisse, la seconde en 1927, à Baveno, Italie, cette dernière ayant pris la forme d'un Cours de Vacances.

## PRÉFACE

considéré comme un continent, et non comme un pays particulier. Les Etats-Unis, de plus, manifestent, dans l'industrie, des tendances et des développements qui suscitent un intérêt à peu près universel de la part de l'observation tant européenne que les autres parties du monde.

Il convient d'attirer l'attention sur ce fait que la majorité des rapports ici présentés font suite aux rapports donnés au Congrès de Flessingue, en 1925, et traitant des bases générales de la vie industrielle dans chaque pays; les informations contenues dans ces rapports antérieurs - édités en 1925 - n'ont donc pas été reproduites dans le présent volume.

LA HAYE, juin 1928.

## VORWORT

Der vorliegende Band bildet den ersten Teil des Berichtes über die Gesamtverhandlungen des Kongresses der Vereinigung, der vom 28. Juni bis 3. Juli 1928 in Girton College, Cambridge, als erster der alle drei Jahre zu veranstaltenden Kongresse stattfindet.\*

Dieser Band enthält die Berichte der Länder, die sowohl im Interesse grösstmöglicher Zeitersparnis während der Tagung wie der vorausgehenden Orientierung der Kongressteilnehmer schon vor dem Kongress zusammengestellt worden sind.

Von den 27 Ländern, mit denen die I. R. I. in engerer Verbindung steht, haben Berichterstatter aus 18 Ländern der Bitte um einen Bericht entsprechen können.

Die Berichterstatter waren gebeten worden die Entwicklung der grundlegenden Beziehungen in der Industrie zum Leitgedanken ihrer Berichte zu machen, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der folgenden Entwicklungsfaktoren: Zusammenarbeit innerhalb und zwischen den verschiedenen Gruppen der Industrie; Ausbildung und Schulung für alle Berufsgruppen in der Industrie; Betriebswohlfahrtpflege einschliesslich Personal- und Anstellungswesen; wissenschaftliche Betriebsführung; Berufspsychologie und Berufsberatung.

Da der Umfang der Berichte sehr beschränkt werden musste, so können sie selbstverständlich die Verhältnisse in den einzelnen Ländern nur in grossen Umrissen darstellen.

Eine Ausnahme bildet der Bericht für die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, die weniger als ein Land, sondern mehr als Kontinent anzusehen sind. Die Vereinigten Staaten zeigen ferner Wirtschaftstendenzen und -Entwicklungen auf, die auch in Europa und in den anderen Erdteilen allgemein mit Interesse verfolgt werden.

\* Seit ihrer Gründung in Vlissingen, Holland, 1925, hat die Vereinigung zwei kleinere Tagungen veranstaltet, die erste im Jahre 1926 auf Rigi-Scheidegg, Schweiz, eine zweite 1927 in Baveno, Italien, die den Charakter einer Sommerschule hatte.

## VORWORT

Es muss in Betracht gezogen werden, dass die meisten in diesem Band enthaltenen Berichte eine Fortsetzung der Referate bilden, die 1925 auf dem Kongress in Vlissingen über die allgemeine Wirtschaftslage der einzelnen Länder erstattet worden sind; daher sind die in jenen Berichten enthaltenen Angaben - die 1925 veröffentlicht worden sind - hier nicht noch einmal wiederholt worden.

HAAG im Juni 1928.

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# UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

REPORT on the development of fundamental relationship  
within industry in the United States of America

as affected by

## SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT,

by H. S. Person, Ph.D., Taylor Society, New-York.

## INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY,

by W. V. Bingham, Ph. D., Personnel Research Federation, New-York.

## EDUCATION AND INDUSTRY,

by C. R. Mann, Ph. D., American Council on Education, Washington.

## PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION,

by W. J. Donald, Ph. D., and Edith King Donald, American  
Management Association, New-York.

## LABOR MOVEMENT,

by Florence C. Thorne, American Federation of Labor, Washington.

## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND,

by Glenn A. Bowers, Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., New-York.

with a preceding summary by committee consisting of

Lillian M. Gilbreth, Ph. D.,  
Consulting Engineer, Montclair, New-York.

Mary van Kleeck,  
Director Department of Industrial Studies, Russell Sage Foundation, New-York.

Glenn A. Bowers, Chairman.



## SUMMARY OF REPORT BY COMMITTEE

LILLIAN M. GILBRETH, PH. D., MARY VAN KLEECK, GLENN A. BOWERS

In the United States of America the fundamental relationships of people in industry are rapidly changing and the influences responsible for these changes are many and complicated. They are so inextricably woven into the fabric of political, industrial and social life that it is bewildering to try to isolate any one. What are the most influential factors? How are they inter-related? What is the actual effect of each? No reasonable person pretends now to know. Yet the definite trends that are discernible are evidences of efforts to work out some sort of coherent system. In few instances do these efforts represent the concerted endeavor of all those interested. On the contrary, one of the conspicuous habits of the past which has been carried over into the present is that of regarding each phase of industrial relationships as a unit to be approached and dealt with separately. Frequently also those interested in one particular phase completely ignore the activities of other groups or even oppose them.

There are, however, in America indications of a desire to coordinate these group philosophies and activities, also of similarity of approach to outstanding problems. Already this spirit of consideration for all aspects of the total situation is of practical usefulness. In the preparation of this report the facilities of seven substantial organizations were immediately available. The historian of the future may possibly look back upon such cooperative projects, of which this is but one example, as the beginnings of a new viewpoint in the efforts to resolve conflicts in industry. Indeed, if there be one outstanding characteristic of labor relations in American industry in 1928, it is the approximate uniformity of philosophy and modus operandi of dominant groups. It is encouraging to note that organized and unorganized employers and employees are pinning their faith on constructive cooperation for the advancement of their respective group interests and are using similar and often identical language in voicing their aspirations.

In this brief summary of six papers only hasty reference can be made to some of the most important influences in American industry. The five factors in the development of fundamental

## SUMMARY

relationships especially considered are those of primary interest to the I. R. I., namely:

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT,  
EDUCATION,  
INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY,  
PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION,  
LABOR UNIONISM.

These fields of interest inevitably overlap. The functions and tentative accomplishments of each of these will be treated here under the following six categories:

- I. THE WORKER AND HIS WORK.
- II. THE WORKER AND HIS IMMEDIATE SUPERVISOR.
- III. THE WORKER AND HIS FELLOW WORKERS.
- IV. MANAGERS AND WORKERS.
- V. OWNERS, MANAGERS, AND WORKERS.
- VI. THE ENTIRE CIRCLE OF CONTACTS.

In each of these six areas the above named factors have been influential in varying degree. As to present day objectives in industrial relationships, there is general agreement among the organizations representing the viewpoints of management, workers, and scientists which have cooperated in this report: public and private pronouncements of the several representative bodies include the following in various forms of expression:

### I. THE WORKER AND HIS WORK.

Discover and present in concise form the requirements of the job.

Evaluate, insofar as possible, special abilities of the worker. Develop training facilities appropriate to the job.

Conserve the workers' energy through finding the easiest and most natural ways of doing the work, thus reducing fatigue. Increase the quality and quantity of output.

Provide fullest opportunity for growth, individual expression, initiative and advancement of the individual in proportion to his ability.

## SUMMARY

Encourage workers' participation in improvement of methods and conditions of work and in the elimination of waste.  
Compensate the individual in proportion to his special ability and contribution wherever practicable.

### II. THE WORKER AND HIS IMMEDIATE SUPERVISOR.

Provide clear and definite instructions in work assignments.  
Make the immediate supervisor a skilful instructor and an understanding helper of his men.  
Assure the reasonableness of work requirements through the determination of a proper day's work.  
Set up safeguards against the misuse of powers of supervisor over individual.  
Develop and maintain the workers' appreciation of his share in responsibility for the product.

### III. THE WORKER AND HIS FELLOW WORKERS.

Provide equality of opportunity and remove discrimination between individuals.  
Develop an esprit de corps which will harmonize competing interests, real or imaginary, for the attainment of the common goal.  
Preserve freedom of association of workers for the advancement and protection of special group interests.  
Devise and preserve a wage plan which is equitable as between workers.

### IV. MANAGERS AND WORKERS.

Share responsibility for the development of sound policies of administration.  
Facilitate the association of workers for joint dealings with management through a predetermined orderly procedure.  
Provide regularity of employment.  
Pay the highest practicable wage consistent with enduring operation under existing competitive conditions.

### V. OWNERS, MANAGERS, AND WORKERS.

Develop clear understanding of functions, rights, and responsibilities of these overlapping groups.

## SUMMARY

Devise and maintain an orderly procedure for harmonizing the interests of each group.

Seek an equitable distribution of rewards among workers, management, and capital.

Yield earnings for employees which will permit a rising standard of living and the accumulation of adequate reserves for incapacity in old age.

### VI. THE ENTIRE CIRCLE OF CONTACTS.

Combine in each producing unit the efforts of all persons associated with it for efficient output in quality and quantity.

Discover by methods of science how the requirements of industry and the capacities of men may be adjusted.

Coordinate the needs of industry and society through training and education.

Conduct the industrial enterprise that it may best serve the society of which it is a part.

Such are the goals of American industry. How is this master job being approached? What has been accomplished?

The methods used by various groups are again great in number and of wide variety. Foremost in the technique common to all groups is reliance upon "facts". In the search for facts about industry, regardless of the manner in which those facts are to be used, the methods of science are almost universally acclaimed. The amount of research into man's relation to work now under way in our universities is enormous. Industrialists, both managers and workers, are watching these experiments for the first glimmer of results and frequently undertake to apply them prematurely and without adequate preparation. Direct attempts are also being made by companies, manufacturers' associations, technical and professional bodies, trade unions, and the government to discover the meaning of current situations and to anticipate new developments.

Unquestionably this fever for research has resulted in important changes of method in certain sections of industry, in the creation and use of mechanical appliances, and in the develop-

## SUMMARY

ment of new management procedures. Yet only a beginning has been made in the economical conservation and application of man-power. In this field great progress has been made in the reduction of accidents through the use of mechanical safeguards and awakened caution among workers. Two factors contributed to this end: accident compensation legislation and voluntary efforts of employers and employees in organized campaigns. Both of these approaches began about 1910.

Attention is now being turned toward similar reduction in the sickness hazard. The average loss per worker on account of sickness is between eight and nine days per year which is about seven times that due to accidents. The total loss from illness has been reliably estimated as \$ 2,000,000,000 per year.

The industrial loss due to irregularities in employment and to unemployment fluctuates, of course, with the state of industry. No adequate public statistics are available to determine its extent. A dozen relatively small employers have set up unemployment compensation plans for regular employees, while several unions of the needle trades have developed such plans under joint agreement with employers. Not more than 50,000 workers are covered by plans of this type.

Wastes due to strike or lockout are naturally the most spectacular. No national machinery exists for the avoidance or settlement of such conflicts, although the principle of arbitration is widely accepted and used. The conciliation service of the United States Department of Labor frequently exercises a potent influence in critical industrial disputes.

The application of man-power on the job also affords a vast area for improvement. In not many plants do conditions exist which permit the exercise of the workers' best sustained efforts. Failures in planning and routing materials and supplies and in providing working conditions and human relations of the right sort result in untold waste. In fact, rarely is a full day's work definable under present circumstances.

This brief recital of existing industrial wastes serves but to focus the problems for which employers, employees, and industrial scientists are seeking solutions. The most promising

## SUMMARY

field of rapid development lies in the direction of better human relationships.

Present programs for solutions are of very recent origin. Scientific management as originated by Frederick Taylor has had the longest history among those here considered, yet it did not receive widespread attention until 1910. Industrial psychology, notwithstanding its twenty years of struggle, has not yet made a perceptible mark on American industry as a distinct science. Consciously planned personnel administration had its beginnings between 1910 and 1915 and after radical changes in basic notions has only now become a recognizable function of management. The readjustment of educational curricula to meet the needs of twentieth century industrial society is a post-war development, while the present changing policies of organized labor are as yet in an embryonic stage.

The methods of industry for improving the relations between the worker and his work are much the same in all groups. Discovery of the requirements of the job and the capacities of individuals calls for a technique in which there is little occasion for difference of opinion. Actual accomplishment in job specification already has been substantial in that practical pattern forms have been devised and are in daily use in large and small establishments. The extent to which these are applied throughout industry is, however, limited. The analysis of individual capacities is still in the experimental stage. Universities and colleges are developing many forms of objective testing and hundreds of thousands of individual case records, which will eventually permit comparison with life histories. Industry in general is skeptical of this attempt at appraisal of personal capacities. A generation of workers and managers will doubtless pass through industry before this tool is adequately developed and widely applied.

This experimentation is all aimed at securing freedom of opportunity that releases individual energy. Meanwhile the selection, placement, and promotion of the individual worker is being made through the use of expediency measures, often reasonably successful for present purposes.

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In this concentration on the worker and his work, the supervisor plays an essential part. Upon the worker and his immediate supervisor rests the responsibility for the work in process. The foreman is as powerful an influence for good or evil today as ever. In former times his methods were commonly unquestioned by his managing superiors. He hired and fired upon his own authority and was expected to get production in his own way. Several influences within the past two decades have been focused on the foreman and his job. The practice of basing decisions on facts serves to limit the range of his responsibility through the development of planning, scheduling, routing, stockroom orders, and other tools of scientific management.

The growth of trade unions and company employee representation plans at first curtailed the freedom of the foreman particularly in stating what he could not do. More recently, however, the tide has turned and the foreman is taking on a new kind of responsibility. He is now the key administrator through whom practically all personnel activities become effective. His authority is enhanced by providing him with more effective tools of administration. The workers' relations with the foreman have become more closely interrelated as a result of the more intelligent efforts at cooperation in efficient production.

The introduction of training programs is an aid to the foreman first by helping him to study his own task, second by placing more capable workmen on the job in shorter time, and third by teaching him how to train both new and older workers to work more effectively.

Relationships between the worker and his fellow worker are of three general types. Historically and even predominately today the worker is related to other workers only as an individual. In a sense each is a competitor for the job of his neighbor. Fortunately there have been enough jobs for all, except during intermittent periods of depression. Secondly, some 4,000,000 or more workers are associated in trade or industrial unions for the protection and advancement

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of their group interests. Thirdly, workers of many individual establishments are associated in the company or plant for direct organized contact with management. Perhaps 1,700,000 are under this form of joint relations. Within these latter two types there are many variations in form.

It is doubtful that scientific management, industrial psychology, or education had any noteworthy influence upon the development of these particular group or joint relationships just mentioned. The labor union and the employee representation movements were rather sponsored respectively by employees and employers. Labor organized primarily to improve working conditions in backward industries. Employers subsequently devised company organizations of employees because they felt that the community of interest between the employees of a single company was greater than that between employees of a craft or industry; also because they did not like the outside control which ordinarily accompanies trade union recognition. Trade unionists maintain that this type of joint relations does not best serve the interests of workers because of inequality of bargaining power. They believe that the first requisite of any organization of workers is that it must be able to establish and maintain itself by economic force, if necessary.

Up to the war period labor unions had been engaged mainly in a struggle for recognition and the establishment of certain minimum standards. Some of the older unions which had already attained an accepted status had also shown an interest in, and capacity for working with management to solve problems of operation. This was notably true in the share which the typographical union had in the introduction of the typesetting machine into the printing industry. But the struggle for recognition in most cases had been accompanied by bitter industrial strife and methods were used which were not a credit to either party. At least, there developed a distrust between union leaders and managers which precluded, for the time being, cooperation for constructive purposes. The desire for cooperation with employees in plans of repeated strikes and lockouts prompted certain employers to set up the new form of employee-employer relationship with the company or



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plant as the unit. The idea of cooperation had a magic appeal. Although cooperation did not always result from the new plan, employee representation on a company basis did serve to crystallize in American industry the function of cooperation between the parties immediately involved.

Principally as a result of war-time joint relations, but also as a natural evolution of thought, managers and owners came to accept the principle of collective bargaining. Some, however, refuse to limit this operation to dealings with unions and insisted that agreements arrived at with employees of a single company, frequently with arbitration provisions, also constitute collective bargaining. Whatever may be the correct view, it is certain that many of the company plans established or stimulated by employers could not be abandoned without a strike of the employees under it.

Thus changing relationships between the worker and his fellow-workers have brought about a new status individually and collectively between managers and workers. The post-war extension of this philosophy of cooperation has not been limited to any one group or any one type of joint relationship. A momentous development has taken place grounded on the principle that increased wages and standards of living can only be attained through efficient production. In company plans, employees have cooperated with management in the elimination of accident hazards, the reduction of scrap and other forms of waste, and to the making of suggestions under systems of reward. In certain unionized industries there has grown up union-management cooperation of a substantial sort. The employment of technicians and engineers as aids in this participation in management has been especially noteworthy. In this two-phased cooperative movement the ultimate goals sought by the trade unionists and the advocates of the company employee representation movement, as expressed by the leaders of these groups, are identical. Both want a prosperous industry which will pay high return in the form of wages, salaries and profits. Both believe that enduring prosperity will result only under conditions which free the creative abilities

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of all involved in the enterprise. Whatever may be the form of joint relations, the methods used by workers and managers cooperating constructively are of the same order and kind. Such methods include participation in planning, suggestions for improvement of methods and working conditions, conferences, and in the exercise of other functions and procedures involving judgment. Although the form of organization does not in itself induce or prevent the use of cooperative tactics, it is a vital factor when trade union recognition is questioned. In such cases the immediate goal of the workers is recognition. In fact, some observers have regarded the willingness of unions to cooperate primarily as a bid for further recognition.

Managers and workers are in this manner being drawn into a community of interests which have hitherto prevailed only to a limited degree. This has been enhanced somewhat by the changing relationships between owners, managers and workers. On the one hand owners and managers have become separate entities as the corporate stock form of industrial organization has taken the place of managing partnerships, while on the other hand the spread of capital ownership has made the employee a factor as an owner of securities. This new employee position is not confined solely to employee holdings of stock in the company for which he works, but includes also investments in savings banks, insurance policies and the potential business operations of trade unions. It is true that these evidences of employees as capitalists do not carry with them much direct power over industrial policies. Such power is being attained rather through the demonstration of ability to aid in determining policies in an increasing number of situations which permit it.

An important element in this changing economic status of workers is the present widely held theory that high wages enhance purchasing and that industry thus expanded yields increased rewards for all parties. It yet remains to be seen how long this theory will prevail in actual practice. Widespread unemployment or a general industrial depression would put the theory of high wages to a crucial test.

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It may be seen, therefore, that the manager and the worker are enhancing their positions in the triumvirate with capital and that the interdependence of the family circle - the entire circle of contacts is more clearly recognizable. In fact this philosophy of mutuality of interests, multiplicity of responsibility, and integration of purposes and methods appear to be the emerging ideal of American industry. However, if this be the goal it is yet a long way from accomplishment. The hopeful sign lies in the apparently narrowing area of conflict and the extension of the area of cooperation. It would be extremely unwise to attribute to any one movement the blame or credit for the industrial relationships which exist in the United States today. There is plenty of stigma and glory for all. Each has had its influence, either in one direction or another. In some cases there has been unanimity of purpose and methods; in other instances there have been divergent viewpoints. Nevertheless, out of this mosaic the following outstanding accomplishments may be credited each to the movement which was dominant in seeking it.

**SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT** has contributed a new viewpoint and a new technique; it has laid the groundwork for the recognition of functional relationships in industry; and it has set up operating situations which develop habit patterns of understanding, cooperation and high productivity.

**INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY** has focused attention on the individual worker and his job; it has brought into the foreground mental processes and emotional reactions in industry as fields for scientific study.

**EDUCATION** is developing a basis for creating situations in which the individual will have maximum opportunity to do the work he is best fitted to do and his natural aptitudes will be given free range of expression through individualized training.

**PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION** has demonstrated the importance of meeting personal needs of workers and adjusting them to the requirements of the individual producing unit; it has

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applied many of the tools of science without calling them scientific.

ORGANIZED LABOR has been a prime and potential factor in raising the standards of living of American workers; it has been a strong force in support of capitalistic industry, and is contributing substantially to the enlistment of workers' full efforts in production.

Finally, the existing relationships in industry have doubtless developed as they have in America because of influences that are more basic than, or at least precedent to, the five especially considered in this paper. For one hundred and fifty years Americans have been engaged in conquering a continent of vast natural resources under a political organization peculiarly their own. A philosophy of individualism clearly expressed in the early days of the republic has laid its imprint on industrial development. Only in this century has the doctrine of the priority of public interest come to be generally accepted, and even yet its application is far from general. Scientific management, industrial psychology, education, personnel administration, and the labor movement each represent conscious attempts to direct the development of fundamental relationships within industry in ways which will benefit all those concerned, whether immediately or remotely.

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The factors involved in the organization and co-ordination of specialized efforts for the accomplishment of a common purpose are numerous, variable and difficult of casual valuation. Too frequently policies, plans and procedures are based on individual authority, opinion or snap judgments, and consequently energies are misapplied, results disproportionate to efforts, rewards inequitably distributed, and human nature violated.

Scientific Management by the utilization of investigation and experiment seeks to eliminate superficial variables, discover the laws of each particular managerial situation and, through appropriate procedures, to substitute these laws for personal authority and opinions. It aims to economize energies, secure maximum rewards, make self-expression and self-respect realizable in every task, and generally to promote human welfare through harmonious co-operation in livelihood activities.

This involves primarily a state of mind towards managerial responsibility and a method of approach towards the solution of managerial problems; not the speedy installation of an inflexible system of procedures. It involves purpose, ideals, investigation, understanding, and prolonged and patient effort. It involves human sympathy and capacity for co-operation.

The capacities of organizations for the development of these characteristics vary greatly. Therefore scientific management varies greatly in both fundamental and superficial aspects as between different plants. There are few examples of complete development, but there are many instances of varying degrees of partial development, and American industry as a whole has been profoundly influenced by scientific management.

Scientific management has a number of objectives, according to the point of view from which it is examined. The following are outstanding: to make enterprise successful by good judgment in gauging the demand for the commodities or services to be produced and by economical application of the human and material energies involved; to make work agreeable in its physical conditions, human relations and the satisfaction of a job well done; and to promote human welfare by increasing productivity, improving distribution and raising the standard of living.

It was a practical human relations problem arising out of an effort to secure productivity that in 1880 stimulated Taylor, then an inexperienced boyish foreman, to those researches out of which scientific management developed. <sup>1</sup>

At that date mechanization of American industry was under way, operations were becoming specialized, workers were more

<sup>1</sup> F. B. Copley, "Frederick W. Taylor", Vol. I, pp. 3, 157-189, 205-245.

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scattered throughout larger plants, experience with unemployment had generated a spirit of "make work", recent experience with the cutting of piece rates had caused distrust of management, voluntary effort was at a low state of efficiency, supervision had not adjusted itself to the new conditions, and generally morale and productivity were low. Advanced from worker to foreman, young Taylor not unnaturally imitated the bosses under whom he had worked and attempted to force production by driving the workers, which was the method of foremanship then customary.

A fight with the men resulted. Taylor won out, but the experience hurt what was a sensitive and sympathetic nature and disillusioned him. "I was a young man in years, but I give you my word I was a great deal older than I am now, what with the worry, meanness and contemptibleness of the whole damn thing", he said years later; "I made up my mind either to get out.... or to find some remedy for this unbearable condition."<sup>2</sup>

The youthful foreman did some hard thinking and decided that management was chiefly at fault. Throughout American industry its only concept of a proper day's work was what it could drive workers to do. But it is management's business to know what is a proper day's work. The only way to know is by research and experiment. Thereupon Taylor secured permission to conduct "some experiments", the purpose of which he kept to himself. He did not think they would take over six months, but they continued more than twenty-five years. Almost immediately, however, they yielded results in the nature of measured possibilities of work which put supervision and management in that shop on a factual basis. Output was planned, controlled and increased under conditions agreeable to the workers. Never again did Taylor have controversy with workers under his supervision, and never have any of those who have followed his methods faithfully.

The body of procedures which grew gradually out of these investigations and experiments came to be known as "The Taylor System", and to the doctrine and principles later

<sup>2</sup> Copley, *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

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derived from these procedures were given the name "Scientific Management".<sup>3</sup>

Scientific management, says Taylor, is primarily a mental attitude towards work, and only secondarily a system of practices. "The essence of scientific management consists in the application of certain broad general principles, and the particular way in which these principles are applied is a matter of entirely subordinate detail... there is not one who uses the same methods in any two successive establishments", he wrote to a friend.<sup>4</sup> Briefly, this mental attitude involves "the substitution of exact scientific investigation and knowledge for the old individual judgment or opinion, either of the workman or the boss;"<sup>5</sup> and "the substitution of peace for war, ...of hearty brotherly cooperation for contention and strife; of both pulling hard in the same direction instead of pulling apart; of replacing suspicious watchfulness with mutual confidence."<sup>6</sup>

But the manner in which a mental attitude expresses itself in conduct is hardly less important than the attitude. Although the practices of scientific management may vary according to their adaptation to particular circumstances, nevertheless, if the attitude is definite and consistent, there must be a permanent nucleus of practice which reflects the consistent attitude. Considering both mental attitude and practice, and looking back from 1928 over forty-eight years of its development, scientific management may be restated as involving:

The discovery by investigation and experiment of a factual basis for every determination of policy, program, product, material, machine, tool and method in the operation of an enterprise;

A system of control of operations, in terms of standards determined by the research and experiment, which brings

<sup>3</sup> The term "Scientific Management" was adopted by a group of engineers called in conference late in 1910 by Louis D. Brandeis, then an attorney for the shippers in the Eastern Rate Case hearings, now an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

<sup>4</sup> Copley, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 309.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 11.

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individual specialized efforts into coordination with the result of a minimum expenditure of the human and material energies involved;

Both research and procedures which, although in design and application chiefly the work of specialists, must be open, reasonable, just, acceptable to all individuals concerned, and expressive of a common purpose and good-will. <sup>7</sup>

It is obvious to one experienced in human affairs, and particularly in enterprises in which many types of individuality must join in common effort, that here is not an inflexible system of procedures which can be bought and installed like a boiler or a loom; that on the contrary here is something of an organic nature which, although conceived and guided by an outstanding leadership, grows out of a harmony of desires and understandings within the group. That is one reason why there are so few complete developments of scientific management, even though American industry generally has been profoundly influenced by its spirit and has come to utilize many of its mechanisms. On the one hand there are too few managers of vision, leadership and energy who do not require the compulsion of circumstances to undertake the patient development of something new; on the other hand, because of natural basic conditions of prosperity there has not been any general serious urge towards ideals and methods marking a radical departure from opportunism. The urge for a consistent and well-rounded development of scientific management, as distinguished from unconscious influence of its spirit and conscious appropriation of some of its waste-saving mechanisms, has been felt chiefly by those rare leaders who are capable of response to ideals of perfection in technical accomplishment and in human relations.

Another reason is that the American executive has not taken to doctrines, theories or systems. A doctrine or a system consists of an integrated group of detail beliefs or practices,

<sup>7</sup> For a picture of an outstanding case of scientific management, see the description of Kendall Mills Incorporated, a group of seven cotton textile plants, in Bulletin of the Taylor Society, Vol. XII, No. 6. December 1927.



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many of which may be held or practised by individuals who do not accept or even are not informed concerning the doctrine or the system as a whole. The American industrialist has lived in a period of opportunism, has been concerned chiefly with dynamic problems of frontier industry, and has been engaged in doing things rather than in reading and thinking about things. Doctrines and systems do not excite his interest; in fact, a new doctrine or system is likely at first to invite rejection without serious consideration, although in time it may have great influence if it has integrity and vigor. The planning room, for instance, is now common in American plants, and the concept of high wages and low labor costs now has considerable vogue; yet many do not know that the mechanism came from Taylor, and that in the introduction to "Shop Management" he said: "This book is written mainly with the object of advocating high wages and low labor cost as the foundation of the best management".

Appraisal of the influence of a movement is a matter of historical research, analysis and judgment. One who searches the literature of American management since its beginning will find abundant evidence that the aims, principles and procedures first presented by Taylor have, like the ripples of a stone cast into a pool, spread out into American industry, although many a management of 1928 may not know the source of that which it believes or practises.

In addition to such direct and indirect influence of scientific management, it should be noted that its influence has been enlarged and extended by supplementary forces of independent origin. Those who have made research and experiment the basis of the pursuit of their special interest in management — whether in human relations, merchandising or general administration — have found themselves developing techniques and expressing philosophies essentially identical with the technique and philosophy expressed by Taylor nearly half a century ago. Even the very recent developments of psychology in the field of management are more closely related to Taylor's early empirical studies of fatigue in shoveling, handling pig iron and inspecting balls for ball bearings, than to the intro-

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spective psychology which was contemporary with Taylor. He had a vision of such things. Asked why he had not turned attention to scientific management in other phases of management than production, he replied that life was too short, that the best he could do was to make a thorough demonstration in the field of production management, leaving to others the problem of carrying the development into other fields.<sup>8</sup>

The phenomena of mechanization and mass production, so characteristic of American industry during the past quarter century, and so economical in the production of large quantities of identical items, should not be confused with scientific management. Scientific management and mass production may coincide, but they are not the same thing. Where they are found together the results are noteworthy; but frequently where mass production and a high degree of mechanization dominate a scene, scientific management is not found. Mass production has its origin in large markets, a huge volume of orders, standardized products, and the possibility of economical fabrication by means of a steady flow of materials through single-purpose machines and highly specialized workers; and these factors are not infrequently accompanied by some degree of monopoly advantage. If such is the case - and there are such cases - the enterprise may be highly successful by pursuing lines of least resistance which do not include scientific management.

In contrast to mass production, scientific management had its origin in and is to be found today chiefly in small and medium sized plants making variable items, or standard items variable as to detail characteristics, on multiple-purpose machines which require human regulation and attention as work varies. While mass production makes its gains almost entirely by the economies of a ceaseless flow of material through specialized machines, scientific management makes its gains chiefly by eliminating the wastes of misapplied human effort, misused materials, and lack of coordination of efforts where variability is present. Both mass production and scientific management use equipment which is scientifically designed; but scientific

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management is a management which is itself scientifically designed. Management is necessarily a matter of study and design in plants making variable products in varying volume on variable machines, for in such plants numerous wastes of maladjustment are possible.

In the United States there is great variety as to size of plants, nature of the processing - continuous, intermittent or variable - and as to the kind and quality of management. The numerical proportion of large mass production establishments is small, but the proportion of workers which they employ and their output is enormous. Some have been strongly influenced by scientific management, some moderately and some very little. There is a very considerable proportion of medium sized plants some of which may have continuous processing in one or more departments, although they would not be classified as mass production establishments. These also have been influenced more or less by scientific management. The dominant proportion of establishments - chiefly, although not altogether, of small size - have managements representing inherited patterns modified by casual imitation. Among all of these classes can be found only a small handful of well-rounded developments of scientific management.\*

The large class of plants dominated by tradition and imitation has naturally appropriated some of the mechanisms of scientific management, and although the net result has been a gradual raising of the level of management in such plants, this result has not been achieved in all cases. Very serious damage in individual instances to managerial efficiency and harmonious relations with workers, and to the good repute of scientific management, has resulted from failure to adopt ideals and spirit along with mechanisms. It is in this class of plants that the superficial "efficiency engineer" has found his clientèle, and as he has not hesitated to seek the advantage of proclaim-

\* The literature of management has so featured interesting cases of mass production that many students in other countries than the United States have received the impression that American industry is made up of "Fords". The following data will be enlightening. Of establishments having an annual product of more than \$5000, the distribution in 1925 was as follows (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1925):

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ing himself a representative of scientific management, the harm he has been able to bring temporarily to scientific management has been considerable. But American managements are becoming more discerning, discriminating and cautious, and the baneful influence of the "efficiency engineer" appears to be declining.

The concern of scientific management for harmonious industrial relations, and workers' prosperity and goodwill, has always been deep, for one of the first discoveries of research in management is that goodwill is a productive power independently of the efficiency of the equipment and method, and adds to the efficiency of the equipment and method. But scientific management considers workers' welfare and goodwill, not as something which can be generated effectively as a thing apart from the spirit and methods of management, but as something which is dependent on and a consequence of these. Good management and workers' welfare are the two terms of an equation; it matters little which term is put first.

The lines are many along which scientific management contributes to workers' welfare and goodwill, and to harmonious industrial relations. The entire list enumerated below can

Classes by Value of Product	Per cent of Establishments	Per cent of Workers	Per cent of Total Product
\$ 1,000,000 and over * .....	5.6	56.8	67.6
\$ 500,000 to \$ 1,000,000 .....	5.2	13.5	11.0
\$ 100,000 to \$ 500,000 .....	22.5	20.0	15.3
\$ 20,000 to \$ 100,000 .....	36.8	7.9	5.2
\$ 5,000 to \$ 20,000 .....	29.8	1.9	1.0

And from the United States Census of 1919:

Classes by Number of Wage Earners	Per cent of Establishments	Per cent of Workers
1 to 5 wage earners .....	56.2	3.3
6 to 20 wage earners .....	22.2	6.8
21 to 50 wage earners .....	10.0	8.9
51 to 100 wage earners .....	4.9	9.6
101 to 250 wage earners .....	3.9	17.3
251 to 500 wage earners .....	1.4	13.7
501 to 1000 wage earners .....	0.6	13.2
Over 1000 wage earners * .....	0.4	26.2

\* The enterprises which an American would classify as representative of mass production are to be found in the upper strata of those classes identified by an asterisk.

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be achieved only by a management of superlative vision, understanding and leadership ability, yet the total group of items in the list is true of a particular enterprise which the author has in mind, and other enterprises have achieved a greater or less proportion of these items, according to the capacity for leadership and cooperation present in both the management and the workers in particular instances. Scientific management aims:

To gauge industrial tendencies and the market,<sup>10</sup> in order thereby to regularize operations in a manner which will conserve the investment, sustain the enterprise as an employing agency and assure continuous operation and employment.

To assure the employee not only continuous operating and employment by a correct gauging of the market, but also to assure by planned and balanced operations a continuous earning opportunity while on the payroll.

To earn, through a waste-saving management and processing technique, a larger income from a given expenditure of human and material energies, which shall be shared by workers and management. Scientific management plants generally pay wages above the market.

To make possible a higher standard of living as a result of increased income to workers.

To assure a happier home and social life to workers through removal, by increase of income, of many of the disagreeable and worrying factors in the total situation.<sup>11</sup>

To assure healthful as well as individually and socially agreeable conditions of work.

To assure the highest opportunity for individual capacity

<sup>10</sup> Where there are huge investments of capital in fixed and specialized form, this may mean a consideration of social desirability, or long-run fundamental usefulness, as bearing on long-run demand.

<sup>11</sup> Says one exponent of scientific management concerning his group of seven mills; "while not unmindful of the importance of stability that is coupled with material success, their interest is quite as much in producing better citizens as in securing profits." *Bulletin of the Taylor Society*, Vol. XII, No. 6, p. 525.

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through scientific methods of work analysis and of selection, training, assignment, transfer and promotion of workers.

To assure by training and instructional foremanship the opportunity for workers to develop new and higher capacities, and eligibility for promotion to higher positions.

To develop self-confidence and self-respect among workers through the opportunity afforded for understanding of one's own work specifically, and of plans and methods of work generally.

To develop self-expression and self-realization among workers through the stimulative influence of an atmosphere of research and valuation, through understanding of plans and methods, and through the freedom of horizontal as well as vertical contacts afforded by functional organization.

To eliminate factors of the environment which are irritating and the causes of frictions, and to promote common understandings, tolerances, and the spirit of team work.

These aims - some of them results of early experience with scientific management which have been adopted as the aims of subsequent activity - have not been achieved with equal success in all scientific management plants, and are not the exclusive possession of that small group of plants which may properly be classified as representatives of scientific management. But the literature of scientific management reveals that these have consistently been its aims; most of them from the beginning of the movement, and others as experience has disclosed their importance and practicability. Scientific management has always been characterized as progressive in its concepts of the solution of the problems of industrial relations. Investigation and comparison of plants reveal that generally the more complete the development of a technique of scientific management, the more completely are these aims represented in policy and procedures, and the more favorable the response of workers. The reason for this correlation is not difficult to understand. Scientific management seeks, and the more completely it is developed in a plant, realizes a stability of conditions and sureness and economy of effort

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which are impossible without the goodwill and cooperation of the workers. The achievement of the goodwill and cooperation of the workers has consistently been an objective and has never been a problem for scientific management plants.

Entirely distinct from the reactions of workers employed in scientific management plants, and chiefly representing the reactions to scientific management as a theory on the part of organizations of labor not strongly represented in such plants, was the opposition of nationally organized labor for a period of about six or seven years prior to the war. This opposition fortunately has practically disappeared and can be analyzed as are other historic events.

Scientific management came to public attention in the United States through certain hearings before the Interstate Commerce Commission in the winter of 1910-1911. Newspapers and magazines discovered its news value and deluged the public with articles concerning it. And although organized labor had given it no attention during the first thirty years of its slow development, now that the public was becoming interested, labor also became interested. It analyzed scientific management as a doctrine and found grounds for opposition. These grounds were not unreasonable inferences from the inadequate early expositions of scientific management. The reasons for opposition, some declared and some not declared, may be reduced to four:

Organized labor had had a long and hard struggle to achieve status in the face of strong opposition of industry, and its natural and not unreasonable assumption was that anything new originating in management and by management was for ownership's advantage and presumably to labor's disadvantage.

Assertions concerning the development of a "science for each operation" and the reductions of operating methods to easily understood instructions, caused a fear of the loss to labor of craft distinctions and of the power of labor in the possession of craft knowledge and skill.

Numerous statements concerning economies which had been

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effected by scientific management, especially in the nature of labor saving, called up at once the instinctive fear that a general adoption of scientific management would cause widespread discharges and unemployment.

Inadequate explanations of the use and limitations of time study and of reasons for increase of productivity, led to an assumption that scientific management means a speeding up, wearing out and eventual casting aside of the individual worker.

In view of the atmosphere of distrust between industry and organized labor at that time, these arguments of opposition were not unnatural. They were assumptions and were wrong. The replies to them were based on experience, but an experience not documented, and were unconvincing. There was no solution for the controversy in argumentation, and labor was not disposed to investigate the facts. From the point of view of the historian in 1928, it was necessary for the course of events to bring its own enlightenment through larger experience. That is what has come to pass.

The first ground of opposition disappeared during the war. Employers and leaders of organized labor laid aside their differences as they worked side by side on war committees. They learned to understand each other better as human beings and to value each others' motives. And organized labor observed that the scientific management group was the most consistent of all employing groups in regarding and promoting labor's interests and in the desire to conserve labor's gains after the war.

The second ground of opposition disappeared through gradual observation of the facts. A "science for each operation" does not destroy craft skill; it may modify its content sometimes, but it as frequently gives it wider scope. Labor has observed also that the procedures of scientific management require in addition to old skills, a skill in cooperation through understanding of purpose and methods. A scientific management plant strives to bring all workers in a craft to the level of skill of the best, and is more dependent on uniformly high



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intelligence and skill within a craft than any other kind of plant.

The third ground of opposition also disappeared through observation of facts. Labor saving through better management, as distinct from labor saving by an occasional epoch-making invention, although easily described, takes research, education and time to achieve. One can tell in one minute about a saving of labor energy which has taken a year or more. Savings are generally by small increments through a long period, and adjustments are effected during the period. The rate of saving rarely amounts to the normal rate of voluntary quits.<sup>12</sup> Scientific management may involve reassignments — and for the first time in the life of many workers assignments on the basis of investigated capacity — but it does not often involve discharge.

The fourth ground of opposition also gradually disappeared with experience. Improvement and standardization of machine conditions and of methods may or may not result in increased speed of production, and with or without increased speed of the operative; it depends upon the particular machine, the particular operation and the particular circumstances. It should be borne in mind that machines and operations vary greatly in the relation of workers' handling time to machine time, and that the problem of speed and of fatigue varies accordingly. In operating a punch press, for instance, the worker is active all the time, fatigue becomes an important element of the situation, and experiment may disclose that a reduction of speed or introduction of rest periods will increase productivity; but in the operation of a large lathe the worker is but a watcher and adjuster for a major portion of his time, and increase in the speed of the machine has only remote fatigue relation to the worker. And in many instances the increase of speed is merely a mathematical result of dividing the total output into the total time taken and securing an average time per piece; for when conditions are improved so

<sup>12</sup> The December 1927 report of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York, of the average annual voluntary quit rate of more than 300 reporting companies is 14.9 per cent.

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as to eliminate waiting and other idle time, the average time per piece may be reduced without any increase of actual speed. It has come to be understood that speed and fatigue are problems of each particular operation, and the more carefully a correct speed is sought by experiment and measurement, the more reasonable, just and permanent will be the standard of output agreed upon.

It is the judgment of many observers that the tempo of machine work is higher in the United States than in Europe. There have been no researches into the relation of speed to particular systems of management, particular methods of wage payment or particular industries. Competent observers report that it is apparently highest in extremely mechanized mass-production plants, and that tension appears to be least in scientific management plants.

The opposition of leaders of labor to bona fide scientific management has practically disappeared, and during recent years there has been noteworthy cooperation between scientific management leaders and labor leaders.

The first striking evidence of labor's interest in good management and increased productivity was the association in 1920 as editors of a volume entitled "Labor Management and Production",<sup>13</sup> of Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, Morris L. Cooke, an outstanding disciple of Taylor, and Fred. J. Miller, President of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers and an exponent of scientific management. A few years later other labor leaders contributed to a similar volume.<sup>14</sup> In December 1925, William Green, successor to Gompers as President of the American Federation of Labor, participated by a noteworthy address in a meeting of the Taylor Society,<sup>15</sup> and a few months later other representatives of labor participated in another meeting of that society.<sup>16</sup> In the spring of 1927 the General Labor Union of

<sup>13</sup> *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. XCI, September, 1920.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, CXL, January, 1924.

<sup>15</sup> *Bulletin of the Taylor Society*, Vol. X, No. 6, December, 1925.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, No. 1, February, 1926.

## SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT

Philadelphia had a two-day conference on cooperation between management and labor in the development of better methods of production, in which scientific management was sympathetically discussed and scientific management engineers and executives were active participants. This led to other similar conferences under the auspices of organized labor. In the Cleveland, Ohio, ladies' garment market, organized employers and organized workers have agreed upon a program involving measured standards of output, and the stop watch is the accepted instrument of measurement. On the Baltimore and Ohio, the Canadian National and two other railroads there is organized cooperation between management and workers in the development of better methods and the workers have on their payroll an engineer concerned with improvement of methods.

Misunderstandings and disagreements concerning scientific management as a doctrine have given place to cooperative inquiry into conditions and methods of its utilization. Scientific management had its origin nearly fifty years ago in an inspired effort to solve serious problems of productivity and personal relations in a capitalistic regime of industry already becoming highly mechanized. It has become a philosophy and a body of practices pertaining to management *per se*, independent of any particular regime of industry, and usable in whatever system of industrial society men and women may desire to work together in specialized cooperative efforts toward a common objective. And because it endeavors to base policies, plans and procedures on scientifically determined facts of human nature as well as of mechanics, it is a great force for amelioration of human relations in industry.

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Influences limiting the progress of industrial psychology in the United States have been: the backwardness of the science itself; the demand for services of psychologists in other directions, notably in education; and the tradition among psychologists that many questions of industrial psychology are the exclusive prerogative of the management engineer.

Psychological problems have been recognized in connection with the individual worker's relations to his work, his fellow-workers, his supervisor, the management, and the entire circle of contacts outside the factory. The social psychology of relations between groups, of workers, managers and public, is no less important. These industrial relations have been influenced in three ways: by psychology as science, as point of view, and as method.

Facts about the nature of individual differences, the specificity of abilities, and the laws of learning, of interest and attention, have modified industrial practice. Use of statistical techniques is spreading, but controlled experiment has been sadly neglected.

In conclusion, mention is made of agencies for furthering industrial psychology in America.

In what directions and to what extent has the science of psychology influenced industrial thought and practice in the United States? What trends have been discernible during the past twenty years? What influences have operated to bring industrial problems into the purview of psychologists, and to bring psychological doctrines to bear on the thinking and practice of business executives, industrial engineers, labor managers, trade-union leaders, and students of social science whose primary interest centers in industrial relations? How keenly are the masters of American industry aware of the profound problems of individual and social psychology that have been brought into the spot-light of inquiry as a result of mass-production and minute division of labor, with the resulting tendencies toward repetitive processes, shorter hours, better wages, modification of many skilled trades, demand for highly specialized, non-transferable skills, and decreased need of mere physical strength in the worker? What help have the practitioners of scientific management or the administrators of personnel policies received from the science of psychology?

No damage will be done through frank admission at the outset that the significant and constructive contributions of industrial

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psychology in America have been pretty meagre. Psychology is a rapidly growing but still youthful science. It has been absorbed in the task of putting its own house in order. Within the past generation it has had to win the co-operation and respect of its elder sisters, the biological sciences. New techniques of research have had to be devised, new hypotheses formulated and put to the acid test of controlled experiment. Efforts in these directions have met with such success that there has been a wholly unprecedented and disproportionate demand for the services of psychologists as instructors in university and college courses in psychology. Then, too, the applications of psychology to problems of elementary and secondary education have absorbed a large share of the energies of the most brilliant of American psychologists. One need only mention the names of such leaders of psychological research as Thorndike, Terman, Judd, and G. Stanley Hall, to illustrate the force of the contention that careers in educational psychology have attracted some of our ablest men. And today, if industry is to bring it to pass that the attention of eminent psychologists shall be focussed on the problems of human relations and conditions in factories and offices, it must be prepared to compete not only with the instructional budgets of the universities and the considerable financial rewards that accrue, through publication, to those who greatly improve the techniques of public education; it must compete as well with enticing research opportunities now opening up to the psychologists on problems arising in the fields of political science, law, criminology, child guidance, and social betterment.

Not only have psychologists been under pressure to bend their efforts toward non-industrial problems: they have been content to see large areas of psychological inquiry in industry pre-empted by capable investigators whose training has been primarily other than that of the psychological laboratory. Many of the best contributions to the study of industrial fatigue, accidents, illumination, and simplification of work, have been made not by psychologists but by industrial engineers and specialists in scientific management. A canvass

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of the contributions of Frederick W. Taylor and his associates, for example, reveals numerous studies in the subject-matter of industrial psychology. Hence an unwarranted tradition has prevailed, to the effect that questions of time- and motion-study, incentives, factory training, and the design of tools, machines, benches and chairs to fit the requirements of the worker, are exclusive prerogatives of the engineer. Theoretically it has been recognized that each of these subjects has its psychological aspects, to which it might be presumed that a psychologist could contribute. Practically, the management engineer has known these problems so much more intimately in their industrial setting, that the psychologist unversed in factory practice has for the most part preferred to turn his energies in other directions. Indeed, it may be confessed that certain timid forays by amateur industrial psychologists into this territory have been ludicrous enough in their outcome to lend emphasis to this unfortunate tradition.<sup>1</sup> But enough by way of apology and explanation. What benefits, if any, have accrued to industrial relations in America because of the work of psychologists?

Some of these benefits we shall find are broad and general. Some are specific and detailed. They can best be envisaged after we have listed the chief industrial problems which are primarily psychological or which present psychological aspects.

### PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRY.

Psychology is variously described as the positive science of conduct, the science of behavior, the science of experience. Whatever the limitation of scope implied in any such definition, the fact is that one finds today in any systematic volume on psychology, a wealth of fact and generalization with respect

<sup>1</sup> Industrial executives must share in part the responsibility for these fiascos. Over and over again they have engaged as psychologist a novice whose only claim to the title was that he had studied a few elementary courses in college, or perhaps had been an assistant in routine psychometric work in the Army or in a child guidance clinic. One cannot help smiling at such choices, made by business men who would never for a moment think of dumping a complicated problem of mechanical development or chemical research on the shoulders of an inexperienced or half-trained engineer.

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to human nature. Those problems of industry may be considered psychological which involve questions of human nature.

Foremost are the problems which have to do with the worker in relation to his work. Many such problems arise in helping the worker find the simplest, easiest, most natural ways of doing his work; conserving his energy; reducing fatigue; increasing quality and quantity of output; eliminating personal injuries and lost time due to accidents; removing unnecessary fears and irritations connected with the work; reducing unrest, discontent and dissatisfaction with the job and with the working conditions surrounding it; and increasing the laborer's store of contentment, pride and satisfaction in his accomplishment. These are all basic practical problems of industrial management, most of them capable of at least partial solution through the application of shrewdness and common sense, but all of them offering a challenge to the psychologist to apply his science, and to supplement common sense by analysis, objective measurement and experimentation, very much as he has done in the public schools, in greatly shortening the time required by a boy to complete the job of learning how to read and to compute. Common observation of the behavior of workers engaged in heavy labor or in work requiring close attention, might well have suggested to any sensible supervisor the economy of insisting upon appropriate, properly spaced rest periods; but the fact is that this device has rarely been employed except where science and controlled experiment have first demonstrated its worth and indicated the optimal distribution of rests for the particular tasks in hand. Scarcely more than a good beginning has been made in the scientific understanding of rest periods in relation to fatigue, monotony, workers' reveries, outbursts of temper and radicalism. Here, as in a thousand other aspects of the job in its relation to the individuality of the worker, the psychologist has significant opportunities for industrial application of his science.

A second group of psychological problems arises out of the relations between a worker and his fellow-

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workers. How to harness the impulse to competition, and insure a healthy rivalry for high quality of output or freedom from accidents; how to eliminate the conflicts, irritations and jealousies which sometimes clog the human machinery of the factory; how to prevent loss of working time in idle banter while supplying on appropriate occasions ample opportunities for good fellowship - these are questions which are ordinarily left to chance or to common sense. More basic is the best means of developing a substantial group solidarity, a ready helpfulness, a willingness of the experienced workers to take the new employees in hand and teach them the practices and ideals of the shop. Then, too, workers sometimes tend to teach each other various fears and notions leading to conscientious restriction of output. They may spread an apprehension of lay-off or of piece-rate cutting, when no genuine basis for it exists in reality. Here the problem arises as to how such unwholesome influences of workers on one another can be minimized, or replaced by influences which make for better mutual education and cooperation. These are complicated problems of practical social psychology.

Yet a third group of problems centers in the relations of the worker and his immediate supervisor. These relations may be harmonized by making sure of the reasonableness of the work requirements; by making work assignments and instructions clear and definite; by introducing an equitable routine procedure of distributing work and materials, to do away with the possibility of partiality or favoritism in these regards; and by making the supervisor a skillful instructor and an understanding helper of his men, as well as a fair and just disciplinarian. The psychological aspects of these processes are sufficiently obvious.

No less psychological in essence are many of the problems arising out of the worker's relations to the management. Consider, for example, the assurance of steady employment. This has often been made possible through improved market analyses, business forecasting and careful scheduling of production. The effect produced on the worker by relief from the overshadowing fear of lay-off is a psy-



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chological fact of major importance. So, too, with many questions of wage rates, methods of payment, and policies regarding stock-ownership, insurance, pensions, housing, loans, vacations, facilities for education and recreation, and the like. The adequacy of the machinery provided for the airing and prompt adjustment of grievances reflects the management's grasp of practical industrial psychology. The same may be said of its success in providing suitable recognition of merit and competence, not so much through resort to non-financial rewards and recognition, (although these have their value and are often prized), but rather through proper payment by results, and adequate provision for advancement. Many economists are prompt to insist today that the problem of wages has its psychological aspects.

Group relations of workers and management have presented continuing problems whose psychological aspects are sometimes almost as perplexing as their more obvious economic phases. The reader need only remind himself of the misunderstandings, the mutual suspicions, the conflicting preconceptions and unyielding prejudices which too often have beclouded the thinking of workers' representatives and employers alike, when collective vs. individual bargaining, trade-union vs. shop committee organization and similar issues of joint relations have been brought forward.

Both parties have at times resorted to espionage in their fact-finding, a practice as unsound in its psychology as in its ethics. Both have been prone to color their inquiries with preconceived conclusions. Better methods of ascertaining the truth about actual and imaginary grievances, and the purposes and practices of employer and employee alike, will tend to bring about more wholesome industrial relations. The duty of undertaking to improve these techniques of fact-finding is one which the psychologist must not hesitate to accept. Already J. D. Houser, B. V. Moore and L. L. Thurstone have made a promising start in this direction.

The psychology of leadership requires clarification. It is not implied that there is any need for more argument or pooling of opinion as to the personal qualities which make

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for effective leadership within the ranks of labor or of management. What the psychologist demands is first of all a new, minute, comprehensive description and analysis of what the real, successful industrial leaders do. When this factual foundation has been properly laid, the drafting of better plans for discovering and developing the leaders of the future will not seem so complicated. Provision of opportunity and reward for exercise of constructive leadership and originality by workers and executives of whatever status, will probably then seem a most natural policy. If the channels are open for the flow of ideas and ability from one department or level of the organization to another, if real leadership wherever revealed is given its chance, both individual and group relations may be expected to benefit.

Relations of workers and management are already profiting from the studies which psychologists and educators have made regarding the development of leaders. Consider the function of an executive as a trainer of men. Studies of the techniques of teaching particular skills, habits, attitudes and items of essential information have led to many generalizations with reference to the processes of training. Excellent methods have been evolved for making the necessary preliminary analyses of the work to be done, the difficulties encountered, the items to be taught. Procedures have been developed for determining the content and outlining the successive steps in a training program. Practicable techniques for giving preliminary instruction and for training on the job have been evolved. Investigations have even been made as to the difficulties met in getting executives themselves to learn and to use these improved techniques of teaching their subordinates, and as to the best ways of overcoming these difficulties. In such ways the methods of research are being profitably applied to the educational problems of industry and business. As the results of these researches gradually find their way into the practice of supervisors and executives, the relations of workers and management cannot fail to profit thereby.

One now hears more than formerly about the psychological importance to industry of yet another group of relations, those of

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the worker to his family and, indeed, to the entire circle of contacts outside as well as inside the factory gate. Psychologists with a psychiatric background have been properly reminding management that careless accidents, temper, trouble-making, insubordination, absenteeism and other sorts of objectionable behavior often have their roots in worries traceable to conditions far from the immediate setting. The magnification of these worries during periods of excessive fatigue has been demonstrated. Attention has been called to the damage suffered by certain temperaments as a result of pessimistic reverie during the course of long-continued monotony. One obvious implication is, that a sound industrial psychology must reckon not only with the temperamental differences between workers and their relative susceptibility to the effects of different sorts of repetitive or taxing labor; it must know not only the conditions in the plant predisposing to monotony or fatigue; it must realize also the influence of the varied conditions that modify the employee's anxieties and hopes, his fatigue and recuperation, both during and after working hours.

But it is one thing to recognize the importance of the total situation in determining a worker's inner feelings and outward behavior, and quite another matter to infer that, therefore, wise personnel practice will seek to inquire into intimate personal and private circumstances in order better to be able to help make suitable adjustments. There must be no trespass on the worker's independence and self-respect. It is a neat problem of practical psychology, how to mould conditions so as to effect a maximum of well-justified contentment and willing efficiency, without risk of wrecking the whole morale through resentment against uninvited paternalism. Mr. Ford marched up this hill, and then marched down again. The practical solution reached by some executives has been to leave with the workers themselves the opportunity for initiative in such matters, and for management to stand ready to move only when, as, and if needed and invited so to do.

The psychological problems of industry have been surveyed as they present themselves to the student of the worker in his relations to his job, to his fellow workers, to his immediate

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supervisor, and to the management of the industry in which he is engaged. Not only his relations as an individual employee have been considered, but also his relations as a member of a group which, as a group, has vitally important relations both with the management of the particular concern which gives him employment and with the industry as a whole.

While there is little doubt that the most varied and intriguing psychological problems arise in studying the worker in relation to his own work, there is no question but what the psychological aspects of the situation are of vital importance in considering each of these other relations also. It is now appropriate to ask in what ways the science of psychology has influenced industrial thought and practice with reference to these industrial relations.

### HOW PSYCHOLOGY HAS INFLUENCED INDUSTRY.

Industrial relations in America have been influenced by psychology in three ways. Industry has responded to psychology as science, as point of view, and as method.

#### Psychology as Science.

Psychology as a science consists of a systematized body of facts and generalizations about human nature. Foremost among the industrially significant facts of modern psychology are those which reveal the enormous range and variety of differences between people. Scarcely a generation ago American thought and practice was still somewhat under the influence of the political doctrine of equality which had been held most fervently at the time when the nation was born. To be sure, no one had seriously contended that all men are created equal in talent; but scarcely anyone had realized how vast are the differences in native endowment and capacity for achievement until Cattell, Boss, Thorndike and others, exploring the trail originally blazed by Sir Francis Galton, found ways of quantifying and measuring individual differences. They gave graphic and mathematical expression to their measurements.

While studying the wide range of differences which people exhibit in their capacity to discriminate colors, sounds, extent

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of arm movements and other sensory data, they also carried forward investigations in reaction times which showed how greatly people differ in motor capacity. After many of the relatively simple processes had been examined, differences in types of attention were observed. Other investigations were centred on the measurement of differences in ability to localize sounds, to perceive special relations, to remember, to manipulate and construct.

The discovery of the possibility of devising units and scales for use in measuring such differences of ability was an epoch-making invention. Its application was rapidly extended to the measurement of achievement in school work and has had a profound influence on educational practice. Meanwhile procedures were devised - following the pioneer work of Binet and Simon - for measuring the rate and extent of mental development. The concepts of mental age and the intelligence quotient became current. Convenient means for examining large numbers of persons at the same time were perfected; and during the war, data were secured which revealed in spectacular relief the vastness of the spread of human abilities as well as their proneness to cluster about the central tendency of mediocrity.

The differences between individuals not only in abstract intellect but also in social and mechanical abilities were studied. Certain trade tests, for measuring proficiency in different occupations, were standardized. People's interests were made the subject of inquiry, and techniques were developed for quantifying differences in mental attitudes, likes and dislikes, occupational preferences and personal tastes. More recently the ambitious task has been undertaken of measuring the strength of volitional tendencies. Character, as well as intellect and temperament, has come within the range of quantitative measurement; and while the reliability of the methods so far developed for measuring character is so low that few psychologists will venture as yet to draw practical inferences from them, it is nevertheless significant that the idea of mental measurement has now been extended until it comprehends the entire personality.

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Partly as a consequence of these researches, it is recognized, more clearly than formerly, how much individuals differ from each other in originality and initiative, in output of energy, in tact or in social sensitivity, and in self-control, as well as in general intelligence, and in a long array of specific abilities. All these facts, tersely put by Cattell and Thorndike, and emphatically reiterated in public address and in semi-popular writings by Walter Dill Scott, Münsterberg, Goddard, Terman, Hollingworth and many others, have influenced the thinking and practice of industrial leaders.

Many of these industrialists, it may be recalled, were themselves students of elementary or advanced psychology in college when these facts about individual differences were first stressed. Later, in positions of business responsibility, some of them recognized acutely the need of personnel procedures which give due emphasis to these facts of human nature. Functional organization of personnel activities in factory and office, and development of techniques for personnel classification, transfer and promotion, job analysis, employment interviewing, placement, training and follow-up, probably proceeded somewhat more rapidly because of what psychology had done to make more evident the nature and extent of individual differences.

Of practical moment also have been the findings of psychology regarding the relationship between various abilities. For instance, the law of compensation has been found inapplicable. Common belief had held that the person who is greatly superior to his fellows in some regards is probably inferior to them in others - that if he is very talented in mathematics, for example, he is probably something of a dullard in athletics or in art. The facts have been found to be quite the opposite. Persons who are found to be highly superior in one ability are more often than not above the average in any other desirable trait. In other words the correlation between favorable traits is quite generally positive. At the same time, the correlation is in most instances low. Psychologists have often been surprised to find how slight is the association between abilities apparently very similar. If as Spearman and others

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contend, there are certain general factors characteristic of a person's make-up - call them intelligence, energy, perseverance or what you will - it is certain that there are also a great number of quite specific abilities, very largely independent of one another.

These findings have lent emphasis to the need for the employment interviewer to be very cautious in inferring future accomplishments from fragmentary data, whether these data are in the form of impressions gained in conversation, mental test performance, school record, or reports from former employers. He needs all the information he can get. He especially needs to find out which items are really significant, under the conditions of work which prevail in his own plant and in the local labor market.

Another inference from these facts regarding the specificity of abilities has to do with the nature of industrial training. There is sound warrant for the tendency toward better training on the job rather than toward more formal training of a general sort.

To precisely what extent industrial practice in the United States has been modified by the body of psychological knowledge regarding individual differences and the correlation of abilities, who shall say? It is obvious that the tendencies of the past twenty years in employment, training, supervision, transfer and other personnel functions have been in the direction of greater recognition of and provision for wide differences in endowment. Public school practice has also been modified in many ways which have made it possible for multitudes of young people more easily to effect a satisfactory adjustment with the working world. Such changes might conceivably have taken place, even though psychologists had not been measuring, analyzing and comparing so many aspects of so many people. It seems reasonable however to suppose that the findings of these kinds of psychological research have directly as well as indirectly had a real influence in industry.

Much the same might be said regarding the generalizations from research in educational psychology. One outstanding

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characteristic of man is his educability, and psychologists have steadily been prying deeper and deeper into the laws of learning. The principles governing the formation of habits, the acquisition of skills, the mastery of technical knowledge, the elimination of gross defects of personality, the development of social effectiveness, the modification of likes and dislikes, the inculcation of ideals and attitudes - all these are applicable in offices, stores and factories as well as in school or college. Some of the best data regarding effects of practice and of fatigue on the work-curve have come from experiments in psychological laboratories.

The doctrines of interest, and of attention and distraction, have had their application where safety devices were to be invented and installed; where jobs were to be classified according to their psychological requirements; where workers and students were to be advised with reference to their future vocational plans. The psychological theories most prevalent a dozen years ago regarding instincts and the fundamental drives which motivate human conduct, have influenced the thinking of industrial leaders regarding financial and non-financial incentives, group spirit the damage done by fear, and the value of insuring to manager and worker alike his sense of self-respect and his belief in the worth-whileness of his labor. Men like Robert Valentine, Carleton Parker, Ordway Tead, Z. C. Dickinson, Robert Bruere, H. C. Metcalf and Whiting Williams interpreted these doctrines for economists and engineers, bridging the gulf that too often divides the psychologist from the industrialist.

Perhaps enough has been said to illustrate the way in which the subject matter of psychology has tended to affect industrial practice. A single case, more concrete than those already mentioned, will serve as a sample of repeated instances in which the discoveries of the psychological laboratory have found useful application.

For many years Professor C. E. Ferree in the psychological laboratory of Bryn Mawr College has concentrated his research on problems of the efficiency of the eye under varying conditions of illumination. He developed new apparatus and more



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precise procedures for measuring the fatigue of vision. Using these methods he worked out the principles which must apply to all determinations of the relative effectiveness of different intensities and distributions of light. He compared the merit of direct, indirect and semi-indirect systems. When his conclusions were first announced they ran counter to the tenets currently held by engineers; but today they are commonplaces of illuminating engineering practice. Thousands of factory employes, now doing their work under more favorable conditions of illumination, will never know that they have in part to thank a research psychologist for their relief from the annoyances of unnecessary glare, distraction and eye-strain.

### Psychology as point of view.

Less tangible than the effects of these concrete products of psychological research, but none the less real, has been the influence on American industry of what may be called the psychological point of view. In essence this point of view consists in a more than ordinarily tenacious belief that human experience is understandable, that human behavior is not a spiritual mystery but a natural phenomenon like other phenomena of the organic world. Such a belief leads to the persistent attempt to understand one's fellows, to appreciate their motives and ambitions, to comprehend their shortcomings and their possibilities. It makes one impatient of superficial explanations of unsatisfactory employee behavior as due to "carelessness" or "laziness" or "pure cussedness". One asks, "Why was this motorman careless?" and proceeds to get the facts about his previous training on the job, his treatment by supervisors, his length and distribution of working hours, his health, his eyesight, his scope of attention, his worries and tendencies to reverie. Then such a vague blanket trait-term as "carelessness" drops out of one's vocabulary. Moreover, the psychological point of view prevents an executive from letting his personal feelings warp his judgment. It helps him to be at once more objective and more intelligently aware of other points of view than his own.

The psychological point of view is that of the scientist trained

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to focus the searchlight of inquiry on every puzzling problem of human adjustment. It is identical with the point of view of scientific management in so far as scientific management concerns itself with the human problem of industry. If there has been any vital difference in point of view between industrial psychologists and management engineers, it is with reference to their primary purpose. The industrial psychologist has wanted first of all to help the worker, in simplifying his methods of work, bettering the conditions under which his work is done, improving his training, and developing personnel techniques which will facilitate his adjustment to the occupation in which he will find the most satisfaction. Incidentally the psychologist may believe that these services will perhaps benefit the industry, the management and the social order also. The engineer has similar objectives but is ordinarily thought of as placing as his first concern the economic stability, prosperity and usefulness of the enterprise. The personal satisfactions accruing to competent, well paid, well trained employees are his secondary objectives.

While this contrast of point of view of psychologist and management engineer may have some historical warrant, particularly in England, it cannot be said to hold universally in America. The writer knows personally Taylorites who seem to him to place considerations of human betterment first, and to regard the industry which they plan for or manage merely as a means to the self-realization of the workers and supervisors who constitute its personnel. He also confesses an acquaintance with psychologists as well as engineers both in America and in Europe who have shown themselves willing to place their talents at the disposal of employers with a single eye to profits.

This difference in attitude and primary interest is not inherent in the science; it is a personal matter. It may depend on temperament, or on the social philosophy one holds.

The question of priority of objective might be a matter of more grave concern at this point, if it were not that the far-sighted investigator - be he psychologist or management engineer - sees clearly that he must travel much the same road

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in either event. After all, there is a considerable identity of interest of employees, managers, owners and public. An industrial psychologist in a chocolate factory recently stated his objective as follows: "The purpose of the psychologist is, to see that the workers leave the plant at night neither fatigued, nor irritated, nor nervous." He showed not a trace of interest in increasing the owners' profits. But when I asked the president of the corporation why he had his psychologist in his factory, the prompt and decisive answer was, "I find it pays".

Psychology in America has contributed to the point of view that it pays in the long run to attempt to understand the deep-lying motives and ambitions of people, and to work with the current of human nature rather than counter to it. It has made the point of view explicit in its application to problems of vocational adjustment, including placement and training, in conformity with the individual's proclivities and talents. In other directions, also, the psychological point of view is coming to be more frequently taken, with promise of leading to better mutual understanding and more cooperative relations throughout industry.

Wholesome as such a point of view may be in approaching questions of human relations in industry, it will not carry the manager far toward practical solutions of his difficulties unless he has at hand the necessary appropriate techniques for problem solving. This brings us to the third way in which psychology has influenced American industry; through its method.

### Psychology as method.

The main methods of psychological research are two: experiment and statistics.

The task of any natural science may be stated in most general terms to be the determination of the relationship between variables. The variables with which psychology deals include the environmental forces and conditions which influence behavior, as well as the innate capacities, habits and attitudes of individuals in interaction with the world in which they work and live.

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It is sometimes said that the biological sciences, of which psychology is one, differ radically from the physical sciences in that the variables with which they have to deal are more numerous, complex, and difficult to control. Wherever all the variables, or all but one, can be controlled, the ideal method is that of experiment. Here the ingenious investigator can test his hypothesis by setting up a crucial situation and making observations or measurements which are decisive as to the manner in which the independent and the dependent variables are related. If, however, there are independent and uncontrollable variables which make impossible the resort to experiment, the scientist has recourse to the method of statistics. This is a method which, thanks to Pearson, Spearman, Thorndike, Kelley, Thurstone and others, has been developed extensively in its application to psychological data. It has proved to be an invaluable complement to the methods of the experimental laboratory.

The refinements of statistical procedure evolved in connection with psychological research have been slowly finding their way into industrial personnel studies. If, before the war, one talked to American business men about correlations, scatter-diagrams, regression lines, central tendencies, standard deviations, or measures of reliability and validity, they listened with amused tolerance, if at all. Today these concepts are fairly well recognized as a necessary part of the mental furniture of anyone who undertakes to deal precisely with the data of human behavior. They have found their place in the thinking and writing of many who are undertaking to understand the more fundamental aspects of human relations in industry.

The method of the controlled experiment on the other hand, although simpler to understand and often more decisive in its findings, has unfortunately not been as generally adopted by industry. To be sure, there have been innumerable so-called experiments tried, in industrial relations. But most of these have not been carried out according to the canons of science. A manager has decided, for example, to try the experiment of changing his method of remuneration. In place of an hourly

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wage he has introduced a straight piece-rate; or instead of piece-rate he has tried one of the currently popular task-and-bonus systems. But in most instances he has introduced at the same time several other variables. He has changed foremen, or improved the routing of materials, or insisted on a more thorough coaching and follow-up of new employees, or installed a better ventilating system. So when, after several months, his accounting department reports a decided lowering of unit labor costs, it is still a matter of opinion whether these economies are to be credited to the new method of payment by results. Industrial management cannot hope to reap the full benefits of the scientific method as applied to the study of the human problems of the factory, until it is ready to make a larger number of genuinely scientific experiments.

Psychology has demonstrated the usefulness of the methods of experiment and of statistics in solving some of the complicated problems of human relations. It has developed refinements of technique which are readily carried over into industrial research. Responsibility rests with the individual investigator, however, to furnish the penetrating insight and the ingenuity which alone can formulate brilliant and industrially significant hypotheses for scientific study.

Psychological techniques have sometimes been borrowed by industrial engineers, as in the case of recent fatigue studies, - earlier investigations having failed because the effects of suggestion were not controlled. In other instances, the psychologist has been borrowed as well as the technique, as when Thorndike helped carry out the research of the New York State Ventilation Commission, which established the primary importance of air movement. The Society for the Promotion of Engineering Education has repeatedly called into its councils such psychologists as Seashore and Thurstone. And so the general methods and specific techniques of psychology, - as well as its point of view and its subject-matter, - are gradually being appropriated by industrial engineering.

### AGENCIES FOR FURTHERING INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY.

A sketch of the influence of psychology on fundamental relations

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and conditions in American industry would not be complete without mention of certain agencies which have been carrying forward psychological research and slowly spreading throughout the texture of business and industry some familiarity with psychological content, method and point of view.

Chief among the agencies which have been furthering psychological developments are the universities. Every university has its psychological laboratory for research. It also offers courses of instruction which are taken by great numbers of students. While many of these courses are general in nature, some of them treat specifically the psychological problems of business, such as advertising and selling, and also touch upon applications of psychology to vocational selection, learning, fatigue, incentives, group relations in industry and other problems of management and of individual adjustment. These courses of instruction in applied psychology are for the most part designed to be rather elementary, and broad in scope rather than intensive. During the past twenty years they have served to introduce many thousands of young people to the basic principles of industrial psychology as first outlined by Münsterberg and as formulated from time to time in the books of Scott, Hollingworth, Poffenberger, Swift and others. Such books have had some circulation among mature business men as well as students. Unfortunately the readers have often, especially since the war, been so intrigued by the chapters dealing with mental tests and other devices for the measurement of individual differences that they have overlooked the relatively more fundamental psychological considerations which alone can give to mental test procedures their true significance.

In a few universities there exist also centers for advanced training and research in industrial and commercial psychology. Among the foremost at the present time are the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, Columbia University in New York, and the University of Chicago, Stanford University in California, Northwestern University in Evanston-Chicago, the University of Pittsburgh, the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, the Univer-

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sity of Iowa in Iowa City, the University of Ohio in Columbus, and some of the other state universities are hospitable to such research. Promising developments are now taking place in the Harvard Graduate School of Business in Boston, and in Yale University in New Haven. Curiously the emphasis in nearly all these centers has been on the psychological problems of commerce rather than of industry. Curiously, too, the great engineering schools or institutes of technology have completely neglected psychological research. The outstanding exception to this sweeping generalization is the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh, where the writer established in 1915 the first Division of Applied Psychology in any American institution, and later, the first Bureau of Personnel Research, and where, for eight years, a notable group of psychologists were engaged in research on problems of importance to cooperating industries and business concerns.<sup>1</sup> Kenagy and Yoakum's book on "Selection and Training of Salesmen", Strong and Uhrbrock's "Job Analysis and the Curriculum with Special Reference to the Printing Industry", and Craig and Charters' "Personal Leadership in Industry" record some of the more enduring products of these studies. One outgrowth of this movement at Carnegie Institute of Technology was the establishment in 1917 of the Research Bureau for Retail Training. This Bureau, now permanently endowed and affiliated with the University of Pittsburgh, has recently published a summary volume covering ten years of continuous psychological, economic and educational research. The influence of its work on personal practice in department stores has not been limited to the local constituency but has been felt throughout the nation. That competing firms have cooperated in the support of such investigations, is significant. That the findings have in large part been passed on to other firms for the benefit of all and for the public good, is evidence of broad-mindedness. It well illustrates the growing conviction in American business and

<sup>1</sup> An historical account of this development was published in the *Scientific Monthly*, February, 1923, pp. 142-159. A bibliography of publications of the Division of Applied Psychology up to that time contained 63 titles.

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industry, that the ancient practice of maintaining trade secrets wherever possible is sometimes an unprofitable if not a ludicrous form of selfishness.

Such limited psychological research as has been carried forward by individual corporations has likewise for the most part been open to the inspection of any visiting scientist or personnel manager. A few street railway and taxicab companies with laboratories of their own for investigating individual susceptibility to accidents and related psychological problems of transportation, have not hesitated to exchange methods, data and results. Among such firms as the Eastman Kodak Company, the Western Electric Company, the General Electric Company and the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, to mention a few examples from other types of industry, there has been free exchange of specifications for psychological laboratory equipment and of other technical information.

Several of these companies contribute to the support of the Personnel Research Federation which maintains a clearing-house for the exchange of research information, as well as a staff for consulting work and for carrying forward specific studies. Among its current investigations is one on the effects on accident reduction of individual attention to workers who are found to have a susceptibility to accidents. Another investigation, designed in the end to facilitate the flow of correct information from workers to management, consists of a study of the technique of the personal interview. In this task of jointly furthering the scientific approach to the human problems of industry, a number of government agencies, university departments and independent research organizations likewise cooperate. The Engineering Foundation, the National Research Council and the American Federation of Labor initiated this cooperative movement which signaled a definite recognition of the need for coordination of research plans and extensive stimulation of sound research developments in industrial psychology and related aspects of personnel science. The Personnel Journal, now entering upon its seventh volume, furnishes the record of accomplishment to date.



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The establishment of the Personnel Research Federation followed upon the research developments at Carnegie Institute of Technology already mentioned, and other undertakings which had received an impetus from the wide-spread interest in applied psychology awakened by the military accomplishments of psychologists and personnel managers during the war. The Scott Company, for example, with Walter Dill Scott as its guiding spirit, for four years operated as a firm of personnel consultants to large business concerns, and made familiar to American industry a number of psychological concepts, principles and techniques recorded in the volume, "Personnel Management", by Scott and Clothier (1923). The immediate stimulus toward the establishment of the Personnel Research Federation, however, came from two sources. One was a series of significant investigations as to the value of the psychiatric approach to industrial problems, made by the late E. E. Southard, M.D., at the request of the Engineering Foundation. The other was a recognition by the National Research Council, of which James R. Angell was then the head, and of its Division of Anthropology and Psychology, of which the writer was Chairman, that the problems of industrial psychology were of increasing importance and that there was some danger of duplication of research effort unless there existed an agency to facilitate exchange of information, to survey the field as a whole, and to plan constructively in the light of known needs and facilities for research.

The National Research Council, which represents mainly the physical and biological sciences, has continued its efforts to further practical psychology, for example in its applications to problems of highway safety. More recently the Social Science Research Council has come forward, and as one of its activities is helping to plan and to finance selected investigations in industrial psychology. Both of these Councils also offer each year certain fellowships for advanced students of psychology, and a few of these investigators have chosen as their topics for study, problems in industrial psychology and related aspects of personnel science. The Psychological Corporation, founded by J. Mc-

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Keen Cattell in 1921 as a means of making the services of American psychologists conveniently available to industry, has served useful purposes, not least of which has been to inform inquirers as to who and where the real psychologists are, in contradistinction to the dilettantes, charlatans, character analysts and pseudo-scientists who prey upon the public in America as in Europe.

The readiness of business firms to cooperate for the advancement of knowledge in the common interest, may again be exemplified by their support of such national associations as the American Management Association, and the Taylor Society (an international association to promote the science and the art of administration and of management). Both of these organizations have from time to time encouraged discussions of psychological problems and of psychological research before their membership. It is a wholesome sign that the participation of psychologists in the work of these associations has grown somewhat during the past four years.

Papers of industrial significance are occasionally but all too rarely presented before the American Psychological Association. These most often are related to problems of vocational selection and placement, since American psychologists have concerned themselves with determination of interests and abilities by means of various techniques of testing, rating and individual appraisal, more often than with problems of the simplification of work, industrial fatigue, monotony, incentives and similar practical problems of the factory.

One exception to this indictment is Mrs. F. G. Gilbreth who years ago had a clear vision of the problem. She worked jointly with her husband to spread among industrial engineers some understanding of the psychological point of view, especially with reference to fatigue, and to develop ingenious techniques for use in motion study and work analysis. In her private institute she has continued to introduce each year a few engineers to this point of view and to the refinement of these techniques. Another exception is C. S. Yoakum whose contacts with the motor industry and with business concerns have enabled him to formulate specifically problems of personality

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study, work histories, personnel accounting and measurement of the effects of management policies, and whose psychological researches in vocational guidance are basic. Elton Mayo, to mention yet another, has brought the findings of psychopathology and the doctrines of Janet stimulatingly to bear on problems of irritation and irrationality in the factory. A number of younger psychologists are engaged in work which has its industrial bearings, and the temptation is strong to touch upon their individual contributions. Our generalization would, however, apply to the most of them, namely, that they are more often interested in employment psychology than in the psychology of the worker at work.

This paper, already too long, must be brought to a close with a word about industrial psychology in relation to government agencies. It may surprise European readers to learn that the federal government of the United States has never established an agency for research in industrial psychology, such as the Industrial Fatigue Research Board of Great Britain. Some admirable research has, to be sure, been done by the Bureau of Mines in cooperation with the Public Health Service. The Department of Labor and the Federal Board for Vocational Education have published many studies on topics related to industrial psychology. But the research work, at least so far as the writer is aware, has been done for the most part by economists, educators, physicians or engineers, rather than by investigators whose training has been primarily in psychology. Only one agency of the National government has on its staff a well-known psychologist: L. J. O'Rourke, of the U. S. Civil Service Commission. In a strategic position, he is changing for the better the character of the postal service and other government offices, by judiciously applying the techniques of psychological science to the procedures used in selecting and placing government employees. A few municipal and state governments are similarly benefiting by psychological research, and this movement is being fostered by the Bureau of Public Personnel Administration.

And so, in conclusion, it is admitted once more that psychology

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is influencing industrial relations and conditions in the United States most directly through its contributions to vocational selection and the understanding of individual differences. Within other equally important areas of inquiry, the influences of psychological content, methods and point of view have been more indirect, and probably less potent than they will be after labor and management come to a clearer realization of the essentially psychological nature of many of their difficulties, and after more psychologists, in turn, have had the opportunity to come to grips with these difficulties, not as they are defined in books, but as they crop up in the daily relationships of factory operation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Typical of influential books written by economists in order to make fruitful for industry the doctrines of psychology, may be mentioned Carleton Parker's "The Casual Laborer", Veblen's "Instinct of Workmanship", Tead's "Instincts in Industry", Z. C. Dickinson's "Economic Motives", and Whiting Williams' "Mainsprings of Men".

Full of practical suggestions for self training and development of supervisors and young executives is Craig and Charters' "Personal Leadership in Industry". C. R. Allen's "The Instructor, the Man and the Job" is at once psychologically sound and immediately useful.

In employment psychology we have had the books of Link, Chapman, Kingsbury and Kornhauser, Laird, Snow, Griffiths, Kitson, Bingham and Freyd, and Burt.

Of general interest are Overstreet's "Influencing Human Behavior", Helen Marot's "Creative Impulse in Industry", Mary Follett's "Creative Experience", and John Dewey's "Human Nature and Conduct".

The two most substantial manuals on personnel principles and procedures are Tead and Metcalf's "Personnel Administration", and Scott and Clothier's "Personnel Management". The latter emphasizes psychological considerations. Among volumes of narrower scope but more intensive treatment, "The Selection and Training of Salesmen", by Kenagy and Yoakum is outstanding, because it embodies the findings of years of research and experiment in its field.

Three periodicals should be mentioned: The oldest of these, "The Journal of Applied Psychology", publishes technical contributions by psychologists not only to business and industry, but also to law, medicine and other fields. "The Personnel Journal", also technical, is, on the other hand, narrower in scope and confines itself to the subject-matter of its title, with emphasis upon educational and vocational adjustment, but on the other hand is more inclusive, approaching the personnel problem from the economic as well as the psychological angle. "Industrial Psychology" is edited for the business executive, and interprets for him the pertinent findings of psychological research and discussion.

## EDUCATION AND INDUSTRY

BY C. R. MANN, PH. D.,

American Council on Education

In the U. S. A., education is now regarded as a process that continues throughout life. The purpose of schooling is to give the young: tools and attitudes of social living; opportunity for self-expression and growth through useful work; habits of self-education. Since work occupies about two-thirds of a normal life, business, industry and the professions are recognizing that they are educational institutions and that their greatest success depends on how far the daily work is educative to the worker. The world's work is being analyzed to discover what are the tools and attitudes of social living so that schools may impart them effectively. Many experiments with objective tests and other methods of appraising personality are being made to find practical means of guiding each to the work he can do best. Success in Democracy is measured by growth of people.

Education in the United States has made remarkable progress in the last ten years. Attendance at secondary schools and colleges has more than doubled. In most municipal budgets school costs constitute the largest single item, amounting generally to 40 per cent and in cases to 50 per cent of the whole. Total expenditures for public education are now more than two billion dollars per year, equalling the Federal expenditures for war debts and pensions. In many localities public school buildings are among the most attractive features of city architecture.

These facts merely indicate the material growth of facilities for public education. The really significant progress lies within. For from the beginning American public schools have had equality of opportunity as their ultimate aim. During the 19th century, this was interpreted to mean the same opportunity for everyone. In accordance with this idea, the common school curriculum was fairly rigid, leading to college and a life of scholarship. Keep the road open for everyone from kindergarten to university was the accepted aim. Children who did not conform were "retarded" and considered "subnormal". The public accepted this judgment as a matter of course. They acquiesced in the conclusion that if Johnny did not make good in school, there must be something the matter with Johnny.

At present equal opportunity no longer means the same opportunity for all. Rather, it means for each opportunity to do

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the thing he can do best. Therefore a new public demand has arisen, based on deep-seated convictions that every child can do something well, and that it is the duty of the school to help each child both to discover what that something is and to find appropriate opportunity to do that something well. The public is now forcing the school to find out what Johnny can do best and to lead him to it.

To meet this new public demand, the schools are experimenting everywhere. Many of the larger systems now have research departments. During the past five years three hundred public schools have been cooperating with the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association in intensive experimentation directed toward reorganization of curricula and methods. Thousands of teachers are experimenting with general intelligence tests, with aptitude tests, with new type examinations, with achievement tests, and with other forms of detecting specific trends and abilities and of measuring individual achievement in particular types of work. The world's work is being analyzed from many angles to discover what different types of activity are needed and what the special personal qualifications required for each are. The whole educational profession is busily engaged in trying to find practical methods for appraising individual capacity and opening opportunities for its fullest realization.

This is not the time or the place to discuss this great educational movement in detail. Here interest focuses on its bearing on human relations in industry. That its bearing is intimate is evident at once from the fact that industry is vitally interested in fitting men to jobs. Business and industrial managers everywhere know the difficulty of finding the right man for the place. They understand fully the importance for industrial production of so organizing that every man, as far as practicable, works at the particular thing he can do best. Industry is establishing personnel departments which are endeavoring to develop practical methods of solving this fundamental human problem. Therefore the new conception of equality of opportunity as opportunity to do the thing each can do best, which has now taken possession of the schools, has opened a

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new possibility for cooperation between industry and education. Both now see that their basic aims are in reality identical. They are ready to join in a united attack on this great common problem of discovering human talent and releasing it in constructive work.

In the past, efforts at cooperation between education and industry have usually resulted in business men telling school men how to run the schools, and school men telling business men how to operate business. With the new orientation, a new plan of cooperation has developed. It is now recognized that the great service which business and professional men can render the schools is to keep school men accurately and fully informed concerning how business is actually conducted and what its guiding principles are. School men do not now have this information. Until they know definitely what types of opportunity actually exist in life, they are handicapped in their efforts to guide young people to the opportunities they seek.

On the other hand, business and professional men are so absorbed in other work that they do not clearly visualize what types of human ability may be available and how these are best appraised and released in constructive work. It is the chief business of educators to do this, and they should keep the business and professional world informed concerning their findings. Cooperation of this type, in which each supplies the information which he knows best and each receives the information which he himself cannot gather at first hand, leaving both free to utilize the information received from the other in a manner that best benefits both, gives a sound basis of fact on which to build toward practical and worthwhile results. The Chamber of Commerce of the U. S. is stimulating this type of cooperative experiment in several large cities.

If this mutual exchange of information is to be effective, the facts exchanged must be so stated as to be comprehensible to both cooperating groups. Descriptions of the world's work prepared by industry may be so unintelligible to school men as to give them no real help. Similarly, estimates of personal qualifications of young people made by school men may be

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unintelligible to business and professional men. The project does not become practical until patterns or forms of statement have been evolved which are intelligible to both and comparable with one another. Such patterns are the tools and measuring instruments which enable all concerned to work intelligently toward mutually helpful solutions and better human relations everywhere.

Considerable progress has already been made in developing such tools and instruments of measurement. A pattern form of job specification has been evolved by cooperation between the American Council on Education and several industrial firms. This enables industry to describe its work in a manner that is beneficial to it and that yet conveys to school men the kind of information they need. Some 3,000 job specifications written in this form by eighteen different firms are being analyzed for curriculum content. Similarly, personal record cards and rating scales are being developed by cooperation between schools and industries under supervision of the American Council on Education in such manner as to make the appraisals of human qualifications by school men intelligible to men of affairs. Similarly, the Personnel Research Federation is evolving pattern procedures for personal interviews. It is proving a difficult problem to determine what actions are sufficiently symptomatic of personal bent to warrant recording them. It is equally difficult to determine what kinds of ratings by school men have significance in industry. Nevertheless, in all of these directions progress is being made, and with that progress comes improved adjustment of the individual to his work.

The new conception of the aim of American education and the new type of cooperation with the world's work are producing a new orientation of schools toward their task. When schools merely tried to give the same educational opportunity to everyone, their task was finished when they had given everyone as great control as was possible over the instruments of economic and social life. Education ended when the child left school. After that he went to work.

But when the ultimate aim is to liberate, discipline and guide



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constructive energy into useful channels, education continues throughout life. Therefore, the school's duty is only half done when it merely equips young people with tools that enable them to get along in life. It must in addition develop habits and attitudes of self-education and an ambition for self-development which will keep every man and woman growing through self-education for the rest of their lives. The realization of this larger purpose requires far-reaching changes in present school practice. The American school system is at present definitely striving to discover what changes are needed and what new methods lead effectively to better achievement of this, its new aim. The recent organization of the Adult Education Association and the study by the Alumni Council of how universities may help alumni continue growing, point in the same direction.

This movement for closer cooperation between schooling and work does not try to make scholars of all men. Yet it gives those who have scholarly genius better opportunities to achieve high scholarship. It does not kill culture, but secures truer culture by crowding into every kind of work all the excellence it will bear. It dignifies both labor and learning. It does not commercialize education nor create class distinctions. It disciplines men through struggle with difficulties inherent in the tasks they determine to achieve.

This new public attitude toward education in the United States is having a no less fundamental effect upon industry and the professions. In proportion as the schools graduate young people who are eager to continue growing and set in habits of self-education, opportunities for growth and self-education must be found in the world's work. The public demands that industry and the professions supply the needed opportunities. This is not a matter of charity for industry, for herein lies the greatest chance for further industrial progress. Research in natural science and scientific management of production have made possible the present high wages and low costs. The reservoir of human energy that is not yet released in productive effort because of mal-adjustment of workers to their work is now the greatest latent source of further advance, not only

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in industrial achievement but also in human happiness. The habit of fitting men to jobs is becoming a habit of fitting jobs to men.

The most significant fact in American industrial and professional life at present is this steady transformation of industry and the professions into educational institutions. The American people seem to realize that their greatest material success depends upon the degree to which each worker finds the right opportunity for self-education on the job. Growing men and women are happy and productive workers. They grow when each does the thing he can do best, for that is the thing he loves to do. This idea is now working in a number of industrial organizations. When wisely worked, turnover decreases and production increases.

This conception of the common problem of industry and education is peculiar to the United States. A century and a half ago our forefathers established a political system intended to maintain political conditions under which men could achieve liberty through self-government. It has taken 150 years for the American people to develop the conception of an educational and industrial system that is consistent with these ideals of government. The new conscious attitude of the people toward schools and workshops is forcing gradual development of ever expanding opportunities for that self-education which fosters continuing growth. Thus finally may we justify our national existence, since the success of a democracy is not measured by the efficiency of its administration, but by the growth of its people.

## PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

BY W. J. DONALD, PH. D., AND EDITH KING DONALD,

American Management Association

Beside the trend toward decentralized responsibility in personnel administration, several tendencies are apparent in selection, training, labor supply, research, the make-up of personnel departments, wages and salaries, profit-sharing, compensation of executives, hours of work, vacations for manual workers, pensions, stock purchase and savings plans, insurance and benefit plans, vocational adjustment, health and sanitation, safety, service to employees and joint relationships between employers and workers.

A growing interest in personnel administration includes a consideration of sales and office personnel problems, inasmuch as new forms of competition have necessitated cost reduction. Factory executives who have long been cutting costs are now urging that similar economies be devised by the marketing and office departments. Attention is now being concentrated on those personnel activities which make for sound business, increased earnings for workers as well as profits to the company, increased purchasing power for the community and consequent business prosperity.

There are so many different industrial sections of the United States of America, each of them influenced more or less by the dominance of different types of industry and affected by different stages of industrial development, that any attempt dogmatically to indicate the personnel trends in America is likely to be subject to so many lines of dispute as to make the effort almost reckless.

This paper will, therefore, attempt simply to survey the most outstanding new developments and to indicate trends which are likely to become most marked in the next few years.

### ORGANIZATION FOR PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION.

The time was when personnel work was largely regarded as the job of the personnel man and there were many persons who argued that the personnel department should have entire control of personnel administration. This was true particularly of the period from approximately 1914 to 1920 when personnel administration was being rapidly developed and when personnel men were struggling for a degree of recognition, influence and even authority which previously they had not had. The natural result was that with notable exceptions there was an over-emphasis of the authority of the personnel man and an under-emphasis of the personnel functions of the line or-

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ganization from foreman to president. This resulted in many conflicts of jurisdiction and authority which were very disturbing to the effective working out of a personnel program.

Since the great depression in 1920 and 1921, including among many other things some deflation of the personnel movement, a rather different point of view has grown up.

In the first place, it has become a generally accepted principle that personnel administration is a function of every person who supervises others in the organization. One hears speakers and finds writers discussing the qualities of foremen in terms of whether or not the foreman is a good personnel man and there are even references to presidents and general managers as good personnel men. There are not a few presidents of companies who openly make the statement that they are the chief personnel directors of their companies.

As a result, personnel men, instead of claiming that they have absolute power in selection, placement and dismissal of workers regardless of any preference or conviction on the part of the foreman, are now claiming that it is the function of the personnel department to facilitate the work of the supervisor in dealing with the personnel problems involved in management. "Facilitation", the admirably expressive term used by Mr. Oliver Sheldon in his excellent book on "The Philosophy of Management", is a term which is beginning to make its influence felt in the United States and a term which gradually is being used more and more generally. The personnel department is thus being recognized as a facilitating department, its functions being to assist the organization in the preparation and execution of personnel policy through research, advice and cooperation.

### FOR SELECTION.

An employment manager, for instance, does the initial job of weeding out the applicants for employment, selecting those who would have a fair chance of fitting well into the organization and referring them to the supervisor who is in need of additional help. In making this selection, the employment man-

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ager, of course, weeds out persons whom the supervisor might be disposed to employ, but who would not fit well into the organization. It is still true and probably will continue to be true in the majority of companies that no supervisor will be permitted to employ men who have not had the approval of the employment department. But the power of employment managers to prevent a foreman from dismissing an employee from his department has practically disappeared. Every foreman has, or should have, the power to dismiss from his department, referring the employee to the employment department either for a final separation from the company or for transfer to some other department. On the other hand, most personnel departments have the responsibility of transferring men from one department to another within the company even against the wishes of department heads who may wish to keep men in their respective departments. Of course, in common practice, department heads have been shown the value of cooperation in this matter and transfers are made without friction.

In the light of this newer point of view responsibility for results is clearly indicated and there is no confusion as to authority in regard to the administration of any department of a company. In cases where supervisors have unusual turnover or seem unwilling to cooperate with the employment department, either by releasing men for transfer or by accepting a reasonable proportion of men selected by the employment department for employment, the solution of such difficulties lies in the possibility of the employment department recommending to executives, higher up than the offending supervisor, the possibility of the removal of the foreman or the correction of the abuses for which he has been responsible.

In the development of this principle that personnel administration is an integral part of management, there have been several other evidences of progress. For instance, it is customary for supervisors to participate in the preparation of such documents as a manual of employment procedure or a syllabus of instructional outlines for training of employees. The net result is that the line organization, including the foreman, are much more likely to be cooperative in helping to carry out

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the personnel program when they have had a part in the preparation of the policy and program and the tools which are used in carrying it out.

One very logical corollary of the newer point of view is an effort to train the supervisor in the process of carrying out the company's personnel program. In some companies, this, of course, has been done informally for years and is simply instinctive good management. Indeed, there often is no thought-out philosophy with regard to such interpretation of policy. It just happens because of the good sense or natural inclination of the leaders of the business. But in very large organizations, even though the upper executives have such spirit and vision, it becomes extremely dilute before reaching the lowest ranks of supervisors. Therefore, it is highly desirable that some more or less formal steps should be taken to convey this policy effectively down through the organization.

In the last two or three years a few companies have begun to train the supervisor in carrying out the company's personnel program. Without such steps, the personnel work of a large organization is likely to fall down at its weakest point, and all the energetic, intelligent and well-informed efforts of the director of personnel will scarcely get past first base unless steps are taken to strengthen all the positions on the team by which the personnel program of the company must be carried out.

### FOR TRAINING.

This educative point of view finds expression most clearly in a company's program for the training of employees. The training of rank and file employees has been conspicuous in American industry for nearly 30 years. At first the emphasis was primarily on what might be called education as distinguished from training. In a good many cases such an educational movement was initiated by an executive officer of the company who himself had had comparatively few educational advantages and who was inspired to give advantages to his employees which he had not had himself. The motive was essentially philanthropic rather than economic and the driving power was

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emotional rather than intellectual. A contributing factor was the need for training in English and citizenship for the large numbers of non-English speaking immigrant workers. A good deal of the instructional material had little bearing on training for the job and might be regarded as a substitute for the work of the public schools.

During the war and its attendant industrial boom, industry was forced to lay emphasis on training for the immediate job and the consequence was a rapid growth of vestibule schools which provided quick instruction in the elements of performing the job. Consequently, there was a shift from an emphasis on what may be fairly called industrial education to job training.

Meanwhile, industrial training was influenced by different pedagogical ideas. Whereas the earlier instruction offered by companies was conducted by what was called "corporation schools" with formal class rooms, instructors, etc., the newer tendency was for training the worker on actual production under an instructor foreman, and this change in method brought such quick and effective results, that it was a very large factor in making possible the increase in wage levels which took place during the long boom period from 1914 to 1920.

Into American business has come of recent years a group of advanced pedagogical thinkers from the university schools of education. They brought with them the project method of teaching involving what we now commonly call training on the job and the preliminary steps that were taken during the war have, in some quarters, been carried much further to the extent that the supervisor, regarded as the real teacher of the worker, is being trained in the process of teaching so that he may perform his functions better than ever before, better than the training function was performed by corporation schools, and better than it was performed by the foreman or the journeyman before the era of corporation schools began.

One of the largest electric manufacturing companies has practically done away with all formal classroom instruction of employees and is concentrating its efforts on training the foreman to train. A syllabus for supervisors in an electrical

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public utility company consists largely, practically 90 to 95 per cent, of material which deals with teacher training for foremen, the assumption being that in order to make the training program really effective, steps must be taken to make the training of the worker continuous from the time of entering the plant until he leaves it, and on the principle that the best training is that training which is given in connection with actual work under normal circumstances of supervision, incentive and responsibility.

The president of one of our most progressive companies has frankly said that management is in large measure, 80 to 90 per cent, an educational and training job. He illustrates by saying that on one occasion a number of executives of his company analyzed exactly what management is in terms of specific operations, and that after classifying all of the typical operations, nine out of ten of them were listed under education and training.

The reasonable inference from this analysis is that the great proportion of training is the function of the supervisor, and a logical and necessary corollary is that in order to get that training done effectively the supervisor must be taught to train. This naturally raises the question as to what is the function of an educational or training department where one exists. The answer is that it logically comprises four main headings:

To provide that enthusiasm and promotive quality which spreads interest in training throughout the organization and creates desire and willingness on the part of every supervisor to take part in the training process.

To help to prepare the instructional outlines to be used by supervisors in the training of their workers. One says "help" advisedly because it may easily be recognized that when the supervisors themselves have prepared the instructional outlines with the help of an educational department, they are much more likely to take an interest in the training program and to feel a definite responsibility for making it effective.

To prepare, improve, and constantly revise the procedure



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for carrying out the training program, thus facilitating the work of the supervisor.

To take a very active part in training the supervisor to train.

On this point it might be argued that the upper executives ought to have the responsibility of training the supervisor to train, and doubtless as time goes on there will be more of their participation in this step in the training program. There are instances where a general manager has actually taken this position and, having done so, has expected his associates next in line to repeat with those further down in the organization.

### LABOR SUPPLY.

When the personnel movement first began in America, chief emphasis was on those problems which have to do largely with the manual working force. This was intensified during the war period by the comparative dearth of labor. There is, of course, no less attention to these problems today than ever before, thanks partly to immigration restriction and the fact that were it not for increased output per man hour due to "labor saving machinery", "labor saving management" and better morale, the United States would be faced with a serious dearth of labor today. The labor supply problem in America is likely to continue to be important. Indeed, there are those who believe that the present situation in which there are comparatively few strikes and a small surplus of labor for employment, may not continue for many years.

During the last three or four years an outstanding amount of improvement has been made in the output per man, through vast installations of effort-saving machinery and introduction of incentives for factory workers and other similar measures, but there is a serious question whether the ratio of increase of output per man hour can be kept up and whether with the growth of American industry and continued immigration restriction, a dearth of labor will not reappear again seriously in the course of the next decade.

### RESEARCH.

Reference has been made to the advisory relationship of a

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personnel department to the line organization. It will be recognized, of course, that the effects of sound advice must be based not only on the personality and promotive qualities of the director of personnel activities, but also on scientific research in the field of personnel. Incident to this changing conception by reason of which the personnel job has been squarely placed back on the shoulders of the supervisor, the personnel department has been, to a considerable extent, relieved of what may be called operating personnel responsibilities, and is thus left time for more intensive research on the personnel problems of the company. Consequently, personnel departments are less disturbed by the five to ten minute interruptions and are more able to concentrate on more fundamental investigations of personnel problems. These have taken many directions such as research on hours of work, bonus plans, pensions, profit-sharing systems, group insurance, suggestion systems, employee investments in company securities, savings plans, mutual benefit plans, discovery of methods of labor stabilization, even developing wholly new lines of product to fill out seasonal gaps in employment.

### SALES AND OFFICE PERSONNEL PROBLEMS.

All the world knows about post-war competition due in part to excessive plant capacity at the end of the war, but America is becoming familiar with new forms of competition - competition between lines of industry which produce substitute commodities - the radio begins to take the place of the talking machine, cement begins to make inroads in the construction industry, giving brick and steel construction a new line of competition more severe than they ever experienced from within their own industry. New methods of transportation bring territorial sources of supply in competition with each other more severely than ever before.

The result has been a severe pressure on the manufacturing end of business to reduce costs to an extent that the factory executive has begun to protest and to urge that the same economies and the same reduction of unit costs shall be made

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effective in the marketing end of the business and in office administration.

As a consequence, the interest in personnel, which at one time was largely confined to the manufacturing side of business, is directing itself equally toward the distributing and office ends of business. Office personnel departments and sales personnel departments have been established in many American companies during the last few years. Banks and insurance companies are giving as much attention to office personnel problems as was formerly given to manual workers by manufacturing companies. The careful selection and training of salesmen is as important and popular a subject as the training and selection of labor. This process has really only begun.

### ORGANIZATION OF PERSONNEL DEPARTMENTS.

Another result is that it is not infrequent to find that a company may have several personnel departments: for instance, an office manager who is also a manager of the office personnel department; a factory personnel department and also a sales personnel department. In a company having several plants, there are usually managers of personnel departments at each of the factories, with a central personnel department which has no authority over the personnel men in the various factories or other units, but which cooperates by providing information and by advising the personnel men in the units and also by advising the major executives of those units. There are even instances of marketing organizations which have managers of personnel departments in branch offices.

Some years ago it was not unusual for companies to have several personnel men; for instance, a employment manager, a manager of the educational department, a secretary of the pension committee, a secretary of the mutual benefit association, a safety engineer, etc., etc. In recent years there has been a tendency to coordinate these several activities into one personnel department with a chief in charge with several assistants specializing in the various problems of personnel within the organization. One typical personnel department is headed by a supervisor of industrial relations who has as his associates

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a safety engineer, a manager of employment department for headquarters, a personnel statistician, an educational director, a manager of the company store and a medical director. Most of these have an advisory relation to the executives of branch offices and factories as well as to personnel men in those respective units.

It may be of interest to discuss the position of the personnel man in a company by reference to the titles under which he operates. There are a number of instances of personnel men who are staff vice-presidents of their companies. Employment Manager was a very general title a few years ago, but in many instances it has been superseded by titles involving the word "personnel". For a time, the term Personnel Manager was spreading rapidly, but more recently the use of such titles as Director of Personnel Activities, Supervisor of Industrial Relations, etc., has been increasing. The comparative abandonment of such terms as personnel manager reflects the point of view that the personnel man does not manage or direct the personnel, but rather manages or directs the work of the personnel department. The management of the personnel is in the province of the line supervisor.

There are, of course, a great variety of titles: Manager of Personnel Activities, Service Manager and a great many special titles like Manager of Training Activities, Secretary of the Personnel Committee, etc.

It may be of value to touch on the outstanding evolutions and trends, so far as they may be discovered, with regard to certain special personnel activities. A good deal has already been said regarding the trend in respect to training.

### WAGES AND SALARIES.

There has been a very marked tendency toward the growth of extra incentive methods of compensation of employees. There are, of course, a great variety of formulae for setting up a compensation plan, about 25 of them being known by the names of the men who invented them. There are, in addition, a great many others which are adaptations of these.

One of the most significant developments is a comparatively

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rapid growth of group bonus plans for manual workers, the group receiving compensation on the basis of the output of the group. Sometimes these groups consist of men who are doing exactly the same work in which several men have to cooperate. In other cases, the group consists of men who carry an operation through several steps. In some cases the foreman is included in the group, or at least receives extra compensation based on the output of the group.

One of the distinct advantages of the group bonus plan is that it puts a premium on cooperation, encourages workers to insist upon their fellow-workers doing a fair share of work, being on the job promptly each day and in some cases, it encourages the worker to help train his fellow-worker.

Extra incentives through commission plans or bonus plans are becoming very general as a means of compensating salesmen. The tendency is growing.

Until very recently, however, there have been comparatively few instances of compensating office employees on the basis of a measured output. This has been due, in large measure, to the difficulty in measuring the output of various classes of office employees. In the last few years, however, some very substantial work has been done in developing methods of measuring office output, the number of companies which are applying them has rapidly increased and new techniques have been evolved for measuring certain classes of office work which previously were never measured.

This development is making it possible to compensate office employees on the basis of output and the next few years will probably see a very substantial growth in this direction.

An intermediate stage in compensation of office workers has been the development of what is usually referred to as job classification and salary standardization in which jobs are rated and classified, and minimum and maximum limits set for classes of jobs.

### PROFIT-SHARING

In general, it may be said that the growth of profit-sharing as applied to rank and file workers has practically stopped in

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America, many plans having been abandoned. The conviction has grown that while profit-sharing may be an excellent arrangement as applied to persons of some responsibility, it has comparatively little effect on the rank and file, and is always in danger of creating an adverse effect when a period of low profits or of no profits arrives.

Incentives which are based on the actual output of the individual and extra compensation paid very shortly after the production period has been completed has, in large measure, taken the place of profit-sharing as applied to rank and file employees.

### COMPENSATION OF EXECUTIVES.

In the days when ownership and management were almost identical the compensation of the manager was equivalent to the profits of the business, but with the practical divorce of management from ownership which came with large scale industry and the development of the corporation, the first tendency was to put the manager on a salary, his dividends from stocks comprising a comparatively small part of his total income. There were, of course, many private "deals" in which the manager was paid a salary and received as additional compensation either a bonus based on profits for the year or the dividends on stocks which were assigned to him and which, by good management, he might make extremely valuable. These cases applied, however, chiefly to the president or general manager of a company and to some extent to general sales managers on the basis of a bonus, usually on the total volume of sales.

In recent years there has been a distinct tendency toward applying the principle of extra incentive to other executives - factory managers, district sales managers, the foreman and other supervisors and even to staff men, the results of whose efforts it is usually comparatively hard to measure.

Some of these plans take the form of the more or less old-fashioned profit-sharing plan. In general, the tendency, however, has been to base the extra compensation, so far as possible, on a measurement of the results of the efforts of the

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particular individual. The net result of this departure is to reintroduce into large scale business in America some of the elements of incentive which were general when business was small and when the manager was also usually owner and thus had a direct interest in the business.

### HOURS OF WORK.

The work time per day and per week has been decreasing in America over a long period of years. The greatest public issue was the steel industry's 12 hour day which, three years ago, became a thing of the past. The elimination of the 12 hour day in the steel industry does not seem to have in any way justified the alarming predictions which some persons were disposed to make. In fact, there were many people in the steel industry who believed that it could have been done long before.

During the last two years the most significant occurrence was the adoption of the five day week by the Ford Motor Company and the growth of a good deal of propaganda in favor of the general spread of the five day week. There has been comparatively little evidence that the movement is spreading widely, but there are those who predict that five or ten years from now, the five day week will be as general then as the five and a half day week is today.

### VACATIONS FOR MANUAL WORKERS.

Vacations with pay for executives and offices workers have long been general, only a comparatively small number of companies holding out against vacations with pay for office workers.

Vacations for manual workers are becoming more general. In some quarters the opinion is held that this vacation with pay increases the loyalty and efficiency of the worker and that it pays profits to the company even though it does somewhat upset the production schedule. A great deal depends upon the custom of the industry and the custom of the community.

It may fairly be said that while there is no well thought-out attitude on the practice of vacations with pay and that the

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practice is more or less a matter of expediency, nevertheless, it is probably gradually becoming an unwritten part of the contract of employment.

No American state has made vacations with pay a legal requirement - not even in Canada where this step has been agitated with considerable force by labor organizations.

### PENSIONS.

Pensions have been rapidly creeping into the industrial fabric of America, at first slyly in the form of informal pension plans which were more in the nature of special treatment of individual cases and later more openly through the adoption of formal pension plans. The topic is subject to a great deal of dispute and some companies which established pension plans some years ago on a rather liberal basis are beginning to find that the accumulating pension cost is much higher than they had contemplated. One tendency, partly in order to keep down the pension cost of companies, is an inclination to put pension plans on a contributory rather than the non-contributory basis on which most of the earlier pension plans were based.

### STOCK PURCHASE AND SAVINGS PLANS.

A good many companies have provided for the purchase of the securities of the company by the employees. At first such plans were established largely in the expectation that they would affect the loyalty of the employees to the company and the efficiency of their work by giving the employee an interest in the company. Some of these plans were very generous, the company in many cases making a partial contribution.

More recently, the emphasis has been placed on the thrift and savings aspect of the purchase of company securities by the employees and the contemporary stock purchase plans have therefore taken on a somewhat more conservative aspect.

One large company has established what is practically an investment trust, an affiliated securities corporation, the shares of which employees buy. The securities corporation in turn purchases a variety of securities, including the bonds, preferred and common stocks of the manufacturing company, as well as the securities of other companies.



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### INSURANCE AND BENEFIT PLANS

Group life insurance has been one of the substantial developments of the last ten years. Altogether there is approximately six and one-half billion dollars of group life insurance in effect at the beginning of 1928.

At first, a large proportion of group life insurance plans were non-contributory, that is, the company paid the whole cost, but more recently there is a very strong tendency toward having the employee share in the cost.

Similarly, there has been a great growth of benefit plans, a movement which began earlier than group life insurance. These benefit plans provide a scale of benefits for certain disabilities including accidents, sickness and death.

In many cases they exist side by side with group life insurance. In other cases they are more or less a substitute for group life insurance.

As in the case of group life insurance, there has been a strong movement toward contribution by the employees as well as a contribution from the company, and also a strong tendency toward administration of the mutual benefit fund by an employees' committee with the advice and cooperation of executives of the company.

### VOCATIONAL ADJUSTMENT.

The preparation of job descriptions and job specifications has been much discussed, but until recently, much more discussed than acted upon. Both of these results of job analysis are almost essential for any plan of job classification and salary standardization, both of which have been growing. One distinct tendency in job analysis is the setting up of a statement accentuating the "job difficulties".

The introduction of new employees to their jobs, especially to the foreman and to the fellow-workers and the environment is being performed more effectively than ever before with distinct advantages not only to the company, but also to the employee through increased output and increased earnings during the initial period of employment and reduced turnover among new employees.

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Gradually the idea of transfers and promotions from within the organization is spreading, without, however, taking the form of a rigid rule which prevents the recruiting of necessary specialists from outside of the organization.

The rating of rank and file employees which was prominent a number of years ago has largely been eclipsed by the growing attention to the rating of persons of possible eligibility for promotion to executive positions of greater responsibility.

Promotion out of the company is a policy adopted by a few companies with good effects on the morale of the organization.

## HEALTH AND SANITATION.

Promotion of health and sanitation has been probably the least effective of all movements in personnel administration, but this is a subject which is beginning to attract a great deal more attention. The costs to the company and to the employees of ill health, consequent absence from work or inefficiency on the job, are regarded by many as vastly more important than the accident problem to which a great deal of attention has been given.

In nearly all large companies, medical examination prior to employment is the rule, but compulsory periodic medical examination for those already on the payroll has not made rapid progress, though there are those who have this policy and are emphatic in their praise of it, denying that it has been attended by any serious complications or objections on the part of employees.

In most companies, however, emphasis has been placed on health education rather than compulsory examination and the best practice has been to concentrate, not so much on the rank and file employees, as upon the supervisors who in turn carry the message of the health program to the employees. This is another good illustration of the advantages of a decentralized responsibility in personnel administration.

## SAFETY.

Because of the spectacular losses resulting from industrial accidents a great deal of effort has been expended on reducing

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the number and seriousness of such accidents. Workmen's compensation legislation has been passed in all but three of the states and safety work is vigorously promoted in many companies both large and small.

Results from this phase of industrial relations work can be isolated more easily than from any other and this very quality of tangibility has undoubtedly had a great deal to do with the interest shown in accident prevention. Certainly the record of accomplishment is so remarkable in companies where sustained and intelligent effort has been made that it should serve to convince any set of officials of its worthwhileness.

Figures issued yearly by one large corporation indicate what can be done. From 1906 to 1926 serious and fatal accidents have decreased 60.22 per cent and from 1912 to 1926 disabling accidents (including all accidents with loss of time greater than the working turn) have been reduced 83.81 per cent. This decrease has been concurrent with a marked expansion in properties and in numbers of employees. The results have been accomplished by careful engineering which has removed physical hazards in the plant or on machines; by keeping complete records of accidents sub-divided by cause which indicate where added precautions are necessary; and by a ceaseless campaign of education. Each is necessary but perhaps the educational campaign has yielded the greatest returns.

About \$ 20,000,000 has been spent on accident prevention since January 1, 1912. Had accidents continued at the 1906 rate, however, far more would have been paid out under the various state compensation laws to the injured and their families. If, as a large insurance company recently stated, it is true that to every dollar of compensation cost resulting from an accident must be added four dollars to pay for lost time, labor turnover, waste of materials, interference in production and other conditions arising out of the accident, the saving from accident prevention is many times greater.

While for some years safety education was directed largely toward rank and file employees, it has been found by another very large company that still greater improvement can be made by concentrating the safety educational attack on the

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foreman - another illustration of decentralization of personnel activities and of carrying out the personnel program through and by the line organization,

### SERVICE TO EMPLOYEES.

In the early stages of the personnel movement in America, a relatively large proportion of attention was devoted to what was called welfare work, comprising such activities as social clubs, recreational activities, camps, athletic activities, employee publications, company stores, sales and discounts for company products, legal aid, housing, restaurants, etc.

Probably as much is done by companies today as formerly along these lines, but this general group of personnel activities is much less conspicuous than formerly because it is being overshadowed by many newer and relatively more important activities.

There has also been a tendency to eliminate certain classes of personnel service and to continue only those which have a direct bearing on the efficiency of the employee, his earning capacity and, by implication, his value to the company.

Other activities which have a much less direct bearing on the company's interest are being turned over more and more to actual administration by the interested employees themselves, and many of these are financed almost entirely by the employees. This gives employees an increased measure of autonomy and a more self-respecting status. This tendency is a good illustration of the trend away from a paternalistic attitude toward employees.

### JOINT RELATIONSHIPS.

The term "joint relationships" is used in the United States to designate the dealings between management and employees on matters of mutual interest, particularly as affecting such vital subjects as wages, hours, and working conditions; discipline and grievances; and efficiency and economy of operation. In industries in which employers recognize trade unions, joint relationships usually are handled between the management and the union organizations. Union contracts customarily cover

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wages, hours of work, and general conditions in the shop, and occasionally they include agreements for the mediation or arbitration of disagreements, for unemployment insurance or for other subjects outside the routine of ordinary union negotiations. There has also grown up in some industries a system of union-management cooperation, having for its purpose joint endeavors toward the promotion of operating efficiency, the reduction of costs, and the building up of morale. The union labor movement is treated in another paper in this series.

Perhaps the most impressive development of recent years in connection with joint relationships in American industry is employee representation. Under this classification are included all formal agreements for direct dealing between management and representatives elected by and from the employees in an individual company or plant.

The representation movement as a conspicuous part of industrial management dates from about 1915 and the period of its greatest growth did not begin until after the United States entered the World War. In the period of business depression beginning in 1921, a considerable number of plans were abandoned, but in the last five years representation has shown a steady growth.

Under the typical plan of employee representation the workmen of a single company elect representatives from among their own number, usually by voting districts arranged in such a way that each representative has for his constituents fellow-workers with whose conditions and jobs he is intimately familiar. These employee representatives deal with representatives of the management through joint conferences and joint committees and in other ways. The authority of the shop committees or works councils and the scope of subjects which they are authorized to consider vary in the procedure of different companies. While in a few cases, employees are prohibited from joining unions or from joining a particular union that has been in active opposition to the employing company, it is usual for a representation plan to provide explicitly or tacitly for the indiscriminating employment of union and non-union men.

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In addition to the organized practices in joint relationships that have been discussed, there are many less formal methods of dealing on subjects of mutual interest. In some companies the approach of the employees to the management is limited to line officials, with whom the individual workman is required to take up grievances or suggestions. In others the personnel department functions as the point of contact between management and employees. There are infrequent cases in which employees elect members of company boards of directors.

An important function of any procedure in joint relationships is the exchange of information and opinions between management and work people. Sometimes this is effected through a representation plan or an agreement for union-management cooperation; sometimes through employee's newspapers or other plant publications, and sometimes through more or less formal suggestion systems under which workmen are encouraged to submit to the management their ideas as to improving conditions or methods of operation. Usually these suggestion plans include the payment of awards for valuable ideas that are adopted.

### INTEREST IN PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION GROWING.

In the last few years there have been times when, on the surface, it might seem as though the personnel movement in America had received a set-back. This was due largely to the fact that at various times there seemed to be an unusual number of personnel men who were looking for positions. Actually, many of these had become interested in personnel administration and were anxious to return to the work.

Virtually, there is vastly more interest in personnel administration in America than ever before and that interest is on a sounder basis. For some years it was difficult to get the factory manager or the president or other line official to take an interest in personnel problems, the inclination being to refer all such matters to the personnel man.

With the growing recognition that personnel administration, on a sound basis, has a definite relation to the business success of the organization, much of this has disappeared.

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Furthermore, it is being recognized that sound management has a very definite relation to the interests of the employees and that the introduction of effort-saving machinery and labor-saving management and the development of better morale almost inevitably result in greater output as a result of which the employees receive increased earnings.

An interest in personnel administration has become eminently respectable especially as the subject matter is approached in terms of management. Indeed, it would be practically impossible to keep the subject of personnel out of any meeting of executives discussing almost any management problem, whether it be treasurers or comptrollers at a conference on financial management; factory executives at a conference on production; sales executives at a conference on marketing; office managers discussing office management; or at a round table of the presidents discussing problems of general management.

What appeared to be a period of declining of interest in personnel administration from approximately 1920 to 1924 may now be interpreted as a period of transition following which attention is being concentrated on those personnel activities which make for sound business, increased earnings for employees as well as profits to the company, increased purchasing power for the community and consequent business prosperity.

## NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

BY FLORENCE C. THORNE,

American Federation of Labor

The American labor movement has distinctive policies and agencies to meet New World conditions. Its outstanding characteristics are its philosophy of voluntarism, emphasis on economic agencies, rejection of the class conflict philosophy, and advocacy of cooperation to promote the interests of all concerned in production. The interest of the American trade union centers on the job itself. It seeks betterment in hours and wages as the medium to other opportunities. American trade unions have declared that increasingly higher standards of life can be maintained only through increasing productivity, and thereby recognize their interest in more efficient production. This brings the union to a concern for work processes.

The American Federation of Labor is emphatically advocating educational methods and research, and is taking the lead through its official journal.

The most significant development of American trade unionism is union-management cooperation. Where collective bargaining has provided fair conditions of work and mutual confidence, it is possible for workers to make a constructive contribution in the work itself. These contributions represent craft or creative interest in the job and are of various forms - such as the engineering production service of the printing pressmen, maintenance of craft membership by the full fashioned hosiery workers, up to provisions for specific organization for union management cooperation developed for railroads.

Standard labor unions in the United States are the only agency that maintains social standards for the workers and serve to unify and stabilize terms of employment throughout the industry to accord with progressively higher standards.

Before considering the new tendencies of American labor, a summary of the distinctive characteristics of the American labor movement is necessary in order to interpret current developments. American trade unions reflect in their policies and methods the outstanding features of community life of which they are part. American civilization developed in a pioneer country. There were rich natural resources in bountiful supply but industrial pathfinders were necessary. The heroes of that age were those with the spirit of adventure necessary to cope with pioneer environment. Distinction is still the reward of those with daring and faith for additional progress and achievement.

Industry in practically every instance has preceded political development in its field and has relied upon individual initiative and voluntary undertakings. As there are wide areas to serve, industries have followed plans commensurate with business possibilities. The relative absence of traditions has brought



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flexibility in thought and procedure. There is a notable willingness to adopt new techniques and meet new opportunities. Our rapid progress has been due to leaders of the pioneer type accustomed to find their own paths and assume responsibilities. The American labor movement developed out of this new world environment has adapted its methods and agencies to meet its specific problems. Though many labor ideals were of old-world origin, they have been adapted to a new world atmosphere and experience.

The American labor movement is now expressed through the American Federation of Labor to which are affiliated the more important national and international labor unions with the exception of the four railroad brotherhoods in the operative service of the railroads and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. Due largely to the fact that its leadership was practically unchanged from 1886 to 1924, the American Federation of Labor has a most distinct personality. With the death of Samuel Gompers in 1924 and the election of William Green to the presidency, there has been no change in the fundamental philosophy of the Federation. Its policies are unchanged, though Mr. Green gives new emphasis and new presentation to constructive functions of the union. While in no way minimizing the necessity for militant defense, he insistently points out that the way to progress for all concerned in industries lies through the conference table to daily co-operation between management and unions in doing the day's work, each group contributing of its work experience and assuming responsibility for its functional contributions. Co-operation of self-dependent groups will, the Federation maintains, give industry the richest contributions of creative thought and work.

The distinctive characteristics of the American labor movement are:

Voluntarism as the basic philosophy.

Primary emphasis on economic agencies and economic objectives.

Rejection of the class conflict theory and acceptance of the

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idea of mutuality - but not identity - of interest of all concerned in production.

American trade unions have made voluntary principles the cornerstone of their philosophy. They believe that relationships between persons should be based upon consent, and that as individuals and groups make progress in experience and understanding, voluntary relationships will be on successively higher planes. Unions believe that the individual worker finds opportunity for personal growth and progress through voluntary association with others in the same craft or occupation. Each work group is regarded as the best judge of its own needs and abilities to contribute to industry, and retains for its own decision changes and adjustments in the terms and conditions under which work is performed. The union, which is the repository of the human and work experience of those who handle the tools and materials of industry, makes an essential contribution to the development of industrial order and procedure.

The American labor movement put first in its program higher wages and shorter hours, believing that these two objectives controlled the opportunity and the means to social, material and spiritual progress. It believes that problems involved in making changes in the terms and conditions of work are best understood by those in the industry, and that therefore economic agencies can most effectively deal with these problems. American labor looks to its unions for special services for workers as a group and to governmental agencies for services which embody social ideals of concern to the nation and to workers as citizens. American workers, feeling that in their civic and social relationships there are no fixed classes, look for progress through the development of democratic ideals and institutions for all society. This fundamental feeling for equality is reflected in the disinclination of unions to seek legislation to decide their problems, in addition to their conviction that economic methods and agencies are more effective in dealing with economic problems because they are a part of the matters they seek to control. The fact that American unions

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have not looked to partisan methods has centered efforts on economic progress, which has been a factor in giving the United States the highest wages of all countries.

The main dependence of American workers is therefore on the initiative of unions and collective bargaining. The unions are the only agency that maintains social standards for the workers and serves to unify and stabilize terms of employment throughout the industry to accord with these progressively higher standards. The standard trade union is the only organization through which workers have as yet made a functional contribution to industry.

In the new world chance is recognized as inseparable from opportunity. American unions prefer the hazards of chance to the securities of more definitely fixed conditions. Reduction of hours of work and higher wages open to workers control of more time and more opportunities for development. The main demand of American labor is for opportunity. This attitude has been fundamental in making collective bargaining as the basic machinery for putting the union program into effect. As various unions have been successful in collective bargaining they have found new opportunities for the union to serve industry. In this field of collective bargaining important new trends are developing which are reflected in the five-day week goal and in wage demands based on productivity. Both these new standards represent concern that Labor shall share more fully in social progress in the benefits of improved production technique, increasing productivity, and in more leisure. These demands represent ideals of trade unionists and reflect more advanced understanding and organization of industrial relations and definite appreciation of the significance of productivity.

There has been sustained progress among organized wage earners in establishing the eight-hour day. Some unions have secured a forty-four hour week and more recently considerable progress has been made in securing the five-day week for building tradesmen.

During the past winter, when seasonal unemployment had been added to unemployment resulting from mechanization of

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industry, new emphasis has been given to arguments for shorter work hours as a necessary accompaniment of increased productivity. According to the Census of Manufactures there were for 1927 8,076,500 wage earners as contrasted with 9,096,500 in 1919, although value which they add to manufacture is 25,171,400,000 as contrasted with 25,041,700,000 in 1919.

### Manufacturing industries 1919—1927.

Year.	Total Wages.		Total Number of Wage Earners.	
1919	\$10,533,400,000	100	9,096,500	100
1927	\$10,510,000,000	100	8,076,500	89
Year.	Wage per Wage Earner.			
1919	\$1158	100		
1927	\$1301	112		
Year.	Value added by Manufacture.		Value added by Manufacture per Wage earner.	
1919	\$25,041,700,000	100	\$2753	100
1927	\$25,171,400,000	101	\$3117	113

American trade unions have officially declared that increasingly higher standards of life can be maintained only through increased productivity. This position of the American Federation of Labor has been developing over a number of years.

In the early years of the twentieth century demands for wage increases were simply demands for higher absolute wages. Next came demands for wages based upon consideration of cost living and higher purchasing power to wage earners. Then, with increasing use of mechanical power and technical progress, productivity in industries increased greatly. Workers found there were definite limits to industrial prosperity through increased productivity unless there was corresponding increase in purchases on the market. The American Federation of Labor therefore formulated a new wage policy which finds additional grounds for wage increases in the fact that they were helping to produce more and that unless wage earners shared in social progress the depression tendencies of the business cycle were strengthened. The initial step in formulation of this latest wage policy was a declaration in 1919

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pointing to the relation between research and industrial progress. In the years following were declarations pointing to the relation between productivity and wage increases and finally a formal declaration adopted in 1925:

"We hold that the best interests of wage earners as well as the whole social group are served by increasing production in quality as well as quantity, and by high wage standards which assure sustained purchasing power to the workers, and, therefore, higher national standards for the environment in which they live and the means to enjoy cultured opportunities. We declare that wage reductions produce industrial and social unrest, and that low wages are not conducive to low production costs.

"We urge upon wage earners everywhere: that we oppose all wage reductions, and that we urge upon management the elimination of wastes in production in order that selling prices may be lower and wages higher. To this end we recommend cooperation in study of waste in production which the assay of the Federated American Engineering Societies covering important industries has shown to be 50 % attributable to management and only 25 % attributable to labor, with 25 % attributable to other sources, principally managements in industries producing commodities for any single industry under consideration.

"Social inequality, industrial instability and injustice must increase unless the workers' real wages, the purchasing power of their wages, coupled with a continuing reduction in the number of hours making up the working day, are progressed in proportion to man's increasing power of production."

This policy can be applied only when workers know the facts of productivity, and it at once carries wage discussion to the realm of fact determination. The first research work which the American Federation of Labor undertook in the wage field was a study of wages as related to productivity. This study was based upon the Census of Manufactures of 1925. The Federation began in October 1927 the computation of an index of labor's share in production and consumption based upon both wholesale and retail prices respectively. This index is published monthly in the "American Federationist".

Though the entrance of the Federation into the research field is important in itself, there is added significance in the fact that the research is for the purpose of giving practical aid for handling economic problems. It will tend to strengthen the emphasis which American labor has placed upon economic methods.

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Since September 1927, the American Federation of Labor has been gathering data on employment among trade unionists. The data show the percentage of unemployment in the more important industrial centers. Local unions cooperate in the study. The data will constitute measuring rods to indicate the relative stability of employment which is an important element in annual earnings.

Another trend in the American labor movement of incalculable potentiality is the assumption by unions of various degrees of responsibility for production and the development of various types of cooperation between unions and managements.

The rejection of the theory of irreconcilable class conflict results in an entirely different mentality and vocabulary for American labor from that of European labor movements. Acceptance of the principle of interdependence of interests, makes possible the Federation's policy of cooperation with other groups to work out mutually acceptable plans for progress. The Federation through various representatives is cooperating with such widely different organizations as the American Bar Association, National Broadcasting Company, National Bureau of Economic Research, Social Science Research Council, Personnel Research Federation, Economic Foundation, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, American Legion, and many other representative groups.

This same tendency to seek a synthesis that will harmonize the views of groups concerned instead of the dominance of a single group or class point of view, is evidenced in the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to enlarge the scope of social text books used in public schools to include an impartial discussion of labor implications in history and other social sciences. In its work in connection with public schools, as well as in its promotion of adult education through the Workers Education Bureau, the Federation has maintained broad constructive purposes based upon recognition of interdependence of interests as opposed to propaganda and the strengthening of opposing interests which promote conflict between groups.

With the development of the concept that both employers and employed may benefit through the progress of the industry,

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came the opportunity for cooperation between workers and management which is the most significant development in our field of industrial relations. Cooperation between management and trade unions is a further development of joint relationships resting upon a foundation of collective bargaining. It represents a sense of responsibility on the part of wage earners for progress in industry not only as a means for betterment for the groups immediately concerned but for social progress. Responsibilities result from recognized and established rights. This sense of responsibility is expressed by unions in widely different constructive services to industry up to the more recent developments of participation in what were formerly regarded as exclusively management matters.

Lines of division in industrial conflicts have not been based upon class divisions and conflict, but on protest against temporary inequities in sharing the results of production. Since the background is not irreconcilable conflict between classes, concern is focussed upon establishing collective bargaining or developing adjustments where collective bargaining exists. In industry where traditions of employers' individualism prevent practical individualism for workers which can be realized only through collective action, issues still turn on the right to collective action through trade unions or voluntary agencies. There is a wide range in the degrees of progress represented in labor organizations in various industries.

Practically all trade unions assume some responsibility for maintaining standards of skill among their membership. Many craft unions have had provision for apprenticeship training under union control. Formerly training was within the shop, but with changes in industry, shop training has been supplemented by instruction in schools or by correspondence. The International Typographical Union and the shop crafts on the Baltimore and Ohio have developed successful correspondence courses. The printing pressmen have a technical school which also helps members with practical problems. The unions in the construction industry usually join their employers in cooperative undertakings with public schools. The trend is

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toward a wider basis of instruction to promote understanding of the industry. Encouragement for further development of craftsmanship is furnished by the New York Building Trades Congress through special distinctions for applied craftsmanship on construction undertakings. These are beginnings of an effort to replace vanishing skills by new standards and ideals of workmanship. The unions are aware of the effects of repetitive or mass production, and are considering the new production methods for the purpose of finding the type of training to substitute new standards of skill for older manual skills in order that mass production may not mechanize workers also. It is significant that American unions, as a rule, do not oppose machinery, but seek to prevent disadvantages to the workers through mechanization of industry or more efficient production methods. There has been a distinct change in organized labor's attitude toward scientific management following fundamental changes in scientific management.

In the past twenty-five years a number of organizations have been merged as production changes wiped out old craft lines. The formation of departments within the Federation was a step toward providing joint action for an industry and has brought varying degrees of unified action for the building trades, the metal trades and the railway shop employees.

Unions have given considerable thought to the complete breaking up of a craft through mass production where the worker is responsible only for a process instead of a finished product. They have given evidence in special decisions with regard to jurisdiction over automobile workers of flexibility necessary to be adapted to industrial changes.

Another and most significant development in American trade unionism is participation in the problems and decisions of management through union-management cooperation on five railroads - the Baltimore and Ohio, Canadian National, Chicago and Northwestern, Grand Trunk Western, and Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, affecting 75,000 employees. The provision under which union-management cooperation was first established was a simple protocol written into the agreement between the railway shop crafts and the Baltimore and Ohio.



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This protocol pledged the union to cooperation in finding "improvements in the service and economy in operating and maintenance expenses".

For cooperation in working out better shop procedure, joint shop committees were created of the regular representatives of the trade unions and the management. These committees hold regular bi-weekly meetings and keep records of transactions. All members of the committee submit proposals, some of which may be referred to special joint committees for investigation and report. Realizing that they were entering upon cooperation in the technical field, the unions retained a high grade consulting engineer experienced in the railroad industry. Technical counsel has given the unions confidence to proceed under the agreement, for they do not feel hampered by fear that the technicians of management can take advantage of them, and they can freely give their most valuable suggestions and experience, knowing that all will benefit thereby.

The records of the meetings of joint committees show whether proposals originated with the employee group or the management group and their disposition. During the three years union-management cooperation has been in operation on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, more than 18,000 suggestions have been made, 16,000 of which have been adopted and incorporated in shop procedure; 500 are still under consideration, and 1,500 were dropped by mutual consent as impracticable or too expensive. An analysis of a representative number of these suggestions shows that:

51.2 per cent resulted primarily in more efficient management, initiating more efficient methods or savings in materials;

13.4 per cent affected the workers primarily, such as improvement in working conditions, better work equipment, better handling of supplies;

35.4 per cent affected both sides equally.

The nature of these detailed propositions is revealed from the

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following analysis of 2,214 propositions, which originated at 14 points on the Canadian National Railways:

Shop methods and practice .....	417
Repairs to machinery and plant, change in location of machinery, etc. ....	421
Maintenance of locomotives and cars .....	156
Standardizing of materials .....	74
Materials and supplies, storage, delivery shortages, handling, etc. ....	199
Manufacture of and repairs to equipment .....	94
Purchase of new equipment and enlarging of plant .....	184
Reclamation of material, conservation, stoppage of waste, etc. ....	85
Defective materials .....	29
Standardizing forces .....	19
Working conditions in shops, lighting, heating, cleanliness, etc. ....	181
Safety and first aid .....	81
Care of tools .....	40
Operation of cooperative plan .....	40
Bonus system and measured production .....	40
Alterations to standard designs for locomotives and cars .....	33
Maintenance of equipment costs, output records .....	9
Promotion of employees, hiring, wages, overtime .....	14
New business, prospective business cards, hotel patronage, etc. ....	17
Apprentice instruction .....	—
Cashing pay checks at plant .....	5
Cooperation in production, improved quality of workmanship, punctuality on the part of employees .....	12
Miscellaneous subjects (unclassified) .....	57

Of 1,057 cooperative propositions originating at five points on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, analysis revealed that 864 (or 81.7 per cent) originated with employees, and 193 (or 18.3 per cent) originated with the management. Further, that of 629 propositions originating on the B. and O., 13.4 per cent were jointly considered to be of primary benefit to the employees, 51.2 per cent to the primary benefit of management, and 35.4 per cent to be of equal benefit to employees and management.

Understanding of the principle that the interests of those employed in an industry are mutual has been put to a number of tests under union-management cooperation. The unions have held to their purpose even when the benefits of cooperation did not bring convincing immediate material returns. In tangible form, benefits to the workers came first through greater stability of employment and later through wage increases.

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One of the greatest hardships of the railway shop work was its irregularity. This was overcome in the following ways:

By doing all work in railroad shops, thus avoiding contracting out. Thus the industry became self-dependent and there was more employment for workers.

Being self-dependent, it was possible to develop a standard work force. Better organized work prevented peak loads for which workers had been temporarily employed and as a consequence periods of slack work decreased.

Budgeting of work and funds resulted in further improvements in work plan. Certain kinds of work and types of repair were reserved for slack seasons. Budgeting of funds created an equipment reserve fund.

The effort toward stabilization in each shop was supplemented by a placement service for furloughed men who were advised of work opportunities in other shops where they have priority before new men are hired. The unions and the management handle this transfer service which benefits the railroad by keeping available experienced workers.

As a result of these efforts to stabilize production, the railroad company saved on repair costs and frequency of repairs, and each worker gained in stability of employment an increase of two week's work yearly.

That the cooperative method has promoted good will and understanding is shown in the decrease in number of grievances. Before the institution of union-management cooperation there was an average of one grievance per year for every 58 employees, while in 1925 the average was 1 to 131 employees.

A fundamental principle involved in union-management cooperation is the sense of interdependence of interests of the whole work group, first by shops and finally as represented by the whole railroad. That industry is an associated undertaking is an important social principle, manifest under this cooperative agreement. The focus is on creative initiative which brings a spirit of responsibility and mutual concern to

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the whole work group and receives financial reward as the industry prospers. The management has been more reluctant to make public estimate of the value of cooperation, but has been unreserved in its recognition of the morale sustained under cooperation. This morale results in better service and alert concern for the interests of the railroad. Trade unionists have solicited patronage for the railroads among tradesmen and those who travel. Cooperation has opened the way for more equal relationships between men and management, which makes for confidence. The problem of measuring the benefits under the new plan is being worked out by joint committees. Since cooperation has been in effect, the shopmen have received wage increases averaging 8 per cent, the restoration of time and a half pay for Sunday and holiday work, and steadier employment, the net effect of which has been to increase their average wage increases by 15 per cent.

Experience on the Canadian National Railways is similar to that on the Baltimore and Ohio. The plan has more recently been adopted by the Chicago and Northwestern and the Grand Trunk Western.

The Pittsburgh Railways Company of Pittsburgh in 1926 entered into a cooperative agreement with the union of its employees. The street car system had to meet competition with 'bus lines and other means of transportation and realized that service was vital to success. Service is possible only through a unified group. Although operative but a short time, both union and management find the results gratifying. The machinery of cooperation is similar to that on railroads. Thus far the suggestions through cooperation include:

- Additional service at peaks on certain routes.
- Changes in certain car-loading points.
- Advisability of an early morning car on a certain route.
- Loss of time in dropping trailers.
- Children's five-cent school tickets.
- Additional service on certain routes.
- Schedules, sanding equipment, cleaning cars.
- Thermostats, lights, switches, signals, etc.

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There are in many trade unions, developments akin to phases of union-management cooperation but lacking the same definiteness of agreement and machinery because the will and understanding of cooperation are not yet sufficiently developed on the part of management. Examples of such developments are: the Printing Pressmen's Union retains three production engineers to help its membership secure the highest standards of craftsmanship on jobs done for companies with which the unions have collective bargaining. The Photo-Engravers Union has for a number of years been urging upon employers joint industrial research for determining the relative values of materials instead of the commercially controlled service now supported by employers. This union maintains its own apprentice training schools, and establishes and maintains high standards of craftsmanship. It is a craft which is rapidly changing technique, and the craftsmen must continually learn new methods. Its local unions maintain employment bureaus and unemployment benefits.

One of the textile unions, the full-fashioned hosiery workers, employed in work that necessitates high quality standards, has assumed responsibility for supplying workers of adequate ability and for helping to develop proper work procedure and morale. The officers of these unions perform definite management functions.

The union has entered into an agreement with its employees for joint research in the industry.

A similar result was worked out by the women's garment workers' union of Cleveland, which cooperated with management in developing production standards.

A number of paper makers' unions cooperate with management in the paper mills to improve quality of work and mill procedure. An upholsterers' union proposed that the office of foreman be abolished and that the union assume responsibility for managing the shop.

Federation headquarters is continually finding new examples of the constructive work of trade unions. For example, a conference on the elimination of waste in industry held in Philadelphia in 1927 under trade union and workers' education

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auspices, disclosed in a striking way new examples of the service unions render to industry. Employers, technicians and trade unionists participated in a discussion of how wastes could be eliminated. Reports on undertakings in progress, given by these groups from different approaches, all indicated a common interest in promoting better management within industry. That the more efficient management depends on the cooperation of all associated in the undertaking, is a principle which this conference helped to impress upon employers and employed alike. The papers and discussions of this conference were published in the official journal of the American Federation of Labor and in reprint form were made widely available to workers, study groups and trade unions.

Practical cooperation for the elimination of waste such as constituted the discussion in this conference is possible only through trade unions after collective bargaining has been established. When terms of work have been mutually determined, and agencies for adjusting grievances have been established, a basis is laid for that spirit of confidence and good will which make possible a focus of attention and energy upon work itself. This attitude makes for the release of creative energy upon a joint problem, a real work partnership, all contributing, according to capacity, to the joint undertaking. Then only will the work lives of wage earners reach to the levels that should characterize all human experience. Each constructive effort of the union to assume a responsible share in production is evidence of a creative urge that finds expression when the spirit of cooperation replaces opposition or arbitrary management. But this spirit is possible only when there is freedom and organization for cooperation upon a mutual basis. Union representatives have served on committees created under the Department of Commerce for the development of simplification standards and for preliminary planning necessary for the elimination of duplications and wasteful practices.

There are, in the United States, industries which, while they prefer a more limited form of organization than that of the trade union, nevertheless acknowledge the need of a method

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of mobilizing the work forces. Management in some of these industries has extended its scope to provide employees organizations. In some cases the corporations refused to permit their employees to unite in standard trade unions and for this reason trade unions have called this form of organization "company" unions and have applied this same term to all plans for employee representation that do not originate entirely from the initiative of the workers and are not connected with the trade union movement.

The company union is found chiefly under corporate types of industrial organizations where management was early recognized as a separate function from ownership and hence has developed a more highly organized technique. Some managements have felt that this more restricted form of organization is necessary to get the cooperation of workers in more efficient production. The American Federation of Labor holds that this can be done equally well through trade unions, and asserts that only through trade unions can industrial and social standards be kept uniform throughout the country. Such standards are important for the industry, the workers and society.

An agreement recently signed by the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America and the Trade Union of Street Railway Employees is significant as to future possibilities. The agreement provides for a merging of the methods of cooperation through a company union plan and the other functions of trade unionism as carried out through the standard trade union. The result should mean the utilization of the best in both developments.

The capacity of trade unions to perform constructive service in industry, and to assume greater responsibilities, together with evidences of the social and economic value of union-management cooperation, constitute a challenge to the company union theory. Union-management cooperation gives evidence of capacity to develop between management and workers a spirit of real partnership in the work of the world. It is based upon an understanding of the interdependence of human interests and responsibilities, and at the same time safe-

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guards ideals of voluntarism which underlie human freedom and opportunities for continued growth.

As American trade unions have been successful in promoting the interests of their members, they have become important investments of both energy and accumulated revenues held for specific purposes. This stage of development means it is necessary for the union to realize management and entrepreneur problems.

In addition to investments in offices, old age homes, labor temples, labor banks, etc., unions have developed insurance companies. The two most important are The Union Co-operative Insurance Company and the Union Labor Life Insurance Company. The former was organized by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers to provide benefit services for their members and families. The latter was organized after careful investigation by the American Federation of Labor to enable unions to have a better financial basis for benefits, many of which are not on an actuarial basis. Increased responsibility made union officials look for better handling of finances, more accurate accounting and sounder policies.

In dealing with this problem the unions have followed their traditional policy of relying upon union resourcefulness rather than asking for legislation or governmental insurance.

It is significant that in dealing with problems of investment and management the unions are increasingly turning to technical counsel. For banking and insurance undertakings, technicians are employed. For research and for special problems, the unions are beginning to employ technicians. The leadership of President Green has given a new emphasis to efforts to promote mutual understanding in industry and to the function of fact-finding in promoting this end. Mr. Green has repeatedly declared unions must rely upon educational methods for future progress, and he has given unreserved support to the advancement of worker's education undertakings so that there may be a more comprehensive understanding of union problems and thereby a more effective development and application of constructive methods.



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During the past winter there has been a striking application of educational methods to concrete labor problems in a series of unemployment conferences organized by the Workers Education Bureau. In these conferences representatives of various community groups have met with the workers to discuss the causes of unemployment and its prevention. The conferences have served to emphasize the need of the community and labor for facts to indicate industrial trends and mutual concern for the hardships growing out of unemployment. Unions have as a result turned to the problem of stabilization with new expectations.

The Workers Education Bureau itself, sponsored by the American Federation of Labor, is tangible evidence of the new dependence which American trade unions place in education. The Bureau is helping to provide trade unions with opportunities to equip themselves to approach labor problems as opportunities for progress.

In its contacts with labor movements of other countries the American Federation of Labor is following the same instinct for functional relationships that it has followed in other matters. It has economic development as the basis for its relations with the workers of Canada. There is a definite unity in the economic interests of Canada and the United States, which has its roots in geographic continuity, economic resources and financial interdependence. Jurisdictions of unions of workers in industries generally include both Canada, Porto Rico, the United States, and sometimes Mexico. There is organizational inter-connection between the American Federation of Labor and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, with functional division of responsibility on a continental basis.

There are both economic and political reasons for close interdependence of interests of all countries of the Western Hemisphere which governmentally is expressed in the Pan-American Union and from a labor point of view in Pan-American Federation of Labor. This organization was primarily due to the effective support which the American Federation of Labor gave the workers of Mexico in their recent revolution to restore constitutional government in Mexico. As labor or-

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ganizations in Latin American countries are not as yet well developed, the Pan-American Federation of Labor serves as a clearing house for information for workers in those countries which are trying to build up labor organizations. The Mexican Federation of Labor has utilized the essential fundamentals of the American trade union movement and adapted them to Mexican conditions. Methods and practices of American trade unions will thus have a determining influence in shaping the development of the labor movement of the Western Hemisphere. These regional developments should lead logically to international relations when a mutually satisfactory basis can be reached.

Progress in accord with the high ideals expressed in official declaration is not uniform among American trade unions, but it is of significance that such ideals are shaping the progress and development of the American trade union movement. They forecast the future.

## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

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America has inherited most of its economic and social philosophy from Europe. Capitalism with its recognition of private property, industrial law with its doctrine of master and servant, the factory system with its concentration of population, trade practices, the wage system, and social customs with their inequalities of position and standards of living - all were transplanted to American soil from Europe. The subsequent growth of industrial society in America has been therefore the application of inherited principles to a new environment. Changes wrought have been mainly those which grew out of new situations. Because of early isolation, the bonds of tradition were less potent and new viewpoints in government, education, and industry were easily adopted. Those industries which had already become set in their traditions, notably textiles, have been the slowest to accept new methods. These adaptations in the social and economic philosophy that came to America from Europe have amounted to the development of a new spirit, a new point of view and a distinct identity.

The United States is yet a youthful country with vast possibilities. An over-crowded Europe sent her people to develop the bounteous gifts placed by nature on the American continent; the use of these gifts will be determined in the future more than in the past by international considerations. Natural and inherited endowments, unique in history, combine to make the United States a perpetual debtor to the world. For the stewardship of this nation, the child of Europe, during the short century and a half of its existence, there is no ground either for apology or for boasting, although the vastness of area and resources sometimes excites extravagant words of description. Rapid development with its frequent revolutions in modes of life has given birth to an exuberance frequently viewed at home and abroad as arrogance.

Many have attempted to generalize about the United States and to reduce the picture to a simple formula. There are those who understand the United States only as a country

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of mechanical people, of mass production and of adding machines for counting dollars. Others see in modern industry the road to a social order in which comfort and leisure will have entirely replaced misery and toil. Both these views are, of course, extreme. Certain it is that industries in the United States today contain all degrees of development from that of the pioneer industry up to the highly refined scientific management. In the cotton industry alone the entire range of conditions is to be found and in the coal industry some of the methods are most medieval. There is a long road yet to travel in raising to a respectable standard some of the backward industries.

Perhaps as wide a variety of geographic, climatic, and environmental influences exists in this country as in all European countries combined. It is often overlooked that in the majority of our states agriculture still stands as the leading industry. The large industrial cities in which visitors from other countries usually obtain their impressions are happily not yet representative of American life. In 1925, 45.6 per cent of the population was rural, living outside of towns having 2,500 inhabitants or more.

It is impossible in this paper to present an adequate picture of what the United States has been or is today, but a short review of historical events followed by a consideration of fundamental changes may provide a background for the industrial movements described in the accompanying papers.

What are fundamental relationships within industry in the United States? Certainly they include questions of ownership, functions and status of persons engaged in industry, methods and procedures of work, division of the rewards, distribution of products and the consequent effect of the entire industrial process on social standards.

Until a half-century ago agricultural economy was predominant in the United States. Great reaches of land spreading to the west offered a livelihood to any energetic man with a team of oxen, an axe, and the strength to meet the open country. Life was simple and circumscribed; necessities

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were produced at home by painstaking effort and in small quantity. Altogether existence was so primitive and individualistic that it could not fail to leave its mark on later periods. Gradually there developed trade between the western settlers and the eastern markets on the Atlantic seaboard. Industrial expansion, proceeding slowly and in face of opposition from the southern planters, received great stimulus from the Civil War which shifted political and economic power to the northern states.

This was only sixty years ago. The thirty-one million people then making up the population were concentrated chiefly in the east and the New England states were the center of the meagre industrial life of the period. Steam had largely displaced water power in manufacturing plants but the use of electricity was as yet unheralded. The construction of railroads had barely begun. While most of the important cities were thus connected, the horse and carriage or wagon was still the mainstay of transportation. Most of the major fields of industrial development had been tapped but none of them had really got under way.

With the turning of attention in the late '60s from internal warfare to reconstruction pursuits, everything favored industrial expansion. The steam railroad had passed through its experimental period and was ready to push its lines across the continent. Within the boundaries of the country lay rich deposits of coal, iron, copper, gold, silver and petroleum; untouched forests covered the hills; the fertile soil of the plains was able to support millions of people; abundant water power was available in many regions.

Not only were the resources of the country unexcelled but there was a minimum of restrictive influences on their exploitation. Pioneer conditions still prevailed under which individualism flourished. Where all stood a chance to win, no one wanted to set up hazards and cramping conditions. A friendly government acted as a powerful agent in speeding industrial development through low taxes and a high tariff. Labor was as yet unorganized. Never has there been such a paradise for the individualistic industrialist.

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A certain ruthlessness and carelessness of social consequences characterized the period from the Civil War, 1866, to 1900. Natural resources were wasted with utter disregard because such a course was the immediately profitable one. Little attention was paid to working conditions; both employers and employees worked long hours; labor disputes grew in number and in violence.

Industrial expansion was accompanied by and was largely dependent upon an increase in population, an increase accounted for in part by the millions of Europeans who came to this country to help settle its lands and take part in its industries. The early immigrants were largely from the British Isles and northern continental countries, while in recent years those from the southern countries and Russia predominate. Largely through the efforts of organized labor this influx has been reduced within recent years to small proportions.

The growth of basic industries tells the story of the economic development of America. Agriculture, lumbering, mining, transportation and communication underlie all industrial and social life.

There are approximately one and one-half billion acres of actual and potential farm land in the United States. By 1860 something over 400,000,000 acres had been placed under cultivation. Between 1860 and 1900 another 430,000,000 acres were added. Some of this land on the margin of economic utility has since been abandoned. There are yet over 600,000,000 acres of potential agricultural land, much of it fertile, which needs only clearing. Because of the relative ease with which land could be obtained, independent land-owning farmers have prevailed. Farm labor has been at a premium partly because any aggressive worker could within a short time get a piece of land of his own and partly because industry offered attractive inducements. Agriculture was thus forced into economy of labor rather than of land. Scientific agriculture and the use of motor power and machinery increased the output, in the period 1920-1926, of the American farmer in spite of the fact that the farm population had decreased.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Frederic W. Wile, editor, "A Century of Industrial Progress". New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928, p. 9.

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The place of lumbering in American life is often overlooked. Wood is basic or important in more than half of our industries. There is used in the United States six times as much lumber per person as is used in Europe and more saw timber than all the rest of the world combined. More than a million people are employed in lumbering and wood working industries.

It has been said that "the development of the mind perhaps is what sets us off from other animals, but it is only man who uses minerals and without them he would have neither the means nor leisure for mental culture. Except for the minerals and the art of mining and metallurgy founded on them, there could be no civilization". Certainly, without enormous supplies of coal, petroleum and the metal ores, iron, copper, lead, gold, silver, and others, present-day civilization in America could not have been developed. With a population of 120 million, the work output of the nation, derived mainly from mineral fuel, is equivalent to a population of four billion million hand laborers. Although there had been some mining in the Appalachian mountains and the Piedmont plain of the east, it was not until the discovery of gold in California in 1849 and the subsequent discovery of other metals in the Rocky Mountains and Great Lakes regions that the exploitation of minerals, unprecedented in world history, took place. Thus there was available material which made possible the use of machinery, power, and rail transportation when the great industrial development of the late nineteenth century took place.

Just as transportation facilities have made possible the exploration and development of new lands throughout the world so in the United States the spread of population and industrial expansion have depended in rapid succession upon the railroad, the automobile, and now conceivably upon the airplane.

Life in the United States before the extension of railroads in the '70s and '80s was vastly different from that of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Railroads made possible the bringing together of coal, ore and lumber to the

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centers of manufacture usually located at places which nature had provided as logical transfer points. Here developed the industrial cities where ships met rails. Later there grew up inland other cities nearer the supply of raw materials and power. Centers of distribution were established which facilitated the further increase of agriculture.

While steam transportation was in its heyday, a new fuel was being developed from the recently discovered petroleum. Life was again revolutionized in America by another means of transportation - the automobile, an invention from Europe. 1900 to 1910 witnessed the establishment of the automobile industry among the leaders in manufacturing. Eventually a hundred million people took to the road. An automobile for every seven persons now makes possible the movement of the entire population at one time. The significance of the automobile in social life is enormous. For millions the center of recreation has been shifted from the home to the countryside and pleasure resorts. Daily life has become more complicated by increased speed and multiplied contacts of people. What the effect of air transportation will be is beyond calculation.

It is impossible to dissociate from transportation the telephone, telegraph, wireless and radio transmission of messages. The use of these means of communication goes hand in hand with increased speed in transportation, in reducing the time required for transacting business, or for making a social call. Together they amplify haste and tensivity in doing things and are a symbol of American eagerness for physical progress.

The foregoing time-sketch of industry in the United States leads to a consideration of certain basic movements in present-day industry. Changes in structure of business organizations, changes in methods of operation, and changes in the status of participants, go on apace. These constitute a continually evolving set of "fundamental relationships". They take form in three broad trends which condition all other industrial currents. First, there is the shift from individualism towards collectivism. Ownership and operation of industry is no longer a matter of individuals but of groups. Second,



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mechanization is rapidly replacing handwork in manufacture. Third, there is the emergence in importance of the worker himself individually and collectively. These three trends are interdependent and are in varying degrees both cause and effect.

Changes in organization and structure of industry have been predominantly in the direction of large unit administrative control with a consequent increase in the importance of large companies. Not only has this meant the readjustment of internal organizations; it has also brought forth extreme interdependency between companies and industries.

Concentration and control of industry in the United States was made possible by the legalizing of the joint stock corporation with limited liability. Under this form of organization, combinations of small units became numerous in the latter part of the 19th century in order to take advantage of the greater economies of centralized control. In the early years of this trend abuses of the newly acquired power appeared. Anti-trust laws were enacted for the preservation of competition through the prevention or restriction of monopoly. These laws have in recent years come to be retarding forces in the efforts of American business to reach more of the world's markets. They have also become important factors in limiting the action of labor unions.

Under the stock company, ownership has become widely scattered. Three forms of financial control are now exercised in the United States: individual ownership; majority stock ownership; and minority stock ownership. With the diffusion of ownership, an active minority group usually interested solely in financial rewards finds little difficulty in manipulating operations to meet its own ends. Happily, however, the increasing power of management basing its decisions on research and a growing code of industrial ethics is slowly but surely putting control on a different plane. Control dictated by the facts of the situation is replacing control based on ownership.

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With the spread of stock company form of organization, industrial financing has been nationalized through the passage of the Federal Reserve Act. This Act has served as a stabilizing influence while at the same time it has facilitated the flow of capital to the places where it is most needed.

Another evidence of consolidation is in the trade and business associations, of which there are about 9,000 now in this country. The co-operative programs of these organizations are a unifying force of deep significance. Simplification of practice and materials, uniform cost accounting, elimination of waste and other activities are promoted by committees and staff specialists through well developed educational procedures. The Federal Department of Commerce has led the movement for economic planning toward the prevention of industrial waste. As contrasted with the use of legislation alone, this functional cooperation between trade associations and the Department of Commerce may mark the development of a new governmental method.

These changes in the structure of industry have been themselves mainly changes in relationships. Community of interests has brought together larger and larger groups of people. The joint enterprise is outstripping the individual undertaking. Public interest has been read into practically all forms of private property and what is even more important, the directors and managers themselves have recognized the claims of society in industry. This conclusion is eloquently attested by one of America's leading industrialists who said a year ago:

"We think of managers no longer as the partisan attorneys of either group against the other. Rather we have come to consider them trustees of the whole undertaking whose responsibility is to see to it on the one side that the invested capital is safe and that its return is adequate and continuous; and on the other side that competent and conscientious men are found to do the work and that their job is safe and their earnings are adequate and continuous. Managers may not be able to realize that ideal either for capital or labor. It is a great advance, however, for us to have formulated that objective and to be striving toward that goal."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Owen D. Young, address by, given at the dedication of the new buildings for the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, June 4, 1927.

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Looking into the industrial organization of the future this same man has said:

"Perhaps some day we may be able to organize the human beings engaged in a particular undertaking so that they truly will be the employer buying capital as a commodity in the market at the lowest price. It will be necessary for them to provide an adequate guaranty fund in order to buy their capital at all. If that is realized, the human being will then be entitled to all the profits over the cost of capital. I hope the day may come when these great business organizations will truly belong to the men who are giving their lives and their efforts to them. I care not in what capacity. They will then use capital truly as a tool and they will be all interested in working it to the highest economic advantage. Then an idle machine will mean to every man in the plant who sees it an unproductive charge against himself. Then every piece of material not in motion will mean to the man who sees it an unproductive charge against himself: Then we shall have zest in labor, provided the leadership is competent and the division fair. Then we shall dispose, once and for all, of the charge that in industry organizations are autocratic, not democratic. Then we shall have all the opportunities for a cultural wage which the business can provide. Then, in a word, men will be as free in cooperative undertaking and subject only to the same limitations and chances as men in individual businesses. Then we shall have no hired men."

Although this goal is yet a long way from realization, it is significant that such a statement should be voiced by a prominent business leader at the dedication of a school for the training of business men.

Changes in methods of production which have occurred in the United States are but a natural outcome of the extension of the factory system with its automatic machinery in an environment of limited labor supply and vast resources. When the factory method of production became general in the United States less than one hundred years ago, two conditions facilitated its extension and development on lines somewhat different from those which had previously developed in England and the European mainland, namely mobility of population which permitted the placing of factories at strategic geographical points and the existence of enormous sources of power from both water and coal. When the hardy pioneers undertook to utilize the resources, America was ready to cut

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and use the new patterns without having to discard the old ones. Already the idea of invention of mechanical devices to take the place of hand labor was widespread before the American wilderness was thoroughly explored. When the early industrialist met new problems of nature he literally met them with a machine as contrasted with the hand tool of former days. In a country where land, minerals, and power have always been more abundant than labor to exploit them, the stimulus has been to invent more and more labor saving devices. This disparity between manpower and opportunity has probably been the most potent force in the mechanization of industry in America.

Research and mechanization go hand in hand. Among the various aspects of their interrelation are discoveries in pure science, invention, industrial research, industrial application, and standardization. These exhibit interaction and combined are responsible in large measure for whatever success has been had in meeting problems and opportunities in this country.

Although there have been notable contributions in pure science in this country it has been principally in the stages of invention and application that the greatest progress has been made in the United States. Well over \$100,000,000 is spent here annually for industrial research.<sup>1</sup> Hundreds of laboratories are now to be found in industrial companies in which new products, new tools and new processes are being created. Research has been the prime agent in creating within a short period of twenty or twenty-five years such major industries as the automobile, motion picture, radio, and chemical and electrical products. The individual researcher has in numerous cases given way to organized research in which a single project is divided among a corps of specialized investigators. Although industrial research in America is probably only in its infancy its effect has already been conspicuous. . . . An entirely negligible proportion of expenditures has been on research in industrial relations and problems involving the human factor in industry.

<sup>1</sup> Maurice Holland, "Research the Prime Mover of Industry", *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. XXII, No. 4, Whole No. 127, April, 1926, p. 297.

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Yet certain leaders are beginning to sense the possibilities in this direction and are taking steps to explore them.

Not alone are new industries created but per capita production is increased. Notwithstanding a reduction in hours and days worked of roughly 10 per cent since 1914 there has been an increase of 40 per cent in output per worker. One typical illustration is that of a plant making automobile tires. In 1920 the daily output was 30,000 tires by 30,000 employees; in 1928, 16,000 men produce 50,000 tires daily and other products in proportion.

Mechanization is not merely a machine, it is an idea. When a chemical process is discovered which brings under control hidden forces of nature, when a procedure of management is devised which works automatically, there is mechanization as surely as if a machine were invented. Planned control of manpower, materials and machines is the vital coordinating agent of management in mechanized industry. Mechanization of a job frees men in industry for new fields to conquer with mind and hand. Not only is this new freedom come to the manager interested in reducing costs but also to the worker who formerly took hours, days or months of arduous and often worrisome labor to produce an article which now rolls out of the machine in large numbers better made than by former handwork.

Automatic machinery and the use of nature's power and materials have made possible increased worldly comforts for all mankind. Certainly there is now more inclination on the part of American workmen who have tasted abundantly the fruits of mechanized industry to accept each new automatic device as an added opportunity for greater freedom from physical discomfort and perhaps from intellectual bondage. Occasionally, however, there is heard a warning that mechanization is proceeding too rapidly and resulting in unemployment. Certainly in the United States there is an abundance of unemployment continually arising from the increase of labor-saving machinery. There is ground for the belief that this unemployment is created only temporarily, if at all, in those industries which have extended the use of the machine

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and that the more serious unemployment occurs in the industries whose markets are diminished or destroyed by mechanized competitors. This is yet an unsolved problem which needs to be met openly.

Experience has demonstrated so convincingly the social results which come from the conquest of the forces of nature, that there is in this country no limit to the imagination of the masses of the people as to what may next appear. The three or four generations which have been engaged in the industrial development of a new country are not enough to crystalize habits of thought or to form a routine civilization. The only thing to which Americans are thoroughly accustomed is change itself.

The relatively high purchasing power of the population as a whole permits the marketing of new products which in turn stimulates production. Mass buying at low prices is made possible by mass production. The economic cycle in which the worker is both a producer and a consumer can only continue upward as long as the balance is preserved and efficiency of production increased. Thus the constant pressure for lower production costs leads to more research. The belief of business men of the United States in the efficacy of research and their willingness to invest money in it will go a long way toward keeping the workmen of this country regularly employed while enjoying the highest standard of living ever attained by an industrial population.

Changes in the status of participants in industry have been the inevitable outcome of changes in organization structure and methods of work.

Wage-earners are increasingly being given opportunity to share in management and to assume the responsibilities of partners in industry. Managers are becoming detached from ownership and are developing an independent position. Owners have already lost much of their identity as individuals responsible for specific companies. Capital is more and more the servant of management, working for its wage. Employees own billions of dollars worth of stock directly in their own and

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other companies, and indirectly through savings banks and insurance companies. Such ownership, however, does not carry with it control over operations which, as previously indicated, is commonly lodged in minority groups but increasingly in management.

Feudalistic paternalism does not flourish under the joint stock company form of ownership. Although many family-owned companies still exist, they are exceptions to the common rule. The employee is beginning to exercise his right to a voice in the conduct of industry.

Furthermore, the separation of management from ownership promises the emergence of a group of professional managers. It has opened the way for an industrial code in which the spirit of trusteeship may predominate.

The specialization of functions and tasks in industry has brought forth the workman who is skilled in closely defined operations as contrasted with the jack-of-all-trades. Craftsmanship in the sense of ability in one man to make a complete product has practically disappeared but craftsmanship involving precision and perfection has taken its place. There has been much romancing about the destruction by the machine of the spiritual values of medieval craftsmanship. The story of the man who adjusts "bolt 476" in the Ford factory has been sadly overworked. Such viewpoints overlook the fact that a very small fraction of American industry uses the belt conveyor system and that relatively few machine workers are doing work which requires repetitive motions. It is conspicuously in the handwork industries that sweatshop conditions have prevailed - witness the needle trades where mechanization proceeded slowly. Monotony and over-fatigue do exist, however, in machine industry just as they did under the long hours of drudgery before the industrial revolution, and just as they exist today among the rug makers of Persia. These evils obviously must be reduced but the agent for such improvement will probably be more machines and more mechanization rather than less, accompanied by a more effective regularization and use of existing equipment.

The vast changes in methods which have become so con-

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spicuous in American mass production can not conceivably be expected to satisfy the conception of spiritual values which prevailed under an altogether different social order. It would seem obvious that spiritual values are distinct from the tools and products of man. Man's heart is just as black using an ancient sword as a modern machine gun and just as full of inspiration with a modern riveting machine as with an ancient hammer. Craftsmanship in mechanized industry depends for its spiritual values upon the inner man just as in the days "when knights were bold". And who is there to say that the shorter working day and other manifold fruits of science in industry through use of the machine have not opened the doors for millions of people throughout the world mentally, morally, and physically?

The modern problems of machine industry are rather of another kind. How shall man use his leisure time under the shorter working day? How shall the rewards of cooperative effort be more equitably distributed? How can the concept of stewardship be further developed in industry. Can an industrial government improve upon the now traditional forms of democratic political government? These are the unsolved puzzles which completely over-shadow the unimaginative cry against the machine which yet awaits its most intelligent use by man.

It is the search for this intelligence which commands the attention of the five modern movements described in this symposium. Each of these movements is an outgrowth of the environment and background in which it rests. Singly and collectively, they represent constructive forces of America for development of healthy social, political, industrial, and educational life in an industrial civilization.



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PAR MME. SCHURMANS DE KEGHEL ET MME. GOFFART

### LE MOUVEMENT SYNDICAL.

Après la guerre le mouvement syndical s'est développé en Belgique, il y a environ 800.000 syndiqués. La reconnaissance patronale est acquise.

Il a un caractère nettement politique. Ceci semble d'abord illogique, mais en fait, en Belgique, ce sont les mêmes hommes qui ont donné cours au mouvement politique et au mouvement syndical, ils ont voulu coordonner ces deux puissances. Il y a 50 ans les syndicats, au lieu de s'intéresser aux améliorations immédiates, comme ils le font aujourd'hui, avaient pour but la transformation générale de la société (agitations politiques).

Les moyens d'action des syndicats sont centralisés - il existe un seul syndicat d'une Industrie pour toute la Belgique. Le nombre de femmes salariées faisant partie de l'organisation syndicale est insignifiant. Les socialistes font un effort pour au moins grouper la grande majorité d'entre elles. "Elles constituent, en général, une main d'oeuvre extrêmement mobile, elles sont moins accessibles que les hommes, ont plus de préjugés, et lisent moins que ces derniers."\* Nombreuses sont celles qui abandonnent le travail au moment où elles se créent un foyer.

Le Mouvement syndical patronal est un mouvement de réaction contre les syndicats ouvriers. Il a pour but de protéger les intérêts des industriels vis à vis des consommateurs, de défendre les intérêts des patrons vis à vis des syndicats ouvriers. Ils sont plus récents que les syndicats ouvriers et n'ont pas la même discipline. Ils s'engagent à verser des cotisations proportionnelles aux salaires qu'ils payent aux ouvriers. Forment des caisses de résistance.

Le Comité Central Industriel règle les conditions de travail - démarches auprès du gouvernement.

### LES COMMISSIONS PARITAIRES D'INDUSTRIE. \*\*

L'organisation des rapports entre patrons et ouvriers. Avant guerre déjà, dans la plupart des pays industriels, patrons

\* Mouvement syndicat 7 Mai 1927: l'Organisation syndicale de la femme.

\*\* H. Autonopoulo. 1926.

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et ouvriers représentant les principales industries étaient groupés nationalement et avaient pris l'habitude des négociations collectives.

En Belgique on s'inspira des formules anglaises de relations intersyndicales permanentes, sans que la question du contrôle fût posée.

Le contrôle ouvrier semble n'être encore, pour le moment, qu'une attitude d'esprit, qu'une tendance des travailleurs à conquérir le droit de participer à la direction de la production.

Une réalité importante existe néanmoins; c'est la volonté des ouvriers d'exercer ce droit de regard, d'obtenir cette part d'autorité, dès qu'ils peuvent le faire.

### Organisation des Commissions paritaires officielles.

Elles sont instituées à la demande d'une des parties intéressées.

Généralement c'est le groupement ouvrier qui en prend l'initiative.

Les négociations se font par l'intermédiaire du Ministère du Travail.

Les délégués des partis sont désignés par les organisations syndicales respectives.

Après un accord de principe entre les deux délégations, un arrêté ministériel fixe la composition, la compétence et les attributions de la future commission.

Suivant que son action s'étend, pour une industrie donnée, à tout le pays, ou qu'elle se confine à une région industrielle, la commission est dite nationale ou régionale.

Toute commission paritaire se compose, par  $\frac{1}{2}$ , de délégués patrons et de délégués ouvriers. Ces membres ont, seuls, voix délibérative. Le Ministère du Travail leur adjoint un délégué, généralement choisi parmi les fonctionnaires supérieurs du département.

Le délégué gouvernemental préside la commission avec voix consultative. Il peut la convoquer d'office; généralement il la convoque à la demande des partis, parfois à la demande du Ministère du Travail.

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Le nombre des membres de chaque commission varie avec la décentralisation de l'industrie considérée, sa diversité d'exploitation et l'importance respective des groupements syndicaux intéressés.

Nombre minimum de membres - dans le Comité National de la Glacerie: trois patrons et trois ouvriers.

Maximum de membres dans le comité régional du textile des deux Flandres: 37 employeurs et 40 ouvriers. Il a été réduit environ de  $\frac{1}{2}$  en 1922.

En principe, la composition des délégations doit être paritaire, en fait elle ne l'est pas toujours. (Ex. Commission du textile, énoncée plus haut.)

Les organisations professionnelles nomment leurs mandataires à leur gré. Ce sont généralement les personnalités dirigeantes des groupements intéressés.

La délégation ouvrière est désignée par les comités exécutifs des centrales.

En fait, la délégation ouvrière est une délégation syndicale dans le sens le plus strict.

Parmi les attributions des commissions, il en est une qui, dans la pratique, acquiert une importance capitale au point de vue des relations entre employeurs et ouvriers.

Chaque Commission Nationale a le droit d'instituer des commissions régionales ou locales dépendant directement d'elle. L'exercice de ce droit est rendu extrêmement difficile par suite de la résistance qu'y opposent les organisations patronales. C'est qu'il soulève le problème du contrôle syndical, organisé à tous les degrés, pour l'exécution des conventions. En fait, seules, quelques commissions sont parvenues à organiser des comités régionaux et locaux.

### Essais d'organisation contractuelle du travail:

Les commissions paritaires ont pour but d'obvier à l'antagonisme des partis.

Une entente entre les partis n'est donc possible que sur un accord transactionnel, adopté à la suite de négociations plus ou moins laborieuses.

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De ce fait, l'activité des C.P. acquiert un caractère essentiellement contractuel, alors même que l'accord intervenu serait juridiquement nul.

L'opposition contractuelle domine les rapports entre chefs d'entreprise et travailleurs.

Les résolutions conventionnelles portent généralement sur les éléments mêmes d'opposition entre les partis: questions de salaires, de rendement, d'heures de travail, questions de protection, de sécurité et d'hygiène.

Il arrive parfois que les intérêts respectifs convergent, soit pour s'opposer aux intérêts de tiers, soit pour maintenir les concessions mutuelles déjà obtenues.

Il en résulte une certaine solidarité des groupements antagonistes pour la défense de ces intérêts qui leur sont communs.

Les principaux problèmes que les commissions paritaires ont à résoudre par voie contractuelle, concernent la fixation des salaires, la détermination des conditions d'hygiène et de sécurité des travailleurs et, avant tout, la réglementation de la durée du travail.

La fixation conventionnelle des salaires pour toute une industrie, réalisée, pour la première fois, par les commissions paritaires, impliquait nécessairement la fixation des minima.

La commission syndicale avait, dès le 8 novembre 1918, revendiqué un minimum général de 1 franc de l'heure pour toutes les catégories d'ouvriers.

Mais ce minimum fut rapidement dépassé. Par la force des choses, de fortes augmentations de salaires ont dû être progressivement consenties dans toutes les branches de l'industrie.

L'organisation conventionnelle et collective du travail, devait fatalement créer une tendance à l'organisation contractuelle de la production dans son ensemble.

Les conditions du travail étant déterminées par les parties, employeurs et employés devaient nécessairement chercher à surveiller l'application des décisions conventionnelles.

Mais alors que, pour le patronat, il s'agissait d'un simple contrôle des engagements contractés, les travailleurs avaient à

défendre une des plus importantes conquêtes ouvrières: la participation à l'autorité du chef d'entreprise dans la fixation des conditions du travail. En défendant les décisions conventionnelles, ils en défendaient le principe. Contrôle administratif des marchés, de la main-d'oeuvre, contrôle technique du travail et de la production, contrôle financier des entreprises, il n'y eut pas un domaine dont l'imagination hardie des dirigeants ouvriers ne s'empara peu à peu.

De nombreuses tentatives, vouées le plus souvent à l'échec, traduisent, au sein des commissions paritaires, cette volonté des ouvriers d'intervenir dans les conditions générales de la production, qui réagissent sur les conditions du travail.

Les ouvriers tâchent d'obtenir le contrôle sur les conditions de la production. Ceci est repoussé, dans les commissions paritaires, par les patrons. Pourtant certaines réalisations touchant les conditions de travail ont été établies; par exemple: La convention du 14 avril 1920, à la commission de la construction mécanique, établit l'égalité du salaire horaire de base entre hommes et femmes, lorsqu'il s'agit de travaux semblables. Réglementation des salaires des apprentis et des conditions pour leur admission.

Les ouvriers désirant influencer les méthodes techniques de production, font un effort dans cette voie au sein des organismes locaux institués par les commissions paritaires.

La commission des Mines est la seule qui ait organisé, au sein des entreprises, des organismes paritaires et des délégations ouvrières permanentes.

Une loi, du 16 août 1927, vient d'être votée, modifiant et complétant la loi du 11 avril 1897, instituant des délégués ouvriers à l'inspection des mines de houille.

La révision de cette loi a pour but une plus stricte application du règlement de police des mines; c. à d. de diminuer le nombre des victimes causé par les accidents trop fréquents.

Au lieu que des délégués à l'inspection soient nommés par le Ministre de l'Industrie et du Travail, les ouvriers demandent la nomination directe par les ouvriers eux-mêmes. (Voir, dans Revue du Travail d'août 1927, le texte de la loi.)

Toutes les commissions paritaires n'ont pas su instituer des

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comités régionaux et locaux. Ex. Mines, sidérurgie, et construction mécanique.

Quand un différend surgit on institua une commission mixte temporaire pour le bassin du centre; puis un autre conflit donna naissance à une commission mixte pour le Borinage. Cette mesure fut généralisée à la demande des ouvriers, et ainsi se forma les commissions mixtes, régionales et locales.

Un règlement instituait "un organisme à quatre paliers comprenant des délégations ouvrières permanentes par puits et par postes, des comités mixtes de conciliation par charbonnage et des conseils paritaires par bassin minier."

Les commissions paritaires devaient prévenir les conflits, établir par contrats les conditions de travail, et appliquer, dans les commissions locales et régionales, les décisions prises par la commission paritaire nationale.

Etape vers le contrôle ouvrier.

En 1926 l'exemple des Mines n'avait pas été suivi dans d'autres branches d'industries.

Dans la sidérurgie, avril 1921, commissions régionales sans aucun règlement, faible activité. Même situation pour la Construction Mécanique "La Centrale des Métallurgistes a cherché à instituer dans chaque usine" un certain nombre d'éléments, qui, délégués par leurs camarades, devaient avoir pour mission de surveiller étroitement l'application des conventions arrêtées. A quelques exceptions près, toutes les usines possèdent une délégation d'atelier.

En somme le contrôle paritaire pour l'exécution des résolutions conventionnelles n'a pu être organisé que dans l'industrie des Mines.

Les commissions paritaires d'industrie furent chargées de concilier les conflits industriels. Elles ont su remplir leur lourde tâche avec succès.

Leur intervention se manifeste de diverses manières suivant les cas.

Si les deux délégués, patron et ouvrier, ne parviennent pas à s'entendre, ou si un des partis refuse d'admettre l'autre délégué, le conflit passera devant le président du Comité National.

Quand un conflit local surgit, généralement, les commissions désignent une délégation paritaire chargée de trancher le différend.

Les commissions paritaires, avec celles des Bourses officielles et de l'inspection du travail, forment le commencement d'une organisation de la conciliation et de l'arbitrage industriels.

En 1926 les commissions paritaires en Belgique étaient au nombre de seize. Et leur activité grandit et s'élargit de jour en jour.

#### L'ORGANISATION SCIENTIFIQUE DU TRAVAIL.

Le Congrès International d'Organisation Scientifique du Travail tenu à Bruxelles en octobre 1925 a démontré que plusieurs essais d'organisation scientifique avaient été tentés en Belgique; ces essais étaient tout-à-fait individuels. Le comité d'organisation du Congrès a provoqué la constitution d'un organisme belge permanent de l'organisation scientifique. Cet organisme a été créé en juin 1926.

Il a pour but:

d'encourager l'étude et l'application de l'organisation scientifique du travail dans l'industrie, l'agriculture, le commerce, la finance, les transports, les services publics;

de constituer un centre de documentation pour toutes les entreprises et personnes s'intéressant à l'organisation scientifique du travail;

de publier un bulletin contenant tout ce qui sera publié d'intéressant concernant l'organisation scientifique du travail dans le monde;

d'organiser des conférences, des excursions;

d'offrir aux membres un local de réunions journalières, ainsi qu'une bibliothèque.

Le comité national belge collabore avec le comité international pour le développement de l'organisation scientifique et représente la Belgique lors de Congrès Internationaux.

Après 7 mois de fonctionnement, le comité avait 227 membres effectifs groupés en 41 sociétés.

Les nombreuses demandes de renseignements faites au service de documentation montrent l'intérêt qu'éveille cette question.

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L'Institut des Hautes Etudes de Belgique a organisé depuis cette année un cours d'organisation scientifique du travail.

### PSYCHOLOGIE INDUSTRIELLE OU ERGOLOGIE.

Un cours de psychologie industrielle est donné par le Docteur Paul Sollier à l'Institut des Hautes Etudes de Belgique.

Ce cours se compose de différents points, dont les plus importants sont: vue d'ensemble de la P. I. à l'étranger; services rendus dans tous les domaines de l'organisation scientifique, etc. Nous développerons d'une façon un peu plus approfondie l'organisation de la P. I. en Belgique. Outre les points indiqués plus haut, le cours comprend la sélection professionnelle - avec les procédés d'embauchage et la monographie des métiers déjà étudiés.

Les influences des conditions, du milieu, les influences sociales et morales exercées sur le travail.

Etablissement des tests, avec appareils semblables à ceux employés dans le métier.

Recherche de l'adaptabilité, et recherche des conditions causales des accidents - fatigue, incompréhension, incapacité professionnelle, etc.

La P. I. est une science née de la nécessité de donner un maximum de rendement avec le minimum d'efforts.

Pour cela il faut connaître le travail, les effets sur l'homme, l'homme et ses aptitudes.

Les recherches sont faites surtout dans les métiers manuels, quelques-unes concernent les professions intellectuelles.

En Belgique on s'est spécialement occupé des menuisiers.

La psychologie industrielle étant en Belgique une science très jeune, on ne peut en donner que des résultats isolés. La P. I. est une des questions importants entrant dans le grand problème de l'Organisation Scientifique du Travail.

### L'ORIENTATION PROFESSIONNELLE.

Un office d'orientation professionnelle communal ou intercommunal a été institué dans toutes les grandes villes et les principaux centres industriels du pays.

La Belgique, ayant une production trop forte pour ses propres besoins, doit exporter, elle doit donc avoir des ouvriers quali-



fiés, travaillant vite et bien, pour lutter contre la concurrence, en présentant sur les marchés des produits à prix modiques.

Le premier office d'orientation professionnelle a été créé en mars 1912 par la société belge de Pédotechnique, ayant à sa tête Monsieur Christiaens, et a commencé ses travaux par un bureau d'études.

En 1919 il fonctionne définitivement et devient intercommunal. Cette institution comprend 5 services:

Service de documentation. - Bibliothèque et appareils.

Service de propagande.

Formation des aptitudes pour métiers différents.

Service s'occupant de la préparation d'orienteurs pour les offices communaux.

Service s'occupant des cas nouveaux. \*

Comme formation d'orienteurs nous n'avons réellement que les cours donnés aux Hautes Études, qui consistent en cours de psychologie de l'adolescent, etc.

En Belgique, une collaboration étroite existe entre les Bourses du Travail et les offices d'Orientation professionnelle.

Un service spécial de placement pour les apprentis fonctionne sous le contrôle d'une commission paritaire de surveillance. Tout adolescent se présentant au guichet de placement, non porteur du livret d'apprenti, est envoyé à l'Orientation Professionnelle. Il y obtient son livret après avoir passé l'examen d'Orientation Professionnelle.

Notons que cette organisation pourrait donner de meilleurs résultats, si Orientation Professionnelle et Bourse du Travail résidaient dans le même bâtiment.

Une grande propagande est faite pour éviter que les parents choisissent des métiers immédiatement rémunérateurs, mais n'offrant aucun avenir pour leurs enfants, car n'apprenant aucun métier qualifié, ils deviennent des malheureux, dès qu'ils ont dépassé l'âge requis pour ces travaux.

\* L'examen de l'enfant est fait par un médecin, un psychologue et un technicien. Plusieurs communes ont déjà un service d'Or. Prof. travaillant tout à fait indépendamment. En 1914 l'Université du Travail de Charleroi a créé un service d'anthropométrie afin de voir le résultat du travail sur le sujet. L'oeuvre des Orph. de guerre a créé un bureau d'Or. Prof. où est fait un examen complet: médical, psychologique et social.

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BY FRU GLOERFELT-TARP AND FRU DR. RAGNA SCHOU,  
Lady Factory Inspectors, Copenhagen

### INTRODUCTORY.

During these last years we have had an unusually large amount of unemployment. Conditions in industry have been very bad. The Crown, which has been much depreciated, rose to par during 1926 and since then the price level in Denmark has been decreasing. Therefore we still have depression in industrial life.

COOPERATION BETWEEN THE VARIOUS GROUPS IN INDUSTRY is mainly represented by "Tillidsmaend" i. e. men who have the confidence of their fellow-workers. These "Tillidsmaend" are representatives of the workers organisations, they are themselves workers in the establishment, and they bring the workers' complaints etc. before the management. This system is a very usual one in all countries where workers are organized but it is specially developed in Denmark, mainly because a very high proportion of the industrial workers are organized here. The "Tillidsmaend" are protected by the agreements adopted by collective bargaining, the employer not being allowed to dismiss a "Tillidsmaend" without cause. In some undertakings there is very good cooperation between the employers and the "Tillidsmaend", and in such places the employers often discuss quite informally with the "Tillidsmaend", such matters as change of methods. In the agreements of February 1927 for the iron and metal trade there is a provision - concerning both skilled and unskilled labour - which entitles the "Tillidsmaend" to bring forward complaints and to make suggestions to the employer concerning sanitation and safety; and furthermore, at the request of the "Tillidsmaend", the employer is under an obligation to meet them once a month to discuss technical workshop questions and the like.

This is, I think, a small beginning towards better cooperation and towards works' committees.

In December 1927 a study circle was started in Copenhagen at the invitation of a Professor in Economics - the world-known Harald Westergaard - and two employers, one of

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these being Mr. Mörup, from the firm of Messrs. Fog & Mörup, in order to study how to attain better cooperation between employers and employees, especially through Profit Sharing schemes. This circle contains several employers, representatives from the trade unions, some politicians, some civil servants and some engaged in work of social significance bearing on industry.

Here in Denmark we have had a few experiments for several years concerning profit sharing and copartnership schemes which have achieved more or less success. The most interesting and no doubt the most easy experiment to carry out is that of "Fog et Mörup" the main features of whose arrangements we now give:

Dating from 1918, 10 percent and from 1923, 20 percent of the net proceeds is given to everyone who has been in the service of the firm without intermission for 3 years and over. These proceeds are divided in proportion to each one's total yearly income, and remain deposited in the firm. 6 % is, however, paid on these proceeds, just as on the capital of the firm itself, according to the proceeds available. The personnel profit account takes its proportional share in any eventual deficit, but any eventual further profit is divided proportionally between the personnel profit account and the remaining capital. On leaving the firm an employee will receive at the end of the year 6 percent of his share, which is payable by instalments over a period of five years, the first payment not being due until one year after retirement. The firm is allowed to pay out the shares at any time whatever. The personnel shares may neither be conveyed, pledged nor distrained. The shares cannot be forfeited by military service, sickness, strike or lockout and do not affect the fixing of wages, which should be at the current rate. From this arrangement the firm "Fog et Mörup" have derived much pleasure, because all the employees and workers have declared their great satisfaction with it.

Another form of profit sharing is that of "A/S. Holbaek Amtstidende" (a newspaper in the provinces) which arrangement began on April 1st 1919 on the following lines:

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The eventual net proceeds are divided in two equal parts, of which the one is given to the shareholders. Of the second, 10 percent is first put away for reserve, travelling scholarships etc., the rest being divided in proportion to the basic wage (which is at the usual rate) paid to every permanently appointed employee or to everyone who has been in the employ of the firm for at least three months. Of this share one half is paid cash down, the second remaining irredeemable for five years, during which period interest is paid on it at exactly the same percent as to the shareholders. The share does not entitle the worker to take part in the directorate.

In the firm "A/S. C. Schous Fabrikker" a similar arrangement has been practised since 1920 but here one-fifth of the net proceeds is paid cash down every year as an increase of salary. This arrangement has given satisfaction to the workers in question, which may possibly be due to the fact that these factories succeed so well that a share has been paid every year. The directors of both these last mentioned enterprises are, however, agreed with "Fog et Mörup" that no doubt the best method is not to disburse the shares, but to let them remain in the firm equally with the other capital.

A fourth experiment with profit sharing has been made in "A/S. L. Daehnfeldt", Odense, with the founding of "The employees and workers' percentage fund", of which shares are only paid out in case of death or incapacity for work on the part of the worker or employee. But these provisions were discontinued in 1923 because the enterprise did not succeed.

Finally a fifth attempt has been made which may be found within "The Danish Cooperative Alliance", a sugar factory in Kolding. This firm paid out from 1903 onwards, a share of the clear profit in proportion to the factory workers' basic wage, but after some years had passed, this was discontinued chiefly on account of the workers' dissatisfaction in the poorer years, when, having regarded the share as an increase of wages, the smaller proceeds appeared as a wage reduction. This too tells in favour of keeping the shares in the enterprise, as above mentioned.

Within Danish agriculture, Profit Sharing has also been in

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existence. As early as 1873 Lensbaron v. Zyphten Adeler gave his workers a share of the clear profit, which at the time attracted considerable attention, even abroad. (The English agricultural paper "The Farmer" for 10/8, 1874.)

In the autumn of 1927 the Danish liberal party brought in a bill, mainly founded on the above described arrangement of "Fog et Mørup", which is considered as the best in Denmark, but this bill has not yet been discussed in Parliament.

### EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

The elementary education and training in the different skilled trades takes place in the engaging of young persons of about fourteen years of age as apprentices, just after their passing from school, until the age of about eighteen, for working in the trades. During this time it is taken for granted that the master-workman gives them instruction in performing the different operations in the trade, in which they begin with the easier jobs and gradually work their way through the different sections of the trade. At first only a very small wage is paid (about 4 to 8 Kr. weekly) which is raised gradually towards the end of the fourth year, after which the pay is the usual pay for a journeyman (the pay for a skilled labourer) in the trade. The authorities require a contract, in which the master-workman is charged with the duty of seeing that the apprentice learns his craft creditably, and that the apprentice be allowed to follow a course of instruction in the technical schools, which the master is even required to pay for. This instruction is both a theoretical education and a continuation of the primary school education finished at the age of fourteen. (Denmark has compulsory school education up to the age of fourteen.) These technical schools are to be found up to the number of about 300 all over the country, so that in actual practice all young apprentices are admitted to such an education.

In the technical schools we have:

A Technical Section concerning craftsmen which lasts four years, extending over 3 to 4 days weekly; the instruction amounting altogether to nine hours weekly, from 6 or 7 to 9

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p.m. The subjects are: professional drawing (e.g. theory of projection), Danish and ciphering.

Commercial Section lasting three years and including the following subjects: Danish, ciphering, commercial knowledge, mercantile correspondence and in some cases one or two foreign languages if desired. During the first year the course covers six hours weekly, the second and third year seven hours weekly.

Further may be found in Copenhagen "The Institute of Technology" in which the day school includes trade courses lasting from 1 to 8 weeks for everyone wishing to increase his knowledge of the materials on which he is working, the upkeep of machines and tools, modern methods of working, the commercial aspect of the handicraft, such as bookkeeping, the making of estimates, and other information to assist them in their work in the future.

The day school gives:

practical instruction including visits to factories.

theoretical instruction (lectures and examinations.)

In addition "The Institute of Technology" has an evening school intended to give the master-workmen, foremen, journeymen and workers in Copenhagen and environs, the knowledge so necessary nowadays for an understanding of and participation in modern social life, and for technical insight into the ordinary practice of the work.

This evening school offers general instruction through courses in:

Danish, commercial accounts and writing.

Bookkeeping, commercial science with commercial correspondence, commercial law and sociology.

English (both for beginners and advanced pupils), French and German,

Professional instruction, ciphering, paperwork, physics, chemistry, mathematics and technical English, combined with training in workshops, also instruction in commercial practice and foreign languages.

For this education payment is required to "The Institute of

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Technology" but governmental support is available. The courses are completed with a final examination for which a certificate is given.

Some of the trades have founded a permanent trade-school, as for example the tailors, who have such a school in Copenhagen maintained by the employers' organization. The apprentices are required to attend the schools for a period of 4½ years, during 8 hours a day, for which they pay in the beginning 4 Kr. a week, and there they learn all about their trade. Four tailors are their teachers. They work at garments sent in by the employers. It is obvious that instruction in such a school is far more complete and efficient than in a workshop under just one master and the number of those applying for admission to the school is therefore always in excess of the vacancies available.

This refers to training of skilled workers. For the training of semi-skilled workers there are no special rules. Very often the newcomers work at time rates (the minimum wage according to the union agreement) at the beginning and afterwards, when they are supposed to have learnt the work, they go on piece-work. In other cases they only get a very small payment or no payment at all at first, e.g. women who learn to sew straws hats - who are mostly young persons under 18 - work 3 months in a factory under the direction of the forewomen without any payment, and after 3 months they go on piece-work. The law does not deal with this kind of special learning, no contract being demanded and no supplementary training at schools being obligatory as above mentioned for the apprentices.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT in its strictest American sense is not frequently found. We have very few large industrial enterprises; in 1925 there were only 286 factories which employed more than one hundred workers. Danish employers and employees are not usually very fond of what nowadays is called systematized work. The trade unions are not opposed to scientific management but it is felt that they - as in other countries - do not like changes in methods and, especially

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from an economic point of view, they have no confidence in methods which require an increase in administration personnel. As a matter of fact there has been some change in the mentality of the employers and the employees during these last years. Engineers, economists, politicians and journalists have written and spoken of rationalisation, systematization, standardisation, planning in advance, organisation with a view to reduction of waste in industry etc., and even if there have not been many enterprises which have been totally reorganized, improved methods have been introduced in many special fields.

WELFARE WORK in general does not arouse much interest in Denmark. The workmen themselves, who are well educated, do not want the employers to take an interest in their private life, and welfare work in the factories, such as the provision of factory nurses or rest rooms, is a very rare phenomenon in Denmark. There is also not much systematical work done to find the best position for the worker, the best seat and so forth, such as might be called the optimum working conditions. At the same time it must be said that in some factories attention is given to such matters as seating, suitable seats being provided by cooperation between the factory inspection and the management.

During recent years it has been the custom in some tobacco factories for the workers to pay one of their colleagues for reading aloud one hour a day. During the past winter, the "Arbejdernes Oplysningsforbund", the workers' association for education, with the consent of some employers, has made attempts to get authors to read their own books aloud in tobacco-factories; people do not quite agree in their point of view concerning this experiment.

Employment managers exist in many enterprises. Most often they only deal with the personnel on monthly salary, but sometimes they also deal with the workers. For example one of the largest stores in Copenhagen has an employment manager who not only engages and dismisses the office personnel and the shop assistants, but also the workers in the sewing-rooms.



## INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE.

Since 1924 the Municipality in Copenhagen has had a psychological laboratory, which works together with the municipal central employment agency. Every minor of 14 or 15 years who seeks employment as apprentice through the municipal employment agencies in Copenhagen, is tested at the laboratory. The employers in Copenhagen have made the passing of these tests obligatory for typographers' and lithographers' apprentices. Admission to office work in the service of the municipality of Copenhagen and admission to the police force is in fact dependent on having gone through the test in the laboratory. About 1200 persons are tested every year.

The standard reached in the application of scientific management methods and of welfare work is not on a specially high level. Measured with a less modern standard, we have many well managed enterprises on a high technical level, with satisfactory hygienic conditions, and with good industrial relations, and both our factory legislation and our whole social legislation is on a relatively high level. There is a remarkable change in the mentality of employers and employees, and development towards a new conception of leadership and of cooperation between management and labour is evident.

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VON FRAU DR. HILDEGARD BÖHME,

Berlin

### ALLGEMEINE WIRTSCHAFTSLAGE.

Die deutsche Wirtschaft hat in der Nachkriegszeit durch Revolutionierung der Vermögens- und Einkommensschichtung und durch die Verschiebungen auf dem Weltmarkt starke Strukturveränderungen erfahren. Nach der Stabilisierung der Währung sah sie sich vor die Aufgabe gestellt, die Produktion den veränderten Wirtschaftsverhältnissen anzupassen.

Dieser Umstellungsprozess, der sich auf die Rationalisierung der Kapitalwirtschaft und der technischen Betriebsführung richtet, ist noch nicht beendet; er wird kompliziert durch die drückenden Auslandsverpflichtungen - vor allem durch die von Jahr zu Jahr steigenden Reparationsleistungen -, deren Erfüllung wachsende Produktionsüberschüsse voraussetzen. Ein fast zehnjähriger Ausschluss vom Weltmarkt hat bisher noch nicht überwundene Absatzschwierigkeiten geschaffen; andererseits sind wir auf die Einfuhr von Nahrungsmitteln angewiesen. So konnten wir auch im Jahre 1927 trotz günstigerer Konjunktur unsere Ausfuhr in einer unseren Verpflichtungen entsprechenden Weise noch nicht steigern.

Zu diesem Wirtschaftsproblem, das aus Deutschlands Situation als Schuldnerstaat entstanden ist, tritt ein zweites hinzu: die Notwendigkeit, eine vermehrte Bevölkerung bei verengtem Nahrungsspielraum und sehr begrenzten Auswanderungsmöglichkeiten zu erhalten.

Nach der Berufszählung von 1927, deren Ergebnisse jetzt veröffentlicht werden, ist die erwerbstätige Bevölkerung im Vergleich zu der letzten Berufszählung von 1907 um 7,4 Millionen gestiegen. Von den 62 Millionen Einwohnern sind 32 Millionen = 51,3 % erwerbstätig. Im Vergleich zu 1914 hat Deutschland jetzt für 5 Millionen erwerbsfähiger Bevölkerung mehr Arbeit und Verdienst zu beschaffen. Die Zunahme der Arbeitskräfte entfällt fast zur Hälfte (2,3 Millionen) auf die Ausdehnung der Frauenarbeit.

Auf dem Arbeitsmarkt hat der Rationalisierungsprozess - besonders der Zusammenbruch und die Stilllegung unproduktiver Werke, sowie die Einsparung aller nicht unbedingt not-

wendigen Arbeitskräfte erheblich eingewirkt. Die schwere Krise der Jahre 1925/26 hat daher auch zu einem rapiden Absinken der Beschäftigungsziffer geführt, die im Februar 1926 ihren Tiefpunkt erreichte. Die Arbeitslosenziffer in den Facharbeiterverbänden betrug damals 22,6 %, die der Kurzarbeiter 21,6 %. Erwerbslosenunterstützung erhielten 2 Millionen Arbeitslose. Im Jahre 1927 fand ein allmähliches Steigen der Beschäftigungsziffer statt. Das Jahr 1928 zeigt wieder einen allerdings zum Teil durch saisonmässige Konjunktur bedingten Rückgang auf.

Mit einer grösseren Beständigkeit der Konjunktur und des Arbeitsmarkts wird erst zu rechnen sein, wenn es gelingt, durch erweiterte Produktions- und Exportmöglichkeiten eine günstigere Zahlungsbilanz und grössere Unabhängigkeit vom Ausland zu erreichen.

Der Einfluss der wirtschaftlichen Gesamtlage auf den Stand der **Arbeitskämpfe** kommt zum Ausdruck in einer Art erzwungenen Waffenstillstands während der Krisis und einer Zunahme mit der Besserung der Konjunktur 1927. Es handelt sich zumeist um Lohnkämpfe in den führenden Industrien.

Von Seiten der Arbeitgeber wird betont, dass angesichts der wirtschaftlichen Situation die Senkung der Produktionskosten Vorbedingung für die Steigerung der Produktivität, die Kapitalneubildung und den Wiederaufbau des Wirtschaftslebens sei - während auf Arbeitnehmerseite die Beteiligung an den Ergebnissen der Rationalisierung durch Lohnerhöhung verlangt und die Steigerung der Kaufkraft der breiten Massen als Voraussetzung für die Behebung der wirtschaftlichen Depression behauptet wird. Die Gewerkschaften führen einen erbitterten Verteidigungskampf für den Tarifvertrag, dessen Vereinbarungen sie als Regelung von Minimallöhnen angesehen wissen wollen, während die Arbeitgeber sich gegen den Schematismus und die Starrheit der allgemein verbindlichen Tarifverträge, die die Existenzbedingungen des einzelnen Betriebes nicht genügend berücksichtigen, wehren.

Jedenfalls sind die letzten Jahre der inneren Befriedung wenig günstig gewesen.

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### FORMEN GEMEINSAMER ARBEIT VON ARBEITGEBER- UND ARBEITNEHMER-ORGANISATIONEN.

Besondere Formen spontaner Arbeitsgemeinschaft zwischen Arbeitgeber- und Arbeitnehmerorganisationen haben sich in Deutschland nicht wieder gebildet, nachdem sich die 1918 begründeten Zentralarbeitsgemeinschaften in der Nachkriegszeit - teils infolge sozialer Spannungen, teils infolge Uebernahme wesentlicher Aufgaben durch den Reichswirtschaftsrat - aufgelöst hatten.

Auf gesetzlicher Grundlage findet ein Zusammenwirken statt im Reichswirtschaftsrat - dem Wirtschaftsparlament, - das sich aus Vertretern der Arbeitgeber- und Arbeitnehmerverbände und einer dritten Gruppe von Repräsentanten des Wirtschaftslebens, die von Reichsregierung und Reichsrat ernannt werden, zusammensetzt und das Recht der Begutachtung sozial- und wirtschaftspolitischer Gesetzentwürfe und Massnahmen hat.

In den Organen der Sozialversicherung und der Arbeitsvermittlung - die mit der Arbeitslosenversicherung verbunden ist - sowie in den Organen zur Schlichtung von Arbeitsstreitigkeiten wirken Arbeitgeber und Arbeitnehmer mit.

### ZUSAMMENARBEIT IN BETRIEBEN.

Auf Grund des Betriebsrätegesetzes vom 4. Februar 1920 steht dem Betriebsrat, der nur aus Arbeitnehmern gebildet wird, das Recht der Mitwirkung in gewissem Umfange zu bei der Einführung neuer Arbeitsmethoden, (Beratung der Betriebsleitung) ferner - in Vertretung der Interessen der Arbeitnehmer - bei Erledigung von Beschwerden der Arbeiter, Schlichtung von Streitigkeiten, Aufstellung von Arbeitsordnungen, Einstellung und Entlassungen, Bekämpfung von Unfallgefahren, Verwaltung von Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen.

### ARBEITSRECHT UND SOZIALVERSICHERUNG

haben in den letzten Jahren eine bedeutsame Ausgestaltung erfahren.

Mit dem Gesetz über Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung hat eine Frage die gesetzliche Neuregelung ge-

funden, die die deutsche Sozialpolitik jahrzehntelang beschäftigt hat. Die Grundzüge dieses Gesetzes sind die Festigung eines dauernden organischen Zusammenhangs zwischen Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung, der Aufbau ihrer Organe auf dem Prinzip der Selbstverwaltung, die Verbindung des Arbeitsnachweises mit Lehrstellenvermittlung und Berufsberatung, die Sicherung eines Anspruchs auf Arbeitslosenunterstützung bei unverschuldeter Arbeitslosigkeit. Das **Arbeitsgerichtsgesetz** hat eine einheitliche Gerichtsbarkeit für alle sich aus dem Arbeitsverhältnis ergebenden Streitigkeiten geschaffen.

Aus der Vielheit der übrigen neuen Gesetze verdienen hier besondere Erwähnung: der Kündigungsschutz der älteren Angestellten, deren Lage sowohl infolge der Rationalisierung, sowie der stärker hervortretenden Tendenz, Angestellte über 40 Jahre auszuschalten, sich verschlechtert hat, das **Gesetz über die Beschäftigung vor und nach der Niederkunft**, das den Mutterschutz erweitert, während entsprechende Änderungen der Reichsversicherungsordnung, die hierfür erforderlichen materiellen Grundlagen gegeben haben.

Dem Reichstag liegt der Entwurf eines **Arbeitsschutzgesetzes** vor, das eine einheitliche Codification und Erweiterung der jetzt sehr zersplitterten Arbeiterschutzgesetzgebung darstellt und ein **Berufsausbildungsgesetz** zur Neuregelung der Berufserziehung des jugendlichen Nachwuchses.

### ARBEITSWISSENSCHAFT (ARBEITSPSYCHOLOGIE UND PHYSIOLOGIE).

Die Systematisierung und Intensivierung der Produktionsmethoden nach amerikanischem Muster, vor allem in der Form der Fließarbeit, findet in den Betrieben weiter Eingang; das Bestreben herrscht vor, diese Methoden nicht einfach zu übertragen, sondern sie deutschen Produktionsbedingungen anzupassen. Das Bedürfnis nach Bestgestaltung der Arbeit führt Vertreter der theoretischen und der angewandten Wissenschaften aus der Isolierung der einzelnen Disziplinen zu ver-

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einheitlichen Forschungsarbeiten und Lösungsversuchen zusammen. In weiten Kreisen der Industrie werden die Ergebnisse der Arbeitswissenschaft, d.h. der Erforschung von Beziehungen zwischen den Bedingungen und Wirkungen der menschlichen Arbeit mit intensivem Interesse verfolgt. In den letzten Jahren haben sich eine Reihe von Grossbetrieben den wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen geöffnet; teilweise sind von der Industrie auch finanzielle Mittel zur Verfügung gestellt worden. Im Rheinland und in Westfalen sind in einer Reihe von Werken - besonders auf Initiative von Professor Poppelreuter, Bonn, - Begutachtungsstellen eingerichtet worden, die Arbeitsanalysen vornehmen und die Gewinnung von Berufsbildern auf psycho-physiologischer Grundlage zum Ziele haben. Die Untersuchungen des Kaiser-Wilhelms-Instituts Berlin (Professor Dr. Atzler) und des Instituts für angewandte Psychologie (Dr. O. Lipmann, Berlin) haben die wissenschaftlichen Grundlagen für die Anpassung der Arbeitsvorgänge und Arbeitsformen an die psycho-physische Konstitution der Arbeitenden und die Orientierung der Arbeitsorganisation an Optimalleistungen erweitert. Den meisten Hochschulen und Universitäten sind betriebs- oder arbeitswissenschaftliche Institute angegliedert.

Die Entwicklung der Berufseignungspsychologie hat zur Kombination verschiedener Methoden mit dem Ziel der Gewinnung eines Strukturbildes der Gesamtpersönlichkeit geführt.

Die Organisation der Eignungsprüfung für Zwecke der Berufsauslese wird seit Jahren lebhaft diskutiert, teils wird die Angliederung nur an wissenschaftliche Institute für wünschenswert gehalten, teils die Verbindung mit Berufsämtern oder mit den Betrieben selbst. Die grossen Werke wollen in der Regel, die Arbeiterauslese im eigenen Betrieb vornehmen. Sozialpolitiker und Berufsberater weisen auf die bedenklichen Folgen einer "negativen Berufsauslese" durch die Betriebe hin, die lediglich unter privat-wirtschaftlichen Gesichtspunkten erfolgt, und halten an der Vornahme der Prüfung durch neutrale Stellen fest, die dem eigentlichen Sinn der Berufsberatung gerecht werden.

**BERUFSBERATUNG.**

Die Beziehung zwischen Arbeitgebern, Schule, Jugend- und Wohlfahrtsämtern und den Berufsberatungsstellen haben sich in erfreulicher Weise vertieft. Das Interesse der Arbeitgeber- und Arbeitnehmerorganisationen wird durch ihre Beteiligung in den Ausschüssen der Arbeits- und Berufsämter wach gehalten. Zurzeit bestehen in Deutschland fast 600 Berufsberatungsstellen, von denen im Jahre 1926 fast 400.000 Ratsuchenden Auskunft erteilt worden ist. Das Hauptkontingent der Besucher stellen die schulentlassenden Jugendlichen dar, doch werden die Berufsämter auch in steigender Masse von bereits in der Arbeit stehenden Personen in Anspruch genommen. In den grösseren Städten finden eignungs-psychologische, häufig auch ärztliche Untersuchungen statt. Die Ausbildung der Berufsberater und die Besetzung dieser Posten mit geschulten Kräften wird von Seiten der Zentralbehörden gefördert.

Verschiedene Zentralämter für Berufsberatung haben fruchtbare Arbeit für die Berufsforschung geleistet. Das Landesarbeitsamt Sachsen/Anhalt gibt im Einvernehmen mit dem Reichsarbeitsministerium ein "Handbuch der Berufe" heraus, das auf Grund gemeinsamer Arbeit mit Betriebspraktikern und wissenschaftlich-arbeitenden Persönlichkeiten zum ersten Mal eine Topographie der Berufe bietet. Es werden hier anschauliche Berufsbilder, Darstellungen des Arbeitsinhalts und der Arbeitsformen, der physischen und psychischen Anforderungen, der Gefahren und wirtschaftlichen Aussichten gegeben. Gerade diese Arbeiten, die es ermöglichen eine Uebersicht über die Struktur der Berufszweige, über die Verlagerung und Verzweigung der Einzelberufe und ihre Abwandlung in den einzelnen Betrieben zu verfolgen, werden sowohl für die Arbeitswissenschaft wie für die Praxis der Berufsberatung wichtige Handhaben bieten.

**LEHRLINGSWESEN, ANLERNWESEN.**

Der **Arbeitsausschuss für Berufsausbildung**, in dem die Reichsverbände der Industrie und des Handwerks, der **Deutsche Ausschuss für technisches Schul-**

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wesen u.s.w. vertreten sind, bearbeitet zentrale Fragen der Berufserziehung (Facharbeiterausbildung, Berufsschulwesen, Ingenieurausbildung). Durch die Aufstellung von Lehrgängen und die Herausgabe von Lehrmitteln, durch Propaganda für die Einrichtung von Lehrwerkstätten und Werkschulen ist das Lehrlings- und Anlernwesen in verschiedenen Industriezweigen in mustergültiger Weise planmässig neugestaltet worden. Nach einer Statistik von 1927 bestanden 111 Werkschulen.

Für die Auswahl und Schulung von Werkmeistern, Vorarbeitern usw., die mit der praktischen Anleitung und Anlernung der Lehrlinge und Arbeiter betraut sind, haben sich jedoch noch keine festen Formen herausgebildet. Meist entscheidet hier das berufliche Können. Auch in den Reformvorschlägen für die Ausbildung der Ingenieure haben diese Gesichtspunkte noch keine Berücksichtigung gefunden, obgleich die Arbeiten über die "Psychologie des Anlernens" (Prof. Rupp, Berlin) weitgehende Beachtung gefunden haben.

Das "Dinta". (Deutsches Institut für technische Arbeitsschulung) hat als erste Stelle Kurse für Ingenieure eingerichtet, die diese für die Organisation und Leitung von Lehrwerkstätten Vorbildern. Einige grosse Firmen des Einzelhandels lassen Instruktorinnen in mehrmonatlichen Kursen vorbereiten, denen später dann die Schulung des Verkaufspersonals obliegt.

### GEWINNBETEILIGUNG, GENOSSENSCHAFTSWESEN.

Eine Gewinnbeteiligung von Arbeitnehmern kommt ausser bei wenigen grösseren Firmen, bei denen sie schon seit Jahren besteht z.B. Optische Werkstätte Zeiss-Werke, Jena; Heinrich Freese, Berlin usw., in nennenswertem Umfange nicht vor. Nach einer privaten Erhebung bestand Kapital- oder Gewinnbeteiligung im Jahre 1922 bei 29 Firmen; es ist anzunehmen, dass die Zahl inzwischen zurückgegangen ist.

Von den Produktivgenossenschaften haben sich nur die Baugenossenschaften stärker entwickelt. Die in den "Bauhütten" zusammengeschlossenen Gruppen von Facharbeitern werden zum Teil auch von öffentlichen Körperschaften finanziert und erhalten von diesen Aufträge.

Aus wirtschaftlichen Gründen hat die alte Genossenschafts-



form fast immer aufgegeben und eine Umwandlung in Gesellschaften mit beschränkter Haftung erfolgen müssen, die zum Teil jetzt von ihren auf kapitalistischer Grundlage errichteten Dachgesellschaften gestützt werden. Diese sorgen dann für Kapital- und Auftragbeschaffung. So umfasst z.B. der innerhalb des Allgemeinen Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes begründete Verband Sozialer Baubetriebe 151 Betriebe mit 30.000 beschäftigten Arbeitern.

Im Anschluss an die Konsumgenossenschaften, die eine bedeutende Entwicklung genommen haben, sind grosse Produktionsbetriebe, Arbeiterbanken, Versicherungsgesellschaften, Verläge usw. begründet worden. Den beiden grossen Verbänden der Konsumvereine, die dem Allgemeinen Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbund und den Christlichen Gewerkschaften nahestehen, gehörten 1926 vier Millionen Mitglieder an. Der Umsatz betrug fast 1 Milliarde.

Die Betriebe der Arbeiterverbände sind grösstenteils nach betriebswissenschaftlichen Grundlagen ausgerüstet; besonderer Wert war auf arbeitserleichternde Einrichtungen gelegt.

#### BETRIEBSWOHLFAHRTSPFLEGE.

Eine umfassende Zusammenstellung der Einrichtungen der Betriebswohlfahrtspflege besteht nicht. Das Archiv für Wohlfahrtspflege Berlin hat 1926 durch eine Umfrage bei über 100 Firmen Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen grösseren Umfangs festgestellt, besonders bei den grossen Werken, der Mechanischen-, Chemischen- und der Textilindustrie.

Haupttypen sind Einrichtungen für Speisung und Erholung in den Betrieben selbst, Wohnungsfürsorge, Fürsorge für Wöchnerinnen, für Kinder und die zumeist im Anschluss an die Betriebskrankenkassen angegliederten Einrichtungen der Gesundheitsfürsorge: Heilstätten, Sanatorien, Erholungsheime. Das Interesse, das man der Pflege der körperlichen Übungen entgegenbringt, kommt zum Ausdruck in der Schaffung von Sportanlagen. Die Pensionskassen einiger grösserer Werke, die zum Teil durch die Inflation in Mitleidenschaft gezogen waren, sind wieder aufgerichtet worden. Ein Teil der Arbeiterschaft nimmt den Betriebswohlfahrtseinrichtungen gegenüber

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eine ablehnende Stellung ein, da sie besonders durch Inanspruchnahme der Wohnungsfürsorge in zu starke Abhängigkeit von den Werken zu geraten fürchtet.

Im Jahre 1926 waren in rund 100 Betrieben Fabrikpfliegerinnen angestellt. Die von Dr. Frieda Wunderlich 1925 gegebenen Darstellungen von Umfang und Formen der Fabrikpflege ("Betriebswissenschaft und Betriebspflege", 1925) sind auch noch heute zutreffend. Der familienfürsorgereische Charakter der Fabrikpflege hat sich noch stärker ausgeprägt; zur eigentlichen Mitarbeit an der Bestgestaltung der Arbeit in den Betrieben werden die Fabrikpfliegerinnen selten herangezogen. Diese Tendenz wird zum Teil durch die Stellungnahme der Arbeiterschaft verstärkt, die derartige Aufgaben den Betriebsräten oder anderen Arbeitsvertretern übertragen wissen möchte. Eine Sonderstellung nehmen die sozialen Betriebsarbeiterinnen in der Bielefelder Industrie ein, deren Arbeit von der Gesellschaft für Soziales Recht organisiert und gefördert wird. Hier ist neben der pflegerischen Arbeit der sozialen Betriebsarbeiterinnen auch die Möglichkeit zur Herbeiführung von Reformen im Betriebe gegeben. Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass der Faktor Mensch in Betrieben in Deutschland wachsende Berücksichtigung findet, wenn wir uns auch nicht verhehlen dürfen, dass die Motive nicht ausschliesslich soziale sind. Die Einsicht, dass die Gesetze der Wirtschaft und die Gesetze der Menschenökonomie nicht diametral entgegengesetzt sind, sondern dass hier eine geistige Einheit besteht, stellt einen Fortschritt dar, der auch auf eine weitere Verbreitung der von der I. R. I. vertretenen Ideen hoffen lässt.

## ESPAGNE

PAR JOSÉ MALLART.

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Depuis la fin de la guerre, la plupart des industries souffrent en Espagne d'une crise de surproduction. Pendant la guerre, la concurrence des produits étrangers, dans le pays et même à l'extérieur ayant diminué, on avait augmenté la capacité de production en améliorant l'outillage, en développant les affaires des industries déjà existantes et en créant des industries nouvelles. Une fois que les pays belligérants se furent mis à l'oeuvre de la reconstruction économique, la concurrence s'est fait sentir, non seulement sur les marchés de l'extérieur, mais aussi à l'intérieur du pays.

Les industriels, qui avaient assumé des frais pour améliorer leurs installations, et qui produisaient plus qu'ils ne vendaient n'étaient plus disposés à faire des sacrifices. Les concessions, qu'ils faisaient bon gré mal gré et généralement à la suite de grèves, durent s'arrêter au moment où le marché ne permettait déjà plus une marge suffisante de bénéfices pour les accorder. Cet arrêt dure encore à l'heure actuelle et s'étend aux oeuvres du service social qui demandent des dépenses un peu élevées et à l'adoption des nouvelles méthodes d'organisation industrielle.

Mais la crise, en faisant appel à l'économie des forces et au raisonnement, a été peut-être favorable à l'application des mesures de conciliation et à l'entrée d'une ère de collaboration entre l'élément patronal et l'élément ouvrier.

D'une part les ouvriers ont reconnu qu'ils étaient arrivés à la limite des concessions qu'ils pouvaient obtenir par la force: ils ont la journée de huit heures (7 heures dans certains travaux, comme ceux de l'intérieur des mines) ils ont un taux de salaires qui n'est pas inférieur à celui de la moyenne des pays de l'Europe; <sup>1</sup> on a des tribunaux industriels où patrons et ouvriers sont également représentés, des lois de protection en matière d'accidents du travail et du travail à domicile, etc., des insti-

<sup>1</sup> Pendant la période 1914-1925 les salaires en Espagne ont augmenté en moyenne de 130 %, tandis que les indices du coût de la vie n'ont augmenté que de 100 % environ. V. Estadística de Salarios y Joradas de Trabajo, Ministerio de Trabajo, Comercio e Industria, Madrid, 1927.

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tutions de prévoyance et de secours, telles que "l'Instituto Nacional de Prevision et l'Institutio de Reeducación profesional de Inválidos del Trabajo". D'autre part, les patrons ont commencé à comprendre qu'ils ne pouvaient plus s'imposer d'une façon autoritaire, et qu'il fallait faire appel à la collaboration dans toutes les choses de la vie industrielle, où il n'existe au fond qu'un intérêt commun. La fermeture de quelques usines importantes, à la suite de grèves, à un moment où les circonstances économiques prenaient une tournure peu favorable aux concessions, a fait réfléchir patrons et ouvriers. Un exemple frappant en a été donné par la fabrique d'automobiles Hispano-Suiza, transférée de Barcelone en une autre région où les luttes sociales étaient moins accentuées.

La Commission Mixte du Travail, qui fut créée à Barcelone par Décret Royal en 1919, au moment le plus difficile des luttes sociales en Espagne, afin de prévenir les conflits et de chercher des solutions harmonieuses en ce qui concerne les relations entre patrons et ouvriers des diverses industries, ne put exercer son action que dans quelques branches (spécialement dans le commerce), et seulement au moment où, la crise économique s'accroissant, les luttes sociales devaient cesser par la force des choses. Ces conflits tendant à l'anarchie la plus effrénée, patrons, ouvriers inclinèrent à la raison et se rapprochèrent des idées d'association. Actuellement on procède à la création de comités paritaires pour chaque branche industrielle et dans chaque localité: les questions de fixation de la journée, de la rétribution, des conditions du travail, etc. commencent à être l'objet de délibérations au sein des Comités paritaires, où les forces patronales et ouvrières sont équilibrées. On arrive même à régulariser le travail à domicile. De cette façon les relations entre patrons et ouvriers obéissent à des normes juridiques et morales qui font appel aux intérêts des uns et des autres, ce qui porte à l'esprit de collaboration.

Cet esprit de collaboration se manifeste déjà par l'entrée de représentants ouvriers dans le conseil de direction et d'administration de quelques grandes industries. Il faut citer ici l'exemple de la "Compania Arrendataria de Tabacos", qui a le monopole de la préparation et de la vente des tabacs, sous

le contrôle de l'Etat, et qui a été des premières à avoir des représentants ouvriers dans son conseil d'administration.

Les organismes gouvernementaux avaient en quelque sorte préparé cet état d'entente qui commence à se manifester. Depuis 1903, existait à Madrid "l'Instituto de Reformas sociales" où siégeaient des représentants ouvriers et patronaux, à côté des techniciens de la législation sociale et de l'organisation du travail. Cet organisme officiel, transformé à présent en "Conseil du Travail" et en "Ecole Sociale du Ministère du Travail du Commerce et de l'Industrie", a été l'inspirateur de la politique sociale du gouvernement, et a contribué à la diffusion des idées de progrès social et de conciliation des intérêts dans l'industrie. Il a donné lieu à la création des "Comités de Réformes Sociales", qui étaient des organes mixtes (composés de patrons et d'ouvriers) chargés de résoudre les différends surgis et d'interpréter la législation sociale dans son application dans les diverses localités. C'est grâce à son action que la Loi du Contrat de travail a pu être promulguée en 1926 sans protestation de la part des éléments patronaux, c'est grâce à l'état d'esprit créé par les lois que cet organisme avait inspirées que le ministre, M. Aunós, a pu développer son vaste plan d'organisation corporative nationale et de constitution paritaire de patrons et ouvriers.

En même temps, la diffusion des principes de la psychologie industrielle a commencé à agir sur l'esprit des organisateurs et des directeurs d'entreprises. Les essais de participation aux bénéfices faits par des firmes telles que "La Papelera Espanola" et "Prensa Espanola", les systèmes de récompenses employés par des compagnies de chemins de fer et par plusieurs entreprises industrielles, constituent des germes actifs d'un renouvellement des relations humaines au sein des industries.

D'ailleurs, la création de services sociaux à la charge ou au bénéfice des entreprises a commencé à préparer le terrain à un développement coopératif. L'oeuvre d'hygiène et de prévoyance qui se poursuit sous l'impulsion des inspecteurs du travail et de quelques femmes de bonne volonté, recrutées un peu partout parmi les infirmières diplômées et parmi les an-

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ciennes élèves des divers centres de culture professionnelle et sociale, constituent un élément très important. Des oeuvres telles que les garderies d'enfants établies surtout à Barcelone sous les auspices des entreprises qui emploient des femmes; telles aussi que les colonies de vacances à l'exemple de celles de l' "Energia Eléctrica de Cataluna", les écoles pour les enfants des ouvriers dans les colonies industrielles du nord et de l'est de l'Espagne, les bourses d'études et de voyage créées par des compagnies telles que la Duro Felguera et certaines firmes de Catalogne, au bénéfice des plus doués parmi leurs ouvriers jeunes, sont des facteurs qui préparent l'état d'esprit nécessaire pour obtenir l'harmonie dans les entreprises.

Il n'est pas besoin de dire que les régions instruites sont les plus favorables au perfectionnement des relations humaines dans l'industrie. Les districts où existent des centres de culture ouvrière, des écoles d'apprentissage, des bibliothèques, des athénées à la portée de la majorité de la population ouvrière, sont arrivés aux bénéfices de l'organisation moderne sans grandes difficultés, presque sans luttes. L'exemple est donné par la plupart des petites villes industrielles de la Catalogne et des provinces basques, où le niveau moyen de culture ouvrière est généralement supérieur au reste du pays et aux grands centres industriels, qui ont toujours à résoudre de sérieux problèmes posés par l'immigration d'une population ouvrière illettrée ou peu disciplinée pour la vie sociale. D'une façon générale, on peut constater l'irradiation des centres de culture ouvrière, un peu trop clairsemés dans le pays, en suivant les étapes de ceux qui en ont reçu l'influence. Des institutions telles que le Patronat des Ingénieurs et Ouvriers à l'Etranger (Madrid), l'Institut de Culture et la Bibliothèque Populaire pour la Femme, de même que l'Ecole du Travail (Barcelone), ont fourni à l'organisation sociale des ouvriers et à l'industrie de très bons éléments de progrès et d'entente humaine.

Les effets de l'enseignement professionnel sont très sensibles. Un exemple typique en est fourni par la petite ville d'Eibar qui, avec son école d'armurerie, a donné non seulement des générations de travailleurs qualifiés, mais aussi des hommes ayant

une grande faculté d'adaptation sociale et qui ont collaboré à l'établissement de formes d'organisation industrielle telles que l'actionnariat ouvrier et la coopérative de travailleurs. On trouve dans cette ville, dirigée par des anciens élèves de l'école professionnelle, une coopérative ouvrière socialiste, qui s'est constituée à la suite de la crise les débouchés pour les produits de l'industrie des armes, et qui fabrique la première marque espagnole de machines à coudre.

D'ailleurs, c'est un fait généralement constaté dans le pays, que les entreprises industrielles les mieux organisées et celles qui sont arrivées, avec le moins de lutte, à un accord satisfaisant tant entre les membres du personnel qu'entre directeurs et dirigés, ont chez elles un certain nombre d'éléments influencés par l'école professionnelle. Dans bien des industries où l'on se préoccupe du facteur humain et des méthodes d'organisation scientifique, nombre de postes responsables sont occupés par d'anciens boursiers du "Patronato de Ingenieros y Obreros en el Extranjero".

Cette constatation est particulièrement intéressante en Espagne, où un certain nombre d'industriels avaient peur de l'instruction de l'ouvrier, pensant qu'elle pouvait être une arme contre leurs intérêts. Quand on a vu que les travailleurs sans profession définie et que les masses incultes étaient les plus à redouter dans les conflits sociaux, on a tourné les yeux vers l'enseignement professionnel. On a commencé à comprendre que c'est par l'élévation du niveau culturel de l'ouvrier que l'on pourra développer le vaste plan de renouvellement industriel qui anime maintenant la pays. La Loi de l'Enseignement industriel de 1924 (Estatuto de Ensenanza industrial) est venue donner une constitution organique aux initiatives de formation professionnelle. L'extension de l'Université Industrielle de Barcelone, la fondation de l'Université Industrielle de Madrid, la création de nouvelles écoles professionnelles à la charge de l'Etat, des provinces, des municipalités et des organismes économiques, sont des manifestations de la foi que l'on a mise dans l'enseignement comme moyen d'enrayer la longue crise économique et d'éloigner la possibilité des luttes sociales dont le pays a tant souffert ces dernières années. Il

existe même plusieurs centres d'instruction professionnelle éparpillés dans le pays, créés et soutenus par des syndicats ouvriers, qui n'ont donné que de bons résultats au point de vue des relations humaines. Exemple, les écoles d'apprentis lithographes du Syndicat des ouvriers imprimeurs et l'Ecole d'apprentis métallurgistes du Syndicat Métallurgique de Madrid.

Il faut souligner ici la tendance des publications ouvrières, même des organes de propagande syndicale et politique, à s'occuper des questions professionnelles et de la technique industrielle. Les problèmes de l'organisation du travail humain y sont présentés et discutés sur un ton généralement ouvert à la franche collaboration. Cette presse ouvrière exerce une influence évidente sur la vie du travail et sur les possibilités d'adaptation aux méthodes perfectionnées de l'industrie. La Coopérative ouvrière des Mines de San Vicente (Asturies), l'actionnariat de travail constitué par les ouvriers de Jávea pour la création d'une entreprise hydraulique, peuvent être considérés comme les premiers fruits de cette culture ouvrière que les travailleurs se sont donnée à eux-mêmes.

Mais, de plus, toute cette culture professionnelle, qui influence favorablement les relations humaines dans les industries, est accompagnée de l'action éducative sociale, dont le noyau principal s'est formé autour de "l'Instituto de Reformas Sociales" et de sa continuateur, "l'Ecole Sociale" du Ministère du Travail, avec des organisations telles que la Société pour l'Etude du Chômage (constituée en 1910), la Société pour le Progrès Social, "l'Instituto Nacional de Previsión" et de nombreux centres qui, par des publications, des cours, des conférences font parvenir à l'esprit des ouvriers et des patrons les résultats de la recherche sociale tendant à une organisation du travail toujours plus humaine et plus économique. Des prix, tels que la Fondation Marvá et le Prix Aunós, ont été créés pour stimuler les études sur les questions posées par l'organisation du travail, ce qui contribue aussi à incliner à une attitude sereine et scientifique, les dirigeants de masses ouvrières et les chefs des entreprises, en les détournant des chemins de l'égoïsme comme des intempérances romantiques.



Le fait même de voir que les hommes de science s'occupent du bien-être de l'ouvrier, de l'économie de l'effort, de l'élimination de la fatigue inutile dans le travail, a un grand effet conciliateur et harmonisateur chez l'ouvrier; nous avons pu le constater à Madrid, à la suite des conférences données sur ces questions à la "Casa del Pueblo" et à l'Institut de Ré-éducation Professionnelle. Mais, naturellement, le plus grand résultat est obtenu lorsqu'on s'occupe de ces questions dans la vie pratique de l'usine. Des entreprises telles que les "Fabriques Gal", la "Maquinista del Ebro", etc., nous fourniraient des détails intéressants à ce sujet.

Si nous examinons les résultats de l'orientation professionnelle, surtout de celle qui se fait scientifiquement, on ne peut qu'être très optimiste en ce qui concerne les effets produits sur les bonnes relations dans l'industrie. Il suffirait de remonter aux principes, et de considérer tout l'équilibre fonctionnel des individus et des collectivités que l'on pourrait obtenir en assignant à chacun la vraie place que lui destine la nature. Nous avons fait des constatations précises sur ce sujet à l'Institut d'Orientation et de Sélection professionnelle, à Madrid; mais on peut surtout rapporter une enquête faite par l'Institut d'Orientation professionnelle de Barcelone, il y a déjà quelques années. Il s'agissait, en les comparant avec les autres, de savoir dans quelle mesure les individus qui avaient suivi les conseils donnés par l'institut, progressaient techniquement, avaient le goût du travail, se fatiguaient moins et donnaient un rendement supérieur. Eh bien, on a obtenu des réponses tout à fait satisfaisantes, qui prouvent l'efficacité de l'orientation professionnelle au point de vue de l'expansion vitale du travailleur et de sa collaboration au travail.<sup>1</sup>

Devant tous ces faits, et les applications économiques et sociales, il s'est créé en Espagne une ambiance assez favorable aux études du facteur humain. Le récent Décret Royal chargeant le Ministère du Travail de la création de l'Institut de Psychologie appliquée à l'Industrie, la constitution du Comité National d'Organisation Scientifique du Travail, la création

<sup>1</sup> V. Compte-rendu de la IIIème Conférence Internationale de Psychotechnique appliquée à l'orientation professionnelle, Milan, 1923.

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de nouveaux offices d'Orientation professionnelle montrent un mouvement assez important, dans lequel un rôle de tout premier ordre a été joué par un membre de l'I.R.L., Monsieur C. de Madariaga, directeur-général du Commerce et de l'Industrie. Ce mouvement nous annonce l'approche d'une ère de franche harmonie dans l'organisation des forces humaines dans le pays.

## FINLAND

BY FRÖKEN HELNY BERGBOM,  
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### CO-OPERATION IN INDUSTRY.

In Finland, as in the leading manufacturing countries, the industrial development has given rise to associations among workers as well as among employers, and these organisations naturally play a very noteworthy part in the industry of the country. The exports of Finland mainly consist of products from our forests, and at the present time are of considerable extent embracing: sawmill products, paper, woodpulp, chemical woodpulp; to which must be added dairy products such as butter and cheese. On account of this it is evident that the employers' associations representing these industries by means of their cooperation and organization exports, are of great importance in the national economy. Also in regard to labor disputes in particular establishments, or in the whole branch of industry, the existence of these associations among workers as well as employers is often of primary importance. Of a total of about 250,000 workers, about 70,000 belong to their respective labor organisations.

The great majority of the large industrial enterprises in Finland are run in the form of joint stock companies. At the same time the cooperative movement has been accepted with great interest, especially among people of small means. The cooperative movement has been particularly applied to commercial activities; nowadays there are cooperative stores almost in every village of any size, and the cooperative central-associations show an increase both in membership and in trade, which would be surprising even in more favourable circumstances. Alongside such purely commercial activities these associations are successfully developing industrial enterprises. Also as regards industrial hygiene and welfare work, our cooperative enterprises may well serve as good examples. The cooperative movement has, furthermore, gained a victory among the agricultural population. The farmer, operating on a small scale, welcomes this new method since it provides the opportunity of profitably cultivating and exporting the abundant annual surplus of dairy products.

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### INSTRUCTION AND TRAINING.

In accordance with the law of compulsory education, a public school graduate in a city, country-town or densely populated village is obliged to attend a continuation school for either one or two years. These schools differ in different towns but in general they lay more stress on domestic economy and needlework for the girls and on carpentry and metal work for the boys, than do the public schools. Considerable emphasis is placed on the theoretical side, since the main purpose is to give the young boys and girls a somewhat better general education and a more practical instruction than they have received in the public schools. This advanced obligatory instruction, however, is not yet carried on in all parts of the country.

For the public school graduate there are also vocational schools with somewhat the same curriculum as has been described but intended more particularly to give the young people a good basis for their future trades.

Vocational Training in our country is mostly given in factories and in workshops, in some vocations with a definite apprenticeship, in others with an indefinite one. For the promotion of vocational training, a law on apprenticeship was enacted in 1923. This law requires a written agreement between an employer and the guardian of a worker under 18 years of age, which agreement must be registered by the Vocational Training Board. The law is enforced by factory inspectors, and applies to those trades in which the apprenticeship is for 2 years or more, at the end of which period a public proof of skill must be given. Certain industries, as for example the printing trade, have arranged through the initiative of the employers, and with the support of the community, for their apprentices to attend a one-day school for theoretical and practical training. In the metal industry, one of our leading concerns has organized a half-day school and dormitory accommodation for 48, or half of all the apprentices, who are divided into 4 classes, each class remaining one year, this being the period of their apprenticeship. Each apprentice is exempted from work in the factory for 4 hours at a time, but is bound

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to attend teaching in theoretical subjects pertinent to his vocation. In addition to this, he is given instruction in other theoretical subjects for 4 hours weekly in evening classes. The dormitory and the lecture hall are in the same building and both are looked after by the same person.

For demonstrating new work methods and systems, an organization interested particularly in this arranges short courses of 1 or 2 weeks for older trained workers who are engaged in the respective trades.

### INDUSTRIAL WELFARE WORK.

Industry in Finland is comparatively young and only the large industrial establishments are interested in industrial welfare work. The country is sparsely settled and because the factories are most often located by waterfalls or rivers, it is necessary in order to secure good workers in these waste tracts, to build houses for them. Resulting from the industrial development and from the present standard of housing among our workers, the housing problem nowadays is of significance, and, from the social point of view, is perhaps the most important kind of welfare work because of its bearing on the well-being of the working-class. During recent years the type of housing has improved. The number of rooms has increased from one to two or three, attention being also paid to the needs of large families for larger quarters, proper location and surroundings. In short the aim is to give workers a real home, and not only a house to live in.

In spite of the fact that the Finnish population has come under the enervating influence of industrialism at a relatively late date, and that the population is healthy and vigorous due to the hard struggle against severe nature, welfare work has been concentrated to a remarkable degree on hygienic information.

During the past years special courses in social hygiene for trained nurses have been arranged, and these "health sisters" as they are called, have been much in demand by our industrial centers, especially in the country. Their work is

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usually a combination of nursing of the sick and instructing in social hygiene.

The Kindergarten movement has become very popular in our country, the Finnish government covering a third of their running expenses.

The peculiar political circumstances and lack of capital in Finland have prevented realization of general old age pension and health insurance schemes, even though these questions have been in the forefront. At the present time the worker is entitled to old age pension only if he has been engaged by the same employer for a sufficiently long period, that is at least 20 years, and if he at the same time evidently is unable to work. Absence of general health insurance has to a great degree led workers in large establishments to found private funds under their own control. The employer usually contributes to them up to a considerable amount. In the case of illness the law provides compensation only during 14 days.

Even though our large industrial plants have not so far applied any definite plan or coherent direction by engaging a social worker or secretary, a great number of employers show interest and understanding at least in certain forms of welfare work. Sport, music, nursing of the sick, child welfare, vocational training etc. are more or less supported by most of the concerns.

It is natural that industrial welfare work is especially near to the heart of the lady inspectors of factories, and they have to a great degree succeeded in directing employers' attention to the need of healthy housing, organized nursing of the sick, the establishing of day-nurseries and Kindergarten and gardening for children, vocational schools, occupying workers in their leisure time etc. It is taken for granted, even by the majority, that for lady inspectors this kind of welfare work is their duty.

### VOCATIONAL SELECTION.

The question of vocational selection is only to a certain degree practised scientifically. It is not however entirely omitted. The Board for State Railways has established a psychological

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institute for their own needs, though outsiders are allowed to use it. Also in the upper classes of public schools and in certain associations, this matter has been under discussion, the direct positive result of this interest in Helsingfors being the establishment of two bureaus for advice in vocational questions,

Because the country is sparsely populated and because our main industries are out of town, the question of vocation is a rather simple one for those who want to stay in their home villages: there is little room for choice.

The year 1928 is a noteworthy one in the history of Finland, because it is the 10th year of independence. In social and economic matters the improvement is considerable. That we still are behind in certain forms of social legislation is due to our previous changing and dependent state. Our present legislation is in many cases even radical, and our labor laws in regard to working hours etc. show that it is not because of conservatism that old and sick workers have not yet been regarded with greater care. The gradually improving economy of the state together with satisfactory industrial cooperation are a guarantee that defects in our labor-legislation will soon be removed.

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### THE JOINT COMMITTEE MOVEMENT.

It is particularly dangerous to attempt to dogmatise or generalise on any subject in the realm of modern industry with its constantly changing conditions. The danger is further increased if there is an insufficiency of time and facilities to make a really adequate survey of any given field. At the same time a consideration of the many schemes in operation in works and factories in widely differing trades leads to the conclusion that there is at the present time a real development of the committee idea.

To understand the present position, the history of the past - in particular of the last decade - must be examined. The majority of pre-war committees appear to have dealt with "particular questions affecting the conditions and remuneration of labour in a given works", i. e. for the purpose (in the main) of collective bargaining. There were in addition some which dealt with the social well-being of the workers, and it is possible to detect the germ of the conception of co-operation in industry brought into prominence in the war and crystalized in the well-known findings of the Whitley Committee in 1918 "for securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and workers".

To many it seems that the high hopes then raised have been dashed to the ground. They point to the fact that of the seventy-three Joint Industrial Councils working in 1922 only forty-three survived in 1925, while according to the statistics given by the Balfour Report an even greater number of District and Works Committees have ceased to function. The passage of time has revealed some of the causes for the partial failure. The scheme was premature. "At the time of the appointment of the Whitley Committee there was a wide-spread belief that industrial relations had been permanently modified by war experience". This was not so and without honesty of purpose the Whitley scheme could not function.

Further it has been pointed out that it took no cognisance of the question of the relative reward of capital and labour and to some



seemed essentially beside the point. There would appear to be in Great Britain a strong feeling in favour of each works forming its own committees and tackling its own problems from inside rather than removing them for settlement to what is regarded an "outside body" such as a National or District Council. In the words of one industrialist, "Far more important than a National Committee is the development of a scheme dealing with working conditions in the individual factory."

Again, the view has sometimes been expressed that the "Joint District Councils do too little work and the National Joint Executive too much." But if the ideas embodied in the reports have never been more than partially realised, they have on the other hand never been wholly set aside. There may be but few Joint Industrial Councils functioning now, and fewer still works committees in official connection with them, but the committee idea is very much alive. It has survived in numberless works councils, works committees, welfare committees, social committees, factory committees, etc. which under every conceivable form of constitution, and with innumerable difference in scope and declared object, are all ostensibly existing to promote harmony in industry.

Various features of the present position may be noted - changes resulting from the evolution in outlook both of employed and employers. There is a growing conviction in certain quarters that no lasting good can be accomplished or real co-operation achieved unless there is in existence a Joint Committee or Council consisting of representatives of both workers and management. The report of a special committee recently set up by an Employer's Federation into certain aspects of their Joint Industrial Council urges employers to attend Works Committees, "personal contact being the solution of most difficulties in labour matters". It is true that in some concerns the emphasis is laid on the importance and desirability of providing for "free and uninfluenced deliberations by the work-people", on the necessity for "freedom of discussion", which is sometimes interpreted to mean the setting up of a Committee composed of workers alone. Against this must be set the experience of other con-

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cerns which believe that the fundamental principle of the Council is that it provides an opportunity for Management and workers to discuss problems together and that "it is foreign to the spirit of a Works Committee for each side to make up their minds separately." The importance of direct contact in round table discussions is realised and this is clearly an advance on the idea that a Works Committee is a body of accredited representatives with whom the Board of Directors can communicate at any time - valuable as the latter idea is as a first step.

Again some Committees which at one time had regarded membership of a Trade Union as an essential qualification for membership of the Works Committee have rescinded this rule, for varying reasons but in no case in any spirit of antagonism to the Trade Union movement.

It is recognised that if a Works Committee is to function as it should, it must be taken seriously and "adopted as an integral part of the factory organisation just as any other vital function of a modern business." Even when fairly long periods elapse without any real need for consultation it is seen that real value exists in the "static potentialities". The right of appeal against dismissal, the power of revision of Works Rules, the compilation and alteration of Conditions of Employment or Contract of Service may be instanced as features of the work of some committees which have passed the initial stage of dealing with petty grievances. The inevitable development of the personality of those who serve on such Committees is a result which is now beginning to be seen and is a development fraught with more possibilities for the future than some may have imagined.

"Probably the most valuable work that the best committees are to-day engaged upon is that of preparation, of laying the foundations upon which it may be possible to convert into fact the vision of honest co-operation that was seen by the members of the Whitley Committee. That some firms are already far in advance of this preparatory work is well known. They are building on foundations laid truly and long ago: they are the leaders, but, they are also the exceptions".

## SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.

The development of Scientific Management in Great Britain may be divided into four periods. From 1910 to 1916 a few industrial companies had begun to study the work of F. W. Taylor and to some degree to apply his philosophy and methods to their own problems. Among these Hans Renold's were the most notable. At this stage applications of Scientific Management principles were deliberate and imitative. Those who were interested were avowed disciples of Taylor. The use made of his work was along the line of direct copying of methods and systems, rather than a free application of his philosophy to different national conditions.

From 1916 to 1921 the necessities of war-time production, particularly in the engineering trades, and the abandonment of trade-union restrictions, gave a great impetus to experiments likely to increase output. The various devices of Scientific Management were freely adopted, but the work was necessarily hurried and provisional: there was little time for careful experiment. The period however marked a great advance in national consciousness of the possibility of a new attitude towards industrial production and its administration. The question of output was recognised as a national interest. The knowledge and resources of the State were applied directly to the task of coordinating and making known the best available practice.

Thus the Committee on the Health of Munition Workers called attention to the possibility of a more scientific attitude towards industrial personnel. Towards the end of this period its work resulted in the establishment of the Industrial Fatigue Research Board and the National Institute of Industrial Psychology. The study of psycho-technology was definitely formulated as a factor in our national industrial administration. On the side of material, the end of the period witnessed the foundation of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, which has up-to-date resulted in the establishment of 25 Trade Research Associations. It also controls a number of State Laboratories specialised along various lines. The requirements of control forced many manufacturers to establish costings-

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departments. Finally the Ministry of Reconstruction gave an official blessing to a general policy of scientific management, and several of its pamphlets were devoted to the question. The whole of this development was, however, deliberately dissociated from F. W. Taylor and his work, although it was entirely in line with his fundamental philosophy and teaching. The labour reaction against his methods, or rather the misapplication of his methods, had made great headway in the United States, particularly in the Navy Yards and other government establishments. The leaders of the far stronger British Trade Unions, many of which were on a craft-basis, fully shared the apprehension of their American colleagues as to the possible effects of "Taylorism" as they understood it. Throughout the period the power and position of the great trade unions increased unprecedentedly. There was therefore a natural tendency on the part of the State, scientists, and employers, while pressing forward in every way the application of new scientific discovery and of the methods of science to the problems of industrial administration, to avoid any direct association with F. W. Taylor's pioneer work or with the term "scientific management". There was little deliberate attempt to take industrial concerns and to reorganise them completely along scientific lines. The tendency was rather to apply new sciences and devices, psychology, physiology, mineralogy, costing, time-study and the like, piecemeal to specific problems.

This tendency was on the whole strengthened by the severe depression of 1922 to 1926. The readjustment from a war-time price level gave rise to many industrial disputes. Rigid economy was enforced on all departments of government. There was little money for new developments with the majority of businesses. There was a distinct set-back in the general interest taken in scientific management during this period. On the other hand the organisations established during the first flush of reconstruction continued to function. And in many instances, firms and industries faced with the increased costs and decreased turnover determined on radical reorganisation as the alternative to liquidation. There was a continuous

extension of bonus methods of payment and of time-study throughout the engineering industries.

The position at the present juncture is far more promising than at any time since 1922. In certain obvious instances, such as coal and cotton, the older methods of management prevail over large areas of industry and partly account for their desperate economic plight. But even in these cases there are not wanting enclaves, such as the Egyptian section in the cotton trade, and the South Yorkshire coal field, which act as examples to their fellow-manufacturers, proving day by day the direct economic advantage of modern equipment backed by scientific organisation and management. In all the more modern enterprises there is alertness to possibilities of change and of greater efficiency along scientific lines. Certain factories provide the highlights. The amazing recovery of Austin Motors and Dunlop Rubber Company from financial difficulties is directly attributable in both cases to an extensive application of scientific management.

Employers in general are feeling out towards a wider conception of their duties and responsibilities. This movement is still largely unconscious and inarticulate. There are few deliberate applications of "Scientific Management" in the sense of a complete application of the Taylor system and methods. Indeed the day for a directly imitative policy is past. Taylor's contribution is beginning to be recognised for what it really is, not a series of devices, but a new philosophy, a fresh attitude of mind, in approaching problems of industrial management of all kinds. The opposition of organised labour to the conception of scientific methods is following the example of the American Federation of Labour, and rapidly changing.

Owing to the unpremeditated and unconscious character of this development it has not as yet expressed itself in any national organisation for the study of scientific management. But a number of technical and professional institutions, dealing with special aspects of the problem, have made steady progress. Among them the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, the Institute of Cost and Works Accountants, the Incorporated

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Sales Managers Association, the British Engineering Standards Association call for mention. The movement known as "Management Research Groups" is making rapid progress in uniting manufacturers in the study of their management problems. Sir Alfred Mond has arranged a joint conference of trade union representatives and leading employers which will undoubtedly have important results on similar lines. The Empire Marketing Board is doing valuable educative work on the distributive side. The Board of Trade has recently established a national committee for the discussion of simplification and standardisation.

In short, while, with important exceptions, the majority of British employers would confess to ignorance of F. W. Taylor's work, and deny any intention of applying scientific management in their factories, the undertakings which remain entirely immune from the general effects of his teaching are a rapidly decreasing minority. On all sides there is a growing recognition that the problems of industrial administration can and must be studied on scientific lines. The new knowledge and powers derived from such study may, it is true, be abused, and even directed to anti-social purposes; but properly applied and with adequate safeguards for labour, they must result not only in lower costs and increased productivity, but in higher earnings for the individual worker, a more interesting task, and greater security under an improved standard of life for the community.

### PRESENT TENDENCIES IN EDUCATION AS APPLIED TO INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

It is clearly impossible to deal, except in the most fragmentary and superficial manner, with the question of education in industry and commerce within the prescribed limits of space. I have therefore confined myself to a series of references to present tendencies. The following sections of work are mentioned.

School Leaving Age.

General Education during Adolescence.

Apprenticeship and Training.

Physical Training.

Selection for Promotion.

Training for Positions of Responsibility.

Lectures for those already holding positions of responsibility.

General Adult Education.

In British educational circles there is at present the very controversial issue of the direction which should be taken by the next extension of educational facilities for the younger generation. Should the school leaving age be raised to fifteen, or should full-time education cease where it does at present, and be followed by part-time continuative education during three or four years of adolescence? Probably the opinion of teachers is in favour of the raising of the school leaving age, but industrial opinion is certainly divided, and the balance has not been effectively ascertained.

Organised introduction of the young wage-earner to industrial conditions has become more common during the past decade: one method is that of the Initiation School.

The number of Day Continuation Schools definitely associated with industrial or commercial houses is small. This type of education has never recovered from the set-back which took place during the period of industrial depression two or three years after the war. The state of affairs foreshadowed in the 1918 Education Acts for England and for Scotland has never been realised. It is, however, noteworthy that several well-known and progressive firms have proved their faith in the efficacy of part-time adolescent education by continuing to maintain or to support day continuation schools of various types, carried on with widely varying degrees of co-operation between the firm and the Local Education Authority of the district.

In regard to apprenticeship, increasing attention is being given to the more intimate co-ordination of theoretical and practical training. This is exemplified in various ways. An outstanding instance is the provision of a wide range of training workshops for the employees of the Gas Light and Coke Company, at Watson House, London. A very different example, but none the less valuable, is to be found on the productive side

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of Loughborough College - what may be called an instructional factory. Then there are several engineering and allied firms undertaking a considerable proportion of theoretical training for their apprentices themselves, thus ensuring a more intimate connection between theory and practice than can be attained by any other means. The Queen's Engineering Works, Bedford, and the works of Mather & Platt, Manchester, may be mentioned in this connection.

Training departments for the inculcation of right methods of manipulation among semi-skilled workers are also an established feature of some factories.

Very intimately associated with general adolescent education is the provision for systematic physical training and games. In many instances the physical side has been developed even where comparatively little has been done for general adolescent education, but the marked prominence given to gymnastics - and swimming to a certain extent - in the curriculum of works day continuation schools, is a very important feature.

In cases where day continuation schools are not provided we have an infinite number of forms of co-operation between employers and education authorities to secure and encourage attendance of employees at evening classes or, in some cases, at part-time day classes for apprentices and others. It is impossible here to give details or to cite examples, but it is interesting to note that the city of Edinburgh has for many years secured what is probably the highest ratio of evening class enrolments to adolescents living in the area.

In several firms the Education Department or, where that does not exist, the Employment Department is at present giving considerable attention to methods of selection by educational tests or tests of intelligence. Whether all the so-called intelligence tests of the present day really test intelligence as distinct from acquired knowledge can only be decided by the educationalists of the next generation. It is, however, reasonably established that those responsible for the making of promotions are justified in using tests which will enable them to discriminate between applicants who reach a certain previously determined standard of general education and in-



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telligence, and those who fail to reach that standard. The need for qualifying tests of this sort is rendered more urgent by the gradually rising educational standard of the younger generation of employees. The foreman or forewoman who has been denied the opportunities so freely offered to the present generation is seriously handicapped unless he or she takes steps to keep abreast of modern developments.

The three remaining questions referred to in this memorandum follow naturally. Firms in different parts of England and Scotland are making systematic efforts to discover and train young men and women, ambitious for advancement and possessing some at least of the necessary qualifications. In a few cases regular courses of lectures are provided, usually in the evenings, for those who wish to increase their knowledge, both of the methods of organisation of their particular firm and of the general economic principles on which this organisation is - or should be - based. An alternative - or supplementary method - is by selecting for employment young persons who have already matriculated, by encouraging them to follow definite courses of study, sometimes in preparation for the examinations of recognised professional bodies, and by offering financial rewards or incentives to those who obtain certificates, diplomas, or degrees of recognised standing. While some of the education undertaken in this connection is necessarily either technical or commercial, a good deal of liberal education is inevitably included. Courses of lectures and discussions, supplemented in some cases by visits to other factories or to conferences, are held for the foremen, forewomen and other branches of management in a good many works. In some cases the arrangement takes the useful form of a more or less social gathering, such as a lunch or a tea, followed by an address and a discussion. Self-government and democratic control are essential to success in efforts of this kind.

General adult education calls for some attention. A few firms have during the past few years awarded scholarships tenable at Residential Colleges where full-time general education may be undertaken, but the provision made for study of this kind

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is still relatively small and the opportunities offered are not numerous.

In the future some attempt should be made to raise the standard of accuracy and precision among those who take up either full-time or part-time adult education of a non-vocational character. Informed opinion seems to show that much of this work suffers through the inadequate nature of the preliminary general education. It is easy to realise that disappointment and perhaps even danger may result from this state of affairs.

It is important to ask whether the colleges and universities of this country are doing as much as they might to qualify men and women for taking up positions of responsibility in industry and commerce. Is it too much to hope that industrial management should be established as a modern profession having a technique of its own which can to some extent be developed by suitable education? Various forces are moving in this direction, but there is need for considerable acceleration.

Through limitations of space many important questions remain untouched in this memorandum. There is, for example, the outstanding and highly controversial problem of the position of university men and women entering commerce and industry, a question which calls for even more attention than it has already received.

It has also been impossible to discuss certain other schemes and arrangements which are educational in the truest and widest sense, e.g., school journeys, camp schools, organised foreign travel, popular lectures, week-end schools, debates, music, folk dancing, the drama, attractive environment, all things making for a liberal education.

One cannot conclude without mentioning the educative results of certain voluntary social activities, such as club work, committee work and even participation in suggestion schemes and other arrangements now fairly common in highly organised British factories.

To summarise briefly, I think it may be said that while a large proportion - perhaps the majority - of firms remain

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comparatively unaffected by educational influences, there are many indications that the place of education in industry and commerce is being increasingly recognised. It is also gratifying that education in industry is not being interpreted in any unduly narrow sense, but that, on the contrary, a liberal education is being regarded as an invaluable training in adaptability and other aspects of mental development. \*

### INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY.

The aim of industrial psychology is to discover, by scientific methods, the laws governing the healthy employment of the human mind and body in industry and commerce. On the basis of these laws the psychologist attempts to promote the conditions and methods of work most favourable to efficient production. In other words, he seeks to reduce the needless expenditure of human effort and to ensure that industrial environment shall be better shaped to meet the physical and mental requirements of the worker.

The development of industrial psychology in Great Britain has been the work of two bodies, the Industrial Fatigue Research Board founded in 1918 and the National Institute of Industrial Psychology founded in 1921.

### THE INDUSTRIAL FATIGUE RESEARCH BOARD.

The earlier researches of this government committee were carried out in certain selected industries. Their outcome was the publication of a series of valuable reports on certain aspects of the metal, textile, boot-and-shoe, laundry and glass industries.

Its more recent researches have however been concerned with:

\* Sources of further information:

"Education and Industry"; Association for Education in Industry and Commerce, June 1927.

"Why We Want Education in Industry"; A. E. I. C., June 1926.

"Commercial Education and the Requirements of Industry"; A. E. I. C., June 1926.

"Industry and the University"; A. E. I. C., June 1925.

"Education in the Factory"; Publication Department, Bournville, 1927. (3rd edition.)

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particular psychological and physiological problems of wide industrial interest,  
specific problems submitted by government departments and industrial associations,  
factory problems resolvable by laboratory inquiry.

Under the first heading inquiries have been made inter alia into:

the effect on the worker of different working spells,  
the human factor in the causation of accidents,  
the design of machinery in relation to the operator's comfort,  
the physiology of ventilation,  
the rate of acquiring skill.

**Hours of Labour.** Interesting data have been obtained showing the beneficial effects on output of the introduction of rest-pauses over a wide range of industries.

**Accident Causation.** It has been discovered that certain individuals are susceptible to repeated accidents: some progress has been made in devising tests which would obviate their engagement for dangerous occupations.

**Machine Design.** This inquiry is being jointly conducted by psychologists, engineers and physiologists: a first report has been issued dealing with certain general principles of design in relation to comfort.

**Physiology of Ventilation.** Use has been made of the kata-thermometer to determine optimum conditions of temperature under widely varying industrial requirements.

**Acquiring Skill.** These investigations have not yet arrived at the report stage.

Under the second heading some of the problems investigated by the Board on behalf of industrial associations of government departments have been:

The study of sickness due to artificial humidity in weaving

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sheds, the findings of this study have negated the existence of any special risk.

The physique of women in industry and optimum methods of carrying heavy weights.

The causes of telegraphists' cramp, which has been diagnosed as of psychological origin and led to a further inquiry into the incidence of psycho-neurosis in various occupational groups.

The Board has now issued in all a series of fifty valuable reports purchasable through the government stationers. In addition to the subjects mentioned above, it has made inquiries into such matters as the effect of artificial lighting and heating on various processes, the relief of eyestrain, the demands of repetitive work on the operator, together with various statistical and bibliographical studies.

The constitution of the Board comprises eleven members representing the human sciences, engineering, industry, the civil service and trade unions: the direction of research is in the hands of two advisory committees. The main objects of the Board's work are:

to acquire knowledge of human behaviour under industrial conditions,

to educate public opinion in the economic and social significance of this knowledge.

Its relations with the Institute are harmonious: overlapping is avoided and several investigations have been jointly conducted.

### THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY.

The Institute differs from the Board inasmuch as:

It is a private body financed by fees, voluntary subscriptions and research-grants.

Its scope of inquiry is wider.

Its services are at the disposal of firms who require its investigators to introduce practical schemes for removing existing causes of human inefficiency and discontent.

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Its investigators must produce more immediate results and study a given situation from more points of view than those with which the Board's inquiries are strictly concerned.

The Institute's work may be ranged under five headings:

Factory-studies of the worker's movements, posture, work-place and equipment, of his working-spells and all environmental and incentive factors.

Study of occupational abilities and devising of tests to select and guide applicants.

Laboratory research into psychological and physiological problems.

Relevant training courses for investigators, executives and teachers.

Coordination of relevant research and publication of its findings in non-technical language. Educational propaganda is carried out by means of lectures, demonstrations and broadcasting.

In initiating an inquiry the investigator always aims at forming favourable mental attitudes, since the cooperation of managers, forepeople and employees is essential to the full success of his work. Psychological knowledge of human difficulties and of the instincts, desires and motives that underlie human action is invaluable in conducting such inquiries. Equipped with this background the investigator must bring to his task tact, sympathy, patience and courage. His criticisms must be of a constructive not of a fault-finding character: he aims to release energy and increase output by removing obstacles, not by speeding up. In practice it is found that this outlook does gain co-operation, and has received the support of prominent trade unions.

Some of the Institute's results can be expressed in percentages of increased output. Many equally valuable but intangible results (such as the promotion of better relations, of interest in methods of work, of an experimental attitude, of cooperative habits) cannot thus be expressed.

Up to now the Institute has carried out investigations for over a hundred firms. Since 1921 its annual income has increased

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from £3,780 to £17,500, its staff from 3 to 33, its membership from 110 to 1100.

The field of its inquiries has been very wide, covering nearly fifty industries connected with mining, fuel-production, textiles, engineering, food and clothing and many companies concerned with the manufacture of raw materials and finished products. On the personal service side, investigations have been carried out in retail stores, laundries, hotels and restaurants. On the transport side inquiries have been made on behalf of shipping, omnibus and railway companies.

The later trend in the Institute's development has lain beyond the horizon of its earlier studies, which were confined to questions where easily measurable results were usually obtainable. With growing recognition of the value of its stand-points and methods involving an increased demand for its services, the Institute has widened its earlier scope. Its activities now include the replanning of factories and more general problems of productive organisation, such as layout and routing, of transport and storage, of forecasting and controlling the flow of work. Departmental and sectional co-ordination, the integration of administrative and executive with technical and productive functions are now seen to be psychological problems the solution of which is vital to economic progress.

### VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE AND SELECTION.

Vocational psychology in this country was originally under the control of the two bodies just described, - the Industrial Fatigue Research Board and the National Institute of Industrial Psychology. Of late the practical side of the whole movement has been delegated mainly to the Institute, but the Board still engages in researches on fundamental problems - for example, the qualities making for liability to accident.

Vocational psychology has two branches - vocational guidance (advice given to an applicant, based on tests of his mental and physical capacities, as to the kind of work for which he is fitted), and vocational selection (the choice, by means of tests, of those among the applicants for a particular job

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who are best fitted for the work). The two are closely related and ideally supplement one another.

A preliminary experiment into the validity of vocational guidance methods was carried out by the Institute and the Fatigue Board in collaboration: and the Institute is now engaged on a second, more extensive experiment. The subjects of the first experiment were one hundred children (boys and girls) due to leave three elementary schools in London. The chief occupations open to these children were studied and classified: each child was systematically tested and vocational advice given on a basis of the results: and after two years as many of the children as possible were re-visited and their success or failure noted in relation to the advice previously given.

The children were tested in intelligence (linguistic and practical), specific abilities (mechanical ability, constructive ability and creative imagination) and educational attainments. For estimation of character and temperament - tests for these qualities having generally been found unsatisfactory - reliance was placed on a systematically conducted interview. (Physical condition was assessed from the results of past medical examinations.)

The result speaks strongly in favour of the methods used - although, owing to the smallness of the number tested, it cannot be regarded as conclusive. Of the children who entered occupations of the kind recommended, more than 80 per cent were satisfied with their work, their prospects and their pay. Of those who obtained employment different from the kind advised, less than 40 per cent were satisfied. Those who followed the advice given were, on an average, in receipt of higher pay than the others; they had generally obtained promotion earlier, and had experienced fewer changes of situation.

In the second experiment, six hundred children were advised, and their subsequent careers are now being compared with those of six hundred children to whom the Institute's advice was not given. The final report on this experiment will be published shortly; there is every prospect of interesting results.



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These experiments were made possible by generous grants from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial fund, and no charge was made to the parents of the children concerned. Individual cases are also examined at the Institute at a fee of three guineas: nearly 200 such cases were examined last year.

Vocational selection tests are of particular value in occupations or processes where the number of applicants greatly exceeds the number of vacancies. It very frequently happens that workers of equal experience differ widely, even in comparatively simple manual operations. It is found that selection tests can often give, in half an hour, as accurate a measure of a man's capacity as could be obtained by weeks of observation in the factory. The tests are used only for selecting applicants, and not for the transference or dismissal of workers already with the firm.

Selection tests may be of three kinds; "analytic" tests, where the various qualities required for success in a given occupation are analysed and tested separately; "analogous" tests, where the test requires the same general abilities as the work and bears a fundamental resemblance to it; and "sample" tests, where the test is exactly like the work (for example, a speed test for shorthand writers). "Sample" tests are unsuited for general use, as the results are affected by experience. The best results are given by combinations of analogous and analytic tests.

Selection tests are devised for particular firms, at their own expense. The Institute's investigator spends a considerable time in the factory, thoroughly studying the occupation for which tests are to be devised, and if possible learning it himself. He then makes an analysis of the main qualities, mental and physical which are required and experimentally devises tests for these qualities. Before, however, the tests are used for actual selection their validity is itself tested. They are given to a number of workers already with the firm, of whose efficiency some independent ranking is obtainable (either by means of output records, piece-rate earnings or the opinions of foremen and supervisors). Only if the ranking given by

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the tests is almost identical with the ranking previously obtained, are the tests considered valid.

The tests are made as simple as possible and remain the property of the firm - a welfare worker or other official being usually trained in their administration. Tests have now been devised, and are being successfully employed, in the selection of engineers, weavers, embroiderers, dressmakers, packers, wallpaper designers, chocolate and biscuit makers, leather workers, boxmakers, solderers, clerical workers, invoice machine operators, retail sales people, etc. Their use is favoured by employers - since they lead to increased output, reduced labour turnover and a more contented staff - and by workers, who are glad of the opportunity to "show what they can do" when applying for work, instead of being engaged or rejected as the result of a hastily conducted interview.

### PRESENT POSITION OF WELFARE WORK.

Industrial Welfare Work in Great Britain has made no spectacular advance in the last few years but, nevertheless, in spite of continued trade depression, it has strengthened its position. It has secured a measure of official recognition in law. The compulsory provision of ambulance facilities has done much to give the whole movement prominence. The issue of "Welfare Orders" by the Home Office is a part of normal procedure and such orders have now been made in a number of trades where the nature of the work (either owing to its danger or discomfort or because of the handling of food products) makes special care necessary to secure health and cleanliness. Similar orders are also issued in connection with special permits to employ women and young persons on the two shift system. Further, in the coal mining industry, a definite allocation of one farthing per ton is made by law to the Miners' Welfare Fund, which is under the control of a specially elected representative committee who make grants towards the establishment and upkeep of local welfare schemes varying in detail from place to place but including very generally pithead baths, recreational and educational schemes. Finally the inclusion in the new Home Office Industrial Museum

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of a special Welfare Section emphasizes the fact that welfare work is no longer regarded as the ideal of the philanthropic employer but as the practical goal which all can attain.

An interesting feature of recent development is the variety of occupations in which welfare work is to be found. It is no longer confined almost entirely to the food trades and certain other industries employing large numbers of women and girls. Welfare work is now carried on in ship repair yards, steel works and engineering works where the employees are mostly men and boys. The Coal Mining Scheme has already been mentioned. Welfare Orders have recently been made in the herring curing trade and this experiment should be carefully watched as the conditions are perhaps unique in industry. Welfare in the textile trades, more particularly perhaps in cotton, has begun to emerge from the experimental stage and in the clothing trade is to be found in both the wholesale and retail sections. It is no longer limited to the productive side of industry but has spread to some large distributive concerns and even to the railways and great insurance offices.

The constantly recurring use of the term "Welfare Work" not only in the daily press but even in novels of contemporary life, is evidence that the idea has taken root in the popular mind, though it must be confessed that at present its content is vague and ill-defined. This however is not surprising since the work itself varies so enormously not only from trade to trade but even within the trade. The welfare work in a biscuit factory for example has very little resemblance to that in a mining village unless one looks beneath the surface and considers the principles and aims involved. It is perhaps even more difficult to trace the connection between the welfare activities in a small concern and those in a works employing thousands, where specialists are engaged in carrying on, each in his own sphere, elaborate experimental work with a view to improving working conditions and efficiency. Such variations, however, while they are admittedly a source of confusion to the superficial observer, are not a sign of weakness in the movement. On the contrary, if industrial welfare work is to

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fulfil its aim of healthier conditions of work, mental, moral and physical, for all engaged in carrying on the work of the community, it must prove itself adaptable to the inevitable variety in process, circumstance and personnel. Uniformity of aim must therefore issue in variety of method; anything approaching standardisation of welfare method would merely result in a loss of real effectiveness.

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To understand the industrial problems of the Irish Free State it must first be recognized that Ireland is not an industrial country. It is predominantly agricultural. Towns are comparatively small and few. The population (which is under 3,000,000) is chiefly composed of small farmers. Cattle breeding and the export of dairy produce is Ireland's main business. Through various circumstances - political and economic - Ireland has remained until recently an undeveloped land. Self-government has given a big impetus to industry and this has been revealed most clearly by the inauguration of the Shannon Electricity Scheme. Decided on in 1924 and begun in 1925, it aims at electrifying the whole country by means of utilising the Shannon water power. Standards and cables are now being set up and power will be available for agriculture as well as for industrial purposes. At a cost of £5,000,000 it is estimated that over 150,000,000 units of electricity will be available in a little over three years from the time when operations commenced. Ireland has long been handicapped by lack of cheap mechanical power. Coal has been imported from England and cheap human labour has been used to compete with power-driven machinery abroad. This had the effect of depressing labour conditions in Ireland and contributed to the labour troubles of 1913.

The European War resulted in a great demand for Irish goods in the English market. Irish labour shared in the general prosperity of the time and has largely retained better conditions and wages since. More recently the world slump in trade hit Ireland resulting in some wage-cuts, in unemployment and the shutting-down of businesses. However, there have been energetic attempts to remedy this. New industries have been encouraged and tariffs devised to protect Irish industries.

Chief among these new industries is the Beet Sugar Factory established at Carlow. In 1925 the Government made arrangements with a Belgian group to begin operations. A State subsidy is part of the scheme. In the season of 1926-27, 9,423 acres, distributed over eleven countries, were sown with beet

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to meet the factory requirements. Eight hundred workers are employed at the factory during the seasonal "campaign" which lasts one hundred days. Continuous work - in eight hour shifts - is performed throughout this period. This year it is expected that 18,000 tons of sugar or roughly one-sixth of the total sugar requirements of the Irish Free State will be home-produced. Valuable by-products - fertilisers, feeding stuffs, etc. - are also available.

Typical of the new spirit of enterprise and energy are the measures that have been taken for the better grading and marketing of agricultural produce. Irish eggs have been greatly increased in value and this also applies to butter. The breeding of sheep and cattle is being put on a higher level by inspection and control.

Owing directly to the tariff policy three new large tobacco factories have been opened in Dublin. In the jam and sweet trades new firms have been established and existing factories have been developed as a result of the tariff. A similar impetus has occurred in connection with the manufacture of ready-made clothing, shirts and the furniture industry. In protected industries, since 1922, the increase in the number of employees amounts to 10,275 and takes no account of the expansion of other trades affected by their prosperity.

It is estimated that the Irish Free State contains about 10,000 factories and workshops. Industry, up till the present, might have been described as a side line. It is not surprising therefore that industrial thought and practice lag behind the industrialised countries. The Free State Government took over the British Factory Acts, 1901-20, and the Trade Boards Acts of 1909-18. Changes of machinery such as the setting up of new Trade Boards have been made. But these changes were departmental and involve no alteration in the framework of the Acts. These Boards cover such trades as the making of men's and women's clothing, hat-making, boot-repairing, paper-box manufacture and the tobacco trade. Employers and employees are equally represented, together with independent members. Under the Trade Boards Act of 1918, the Minister for Industry and Commerce may set up a Board in any trade

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if he is of opinion that no adequate machinery exists for the effective regulation of wages throughout that trade. These Boards may fix for learners, rates lower than for skilled or adult workers on condition that the learners are given adequate facilities for learning their trade. The Trade Boards are therefore special machinery devised to deal with ill-paid or "sweated" trades. The shirtmaking Board, for instance, deals with home-workers as well as factory workers and special piece rates are prescribed. A large number of these out-workers live in scattered, poor districts of Donegal. In linen and cotton embroidery, rates are fixed for embroidered leaves and dots, according to size. Certain Trade Boards besides dealing with wages also declare the normal hours per week above which overtime rates must be paid. In the confectionery trade the normal week is fixed at 48 hours. In 1926 a Government Commission was set up to examine the whole question of technical education in relation to trade and industry. Evidence as to the failure of the existing system of apprenticeship was taken and recommendations have been made, in the Report just published, on the lines of the Apprenticeship Acts in operation in South Africa and other countries. Ireland has continued to take a keen interest in this question. At the International Labour Conference held in June 1927, Mr. R. C. Ferguson of the Department of Industry and Commerce, moved a resolution calling upon the International Labour Office to make an international survey and study of the means of entry into industry, of the methods of technical education and vocational guidance used in each country and issue a Report on the matter. This resolution, initiated by Ireland, was agreed to unanimously and an international survey of child labour legislation will be presented at the next session which will be held at Geneva in June of this year.

The Free State has taken an active part in the League of Nations and International Labour Office deliberations. It has ratified nine International Conventions dealing with labour conditions put forward by the International Labour Office. These are:

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The setting up of public employment agencies under public control.

Prohibition of night work for women in industry.

Prohibition of the employment in industrial undertakings of any boy or girl under fourteen.

Prohibition of the employment of young persons in industry at night.

Prohibition of the employment of boys under fourteen at sea.

Prohibition (with exceptions) of the employment of children under fourteen in agriculture.

Granting workers in agriculture the same rights of combination as industrial workers.

Giving workers in agriculture the same rights of compensation as industrial workers.

Making provision that certain industrial diseases shall be regarded as accidents for the purpose of compensation.

The industrial inspection staff consists of twelve officers of whom two are women. They carry out inspection both as regards general factory conditions and Trade Board regulations. The administrative staff includes a Chief Inspector of Factories and a District Inspector.

So far as industrial welfare activities are concerned, these are not a conspicuous feature of Free State industry. But we are entitled to claim that what we lose in quantity we make up in quality. Certain welfare schemes, outside Ireland, have appeared to be merely the icing on the cake, giving no real indication as to the quality of the cake itself. In other words, because they do not penetrate the whole activities of the workshop they bear little relation to the actual working conditions. Visiting one of the largest firms in Dublin - a biscuit works - I was pleased to see that throughout the works every effort appeared to be made to make the employees, chiefly girls, feel that they were human beings, not merely "hands". The Welfare Department is closely linked with the general management. Girls and boys from fourteen to sixteen receive instruction in the factory school, which is recogn-



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sed under the Education Department and gains the highest possible reports and grants. In the girl's schoolroom I saw from seventeen to twenty sturdy girls in blue overalls enjoying physical drill. The boys were being taught wood-work. Besides this the usual school subjects - including Irish - were taught. There were rows of shower baths which employees use after work. I was impressed by the "cost-price" lining room - a palace of glass set high in the building - which commands a view of the city right to the Dublin mountains. There is a library too for the girls' use and at ten o'clock in the morning they come in for their cup of cocoa and a ten minute rest. The surgery, rest-room and general health department are very well-equipped. An artificial sunlight apparatus has been installed. The group spirit seems to have penetrated the whole works. The superintendent explained that one of the first things they have to do is to conquer fear. The girls, I was told, are sometimes suspicious and untruthful at first because they are afraid. Soon they see that if they make mistakes the best thing is to own up. They come to look on the management with confidence. Anyone who knows the part played by fear in modern industry will realise how important it is to establish relations of confidence based on justice. Girls and boys who win prizes at the factory school are taken to the principal bookshop so that they may choose their prizes. The note of individuality is stressed. They are taken to museums, to Shakespearean drama, to the Spring Show and other places of interest. The girls dress dolls which are given to two children's hospitals in Dublin and to children in poor districts in the West of Ireland. The dolls are bought by the girls but the dressing is part of tuition. Throughout the works, chairs specially constructed for comfort are in use. Employees of over a year's standing cannot be dismissed without the sanction of the Work's Council on which the employees are represented. Much more could be said about the human relations in this works - which is the pioneer of industrial welfare in Ireland - but sufficient has been said to indicate the lines and spirit of the work. Another firm - a brewery - has the reputation of being among the most enlightened employers.

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The directors not only concern themselves with the wellbeing of their employees at work but also have promoted a housing scheme under which hundreds of their employees get good houses at low rents. These two firms are among the largest employers in Dublin. Some of the tobacco firms which have opened up factories in Dublin have brought their welfare methods with them. Yet - with commendable exceptions - Irish employers in general do not concern themselves with the welfare of their workers. The Irish temperament does not take kindly to that rigid discipline which so often leads to a bleak, ugly "efficiency". Irish workers have not been industrialised so much as their fellows in England. This means that without special machinery human relations tend to establish themselves. Where welfare schemes have been introduced the Irish temperament appears to give them a more human note than is the case elsewhere.

The National Institute of Industrial Psychology with headquarters in London has been invited by four Irish firms to improve their methods. The details are as follows:

In a shirt factory, by methods which made the conditions of the workers happier and caused the firm no extra expense, the Institute was able to cut down, by more than half, the time previously elapsing between the receipt of orders and the dispatch of goods. The lay-out was greatly improved; a more efficient system of inspecting and tracing orders through the different processes was introduced; the canteen arrangements were made more satisfactory; the lighting was improved and protective devices installed.

In a laundry improvements were effected in methods of work and in the arrangement of the sorting room, wash house, calender and drying, packing and dispatch rooms. Extensions of the laundry were planned, new forms of advertisement devised and the general comfort and well-being of the staff improved.

In a third factory, where the Institute has been working for more than three years, the study of labour turnover and accidents has led to important changes in policy, by the firm - changes which have produced excellent results. Better

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systems of lighting and ventilation have been introduced, and an improved training scheme, together with an improved employment office, have been successfully established. Undue strain and spoiled work have been reduced by testing the vision of all new employees. Rest pauses and afternoon refreshment have been found to improve the mental and physical conditions of the workers and to increase the day's output.

In a fourth factory the introduction of improved benches in the soldering department increased output by ten per cent and greatly pleased the workpeople. Alterations in a "dryer" earned the congratulations of the engineers, the staff and the Managing Director, and resulted in labour being reduced by more than fifty per cent, no tins being manipulated at blistering heat, four tins being handled in the time it used to take to handle a single tin. Other changes reduced gas consumption by 30 per cent, brought about savings in labour of from 33½ to 50 per cent and lowered the temperature in the hottest shops by 30 per cent. Here, too, as in the third factory, selection tests were devised for new employees.

Many laundry workers are members of the Irish Women Workers' Union, a body which prides itself on being at least as much concerned in the improvement of working conditions as it is with hours and wages.

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### LA SITUATION GÉNÉRALE DE L'INDUSTRIE.

L'Italie industrielle de 1928 n'est plus dans l'état de prospérité de 1925, quand le rapporteur eut l'honneur de faire l'exposé de la situation pour le Congrès de Flessingue. Notre industrie traverse aujourd'hui une période de crise qu'on pourrait appeler une crise de révision, qui semble être en diminution, mais ne laisse pas de préoccuper les milieux gouvernementaux, les employeurs et les ouvriers. Les salaires, en effet, par suite de la revalorisation graduelle de la lire italienne, ont sensiblement augmenté leur pouvoir d'achat. Et après la stabilisation de la monnaie (décidée en Décembre 1927 à la parité d'un dollar = Lit. 19; une livre sterling = Lit. 92,46; une Lira oro = Lit. 3,66) l'épargne se trouve encouragée et s'étend.

Malheureusement, le triste phénomène du chômage apparaît dans certaines industries, surtout sous forme de réduction du nombre des journées de travail pour tout le personnel ouvrier.

On affirme, dans des milieux autorisés, que les % des Maisons industrielles italiennes doivent exporter pour subsister. Or les industriels et surtout les exportateurs sont amenés à remettre à l'examen leurs principes de gestion pour proposer à leur activité de "management" de nouveaux objectifs à atteindre avec des méthodes radicalement changées.

L'arrière-plan législatif s'est, lui aussi, radicalement renouvelé. L'Etat fasciste a engendré précisément dans ces deux dernières années le nouveau Syndicalisme national. Les Syndicats en question, on le sait, ont un caractère obligatoire. Pratiquement, ils sont venus résumer dans un seul courant tous les différents mouvements d'organisation ouvrière, correspondant aux nuances politiques maintenant supprimées. Dans les "Corporazioni", qui se complaisent à se rattacher, même par leur nom, à de glorieuses traditions historiques, nous trouvons réunis, sous l'égide de l'Etat, et les employeurs et les employés. La grève et le lock-out sont devenus des délits, et les conflits du travail, qui ne parviennent pas à s'apaiser par des pourparlers directs entre représentants des industriels et des

ouvriers, sont obligatoirement déferés au tribunal de la "Magistratura del Lavoro", expression de l'Etat qui met un terme au différend.

Un autre phénomène ne peut être négligé dans l'examen général de la situation: l'émigration. Après la guerre, cette dernière s'est grandement réduite en vertu des mesures restrictives prises dans divers pays d'au delà de l'océan. De multiples énergies humaines, qui auparavant étaient amenées à s'offrir sur les marchés étrangers du travail, et pas toujours à leur avantage ni à celui de leur patrie, restent aujourd'hui en Italie et créent de nouveaux problèmes complexes pour l'équilibre démographique, question fondamentale pour l'Etat italien.

#### LES MESURES SOCIALES DU GOUVERNEMENT.

Dans le domaine de la législation sociale, il y a eu une copieuse floraison de 1925 à 1928. Il faut rappeler - avant tout autre acte officiel - la Charte du Travail du 21 Avril 1927 (date de l'anniversaire de la fondation de Rome et de la fête du travail en Italie): c'est une déclaration de principe par laquelle le Parti fasciste au pouvoir a voulu marquer les grandes lignes de sa politique sociale et préciser les règles de vie commune pour le monde du travail. A ce principe général se rattachent logiquement, même si elles sont de date antérieure, les diverses mesures législatives en matière sociale des cinq dernières années. Comme il est inévitable d'être superficiel, devant nécessairement condenser notre exposé, rappelons la loi de 1925 qui a créé l'Oeuvre Nationale du "Dopolavoro" (après le travail) - (Via in Lucina, Roma), dont le but est de donner aux travailleurs les moyens d'utiliser leurs loisirs d'une façon salubre, au point de vue physique, intellectuel et moral; notons la loi de 1926, en vertu de laquelle la grande majorité des exploitations industrielles et agricoles sont obligées de verser une contribution à l'Associazione Nazionale Prevenzione Infortuni (Via Marina, 5 - Milano), fondée en vue de prévenir les accidents et reconnue comme Institution Nationale <sup>1</sup>; le nouveau

<sup>1</sup> Pour faire face au dommage moral et économique des accidents du tra-

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Règlement pour l'hygiène du travail, de 1927, le plus récent et - d'après des experts - le plus complet des Règlements semblables pour les Etats européens; la loi de 1927 qui a institué l'assurance obligatoire des ouvriers contre la tuberculose, prodrome de l'assurance générale contre les maladies.

L'Inspectorat de l'Industrie et du Travail - bien qu'obéré de tâches administratives - a continué son action silencieuse et avantageuse de défense du travail, en veillant à l'application de la législation sociale actuelle. La Caisse de la Maternité et de l'Enfance, récemment reconnue par des dispositions particulières de loi et pourvue de moyens financiers par de larges contributions, prépare ses cadres afin de poursuivre dans toutes les régions une oeuvre active de contrôle et d'éducation. Sous la menace d'une diminution possible, mais heureusement circonscrite et éloignée, de la natalité, de nombreuses institutions surgissent pour la défense de la mère et de l'enfant dans ses premières années.

### LES MESURES DES INDUSTRIELS POUR L'ORGANISATION SCIENTIFIQUE DU TRAVAIL DANS LE DOMAINE TECHNIQUE.

Il faut certainement rattacher à l'initiative des industriels les premières affirmations pratiques de l'organisation du travail - il s'en produit environ 500.000 par an, de graves et de légers, dans l'Industrie Italienne - fut fondée, dès 1894, par l'initiative des Industriels, cette Association qui recueillait, en 1926, l'adhésion spontanée d'environ 6.500 établissements comptant plus de 800.000 ouvriers. Par Décret Royal du 3 Janvier 1926, l'Etat rendit obligatoire pour toutes les entreprises industrielles et agricoles l'adhésion à cette Institution: en tout, sont confiés à sa tutelle environ 3.000.000 d'ouvriers et 10.000.000 de paysans.

Les objectifs de l'Association sont la vigilance technique sur les entreprises industrielles, par l'entremise d'un corps d'inspecteurs, l'étude de tous les problèmes relatifs aux mesures à prendre pour prévenir les accidents, aux expédients "à suggérer et - le cas échéant - à imposer", l'enseignement, dans les Universités, des règles à suivre pour prévenir les accidents, la propagande, etc.

L'organisation de l'Institution, dans sa forme nouvelle, n'est pas encore tout à fait perfectionnée: 90 ingénieurs exécutent déjà environ 60.000 inspections par an dans toutes les régions d'Italie; on a commencé aussi le travail de propagande, qui devra avoir une importance croissante; et déjà fonctionne un bureau technique pour l'étude des moyens mécaniques permettant de prévenir les accidents, une section de propagande (avec la Revue mensuelle "Securitas") etc.

en Italie, sous les rapports techniques. Le milieu où elle s'est formée, est la Confédération des Industriels - le centre corporatif des patrons et chefs d'industries; c'est là qu'est né le mouvement, justement dans ces dernières années: l'expression officielle du mouvement a été l'E. N. I. O. S. (Piazza Venezia, 11, - Roma), organisme exerçant son activité avant tout dans la propagande et qui groupe autour de lui de nombreuses adhésions collectives, parmi lesquelles ne manquent pas celles des Syndicats ouvriers; on reconnaît tout de même que dans l'esprit qui anime l'Institution, dans la pratique de chaque jour, c'est la mentalité, ce sont les directives des employeurs qui prévalent. Une ferveur de propagande, vaste et sans doute efficace, est due à cette Institution, si jeune encore d'années (sa fondation ne date que de 1926): une Revue, qui en 1928 est devenue mensuelle et présente, sous une forme élégante, les résultats de la contribution des techniciens étrangers et italiens de l'O. S.; divers concours, sur l'un desquels nous aurons l'occasion de revenir, comme sur l'oeuvre d'une Commission spéciale du "facteur humain"; deux collections d'ouvrages - l'une se composant de traductions des "classiques" de l'O. S. et l'autre, des premières recherches originales italiennes: voilà les systèmes principaux adoptés pour créer au sujet de l'O. S. un ensemble de documents qui ont excité un intérêt vraiment général.

Une excellente occasion pour imposer à l'attention un peu superficielle du grand public le problème de la rationalisation du travail, a été offerte à l'E.N.I.O.S. par le III<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de l'Organisation Scientifique. Ce dernier, comme on le sait, eut lieu à Rome, en Septembre 1927 et la préparation en fut confiée à l'E.N.I.O.S. Les adhésions fort nombreuses et autorisées des techniciens et des hommes d'études, l'ensemble imposant des rapports présentés, l'adhésion chaleureuse du Gouvernement d'Italie, ainsi que celle de beaucoup de personnages étrangers et nationaux, accrurent l'importance des résultats de la manifestation, qui certainement servit à cimenter des convictions et à susciter des consentements nouveaux. Peut-être, comparés aux problèmes de la technique de la production, les problèmes du "facteur humain"

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parurent-ils un peu sacrifiés à qui considérait la réunion à ce point de vue spécial. Mais cette disproportion possible (qui ne refléterait pas exactement l'esprit du mouvement international, tel qu'il est dans sa réalité) ne peut certainement pas être attribuée aux organisateurs du Congrès; ceux-ci recherchèrent avec le plus grand soin la collaboration des spécialistes de tous les courants de la pensée, et auraient accueilli les contributions d' "humanisation" avec le plus grand plaisir, si leur affluence eût été aussi large qu'elle était désirée et désirable.

L'E.N.I.O.S. a adhéré, dès sa fondation, à l'Institut International de l'O. S. (I. O. S.) de Genève, comme, les années précédentes, les chefs actuels de l'Institution avaient participé aux réunions de Prague, de Varsovie et de Bruxelles, du C.I.O.S. (Comité International de l'O.S.). Bien plus, celui qui fut appelé par le Congrès de Rome à présider l'I.O.S., ce fut l'Ingénieur italien Francesco Mauro, qui est également Président de l'E.N.I.O.S.

Une autre Institution italienne est d'une importance essentielle dans le domaine technique de la rationalisation: c'est l'U.N.I.M. (Foro Bonaparte, 16 - Milan), fruit des efforts de l'Association des Industriels mécaniques. Cette Institution se charge de faire les études et les enquêtes nécessaires à la création des s t a n d a r d s. Fondée en 1922, elle eut une activité très circonscrite jusqu'en 1925: ayant augmenté cette année-là, d'une façon sensible, ses ressources financières, elle put, en 1926, obtenir l'approbation définitive d'une collection de 64 feuilles, dont chacune décrit un standard. Pour 1927 - les comptes rendus officiels manquent jusqu'ici - on prévoyait de nouvelles standardisations en nombre encore supérieur. Toutes les enquêtes ont eu jusqu'à maintenant pour objet des matières intéressant l'industrie mécanique. L'U.N.I.M. a adhéré à l'Institut International pour l'Unification, dont on a jeté les bases à la réunion de New York (avril 1926).

Différentes forces coopèrent, même sans lien apparent entre elles, à la création et au développement de quelques essais d'organisation scientifique technique de la part de quelques



industriels entre les plus puissants et les plus conscients: "la leçon des faits" qui était clairement donnée par les succès obtenus dans les autres Pays - et dans les Etats-Unis en particulier - la pression de la concurrence qui a été apportée par ces succès, la complexité de la vie industrielle après la guerre, sous ses aspects financiers, démographiques et sociaux, invitaient l'industriel intelligent à réfléchir, à comparer, à juger. Et ces jugements furent évidemment défavorables aux principes traditionnels de la gestion, car nous voyons surgir ça et là, par génération spontanée, contemporaine, divers efforts correctifs, tendant spécialement - comme il est naturel dans les premières phases du mouvement - à influencer les facteurs techniques, mécaniques de la production. Qui est-ce qui entreprend cette oeuvre et soutient ces efforts? Généralement c'est l'industriel lui-même, ou quelqu'un de ses collaborateurs très proches, intimes; ce n'est presque jamais un spécialiste, un technicien de l'organisation. Le principe salutaire de la division du travail, peut-être par suite d'une habitude mentale propre à notre race, est encore mal mis en pratique en Italie. Il manque aussi à l'Italien, et quelque-fois à son industrie, une grande chose: ils sont "pauvres" et ne peuvent se payer certaines spécialisations. Tant il est vrai que, même à présent, c'est à dire lorsque plusieurs années se sont écoulées, depuis le jour où a commencé le mouvement, on peut encore, pour ainsi dire, compter sur ses doigts les "spécialistes" italiens; et peut-être faut-il recourir à ceux d'une société étrangère - la Société Bédoux - pour ne pas se trouver... avec plusieurs doigts qui chôment.

Aux problèmes divers, des solutions diverses; pour des milieux profondément différents, des méthodes qu'il n'est pas possible de comparer entre elles; phases de développement poussées fort loin dans un endroit, embryonnaires dans l'autre. Mais si nous voulons essayer de spécifier un peu, nous devons constater qu'il n'y a que la grande industrie - et spécialement l'industrie mécanique - qui ait à son actif un groupe assez étendu d'innovations d'organisation rationnelle: les autres catégories de producteurs suivent de très loin; et l'on peut en dire autant des grandes administrations: les banques, les

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assurances, les maisons de commerce et de transports: encore y a-t-il des exceptions - à rechercher toujours parmi les organismes les plus vastes - où l'on observe au moins en partie les lois de l'O. S. Les Institutions de l'Etat, naturellement prêtes à réagir sous les stimulants qui viennent des milieux gouvernementaux - ont commencé quelques expériences d'un vif intérêt (dans les bureaux de poste, sur une ligne de chemins de fer, etc.) et le succès de ces innovations servira beaucoup à encourager les incertains et les sceptiques. Au contraire, dans l'agriculture et dans l'économie domestiques, il semble moins probable que l'on arrive à de prochaines réalisations; dans l'un et l'autre domaine, ce qui agit certainement avec une grande puissance, ce sont les coefficients du traditionalisme.

Les milieux scolaires, ainsi que ceux qui s'intéressent à la culture, suivent avec cordialité le mouvement de l'O. S. et y collaborent. Tous les Instituts supérieurs des sciences commerciales et industrielles, toutes les écoles de perfectionnement professionnel et beaucoup d'autres Institutions, où l'on professe l'enseignement, et même celui de l'ordre universitaire, donnent des leçons et organisent des cours, des conférences sur la rationalisation du travail et du produit.

Pour conclure, on doit reconnaître que les efforts visant à l'application de l'O. S. dans le domaine technique, sont encore assez rares en Italie et - sauf un petit nombre d'exceptions - incomplets; mais on peut se consoler en constatant qu'un vif intérêt est né et se répand surtout parmi les classes cultivées et parmi les différentes catégories de patrons, pour le problème qui nous occupe. Comme indice de cette situation favorable, qui donnera bientôt de meilleurs fruits, nous pouvons citer ces paroles prononcées à la Chambre, en Mars 1928, par M. Belluzzo, Ministre de l'Economie Nationale, après un exposé de la situation de l'industrie nationale: "La nouvelle économie fasciste, dans la production, se fonde sur l'idée de rationalisation, c'est-à-dire de procédé de réorganisation, tendant à augmenter le rendement de la main d'oeuvre. Pendant tant de temps, on a parlé de droits et non de devoirs, mais passé le temps nécessaire pour déblayer le terrain de

cet ensemble de causes politiques et sociales qui exerçaient leurs pressions depuis des dizaines d'années, il est certain que l'on arrivera au maximum de réduction quant à l'emploi de la main d'oeuvre. C'est-à-dire que l'on appliquera un principe de rationalisation graduelle qui réduira les prix de revient, sans créer de chômage et accélèrera son propre rythme en proportion de la diminution de l'offre de la main-d'oeuvre"

#### ETUDES ET APPLICATIONS POUR LE "FACTEUR HUMAIN" DANS LE TRAVAIL.

Après avoir touché les différents problèmes collatéraux et mis, de quelque façon en lumière, les conditions de milieu: arrivons maintenant au point central de notre hâif exposé: l'activité italienne se tournant vers les problèmes humains de la production.

L'activité scientifique. La cause, la condition nécessaire, le stimulant, et en même temps la limite des efforts tendant à perfectionner d'une façon durable les conditions du travail, c'est toujours l'investigation scientifique. Toute entreprise de ce genre fait inévitablement faillite, si elle veut s'émanciper des principes de la science, pour se fier au conseil illusoire de la "pratique".

Nous n'entendons certainement pas renfermer, dans un exposé en raccourci, tous les résultats que la science italienne a obtenus pour sa part en ces trois dernières années: c'est à d'autres, qui peuvent le faire avec une réelle autorité dans chacun de ces domaines, que doit revenir cette tâche géniale. Pour nous - comme simples chroniqueurs - en nous excusant, comme on dit habituellement, "pour les inévitables omissions", - nous indiquerons seulement quelques noms d'hommes d'études et de centres de recherches italiens: aux personnes diversement compétentes, qui parcourront ces notes, une indication - même aussi sommaire - suffira pour rappeler un objet d'étude, un courant de pensée, ou même seulement pour faire entrevoir une promesse, faire jaillir une espérance de nouvelles conquêtes dans les matières qui nous passionnent.

Dans nos cabinets universitaires de physiologie, avec Herlitzka à Turin, Foà à Milan, Gayda à Pavie, Ducceschi

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à Padoue, Patrizi à Bologne, Aducco à Pise, Baglioni à Rome, Bottazzi à Naples, U. Lombroso à Palerme - l'école italienne, qui s'honore des traditions encore récentes et inoubliables de Mosso, de Maggiora, de Treves, d'Albertoni, a continué laborieusement et silencieusement ses recherches. Parmi les travaux les plus intéressants, nous rappelons celui de Mariano Patrizi, au titre et au contenu si suggestifs: "La Fatigue en flagrant délit" (préparé pour le B.I.T.), qui étudie avec d'ingénieux expédients le transport des bagages à la main et sur les épaules dans ses répercussions physiologiques sur le rythme respiratoire et cardiaque; et les récents travaux de G. Viale, appelé à occuper la chaire de physiologie à l'Université de Rosario (Amérique du Sud), travaux où l'on étudie, avec la méthode de la calorimétrie indirecte (examen des échanges respiratoires - méthode de Zuntz) la fatigue qui suit un emploi déterminé d'énergie humaine.

Un clinicien - Pende, de Gênes - a su trouver, avec l'appui moral, les moyens suffisants pour créer un "Institut biotypologique et orthogénétique" qui assujettit à des investigations morphologiques, physiologiques (donnant une importance spéciale à ce qui se rattache à l'endocrinologie) et psychotechniques, des groupes d'écoliers, de soldats, de travailleurs, pour recueillir les éléments pouvant servir de base à l'orientation professionnelle; parmi les collaborateurs qui assistent le prof. Pende, il faut rappeler le nom du Dr. Vidoni, qui dirige la section psychotechnico-pédagogique.

Les deux Cliniques du Travail - celle de Devoto à Milan et celle de Ferrannini, suivi ensuite de Castellino, à Naples (le groupe si autorisé et si connu des spécialistes des accidents et de ceux qui s'occupent de la médecine et de l'hygiène du travail en Italie) Pieraccini à Florence, Biondi à Sienne, Loriga et Ranalletti à Rome, Ajello, Nebuloni à Milan - ont préparé des études d'un caractère fragmentaire, parmi lesquelles nous rappellerons, par exemple, la recherche laborieuse et complète du Prof. Loriga sur les conditions hygiéniques des établissements de soie artificielle. Au VIIe Congrès de Médecine du travail (1927), qui a reparcouru - de Parme à Modène et à Carpi - les étapes principales de la vie

et de la gloire de Bernardo Ramazzini (fondateur de la médecine du travail, sujet de son ouvrage immortel "De morbis artificum", édité en 1700).

Que l'on nous permette d'ajouter - dans cet exposé succinct des recherches méritoires faites en Italie - le nom et les oeuvres d'un homme d'études, compatriote qui a mis son expérience et son dévouement au service de l'effort le plus imposant qui soit tenté dans le monde pour connaître et combattre les conditions pathologiques et insalubres du travail: Luigi Carozzi, chef de la Section d'Hygiène du Bureau International du Travail de Genève.

Dans le domaine des études de psychologie, l'Italie peut présenter quelques noms insignes: Sante de Sanctis, Agostino Gemelli, Federico Kiesow, G. C. Ferrari; elle a perdu un autre homme d'une grande valeur en Vittorio Benussi, qui s'est éteint à Padoue en 1927. Le travail des Instituts et Laboratoires universitaires - à part les cours généraux de théorie - touche divers sujets qui peuvent intéresser ceux qui s'occupent du "facteur humain". A Bologne, G. C. Ferrari et son fils Carlo Alberto (qui a même travaillé dans une fabrique pour l' "organisation humaine") font des recherches sur l'évaluation de la fatigue, et d'autres en font sur la continuité du travail, sur le rythme respiratoire dans certaines épreuves ergographiques, etc. A Milan, à l'Université Catholique, le Père Gemelli, entre autre choses, s'occupe de l'étude de quelques tests d'évaluation morale. L'oeuvre de Casimiro Doniselli, Directeur de l'Institut de Psychologie expérimentale de la Commune de Milan, mérite d'être mise particulièrement en évidence. Casimiro Doniselli a élaboré quelques tests collectifs fort intéressants pour le discernement des couleurs, pour l'attention, la mémoire, la capacité analytique et d'observation; il a inventé un appareil fondé sur le principe du stroboscope, le "phonogammoscope", qui rend visibles les passages de tonalité de la voix et qui a déjà eu des applications pour l'enseignement aux sourds-muets et pour l'évaluation immédiate de la justesse du ton chez les chanteurs. Il a aussi construit, en se basant sur les principes de Mosso, un instrument ingénieux et assez com-

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pliqué - qu'il appelle "ergodynamographe" - avec lequel s'enregistrent les impulsions volontaires et les forces vives, non seulement des fléchisseurs du médus (comme fait l'ergographe classique) mais de tous les groupes musculaires du bras et de l'avant-bras.

A Rome, Sante De Sanctis poursuit ses études g niales sur la psychologie du r ve, des  tats mystiques, etc. Kiesow,   Turin, apporte une nouvelle et importante contribution   l' valuation des perceptions tactiles et dolorifiques, des temps de r action, etc.; son continuateur, M. Ponzo, va publier un cours de psychotechnique et il a  labor  une nouvelle m thode pratique pour  valuer chez les sujets la capacit  de discerner des variations de pression, d'effort, de temp rature.

**Th orie et pratique.** Les  tudes th oriques dont nous venons de dire un mot, ont eu en Italie un d veloppement beaucoup plus grand que les applications concr tes. A cause d'une certaine tendance, qui nous est propre,   la sp culation d sint ress e, mais aussi en raison des caract res de notre industrialisme - jeune encore d'ann es et d'exp rience - bien des conqu tes de la science sont rest es sans application. De sorte que le sens critique, tr s  tendu, de l'Italien, a beau jeu, quand il constate que certaines "d couvertes", que s'attribuent de bonne foi des chercheurs  trangers, - trouvent leur origine logique ou leur base scientifique dans les recherches ignor es de quelques compatriotes, auxquels n'ont manqu  ni g nie, ni p n tration d'esprit, mais auxquels firent d faut les moyens mat riels pour contr ler et appliquer les principes qu'ils avaient vraiment d couverts. Dans le domaine de l' tude de la fatigue, pour citer un exemple, on connaît encore trop peu   l' tranger (bien qu'on les cite dans beaucoup de textes, pour en avoir entendu parler) les  tudes originales de Mosso, de Maggiora et de Treves, admirables pr curseurs, qui ont d couvert beaucoup de lois physiologiques fondamentales du travail humain. L'ergographe apparait   certains comme un appareil vieux jeu, un monument de l'histoire r trospective, tandis que l'on pourrait peut- tre encore obtenir de cet ing nieux instrument d'autres pr cieux et importants

éléments d'étude, comme a su le faire, par exemple, Mme Joteiko.

D'autre part - tout en demandant pardon de cette effusion de mauvaise humeur, due en partie à notre attachement personnel pour ces pures gloirs scientifiques italiennes - il ne serait pas juste de déprécier les courageuses tentatives pratiques d'humanisation de l'Industrie, réalisées en Italie, uniquement parce qu'elles sont, qualitativement, moins considérables que les tentatives théoriques. C'est de différents milieux - publics et privés - que sont nées ces louables innovations.

L'initiative des industriels considérée comme classe. La Confédération même des Industriels qui a donné naissance à l'E.N.I.O.S., a senti le besoin d'instituer dans son sein, il y a un an, un Bureau d'Assistance Sociale (Piazza Venezia, 11 - Roma), dont la tâche est de constater, de propager et d'encourager les oeuvres créées par les industriels "au bénéfice" de leurs ouvriers. Le caractère "paternaliste" de cet organisme, dont l'activité ingénieuse d'ailleurs s'exerce sur une vaste échelle, est évident: mais à l'état actuel des choses et dans la majorité des cas, une idée plus moderne de l'esprit qui doit animer les oeuvres d'assistance serait peut-être prématurée et intempestive. Tous ceux qui ont médité sans passion sur ce sujet sont d'accord pour croire que l'ouvrier ne demande (ni agréé) à être encadré et contrôlé - même dans ses heures de récréation - par celui qui l'emploie. Mais dans la période initiale de tous les mouvements de ce genre, la phase "paternaliste" a été inévitable: avec l'éducation ouvrière, le sens de la personnalité ira, d'une façon corrélative, se perfectionnant chez les travailleurs, et, d'autre part, les industriels se rendront compte, par une oeuvre graduelle et habile de persuasion, de la nécessité de garantir l'autonomie des oeuvres d'assistance: ce sera l'histoire de demain. Quant à présent, on doit prendre acte, avec une sincère complaisance, de l'activité du Bureau d'Assistance Sociale, laquelle se manifeste dans une feuille bimensuelle ("L'Assistance Sociale dans l'Industrie), dans des opuscules, des enquêtes, des concours.

L'E. N. I. O. S. même a reconnu la nécessité de confier à une

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Commission spéciale les études sur le "facteur humain"; cette Commission, présidée par le Prof. Medolaghi (Directeur de la Caisse Nationale d'assurances sociales) compte parmi ses membres des physiologistes, des économistes, des industriels. Son action publique s'est bornée jusqu'ici (avril 1928) à une réunion d'installation. Mais il est à notre connaissance que deux savants d'un mérite singulier ont préparé, précisément pour servir de base aux travaux de la Commission, d'appréciables études: M. Niceforo a élaboré un schéma des enquêtes statistiques et techniques, par lesquelles on poursuit une recherche sur les mouvements et la fatigue; M. Loriga, renfermant dans un résumé plein de bonnes idées qui a parfaitement mis à jour ses réflexions sur la fatigue dans le travail industriel, formule quelques propositions pratiques pour les investigations qui mériteraient d'être encouragées de préférence: quant à nous, Membres de l'I. R. I., qui avons entendu exposer une partie de ces idées par M. Loriga lui-même au Cours d'Été de Baveno, il est intéressant de constater qu'il a tenu compte, dans cet exposé plus récent, de la contribution de quelques-uns des Conférenciers à cette réunion. La Commission du "facteur humain" de l'E.N.I.O.S., d'accord avec le Bureau d'Assistance Sociale - dont nous venons de parler -, a organisé un Concours sur lequel nous devons nous arrêter un moment: il a été annoncé au public récemment avec l'annonce de 50.000 Lit. de prix; sujets à traiter: le premier, relatif aux oeuvres d'assistance, le second, concernant les applications au "facteur humain" des principes découverts par les études sur la fatigue, le mouvement, etc. Personnellement, nous concevons comme un tout idéal unique ces efforts, dus à diverses initiatives, qui - grâce à l'étude des formes de travail, du milieu, des hommes, ou à la vigilance hygiénique, sanitaire et sociale - tendent à la même fin: le perfectionnement de la production, en se servant des mêmes méthodes d'action: objectivité scientifique des investigations, esprit de coopération, mentalité de "service social". Et nous voyons par conséquent avec plaisir le rapprochement de ces deux sujets dans un seul concours. Il est permis d'espérer que l'on verra celui-ci mettre en lumière les efforts dont on



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a jusqu'ici de si sommaires nouvelles, efforts d'un petit nombre d'isolés et partant plus méritoires.

Enfin, nous devons citer la constitution, qui a eu lieu à Milan dans les derniers jours d'avril, d'une Société pour les études de psycho-physiologie industrielle. La Société a été créée par le Rotary Club d'Italie, grâce à l'initiative de Mr. l'Ing. Umberto Quintavalle; elle est présidée par M. Luigi Mangiagalli - médecin et sociologue illustre, ex Maire de Milan et Ministre d'Etat. Déjà de nombreuses subventions - parmi lesquelles une considérable de 100.000 liras, d'un notaire et mécène milanais, M. Quasti - garantissent la vitalité matérielle de cette Institution, qui vient de naître sous de si favorables auspices qu'on peut facilement prévoir que sa contribution au progrès de l'idée en question sera des plus brillantes et intéressantes.

Oeuvres d'origine diverse pour le "service social" d'usine. On a déjà signalé, dans le Rapport de Flessingue, l'action de quelques Institutions ayant un caractère privé pour la création du "secrétariat social de fabrique". La première (fondé en 1921) - l'Institut Italien d'Assistance Sociale (Via Silvio Pellico, 8 - Milano) a commencé en 1927 à faire partie de l'Oeuvre Nationale "Dopolavoro" (après le travail) et a étendu d'une façon encourageante sa zone d'influence, qui comprend actuellement 15 établissements de Milan, Sesto San Giovanni, Verceil, Bisuschio, Maggianico, etc. (automobiles, électro-mécanique, lampes électriques, compteurs à gaz, carrières, etc.) auxquels sont attachées 10 secrétaires sociales qui consacrent leurs activités à au moins 15.000 ouvriers et même à leurs familles. A également progressé d'une façon remarquable l'Institut d' "Assistance Sociale au travailleur", (Corso Roma, 53 - Milano), lequel exerce son activité en Lombardie et dans plusieurs grandes fabriques du centre industriel de Terni. C'est d'une façon analogue que s'est développée l'action due à la Compagnie de San Paolo (institution née d'un grand organisme catholique milanais, l'Oeuvre Cardinal Ferrari) - (Via S. Sofia, 5 - Milan), dont l'objet spécial est d'organiser des cuisines et restaurants de fabrique et d'assister

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moralement les ouvriers: cette Compagnie a un caractère confessionnel déclaré; mais, près de quelques firmes, elle a accepté des fonctions purement techniques - spécialement pour l'alimentation ouvrière - dont elle s'acquitte d'ailleurs avec un esprit d'altruisme vraiment chrétien.

Il est un problème qui reste central, pour ces Institutions, c'est celui de la préparation professionnelle du personnel; il manque encore un ordre spécial et caractéristique d'études pour préparer les Secrétaires ou Assistantes Sociales. Une loi de 1925 a prévu l'ouverture de cours de perfectionnement d'un an, pour visiteuses sociales, réservés aux éléments féminins déjà pourvus du diplôme d'infirmière (deux ans, d'internat): mais jusqu'ici, à cause du petit nombre de candidates, ces cours ne sont pas encore régulièrement organisés. On doit donc se contenter, pour la préparation élémentaire, de cours rapides (trois mois environ) organisés par les Institutions directement intéressées à se procurer le personnel et complétés par un stage dans la fabrique. Le progrès du mouvement italien est certainement conditionné par la prompte et heureuse solution de cet aspect essentiel de l'organisation de l'assistance.

Une autre Institution, que nous avons le devoir de citer, est "La Vigile" (Via Ospedale, 20 - Torino), bien qu'elle ait un caractère plus étroitement sanitaire et de prévoyance contre les accidents, plutôt que social: c'est un corps de médecins qui - selon des systèmes économiques et standardisés - se chargent de la gestion des infirmeries et des services médicaux dans les fabriques. Elle a été récemment absorbée par la Confédération des Industriels, qui - à ce point de vue encore, se préoccupe de rendre service à ses organisés - et certainement, grâce à la plus grande autorité qui lui viendra de cette nouvelle combinaison, elle élargira encore sa sphère d'action déjà fort vaste.

Une belle campagne de propagande sociale, se reflétant sur tous les problèmes de l'hygiène et de la prévoyance, mais considérant plus particulièrement celui de l'assistance aux travailleurs, a été menée, dans ces dernières années, par l'Institut d'Hygiène, Prévoyance et Assistance Sociale

de Rome (Palais Sciarra), fondé et dirigé par le Prof. E. Levi, ardent défenseur de tout progrès social. Cette Institution, qui s'est greffée sur le puissant organisme dépendant de l'Etat, lequel se charge de l'assurance obligatoire contre l'invalidité et la vieillesse (Caisse Nationale d'Assurance Sociale - Rome), continue à publier sa Revue "Défense Sociale", et offre aux hommes d'études l'aimable hospitalité de sa très riche bibliothèque, contenant de nombreux et récents ouvrages du monde entier sur les sujets qui nous intéressent.

**Oeuvres d'orientation professionnelle.** Elles ne sont pas encore très développées en Italie, du moins pour le moment, et pourtant les chercheurs ne manquent pas, qui, recrutés surtout dans la classe des médecins, tournent constamment leur attention vers ce problème. C'est plutôt dans les milieux scolaires que nous trouvons - et c'est naturel - des exemples d'autant plus louables qu'ils sont moins fréquents: depuis le Service d'Orientation de Rome, dirigé par la Desse, Gasca Diez (près de l'école élém. Grazioli Lante), jusqu'à celui qui a été créé à Turin par le Prof. Dr. Pizzoli et par l'Ing. Fossati (Institut Industriel); de plus, il existe à Gênes, en faveur des orphelins de guerre, un service fondé par le Dr. Vidoni; à Milan, un autre est en préparation, par les soins des Drs. Doniselli et Albertini; à Modène, enfin signalons le service de l'Ecole F. Corni, etc.

Il manque jusqu'ici un lien commun entre ces Institutions locales, il manque aussi des descriptions soignées des différents métiers, et il n'y a pas même, malheureusement, une collaboration constante entre les Institutions d'orientation et l'industrie; en somme, il y a encore bien du chemin à parcourir en cette matière; mais on le parcourra, parce que, parmi les médecins et parmi les membres de l'enseignement, l'intérêt pour l'idée va se généralisant, et de toute part germent des propositions qui devront bientôt se traduire en actes.

**OEUVRES POUR LA SELECTION, POUR L'ETUDE DE LA FATIGUE ET EN GENERAL POUR L'ORGANISATION HUMAINE DU TRAVAIL.**

L'aviation militaire et civile est le domaine où la sélection est appliquée en Italie de la façon la plus large et

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la plus systématique. Les recherches et les applications faites pendant la guerre par le physiologiste Herlitzka, par le bio-psychologue Gemelli, et ensuite continuées par le regretté Galeotti, par Aggazzotti, par Bilancioni et - selon les directives de Patrizi - par Casarini, ont donné naissance à trois Instituts physio-psychologiques permanents (à Rome, à Turin, à Florence) lesquels se chargent d'assujettir tout le personnel de navigation aérienne à des visites d'enrôlement et ensuite de contrôle. Ces Instituts sont actuellement dirigés par des médecins militaires et une Commission technique de savants militaires et civils préside à tout leur fonctionnement. Les méthodes adoptées et tout l'outillage en partie imaginé expressément pour ces visites - dont le nombre, pendant la guerre seulement, s'éleva à plus de 26.000 - forcèrent l'admiration des divers experts étrangers, qui vinrent étudier la question en Italie; si bien que trois Etats déjà: le Japon, l'Argentine et la Roumanie, ont adopté in toto les méthodes et les appareils italiens, pour fonder des Instituts analogues de sélection dans l'aviation.

La visite à laquelle s'assujettissent les aviateurs, consiste en une rigoureuse détermination des antécédents (famille - habitudes - antécédents d'entraînement - maladies et blessures déjà contractées ou reçues - symptômes subjectifs) suivie d'une série de relevés anthropométriques, cliniques, morphologiques, endocrinologiques. On soumet par conséquent à des examens minutieux les différents appareils de l'organisme: pour l'appareil respiratoire, le pneumographe, le spiromètre Grazi, l'épreuve du vent artificiel, etc.; pour l'appareil circulatoire, le cardiographe et le sphygmomanomètre, pour déterminer, dans des conditions différentes, les différences du rythme cardiaque, l'épreuve de résistance aux variations de pression barométrique (chambre pneumatique); pour les appareils digestif et uro-génital, des épreuves plus sommaires. Viennent ensuite les relevés sur la sensibilité générale (esthésiométrie), dolorifique, thermique (barosthésie, batiesthésie, stéréognosie); les examens, objectif et fonctionnel, du nez, de la gorge, de l'oreille surtout pour la fonction statique du vestibule, avec les épreuves thermique, galvanique, de la rotation

(Bilancioni), de l'indication, du sens de position et de verticalité (carlingue de Malan); de l'oeil, acuité, adaptation, réfraction, champ visuel et champ du regard, vision crépusculaire (Gradenigo), stéréoscopique, chromatique. On passe ensuite à l'étude des fonctions motrices volontaires, avec des dynamomètres, l'ergographe digital de Mosso, l'ergographe crural de Patrizi, avec le tapping (vitesse des mouvements), avec l'ergoesthésiographe Galeotti (sens musculaire); aux études des reflexes superficiels et profonds, du dermatographisme. Et l'on arrive à l'examen psychique de l'émotivité (plétismographe de Mosso et gant volumétrique de Patrizi, même combiné avec pneumographe, spymographe et trémographe de Lugliato) du temps de réaction simple et avec choix (dispositifs à "cloche" d'Aggazzotti), de la vitesse de perception (appareils de Gemelli et de Galeotti), de l'attention dans ses diverses formes.

Ces divers examens sont faits chacun par des spécialistes et c'est le Directeur de l'Institut qui, sur la base des résultats obtenus, prononce le jugement de sélection. On a prévu douze catégories d'imperfections physiques et d'infirmités qui sont cause d'inadmission. Il serait intéressant de rapporter les règles très opportunes de l'évaluation "pondérale" des différentes épreuves, évaluation qui est également influencée par des observations générales sur les caractères physiopsychologiques et sur le maintien du candidat, surtout au double point de vue volonté et inhibition. Le pourcentage des réformés - au moins pendant la guerre -, s'est élevé semble-t-il, à 30-40% des candidates. Il ne nous a pas semblé inutile de mettre en lumière par quelques détails cette méthode de visite, parce qu'elle atteste une rigueur et une profondeur de principes dont nous verrions avec plaisir, dans la mesure du possible, étendre l'application aux visites de sélection des ouvriers.

Depuis quelque temps, dans les Chemins de fer, on met en évidence l'opportunité d'un examen psychotechnique complet pour les chauffeurs et les aiguilleurs: mais, en dépit de la propagande faite par un des médecins les plus autorisés des Chemins de fer - le Prof. Diez - jusqu'ici les épreuves aux-

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quelles sont soumis ces employés des chemins de fer, se bornent au domaine des sens, en particulier aux perceptions de la vue et de l'ouïe. Rien de plus.

Quant aux conducteurs des tramways, l'unique innovation qui nous soit connue est celle de l'administration des Tramways de Milan (Foro Bonaparte, 61), laquelle a installé un cabinet physio-psychotechnique, pourvu de tout le nécessaire et y a fait commencer en 1926 des visites de sélection. La méthode qui y est suivie est encore rigoureuse et prudente: d'autre part, le pourcentage des candidats refusés peut aussi être relativement élevé, étant donné qu'aux concours organisés pour les employés des tramways, il se présente toujours un nombre de candidats largement supérieur au nombre des places vacantes. Nous n'avons pas jusqu'ici de données précises sur les résultats de ces visites, surtout en ce qui concerne la détermination, même sous forme de tendance, des aptitudes préférables pour le conducteur de tramways.

Si, dans les exploitations ayant un caractère public, on a seulement commencé, jusqu'ici l'organisation humaine, et - peut-on dire - exclusivement pour ce qui se rapporte à la sélection, dans les exploitations ayant un caractère privé, malheureusement, on en est presque encore au même point.

Il n'y a pas jusqu'ici de sérieux examens physio-psychiques pour les conducteurs de véhicules automobiles: et c'est dommage, parce que c'est ici que l'opportunité logique, et scientifique de cet examen a été proclamée - probablement pour la première fois dans le monde entier - par le psychiatre Petrazzani de Reggi Emilia, cela dès 1907 (Rivista di Freniatria), et la même nécessité a été chaleureusement proposée, de façon encore plus explicite, par M. L. Patrizi, en 1909, lorsque les études psychotechniques de Münsterberg étaient encore ignorées et peut-être, même, n'avaient pas encore été commencées.

Mais c'est dans l'industrie privée que l'organisation humaine du travail doit s'affirmer par sa propre vertu et sans l'aide de considérations concomitantes d'un autre genre, telles que

la défense du salut public. C'est dans les industries privées - où les préoccupations du lucre et de la concurrence sont vives et immédiates - que l'organisation humaine du travail doit fournir une preuve plus directe et plus prompte de sa capacité "économique": si "it pays", comme disent les Anglo-Saxons, - si elle engendre des résultats avantageux pour la production, la preuve est favorable et réussie. Autrement, nous sommes dans le royaume de l'Utopie.

Dans l'industrie privée italienne, nous trouvons très peu d'exemples de véritable organisation humaine et encore ces exemples sont-ils incomplets. Nous mentionnerons sommairement l'histoire et les caractères de l'un d'eux, pour donner une idée - en citant des faits - de ce qui se pratique chez nous. Devant choisir, par force, l'exemple de l'organisation la plus développée et la plus complète, nous sommes contraints de parler d'une chose qui n'est pas étrangère à l'activité personnelle de l'auteur de ce rapport: et de cela, nous demandons pardon.

A la Fabbrica Italiana Magnetti Marelli (Sesto S. Giovanni - près de Milan; environ 1500 ouvriers, dont 200 femmes), il existait déjà, depuis sa fondation (1921), des oeuvres très développées d'assistance sociale. En 1924, l'Institut Italien d'Assistance Sociale y avait créé un "Secrétariat de Fabrique" s'occupant, avant tout, de "welfare work": assistance sanitaire, morale, intellectuelle: visites médicales générales et visites de spécialistes, visites à domicile, cours d'économie domestique, bibliothèque circulante, restaurant de fabrique avec cuisine intérieure, oeuvres de bienfaisance variées, excursions ouvrières, repas supplémentaires pour les prédisposés à la tuberculose, cabinet de consultations pour nourrissons, etc. Toute une floraison de belles innovations, réalisées selon les idées de la Direction, par une vaillante et laborieuse "secrétaire sociale", qui avait aussi le brevet d' "assistante sanitaire" (visiting nurse).

La nécessité d'un médecin de fabrique fut sentie dès le premier moment, et bien qu'entre autres choses la visite des victimes des accidents du travail fût confiée à ses soins, la Direction et les organisateurs du Service virent tout de suite

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qu'on pourrait faire encore d'avantage. Mais la préparation fût longue et pénible. Il fallut environ deux ans pour arriver à outiller un cabinet psychotechnique; mais en attendant on avait mis en train l'exécution de relevés de la production (statistique du rendement) et de travaux embryonnaires d'observation sur la fatigue, surtout en ce qui concernait l'élément féminin du personnel. En 1925, on instituait deux pauses, d'un quart d'heure chacune, pour interrompre l'horaire (8-12h. et 13-17h.), et il fut possible de démontrer que ces pauses, loin de représenter une perte pour le rendement, produisaient - au contraire - une petite augmentation (4 % environ). Après une période de moindre activité, due à des changements du personnel dirigeant, on arrive - en 1927 - à une réorganisation du Service sur les bases suivantes: ce Service se détache du Secrétariat Social, qui continue à être administré d'après les mêmes principes et, bien plus, il élargit son action; il se sépare aussi du service médical des accidents, confié à un autre médecin; le service de l'organisation humaine (ou bureau physio-psychique) s'occupe dorénavant et exclusivement de la détermination des aptitudes, de l'étude de l'exécution du travail, des recherches sur la fatigue, sur les mouvements, etc. Son personnel est composé de trois personnes: un dirigeant, chargé de la partie psychologique et sociologique (part time: trois heures par jour) un médecin, chargé de la partie physiologique (part time: quatre heures par jour), et un technicien, chargé des tâches statistiques, techniques, administratives (huit heures par jour). Dans l'année 1927-28, ce Service a mené à bien de nombreuses innovations qui toutes tendent aux mêmes fins: rendre le travail, autant qu'il se peut, moins fatigant, moins malaisé, moins dangereux et plus fructueux, plus agréable pour les ouvriers; amener une augmentation de la qualité ou de la quantité de la production, pour l'industriel. Evidemment ces deux objectifs ont des points de contact; mais les considérer comme distincts entre eux et envisager toujours le problème aux deux points de vue différents, c'est, peut-être, ce qui représente le "punctum saliens". C'est ce que nous tâcherons de rendre plus clair, en examinant de plus près chacune des oeuvres en question.



L'entrée au travail de tous les ouvriers et employés, est subordonnée à une minutieuse visite physio-psychique, faite par ce Service: elle dure de 45' à lh. 30, et comprend, selon la place pour laquelle on est proposé, une série d'épreuves et de tests choisis opportunément. On fait aussi des visites de contrôle pour les transferts et les renvois; on assujettit à une révision les ouvriers qui rentrent après une maladie ou une absence. En corrélation avec cette action, on a établi, comme mesure provisoire, au moyen de visites spéciales faites sur le personnel déjà habile (les "standards"), des tableaux d'aptitudes pour quelques-uns des travaux les plus caractéristiques et les plus importants. Les études et les recherches qui peu à peu se poursuivent, permettent de parfaire ces tableaux dans leurs divers détails. Et ainsi, d'autre part, on complète de plus en plus, par l'acquisition et la construction de nouveaux instruments et par l'adoption de nouveaux tests, l'outillage des preuves. Ce dernier comprend, outre différents appareils pour mesurer la respiration, la circulation, etc., de nombreux instruments pour vérifier la capacité des sens, une série de dynamomètres, un ergographe Mossco, pour les études sur la fatigue, un mesureur des temps de réaction à un stimulant acoustique, visuel ou tactile, maints dispositifs pour tests analytiques et synthético-professionnels. On fait exécuter encore quelques preuves mentales, surtout sur l'attention et sur les qualités élémentaires de l'intelligence (350 visites environ ont été faites par ce Service dans l'année 1927-28).

Une notable partie de cette activité s'applique aussi à l'étude de la fatigue, par exemple par les recherches pour améliorer la position durant le travail \* et pour réduire les conditions nombreuses et diverses qui font obstacle à la marche régulière de la production (aération, éclairage - vérification avec le luxmètre -, température et humidité rationnelles, eau potable, oscillations, etc.). Pour affronter un problème très grave - les accidents du travail - qui est en même temps cause et effet de la fatigue, fût constitué le premier "Comité de Sécurité" (dont

\* Dans cet ordre d'idées, on a imaginé un modèle de siège rationnel, réglable, avec appuis pour le dos et pour les pieds.

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font partie des contre-mâtres et des ouvriers) qui a commencé à fonctionner et dont les activités sont: l'institution du "tableau de la sûreté", l'organisation de relevés statistiques réguliers, la création d'un concours contre les accidents du travail, avec caractère sportif, etc.

La partie la plus délicate et la plus importante de la tâche du Service, est toutefois représentée par les études relatives aux méthodes du travail. Elles commencent toujours par une enquête minutieuse (process chart) sur les conditions du milieu, sur le flux des matières premières et du travail, sur les qualités individuelles des ouvriers (visites physio-psychiques), sur le rendement; puis, en vérifiant patiemment et en isolant chaque "variable" qui influe sur le travail auquel on applique l'analyse des mouvements élémentaires (therbligs), on effectue les relevés photo-cinématographiques quand il le faut, le mesurage chronométrique des temps; enfin, on expérimente les modifications suggérées par ces examens, on détermine la durée et le nombre préférable des pauses de repos, le rythme et les aptitudes personnelles qui semblent répondre le mieux à la nature de la tâche, etc. Ce cycle de vérifications n'a été appliqué jusqu'ici que partiellement et dans trois cas un peu fragmentaires. Mais à présent on est en train de faire une enquête complète, qui a entrepris de considérer une section (préparation et montage des condensateurs) occupant une quarantaine de jeunes filles.

Dans l'étude des aptitudes - comme dans celle de la fatigue - et dans celle des méthodes de travail, ce qui domine toujours c'est la préoccupation, dont il a déjà été parlé, d'envisager chaque problème au double point de vue (production et homme). Et ainsi se présente une différence inévitable entre ces nouvelles tâches et celles des hiérarchies que l'on rencontre habituellement dans l'industrie, lesquelles se proposent, et cela, de leur point de vue est logique, un seul objectif: "la production", et par conséquent sont amenées parfois à ignorer ou à subordonner l'autre facteur: "l'homme". C'est dans ce contraste d'opinions et de méthodes - qu'il importe naturellement de maintenir dans les termes les plus courtois et les plus sereins - que réside l'obstacle le plus grave s'opposant aux

progrès de l'organisation humaine. Et cela suffirait à expliquer pourquoi sont encore circonscrits et exceptionnels les exemples où s'affirme, avec un caractère précis, cette tendance moderne ou - pourrait-on dire - appartenant à l'avenir. Mais il y a plus.

Organiser les aspects techniques, est chose en certain sens facile, parce qu'il s'agit, dans la plupart des cas, de réaliser - dans la pratique - les aspirations, les idées d'ordres, de promptitude et de précision que tout esprit équilibré d'organisateur professe déjà et entrevoit plus ou moins clairement devant soi. Organiser les aspects humains, est, au contraire une chose beaucoup plus malaisée, parce que l'on doit pour cela, le plus souvent, contrarier, au lieu de seconder, quelques tendances enracinées dans le cerveau des dirigeants, vaincre bien des préjugés instinctifs, dictés par le traditionalisme, même aux ouvriers qui pourtant sont plus directement favorisés par les nouvelles méthodes. Evidemment, l'industriel - qui en a les moyens - a plus vite fait de changer toutes les machines ou de modifier le flux de travail, que de faire adopter dans son exploitation certaines mesures contre la fatigue - par exemple, les sièges pour les ouvriers - ou contre les accidents comme la protection contre les éclats, au moyen des lunettes pour le travail.

Il ya une autre différence défavorable aux systèmes d'humanisation que nous pouvons noter: leurs fruits réels, qui ne manquent pas et parfois sont abondants, sont ordinairement moins apparents et semblent moins concrets que ceux qui proviennent des perfectionnements techniques. La complexité même, la variabilité et l'incoercibilité de la nature humaine - qui est l'objet de ces mesures - font que les répercussions réelles de ces dernières ce trouvent partiellement insaisissables ou ne peuvent être que mal évaluées.

Ce sont des singulières difficultés que celles que nous venons d'exposer. Mais il ne suffirait pas encore d'avoir vaincu ces résistances ces faits négatifs: il faut encore proclamer et établir comme règle de vie deux faits positifs, deux idées courageuses.

Il faut avant tout que les chefs et ceux qui sont placés sous

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leurs ordres acceptent comme principe essentiel et règle de chacun de leurs actes l'objectivité des jugements (justitia fundamentum regni...) Il faut donc qu'ils affrontent avec un esprit serein et dépouillé de préjugés, toutes les situations que crée la vie en commun durant le travail. Il faut qu'ils fondent chacune de leurs actions sur des vérifications et des contrôles non influencés par les passions, par le personnelisme, par le traditionalisme.

Et il faut enfin que toutes les parties en cause admettent en théorie et, consciencieusement et loyalement, ne perdent pas de vue, dans la pratique, l'autre grande idée féconde: la dépendance réciproque. Qu'ils collaborent dans la pensée et dans les actes, avec estime, avec cordialité et bonne volonté.

A qui saura réduire ces difficultés et appliquer avec foi ces principes, le succès ne sera pas refusé. Et le prix de l'"assainissement industriel" sera immanquable et inestimable. Les résultats de cet "assainissement", quand il est enfin donné de les atteindre, ont une importance et une profondeur singulières: autre effet, celui-ci, dérivant du fait que c'est dans le domaine de l'esprit que ces résultats sont obtenus. De grands phénomènes sociaux, comme ceux de la circulation ouvrière (turn-over), de l'éducation professionnelle et civile des masses, de l'augmentation des produits, de la diminution des prix et de l'amélioration du niveau général de la vie, ressentent l'influence bienfaisante des mesures d'"assainissement". Et, chose essentielle entre toutes, naît, ou plutôt, renaît, un admirable résultat: la confiance. Elle se crée - ou plutôt, elle recommence à se créer, au delà de la parenthèse des siècles, comme jadis dans la vie commune et familière de la "bottega", de l'atelier où l'artiste-artisan réunissait ses élèves, ou de la "corporation" du moyen-âge - cette atmosphère de sincère, d'effective bienveillance du travailleur à l'égard de ceux qui lui donnent du travail et, par réciprocité, cet attachement de ces derniers pour le travailleur. C'est là probablement le besoin le plus vif de notre civilisation; bien plus, ce serait son soutien le plus solide et le plus sûr, présage d'autres progrès à venir.

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Hans Sachs, incarnation de l'état d'artisan, qui dans l'immortel "opéra" "Les Maîtres Chanteurs", alterne ses chants avec le rythme solennel et joyeux de son marteau de cordonnier, connaissait et enseignait la joie du travail; la machine, la vapeur, l'électricité et les autres conquêtes techniques des deux derniers siècles, ont tari et presque supprimé cette joie. Puisse-t-elle - pour le bien de l'humanité - revenir et ramener le sourire et le chant sur les lèvres mêmes du plus humble des travailleurs.

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Speaking in a general way concerning the development in Japan of that aspect of scientific management known as human relations, we may say at the outset that although Japan is in her industrial infancy she is nevertheless rapidly entering the field of large scale industrialism, and is aware of the necessity of studying the human side of scientific management. Still in the experimental stage of this kind of scientific management, Japan lacks the precise information and statistics requisite for a comprehensive treatment of the subject. Except for some fragmentary reports and partial statistics that have been published from time to time by the government, a few municipalities or certain research institutes, Japan offers but little data on which to base a report such as I would like to offer at this Congress. In view of the limited information available my report, therefore, cannot be regarded as a complete handling of the subject with which it deals. I ask that you regard it rather in the light of a general survey, but one on which I have bestowed the utmost care and effort to make it as complete as possible under the existing circumstances.

### INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY.

Fifteen years ago Japan, realizing the constantly increasing interest taken in this subject in Europe and in America, began her own study of it, and many large industrial firms have been experimenting with the application of industrial psychology as a means of ascertaining what particular job the worker is best qualified to fill. In many cases such tests are made at the time when the worker applies for employment, and some of the most progressive concerns now employ such tests for those already on the pay roll, in order to make certain that each worker is on the job for which he is best suited. Amongst the firms and organizations which are employing industrial psychology along scientific lines in some form or other, we find such trades as the following: drugs and chemical products, hosiery, silk, cotton, porcelain, tobacco, and we may also mention the railways under government control.

Apart from these organizations, where industrial psychology is being actually applied, there are a number of institutes which conduct research work on this subject and in addition on many other phases of the scientific management of labour. The three chief institutes directing their attention to these subjects are:

Sangyo Noritsu Kenkyujo. of Tokio (Research Institute for Industrial Efficiency).

Osaka Sangyo Noritsu Kenkyujo. of Osaka. (The Osaka Institute for Industrial Efficiency.)

Rodo Kagaku Kenkyujo, Kurashiki, Okayama. (Research Institute of Labour.)

These research bodies undertake investigations and experiments not only for their own study but also, in some cases, to assist industrial firms in determining and drafting suitable rules, regulations and methods of procedure on matters relating to the workers in their plants.

It was not until the close of the great European war that public attention was directed to this kind of scientific treatment of labour. As soon, however, as the war was over there arose an urgent need of finding employment for the very large number of workers who had been discharged during the period of depression. Faced with this situation, the government inaugurated a number of labour exchanges, for the purpose not only of giving work to the unemployed but also of giving them vocational guidance as well. This example was followed by municipalities in big industrial towns and cities, and now there are today a great many such public labour exchange offices throughout the empire. In respect to vocational guidance, taken in its strictest sense, their work cannot yet be described as complete.

Besides these governmental bodies, we have three private institutes known as the Shokugyo hoda kai (Association for Occupational Guidance) established in Tokio, Osaka and Kobe, and which are maintained from a fund contributed by a philanthropist. At these institutes are given courses and lectures designed with special reference to the different types of occupations in which workers may be engaged, and training

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is given in whatever particular occupation the worker seems best fitted for. In addition to these general organizations there are certain special ones which aim at giving children vocational guidance. The chief are:

Toko-fu Shonen Shokugyo Sodanjo (Juvenile Labour Consulting Office), established by the Tokio Provincial Government.

Aichi-ken Jido kenkyo jo (Child Labour Investigation Office), established by the Aichi Provincial Government.

Shonen sodanjo (Juvenile Labour Consulting Offices), established by the municipalities of Kioto and Kobe.

In these organisations an attempt is being made to study children and youths physically and mentally in order to discover the most suitable occupations for them to engage in.

Recently an important negotiation has been conducted between the Home Office and the Department of Education on the subject of founding a big central organization for the vocational guidance of juvenile labour. Another plan is on foot to start an institute for vocational guidance for experts in the fields of psychology, education and medical science.

### VOCATIONAL SELECTION.

The first actual experiment in this form of scientific management, as applied to workers, was made in 1915 at the Government School for Torpedo Engineering among the crews in the Navy and also among the workers of the Naval Arsenal at Yokosuka. The successful result of this undertaking led the Department of Communications to establish in the Department an institute for studying the workers' psychology, and through which, by means of examinations and vocational selection, the employees could be assigned to jobs for which they were best qualified. The fact that industrial psychology is receiving attention in both the Government Railways and Government tobacco factories is an indication that this type of industrial management in regard to labour is not overlooked in other Government undertakings. Amongst the private industries a good many of the progressive firms practise vocational selection both in hiring new workers and also for



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those already in their employ, in order to ensure the right man being in the right place. In the cotton spinning industry, where a large number of female workers are employed, vocational selection in connection with various forms of psychological experiments, physical fatigue tests etc, are very much in evidence.

Some of the most progressive firms employ specialists for a scientific study of their workmen as an aid to vocational guidance; the aim being to augment the workers' efficiency through elimination of fatigue by motion study in reference to the particular job in hand.

### EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR ALL GROUPS IN INDUSTRY.

In response to inquiries made by the Ohara Research Institute of Social Sciences it was found that, through the enterprise of private employers, the following forms of group education are in existence.

Re Continuation School: out of 229 factories interrogated 100 or 43.67 % reported as having it.

Re Technical Education: out of 198 factories interrogated 49 or 24.75 % reported as having it.

Re Art and Technical Education for Female Labour: out of 240 factories interrogated 49 or 20.41% reported as having it.

Besides these major educational activities there are throughout the industrial cities and towns a great many short course schools, lectures and evening schools for workers in general. These are conducted by municipalities or corporate bodies, and workers whose employers make no provision for continuation schools and the like have a fairly good opportunity of learning at these schools.

### INDUSTRIAL WELFARE WORK.

#### PERSONNEL AND EMPLOYMENT MANAGEMENT.

Some industrial concerns have highly developed Personnel or Employment Management departments in some form or another, but there are very few of them, thus making it difficult to draw a general picture. The following examples, however, are fairly common: libraries, workmens' dormitories and cott-

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ages, medical attendance and care, personnel and employment offices and, in some cases, works councils. The Government Report for 1924 listed the number of works councils as 155. Instances of facilities provided for sports, games, music and other forms of recreation are not infrequent.

### CO-OPERATION WITHIN AND BETWEEN THE VARIOUS GROUPS IN INDUSTRY.

In 1925 the number of Trade Associations amounted to 646. These associations in addition to such price and production arrangements as exist between them cooperate one with another, as do the individual firms within each group, in the case of labor disputes or labour legislation.

### INDUSTRIAL AND FACTORY INSPECTION.

It is difficult to state in what degree the general standard has been raised by these voluntary applications of scientific management over and above the standard maintained by reason of legislative measures protecting workers, and factory acts governing working conditions. With respect to the maintainance of such legal standards, the Government in 1926 appointed through the Bureau for Social Affairs at the Home Office and through Provincial Governments, 336 factory inspectors. Besides the Factory Acts, the following acts have been enacted with regard to industrial labour: "The Factory Workers' Minimum Wage Act", "The Labour Disputes Act", "The Health Insurance Act", and "The Mine Act".

Apart from these legal obligations to maintain a minimum standard of welfare for workers, we note with satisfaction the appearance of various organizations both official and private which aim at the promotion and encouragement of the workers' welfare. Then too the fact that certain progressive firms whose regard for their workers' wellbeing has resulted in such a spirit of concord and mutual understanding that no labour disputes have arisen, has led other firms less concerned with regard to their workers' welfare to adopt a different attitude.

### GENERAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMICAL BACKGROUND.

Since 1926, Japan has been uninterruptedly suffering from bad

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times in all trades, and unemployment all round has been a natural outcome of the situation. Prices for daily necessities did not fall sufficiently to benefit and relieve the wage-earning class. Employers on the other hand unable to reduce wage costs materially have been unable to extend their business and have been forced to discharge many workers. Consequently the great throng of workers who had been pouring into the towns from the country began to suffer all the misery of unemployment, and within the last few years serious social questions have arisen. To meet this situation, both the central and local Governments, including municipalities, have started various kinds of public relief work, such as is done in Europe, and are thus relieving the situation. Will such a situation always be met with only such temporary measures? It is a great and serious question not only for Japan but for every other industrial country as well. Thoughtful people here are seeking its fundamental solution in the international benefit of free trade, as already discussed in the World Economic Conference last year in Geneva.

## OESTERREICH

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Auf 84.000 Quadratkilometern wohnen  $6\frac{1}{2}$  Millionen Einwohner, von denen ungefähr 4.1 Millionen im Erwerbsleben tätig sind. Der Groszteil der Berufstätigen, nämlich ungefähr 2.5 Millionen sind unselbstständig Erwerbstätige, d.h. Arbeitnehmer. Die soziale Lage dieser 2.5 Millionen Arbeitnehmer soll mit ein paar Strichen skizziert werden. Der Durchschnittswochenlohn für die männlichen Arbeitskräfte beträgt 54.7 österr. Schilling und für die weiblichen Arbeitskräfte 29.4 österr. Schilling; für Männer und Frauen zusammen 47.8 österr. Schilling. Davon entfallen ungefähr S 3.— auf Versicherungsbeiträge. Hat ein Arbeiter 140 Tage gearbeitet, so hat er Anspruch auf 210 Tage Arbeitslosenunterstützung, die durchschnittlich S 12.60 bis S 17.50 die Woche beträgt. Vom 211. Unterstützungstage angefangen erhält er in der Regel eine etwas geringere Notstands-aushilfe, die ihm gewöhnlich so lange gewährt wird, bis er wieder Arbeit erhält. Die landwirtschaftlichen Arbeiter und die Hausgehilfen sind in die Arbeitslosenversicherung nicht einbezogen; die Heimarbeiter jedoch insoweit, als sie ausschließlich für eine Unternehmung arbeiten und aus diesem Arbeitsverhältnis ihren Lebensunterhalt bestreiten. Eine Alters- und Invaliditätsversicherung besteht derzeit nur für die Angestellten. Alte arbeitslose Arbeiter und Hausgehilfen erhalten eine Altersrente. Die Leistungen der Krankenversicherung betragen durchschnittlich S 14.— bis S 20.— Krankengeld die Woche. Aerztliche Behandlung, Medikamente und Spitalshilfe werden unentgeltlich beigestellt. Das gesamte Volkseinkommen Oesterreichs wird auf 7 Milliarden Schilling jährlich geschätzt, so dasz auf den Kopf pro Woche 21 Schilling entfallen. Von den besteuerten Gesamteinkommen entfallen gar nur 15 Schilling pro Woche auf den Kopf der Bevölkerung.

Die sozialpolitische Gesetzgebung in Oesterreich ist sehr umfangreich und vielfach gegliedert. Die Arbeitsvertragsgesetzgebung umfasst Sondergesetze für gewerbliche Arbeiter, Bergarbeiter, Arbeiter beim Bau öffentlicher Eisenbahnanlagen,

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Die landwirtschaftlichen Arbeiter werden in der sozialpolitischen Gesetzgebung ungünstiger behandelt als alle übrigen Arbeiter. So gilt für sie z.B. noch nicht der Achtstundentag, das Arbeiterurlausgesetz, das Betriebsrätegesetz, die Arbeitslosenversicherung und das Gesetz über die Einigungsämter und Kollektivverträge. Die Krankenversicherung für Landarbeiter ist in Durchführung begriffen.

Es gibt Betriebsräte und eine arbeitsrechtliche Sondergerichtsbarkeit; das Kollektivvertragswesen ist besonders geregelt und spielt in der Praxis eine entscheidende Rolle.

Von der ungemein vielgestaltigen Arbeiterschutzgesetzgebung ist hier vor allem die Arbeitszeitregelung von Bedeutung. Der Achtstundentag, bezw. die 48 Stundenwoche, sind gesetzlich eingeführt. Uebertretungen des Achtstundentagsgesetzes kommen vor allem in Kleinbetrieben vor, wo die Kontrolle eine schwierige ist und die Arbeitnehmer Ungesetzlichkeiten schwerer Widerstand leisten können. Allerdings ist es schon vorgekommen, dass sich die Arbeiter selbst mit ungesetzlichen Ueberstunden abgefunden haben, weil sie hiedurch eine Vermehrung des Einkommens erzielen. Die Sonntagsruhe ist gesetzlich geboten.

In der Verwendung von Frauen, Kindern und Jugendlichen zur Arbeit bestehen starke Beschränkungen, vor allem das Nachtarbeitsverbot. Die Heimarbeiter sind weitgehend geschützt. Die Regelung der Arbeitsinspektion entspricht den fortschrittlichsten Regelungen in anderen Ländern. Die Arbeitsvermittlung ist, von geringen Ausnahmen abgesehen, durchwegs eine öffentliche. Die Arbeitnehmer und Arbeitgeber haben von einander völlig unabhängige gesetzliche Interessenvertretungen (Arbeiterkammern und Handelskammern), die von der Regierung vor der Einbringung jedes das Wirtschaftsleben berührenden Gesetzes und überhaupt vor der Durchführung wichtiger Massnahmen befragt werden müssen, die die Interessen der Arbeiter und Unternehmer berühren. Die Kammern besitzen auch das Recht einer weitgehenden Initiative.

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Die grosse Zahl der selbständig Erwerbstätigen (1.6 Millionen) lässt erkennen, dass die meisten Betriebe Oesterreichs eine geringe Grösze haben. Dies zeigt die folgende Zusammenstellung:

24.000	Betriebe beschäftigen	.....	1—5	Arbeiter
7.000	"	"	6—20	"
2.000	"	"	21—50	"
800	"	"	51—100	"
662	"	"	101—500	"
95	"	"	501—1000	"
29	"	"	über 1000	"

Die Beziehungen zwischen Unternehmern und Arbeitnehmern hängen mit dieser Betriebsgrößenverteilung auf das engste zusammen. In den vielen Kleinbetrieben Oesterreichs kann noch ein persönliches Verhältnis zwischen Unternehmern und Arbeitern bestehen. Es waren weniger die soziale Einsicht und die Charakterbildung der kleinen Unternehmer als vielmehr das Selbstbewusstsein, die politische Reife, das Bildungsniveau der österreichischen Arbeiterschaft, die das persönliche Uebergewicht des Unternehmers, das lediglich aus seiner Unternehmerfunktion hervorgeht, gegenüber seinen Arbeitern beseitigte. Nicht zuletzt ist diese Aenderung der Zugehörigkeit zu einer gewerkschaftlichen oder politischen Organisation, dem grösseren Einfluss der Arbeitnehmer in der öffentlichen Verwaltung zuzuschreiben. Trotz der geringen Gesamtbevölkerungszahl steht Oesterreich bezüglich der absoluten Zahl der organisierten Arbeiter und Angestellten international nach Deutschland und England an dritter Stelle. Es kann nicht wundernehmen, dass in Kleinbetrieben, deren Arbeiterschaft gewerkschaftlich nicht organisiert ist, (was namentlich für Betriebe mit weiblichen Arbeitskräften zutrifft), die Arbeitsbeziehungen keine befriedigenden sind.

In den Mittel- und Groszbetrieben sind es die Betriebsräte, die die persönlichen Beziehungen zwischen Arbeitnehmern und Unternehmern aufrecht erhalten. Die Betriebsräte wurden durch Gesetz vom 15. Mai 1919 errichtet. In Betrieben, die bis 50 Arbeiter und Angestellte beschäftigen, besteht der Betriebsrat aus 3 Mitgliedern, in Betrieben mit mehr

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als 50 Beschäftigten erhöht sich für je weitere 100 Beschäftigte die Zahl der Mitglieder um eines. Die Tätigkeitsdauer des Betriebsrates beträgt ein Jahr und es sind ihnen eine Menge von Aufgaben zugewiesen, die in das Interessengebiet der IRI fallen. Sie haben mitzusprechen bei der Lohnfestsetzung, Erlassung und Aenderung der Arbeitsordnung im Betriebe, Unfallverhütung, Arbeiterversicherung, Aufrechterhaltung der Betriebsdisziplin, Verwaltung der Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen, Kündigung und Entlassung von Angestellten, Betriebsverbesserungen etc. Ob der Betriebsrat seine gesetzlichen Aufgaben, die im Sinne des Interessengebietes der IRI liegen, so erfüllt, dasz das Verhältnis zwischen Unternehmern und Arbeitnehmern gebessert wird, hängt in jedem einzelnen Falle von der Menschenhandlungstechnik, insbesondere von der psychologischen Schlichtungstechnik des Unternehmers und des Betriebsrates ab. Im groszen und ganzen kann man sagen, dasz sich die Institution der Betriebsräte für die Besserung der Arbeitsbeziehungen in Oesterreich sehr bewährt hat und dasz insbesondere die Betriebsräte viele Streitigkeiten vermeiden konnten, die ohne eine ständige Personalvertretung unausweichlich gewesen wären. Immer häufiger werden die geeigneten Arbeitnehmer zu Betriebsräten gewählt.

Es kommt in manchen Betrieben vor, dasz kein Einvernehmen zwischen Unternehmern und Betriebsräten herrscht. Diese Störung der Beziehungen geht so weit, dasz die Betriebsräte nur mit gerichtlicher Hilfe ihr gesetzlich eingeräumtes Recht ausüben können.

Die Arbeiterschaft der Betriebe bildet im allgemeinen eine homogene Masse. Deutlich hervortretende Gruppierungen zwischen qualifizierten und Hilfsarbeitern sind selten zu beobachten. Wohl aber bilden die Angestellten (Beamten) eine selbstständige Gruppe. Das Gesetz trägt der Sonderstellung der Angestellten dadurch Rechnung, dasz es ihnen das Recht der Errichtung selbstständiger Betriebsräte zuerkennt. Das Betriebsrätegesetz bestimmt nämlich, dasz für Arbeiter und Angestellte gesonderte Betriebsräte zu wählen sind, wenn mehr als 10 Arbeiter und 10 Angestellte dauernd in demselben Be-

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trieb beschäftigt sind. Der Angestelltenbetriebsrat führt die seine Gruppe betreffenden Geschäfte. Die sich vor allem dort ergebenden Gegensätzlichkeiten zwischen Arbeitern und Angestellten, wo die Angestellten als Stellvertreter des Unternehmers und als Vorgesetzte der Arbeiter auftreten, sind seit der Entstehung grosser Angestelltengewerkschaften geringer geworden. Es ist jetzt bei Benützung des Apparates der Gewerkschaften und Betriebsräte leichter möglich, Konflikte beizulegen oder überhaupt im Keime zu ersticken. Die Funktionäre der Angestellten- und Arbeitergewerkschaften und die Arbeiter- und Angestelltenbetriebsräte kommen zur Beratung gemeinsamer Angelegenheiten ungemein häufig zusammen und sind an die Herstellung eines Einvernehmens gewöhnt.

Die betrieblichen Beziehungen zwischen Männern und Frauen innerhalb der Arbeiter- und Angestelltenkategorien sind oft unbefriedigend, woran zum Groszteil der noch nicht durchgeführte Grundsatz "Für gleiche Leistung gleichen Lohn" und der Umstand Schuld trägt, dass zumindest die Arbeiterschaft mit der Frauenarbeit nur als einer bloss vorübergehenden, durch die Not diktierten ausserhäuslichen Tätigkeit rechnet. Erst wenn die gesellschaftliche Wertung der Frauenarbeit eine andere sein wird, werden sich auch die betrieblichen Beziehungen in dieser Hinsicht bessern.

Die Berufsberatung hat in Oesterreich während der letzten Jahre an Ausdehnung gewonnen. In Wien und Niederösterreich, den beiden dichtbevölkertsten Ländern, bestehen 11 öffentliche Berufsberatungsämter, in den Hauptstädten von 5 weiteren Bundesländern besteht je eines, insgesamt 16. Die Berufsberatung ist noch weit vom Idealzustand entfernt. Es kann jedem Berufsanwärter nur eine sehr oberflächliche Beratung zuteil werden, die zwar in jedem Falle eine ärztliche Untersuchung mitumschlieszt, aber nur ausnahmsweise eine psychotechnische Eignungsprüfung. Erfreulicherweise mehrte sich die Zahl der Unternehmer, die ihre Lehrstellen durch die öffentlichen Berufsberatungsämter vermitteln lassen.

Acht der grössten Betriebe Oesterreichs haben psychotechnische Eignungsprüfstellen, die sie fallweise bei der Einstellung von neuen Lehrlingen und neuen Arbeitern be-



nützen. Die rein ärztliche Untersuchung allerdings haben schon seit jeher eine Reihe von Betrieben bei der Neueinstellung von Arbeitern vornehmen lassen. Der Regelfall bei der Einstellung ist der, dass die Einstellung im Einvernehmen mit dem Betriebsrat erfolgt, was gewöhnlich praktisch darauf hinausläuft, dass die Betriebsräte den Unternehmern Leute zur Einstellung vorschlagen. Auf diese Weise wird praktisch verhindert, dass die psychologische Betriebsatmosphäre durch Neuankömmlinge gestört wird. Auf den Abbau haben ebenfalls die Betriebsräte weitestgehenden Einfluss. In vielen Betrieben führen die Betriebsräte den Abbau im Auftrage des Unternehmers durch.

Diese Maßnahme ist nicht im Gesetz verankert, sondern auf das freiwillige Einvernehmen zwischen Betriebsleitung und Betriebsrat zurückzuführen und bildet sohin eine Auswirkung der guten Bewährung der Institution der Betriebsräte.

Die Anlernung der Lehrlinge erfolgt nur in wenigen Betrieben in eigenen Lehrwerkstätten. In 5 Automobilfabriken, in 2 Elektrobetrieben gibt es eigene Lehrwerkstätten für Lehrlinge, in denen sie eine gediegene Ausbildung erhalten. Interessanterweise wird die Lehrlingsausbildung in diesen Betrieben fortgesetzt, obwohl ununterbrochen Facharbeiter durch ungelernte und angelernte Arbeiter ersetzt werden. Die meisten dieser Lehrlinge werden sofort in den praktischen Produktionsprozess eingeschaltet und erhalten daneben einen theoretischen und zum Teil auch praktischen Unterricht in Berufsschulen. Die Schulpflicht umfasst durchschnittlich 8-12 Stunden in der Woche und 250 bis 300 Schulstunden im Jahr. Meistens wird der Unterricht an zwei Tagen in der Woche erteilt. Die in der Schule verbrachte Zeit wird als Arbeitszeit eingerechnet. Mit dem Fortbildungsschulwesen ist eine sehr ausgedehnte Lehrlingsfürsorge verbunden, die u. a. in Wien auch 8 öffentliche und mehrere private, zum Teil modern eingerichtete Lehrlingsheime umfasst, in denen mindestens je 50 Lehrlinge vollständige Verpflegung und Unterkunft finden.

Für die Anlernung von ungelerten Arbeitern bestehen fast gar keine Anlernwerkstätten. Die ungelerten Arbeiter müssen sich praktisch einarbeiten. Dasselbe trifft

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für fast sämtliche Angestelltenkategorien zu. Arbeitslose erhalten eine unentgeltliche Berufsnachschulung, zum Teil auch eine Berufsumschulung, um ihre Berufsqualifikationen an die Bedürfnisse des Arbeitsmarktes anzupassen. In den Betrieben selbst ist kaum irgendwo eine solche Nachschulungsarbeit, man zieht es vor, Leute zu entlassen und an ihre Stelle andere zu setzen.

In Oesterreich gibt es nur wenige **Betriebspflegerinnen** im gewöhnlichen Sinne des Wortes. Von den ungefähr 400 bis 500 Betrieben, die ihrer Arbeiterzahl nach in Oesterreich für die Einführung dieser Institution in Betracht kämen, haben nur einige vereinzelt Unternehmungen Fabrikpflegerinnen angestellt. Das heisst aber nicht, dass die Betriebswohlfahrtspflege in Oesterreich stark vernachlässigt ist. In den meisten Betrieben ist ein Teil der Agenden, die man einer Betriebspflegerin zuzuweisen pflegt, an einzelne Betriebsangehörige sozusagen als Nebenarbeit aufgegeben. In den meisten Betrieben gibt es eine eigene Sanitätsstube mit einer Krankenpflegerin, in grossen Betrieben sind eigene Werkärzte vorhanden, die die gesundheitliche Ueberwachung der Betriebsmitglieder in ärztlichen Sprechstunden und auf Rundgängen durch den Betrieb besorgen. Die Instandhaltung und Betriebsüberwachung der Waschräume, Aborte, Umkleideräume und Ruheräume, Bäder, wird durch ein auch anderweitig verwendetes Reinigungspersonal durchgeführt. Die Beistellung von Ruheräumen ist allerdings erst in wenigen Betrieben erfolgt, meistens in den grössten Betrieben, die Flieszarbeit oder irgend eine andere die Arbeit stark intensivierende Rationalisierungs-massnahme vorgenommen haben. Die meisten Groszbetriebe haben eigene Speiseräume, die nur dann gern von den Arbeitern besucht werden, wenn deren Verwaltung gänzlich in ihren Händen liegt, so dass sich die Arbeiter dort gleichsam wie zuhause fühlen und nicht als Gast des Unternehmers.

In vielen Betrieben, in denen die Arbeiter ihre Arbeitskleider stark beschmutzen, besteht ein lebhaftes Bedürfnis nach Betriebswaschanstalten, die in Oesterreich aber noch zu den Ausnahmen zählen.

stätten für Kleinkinder innerhalb der Betriebe, bezw. des Fabrikterritoriums selbst ist in Oesterreich nur auf einige wenige Unternehmungen beschränkt geblieben; hingegen hat die öffentliche Fürsorge, namentlich in Wien, für die Unterbringung der Kleinkinder während der Arbeitszeit der Arbeitnehmerinnen in grosszügiger Weise vorgesorgt.

Ganz wenige Betriebe geben eine Werkszeitung heraus, aber nach den bisherigen Erfahrungen dürften die Werkszeitungen in Oesterreich kaum ein geeignetes Mittel sein, um befriedigende Arbeitsbeziehungen herzustellen. Viel besser eignet sich für diesen Zweck die direkte Aussprache zwischen der Betriebsvertretung und dem einsichtsvollen Unternehmer.

Die übrigen Agenden einer Betriebswohlfahrtspflege im weitesten Sinne des Wortes sind alle der Behandlung durch den Betriebsrat vorbehalten, der ganz allgemein zum Anwalt der Belegschaft je nach seiner Tauglichkeit für diese Funktion geworden ist. Die Einwirkung auf Anstellung und Entlassung, die Bewilligung von Extraurlauben (Arbeiter erhalten je nach der Dauer des Dienstverhältnisses 1-2 Wochen, Angestellte 2-5 Wochen gesetzlichen Urlaub), Vorschüsse, Geldspenden, Kurse, Vortrags- und Unterhaltungsabende, Werksbibliothek: All das wird vom Betriebsrat entweder im selbständigen Wirkungskreis oder im Einvernehmen mit dem Unternehmer geregelt. Die österreichischen Arbeitnehmer lehnen es ab, sich eines Sozialbeamten oder irgend einer anderen Zwischenperson zur Erledigung dieser Angelegenheiten zu bedienen.

Forscht man danach, wer in Oesterreich Massnahmen der wissenschaftlichen Betriebsführung propagiert und durchführt, so sind es vorwiegend die Unternehmer der Groszbetriebe. Die Arbeitnehmer nehmen zwar eine positive, aber nur defensive Haltung ein. Diese Einstellung ist durchaus erklärlich, denn Oesterreich gehört nebst Grossbritannien zu den zwei Ländern Europas, in denen noch eine abnormale Arbeitslosigkeit herrscht. Es wird daher immer die Arbeitslosigkeitswirkung irgend einer wenn auch noch so gutgemeinten und erfolgreichen Rationalisierungsmassnahme gefürchtet. Ein

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Gebiet aber ist auszunehmen: das sind die auf Energie- und Ermüdungsersparnis, sowie Erhöhung der Arbeitsqualitäten und der Arbeitsfreude der Arbeiter gerichteten Bemühungen der wissenschaftlichen Betriebsführung. Die Bestgestaltung des Arbeitsplatzes durch griffbereite Anordnung der Werkzeuge und Materialien und bessere Beleuchtung, Belüftung, gute Sitzgelegenheiten u. ä. Masznahmen finden die einhellige Zustimmung der Arbeiter. Die Einschaltung von Arbeitspausen zur Ermüdungsbekämpfung ist leider nur in einem einzigen Betrieb Oesterreichs, allerdings dem gröszten, offiziell durchgeführt worden. In vielen anderen Betrieben müssen die Arbeiter, wenn sie sich sehr ermüdet fühlen, auf Kosten ihres Lohnes ein paar Minuten Pause im Laufe der achtstündigen Arbeitszeit gönnen. Zu einer Vorschreibung der Bewegungsbahn im Sinne des Taylorismus ist es in Oesterreich nicht gekommen, vorhandene Ansätze sind wieder verschwunden, was nicht bedauernswert ist, weil eine arbeitsphysiologische Schulung zur Vorschreibung der Bewegungsbahn notwendig ist, über die die Betriebsingenieure derzeit noch nicht verfügen. Es ist daher auch von Arbeitsunterweisungsbögen im Sinne des Taylorismus in Oesterreich nichts vorzufinden.

Die Arbeitszeit und die Lohnbemessungsmethoden sind Gegenstand des Einvernehmens zwischen Betriebsleitung und den Betriebsräten und es sind im groszen und ganzen die Festsetzung der Güte und Menge der zu leistenden Arbeit und der hiefür entfallenden Löhnung auf gütlichem Wege erfolgt. Von allen Arbeitern und Arbeiterinnen stehen rund 33 % in Stücklohn. In einigen Industrien erhöht sich dieser Prozentsatz. So z.B. beziehen 45 % der Metallarbeiter den Stücklohn. Man nimmt bei der Festsetzung der Stückzeit manchmal nicht genügend auf die Ermüdungsstunden und auf die groszen Leistungsschwankungen Rücksicht. Oft gewährt man Ermüdungszuschläge für minder leistungsfähige Arbeiter. Der Neigung zur Selbstausbeutung junger Arbeiter zwischen 22 bis 32 Jahren wird von Seiten ihrer Arbeitskollegen entgegengearbeitet. Die Arbeitsintensität ist gegenüber der Vorkriegszeit beträchtlich erhöht worden. Steigerungen bis zu 83 %, ohne dasz die Arbeitsmittel oder die Arbeitsorganisation einer Veränderung

unterzogen worden waren, wurden beobachtet. Interessant ist die Feststellung, dass in Betrieben, in denen ein gutes Einvernehmen mit der Arbeiterschaft herrscht, die Arbeitsintensität eine grössere ist, was namentlich für die zwei grössten Betriebe Oesterreichs zutrifft. Eine Arbeits-Intensivierung wird vielmehr durch technische Mittel (Fließband und sonstige Fördermittel) als durch organisatorische Mittel (Prämien-systeme etc.) veranlaszt. Prämien-systeme sind bei den österreichischen Arbeitern unbeliebt, sie ziehen reinen Stücklohn vor, auch wenn sie nur zu demselben Stundenverdienst wie die Prämien-systeme führen.

Von anderen Massnahmen der wissenschaftlichen Betriebsführung interessieren sich die Arbeitnehmer noch für die Unfallverhütungspropaganda. Es gibt in Oesterreich eine eigene Zentralstelle dafür, die schon sehr günstige Erfolge erzielen konnte.

Alle technischen und organisatorischen Verbesserungen, die Ausarbeitung irgend eines Rationalisierungsplanes, die Anstellung betriebswissenschaftlicher Forschungen im Werke, wurden bisher in Oesterreich von den Unternehmern und den mit der Unternehmerfunktion betrauten Angestellten allein ausgeführt. Es scheint sich aber jetzt in der Arbeiterschaft eine Veränderung ihrer Haltung vorzubereiten, sodass vermutlich in nicht ferner Zeit die Arbeitnehmer in einzelnen Betrieben mitarbeiten werden. Voraussetzung dürfte sein, dass in denselben kein Abbau stattfindet, der Unternehmer das Kapitaleinkommen für produktive Zwecke verwendet und den Arbeitnehmern ein auskömmliches Einkommen gesichert ist. Man spricht davon, dass paritätische Betriebsorganisationsausschüsse die Betriebsverbesserungen technischer, organisatorischer und menschenökonomischer Art durchführen werden. Vorderhand gibt es nur in Betrieben der öffentlichen Hand ein solches Zusammenarbeiten.

Es wurde in letzter Zeit ein österreichisches Kuratorium für Wirtschaftlichkeit gegründet, das sozusagen die oberste Rationalisierungsstelle Oesterreichs darstellt. In diesem Kuratorium werden Unternehmer und Arbeitnehmer zusammen die Fragen der wissenschaftlichen Betriebsführung und allem was

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sonst zur Rationalisierung noch gehört, bearbeiten. Es findet daher ein Zusammenarbeiten für die Gesamtwirtschaft, nicht aber für den einzelnen Betrieb mit Ausnahme der Betriebe der öffentlichen Hand statt.

In keinem der Betriebe Österreichs ist ein Gewinnbeteiligungssystem eingeführt, von dem die Öffentlichkeit Kenntnis erhielt. Es ist wohl möglich, dass eine Handvoll von Betrieben solche Systeme haben, aber die Gewinnbeteiligung wird auf die obersten Angestelltenschichten beschränkt sein, sodass in der Öffentlichkeit darüber nichts verlautet. Jedenfalls spielen die Gewinnbeteiligungssysteme in der Besserung der Arbeitsbeziehungen in Österreich gar keine Rolle.

## POLOGNE

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Malgré les malheurs subis, la Pologne contemporaine a traversé dans ce dernier siècle une période de vitalité, d'effort et de fécondité vraiment remarquable. Le progrès a été si rapide et si général qu'aucun peuple, autant persécuté, si violemment déchiré, n'a jamais montré un pareil exemple.

Le dernier siècle tout entier, depuis 1807, a été marqué par cette marche ascendante. Mais c'est surtout depuis 1850, ou plutôt depuis 1870, que le mouvement de régénération économique et sociale s'est accentué. Si l'on envisage de haut le chemin parcouru, en comparant le point de départ au point d'arrivée, on est profondément frappé de la grandeur du progrès accompli. Voici ce qu'en écrivait Elisée Reclus en 1880.

"Heureusement que le peuple polonais grandit et se développe. Quoique privé de son autonomie politique, il a certainement plus de sentiments patriotiques, plus de valeur morale qu'au dernier siècle. Malgré les désastres qui ont suivi l'insurrection de 1863 et qui ont frappé surtout les classes riches, l'abolition des privilèges de la noblesse et du clergé, de même que les changements agraires et communaux, réclamés depuis longtemps par le parti démocratique polonais, ont eu les conséquences les plus heureuses.

Au point de vue matériel, les progrès sont de toute évidence. La prospérité générale, s'est accrue ou, pour mieux dire, la misère a diminué. L'industrie manufacturière de la Pologne a fait plus que doublé ses produits depuis les lois agraires de 1864."

La période de 1870 à 1914 a été pour la Pologne une période florissante au point de vue économique.

La grande industrie, se développant rapidement, a créé une couche sociale nouvelle qui a beaucoup contribué à la prospérité du pays ainsi qu'à sa transformation sociale. La classe ouvrière, jeune, fervente, à caractère occidental, entre aussi en scène, réclame ses droits, se heurte aux intérêts communs ou particuliers, secoue l'assoupissement d'un grand nombre. A la fin du XVIIIe siècle les manufactures et les fabriques

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- en dehors des métiers des villes - occupaient 20,000 ouvriers industriels; en 1870 l'industrie, sur les terres polonaises, en occupait 200,000 en chiffre rond; à la veille de la déclaration de la guerre de 1914 la grande industrie comptait 1.650 000 travailleurs ce qui fait environ 6 millions de personnes, nourries par l'industrie polonaise cette à dire  $\frac{1}{3}$  de la population totale du pays.

Dans le vaste domaine de l'industrie la grande guerre nous a laissé des ruines, un cimetière: les armées russe, allemande, autrichienne, ont saccagé les villes, les colonies industrielles, les villages. La Pologne ressuscitée a dû rétablir son industrie ainsi que la vie économique tout entière. Actuellement la grande industrie se développe de mieux en mieux, surtout l'industrie de la houille, l'industrie sidérurgique, textile, pétrolière, celle du sel, l'industrie sucrière, la distillerie, l'industrie des allumettes, la métallurgie, l'industrie chimique, celle du papier, des cuirs, du ciment, de la céramique, du verre. Nous notons un phénomène très favorable, à savoir la création de nouvelles branches inexistantes avant la guerre. On commence à produire des locomotives, des wagons, des tracteurs, des avions et des automobiles. De même dans toutes les branches de notre industrie nationale, qui occupe actuellement 1.500.000 ouvriers; puisque chaque ouvrier nourrit trois personnes et demie de sa famille, le total de la population ouvrière entretenue par la grande industrie, est de 5.200.000 personnes; et comme la population du pays s'élève à 30.000.000, la population industrielle en constitue à peu près un sixième.

Croissant en nombre, la population ouvrière, de jour en jour, est devenue, aussi plus pauvre, plus souffrante. Aujourd'hui, elle réclame à haute voix l'amélioration de son sort. Son état économique et moral laisse beaucoup à désirer.

Tout d'abord, c'est le capital qui a explicité le travail de l'ouvrier polonais. En effet, le capitalisme polonais a énormément accru sa fortune. La pauvreté, la misère de la classe laborieuse dépasse de beaucoup celle de l'ouvrier d'Occident.

En outre, il est une autre cause qui rend plus malheureuse



encore la situation de l'ouvrier: c'est la crise économique très aiguë depuis la guerre. Actuellement, l'industrie polonaise ressemble à un bâtiment monté trop rapidement, au mépris des principes fondamentaux de l'équilibre. Faute d'appuis extérieurs, le bâtiment s'écroule. C'est un danger des plus terribles pour notre classe laborieuse en ce qui touche son bien-être économique.

Le côté social de la crise ouvrière offre aussi un aspect des moins satisfaisants. Dans les États constitutionnels, la classe ouvrière est devenue une classe relativement élevée, instruite. En Pologne, il n'en va pas de même. L'industrie s'est développée rapidement, mais l'évolution sociale et politique du pays, opprimée par l'absolutisme russe, prussien et autrichien, ne correspondit pas, à cette évolution; par conséquent, la question ouvrière a pris des formes pathologiques. Dans les centres industriels, les masses ouvriers se sont agglomérées; mais elles n'ont trouvé ni écoles, ni associations, ni syndicats, ni aucune organisation, où elles auraient pu s'instruire, se rendre compte de leurs droits et de leurs devoirs; elles n'ont point passé par l'école de la vie publique, qui constitue la meilleure mise en garde contre les espérances irréalisables. Personne ne dispensa l'instruction à ces masses populaires. Jusqu'en 1905, ce furent les socialistes qui les instruisirent, à leur guise, en excitant leurs convoitises inassouvies.

Même la loi de l'offre et de la demande ne pouvait jouer, de par l'omnipotence de l'administration bureaucratique locale russe et allemande. L'ouvrier isolé, ne pouvant s'associer, vivait dans un monde fermé, n'adouçissant son sort que par un rêve de justice future.

En 1905, on a permis aux ouvriers de s'unir un peu, de faire connaître leur profonde misère. La grande guerre et l'inflation d'après guerre ont énormément aggravé la lamentable situation de l'ouvrier polonais. Nous nous rendons compte qu'il faut non pas rétablir l'ordre, mais le créer. La tragédie consiste en ceci que la société doit payer maintenant la grande dette des cinquante dernières années; elle a notamment à faire toute l'éducation de la classe ouvrière, pour que l'ouvrier devienne bon travailleur et bon citoyen.

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Les événements historiques, issus de la grande guerre, ont définitivement montré toute la mauvaise situation de l'ouvrier polonais. Un chômage inouï, une effrayante émigration de grandes manifestations ouvrières, les grèves et les excès commis dans les villes, la terreur en parole et en action: tel est le sinistre tableau offert par les efforts des ouvriers pour l'amélioration de leur sort.

L'anarchie des sentiments et celle de l'esprit, le désordre dans l'action, la misère économique de la classe laborieuse, sont les différents aspects de la plaie sociale qui s'est manifesté, dans toute sa nudité, durant la période allant du mouvement ouvrier de 1918 à 1926.

A l'heure actuelle, depuis le mois de mai 1926 une réaction se produit peu à peu. Nous constatons un apaisement général dans tous les milieux ouvriers. La politique sociale du Gouvernement polonais (le Ministère du travail existe depuis le mois de novembre 1918) a fait beaucoup pour la classe laborieuse. Chacun s'est mis à la tâche pour chercher à guérir tant de maux innombrables. Mais, il y faudra des efforts héroïques de la part tant de l'ouvrier lui-même que de la société dans son ensemble.

A l'heure actuelle, le prolétariat menace sérieusement la société polonaise. Les sentiments de révolte ont germé dans la classe ouvrière. La misère, aussi grande à la campagne, qu'à la ville, devient plus choquante dans les milieux industriels. Jadis, les plaintes étaient individuelles; aujourd'hui, on s'en prend à l'ordre social en bloc; les plaintes ouvrières prennent un caractère collectif, âpre, agressif. En présence de la misère, on crie à l'injustice et l'on réclame des mesures pour y porter remède. L'initiative privée ne reste pas inactive. Elle crée, pour répondre à ce besoin social, de nouvelles institutions dans les centres populeux, institutions visant le facteur humain dans la production, à savoir le relèvement matériel, intellectuel et moral de la classe ouvrière. Outre les associations et les institutions que la classe laborieuse a fondées elle-même, nous trouvons encore d'autres institutions créées pour elle, mais non par elle; nous laisserons aussi de côté les oeuvres, fondées

en vertu de la loi ou bien directement par l'Etat c'est à dire par le Ministère du Travail et de la Prévoyance Sociale.

A cette oeuvre de l'initiative privée ont présidé deux motifs: l'humanitarisme du patron; la préoccupation de la société quant à l'avenir de la classe ouvrière et quant aux bons rapports entre les divers agents de la production nationale.

Le premier motif a fait naître les institutions patronales, destinées au bien-être de la famille ouvrière. Le second a engendré des institutions sociales particulièrement favorables à la classe laborieuse.

En Pologne, les institutions patronales sont un des moyens à la fois de thérapeutique et d'éducation imaginés pour attacher l'ouvrier à l'usine et pour lutter contre les maux endurés par la famille ouvrière.

Chaque jour, de nouvelles institutions viennent enrichir la liste des créations imaginées par l'initiative patronale: écoles et crèches, maisons et bains, participation aux bénéfices etc.; ce sont là autant d'institutions gratuites dont le patron fait bénéficier ses ouvriers. Dans les principales industries, on a créé divers organismes ayant pour but de permettre aux ouvriers d'élever leurs enfants, d'assurer les travailleurs contre la misère ou bien de les accoutumer à l'épargne.

L'enseignement primaire et professionnel pour les enfants d'ouvriers doit être mentionné en premier lieu. En effet, si nous considérons que la grande majorité de la classe ouvrière se compose de familles dont chacune compte de 3 à 5 enfants, nous comprendrons la nécessité évidente de créer des écoles dans les usines. Le Gouvernement de la Pologne ressuscitée a fait beaucoup pour l'instruction publique en instituant l'enseignement primaire obligatoire. Cependant les besoins sont trop grands pour qu'il ait été possible d'y parer suffisamment dans un laps de temps si court. Les ouvriers sont pénétrés de la nécessité de l'instruction et ils réclament, d'une façon incessante, l'augmentation du nombre des écoles. Subissant l'influence ouvrière et consultant aussi leur propre intérêt, les grands industriels ont fondé des écoles. Ordinairement le terrain et les bâtiments sont fournis par le patron, tandis que les ouvriers subviennent à l'entretien de l'école ou de la crèche;

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il existe également, dans plusieurs fabriques, des écoles industrielles et des écoles maternelles tout à fait gratuites.

Sous ce rapport et à titre d'exemple, nous mentionnons les entreprises industrielles, de Zyrardow, près de Varsovie, où les enfants des ouvriers ont des écoles primaires, professionnelles et des écoles maternelles. M. Dittrich, industriel bien connu, un "bon patron" comme l'appelaient les ouvriers, a créé de vastes jardins et des bâtiments scolaires rationnels. Les enfants y trouvent un abri, l'enseignement, un repas et des jeux divers. Zyrardow possède presque tous les types existants d'institutions patronales.

Un autre centre industriel, où les institutions patronales, surtout les écoles, sont le mieux organisées, c'est Zawiercie. Le directeur général des entreprises de Zawiercie, M. Szymanski, animé d'un esprit humanitaire, a fondé plusieurs institutions pour le bien-être ouvrier, parmi lesquelles les écoles tiennent la première place.

Après les écoles viennent les maisons ouvrières. La plupart des usines polonaises, situées en dehors des villes, donnent à leurs ouvriers des maisons à titre gratuit ou à bon marché. Mais seuls peuvent en profiter les ouvriers à poste fixe. Les journaliers logent dans des mansardes sombres, étroites et mal chauffées.

De grandes entreprises, comme celles de M. Scheibler de Lodz ou les usines de Zyrardow, bâtissent des maisons ouvrières spéciales. Certaines d'entre elles demandent à leurs ouvriers un loyer peu élevé. D'une manière générale, on ne loue ou l'on ne donne de maisons qu'à des familles travaillant à l'usine depuis un temps plus ou moins long. Dans la région minière, se trouve un certain nombre de maisons ouvrières spécialement destinées aux familles de mineurs; à peu près chaque mine et chaque société d'exploitation a bâti des maisons pour ses ouvriers. Cependant les quatre cinquièmes de la population ouvrière habitent dans les conditions les plus insupportables.

Certains établissements industriels prennent soin de la propreté personnelle et de l'hygiène de l'ouvrier, en fondant des bains communs pour les travailleurs. On sait que le travail

à l'usine laisse beaucoup de poussière, de microbes sur le vêtement de l'ouvrier qui les apporte, par conséquent, dans sa famille. Pour écarter ce danger, c'est à dire en vue de la santé et de la propreté de l'ouvrier, des usines ont établi des bains, des douches, des lavabos, etc.

Les premiers bains modèles furent créés à l'usine de M. Kindler à Pabianice. Chaque soir et par roulement, 60 ouvriers usent de ces bains. D'autres bains ouvriers bien installés, se trouvent dans les fabriques de Zyrardow, de Zawiercie et ailleurs. Il y a en outre des bains modèles pour les enfants ouvriers dans deux des localités mentionnées.

Sous forme d'institution patronale nous remontrons ensuite les retraites ouvrières, la participation aux bénéfices, les colonies de vacances, etc. Il est incontestable que l'initiative patronale, dans bien des cas, a été d'un salutaire exemple; on lui doit beaucoup d'institutions dont a profité l'ouvrier polonais. Cependant, il y a une ombre à ce tableau. Aux institutions patronales l'ouvrier oppose des institutions ouvrières, ce qui fait que le patron se demande si ses intentions ne seront pas méconnues et si, en s'imposant des sacrifices en faveur des ouvriers, il ne se mettra pas en état d'infériorité vis-à-vis de concurrents qui, moins soucieux de leurs devoirs moraux, consacreront toutes leurs ressources au fonctionnement de leur industrie et arriveront ainsi à produire à meilleur compte, les charges étant moins lourdes.

Il est donc probable, que l'action patronale prendra des formes nouvelles. L'action du patron sera de moins en moins paternelle et se portera principalement sur tout ce qui concerne la vie professionnelle de l'ouvrier, ce qu'on appelle, dans la vie anglaise, "industrial betterment", côté bien négligé dans notre vie de fabrique.

L'initiative privée, en dehors de la fabrique, fonde aussi des institutions ayant pour but le relèvement matériel, intellectuel et moral de l'ouvrier. Dans ce domaine, nous trouvons tout d'abord les jardins ouvriers. L'institutions des jardins ouvriers procure au travailleur plusieurs avantages: elle fournit à sa famille des produits potagers ainsi qu'une récréation saine et

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utile. De même, à l'heure présente, alors que toutes les institutions humanitaires luttent contre la tuberculose, les hygiénistes pensent que les jardins ouvriers sont un des meilleurs moyens de la combattre. Les jardins ouvriers doivent aussi être considérés comme un remède contre l'alcoolisme, ennemi quotidien de l'ouvrier polonais.

L'oeuvre des jardins ouvriers, qui se manifeste dans toutes les villes principaux de la Pologne, (Varsovie, Lwow, Posnan, Katowice, Lodz, Czenstochowa, etc.) accuse un caractère spécial: elle consiste en ce que des propriétaires de terrains sans emploi, industriels, municipalités permettent d'utiliser ces terrains au profit des familles ouvrières pauvres. Les conséquences morales l'emportent d'ailleurs sur les profits matériels. En effet, les jardins contribuent beaucoup à développer, chez l'ouvrier l'esprit de propriété. Ils sauvegardent les moeurs, attachent l'ouvrier au sol, le ramènent à la nature-mère, qui l'ennoblit. L'homme, comme Antée, puise dans la terre la force, la santé physique et morale.

Les ouvriers honnêtes rêvent toujours d'avoir une maison leur appartenant, entourée d'un petit jardin, afin de pouvoir élever convenablement leurs enfants et d'avoir un abri dans leur vieillesse. A ce sujet, l'initiative privée n'a que très peu aidé l'ouvrier. Nous avons quelques institutions de maisons ouvrières à bon marché, parmi lesquelles il faut citer les maisons ouvrières, créées à Varsovie par M. M. Wawelberg et Rotwand. Actuellement ce genre de fondations ne cesse de se développer dans tous les grands centres du pays (Lodz, Katowice, Varsovie, Cracovie).

Au point de vue intellectuel, citons les institutions suivantes, dont profite la classe ouvrière: bibliothèques, salles de lecture, cours du soir, universités populaires. L'initiative privée entreprend également de propager l'instruction professionnelle en créant des écoles spéciales dans les milieux ouvriers.

Au point de vue moral l'initiative privée a fondé quelques institutions intéressantes. Dans des cadres modestes, la société polonaise, sous ce rapport, a compris son devoir. Tout d'abord, au point de vue moral, on a secouru l'enfant ouvrier et ensuite le travailleur adulte. Des associations et des par-

ticuliers ont fondé pour les enfants des crèches, des écoles maternelles, des colonies de vacances, outre des salles d'occupations, des jeux en plein air, différents sports, etc. Pour les ouvriers adultes on a créé des institutions les préservant contre les vices; et d'autre part, des associations réalisant la maxime de "l'utile dulci", donnent au travailleur des récréations agréables qui adoucissent ses moeurs personnelles et développent chez lui les sentiments nobles. Voici une série de ces institutions: sociétés anti alcooliques, excursions collectives, jeux en commun, choeurs et orchestres, théâtres ouvriers et clubs de travailleurs. La série des institutions sociales, destinées aux couches prolétariennes et que nous venons d'examiner rapidement est, dans l'ensemble, de date récente. Ces institutions nous montrent clairement l'énergie, qui a été déployée pendant ces dernières années pour combattre l'esprit de haine dans les classes laborieuses. Les oeuvres ainsi fondées sont appelées à exercer prochainement une bienfaisante influence tant sur les rapports individuels dans l'industrie que sur l'industrie nationale elle même. En outre, elles élèvent le niveau intellectuel et moral de la classe ouvrière. Or, dans son intérêt bien compris, la société doit stimuler la fondation des oeuvres humanitaires.

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Les questions sociales ont acquis après la guerre une importance capitale dans tous les pays. Notre pays a aussi ressenti l'influence de ce mouvement, qui s'est manifesté dans la législation des dernières années et dans un certain nombre de réalisations dues à l'initiative privée.

Nous commencerons d'abord par la législation. En ce qui concerne la réglementation des rapports entre les patrons et les salariés, l'organisation, le perfectionnement et la protection du travail, on a appliqué en Roumanie les lois suivantes :

La loi pour la réglementation des conflits collectifs du travail de 1921, tendant à résoudre paisiblement ces conflits par l'intervention des Inspecteurs du travail, ou, si les parties ne se concilient pas, par arbitrage.

La loi des Syndicats professionnels de 1921, dont nous avons parlé plus haut, l'activité de ces syndicats étant soumise au contrôle du Ministère du Travail, par l'organe de ses Inspecteurs.

La loi pour l'organisation du placement, appliquée par des offices de placement de district, qui font gratuitement l'office d'intermédiaire entre les demandes et les offres de travail.

La loi des migrations, qui tend à n'admettre que le nombre d'ouvriers spécialistes étrangers strictement nécessaire, en réduisant ce nombre quand les ouvriers nationaux sont en danger de chômer, ainsi qu'à établir l'émigration des ouvriers nécessaire à l'économie nationale.

La loi des foyers pour les apprentis, ayant pour but de faciliter l'apprentissage, en donnant aux apprentis la possibilité d'avoir des logements hygiéniques et d'être bien nourris.

La loi des foyers pour les apprentis, ayant pour but de des métiers et l'obtention des certificats de capacité.

La législation sur les organisations professionnelles a commencé en 1921, date à laquelle on a voté la loi des Syndicats professionnels. Même avant cette date, l'article 27 de la Constitution de l'Ancien Royaume garantissait le droit d'as-



sociation. Les Provinces réunies étaient soumises à des lois spéciales. Les principes de la loi des Syndicats professionnels sont les suivants: on reconnaît le droit à toutes les personnes physiques ou morales de constituer des Syndicats professionnels, sans aucune autorisation préalable. La loi prévoit deux catégories d'organisations: des Syndicats et des Unions ou des Fédérations. Les Syndicats peuvent acquérir la personnalité juridique avec peu de formalités. Les Unions ou les Fédérations ne peuvent être constituées que par des Syndicats professionnels reconnus comme personnalités juridiques.

Cette loi fut modifiée en 1924 par la loi des personnes juridiques. Les modifications consistent en l'introduction d'un contrôle des Associations professionnelles. L'Etat exerce le droit de créer, contrôler et supprimer les personnes juridiques. Les Syndicats ne peuvent obtenir la personnalité juridique que par la décision du Tribunal, avec le consentement du Ministère à la compétence duquel l'Association est soumise. Les Unions et les Fédérations obtiennent la personnalité juridique par la cour d'appel, avec l'avis de la Commission supérieure des personnes juridiques siégeant auprès du Ministère de la Justice. Par les modifications introduites en 1927, la loi a été encore améliorée.

Les effets de l'application de la loi des personnes juridiques ressortent de la situation suivante, établie à la fin de l'année 1925. Nous avons dans le pays entier 6 Unions patronales, auxquelles se sont affiliées 35 organisations professionnelles de patrons; 21 Unions de salariés, auxquelles se sont affiliées 154 Syndicats professionnels de salariés, une Union mixte de patrons et de salariés, avec trois organisations affiliées et 5 Unions de professionnistes libres. Nous trouvons encore 152 organisations patronales indépendantes, 76 organisations de salariés, 17 de patrons et de salariés et 22 de professionnistes libres. Le nombre total des adhérents au commencement de l'année 1926 était de 23,417 patrons, 51,352 salariés, 17,398 patrons et salariés et 8,330 professionnistes libres.

Le nombre des membres des organisations composées de pa-

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trons et de salariés est assez élevé (17,398). L'esprit de collaboration pour le développement des branches d'activité communes et pour la défense des intérêts professionnels, est devenu réalité. Les relations entre patrons et ouvriers ont été satisfaisantes. Les conflits, en nombre relativement restreint, ont été solutionnés paisiblement, par conciliation et très rarement par arbitrage.

En ce qui concerne la formation professionnelle, dans l'Ancien Royaume, l'enseignement théorique des métiers était fort réduit. A l'exception des écoles de métiers et d'une ou deux écoles pratiques, les métiers ne s'apprenaient que directement dans les ateliers, sans aucune méthode.

Après une pratique de 3 à 5 ans comme apprenti et de 1 à 2 ans comme praticien, on pouvait devenir ouvrier.

Les ouvriers qui avaient pratiqué au moins deux ans et qui avaient des aptitudes pour diriger, pouvaient devenir contre-maîtres, et s'ils avaient les possibilités matérielles, pouvaient ouvrir des ateliers propres et devenir ainsi des patrons.

Après la guerre, l'enseignement pratique des métiers fut rattaché à l'enseignement théorique, par la fondation des écoles d'apprentis, créées exclusivement pour les apprentis des ateliers.

Actuellement fonctionnent dans le seul Ancien Royaume environ 150 écoles d'apprentis.

Dans les territoires annexés, excepté la Bessarabie, l'enseignement pratique était lié, avant la guerre, à l'enseignement théorique. Les écoles d'apprentis étant fondées par des lois spéciales, l'enseignement pratique était fait et se fait encore maintenant dans les ateliers, en observant les mêmes rangs: apprenti, ouvrier et contre-maître.

En Bessarabie, l'enseignement professionnel n'était réglementé sous aucune forme.

Après la réunion avec la Roumanie, par l'unification législative sur toute l'étendue du Royaume, la situation est devenue la même.

Pour la formation du personnel supérieur, il existe deux Ecoles Polytechniques formant des ingénieurs diplômés. Il y

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a encore des Instituts techniques auprès des Universités de Bucarest, Cluj et Lassy, ainsi qu'une Académie de Hautes Etudes Commerciales. En échange l'instruction du personnel inférieur et celle de la maîtrise ont été négligées, mais nous espérons que la réforme générale de l'enseignement, maintenant projetée, comblera cette lacune.

En général, nous devons remarquer que l'enseignement théorique et la carrière de fonctionnaire d'état jouit auprès des masses d'un prestige bien plus élevé que des métiers, et un grand nombre des élèves des Ecoles Professionnelles préfèrent abandonner la spécialité qu'ils ont apprise et entrer comme fonctionnaires dans un ministère quelconque. Une oeuvre de propagande pour la réhabilitation des professions manuelles est nécessaire.

Le Service Social, dont le but est l'amélioration des conditions de vie des ouvriers, commence à intéresser nos milieux industriels et économiques.

Notre industrie peut être divisée en Industrie d'Etat, grande Industrie et petite Industrie.

Le Service Social se trouve plus souvent dans l'Industrie de l'Etat, où il est aussi mieux organisé. L'hygiène des ateliers et la tenue des ouvriers sont surveillés et, auprès de certaines institutions, fonctionnent des cantines assez bien organisées, des salles de récréation, des bains. Dans les ateliers où travaillent beaucoup de femmes, il existe des pouponnières. La manufacture de tabac "Belvédère", par exemple, au service de laquelle il y a beaucoup de femmes, possède une pouponnière correspondant aux exigences les plus modernes d'hygiène et de confort. Enfin, presque tous les établissements ont un service médical avec une infirmerie bien organisée, pour veiller à la santé des ouvriers.

En ce qui concerne la grande Industrie, celle-ci étant de date très récente, la nécessité et l'utilité du Service Social n'a pas eu le temps, de s'imposer à l'attention de tous ses dirigeants. Nous avons tout de même quelques industries dans lesquelles des progrès remarquables ont été réalisés. Un exemple nous est donné par la Société "Tesatoria Romana"

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de Pitesti, disposant d'un Service Social qu'on peut comparer aux Services analogues les mieux organisés de l'Occident. A Bucarest, les Tissages "Bumbacul" possèdent une cantine et un foyer qui pourraient servir de modèles. De même les Tissages Draghiceanu. Auprès des Ateliers de Tramways de Bucarest fonctionne un service médical très bien organisé, et il y a en outre des bains, des douches, une salle de conférences.

Des résultats remarquables ont été réalisés dans la région pétrolière et dans les exploitations de charbon, où il existe auprès de chaque exploitation des quartiers ouvriers, cantines, salles de spectacles etc. Les ouvriers spécialistes ont des logements hygiéniques et confortables.

Dans la petite industrie il ne peut être question de Service Social, le nombre des ouvriers d'une entreprise étant fort restreint.

L'organisation scientifique du travail a commencé à préoccuper nos cercles officiels, ainsi que les milieux industriels et ouvriers.

Le 3 Février 1927 a été créé a Bucarest un Institut Roumain d'organisation scientifique du travail, auquel participent l'Etat, les Institutions privées, les techniciens et les ouvriers. Cet Institut a commencé son activité par des conférences, des publications et par la propagande directe; il lutte pour l'introduction de l'organisation scientifique dans les services publics et dans l'industrie privée et pour l'établissement de rapports améliorés entre le travail et le capital.

L'orientation professionnelle des éléments de l'industrie est entrée dans les préoccupations de l'état.

En conséquence, le Conseil des Ministres a décidé en 1927 que tout établissement d'orientation et de sélection professionnelles fonctionnera avec l'autorisation et sous le contrôle du Ministère du Travail.

Une Commission d'Orientation Professionnelle a été créée auprès du Ministère du Travail, pour l'étude de toutes les questions concernant l'orientation professionnelle et les auto-

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risations de fonctionnement des offices et des instituts d'enseignement professionnel.

Jusqu'à présent, cette commission a décidé d'établir une classification systématique des professions manuelles et d'entreprendre une enquête dans les différentes entreprises sur les aptitudes professionnelles.

Pour les travaux préliminaires tendant à la préparation des éléments destinés à diriger les offices d'orientation professionnelle, on a créée trois laboratoires de psychotechnique auprès des Facultés de philosophie et de lettres de Bucarest, Iassy et Cluj.

Les idées précèdent toujours les faits et dans notre pays, où la grande industrie est de création récente et où il n'existe pas de classes patronale et ouvrière ayant une tradition et un passé, une grande part des intentions du législateur et de ceux qui volent clair, ne saurait être appliqué intégralement du premier coup.

En tout cas, ce qui nous intéresse principalement ce ne sont pas les réalisations considérées d'une façon absolue, mais plutôt la tendance manifestée, et nous pouvons soutenir, de ce point de vue, que les nouvelles idées de coopération sociale ont passé de la phase utopique dans le domaine des réalisations courantes.

## SCHWEIZ

ZUSAMMENGESTELLT VON FRAU DR. E. ZÜBLIN-SPILLER,

Direktion „Schweizer Verband Volksdienst“, Zürich

Das vom Sekretariat der I. R. I. aufgestellte Memorandum zur Ausarbeitung eines Berichtes über die industriellen Verhältnisse in der Schweiz ist verschiedenen kompetenten Persönlichkeiten vorgelegt worden, deren Antwort nachstehend angeführt ist.

### ZUSAMMENARBEIT INNERT UND ZWISCHEN DEN VERSCHIEDENEN GRUPPEN DER INDUSTRIE.

Dr. F. Bernet berichtet:

Nach dem Vortrag, den der amerikanische Industrielle Henry S. Dennison am 19. Februar 1927 in der Eidg. Techn. Hochschule in Zürich gehalten hatte, bildete sich auf Anregung einiger Vorstandsmitglieder des Zentralverbandes schweiz. Arbeitgeber-Organisationen in Zürich eine erste Gruppe von sieben industriellen, nicht unter sich konkurrierenden Firmen, um versuchsweise mit einem Austausch von Erfahrungen auf dem Gebiete der Einkaufs- und Lager-Organisation zu beginnen. Die gegenseitigen Besuche und Besprechungen, die seither regelmässig stattfanden, stehen vor dem Abschluss. Es ist geplant, diese Gemeinschaftsarbeit, die wertvolle Resultate ergeben hat, im kommenden Jahre auf eine breitere Basis zu stellen.

Das "Psychotechnische Institut" in Zürich schreibt:  
Für die Personaleinstellung hat die Verwendung psychotechnischer Methoden im vergangenen Jahre in der Schweiz weitere Fortschritte gemacht und die psychotechnischen Institute verzeichnen eine starke Zunahme ihrer Tätigkeit. Es gibt Unternehmen, die eigne hiezu geeignete Leute zu Betriebspsychotechnikern ausbilden lassen und solche, die sich einfach an die psychotechnischen Institute wenden, um ihre Leute dort auf ihre Befähigung untersuchen zu lassen. Das in der Schweiz am weitesten vorgeschrittene psychotechnische Institut in Zürich hat bereits eine Anzahl von Psychotechnikern für Betriebe ausgebildet, so für die eidgenössische Postverwaltung, für verschiedene Maschinenfabriken, für eine Armaturren-

fabrik, eine Fabrik der Textilbranche und andere. Dieser Weg hat sich als fruchtbar erwiesen. Eine Reihe von Betrieben lässt heute grundsätzlich alle Neueintretenden und die zu Befördernden auf ihre Fähigkeiten und Charakterzüge untersuchen. Viele kleinere Unternehmen und vor allem solche, die im engeren Einzugsgebiet des Psychotechnischen Institutes liegen, bedienen sich des einfacheren Modus, ihre Leute direkt vom Institut untersuchen zu lassen. Die Zahl derselben wächst stetig und erstreckt sich auf fast alle Branchen angelernter, körperlicher und geistiger Arbeit, von den niederen Funktionen bis zu den führenden Stellungen. Einige Unternehmen sind weiter dazu übergegangen, auch die Berufsausbildung ihrer Leute psychotechnisch zu vervollkommen.

Ein prägnantes Beispiel dieser Art stellen die Lehrwerkstätten einer ostschweizerischen Maschinenfabrik dar, in welcher die Lehrlinge der Metall- und Holzbranchen nach einem nicht nur technisch, sondern auch pädagogisch und psychologisch sorgfältig aufgestellten Lehrplan rationell ausgebildet werden. Die Erfolge übertreffen alle Erwartungen, die von Seiten der Betriebsleitung gehegt wurden. Die Ausbildungszeit konzentriert und reduziert sich auf einen Bruchteil der bisherigen, die Leistungen gewinnen qualitativ und quantitativ. Vor allem aber wird auf diesem Wege die Arbeitsfreude gesteigert und wieder gesunder Arbeitsstolz gepflanzt.

Ein anderes lehrreiches Beispiel liefert ein psychotechnisch organisierter Lehrkurs für Maurerlehrlinge, der vor einem Jahr in Bern abgehalten wurde. In 5 Wochen wurde den Lehrlingen das Pensum ihres ersten Lehrjahres zweckmässig beigebracht. Der Erfolg überraschte ebenfalls ausserordentlich. Weitere Kurse sind im Gang. Das in Fachkreisen erwachte Interesse drängt ersichtlich zu einer durchgreifenden Vervollkommnung aller Lehrverhältnisse.

Bis Ende des Jahres 1927 ist das Psychotechnische Institut Zürich zur Mitarbeit für die Personalauslese und Ausbildung zugezogen worden von 7 Unternehmen der Metallbranche, 2 der Holzbearbeitungsindustrie, 4 Betrieben der Textilbranche, 6 Verkehrsunternehmen, 5 Verwaltungen, Banken und Ver-

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sicherungsgesellschaften. Daneben bestehen sehr viele Beziehungen zu Unternehmen, die ihre Kandidaten von Fall zu Fall regelmässig durch das Psychotechnische Institut untersuchen lassen, weiter zu den Berufsberatungsstellen und den Schulen.

Ein äusseres Zeichen für den Aufschwung der Psychotechnik in der Schweiz ist die Gründung einer Schweizerischen Stiftung für Psychotechnik, die es sich zur Aufgabe macht, alle auf diesem Gebiete ernsthaft wirkenden Kräfte zu vereinen und zu fördern.

Die **Arbeitspsychologie**, soweit sie direkt auf das Psychische eingeht, wird in der Schweiz von der Psychotechnik in ungetrenntem Zusammenhang mit der oben skizzierten Tätigkeit behandelt. Die objektive, nur auf das Verhältnis von äusseren Einwirkungen und objektiven Arbeitsleistungen abstellende Seite stellt ein Grenzgebiet dar, in welchem ausserdem verschiedene Betriebe eine beachtenswerte Tätigkeit entwickeln, so betreffend der Verhältnisse von Licht- und Arbeitsleistung die Firmen B.A.G. Turgi und Osram A.-G. Zürich.

Allgemein menschliche Gesichtspunkte verfolgt das in der Schweiz hochentwickelte industrielle Fürsorgewesen.

### WISSENSCHAFTLICHE BETRIEBSFUEHRUNG.

Dr. Bernet berichtet:

Die praktische Rationalisierung in den einzelnen Betrieben hat im Jahre 1927 stetige Fortschritte gemacht. Typisch für unser Land ist das schrittweise, wohlüberlegte Vorgehen, das bei den geplanten Massnahmen auch die Rückwirkungen auf die Arbeiterschaft voll berücksichtigt.

Die mehr der Propaganda und Aufklärung dienende "Kommission für Rationelles Wirtschaften" der Gesellschaft der Schweizerfreunde der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika hat zahlreiche einzelne Vorträge und einige Vortragszyklen veranstaltet. Berufene in- und ausländische Fachleute sprachen über Probleme der Rationalisierung. Als Höhepunkt der Tätigkeit darf der gemeinsam mit anderen Stellen durchgeführte Internationale Orientierungskurs über Arbeitsrationalisierung (Zürich, 6.-9. Juli) bezeichnet werden.



Die Rationalisierung wurde von der Kommission ferner gefördert durch die Schaffung einer Betriebswissenschaftlichen Bücherstube, wo die einschlägige Literatur aufliegt, und durch die Herausgabe der "Schweizer Schriften für rationelles Wirtschaften", in denen wichtige Probleme eine gründliche, aber allgemeinverständliche Darstellung erfahren.

Der "Schweizer Verband Volksdienst" meldet:

Nach unserer Auffassung hat sich in den letzten 10 Jahren die Betriebswohlfahrtspflege merklich dahin geändert, dass der patriarchalische Charakter immer mehr verschwindet. Der Mangel an Arbeitskräften, besonders in der Textil- und Chemischen Industrie (Kunstseide) bedingt den Zuzug aus einem immer weiteren Umkreis. Die Bereitstellung von Kantinen und Mädchenheimen ist dadurch zu einer Betriebsnotwendigkeit geworden, die durchaus im Rahmen der Produktion betrachtet wird. Immer mehr Fabriken ziehen es vor, ihre Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen einer neutralen Organisation (S. V.) zur Leitung zu übergeben, die ihrerseits die Verbannung des Alkohols strikte durchführt.

Die in der Schweiz mehr und mehr einsetzende Schichtarbeit bedingt auch eine Anpassung für die Verpflegungsmöglichkeit, die wiederum eine Ausgestaltung der Kantinen erfordert. Immer wieder wird der Volksdienst als Auskunftsstelle für die Fabrik-Wohlfahrtspflege in Anspruch genommen. Auf diese Weise wird es möglich, die Kantinen nach einem gewissen Schema einzurichten und dieselben durch Abhaltung von Vorträgen, durch Bibliotheken, Handarbeitskurse auch zu einem Zentrum geistiger Bildungsarbeit für die Arbeiterschaft zu gestalten.

#### DIE BERUFSBERATUNG IN DER SCHWEIZ.

Frl. M. L. Wild, Berufsberaterin, Bern, schreibt:

Die Berufsberatung ist in der Schweiz noch eine junge Bewegung, hat aber seit der Zeit ihrer ersten Anfänge rasche Fortschritte gemacht und sich besonders in den grösseren Städten sehr gut eingebürgert. Sie ging hervor aus den verschiedenen Lehrlingsämtern und Lehrlingspatronaten, welche den objektivsten Einblick in die Lehrverhältnisse besaßen und

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die darin auftauchenden Misstände zuerst zu beobachten die Gelegenheit hatten. Durch den Zusammenschluss dieser Lehrlingsämter, das heisst, ihrer Vertreter, zu einem schweizerischen Verein wurde im Jahre 1902 der Grund gelegt zu einer intensiven Arbeit auf dem Gebiete der Verbesserung des Lehrlingswesens und zu einem einheitlichen Zusammengehen der ganzen Schweiz, so weit dies lokale Verschiedenheiten erlaubten.

Die Organisation der Berufsberatung in den verschiedenen Kantonen ist sehr verschieden. In einigen ist sie städtisch organisiert, die Mehrzahl der Stellen jedoch ging aus privater Initiative hervor und wird auch noch mehr oder weniger auf privater Grundlage durchgeführt, sei es, dass eine Vereinigung die Inhaber des Amtes stützt und für die Beschaffung der Geldmittel sorgt, sei es, dass der Staat, (Gemeinde, Kanton) mehr oder weniger grosse Beiträge an die Kosten leistet oder, wie in kleineren Ortschaften, Privatpersonen von sich aus lokale Berufsberatung treiben und die wenigen Unkosten aus eigener Tasche bezahlen.

Die unter dem Namen "Schweizerischer Verband für Berufsberatung und Lehrlingsfürsorge" gegründete Vereinigung schliesst Verbandsorganisationen und Einzelmitglieder in sich und befasst sich mit den folgenden Tätigkeitsgebieten:

Propaganda für die Berufsberatung.

Ausbildung und Fortbildung der Arbeitskräfte auf dem Gebiete der Berufsberatung.

Massnahmen für die finanziellen und anderen Erleichterungen auf dem Gebiete der Berufsberatung und der Berufswahl.

Förderung der Lehrstellenvermittlung.

Förderung der Berufsbilder und des Lehrlingswesens.

Lehrlings- und Jugendlichen-Fürsorge.

Lehrentlassenenfürsorge- und Zusammenarbeit mit den Arbeitsämtern.

Zusammenarbeit mit verwandten Institutionen des In- und Auslandes.

Eine der Hauptbestrebungen der schweizerischen Berufsberatung ist die Arbeit in die Tiefe, das heisst die Erfassung

des Intellekts und vor allem der Charakteranlagen des zu Beratenden, welche letztere nur zu oft im Leben ausschlaggebend sind für den Erfolg oder Nichterfolg.

Ein psychotechnisches Institut besteht in Zürich, das sich steigender Inanspruchnahme erfreut. Auch haben eine Reihe von Grossfirmen in der Schweiz eigene psychotechnische Aemter errichtet. Ein besonders schwieriges Gebiet der Berufsberatung ist die Versorgung von Anormalen in Berufe, in welchen sie ihre Kräfte entfalten und zu brauchbaren Menschen herangezogen werden können.

Im Vergleich zum Ausland hat die Schweiz vielleicht einen geringeren Prozentsatz von ungelernten Arbeitern zu verzeichnen, dagegen besteht die grosse Schwierigkeit, die ausgelernten jungen Leute in sichere Stellungen zu versorgen. Seitdem die Auswanderung auch der gelernten Arbeiter in die Grossstaaten, speziell nach Amerika, mit so grossen Schwierigkeiten verbunden ist, herrscht in beinahe allen Berufen Ueberproduktion.

Die Berufsberatung für Mädchen ist fast ausnahmslos in die Hände von Frauen gelegt. Die im Jahre 1922 gegründete Schweizerische Zentralstelle für Frauenberufe geht den in der Praxis stehenden Berufsberaterinnen an die Hand und zeigt durch das Wachsen ihrer Aufgaben, dass sie einem Erfordernis entsprach. Die weibliche Berufsberatung leidet speziell unter der sehr kleinen Auswahl von Berufen, welche den jungen Mädchen aus einfachen Verhältnissen zur Verfügung stehen. Auch sind eine ganze Anzahl von Berufen, für welche sich die Frauen gut eignen würden, dem weiblichen Geschlecht verschlossen (Konditor, Goldschmied, Kürschner, Graveur, Modellzeichner, Innenarchitektur, Dekorateur u.s.w., u.s.w.).

Die Ausbildung zum Berufsberater ist keine geregelte. Die beste Vorbedingung dazu ist die praktische Kenntnis einer möglichst grossen Zahl von Berufen und ihrer Ausbildungsmöglichkeiten, verbunden mit sozialem Interesse und der Gabe der Menschenkenntnis. Durch periodische Einführungskurse und Berufsberaterkonferenzen erstrebt der Verband die Aus- und Weiterbildung der auf dem Gebiete der Berufsberatung Tätigen, Besprechung gemeinsamer Probleme und deren Re-

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gelung und Lösung. Es wird noch viel Arbeit zu tun geben, doch ist die Bewegung auf guten Wegen.

### WANDLUNGEN DER WIRTSCHAFTLICHEN UND SOZIALEN VERHÄLTNISSE IN DER SCHWEIZ.

Privatdoz. Dr. Jakob Lorenz, Fribourg, schreibt:

Im Laufe des Jahres 1927 hat in der Schweiz das wirtschaftliche Leben einen bedeutenden Aufschwung genommen. Die Exportindustrie war im allgemeinen gut geschäftigt und der Export ist wieder ungefähr auf der Höhe von 1913 angelangt. Die Arbeitslosigkeit ist, abgesehen von lokalen Erscheinungen im Gebiete des Kantons Baselstadt und -Land und der ostschweizerischen Industriegegend zurückgegangen und teilweise wird über Mangel an gelernten Arbeitskräften geklagt, während ungelernete Arbeitskräfte noch überschüssig sind. Die Lohnverhältnisse erlitten eine doppelte Verbesserung; einmal sind die Lohnsätze im langsamen Steigen begriffen, sodann ist die Teuerung etwas zurückgegangen, sodass automatisch eine Verbesserung des Lebensstandard eingetreten ist. Dem besseren Stande der Wirtschaft entsprechend, haben sich die sozialen Verhältnisse in so weit etwas gebessert, als es der Industrie möglich ist, wieder eher an Sozialinvestitionen zu denken. Allerdings muss bemerkt werden, dass im Laufe der letzten zehn Jahre, wenn man die gesamte industrielle Fürsorgetätigkeit ins Auge fasst, wohl mindestens eine halbe Milliarde für diese Zwecke aufgewendet worden ist, wovon etwa 400 Millionen allein nur auf die Pensionskassen der Industrie und grössere Handelsunternehmungen entfallen. Mit einem gewissen Stillstand muss daher einstweilen noch gerechnet werden, um so mehr, als die Rationalisierungsbestrebungen nicht unbeträchtliche Mittel erfordern, die sich allerdings in Kürze wieder einbringen lassen. Die staatliche Sozialpolitik beschränkte sich im letzten Jahre im wesentlichen auf den Ausbau der Arbeitslosenversicherung, die in kurzer Zeit sehr grosse Fortschritte gemacht hat. In der ersten Zeit haben namentlich die gewerkschaftlichen Arbeitslosenkassen von der Bundessubvention den meisten Gewinn davon getragen; doch scheinen die Fortschritte öffentlicher und neutraler Kassen neuerdings namhafter zu sein. Der obliga-

torischen Unfallversicherung sind, einschliesslich der Fabriken rund 37.000 Betriebe mit einem Personal von 606.000 Personen unterstellt. In den Fabriken sind rund 355.000 Personen beschäftigt, von denen 135.000 auf das weibliche Geschlecht entfallen.

EXPERIMENTE MIT NEUEN INDUSTRIELLEN BETRIEBSSYSTEMEN sind in den letzten Jahren so gut wie keine unternommen worden. Die Zeit war nicht dazu angetan, für solche Experimente den geeigneten Boden zu schaffen. Schon die Betriebe, die an die Konsumgenossenschaften sich anlehnen und für diese produzieren, haben in den letzten Jahren grosse Schwierigkeiten zu überwinden gehabt; ja die Konsumgenossenschaften selbst sind in ihrer Funktion als Preisregulatoren durch hohe Personalaufwendungen sehr eingeengt worden. Die Gewinnbeteiligung ist eher im Rückgang als in der Weiterbildung begriffen. Die Gewerkschaften haben ihren Tiefstand überwunden und scheinen trotz der Schwierigkeiten, die durch die - übrigens abflauende - kommunistische Bewegung geschaffen worden sind, zu erstarken. Führend sind die gemässigten Verbände des öffentlichen Personals und der Metallarbeiter. Als interessante Neubildung ist die Bank der Genossenschaften und Gewerkschaften zu nennen, welche durch den schweiz. Gewerkschaftsbund und den Verband Schweiz. Konsumvereine ins Leben gerufen worden ist. Indes handelt es sich nicht um eine ausgesprochene Arbeiterbank, sondern mehr um eine Ausgestaltung der bisherigen Bankabteilung des Verbandes Schweiz. Konsumvereine (einer Organisation mit dem Charakter einer Grosseinkaufsgesellschaft und einem Umsatz von 138 Mill Frs.) unter Beizug der Gewerkschaften. Die Bank der christlichsozialen Arbeiterorganisationen, die ihr 25. Geschäftsjahr hinter sich hat, zeigt gute Fortschritte. Die grösste Genossenschaftsbank der Schweiz, die Schweiz. Volksbank, hat durch eine Umorganisation sich ihres rein genossenschaftlichen Charakters teilweise begeben müssen, um als Grossbank an allen Geschäften partizipieren zu können. Der Genossenschaftsgedanke ist in seiner Verwirklichung stets gefährdet, wenn die genossenschaftlichen Betriebe einen sehr grossen Umfang annehmen.

## SWEDEN

BY FRÖKEN S. FREDHOLM

Welfare Supervisor, „Manufactur Aktiebolaget“, Malmö

### COOPERATION WITHIN AND BETWEEN THE VARIOUS GROUPS IN INDUSTRY.

The chief groups in industry are, in Sweden, strictly consolidated and very highly organized within themselves.

The workers are very well organized in all factories of any size. With a few exceptions the Unions belong to the Workers General Federation (Landsorganisationen), a central body, formed in 1898 in order to give economic assistance to its members in certain cases of conflict but also - among other things - to promote the educational activities among the workers.

The corresponding body on the side of the employers is the General Federation of Swedish Employers (Svenska Arbetsgivareföreningen) formed in 1902 and since 1917 including the chief trades. It aims at promoting the cooperation of employers, at taking care of their common interests, and also endeavours to render economic assistance in times of conflict.

When the collective agreement of a certain trade is to be renewed or revised, the chosen representatives of the employers and employees respectively meet at the round table. Since 1906 we have had a law applicable to voluntary arbitration in trade disputes, and in cases of conflict the parties are assisted by the state arbitrator of the district. On special occasions a commission of arbitration is often ordered by the Government.

Even if the latest years have been far from free from deplorable conflicts, which by a little more understanding and goodwill on the part of either or both parties ought to have been avoided, the general atmosphere in the industrial world has grown less embittered - a fact which is easily traceable in the responsible press.

An attempt to bring employers and employees together to discuss social and economic problems from an ethical point of view are the yearly week-end conferences at one of our people's high-schools in Sigtuna. These gatherings started

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as discussions between scientific people, social workers and employers and employees, and these two types of conferences still remain. During the past the few years, however, there have also been gatherings in which representatives of all the categories above mentioned have taken part. Such a week-end conference was held in March of this year with "Unemployment" as the topic of discussion. These gatherings are arranged by a special committee and are of a very intimate nature.

A group in industry which is often overlooked, but which certainly is an important one in factory life, is the body of foremen and forewomen. Since 1924 there has been in existence a central federation of foremen and overseers of all grades, Svenska Arbetsledareförbundet, consisting of a great many local bodies. This association has, however, nothing to do with wages and conditions of work, as the foremen are appointed by individual agreement.

A question of great interest to foremen and employers alike is the training of overseers. The iron and mining trades have had since 1923 a special training school for this purpose, where a certain amount of instruction in scientific methods and industrial psychology is included in the curriculum.

In 1926 the Welfare Workers Association invited forewomen to a short summer-school (5 days) with problems of Management, Industrial Health and Industrial Psychology as chief topics. The experiment met with success and was repeated in 1927. This time some foremen were also invited. The numbers taking part were doubled since the previous year and amounted to 60, the active interest of the students being very great. Not the least in importance was the contact established between the forepeople and the welfare workers taking part. A summer-school on similar lines is planned for this summer.

### EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

As to general education there are two institutions in particular which have proved of special importance to the men and women in industry. These are the Workers' Educational

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Association (Arbetarnas Bildningsförbund, A. B. F.) and the People's High-Schools (Folkhögskolorna).

The A. B. F. was founded in 1912 as a result of cooperation between the principal and professional organisations of the workers. It has a local body in nearly every industrial centre and works chiefly by means of lectures, study-circles and a small system of libraries. It is still supported economically by the workers themselves but enjoys a considerable allowance from the state.

The People's High School is an old Scandinavian institution. The students were originally young men and women from farms. Several schools however are now specially intended for industrial workers, who also more and more begin to take part in the ordinary courses for farmers or are invited to short specially arranged summer-schools (1-3 weeks). This kind of education tends to be more and more appreciated. The principal subject at the High School Conference last year was how to make it economically possible for the young people in industry to attend such a school and how to arrange the courses in order to make them most valuable to this special kind of student.

### INDUSTRIAL WELFARE WORK.

The depression of trade, not yet totally overcome, has necessitated strict economy, and brought with it a marked reluctance to making new experiments. The very detailed clauses in most collective agreements often produce a certain unwillingness on the part of employers to do more than is absolutely requested.

New welfare-posts, therefore, have in these last years been exceptionally few. Yet it seems as if that kind of work shows a tendency to deal more than before with working conditions and factory life itself.

The welfare workers themselves, who have deeply felt the need of consolidation, and of the recognition of welfare work as a real part of the business, in order to promote such an aim, have met for yearly conferences, and thus established valuable cooperation between themselves and with the factory inspection.



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### SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.

The leading institution here is the scientific academy of engineers, which states that several industries in these last years have reorganized themselves on the principle of scientific management. The inauguration of labour-saving machines is a burning question and the interest generally taken in this matter is considerable. The first issue of a new magazine, *Business Economy*, solely devoted to questions of this kind, has just been published.

### INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY.

Activities in this connection have been confined to articles of information in periodicals and reference-books. Psychological testing of aspirants to the Post-Office is now being tried, but the result is not yet known.

### VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE.

This question is not a new one. Since 1923 there has existed in Stockholm a juvenile labour exchange in connection with the general labour exchange.

Special measures have also been taken by the preliminary schools in bigger towns. The statutes of the new continuation school explicitly state its duty to give vocational guidance to young people.

The question is, however, still in an experimental stage.

## ADDENDUM

**CECHOSLOVAKEI**  
**VON V. VERUNAC, DOC. DR.,**  
**Prag**

**WIRTSCHAFTLICHE UND SOZIALE STRUKTUR DER CECO-SLOVAKISCHEN REPUBLIK.**

Die Einwohnerzahl nach der Volkszählung vom Jahre 1921 beträgt 13.372.406 Seelen neben 238.493 Ausländern.

Es ist hier nicht notwendig, die Tatsache auseinander zu setzen und zu begründen, dass die Gruppierung der Bevölkerung nach Berufen Einfluss auf die Richtung der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Politik (Lépe: Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik) hat.

Aus den Angaben, die uns zur Disposition stehen, werden wir eine sehr gedrängte Charakteristik durchführen, welche zur Beantwortung der Frage notwendig ist, die durch das Thema dieses Referates gestellt wird.

Die Gruppierung der Bevölkerung der csl. Republik ergibt folgendes Bild:

Berufs-k-l-a-s-s-e	In der C. S. R. insgesamt (absolut)
Landwirtschaft, Forstwirtschaft, Fischerei .....	5.384.115
Industrie und Gewerbe .....	4.601.020
Handel und Geldwesen .....	787.178
Transportwesen .....	664.311
Staats- und öffentlicher Dienst	
Freie Berufe .....	590.698
Militär .....	159.851
Selbständige Dienstausbübung und Lohnarbeit .....	173.420
Andere Berufe und ohne Beruf .....	1.250.756
	13.611.349

Sodann detailliert:

	Hat die Industrie im Beruf tätig:					Famili-en- mit-g-lie-d-er	
	Selb- stän-dige	Päch- ter	Beam- te	Arbei- ter	Lehr- linge	Tag- als Hilfs- löh- ner	kräf- te
Männer .....	279.830	1.126	66.071	1.170.129	190.439	28.987	11.480
Frauen .....	49.207	132	17.704	349.461	34.542	8.331	5.033
Zusammen .....	329.037	1.258	83.775	1.519.590	224.981	37.318	16.513

## CECHOSLOVAKEI

Angehörige ohne eigenen Beruf:	Hausdienerschaft:
681.608	687
1.659.329	46.924
2.340.937	47.611

Aus dieser Uebersicht ist einerseits eine gewisse Aehnlichkeit in Bezug auf das Verhältniss der Landwirtschaft zur Industrie (im Berufe der Bevölkerung) der Cechoslovakischen Republik mit den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, den Niederlanden und Frankreich,

andererseits wieder eine merkwürdige Aehnlichkeit, was den wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Gesamtcharakter anbelangt, der Cechoslovakischen Republik mit Deutschland, Belgien, der Schweiz und den Niederlanden ersichtlich.

Diese Aehnlichkeit und Analogie erleichtert uns vielfach das Studium der Richtlinien der Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik.

Allerdings können wir uns nicht in allen Problemen auf die Analogie oder Aehnlichkeit der fremden Verhältnisse berufen, nichtsdestoweniger gewährt uns hauptsächlich die Tradition der entwickelten Industrieländer, das System der Absatzgebiete und die mit demselben zusammenhängende innere soziale und wirtschaftliche Struktur einen leichtern Einblick in die Wirkung des in bestimmten Richtungen entwickelten praktischen, wirtschaftlichen Bestrebens.

Aus den Tabellen ist zu ersehen, dass die grösste Zahl der Bevölkerung der C. S. R. ihren Unterhalt in der Landwirtschaft und in der Industrie findet.

Durch Landwirtschaft (incl. Forstwirtschaft) ernähren sich  $\frac{2}{3}$  der Bevölkerung, in der Industrie findet mehr als  $\frac{1}{3}$  derselben ihren Unterhalt.

Vergleichen wir die Zahl der in diesen zwei Wirtschaftszweigen Tätigen in Prozenten, so sehen wir, dass da ein annähernd inneres Gleichgewicht zwischen diesen beiden Berufszweigen besteht.

Was die Gruppierung der Kategorien der einzelnen Berufe anbelangt, so entfällt in der C. S. R. (analog wie etwa in Deutschland) ca. die Hälfte der Arbeiter auf die Gesamtzahl der berufstätigen Bevölkerung, d.h. etwa  $\frac{1}{4}$  der Bevölkerung sind Arbeiter, Lehrlinge und Tagelöhner.

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Selbständige Unternehmer und Pächter wurden im Jahre 1921 1.361.295 gezählt, das ist etwa ein Fünftel (20 %) aller im Berufe tätigen Personen.

Unter 1000 in der Industrie tätigen Personen zählt man:

806 Arbeiter (incl. Lehrlinge und Tagelöhner)

148 Selbständige.

Aus den statistischen Angaben ist weiter ersichtlich, dass die Zahl der Berufstätigen in der Landwirtschaft und Fortwirtschaft in der letzten Zeit nicht steigt, sondern in der Regel sinkt (bei uns, in Amerika und anderswo)\*; dafür die Zahl der in der Industrie, im Handel und im Transportwesen Berufstätigen (nicht nur bei uns, sondern auch in Deutschland und anderswo) wächst.

Die Entwicklung (soweit es sich um die Gruppierung der Berufe der Bevölkerung handelt), bewegt sich in der Richtung der Industrialisierung. Es ist dies eine merkliche Abkehr von der ursprünglichen Form der Landwirtschaft zur Industrialisierung (in diese auch die sog. landwirtschaftliche Industrie mitgezählt.)

Die Entwicklung bewegt sich weiter in der Richtung der Intensivgestaltung des Handels und des Transportwesens. Dieses Faktum diktiert im Wesen auch die unvermeidliche Regelung in der Organisation und die Ausgestaltung der Kommunikationen, Regelung der Transporttarife.

In Bezug auf die soziale Seite muss betont werden:

1. Erhöhung der Zahl der Selbständigen cechischer Nationalität.

2. Erhöhung der Zahl der Beschäftigten in verantwortlichen selbständigen Stellungen in der Industrie, im Handel, im Transport- und im Geldwesen.

Bewegt sich die Entwicklung in der Richtung der Industrialisierung, ist mit Recht dafür zu halten, dass sie auch in der Richtung der Oekonomisierung (durch Bildung grösserer wirtschaftlicher Einheiten und Komplexe, Konzentration und Kooperation) fortschreiten wird.

\*) Die Tabelle Dr. Bohács "Politika", Prag, II. I. 78 S. zeigt, dass bei uns die Zahl der in der Landwirtschaft Berufstätigen in den Jahren 1911-1921 um 9,4 % gesunken ist.

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Damit vergrössert sich allerdings die Notwendigkeit der Intensivgestaltung des technischen Fortschritts und die Intensivierung der Erzeugung.

Beträchtlichere Verschiebungen in der Gruppierung der Bevölkerung lassen sich jedoch für die Zukunft nicht erwarten.

### WIRTSCHAFTLICHE UND SOZIALE ORGANISATION.

Die Arbeitgeber sind, analog wie in anderen Ländern, in Interesseninstitutionen organisiert. Die stärkste Organisation besitzen die industriellen Arbeitgeber, von welchen die eine cechisch, die andere deutsch ist; beide bilden dann einen gemeinsamen Ausschuss. Sämtliche Arbeitgeber (die landwirtschaftlichen, industriellen, gewerblichen, Banken und teilweise auch der Handel) schufen dann die sog. Konföderation der cechoslovakischen Arbeitgeberorganisationen, welche heute, verhältnismässig einheitlich, das cechoslovakische Arbeitgeberlager repräsentiert.

Die Arbeitnehmer haben eine grosse Reihe von Interessen-(Fach-) Organisationen. Die statistischen Angaben des Statistischen Staatsamtes führen im ganzen 9 Fachgebilde mit cechischer Verhandlungssprache und 5 Hauptgebilde mit deutscher Sprache an.

Diese Zentralen besitzen über 1½ Millionen organisierter Mitglieder, von welchen etwas weniger als ein Drittel auf Arbeiter-Fachorganisationen, etwa ein Drittel auf Beamtenorganisationen und etwas mehr als ein Drittel auf gemischte (Arbeiter- und Beamten) Organisationen entfallen.

### DAS PRINZIP DER ZUSAMMENARBEIT.

Im Lager der Arbeitgeber (Unternehmer) ist das Prinzip der Mitarbeit einerseits auf dem reinen Interessengebiete (sich das Kapitel über wirtschaftliche und soziale Organisation) andererseits auf wirtschaftspolitischen Gebiete, d. i. der horizontalen und vertikalen Konzentration, durch Kartelle, Konzerne, zur Geltung gebracht. Dieser Vorgang ist in der letzten Zeit je weiter desto intensiver.

Im Lager der Arbeitnehmer ist der Interessenzweck durch Schaffung von Fachorganisationen ausgedrückt und zwar so-

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wohl Arbeiter- als auch Beamtenorganisationen und dies in der Regel abgesondert. (Sieh das vorhergehende Kapitel.)

Im Lager der Arbeiter hat sich die Zusammenarbeit auch auf wirtschaftspolitischem Gebiete in Form der Genossenschaften geltend gemacht.

Einen Hauptrepräsentanten der Arbeitergenossenschaft-Bewegung bildet der "Zentralverband der czechoslovakischen Genossenschaften in Prag".

Durch etliche seiner Beschlüsse hat er sich auf den Neutralitätsstandpunkt gegenüber der politischen und religiösen Ueberzeugung seiner Mitglieder-Genossenschafter gestellt. Er organisiert neben Konsumgenossenschaften auch Produktions- und Wohnungsgenossenschaften, Oekonomie-Pachtgenossenschaften, Finanzgenossenschaften, Volkshäuser und andere genossenschaftliche Gebilde.

Der Statistik für das Jahr 1926 zufolge wiesen die in diesem Verbands vereinigten Genossenschaften folgende ziffermässige Resultate auf:

Zahl der Genossenschaften .....	1.237
Zahl der Mitglieder .....	465.548
Beschäftigte Personen (nebst Genossensch.-Zentrale)..	10.486
Losung in den Genossenschaften .....	1.129.165.647.— Kc.
Auf die Mitgliedergeschäftsanteile eingezahlt .....	78.938.714.— "
Reservfonds und andere Fonds .....	45.142.287.— "
Von den Mitgliedern an Ersparnissen erzielt.....	183.561.716.— "
Inventar und Einrichtung in den Bilanzen der Genossenschaften ausgewiesen .....	4.302.544.— "
Realitäten, ausgewiesen in den Bilanzen der Genossenschaften .....	550.840.604.— "

Zahl der in der C. S. R. sich befindenden aktiven Genossenschaften am 31. Dezember 1926 nach dem Charakter ihrer Tätigkeit:

Ratifeisenkassen .....	4.027
Bürgerliche Vorschusskassen .....	1.314
Gerwerbliche Vorschusskassen .....	740
Landwirtschaftliche Genossenschaften (Einkaufs-, Verkaufs-, Produktions- und andere Genossenschaften) .....	4.318
Genossenschaften der Gewerbe- und Handeltreibenden .....	308
Produktions- und Arbeitsgenossenschaften der Arbeiter und Arbeitergenossenschaften der Heimarbeiter.....	654
Konsumgenossenschaften .....	1.110

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Bau- und Wohnungsgenossenschaften und Genossenschaften von Volkshäusern .....	1.428
Allgemeine Wohlfahrtsgenossenschaften (Genossenschaften zum Bau von Turnhallen, Rekonvaleszentenheimen u. ä.) .....	65
Verschiedene andere Genossenschaftsgebilde .....	13
Zusammen.....	14.854

Die Zahl der Mitglieder der Genossenschaften lässt sich auf Grund mancher statistischer Berichte der Genossenschaftsverbände nach den genossenschaftlichen Standesgruppen folgendermassen einteilen:

Arbeitergenossenschaftswesen (Konsumgenossenschaften, Produktions-, Kredit-, Wohnungsgenossenschaften, Volkshäuser u. ä.) .....	Mitglieder	960.000
Landwirtschaftliches Genossenschaftswesen (Kredit-, Einkaufs-, Verkaufs-, Produktions- und andere Genossenschaften) .....	„	650.000
Gewerbliches und Bürgerliches Genossenschaftswesen (Kredit-, Verkaufs-, Einkaufs- u. a. Genossenschaften) .....	„	90.000
Zusammen.....	Mitglieder	1.700.000

Multiplizieren wir die Zahl von 1.700.000 Mitgliedern in den Genossenschaften mit der schätzungsweise Zahl von 4 Familienangehörigen, erhalten wir 6.800.000 Einwohner, welche am Genossenschaftswesen in der Cechoslovakie interessiert sind. Manche Genossenschafter sind Mitglieder auch von mehreren Genossenschaften, demgegenüber sind die schätzungsweise Ziffern betreffs der Mitgliederzahl in den Genossenschaften sehr niedrig gegriffen. Dieses Faktum beweist, dass ca. 50 % der Einwohnerschaft unseres Staates am Genossenschaftswesen interessiert ist, und das ist für die Freunde der Genossenschaftsbewegung eine sehr erfreuliche Sache.

**Zusammenarbeit des Lagers der Arbeitgeber mit dem der Arbeitnehmer.** In der C. S. R. wurde auf diese Zusammenarbeit zu Beginn der staatlichen Selbständigkeit sehr viel aufgebaut. Er waren dies einerseits die sog. Paritätskommissionen, welche Lohnfragen und Fragen der Kollektivverträge, insofern sie strittig wurden, lösten. Auf paritätischer Grundlage wurde auch der sog. Beirat für wirtschaftliche Fragen (eine Art Wirtschafts-



parlament) geschaffen, welcher Gutachten über Gesetzentwürfe wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Charakters abgibt. Auch einzelne soziale Institutionen (wie die Zentral-Sozial-Versicherungsanstalt) sind im Prinzip der Parität geleitet. Diese Zusammenarbeit hat auf die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung einen sehr günstigen Einfluss, sie verhindert Kämpfe und Vergeudung der Kräfte.

#### **Zusammenarbeit der Fachorganisationen mit den fachwissenschaftlichen Institutionen.**

Auch diese Zusammenarbeit hat sich in der C.S.R. sehr geltend gemacht. Es wurde die sog. **Gemeinbürgschaft der Fachtechnischen- und wirtschaftlichen Organisationen in Prag** geschaffen, an welche die grossen Fachorganisationen der Arbeitnehmer und zugleich Fachkräfte beteiligt sind, welche sich mit der Lösung wirtschaftlicher und sozialer Fragen befassen. Es wird hauptsächlich nach dem Prinzip des **Laboratismus** (Technisch-ethischer wirtschaftlicher Progressivismus) gearbeitet, welcher von dem Prinzip der wissenschaftlichen Organisation, der Unterstützung des technischen Fortschritts und der ethischen Auffassung der Arbeit \* ausgeht. Eine analoge Zusammenarbeit ist in der Schaffung der sog. **Fortschrittlichen wirtschaftlichen Gemeinbürgschaft** verwirklicht, in welcher sich die Bestrebungen nach Zusammenarbeit der Arbeitnehmer und der fortschrittlichen Arbeitgeber unter Beteiligung von Fachleuten und wissenschaftlichen Institutionen konzentrieren.

**Zusammenarbeit einzelner Komponenten im Unternehmen.** Je mehr die Kraft der Fach- und politischen Organisationen der Arbeiter wuchs, desto mehr machte sich das Bestreben nach Schaffung einer bestimmten Repräsentation der Arbeitnehmer geltend.

Schon vor dem Weltkriege existierten in den grossen Unternehmungen sog. **"Vertrauensmänner-Ausschüsse"**, die aus den Reihen der Angestellten zum Zwecke der Vertretung ihrer Interessen gegenüber der Verwaltung des Unternehmens gewählt wurden.

Nach dem Weltkriege machte sich diese Forderung in Form

\* **Sieh: Bulletin du Comité Intern. d'Organisation Scientifique, Jahrg. II. 1927.**

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von Vereinbarungen (Kollektivverträgen) geltend, bis es zur Annahme eines Gesetzes, betreffend die Betriebsausschüsse im Bergbau und dann darauf im Jahre 1921 zu dem Gesetze über die Betriebsausschüsse im allgemeinen kam. Das ersterwähnte Gesetz geht einigermaßen weiter, da es dem Bergmann auch eine bestimmte Beteiligung an der Verwaltung und - in elementarer Form - Anteil am Gewinns zuspricht.

Die bisherigen Erfahrungen mit diesem Gesetze sind ganz günstig. Es war eigentlich nur eine Petrifikation des früheren Standes. Die Betriebsausschüsse sind ein gutes Bindeglied zwischen dem Arbeitnehmer und der Verwaltung des Unternehmens. Sie können eine geeignete Basis für die engste Zusammenarbeit werden. Die amtlichen Berichte der Gewerbeinspektoren führen an, dass heute die Arbeiterschaft im Ganzen in vielen Fällen das Gesetz nicht einmal ausnutzt, da es kein hinreichendes Interesse für dasselbe habe. Die Betriebsausschüsse sind auch eine wichtige Komponente bei der Durchführung der Fürsorge um die Sicherheit und die Gesundheit der Arbeiterschaft und vermögen auf diesem Gebiete eine ausgiebige Unterstützung der amtlichen Aufsichtsorgane zu bilden, denn sie können auf Grund der genauen Kenntnis der örtlichen Verhältnisse und der direkten Wahrnehmung der Gefahr in verschiedenen Stadien der Erzeugung auf diese (die Gefahr) aufmerksam machen, welche selbst bei sorgfältigster amtlicher Visitation des Betriebes übersehen werden kann. Es wäre wohl nur zu wünschen, dass die Mitarbeit der Betriebsausschüsse in dieser Richtung noch zielbewusster würde, und dass die Betriebsausschüsse bei den Amtshandlungen sich, wie dies mancherorts zu geschehen pflegt, nicht auf eine blosse passive Teilnahme beschränken.

In zahlreichen Unternehmungen wurden auf die Stellen des Betriebsausschusses nur Vertrauensmänner durch Wahl berufen.

INDUSTRIAL WELFARE WORK. \*

Allgemeiner Stand der Betriebsstätten in Bezug auf Gewerbe-Hygiene und Sicherheit. Fast sämtliche Gewerbeinspektoren führen viele grössere Unternehmungen an, welche bedeutende Rekonstruktionen durchgeführt haben, damit die Arbeiterschaft unter möglichst günstigen Bedingungen arbeite, trotzdem im abgelaufenen Jahre eine bedeutende Beschäftigungslosigkeit in manchen Industriezweigen scheinbar unproduktiven Investitionen hinderlich im Wege stand. Zu Gunsten der Sicherheit bei der Arbeit wurden die Transmissionsvorrichtungen durch Elektromotoren ersetzt; besondere Sorgfalt wurde der Beseitigung des Staubes aus den Werkstätten gewidmet u. z. entweder durch Mechanisierung bestimmter Arbeitsprozesse und ihre Isolierung von den Arbeitsstätten, oder durch Absaugvorrichtungen.

Lüftung, Absaugung des Staubes, der Gase und Dämpfe. Der Arbeitsatmosphäre ist auch sonst eine erhöhte Sorgfalt gewidmet, man sorgt für einen automatischen Austausch der Luft in den Betriebsstätten, ferner für Anfeuchtungseinrichtungen, durch welche die Hitze zur Sommerzeit bedeutend gemässigt wird. Gleiche Vorrichtungen werden auch dort verwendet, wo die Erzeugung selbst die Ursache unerwünschter Erwärmung der Werkstätte ist. Insofern es sich um Verunreinigung der Luft durch Ausdünstungen und Gase handelt, die mit der Erzeugung zusammenhängt, wurde viel für die Absaugung und Verringerung der Belästigung der Arbeiter durch giftige Gase geleistet. Speziell wurde auch für die Beseitigung von Nebel in den Betriebsstätten durch Zufuhr von heisser Luft und Absaugung der gesättigten Luft gesorgt.

Beheizung der Arbeitstätten. Die Gewerbeinspektion hat auf eine ordentliche Ausheizung der Arbeitsstätten besonders gedrungen. Speziell vorteilhaft hat sich die mittels elektrischer Ventilatoren über kleine Dampfheizkörper getriebene Luft bewährt.

Schutzvorrichtungen. Die Rationalisierungsbestrebungen führen auch zur Würdigung einer der wichtigsten

\* Als Quelle wurden hier einerseits die amtlichen Berichte der Gewerbeinspektoren, andererseits direkt gewonnene Erfahrungen, eventuelle Korrespondenzen aus den Unternehmungen, benützt.

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Betriebskomponenten, das ist, der menschlichen Arbeit. Es ist erfreulich, dass die Mehrzahl der Berichtersteller ein erhöhtes Verständniss für die Schutzvorrichtungen festgestellt haben. Bis auf einige Ausnahmen wächst auch in den breiten Schichten der Arbeitenden der Sinn für die Fürsorge und die eigene Sicherheit. Hier hat auch viel die Tages- und Fachpresse und dann die verschiedenen auf die Unfallverhütung gerichteten Aktionen gewirkt. Einige Korporationen und private Unternehmungen haben eine Reihe von Abbildungen, Plakaten, Vademeka, illustrierte Belehrungen auf Lohnkouverts etc. herausgegeben, bezw. veranstaltet, welche ihre Mission voll erfüllt haben. In dieser Beziehung wurde auch viel gefährliche Arbeit, gefährlich durch die Möglichkeit eines Unfalls oder einer Erkrankung durch Mechanisierung des Arbeitsprozesses ersetzt, oder die Arbeiter wurden für diese Kategorie Arbeit durch spezielle Schutzvorrichtungen ausgerüstet. (Automatisierung der Operation mit ätzenden Flüssigkeiten, Verwendung von Gasmasken, Lichtsignalen u.s.w.)

**Neue Arbeits- und Erzeugungsmethoden.** Fast  $\frac{3}{4}$  der Gewerbeinspektoren referieren über Rationalisierungsbestrebungen und Verwendung von neuzeitlichen Errungenschaften der Technik. Durch geeignete Einrichtungen strebt man eine ökonomischere Ausnutzung der teuren Brennstoffe an. So wird in den Gasanstalten die Abfallwärme zur Deckung des Bedarfes von Wärme in den Trocknereien verwendet. Ebenso wird dem Kohlenstaub und Kohlengrus sowie dem Koksstaub und ihrer besten Verwertung besondere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. Der Auspuff-Dampf wird zur Erwärmung der Köcher benutzt. Auf die ökonomische Ausnutzung der Wärme zielen auch die Rekonstruktionen zum Zwecke der mechanischen Beförderung der Erzeugnisse durch die Oefen beim Ausbrennen ab. Wie bereits bemerkt, kam es zum Zwecke des Ersatzes der bisherigen Handarbeit bei gefährlichen Verrichtungen (in der chemischen Produktion und bei schweren Lasten) in vielen Fällen zu einer prinzipiellen Reorganisation und eventuell zu einer vollständigen Mechanisierung der betreffenden Produktion (z.B. in Sägen, Kalköfen,

Ziegeleien), ebenso wurde eine Reihe von automatischen Schutzvorrichtungen gegen Entstehung gefährlicher Brände, das Ueberlaufen, Ueberhitzen, Verbrennen, und so weiter eingeführt.

**Bäder, Garderoben und Speisesäle.** Soweit die Berichte die Sache behandeln, verzeichnen alle ein wachsendes Verständnis der Unternehmer für obligatorische Einrichtung von Bädern und Waschgelegenheiten. Einige Inspektorate stellten eine ausserordentliche Sorgfalt der Unternehmungen für die Gesundheit ihrer Arbeiter fest, die aus den mustergültig eingerichteten Bädern und Waschgelegenheiten ersichtlich ist. Eine Fabrik zur Erzeugung von Kammgarnen errichtete Luxusbäder und bezahlte den Arbeitern für die im Bade zugebrachte Zeit einen Lohn für 20 Minuten. In vielen Fällen ist auch eine gleiche Sorgfalt den Speisezimmern und Garderoben gewidmet. So kann man auch Unternehmungen mit Speisezimmern mit bester Einrichtung vorfinden, in welchen sogar ein Piano, Blumen, Plakate aus den Gebieten der Industrie, der Hygiene, Zeitungen und ähnliches vorhanden ist. In einem andern Falle gibt es ein so geräumiges Speisezimmer, dass es die Leute auch als Turnhalle benützen können. Der Bericht erwähnt auch die geeigneten Einrichtungen für das Ausruhen der Arbeiter, welche die Mittagspause ausserhalb ihres Heims verbringen.

**Bemerkenswerte Unfälle.** Unter den normalen Unfallerscheinungen verdienen alljährlich einige Fälle besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Der Bericht erwähnt einen Unfall durch Inbrandgeraten von mit entzündbarem Staub verunreinigten Kleidern eines Fassbinders in einer chemischen Fabrik; einen Unfall bei der Explosion eines Löschapparates, einen Unfall durch eine labil befestigte Schutzwand u. a.

**Gesundheitsstand der Arbeiter, Berufskrankheiten.** Ueber den allgemeinen Gesundheitsstand der Arbeiter muss gesagt werden, dass in der letzten Zeit bedeutende Aenderungen eingetreten sind. Die Lebensbedingungen der Arbeiterschaft gestalteten sich im ganzen durch den Einfluss der Verschlechterung der Arbeitsgelegenheit, unzureichenden Verdienst, die Teuerung der notwendigsten Lebensmittel und auch

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durch die Wohnungskrise ungünstiger. Die meisten Erkrankungen sind durch das Einatmen schädlicher Ausdünstungen oder von Staub herbeigeführt. Gegenüber dem Vorjahre kann von einer bedeutenden Verringerung der Bleivergiftungen gesprochen werden, weil diese bloss bei 2 % der Arbeiter gegenüber 5 % im Vorjahre aufgetreten sind. An den Webstühlen in einer Fabrik zur Erzeugung von Kunstseide litten die Arbeiter durch die Schwefel-Kohlenstoff-dämpfe derart, dass sie eine Verkürzung der Arbeitszeit auf 4 Tage in der Woche bei vollem Lohne erhalten mussten. Eine spezielle Sorgfalt wurde dem in Glashütten auftretenden "Grauen Staar" gewidmet und sind dermalen Studienarbeiten im Gange, welche die Ursachen und den Schutz in Bezug auf die Krankheit zum Zwecke haben. Die bisherigen Berichte liefern bereits eine bestimmte Direktive. Man empfiehlt, dass die Kinder von Glasarbeitern nicht zur Ausübung des väterlichen Handwerkes herangezogen werden, denn Leute mit erblicher Inklinaton zur Erkrankung der Augen werden häufiger betroffen. Die Gewohnheit, das linke Auge zu schliessen, hat gewöhnlich die Erkrankung des rechten Auges zur Folge. Die Erzeugung von Holglas erweist sich von diesem Standpunkte aus gefährlicher als diejenige von Press- und gezogenem Glas.

## SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.

Die Cechoslovakei ist sehr rasch nach dem Weltkriege zum Bewusstsein der Bedeutung der Bewegung wissenschaftlicher Organisation gelangt und hat dieser Aufgabe grosse Aufmerksamkeit zugewendet. Als Beweis hiefür genügt gewiss, dass durch ein besonderes Gesetz vom Jahre 1919 zu diesem Zwecke eine spezielle Institution unter dem Namen "Masaryk Akademie der Arbeit" gegründet wurde, dass im Jahre 1924 eines der Institute dieser Institution (Institut für technische Industriewirtschaft) den ersten internationalen Kongress für wissenschaftliche Arbeitsleitung in Prag veranstaltete und dass aus diesem Kongresse unter Mitwirkung der Masaryk Akademie der Arbeit und des "Amerikanischen Engineering Council" das internationale Comité für wissenschaftliche Organisation hervorging, und dass aus diesem Milieu heraus auch die

Genfer internationale Institution für wissenschaftliche Organisation der Arbeit hervorgegangen ist.\*

Ueber die Gesamtentwicklung des Managements in der csl. Republik informiert übersichtlich das Bulletin du Comité d'Organisation Scientifique, Jg. 1928.

In der Masaryk-Akademie der Arbeit bildeten sich spezielle Kommissionen heraus, wie: Zur Feststellung der Verluste in der Textilindustrie, zur Feststellung der Verluste in der Holzindustrie; überall wird hier die Frage sowohl am Material als auch an der menschlichen Energie studiert, und die Arbeitsbedingungen erforscht.

Ferner fungiert in der Masaryk-Akademie der Arbeit das psychotechnische Institut, einerseits eine praktische (durch Prüfung für die Berufswahl) andererseits auch eine wissenschaftliche Richtung verfolgend. Psychotechnische Institute errichteten sich auch die elektrischen Unternehmungen der Hauptstadt Prag, das Ministerium für Nationalverteidigung (Behufs Prüfung der Chauffeurs, Piloten u. s. w.), ferner die grossen Unternehmungen, wie die Firma T. & A. Bata, Schuhfabrik in Zlín, über welche noch an anderer Stelle gesprochen wird, die Eisenwerke in Wittkowitz und einige Unternehmungen des Textil-Industrie-Gebietes.

An der Masaryk-Akademie der Arbeit wurde auch eine Kommission für Unfallverhütung gegründet, welche im Einvernehmen mit der Unfallversicherung und den Interessenorganisationen die Probleme der Unfallverhütung in der Industrie studieren wird. Die erste Etappe - Propaganda, Bedeutung der Verluste, Belehrung - wurde vielversprechend inauguriert. (Plakatierung, Vorträge, Flugblätter u.s.w.)

Für die Berufswahl existiert ein ganzes Netz von Beratungsstellen mit einer Zentrale in Prag.

Folgendes ist ein konkretes bemerkenswertes Beispiel einer landwirtschaftlichen Unternehmung:

"Prinzipien" für die Beteiligung am Gewinn der Angestellten der Teinitzer landwirtschaftlich-industriellen Unternehmungen des Herrn J. K. in Teinitz.

\* Proceedings. First International Management Congress Prague 1924.  
P. Devinat: L'organisation scientifique en Europe, Genève 1926.

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Eine Beteiligung am Gewinn der Teinitzer landwirtschaftlich-industriellen Unternehmungen geniessen die Angestellten dieser Unternehmungen mit Beginn des 1. Jänner 1928 für die Dauer von drei Kalenderjahren, d. h. bis 31. Dezember 1930. Nach Ablauf dieser Probefrist wird der Eigentümer der Teinitzer landwirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen Herr J. K. nach Massgabe der erzielten Resultate dieser Aktion entscheiden, ob die Beteiligung auf weitere 10 Jahre verlängert, abgeändert oder aufgehoben werden soll. Im Verlaufe der dreijährigen Probedauer haben die beteiligten Angestellten das Recht, darüber zu entscheiden, ob die beantragte Beteiligung nach den weiter unten festgesetzten Prinzipien für die ganze Dauer von drei Jahren durchgeführt oder aufgehoben werden soll, in welchem Falle das normale Verhältniss in Geltung tritt. Der Eigentümer der Teinitzer landwirtschaftlich-industriellen Unternehmungen ist demgegenüber gebunden, die beantragte Beteiligung zu den unten angegebenen Bedingungen im Verlaufe einer dreijährigen Dauer einzuhalten.

Die Angestellten, welche am Gewinne der Teinitzer landwirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen im Sinne dieser Statuten beteiligt sind, sind: Beamte, Angestellte, Deputatarbeiter, ständige Tagelöhner, die in der Landwirtschaft mindestens 150 Tage im Jahre bei den landwirtschaftlich-industriellen Unternehmungen arbeiten, Waldarbeiter, welche mindestens 100 Tage im Jahre in den Teinitzer landwirtschaftlich-industriellen Unternehmungen beschäftigt sind. Von der Beteiligung sind einstweilen sämtliche Angestellte der Ziegelei in Vacov und des Kalkofens in Loreta, betreffs welcher auch weiterhin das System der Entlohnung in Geltung bleibt, ausgenommen. Diese Vorkerung ist einstweilen mit Rücksicht auf die Unrentabilität dieser Unternehmungen notwendig, welcher Umstand den Anteil der übrigen Beschäftigten ungerechter Weise herabdrücken würde.

Die Unternehmungen, deren Erträgnisse der Beteiligung der Angestellten am Gewinne unterworfen sind, sind: Die Feldwirtschaft der Höfe Teinitz, Lomec, die Waldwirtschaft, die Molkerei, die Fischerei, der Obstbau, die Geflügelzucht, die Bienezucht, der Gemüsebau, die Verkaufsstellen in Klattau,



Pilsen und Prag. Von der Beteiligung am Gewinn ist das Ertragnis des Hauses "Chicago" in Prag, Národní třída 30 neu, und ebenso die Erträge der Unternehmungen, welche Herr J. K. eventuell ausserhalb des Rahmens der Teinitzer landwirtschaftlich-industriellen Unternehmungen gründen wird ausgeschlossen. Von der Beteiligung sind ferner die Ziegelei und der Kalkofen, aus den im zweiten Abschnitt angeführten Gründen, ausgeschlossen.

Die Grundlage für die Berechnung der Anteile der Angestellten am Gewinne ist der Reingewinn der der Beteiligung unterworfenen Unternehmungen (siehe Abschnitt 3), der gemäss den ordentlich geführten Büchern der Buchhaltung der Teinitzer landwirtschaftlich-industriellen Unternehmungen unter den nach dem Handelsgesetz für ordentlich geführte Bücher geltenden Prinzipien festgestellt wird. Von den buchgemäss festgestellten Gewinnen der der Beteiligung unterworfenen Unternehmungen, werden insbesondere die nach dem Gesetze über die direkten Steuern und dem Gesetze über die Stabilisierungsbilanzen zulässigen Abschreibungen und Abzugsposten abgerechnet, ferner werden die Zinsen und Amortisationen von der auf den Teinitzer landwirtschaftlich-industriellen Unternehmungen lastenden Hypothek in der Höhe von Kc. 1.600.000 in Abzug gebracht, da dieses Geld durchwegs zu Investitionen und zum Betrieb verwendet würde, ferner alle Steuern und Abgaben, inclusive der mit Fälligkeit 1927 vorgeschriebenen Einkommensteuer. Vom 1. Jänner 1928 wird der Eigentümer, Herr J. K., die Einkommensteuer aus seinem Gewinnanteile decken. Die übrigen Steuern und Abgaben werden jedoch auch weiterhin für die Berechnung der Beteiligung am Gewinn eine Abzugspost bilden. Der Reingewinn der gemäss Pkt. 3 Unternehmungen, eventuell die Verluste, welche diese Unternehmungen ausweisen, wird summiert und die oben angeführten Abzüge in Abrechnung gebracht. Der Rest bildet dann die Grundlage zur Aufteilung des Reingewinns. Dieser zur Verteilung bestimmte Rest wird weiter unten als "Reingewinn" bezeichnet.

Der Reingewinn wird in der Weise verteilt, dass dem Eigentümer der Teinitzer landwirtschaftlich-industriellen Unterneh-

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mungen, Herrn J. K., 60 % zukommen und an die Angestellten 40 % verteilt werden. Im Falle der Eigentümer der Teinitzer landwirtsch.-industriellen Unternehmungen, welcher bisher ein Zimmer im Beamtenhause benutzte, für seinen Bedarf ein Wohnhaus im Umkreise der Teinitzer landwirtsch.-industr. Unternehmungen erbaut, gebührt ihm der Ersatz der faktischen Auslagen zur Errichtung von 7 Wohnräumen samt Zubehör, weiter alljährlich das Gehalt des Direktors und das Reisegeld für die im Interesse der Teinitzer landw.-industriellen Unternehmen unternommenen Reisen.

Ferner hat der Eigentümer der Teinitzer landw.-industriellen Unternehmungen das Recht, im Laufe des Jahres die individuellen Verdienste der Angestellten zu belohnen, welche Belohnungen für die Berechnung des Reingewinns ein Abzugsposten sind.

Von den 40 % des Reingewinns, welche nach dem oben Angeführten den Angestellten gebühren, werden dem Reservefonds der Angestellten 10 % u.z. solange zugewiesen, als dieser Fonds nicht die Höhe von 300.000.— Kc. erreicht hat. Dieser Reservefonds dient dazu, in ungünstigen Jahren dennoch eine bestimmte Quote als Ersatz für eventuell entgangenen Gewinn, als Folge eines schlechten wirtschaftlichen Resultates irgend eines Jahres ausbezahlen zu können. Dieser Fonds wird von einem Vertreter der Beamtenschaft, einem Vertreter der Arbeiterschaft und dem Eigentümer verwaltet, welcher letzterem jedoch nur eine beratende, aber keineswegs entscheidende Stimme zusteht. Ferner werden aus dem Fonds gewisse ausserordentlich Unterstützungen der Angestellten, betreffs welcher der Ausschuss beschliessen wird, gedeckt.

Der Reservefonds bleibt Eigentum der Angestellten. Bei Verlassen der Anstellung in den Teinitzer landwirtsch.-industr. Unternehmungen erhält der Angestellte den Teil des Reservefonds, welchem er selbst im Verhältnisse zu seinem Gehalte oder Lohne eingezahlt hat, samt 4 % vom Tage der Einlage bis zum Tage des Verlassens der Anstellung zurück.

Die Angestelltenquote vom Reingewinn wird im Verhältniss zu den ausgezahlten Löhnen oder Gehalten in der Weise ausbezahlt, dass jeder Angestellte eine Anweisung an die Kassa

der Teinitzer landwirtsch.-industriellen Unternehmungen, lautend auf den 1. Jänner, 1. April, 1. Juli und 1. Oktober des auf das Bilanzjahr folgenden, resp. des für die Berechnung als Grundlage angenommenen Jahres erhält. Jede Anweisung lautet auf  $\frac{1}{4}$  des, nach dem oben Angeführten, zur Auszahlung bestimmten Anteils und ist zu den angegebenen Quartalen fällig, wobei dem Eigentümer der Anweisung 5 % Zinsen von den nach dem 1. Jänner behobenen Raten ab 1. Jänner des betreffenden Jahres ersetzt werden. Die Angestellten haben das Recht, sich einen behördlich autorisierten Buchsachverständigen zu wählen, und bei Abschluss der Bilanz sich durch seine Vermittlung von ihrer Richtigkeit zu überzeugen.

Im Falle die Bilanz des Kalenderjahres zum 1. Jänner des kommenden Jahres nicht abgeschlossen wurde, wird der Eigentümer, resp. sein Vertreter den wahrscheinlichen Reingewinn abschätzen und darnach werden Vorschüsse zur Verteilung bestimmt, bei Abschluss der Bilanz jedoch eventuelle Rückstände oder Ueberzahlungen verrechnet werden.

Einen Bestandteil dieser Prinzipien bildet die Richtschnur, dass jeder Arbeiter berechtigt ist, Anträge zur Verbesserung der Wirtschaft zu stellen. Jeder solche Antrag wird vom Eigentümer geprüft und im Falle der Annahme des Auftrags erhält der Antragsteller eine Prämie.

Die alljährlich auf Grund eines Kollektivvertrages vereinbarten Löhne bleiben in Geltung und werden die Grundlage des Minimallohnes bilden. Die bisherigen freiwilligen Zuschüsse zu diesen Minimallohnen, allerdings nebst der Beteiligung am Gewinn, bleiben in Geltung, insolange die wirtschaftliche Situation dies gestattet. Zu diesem freiwilligen Beiträge kommt immer, nach der Höhe des Gehaltes, die aus der Beteiligung am Gewinn hervorgehende Erhöhung hinzu.

N.B. Da die Möglichkeit besteht, dass durch die spätere Entwicklung einzelne Produktionsabteilungen buchhalterisch selbständig werden, und diese individuell, je nach dem Resultate am Reingewinn partizipieren werden, behält sich der Eigentümer J. K. vor, im Falle dieser Einrichtung den Plan in diesem Sinne zu ändern, allerdings im Einvernehmen mit den Angestellten.

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Die Firma T. & A. Bata praktiziert die Beteiligung am Gewinn in einer besonderen Weise und es wird über dieselbe speziell gesprochen werden.

### LEISTUNGSFAEHIGKEIT DER ARBEITER.

Die Leistungsfähigkeit der Arbeiter hat im ganzen allerdings bereits das Vorkriegsmass erreicht. Da und dort kann man sogar noch von einer kleinen Besserung sprechen, welche sich dadurch erklärt, dass sich der Arbeiter seine Beschäftigung durch gute Leistungen zu erhalten getrachtet hat, um nicht in Gefahr zu laufen, bei dem bestehenden Ueberfluss an Arbeitskräften durch einen tüchtigern Arbeiter ersetzt zu werden. Der Weiterer um den Absatz, insbesondere in der ausländischen Konkurrenz, nötigt die einzelnen Unternehmungen zu ständiger Vervollkommnung der maschinellen Einrichtungen, zu systematischem Studium und zur Einführung neuer Arbeitsmethoden, was einen entscheidenden Einfluss nicht nur auf die Qualität und das Aeussere des Erzeugnisses, sondern auch auf eine Erhöhung der Leistungsfähigkeit der Arbeiter ausübt. So z.B. erzeugt eine Schuhfabrik heute in 8 Stunden so viel als sie früher in 11 Stunden zu erzeugen vermochte. Gute Anregungen der Arbeiter werden durch Prämien belohnt. Eine Möbelfabrik hat auf dem gleichen Wege ihre Leistungsfähigkeit um 10—15 % gegenüber der Friedensleistung erhöht. Auf die Erhöhung der Leistungsfähigkeit hat auch die Länge der Arbeitszeit Einfluss. Als Beweis hiefür wird das Beispiel einer Fabrik angeführt, welche durch Einführung von zwei Schichten nach 40 wöchentlichen Stunden bloss um 5—10 % kleinere Löhne ausbezahlt, obwohl die Arbeitszeit um 17 % verkürzt wurde. Eine Steigerung der Leistungsfähigkeit hängt im allgemeinen mit der Accordarbeit zusammen. Die Verdienste der Accordarbeit überstiegen überall den durch Kollektivvertrag garantierten Grundlohn. Es wurde auch die Bedienung zweier Maschinen eingeführt, wodurch die Leistungsfähigkeit, respektive der Lohn, bis um 30 % erhöht wurde.

## FRANCE

PAR M<sup>LE</sup> E. ROUX,

Surintendante Sté Lorraine-Diétrich (Motor d'avions) Argenteuil, France

Dans l'ordre des réalisations nous n'avons que peu de choses à signaler durant ces derniers temps, mais il se précise dans notre pays un mouvement très intéressant en faveur de l'organisation scientifique du travail, de la rationalisation, de la psychologie appliquée et du développement du service social en général. Mouvement venant des deux extrémités du monde du travail.

**Mouvement ouvrier.** M. Jouhaux, Secrétaire-Général de la C. G. T. dans "Le Peuple" (juillet 1927) indique la rationalisation comme l'un des problèmes économiques les plus importants de l'heure actuelle.

"La rationalisation doit avoir pour conséquences immédiates l'augmentation des salaires, améliorant les conditions d'existence des ouvriers en relevant leur puissance d'achat."

Dans le patronat, le mouvement est non moins marqué, le Redressement français\* fait une véritable campagne dans les milieux industriels.

De grosses usines de métallurgie ont modifié leur fabrication et ont introduit le travail à la chaîne, des laboratoires de psychotechnique, permettant, avec un personnel mieux adapté, un rendement supérieur, une diminution du prix de revient, un accroissement des salaires.

Seules les conditions économiques n'ont pas permis, la généralisation de ces méthodes dans l'industrie moyenne.

### EDUCATION ET FORMATION PROFESSIONNELLE THEORIQUE ET PRATIQUE, ORIENTATION PROFESSIONNELLE - ENSEIGNEMENT TECHNIQUE.

A l'heure actuelle, le Gouvernement, les industriels, les Syndicats, surtout patronaux, en un mot tous ceux à qui incombent les responsabilités du personnel, sentent la nécessité d'orienter, éduquer, former le personnel. Ils s'intéressent à toutes les branches, depuis l'ouvrier jusqu'à la direction.

\* Cf: J. Zamanski: Les rapports organisés entre le capital et le travail.  
E. Mercier: Les conséquences sociales de la rationalisation en France.

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Dans la taxe d'apprentissage (loi du 9/7/1925, décret du 9/1/1926), payable par tous les patrons, les subventions sont ainsi réparties (dans la métallurgie)

60 % de la taxe pour subventionner les établissements formant des ouvriers qualifiés,

20 % pour les écoles de cadres,

10 % " " " d'ingénieurs (dirigeant),

10 % enseignement ménager.

Bien des industriels dépassent le chiffre fixé par la taxe et organisent chez eux une instruction et une éducation professionnelle complète, nous nous bornerons à citer l'exemple de la Cie de Chemin de Fer du P. O. d'après une conférence de M. Lacoïn, Ingénieur en Chef à la Cie d'Orléans.

L'apprentissage est ainsi organisé:

Apprentissage - recrutement des apprentis, instruction pratique, cours de formation générale, cours de formation professionnelle, formation des instructeurs;

Formation des cadres à partir des apprentis, cours supérieurs et stages leur permettant d'accéder aux grades supérieurs de l'administration;

Cours de perfectionnement des agents autres que les apprentis, cours du soir, s'adressant soit au service actif, soit au service administratif.

La formation morale n'est pas négligée.

Une bibliothèque, un journal "d'apprenti P. O." dont les articles sont souvent signés par les apprentis eux-mêmes, des sociétés sportives, une association amicale des anciens apprentis, des conférences répétées.

Nous citerons également les oeuvres de pré-apprentissage; apprentissage et oeuvres annexes des usines de la Cie des Forges de Montluçon.

L'enseignement y est très divers:

A coté des travaux manuels d'atelier (menuiserie, ajustage etc.) des travaux manuels (jardinage, peinture, travaux divers) de l'éducation physique, une formation intellectuelle et une formation morale, tel est le Programme de l'école de pré-apprentissage.

Puis l'apprentissage se poursuit à l'atelier.

## FRANCE

Des bourses d'enseignement supérieur sont données aux élèves méritants.

La Chambre du Commerce de Paris a organisé des ateliers écoles dans toutes les branches de l'activité formant des ouvriers et des employés des deux sexes. L'enseignement est général et professionnel et permet aux enfants travailleurs et intelligents d'accéder aux emplois supérieurs.

Plusieurs Chambres de Commerce en province ont également créé des écoles d'apprentissage, plus spécialisées dans les professions locales.

### DEVELOPPEMENT DU SERVICE SOCIAL EN GENERAL.

Les oeuvres sociales en général peuvent se répartir en quatre groupes suivant qu'elles se rapportent: au problème de la natalité; à l'organisation des loisirs; à la Prévoyance, ou qu'elles répondent aux besoins créés par la difficulté du recrutement de la main-d'oeuvre.

Les cités-jardins, les Sociétés de prêts immobiliers, les restaurants ouvriers se sont multipliés.

Se sont multipliés également les Sociétés sportives et les cours d'adultes, les Sociétés Coopératives de consommation, et, en vue de l'application de la loi sur les assurances sociales: les Mutuelles-Maladies.

Mais c'est sur le problème de la natalité que convergent les efforts du service social dans l'industrie.

Le repos des femmes en couches est porté de 8 semaines à 12.

Les crèches d'usines (décret du 2/6/1926) sont remplacées par des primes d'allaitement.

Les caisses de compensation se répandent de plus en plus et s'adjoignent un service d'infirmières-visiteuses.

Tous les services publics, ou sous le contrôle de l'Etat, versent des allocations familiales.

Même presque tous les départements exigent que leurs concessionnaires de travaux publics soient affiliés à une caisse de compensation.

D'une manière générale, les organisations ouvrières désapprouvent ce principe du genre de service social, mais individuellement les ouvriers semblent l'apprécier beaucoup.

## FRANCE

### ORGANISATION SCIENTIFIQUE DU TRAVAIL.

PARTICIPATIONS AUX BENEFICES { CO-GESTION.  
  { ACTIONS DE TRAVAIL

Plusieurs établissements dans le but d'augmenter les salaires, et d'accroître simultanément le rendement, ont transformé leur méthode de travail et ont obtenu des résultats intéressants.

Nous citerons en passant une Cie d'Assurance qui a effectué des réformes intéressantes (Cf M. Burlot) par une organisation rationnelle:

En augmentant le rendement du personnel par l'institution de primes au rendement, de gratifications pour la qualité du travail et pour les initiatives du personnel;

Par l'introduction du machinisme. Les économies obtenues par la diminution de personnel ont servi:

$\frac{1}{2}$  pour l'amortissement des machines,

$\frac{1}{3}$  réparti entre le personnel,

$\frac{1}{3}$  bénéfices de la Compagnie.

Une autre grosse administration fait participer le personnel aux bénéfices et aux pertes.

Les ouvriers, employés et la Direction sont intéressés suivant la même formule, mais il est établi un coefficient de responsabilité suivant le poste occupé.

Une grande imprimerie de la région du Sud-Ouest a pu, grâce à une organisation remarquable, améliorer sensiblement la situation de son personnel, diminution du prix de revient entraînant une hausse des salaires sous forme de participation.

"La prime est le stimulant brutal surexcitant l'exécutant et le poussant généralement à obtenir, coûte que coûte, les résultats auxquels on le convie pour en tirer un appoint important du salaire.

"Il ne se soucie pas des conséquences de ses actes sur les moyens employés, et souvent sur la qualité du travail.

"La participation est le résultat d'efforts communs du patronat et du salariat vers un meilleur état de la production, vers une meilleure et plus sûre utilisation des moyens par la réalisation d'économies de temps, de mouvements, de matières, par leur



modification progressive ou leur transformation, avec partage dans des conditions proportionnelles aux efforts et à la qualité des efforts accomplis de part et d'autre, des avantages recueillis par l'action commune." \*

Citons encore l'institution d'actions de travail créée par une société anonyme d'Alimentation de la Région Parisienne dans le but d'intéresser son personnel à la bonne marche de l'usine. Le nombre d'actions varie avec l'importance du poste occupé et l'ancienneté à l'usine. Pour déterminer le nombre d'actions à attribuer à chaque poste, une délibération a eu lieu entre l'administrateur-délégué et les membres du personnel représentant les différentes branches du travail à l'usine.

Enfin, une grande Biscuiterie du Sud-Est a publié en 1927 les résultats du fonctionnement depuis 1919 d'un conseil paritaire de conciliation, ce conseil ayant traité toutes les questions concernant le service du personnel: Durée du travail, apprentis, salaires, etc.

Si les "délégués ouvriers" institués par décret dans les usines de guerre en 1917, ont disparu, on constate que grâce à l'introduction du système de la participation aux bénéfices et au nombre toujours croissant des contrats collectifs de travail, la main-d'oeuvre, peu à peu, prend une part active à la gestion des entreprises, mais il semble bien que la question ne soit pas encore mûre pour une solution législative.

#### PSYCHOLOGIE APPLIQUEE A L'INDUSTRIE.

##### PSYCHOTECHNIQUE (SELECTION ET ORIENTATION).

Bien que la France puisse s'émerveiller d'être la patrie des promoteurs de la psychologie appliquée: les docteurs Binet et Simon, qui ont élaboré les premiers tests mentaux et le physiologiste Marey qui, le premier, se donna à l'étude des mouvements, il faut reconnaître que la méthode scientifique de sélection et d'orientation professionnelle n'est qu'à peine sortie du laboratoire.

Deux établissements publics: la "Société des Transports en Commun" à Paris qui emploie plus de 30.000 agents et la "Station de Radiotélégraphie" à Toulon, ont un laboratoire de psychotechnique en pleine activité.

\* M. A. Barennes - Imprimerie D. C. G. Bordeaux.

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La première a publié des résultats très intéressants sur la réduction des nombres des accidents et l'économie réalisée.

Cette année même, deux grandes firmes d'automobiles à Paris ont également confié à M. Lahy, professeur à la Sorbonne, l'organisation de laboratoires pour la sélection de leurs ouvriers.

Enfin, plusieurs offices d'orientation professionnelle annexés à des offices publics de placement - Nantes, Toulouse, Marseille - font subir quelques tests à leurs jeunes candidats.

Mais l'emploi de la méthode des tests n'est pas généralisé, les industriels français à court de main-d'oeuvre emploient au mieux les candidats qui se présentent à l'embauchage.

### LEGISLATION.

Notons la ratification de plusieurs conventions passées à Washington et à Genève sur:

le travail de nuit des femmes et des enfants,  
l'emploi de la céruse,

la semaine de 48 heures (cette dernière n'étant que conventionnelle, c'est-à-dire qu'elle n'aura plein effet qu'après ratification de la Grande Bretagne et de l'Allemagne;

la réglementation des travailleurs étrangers en très grand nombre sur le territoire, faisant concurrence aux travailleurs indigènes et dont la situation fut très critique lors de la sérieuse crise de chômage en 1926-1927;

l'emploi obligatoire des mutilés de guerre dans une proportion de 10 %;

L'institution d'allocations temporaires aux anciens accidentés du travail en raison de la baisse du franc et, par conséquent, de l'accroissement du coût de la vie;

La détermination de la taxe d'apprentissage par décret du 9/1/1926.

En préparation, une modification de la loi sur les accidents du travail, augmentant les indemnités et accordant des allocations pour charges de famille,

une extension du bénéfice de la loi sur les accidents du travail aux maladies professionnelles autres que le saturnisme et l'hydrargirisme seuls visés quant à présent,

## FRANCE

enfin, le projet de loi sur les Assurances Sociales, très attendues de la Classe ouvrière et qui doivent couvrir: la maladie, l'invalidité, la maternité, la vieillesse.

### INSPECTION DU TRAVAIL.

L'inspection du travail encourage toutes les initiatives privées, désireuses de contribuer au mieux-être du travailleur et en vue de sa sécurité.

Au courant du mouvement moderne en faveur de l'organisation scientifique et du développement des oeuvres sociales de toutes sortes, elle prête le concours de son expérience, et sert d'agent de liaison entre les différentes branches de la vie industrielle, patronat, salariat et l'Etat.

En résumé, nous croyons pouvoir dire qu'en France des deux côtés du monde du travail, un besoin de collaboration étroite se fait sentir et que l'industrie s'achemine vers un terrain d'entente compatible à la fois avec les progrès scientifiques modernes et la nature humaine.

## INDIA

BY JAI MANGAL SINHA,  
Model Industries, Dayalbagh, Agra

India, which is preeminently an agricultural country, is one of the largest countries of the world. While it is true that only 10.5 per cent of the total population of the country are engaged in industry, one has to bear in mind that this small percentage constitutes over thirty millions of humanity. As industrial country it has a place on the council of the International Labour Office at Geneva.

It is not possible in the very short space available to sketch the industrial conditions of India as it needs to be done; and it must be borne in mind that the industrial situation cannot be considered apart from the political, social and religious conditions of the country and the intellectual development of its people. It is essentially an agricultural country, with immense latent industrial resources. Man-power is still cheaper than machine-power. The industrial development is still only in its early stages, but power-driven factories are coming into existence, and the evils of industrialization, some of which are unknown in the West, have already begun to show themselves.

We in the East have, however, the experience of the West before us, and hope to learn from it.

Some of the employers of labour have a patriotic outlook and are awakening to the importance of modern industrial developments, and schemes for the welfare of the employees have been instituted in various places.

Broadly speaking, there are three types of industrial organisation in the country;

**Capital urban industry** in which the wage-earner is completely divorced from the raw materials and the instruments of production. In these industries most of the problems arising in the West between employers and employed are arising in India.

**The capitalist rural industry**, in which the worker is domiciled on the plantations and there is a closer contact between the employer and employed. On account of such industries being situated in more or less isolated parts of

the country workers' hardships receive little publicity or attention.

**Cottage industries.** These are generally akin to the domestic system which prevailed in Britain before the modern era of steam and mechanical invention.

The largest employer is the Government itself, which manages a number of services entailing complex organisation, Railways, posts, telegraphs, good printing presses employ a vast number of workers. On the railways alone there are 1,500,000 employees. The conditions of the mass of Government employees are practically the same as those of the wage-earning proletariat in capitalist industries.

More Indian capital is invested in the cotton industry than in others, the average wage per male worker being 1/11 per day of eleven hours. For women workers it is 1/2 a day. In the Jute industry almost half of the capital invested is Indian, but the management is entirely in the hands of foreigners. The wages paid are very meagre, the combined average weekly wages of three workers for factory work being 14/5. In mining, (which is centred chiefly in Bihar, Bengal and Central Provinces) the conditions of the mines and the mine workers are very unsatisfactory. The housing conditions there as a rule are particularly disgraceful. The wage earned by a man is from 10d to 2/- a day for underground work. More than 60,000 women earning from about 8d to 10½d per day have in recent years been introduced to underground work in mines.

It has been said that the conditions in India are peculiar to that country. From the human point of view they are not different from those prevailing in other countries. But the working and living conditions of the workers and peasants are such as to menace civilization. The cotton mills of Lancashire work 32 hours per week, those of India 60. In every industry in India we find the workers working about twice as long as their fellow workers in similar industries in Europe and the U. S. A. In wages the difference is more amazing. For the wage paid to every single working woman in Lancashire it is possible to employ from six to twelve Indian

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women in the cotton mills there. The British miner gets for one working shift as much as ten Indian miners. Indian wages are abysmally below European and American standard. Speaking generally, the vast majority of workers receive not more than about a shilling per day. This will not be understating the position if one bears in mind that in the wages paid there is a veritable maze of exactions, deductions and forfeitures. This system of fines, which amount to from 8 % to 10 % of the wages, is by no means peculiar to the textile mills, yet it is in these places that the system is rooted. Wages are paid generally on the 15th of the month for the work done during the previous month, giving rise to perpetual indebtedness as the lot of the industrial worker.

The housing conditions are scandalous. There are three classes of huts in which the workers live, and a fourth is probably the broad highway and the open canopy of heaven. 1) Mud hut, a single room, shared both by the worker, family and his cattle. 2) Open bamboo fretwork type of hut, with a thatched roof. 3) The chawl, or one-roomed tenements. About 90 % of the workers in Bombay live in such tenements.

On account of low wages and high cost of living the workers run into debts and have to pay interest to the money-lenders ranging from 75 % to 300 % on the principal. An estimate of the state of affairs can be made from the following figures. A man earning below £2-5-0 per month - and the percentage of such men is very large indeed - runs into a debt of about 4/- every month. A man earning from £2-5-0 to £3-0-0 a month can just manage to save 10d.

It may be said with truth that millions and millions of men, women and children get only half, and often less than half the amount of food needed to appease the pangs of hunger. The Government of Bombay recently appointed a Committee to enquire into the conditions of industry, and their findings are that a worker consumes the maximum of cereals allowed by the Famine Code, but less than the diet prescribed in the Bombay Jail Manual. Cereals form the staple food of the

Indian worker, and they cannot afford to buy fresh fruit, meat, etc.

Taking a broad view of the conditions of industrial life, it can be said that they are very pitiable. The standard of existence is very low. The congestion and insanitation in the larger cities are almost beyond belief. Great illiteracy prevails amongst the masses. The infant mortality is very high (in Bombay the figures available are 400—500 per thousand children below the age of one year) owing to the low standard of living and poverty compelling suckling mothers to work in order to earn a living.

That such a state of affairs should exist in the world of today should be a matter of deep concern to all. For the very conquest over the forces of nature that modern science has given us has resulted in bringing different parts of the world closer to each other, annihilation of distances has brought not only people but also their affairs closer to each other. An evil in one part has a direct and a quicker reciprocation on the state of affairs in altogether another part of the world. It is no longer a mere ethical theory but a cold economic fact in the world of today that an injury to one is the concern of all. India has long been regarded as especially suited for economic exploitation by costly militarism and police, and it is upon those who have instituted and maintained the system, and richly benefitted from its working, that the responsibility for such a condition must be placed.

The organized Labour Movement is of recent origin. Trade Unions, with the exception of two (the Press Employees Association and the Postmen's Union) began to be established ten years ago, and there are now 175 Trade Unions and 10 Federations, with a membership of about 200,000, out of a total of a little under two millions coming under the Factories Act. The Trade Unions have adopted a structure based more on industry than on craft, with the exception of a very few. Of the 175 Unions, 75 are organisations of Government and semi-Government servants, and of the 10 Federations, one, the All-India Trades Union Congress, has co-ordinated all kinds

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of trades in all provinces of the country; while the others co-ordinate the individual Trade Union in their respective trades. This All-India Trades Union Congress is the chief working-class organisation.

The number of strikes is steadily increasing. For British India, in the first half of 1927, there were 74 conflicts causing a loss of 977,244 working days. Of these, 32 strikes were in the Textile industry.

The activities of the Unions in general have so far been confined to attempting to secure the redress of the grievances of their members by making representations to their employers. No Trade Union has yet made a beginning to pay either sickness or unemployment benefits. The organisation of workers is rather difficult on account of their lack of education (below 7 % of the entire population are literate), inability to pay contribution and also their periodic employment (due to the majority of workers having to look after their lands etc.). But such organisation as does exist has been suppressed by the authorities, and is rarely officially recognised. The Trade Union Act was passed in 1927, and the Unions are now registering under that Act.

The legal limitations to the exploitation of the workers are very meagre. The maximum working week is 60 hours and the day 11. The minimum age for children is 12 years (they cannot be employed for more than six hours a day). The working hours underground are 54 a week, but with no limitation of the working day. Children under 13 are not permitted underground. The Workmen's Compensation Act permits very inadequate rates, and there are no provisions to prevent the imposition of fines nor for unemployment, sickness or maternity benefits; neither is there any prohibited period for the employment of women before or after childbirth. The organised workers' demand, however, is for weekly payment of wages, the Truck Act, machinery for fixing a minimum wage, and hours of work at 44 a week and 8 a day. This demand is still a cry in the wilderness. The children in the factories are being exploited by their parents, and also by the employers, both for their respective economic reasons. It is hard



to get them to realise that the children in the market are competitors and keep the wages down.

Welfare work in India as carried on by philanthropic bodies and progressive employers takes the form of providing more space, better lighting, ventilation, better water supply and conveniences; Co-operative Credit Societies, shops, baths, crèches, schools for children and medical help. Some employers provide housing accommodation, open-air and indoor games, cinemas, etc.

It is not possible to give an exhaustive description of the various welfare schemes at present conducted in the different factories. It will however be sufficient to say that the movement has been started, and though it has not attained the proportions which it has in the West, it is certain that it has come to stay, and the employers are beginning to realise its importance.

I might mention here that the second All-India Welfare Workers Conference fixed for 1926 has not yet been held.

Other points of interest to this Association, namely scientific management, application of industrial psychology, vocational guidance, profit-sharing and co-partnership schemes, are, to the best of my knowledge, not at present known in India.

It will be clear that immediate efforts are required to be made to raise the minimum conditions allowed by law in regard to workers, child and women labour. Minimum wages standards should be enforced and prompt payment of wages made compulsory. Factory inspection should be strengthened and legislation to protect the worker in time of unemployment, sickness, old age and maternity is urgently needed, and also provision for better housing, with rents within the reach of the average worker.

Our efforts at present are to lift the Indian worker into a new stage of constantly improving wages, giving them hope for the immediate future and enabling them here and now to have what is the first essential to all workers in the world, namely a firm grip on the means of life by the necessary increase of purchasing power at present-kept out of their reach.

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Active co-operation between the workers and employers of labour in India and in the East generally on the one hand, and the workers and employers of the West, who enjoy a higher standard of life, on the other, to bring about a steady increase in the standard of living of the Indian worker, is an imperative necessity in the world today, not only from our point of view but also from the point of view of the people of the West who are interested in preserving the standard of living enjoyed by their working people today.

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# REPORT

OF FIRST TRIENNIAL CONGRESS

HELD AT

CAMBRIDGE (ENGLAND)

JULY 1928

ON THE SUBJECT OF

FUNDAMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS  
BETWEEN ALL SECTIONS OF THE  
INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY

IN TWO SECTIONS

SECTION II

2

CONTAINING THE  
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**INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE  
STUDY AND IMPROVEMENT OF HUMAN  
RELATIONS AND CONDITIONS IN INDUSTRY**

**PROGRAMME**



**1928  
CONGRESS**  
HELD AT GIRTON COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND, FROM  
JUNE 27TH (EVENING) TO  
JULY 3RD (MORNING)

**SUBJECT**

**FUNDAMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN  
ALL SECTIONS OF THE INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY**

<b>WEDNESDAY, June 27th.</b> 20.30	Reception and Social Evening.
<b>THURSDAY, June 28th.</b> From 9.— — 9.45	Opening of Congress and Report by Secretaries.
From 9.45 — 10.45	Reporters' five minutes addenda to the reports on their countries, already submitted.
From 10.45 — 11.—	Rest Period.
From 11.— — 12.45	Reporters' five minutes (continued).
From 16.30 — 17.30	Lecture: "The Collective Idea"; a consideration of experience in seeking agreement between groups in industry.  <b>Speaker:</b> The Rt. Hon. Lord Askwith K.C.B. <b>In the Chair:</b> Mr. C. H. van der Leeuw.
From 17.30 — 18.30	Discussion.
<b>FRIDAY, June 29th.</b> From 9.— — 10.—	Lecture: "Groups in Industry"; their origin, characteristics and activities.  <b>Speaker:</b> Dr. C. Delisle Burns M.A. <b>In the Chair:</b> Mr. Geo Cadbury.
From 10.— — 10.45	Discussion.

**SECRETARIAT I.R.I. JAVASTRAAT 66. THE HAGUE, HOLLAND**

From 10.45 — 11.—	Rest Period.
From 11.— — 12.45	Symposium "The Contribution of the Social Sciences to Industrial Relationships"
	In the Chair: Miss Mary van Kleeck.
	<b>Speakers:</b>
	Sociology and Economics: Dr. Frieda Wunderlich.
	Psychology: Dr. C. S. Myers, C.B.E., F.R.S.
	The Interrelated Sciences: Mr. V. Branford M.A.
	Three Simultaneous Round Table Sessions.
	The subjects are taken from:
	A. Education and Training for all Groups in Industry.
	B. Personnel and Employment Management.
	C. Research in Industrial Relations.
From 16.30 — 18.30	First Round Table Sessions:
	A. I. "Is the Workers' Job the Centre of his Life as a Human Being?"
	Chairman: to be announced later.
	Opener of Discussion: Mr. Spencer Miller.
	B. I. "Leadership in Industry and the Choice of Executives"
	Chairman: Major L. Urwick O.B.E., M.C.
	Opener of Discussion: Mr. R. M. Olzendam.
<hr/>	
SATURDAY, June 30th.	
From 9.— — 10.30	To be announced later.
From 10.30 — 10.45	Rest Period.
and 10.45 — 12.45	Second Round Table Sessions.
	A. II. "The Nature of the Educational Training to Equip Foremen and Supervisors".
	Chairman: Mr. George Cadbury.
	Opener of Discussion: to be announced later.
	B. II. "Policies in Employment and Discharge".
	Chairman: Miss L. C. Odencrants.
	Opener of Discussion: Frau Dr. K. Gaebel.
	C. I. "What are the Problems of Method in Research in Industrial Relations?"
	Chairman: Dr. Otto Lipmann.
	Opener of Discussion: Dr. G. Miles.
From 15.30 — 16.30	General Meeting of I.R.I. members.
From 16.30 — 17.—	Rest Period (for Tea).
From 17.— — 18.30	Continuation of General Meeting.
From 20.30 — 22.—	Public Lecture: "Public Opinion and Industrial Relations"
	<b>Speakers:</b> Miss Kerstin Hesselgren.
	Mr. Paul U. Kellogg.
	In the Chair: Mr. C. H. van der Leeuw.

**SUNDAY, July 1st.**  
From 9.— — 9.30  
From 9.45 — 10.45

Organ Recital.

Third Round Table Sessions.

A. III. "The Relationship of Industry to Contemporary Civilization"

Chairman: Dame Adelaide Anderson.  
Opener of Discussion: Mr. Spencer Miller.

B. III. "The Form Coordination should take, or the Place of Personnel Work in the Organisation".

Chairman: to be announced later.  
Opener of Discussion: Miss Eugenia Liza.

C. II. "What are the Most Pressing Problems Requiring Research in the Immediate Future?"

Chairman: Prof. T. H. Pear M.A., B.Sc.  
Opener of Discussion: Dr. H. M. Vernon M.A.

From 10.45 — 11.—

Rest Period.

From 11.— — 12.30

Continuation of Round Table Sessions.

**MONDAY July 2nd.**  
From 9.— — 10.—

Presentation at Plenary Session of Reports from the Round Table Discussions.

General Discussion: "Relationships within the Industrial Establishment".

Chairman: to be announced later.  
Openers of Discussion: Mr. George Cadbury.  
Mr. R. M. Fox.  
Herr E. Lübke.  
Herr H. Mars B.A.

From 10.45 — 11.—

Rest Period.

From 11.— — 12.45

Continuation of above.

From 16.30

Second General Meeting of I.R.I. Members.  
(Election of Officers).

From 20.15

Lecture: "Restatement of Values and Embodiment of Tentative Conclusions".

In the Chair: Incoming President.  
Speaker: Miss Mary van Kleeck.

FORMULATION OF POSSIBLE STATEMENTS EXPRESSING THE IDEAS OF THE CONGRESS.

**SPEAKERS:**

The Rt. Hon. LORD ASKWITH K.C.B. London.

Mr. VICTOR BRANFORD M.A., Sociological Society, London.

Dr. C. DELISLE BURNS M.A., Author of "Industry and Civilization" etc. Lecture University of Glasgow.

Miss KERSTIN HESSELGREN, Inspector of Factories and Member of Parliament, Stockholm, Sweden.

Mr. PAUL U. KELLOGG, Editor of "The Survey" and "Survey Graphic" New York City.

Miss MARY VAN KLEECK, Director, Dept. of Industrial Studies, Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

Dr. CHARLES S. MYERS C.B.E., F.R.S. Director of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, London.

Frau Dr. FRIEDA WUNDERLICH, Schriftleiterin der Zeitschrift "Soziale Praxis und Archiv für Volkswirtschaft", Bureau für Sozialpolitik, Berlin.

**OPENERS OF DISCUSSION:**

Mr. GEORGE CADBURY, Managing Director, Messrs. Cadbury Bros. Ltd. Bourneville, Birmingham, England.  
Mr. R. M. FOX, Author of "The Triumphant Machine", Ireland.  
Frau Dr. K. GAEBEL, Obergewerksrat in der Reichsanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung, Berlin-Friedenau.  
Miss EUGENIA LIES, Director of Planning, Messrs. R. H. Macy & Co. Inc. New York.  
Herr E. LUBBE, Werksaufseher, Vorsitzender des Gesamtbetriebsrates der Siemens-Schuckert A.-G. Berlin.  
Herr H. MARS B.A., Referent, Arbeitswissenschaftliches Referat der Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte, Wien.  
Dr. GEORGE H. MILES, Assistant Director, National Institute of Industrial Psychology, London.  
Mr. SPENCER MILLER, Secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau of America, New York.  
Mr. R. M. OLZENDAM, Staff Representative at the International Labour Office Geneva, of Industrial Relations Counselors Inc. of New York.  
Mr. H. PAUWELS, Secrétaire Général, Confédération des Syndicats Chrétiens de Belgique, Bruxelles.  
Dr. H. M. VERNON M.A., Investigator for the Industrial Fatigue Research Board, London.

**CHAIRMEN:**

Dame ADELAIDE ANDERSON, Formerly Principal Woman Inspector of Factories, Gt. Britain. Author of "Humanity and Labour in China".  
Mr. C. H. VAN DER LEEUW, Pariter Messrs. De Erven de Wed. J. van Nelle, Rotterdam, Holland.  
Herr Dr. OTTO LIPMANN, Direktor des Instituts für angewandte Psychologie, Berlin.  
Miss L. C. ODENCRANTZ, Director Joint Employment Bureau for the Disabled, New York.  
Prof. T. H. PEAR M.A., B.Sc. Professor of Psychology, University of Manchester, England.  
Major L. URWICK O.B.E., M.A. Hon. Gen. Secretary Management Research Groups, London, and Organizing, Secretary, Messrs. Rowntree & Co. Ltd. York.

**CONGRESS HOSTESS:**

Miss D. A. CADBURY, Managing Director, Messrs. Cadbury Bros. Ltd. Bourneville, Birmingham, England, Hon. Treasurer of the I.R.I.

**HON. SECRETARY:**

Miss M. L. FLEDDERUS.

**GEN. SECRETARY:**

Miss E. B. VOYSEY B.A.

**NOTES LANGUAGES:**

The proceedings of the Congress will be conducted in the English, French and German languages, translations being arranged for according to the needs.

**MEALTIMES:**

Except where announced otherwise, these will be as follows:  
Breakfast 8-8.45 - Lunch 1.- - Tea 4.- - Dinner 7.-

**VISITS TO FACTORIES AND INSTITUTIONS:**

For all information concerning visits to factories and institutions, including those arranged during the Congress week, application should be made to the BUREAU OF INFORMATION, where Miss S. M. Bevington will attend daily between 8.30 and 9.-, both morning and evening.

**EXCURSIONS:**

Arrangements have been made for daily visits to the Colleges and other places of interest in the neighbourhood.  
On Sunday, July 1st, there will be an auto-excursion to visit Ely Cathedral and Audley End (a typical 17th Century English Manor House), Departure 13.45, return 19.30. For all particulars concerning the daily and the Sunday excursions, application should be made to the Bureau of Information which will also supply particulars as to omnibus services, hire of cars, boats, etc.  
For all information regarding post, telegraph and telephone, application should be made to the Concierge of the College.

**BANK & TRAVELLING:**

A representative from Lloyd's Bank Ltd. will attend at Grton College on two afternoons, the days and times to be announced on the Notice Board.  
Messrs. W. W. Bell & Co., Travel Agents, 6, King's Parade, Cambridge, will be glad to give Members every possible assistance in making their travelling arrangements.

**CHARGES**

**REGISTRATION FEE:**

For Members £ 1.-10/-; for Persons introduced by Members £ 1.-/-, Payable to the Secretariat Javastraat 66, The Hague, Holland, in advance and non-refundable.

**CONGRESS FEE:**

(In addition to Registration Fee and including a free copy of the Report of the Congress Proceedings) £ 1.10/-. Payable to Secretariat in advance or on arrival at Cambridge. Returnable in case of inability to attend.

**ACCOMMODATION FEE:**

£ 1.-10/- per day inclusive of all meals except coffee in morning rest-pause. Payable to College authorities at time of departure from Cambridge.



## PROGRAMME CHANGES

June 29th

From 9.——10.— In the Chair: Mr. Eugene Kinckle Jones L.L.D. Executive Secretary,  
National Urban League, New York City.

From 16.30—18.30 A. I. Chairman: Herr Hans Mars B.A.

June 30th

From 9.——10.30 Discussion on paper on Scientific Management contributed by Dr. H. S.  
Person in Vol. I of Report. Chairman: Herr Hugo von Haan, Provi-  
sorischer Leiter, Internationales Rationalisierungs Institut, Genf, Schweiz.

From 10.45—12.45 A. II. Chairman: Mr. Spencer Miller. Opener of Discussion: Major  
L. Urwick O.B.E.

July 1st

From 9.45—10.45 B. III. Chairman: Mr. W. H. M. Jackson, Welfare Supervisor Messrs. Green  
Silly Weir, Ltd. London; President, Institute of Industrial Welfare Workers,  
(Inc.), Gt. Britain.

July 2nd

From 10.——10.45 Chairman: Mr. D. W. Collier, Maintenance Engineer, Messrs. Cadbury Bros.  
Ltd. Bournville, England.

Opener of Discussion: Mr. Alan Rees Colman, Director Messrs J. & J.  
Colman, Ltd. Norwich, England (in place of Mr. Geo. Cadbury).

## PREFACE

The following pages present an account of the proceedings of the first triennial Congress of the Association, which took place at Girton College, Cambridge, from June 28th to July 3rd, 1928, on the subject of Fundamental Relationships between all Sections of the Industrial Community.

This volume constitutes the second section of the full Report, the first section, containing reports from 18 countries, having been published in June, 1928.<sup>1</sup> These reports from countries were prepared in advance of the Congress, in order to allow for a preliminary orientation on the part of Congress members. The present volume contains the actual Cambridge proceedings.

For a fuller understanding of the subject of this Congress, and of the manner of elaboration of its programme, attention is drawn to the "Comments on the Programme"<sup>2</sup> which were circulated in advance to all participants in order that there might be mutual understanding and hence unity in treatment.

It is perhaps not without significance that the first item on the programme as it had been conceived, "The Collective Idea, a Consideration of the Philosophy and Technique of Thinking Together",<sup>3</sup> had to be omitted, as for this part of the subject no speaker was available. Because of this incompleteness, its second part, "An Actual Experience in Seeking Agreement between Groups", the treatment of which was kindly undertaken by the Rt. Hon. Lord Askwith, K.C.B., has not been included in this volume.

For the subject of Scientific Management the reader is referred to the paper contributed by Dr. H. S. Person, Managing Director of the Taylor Society,<sup>4</sup> New York, published in the first section of this Report.

<sup>1</sup> Obtainable from the Secretariat I. R. L., Javastraat 66, The Hague, Holland. Price H.Fl. 2.50 post free. For Members of the Association H.Fl. 2.00 post free.

<sup>2</sup> See page 40.

<sup>3</sup> See Comments on Programme, page 42.

<sup>4</sup> An international society to promote the science and the art of administration and of management.

## PREFACE

The final subject on the programme, "Relationships within the Industrial Establishment", will be continued at the 1929 summer meeting of the Association under the title of "Methods of Promoting Satisfactory Human Relations in a Scientifically Organised Industry".

The aim of the Cambridge Congress has been, in the first place, the bringing together of material which would outline the picture of industry in the setting of our present day civilisation, furnishing us thereby with a frame within which all sections of the industrial community could be viewed in relation to each other. It was realised from the beginning that the Association would thus be likely to evolve a programme of discussion for subsequent meetings in, probably, many years to come.

We have often stressed the fact that in the Association we have a microcosm of industry itself, with men and women having different relations to industry and different points of view regarding it. Mutual enlightenment through variety of points of view and experience represented, are characteristic of the Association and should be characteristic of industry.

Hence, if we can develop in the I.R.I. a programme and a method of discussion which result in mutual and collective education, we may be able to make suggestions as to the formation of organs and the development of methods of conference which lead to mutual education and enlightenment within industry and its establishments.

THE HAGUE, January 1929.

## PRÉFACE

Les pages suivantes offrent un compte-rendu des délibérations du premier Congrès triennal de l'Association, qui a eu lieu au Girton College de Cambridge, du 28 juin au 3 juillet 1928, et avait pour objet d'examiner la Nature des Relations Fondamentales entre les diverses sections de la Communauté Industrielle.

Le présent volume forme la deuxième section du Rapport dans son ensemble, dont la première partie, contenant les rapports relatifs à 18 pays divers, a été publiée en juin 1928.<sup>1</sup> Ces rapports sur les différents pays avaient été établis précédemment au Congrès, de manière à fournir aux membres de celui-ci une orientation préliminaire. Ce second volume renferme donc les discussions proprement dites qui se sont déroulées à Cambridge.

En vue d'assurer une plus entière intelligence du sujet examiné par le Congrès et de la façon dont le programme en a été élaboré, le lecteur voudra bien accorder toute son attention aux "Commentaires sur le Programme"<sup>2</sup>, qui avaient été distribués d'avance à tous les participants de manière à permettre une compréhension mutuelle et, par conséquent, un maximum d'unité dans la méthode.

Il ne laisse pas, sans doute, d'être significatif qu'on ait dû supprimer le premier point du programme tel qu'il avait été formulé, - "L'idée collective, considération sur la philosophie et la technique de penser en commun"<sup>3</sup> - aucun orateur n'ayant pu être désigné pour cette rubrique. En raison de cette omission, la seconde partie, intitulée "Considération sur les expériences relatives à la recherche d'un accord entre les groupes dans l'industrie", et dont Lord Askwith K.C.B. avait eu l'obligeance de se charger, n'a pas été reproduite dans ce volume.

En ce qui concerne l'organisation scientifique du travail, le lecteur voudra bien se rapporter à l'exposé de M. le Dr. H. S.

<sup>1</sup> Le premier volume peut être obtenu du Secrétariat de l'Association, Javastraat 66, La Haye, Hollande, au prix de H. Fl. 2.50. Les Membres de l'Association paient H. Fl. 2.—.

<sup>2</sup> Voy. page 46.

<sup>3</sup> Voy. "Commentaires sur le Programme", p. 48.

## PRÉFACE

Person, Directeur de la Taylor Society,<sup>1</sup> New York; cet exposé a été publié dans la première section du présent rapport.

Le dernier point du programme, "Les relations dans l'entreprise industrielle", continuera d'être examiné par l'Association, lors de l'assemblée d'été de 1929, sous cet autre titre: "Des méthodes propres à développer les relations humaines satisfaisantes dans une industrie scientifiquement organisée."

Le but poursuivi par le Congrès de Cambridge a été, en toute première ligne, de rassembler des matériaux propres à fournir une image de l'industrie dans l'ensemble de notre civilisation actuelle, et de nous donner ainsi un cadre à l'intérieur duquel il fût possible d'examiner toutes les diverses sections de la communauté industrielle dans leurs relations l'une avec l'autre. Dès le début, on s'est nettement rendu compte que cette méthode tendait plutôt à nous faire dresser un programme de discussion pour des rencontres ultérieures, devant même peut-être s'étendre sur une période de plusieurs années.

Nous avons bien souvent souligné ce fait que l'Association présente une sorte de microcosme de la vie industrielle, puisqu'elle groupe des êtres humaines soutenant des rapports différents avec l'industrie et ayant sur celle-ci des points de vue non moins divers. Un enseignement réciproque, rendu possible par la variété des points de vue et des expériences, constitue la caractéristique de l'I. R. I., comme il devrait l'être également de l'industrie elle-même.

Si donc nous réussissons, à l'intérieur le l'I. R. I., à élaborer et à pratiquer un programme et une méthode de discussion aboutissant à une éducation mutuelle et collective, nous pourrions de même être en mesure de formuler des suggestions quant à la formation d'organes et au développement de méthodes de délibération ayant pour résultat de créer une éducation et un enseignement réciproques, sur le plan des établissements industriels ou de l'industrie en général.

LA HAYE, Janvier 1929.

<sup>1</sup> Une société internationale qui favorise la science et l'art de l'administration et de l'organisation.

## VORWORT

Der vorliegende Band bringt den Verhandlungsbericht des ersten Kongresses unserer Vereinigung, der vom 28. Juni bis 3. Juli im Girton College in Cambridge stattfand, und dessen Hauptthema die "grundlegenden Beziehungen zwischen allen an der Industrie beteiligten Gruppen" bildete.

Der Band bildet den zweiten Teil des Gesamtberichts. Der erste Teil, der die Berichte von 18 Ländern enthält, wurde im Juni 1928 veröffentlicht.<sup>1</sup> Die Drucklegung dieser Berichte erfolgte schon vor dem Kongress, um den Teilnehmern eine eingehende Vorbereitung zu ermöglichen. Der jetzt erscheinende Band enthält die eigentlichen Kongressverhandlungen.

Zum besseren Verständnis für das Thema des Kongresses und die Zusammenstellung des Programmes wird auf die "Erläuterungen zum Kongressprogramm"<sup>2</sup> verwiesen, die allen Beteiligten vor dem Kongress übersandt wurden, um ein gegenseitiges Verständnis und die einheitliche Behandlung der Probleme zu sichern.

Es ist wohl kein bedeutungsloser Zufall, dass der erste Teil des Programms "Der Kollektive Gedanke; Betrachtungen zur Philosophie und Technik gemeinschaftlichen Denkens",<sup>3</sup> später fortgelassen werden musste, weil kein Redner dafür zu finden war. Weil die Behandlung des Problems daher unvollständig bleiben musste, ist der praktische Teil dieses Problems "Betrachtung über die Erfahrungen bei der Suche nach Verständigung zwischen den industriellen Gruppen", dessen Behandlung Lord Askwith K.C.B. gütigst übernommen hatte, in diesem Band nicht aufgenommen worden.

Ueber die wissenschaftliche Betriebsführung findet der Leser einen Vortrag von Dr. H. S. Person, Leitender Direktor der Tailor Society, New York,<sup>4</sup> im ersten Band dieses Berichts.

<sup>1</sup> Der erste Band kann vom Sekretariat der Vereinigung, Javastraat 66, Haag, Holland, zum Preise von Fl. 2.50, portofrei, bezogen werden. Mitglieder der Vereinigung zahlen Fl. 2.—, portofrei.

<sup>2</sup> Seite 53.

<sup>3</sup> Siehe Erläuterungen zum Kongressprogramm, Seite 55.

<sup>4</sup> Eine internationale Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Betriebswissenschaft und ihrer praktischen Anwendung.

## VORWORT

Das letzte Thema, "Die Beziehungen innerhalb des industriellen Unternehmens" wird auf der Zusammenkunft weitergeführt werden, die die Vereinigung im Sommer 1929 veranstaltet mit dem Thema, "Wege zur Herbeiführung befriedigender menschlicher Beziehungen in rationalisierten Betrieben".

Zweck des Kongresses war es in erster Linie Material zusammenzutragen und ein Bild der Industrie im Spiegel der Kultur der Gegenwart zu gewinnen - einen Rahmen zu bilden, in dem alle an der Industrie beteiligten Gruppen in ihren wechselseitigen Beziehungen betrachtet werden können. Die Vereinigung war sich von Anfang an bewusst, damit ein Programm zu entwickeln, das für Jahre hinaus Diskussionsstoff für ihre Tagungen bieten würde.

Wir haben wiederholt die Tatsache hervorgehoben, dass die Vereinigung gewissermassen einen Mikrokosmos der Industrie darstellt und Menschen mit ganz verschiedenen Beziehungen und Einstellungen zum Wirtschaftsleben umschliesst. Das Bemühen um gegenseitige Verständigung auf Grund verschiedener Anschauungen und Erfahrungen gibt der Vereinigung ihren besonderen Charakter. Dieses Bemühen sollte auch ein Wesenszug der Industrie werden.

Wenn wir in der I. R. I. ein Diskussionsprogramm und eine Methode entwickeln können, die der gemeinsamen Aufklärung dienen, werden wir auch Vorschläge für die Heranbildung von Organen und Methoden machen können, die zur gegenseitigen Verständigung und Aufklärung zwischen den an der Industrie beteiligten Gruppen dienen.

HAAQ, im Januar 1929.

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## INTRODUCTORY

FIRST TRIENNIAL PERIOD OF THE ASSOCIATION  
COMMENTS OF THE HON. SECRETARY<sup>1</sup>, MISS M. L. FLEDDÉRUS,  
THE HAGUE, HOLLAND.

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Three years have passed since the formation of our Association. As has already been stated, the present Congress ends its first triennial period. It is upon this period of three years that I would like to touch for a moment. There will be no particular need to dwell on facts and details of policy and administration, as these have all been carefully incorporated in an annually submitted report.<sup>2</sup>

I would like to beg you to turn your attention for a moment to the 1925 Flushing Congress, where the Association actually came into existence, and where it received the title of "The International Association for the Study and Improvement of Human Relations and Conditions in Industry". I expressly speak here of "title" instead of name, as Webster's New International Dictionary tells me that a title is a "descriptive name". The naming of the Association, even in its most inner circles, has been a matter of much friendly controversy. And as for the Americans they simply would not begin to pronounce it! The reason for this lies, in my opinion, exactly in the fact that the Association was at its birth, fortunately, not named with an all conclusive name - it was just being "entitled". In the same Webster's Dictionary, I was delighted to find under the word "title", the following quotation from Pope: "things change their titles as our manners turn". At the Flushing Congress we knew that our manners were no fixed manners, that they were predestined to turn with development itself, and so we chose a title which could turn with them.

I am touching here, in what may seem to you a somewhat frivolous way, on a matter of fundamental importance. Those who came together at Flushing felt that a tide was rising in the living waters of economic life, making for higher shores, and all they wanted to do was to make use of this tide by lending themselves to its purpose. They felt that this purpose was a living purpose, a purpose which would gradually emerge,

<sup>1</sup> Function now taken over by Vice-President under new Constitution adopted at the Cambridge Congress.

<sup>2</sup> For the working year 1927/28 see Report of Secretaries on page 343.

## FIRST TRIENNIAL PERIOD OF THE ASSOCIATION

and therefore they tried to avoid the mistake of shaping a form which - at the time - might have chrystalized the very life which it was meant to express.

I believe that the present title of the Association has saved it from this fate, though in my opinion the wording which was originally presented for consideration at the Flushing Congress would have been a better one. In the Report of the Interim Committee to the Flushing Congress, we read:

"It is proposed that the title of the Association be: "The "International Association for the Study and "Promotion of Satisfactory Human Relations "and Conditions in Industry."

I remember that, at the time, the word "satisfactory" was being queried. Who, so people asked, would take it upon himself to make out what was "satisfactory"? In my opinion the exact point is that "whatsoever is satisfactory shows itself as such". There will be no need for you and me to proclaim it as such. Satisfactory human relations and conditions are this by virtue of their own harmonious interrelation.

At the general meeting of members which will be held in a few days, it will be proposed to give the Association the little descriptive but, I believe, acceptable name of "International Industrial Relations Association", and to continue the use of its present title as an explanatory subtitle. If this be actually decided upon, I would once again like to bring forward the original wording, as "promotion of satisfactory human relations and conditions" seems to me to be ever so much more expressive of our aim than the, in reality, rather pedantic word of "improvement".

At their first meeting, which took place in January 1926, the Officers of the Association adopted the following statement expressive of their views concerning the Association at that time in the - then - immediate future.

"It seems that, from a practical point of view, the Association "should not be looked upon as the new body with unlimited "possibilities which it undoubtedly is, but should be regarded "much more as an extension of the Interim Committee, which "kept the contact from the Argeronne Conference until the

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"Flushing Congress. In effect, the Officers and Councillors of the 20 countries forming the Association are continuing, on an organized basis, the work of the small voluntary Committee appointed by the nine countries represented at the Argeronne Conference.

"The activities to be undertaken by this extended body should be studied closely within the limits of its practical resources, and it should strictly avoid the undertaking of responsibilities which, in addition to taxing these resources heavily, would involve it in much external care to the detriment of its inner possibilities.

"In their opinion the new Association will fully have proved the value of its existence if, in the coming years, it were to undertake none other than:

"collecting the results of the Flushing Congress in the form of a printed Report;

"maintaining and extending the established contact;

"following the main phases of industrial life, from the Flushing until the next Congress;

"at the same time preparing for this next Congress with the help of the yearly meetings of the Council, which consists of Councillors practically active in various aspects of the industrial field in 20 different countries.

"As regards this next Congress to be held in 1928, it may be foreseen that, though the Flushing Congress has left to the Association an interesting collection of data to be assimilated, completed and used in the coming years, the next Congress will probably tend towards much more basic principles."

It is indeed interesting to observe how this expectation has come true, and how the very subject of our present Congress "Fundamental Relationships between all Sections of the Industrial Community" promises to fulfil this expectation.

In the meantime, as will have been evident from the annual Reports, the Association has carried out a bigger programme than was here anticipated.

Added to the Report submitted to the first annual meeting of

## FIRST TRIENNIAL PERIOD OF THE ASSOCIATION

the Council held in June 1926, we find another statement which it may be interesting to recall to our attention, reading as follows:

"The question has sometimes been raised as to whether the Association is not duplicating part of the work of some existing body such as, for instance, the International Labour Office, and the International Association for Social Progress.

"At first sight this question does not seem illogical, and it may be a good thing to clear our minds on this point from the very start.

"In the Interim Committee Report adopted by the Flushing Congress, the origin of, and our sympathetic link with the International Labour Office has been clearly expressed.

"The aim of the International Labour Office is essentially moral and ethical. Its way of approach is through a vast body composed of government representatives and delegates from employers' and workers' organizations. Its method lies in the dual task of collecting and spreading information for the purpose of informing public opinion, and its efforts take practical shape in the form of international legislation, with the resulting establishment of that minimum on which all further progress must rest.

"Legislation, however, not to mention international legislation, can only deal with effects after they have become sufficiently flagrant to arouse public attention.

"Looking at our own Association, its more pioneer nature becomes at once apparent. Though its aim may be more or less identical with that of the International Labour Office, its way of approach is inherently different. It is open to a variety of membership which is individual and voluntary, thus giving it a spontaneous character. It tends to deal with causes rather than with effects, and is particularly free, through its members, to enter into the field of practical research within industry itself, with its possibilities of forestalling as well as of creating.

"In these days of rapid transformation, the conception of industry and its personnel is being raised to a much higher level. Its processes are continually being placed on a more scientific basis.

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"The possibilities of revolutionizing Industry which this new order contains, are as wide as they are, at the present time, unknown. Earnest study and observation therefore, on the part of those who are either directly or indirectly concerned with the human aspect of Industry, is necessary for an intelligent understanding of the present issues."

Nowhere else, however, have I found one of the chief aims of the Association so typically and concisely expressed as in a memorandum from Miss Mary van Kleeck to our Secretariat, dated June 1927, in which the comments of the U. S. A. group on the proposed subject for the 1928 Congress are voiced.

It is the following comment which I have in mind:

"Professors and Social Theorists have had an easy job in the past, but from now on they will have to take into consideration the recorded experience of industrial activities.

"The emphasis on recorded experience should be made a fundamental characteristic of the work of the I. R. I."

Personally I am inclined to propose the following complement to this statement:

"Employers, Management and Workers have had no easy job in the past, but from now onwards they will have to take into consideration the thoughtful observations of the men of science.

"Natural readiness in seeking this collaboration should be made a fundamental characteristic of the work of the I. R. I."

The recommendation of these two characteristics for the Association, brings us at once to the programme of the present Congress, in which they have both been incorporated with equal enthusiasm. This will no doubt already have become evident to you, from a careful reading of the introductory notes to the programme, which are in your possession.

Why do we thus come together and what do we hope from this Congress? Perhaps I may answer this by saying: "a quickening of individual life which living contact brings and a greater understanding of our fundamental relationships."



#### FIRST TRIENNIAL PERIOD OF THE ASSOCIATION

Collectively we may attain a point of view which, individually, would have been out of our reach, because collectively we can set up currents of thought which develop a wonderful driving power.

Perhaps this is the explanation why the results of Conferences and Committees, such as the World Economic Conference, and the English Liberal Industrial Inquiry, as formulated in their statements and resolutions, are often so far in advance of practical achievements. This may be no matter for regret. The future will probably always be forecasted before it can be enacted.

Our Association has to take its share in this forecasting. And if anyone should ask me: "Why does the Association exist?", I would be inclined to answer: "Because of the needs of the present times".

It may be a simple answer, but I believe that it is all-inclusive.

PREMIÈRE PÉRIODE TRIENNALE DE L'ASSOCIATION.  
COMMENTAIRES DE LA SECRÉTAIRE HONORAIRE, M<sup>LE</sup>. M. L.  
FLEDDÉRUS, LA HAYE, HOLLANDE

---

Trois ans se sont écoulés depuis la formation de notre Association. Comme on l'a déjà indiqué, le présent Congrès en achèvera la première période triennale. C'est de cette dernière que je désirerais vous entretenir un instant. Je n'aurai pas besoin, d'ailleurs, de m'arrêter aux faits et aux détails de tactique et d'administration, ces faits se trouvant régulièrement décrits dans les rapports annuels.<sup>1</sup>

Je voudrais me permettre d'attirer un instant votre attention sur le Congrès de Flessingue de 1925, où l'Association vint effectivement à l'existence et reçut le titre d'Association internationale pour l'étude et l'amélioration des rapports individuels et des conditions dans l'industrie. Je parle intentionnellement, ici, de "titre" et non point de "nom", le nouveau dictionnaire international de Webster m'apprenant qu'un titre est un "nom descriptif". La dénomination de l'Association a donné lieu, même au plus intime de son sein, à plus d'une controverse. Et quant aux Américains, ils se garderaient bien d'en prononcer la première syllabe. La raison d'un pareil fait réside, à mon sens, précisément en ceci que l'Association, à sa naissance, n'a pas été gratifiée, heureusement, d'un nom vraiment définitif, on s'est contenté de "l'intituler". Dans ce même dictionnaire de Webster, j'eus la joie de trouver, au mot titre, la citation suivante, empruntée à Pope: "Les choses changent de titre avec la modification de nos manières". Au Congrès de Flessingue, nous savions que nos manières n'étaient pas des manières fixées une fois pour toutes, qu'elles étaient appelées à se modifier avec le développement même des choses, et c'est pourquoi nous avons choisi un titre susceptible de changer avec elles.

Je touche ici, d'une manière qui pourra vous sembler quelque peu frivole, à un sujet de fondamentale importance. Ceux qui se sont assemblés à Flessingue ont eu le sentiment qu'un courant vers de plus altiers rivages était en train de se former

<sup>1</sup> Sous les nouveaux Statuts, adoptés au Congrès de Cambridge, un des Vice-Présidents doit assumer les fonctions du Secrétaire honoraire.

<sup>2</sup> Le rapport annuel pour l'année 1927-28 se trouve à la page 353.

## PREMIÈRE PÉRIODE TRIENNALE DE L'ASSOCIATION

parmi les eaux vives de l'existence économique, et tous leurs désirs furent d'utiliser ce courant en se laissant guider par lui. Ils comprirent que la direction du courant était une direction vivante, allant à un but qui émergerait graduellement, et c'est pourquoi ils s'efforcèrent d'éviter la faute qu'il y aurait eu à arrêter une forme passible - à ce moment - de cristalliser la vie même qu'elle eût été censée exprimer.

Je crois que le titre actuel de l'Association lui aura évité pareil sort, bien qu'à mon avis le libellé présenté originellement au Congrès de Flessingue eût été préférable. Dans le rapport du comité intérimaire, présenté au Congrès de Flessingue, nous lisons :

"L'on propose de donner pour titre à l'Association: "Association internationale pour l'étude et le développement des relations et des conditions humaines satisfaisantes dans l'industrie." <sup>1</sup> Je me souviens que le mot "satisfaisantes" fut - à l'époque - l'objet d'une discussion. <sup>2</sup> Qui se chargerait, fut-il demandé, de définir ce qui est "satisfaisant"? A mon avis, la vérité est que "tout ce qui est satisfaisant se manifeste comme tel." Point n'est besoin, ni pour vous ni pour moi, de le proclamer explicitement: - des relations et des conditions humaines satisfaisantes sont telles en vertu de leur propre et harmonieuse interrelation.

Lors de l'assemblée générale qui aura lieu dans quelques jours, on proposera de donner à l'Association le nom, peu descriptif, mais, à ce que je crois, acceptable, d' "Association Internationale des Relations industrielles", et de continuer de se servir du titre actuel <sup>3</sup> en guise de sous-titre explicatif. S'il en est ainsi décidé, je m'efforcerai à nouveau de faire accepter le libellé originel, les termes de "progrès des relations et des conditions humaines satisfaisantes dans l'industrie" <sup>2</sup> me paraissant toujours exprimer aussi clairement nos aspirations que le mot, en vérité quelque peu pédantesque, d' "amélioration" ("improvement").

<sup>1</sup> Traduction littérale du texte anglais, le titre français étant: "Association Internationale pour l'étude et l'amélioration des rapports individuels et des conditions dans l'industrie".

<sup>2</sup> Sous rapport au texte anglais.

<sup>3</sup> Avec quelque modification dans le texte français.

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Lors de leur première réunion, tenue en janvier 1926, les "officiers" de l'Association adoptèrent le texte suivant, qui exprime leur point de vue sur l'Association à cette époque et dans ce qui était - alors - l'avenir immédiat.

"Il semble, à un point de vue pratique, qu'il convienne de ne pas considérer l'Association comme le groupement nouveau et aux possibilités illimitées qu'elle est sans aucun doute, mais de l'envisager davantage comme une extension du Comité Intérimaire qui a été en fonction depuis la Conférence d'Argonne jusqu'au Congrès de Flessingue. En effet, les "officiers" et les membres du conseil des 20 pays constituant l'Association continuent, sur une base organisatrice, l'oeuvre du petit Comité volontaire désigné par les neuf pays représentés à la Conférence d'Argonne."

"L'Activité que ce corps désormais étendu aura à entreprendre devra être étudiée dans les strictes limites des ressources pratiques de ce dernier, et elle devra éviter d'assumer des responsabilités passibles, outre de grever lourdement lesdites ressources, d'engager l'Association dans nombre de pré-occupations extérieures, au détriment de ses possibilités Internes."

"A leur sens, la nouvelle Association aura entièrement prouvé la légitimité de son existence en ne réalisant, au cours des années prochaines, que les points ci-dessous énumérés :

"rassembler les résultats du Congrès de Flessingue,  
"maintenir et étendre le contact établi,  
"suivre les phases principales de la vie industrielle, depuis le Congrès de Flessingue jusqu'au prochain Congrès,  
"en même temps, préparer ce prochain Congrès, avec le concours des assemblées annuelles du Conseil, lequel est composé de rapporteurs pratiquement actifs dans les divers aspects de la vie industrielle dans 20 pays différents.

"Ce prochain Congrès devant avoir lieu en 1928, il est permis d'augurer que, si le Congrès de Flessingue a déjà laissé à l'Association une intéressante collection de données devant être assimilées, complétées et utilisées au cours des années prochaines, ce Congrès tendra probablement à établir

## PREMIÈRE PÉRIODE TRIENNALE DE L'ASSOCIATION

"une bien plus grande quantité de principes de base."  
Il est vraiment intéressant de constater combien ces expectatives se sont vérifiées, et combien le sujet de notre présent Congrès, "Nature des Relations fondamentales entre les diverses Sections de la Communauté Industrielle" promet de répondre à ces mêmes attentes.

Cependant, ainsi qu'on aura pu s'en rendre compte avec évidence d'après les rapports annuels, l'Association a réalisé un programme plus vaste qu'on ne l'avait alors prévu.

En supplément au rapport présenté à la première assemblée du Conseil, tenue en juin 1926, nous trouvons un autre texte qu'il peut être intéressant de rappeler à votre attention, et ainsi libellé:

"L'on a parfois soulevé la question de savoir si l'Association "ne formait pas double-emploi avec l'un des aspects de quelque "organisation déjà existante, tel que, par exemple, le Bureau "International du Travail.

"A première vue, cette question ne semble pas dénuée de fondement; aussi peut-il y avoir quelque utilité à analyser à "fond nos idées sur ce point.

"Dans le Rapport du Comité Intérimaire adopté par le Congrès "de Flessingue, l'origine du Bureau International du Travail et "nos attachés avec ce dernier ont été clairement exposées.

"Les buts poursuivis par le Bureau International du Travail "sont essentiellement d'ordre moral et éthique.

"Son activité repose sur les travaux d'un vaste corps représentatif formé des représentants des gouvernements et des "délégués des organisations patronales et ouvrières.

"La méthode employée réside dans la double tâche de recueillir "et de répandre les informations propres à éclairer l'opinion "publique, et les efforts accomplis prennent leur aspect pratique "sous la forme de la législation internationale, entraînant l'établissement des mesures minimales qui doivent être à la base "de tout le progrès à venir.

"Or la législation en général, sans parler de la législation "internationale en particulier, ne peut avoir trait qu'à des ""effets" devenus déjà assez flagrants pour attirer l'attention "du public.

## PREMIÈRE PÉRIODE TRIENNALE DE L'ASSOCIATION

"Si, par contre, nous envisageons notre propre Association, son caractère d'anticipatrice et de pionnier apparaît du premier coup. Bien que ses buts soient plus ou moins identiques à ceux du Bureau International du Travail, ses méthodes se trouvent différer par leur nature même de celles de ce dernier. Notre Association est ouverte à des membres dont le recrutement est individuel et volontaire, ce qui lui confère un caractère spontané. Elle tend à s'occuper des causes plutôt que des effets et possède, en particulier, la faculté de pénétrer dans le domaine des recherches pratiques au sein même de l'industrie, avec ses possibilités préventives aussi bien que créatrices.

"En ces temps de transformation rapide, la conception de l'industrie et du personnel qu'elle emploie a atteint un niveau beaucoup plus élevé qu'auparavant. Les procédés de la vie industrielle sont de plus en plus établis sur une base scientifique.

"Les possibilités, impliquées par ce nouvel ordre de choses, de révolutionner l'industrie, sont aussi vastes qu'actuellement ignorées. Aussi l'étude et l'observation consciencieuses de tous ceux qui se trouvent être directement ou indirectement en rapport avec l'aspect humain de l'industrie sont-elles nécessaires si l'on veut parvenir à une compréhension intelligente des conditions actuelles."

Nulle part, toutefois, je n'ai trouvé l'un des buts essentiels de notre Association plus caractéristiquement et plus brièvement exposé que dans un mémorandum adressé par Mlle Mary van Kleeck à notre Secrétariat, en date du mois de juin 1927, et où sont rapportés les commentaires du groupe des Etats-Unis d'Amérique sur le sujet proposé pour le Congrès de 1928.

Le passage suivant est celui auquel je pense:

"Les professeurs et les théoriciens sociaux ont eu une tâche facile par le passé, mais à partir de maintenant, il devront prendre en considération l'expérience acquise dans l'activité industrielle."

"La mise en relief de l'expérience acquise devrait être rendue l'une des caractéristiques fondamentales de l'oeuvre de l'I. R. I."

## PREMIÈRE PÉRIODE TRIENNALE DE L'ASSOCIATION

Personnellement, j'inclinerais à proposer, quant à ce texte, le commentaire suivant:

"Les employeurs, le "management" et les travailleurs n'ont pas eu une tâche facile par le passé, mais à partir de maintenant, ils devront prendre en considération les observations réfléchies des hommes de science. L'aptitude naturelle à susciter cette collaboration devrait être rendue l'une des caractéristiques fondamentales de l'I.R.I."

La recommandation de ces deux caractéristiques pour l'Association nous conduit immédiatement au programme du présent Congrès, auquel elles ont été l'une et l'autre incorporées avec enthousiasme. Sans doute l'aurez-vous déjà remarqué avec évidence en lisant avec soin les notes d'introduction au programme qui sont en votre possession.

Pourquoi nous assemblons-nous à Cambridge et qu'espérons-nous de ce Congrès? Peut-être pourrai-je répondre à cette question en disant: "Pour l'accroissement de vie individuelle qu'apporte tout contact vivant et pour une compréhension plus grande de nos relations fondamentales."

Collectivement, nous pourrions atteindre un point de vue qui serait demeuré hors de notre portée individuelle, car il nous est donné de susciter, une fois réunis, des courants de pensée doués d'un merveilleux pouvoir d'impulsion.

C'est peut-être là ce qui explique que les résultats des conférences et des comités, par exemple de la Conférence économique internationale et de l'Enquête Industrielle anglaise libérale, tels que ces résultats se trouvent formulés dans les textes et dans les résolutions, soient fréquemment si en avance sur les réalisations pratiques. Qu'il soit permis de ne pas le regretter. L'avenir, sans doute, sera toujours prévu avant que d'être agi. Notre Association se doit de participer à cette prévision. Et si quelqu'un me demandait: "Pourquoi l'Association existe-t-elle?", j'inclinerais à répondre: "à cause des besoins du temps présent."

C'est peut-être une réponse un peu simple, et pourtant je la crois complète.

## DER ERSTE DREIJAHRABSCHNITT DER VEREINIGUNG. ERLÄUTERUNGEN DER EHRENAMTLICHEN SCHRIFTFÜHRERIN, FRL. M. L. FLEDDÉRUS, HAAG, HOLLAND.

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Drei Jahre sind seit der Entstehung der Vereinigung vergangen. Wie schon gesagt wurde, wird der diesjährige Kongress den ersten Zeitraum von drei Jahren abschliessen. Ich möchte auf diesen einen Augenblick eingehen. Es wird nicht notwendig sein, Tatsachen und Einzelheiten der Vereinspolitik und -verwaltung zu erwähnen, da diese jeweils sorgfältig in dem Jahresbericht zusammengestellt worden sind.<sup>2</sup>

Ich möchte Ihre Aufmerksamkeit einen Augenblick auf den Vlissinger Kongress von 1925 lenken, auf dem die Vereinigung tatsächlich gegründet wurde, und wo sie den Titel "Die Internationale Vereinigung zum Studium und zur Verbesserung menschlicher Beziehungen und Bedingungen in der Industrie"<sup>3</sup> erhielt. Ich spreche ausdrücklich von "Titel" an Stelle von "Namen", denn ich habe aus dem neuen internationalen Wörterbuch von Webster ersehen, dass ein "Titel" ein "bezeichnender Name" ist. Der Name der Vereinigung ist selbst im engsten Kreis ein Gegenstand lebhaften Meinungsaustausches gewesen, (die Amerikaner - die haben ihn überhaupt nicht aussprechen wollen!) Der Grund dafür liegt meiner Meinung nach unbedingt in der Tatsache, dass die Vereinigung glücklicherweise bei ihrer Entstehung überhaupt keinen endgültigen Namen erhalten hat. Man hat ihr einfach einen Titel gegeben. In demselben Wörterbuch von Webster fand ich zu meiner Freude unter dem Wort "Titel" das folgende Zitat von Pope: "Die Dinge wechseln ihre Benennung (titles)<sup>4</sup> wie wir unsere Gewohnheiten." Auf dem Vlissinger Kongress wussten wir, dass

<sup>2</sup> Unter den neuen Statuten, die auf dem Kongress in Cambridge angenommen wurden, fällt das Amt des Schriftführers in dem der Vize-Präsidenten zu.

<sup>3</sup> Der Bericht für das Geschäftsjahr 1927-28 befindet sich auf Seite 364.

<sup>4</sup> Die deutschsprechenden Mitglieder der I. R. I., die Teilnehmer des Vlissinger Kongresses waren, haben nach den Verhandlungen einstimmig die Bezeichnung "Internationale Vereinigung zum Studium und zur Förderung befriedigender menschlicher Beziehungen und gesunder Arbeitsbedingungen in der Industrie" als Uebersetzung angenommen. Der oben angeführte Titel ist die wörtliche Uebersetzung des englischen Textes.

<sup>5</sup> Das englische Wort "title" kann in weiterem Sinne angewandt werden als das deutsche Wort "Titel". Man spricht im Englischen auch von "Titeln der Dinge."



## DER ERSTE DREIJAHRABSCHNITT DER VEREINIGUNG

unsere Vereinsgepflogenheiten noch keine festen Gepflogenheiten waren, dass sie sich mit der Entwicklung wandeln würden; und so wählten wir einen Titel, der sich mit ihnen wandeln konnte. Es wird Ihnen vorkommen, als wenn ich hier in etwas leichtfertiger Weise von einer grundsätzlichen, ernststen Angelegenheit rede. Alle die, die in Vlissingen zusammenkamen, fühlten, dass eine Flut in den lebendigen Wassern des wirtschaftlichen Lebens anstieg und höheren Küsten zuwogte, und alles, was sie tun wollten, war, sich dieser Flut und ihren Zielen anzuvertrauen. Sie fühlten, dass dieses Ziel ein lebenswichtiges Ziel war, ein Ziel, das erst allmählich auftauchen würde, und darum versuchten sie den Fehler zu vermeiden, es in eine feste Form zu prägen, die in jener Zeit vielleicht das Leben, das es zum Ausdruck bringen wollte, zur Erstarrung gebracht hätte.

Ich glaube, dass der jetzige Titel der Vereinigung sie vor diesem Schicksal bewahrt hat, obgleich die ursprüngliche Fassung, die dem Vlissinger Kongress vorgeschlagen war, eine bessere gewesen wäre. In dem Bericht des Interimkomitees, das dem Vlissinger Kongress Bericht erstattete, lesen wir: Es wird vorgeschlagen, der Vereinigung den Titel zu geben "Internationale Vereinigung zum Studium und zur Förderung befriedigender menschlicher Beziehungen und gesunder Arbeitsbedingungen in der Industrie". Ich erinnere mich, dass zu jener Zeit das Wort "befriedigend" Bedenken erregte.<sup>1</sup> Man fragte, wer will es denn auf sich nehmen, herauszufinden, was "befriedigend" ist? Meiner Meinung nach ist es so, "dass das, was befriedigend ist, sich als befriedigend erweist". Es ist nicht nötig, dass Sie oder ich es verkünden, menschliche Beziehungen und Bedingungen sind befriedigend kraft der ihnen eigenen harmonischen Wechselwirkung.

Bei der Generalversammlung, die in ein paar Tagen abgehalten wird, wird vorgeschlagen, der Vereinigung den wenig bezeichnenden, aber, wie ich glaube, annehmbaren Namen "International Industrial Relations Association" zu geben und ihren jetzigen Titel als erläuternden Untertitel beizubehalten.\*

<sup>1</sup> In seiner Anwendung im englischen Text.

\* Dieser Vorschlag bezieht sich nur auf den englischen Text.

## DER ERSTE DREIJAHRABSCHNITT DER VEREINIGUNG

Wenn dies tatsächlich angenommen wird, so werde ich noch einmal die ursprüngliche Fassung vorbringen, da die Herbeiführung menschlicher befriedigender Beziehungen und Bedingungen mir unser Ziel ebenso zum Ausdruck zu bringen scheint, als das in Wirklichkeit ziemlich pedantische Wort "Verbesserung".

Bei der ersten Zusammenkunft, die im Jahre 1926 im Januar stattfand, nahmen die Mitglieder der Vereinigung die folgende Erklärung an, in der sie ihre Ansichten über den Charakter der Vereinigung zu jenem Zeitpunkt und für die - damals - nächste Zukunft zum Ausdruck brachten:

"Aus Zweckmässigkeitsgründen sollte die Vereinigung nicht als eine neue Organisation mit unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten angesehen werden - obgleich sie dies unzweifelhaft ist - sondern als eine Erweiterung des Interimskomitees, das die Verbindung zwischen der Argeronner Konferenz und dem Vlissinger Kongress herstellte. Tatsächlich führen die Mitglieder des engeren Vorstandes und die Berichterstatter der zwanzig Länder, aus denen die Vereinigung besteht, auf einer organisierten Grundlage die Arbeit des kleinen freiwillig zusammengetretenen Ausschusses fort, der von Mitgliedern aus den neun auf der Argeronner Konferenz vertretenen Ländern gewählt worden ist.

"Die Bestrebung dieser erweiterten Organisation sollte sich eng in den Grenzen der zur Verfügung stehenden Hilfsmittel halten, und es sollte streng vermieden werden, Verantwortungen zu übernehmen, die infolge einer Ueberschätzung der Hilfsmittel die Vereinigung zu stark mit Sorgen über äussere Angelegenheiten belasten würden und zum Nachteil ihrer eigenen Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten wären.

"Ihrer Ansicht nach würde die neue Vereinigung ihre Existenzberechtigung vollauf beweisen, wenn sie nur die folgenden Aufgaben in Angriff nehmen würde:

"Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse des Vlissinger Kongresses  
"In einen gedruckten Bericht.

"Aufrechterhaltung und Erweiterung der neugeschaffenen Beziehungen.

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"Beobachtung der Hauptphasen des Wirtschaftslebens in dem Zeitraum zwischen dem Vlissinger Kongress bis zum nächsten Kongress.

"Gleichzeitige Vorbereitungen des nächsten Kongresses auf Grund der jährlichen Sitzungen des Rats, der sich aus Richterstatern zusammensetzt, welche in den verschiedensten Arbeitszweigen in zwanzig Ländern tätig sind.

"Es muss in Betracht gezogen werden, dass der Kongress im Jahre 1928 neben der Verarbeitung, Ergänzung und Durchführung der Anregungen, die auf dem Vlissinger Kongress gegeben worden sind, sich voraussichtlich in viel höherem Masse mit grundsätzlichen Fragen zu befassen haben wird." Es ist interessant zu verfolgen, wie diese Erwartung sich erfüllt hat, und wie gerade das Thema unseres jetzigen Kongresses "Grundlegende Beziehungen zwischen allen an der Industrie beteiligten Gruppen" eine Erfüllung dieser Erwartung verspricht.

Inzwischen hat die Vereinigung, wie aus dem Jahresbericht ersichtlich ist, ein grösseres Programm aufgestellt als ursprünglich beabsichtigt war.

Dem Bericht, der der ersten Jahresversammlung des Rats, die im Juni 1926 stattfand, vorgelegt wurde, ist eine Erklärung angefügt, deren Wiederholung von Interesse für Sie sein dürfte. Sie lautet:

"Mehrfach ist die Frage aufgetaucht, ob die Vereinigung nicht eine Wiederholung einer schon bestehenden Organisation sei, wie z.B. des Internationalen Arbeitsamtes. Diese Frage ist durchaus berechtigt und muss vor Beginn unserer Arbeit geklärt werden.

"In dem Bericht des Interimskomitees, der von dem Vlissinger Kongress angenommen wurde, ist die Entstehungsgeschichte und die Beziehung unserer Vereinigung zum Internationalen Arbeitsamt dargelegt worden. Das Internationale Arbeitsamt verfolgt ethische und moralische Ziele. Es tritt werbend hervor mit einer sehr grossen Körperschaft, die sich aus Vertretern der Regierungen und Delegierten von Arbeitgebern und Arbeitnehmern zusammensetzt. Das Internationale

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"Arbeitsamt hat eine zweifache Aufgabe: In der Öffentlichkeit  
"aufklärend zu wirken durch Sammlung und Verbreitung der  
"entsprechenden Tatsachen, und praktische Arbeit in Form  
"der internationalen Gesetzgebung zu leisten, mit dem End-  
"ziel, die Anerkennung von Mindestforderungen durchzu-  
"setzen, auf deren Erfüllung aller weiterer Fortschritt auf-  
"gebaut ist.

"Die Gesetzgebung, besonders die internationale Gesetzgebung,  
"kann nur von bestimmten Wirkungen und Tatsachen aus-  
"gehen, die so offensichtlich geworden sind, dass sie die  
"Aufmerksamkeit der breiten Öffentlichkeit auf sich gezogen  
"haben.

"Es ist ohne weiteres deutlich, dass unsere Vereinigung in  
"viel höherem Masse Pionierarbeit zu leisten hat. Obgleich  
"ihre Arbeitsziele in vielfacher Beziehung mit denen des Inter-  
"nationalen Arbeitsamtes übereinstimmen, so sind ihre Wege  
"doch ganz andere. Ihre Mitglieder setzen sich aus den ver-  
"schiedensten Kreisen zusammen; die Mitgliedschaft ist eine  
"freiwillige und persönliche und gibt unserer Vereinigung den  
"Charakter der Spontanität. Sie hat es mehr mit den Ur-  
"sachen als mit den Wirkungen zu tun. Es steht ihr frei,  
"praktische Untersuchungen anzustellen in der Industrie selbst  
"mit ihren Möglichkeiten wegweisender und schöpferischer  
"Arbeit.

"In dieser Zeit der rapiden Umgestaltung ist die Auffassung  
"von den Aufgaben der Industrie und von der Stellung des  
"Menschen in der Industrie erheblich vertieft worden. Die  
"Arbeitsvorgänge erhalten allmählich einen wissenschaftlichen  
"Unterbau.

"Die Möglichkeiten, die Industrie von Grund auf umzuge-  
"stalten, die sich aus dieser neuen Einstellung ergeben, sind  
"ebenso gross, wie sie zur Zeit noch unübersehbar sind.  
"Ernstes Studium und dauerndes Forschen ist von Selten der-  
"jenigen nötig, die sich direkt oder indirekt mit „dem Men-  
"schen“ in der Industrie befassen. Nur auf diese Weise kann  
"die gegenwärtige Entwicklung richtig verstanden werden,  
"und nur auf diesem Wege können die notwendigen Einsichten  
"für eine höhere Bewertung des Faktors Mensch in der Pro-  
"duktion gewonnen werden."

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Nirgends habe ich die wichtigsten Ziele der Vereinigung so typisch und so prägnant ausgedrückt gefunden wie in einer Denkschrift von Miss Mary van Kleeck an unsere Geschäftsstelle vom Juni 1927, in der die Äußerungen der Mitgliedergruppen der Vereinigten Staaten zu dem vorgeschlagenen Thema des Kongresses für 1928 formuliert sind.

Es sind die folgenden Worte, die mir im Gedächtnis geblieben sind: "Professoren und Sozialtheoretiker hatten in der Vergangenheit leichte Arbeit, aber von jetzt an werden sie die gesammelten Erfahrungen der Bestrebungen in der Industrie mit in Betracht zu ziehen haben.

Die Betonung der "gesammelten Erfahrungen" sollte ein Grundsatz und ein Charakteristikum der Arbeit der I. R. I. werden".

Persönlich möchte ich dieser Erklärung noch die folgende Ergänzung befügen:

"Arbeitgeber, Betriebsleitung und Arbeiter haben in der Vergangenheit keine leichte Arbeit gehabt. Aber von jetzt an werden sie die durchdachte Beobachtung der Männer der Wissenschaft zu berücksichtigen haben. Die natürliche Bereitschaft zur Herbeiführung dieser Zusammenarbeit sollte zu einem Grundsatz und einem Charakteristikum der Arbeit der I. R. I. gemacht werden."

Die Empfehlung dieser beiden charakteristischen Ziele der Vereinigung bringt mich sofort auf das Programm des gegenwärtigen Kongresses, in das sie beide mit gleicher Begeisterung einbezogen worden sind. Das wird Ihnen schon zum Bewusstsein gekommen sein, wenn Sie die Einführung zum Kongressprogramm, die in Ihren Händen ist, mit Aufmerksamkeit durchgelesen haben.

Warum kommen wir hier zusammen und was erhoffen wir von diesem Kongress? Vielleicht darf ich mit den Worten antworten "Eine Steigerung des Einzellebens durch lebendigen Kontakt und ein tieferes Verständnis für unsere grundlegenden Beziehungen".

Gemeinsam können wir zu Gesichtspunkten gelangen, die ausserhalb des Bereiches des Einzelnen gelegen hätten, weil

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wir gemeinsam Gedankengänge entwickeln können von wundervoller treibender Kraft.

Vielleicht ist dies der Grund dafür, dass die in Erklärungen und Resolutionen zusammengefassten Ergebnisse von Konferenzen und Ausschussberatungen<sup>1</sup> den Tatsachen des praktischen Lebens oft so weit voraus eilen. Wir brauchen dies nicht zu beklagen. Das Zukünftige wird wahrscheinlich immer erst vorgezeichnet werden, ehe es in die Tat umgesetzt werden kann.

Unsere Vereinigung muss an diesem Vorzeichnen der Zukunft mitwirken, und wenn mich einer fragen würde: "Warum besteht die Vereinigung?" so möchte ich am liebsten antworten: "Weil unsere Zeit sie braucht".

Das ist vielleicht eine einfache Antwort, aber ich glaube, dass sie alles einschliesst.

<sup>1</sup> Wie z.B. die Weltwirtschaftskonferenz und die Enquete der englischen Liberalen.

COMMENTS ON THE CONGRESS PROGRAM. THE FOLLOWING NOTES ON THE PROGRAM WERE SENT TO ALL PARTICIPANTS, DISCUSSION OPENERS AND CHAIRMEN, IN ORDER THAT THERE MIGHT BE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND UNITY IN TREATMENT OF THE CONGRESS SUBJECT.

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In choosing for its first Congress the subject, "Fundamental Relationships Between All Sections of the Industrial Community", the Association was guided by a desire to search for and define the natural elements composing each section, to promote within the industrial world a fuller knowledge of their relative value and to awaken a greater consciousness of their underlying unity. Out of the discussions of this broad and deep subject it is believed that the aims of the Association will show themselves with increasing clearness and that new formulations of problems will emerge for future study in Congresses and Discussion Meetings. Moreover, with such a subject the Congress will in itself demonstrate what may be considered the main function of the Association namely, to provide a common meeting ground on a voluntary basis for members of all groups of the industrial community. In the Association they come together not in the relationships to which they are accustomed in industry (too often divided by the circumstances of conflict in interests), but as individuals meeting on common ground and thinking together about the fundamentals of their relationships. They are not merely observers remote from actual industrial life; nor are they participants so absorbed in industrial affairs as to be unable to understand the conditions which surround them. They are what might be called "participant observers", to use the phrase of a recent American writer (Miss Mary Follett), evoking from their own experience the ideas which may in themselves give rise to more harmonious relationships.

The possible function of the Association and the scope of its interests and activities was implicit in the proceedings of the Flushing Congress, and the present program grows naturally out of the ideas and the problems formulated in the review of the material presented at that time. This review appeared as the introduction to the report of the Flushing Congress.

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Evidence was there presented, out of the experience of those who participated, which showed a general awakening to the importance of industry in its effect upon men.

During the last decade developments in industry have been extremely rapid. They have, as a matter of fact, overtaken us. No individual alone can correctly interpret the whole process; it requires the bringing together of experiences and the thinking together over their meaning by persons whose purpose and spirit are social and who in their life and work are determined at all times to be found on the side of human interests where these happen to be in conflict with the immediate demands of mechanized production.

The program of the Congress has two main parts: lectures for the presentation of fundamental aspects of this large subject, and round table discussions in which the members concerned in various phases of industrial activities can discuss together the significances of these larger principles in their daily application.

Preliminary to the treatment of the subject, reports<sup>1</sup> from the different countries will be presented during the first morning, showing the way in which fundamental relationships in industry are being affected by (1) cooperation within and between the various groups in industry, (2) education and training for all groups, (3) personnel and employment administration, (4) scientific management, (5) industrial psychology, (6) vocational guidance. Out of these statements and the more comprehensive reports upon which they will be based, will be drawn material for discussion of the lectures and for use in the round table meetings. We are seeking in all phases of the program to relate underlying philosophy to the actual conditions and problems as they are presented by modern industry in the different countries; or to put it in another way, we are seeking to evoke an underlying philosophy out of the experiences of the different countries as to the effect of modern industry upon men and women.

<sup>1</sup> Published in the first section of the Cambridge Congress Report.



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### THE COLLECTIVE IDEA: A CONSIDERATION OF THE PHILOSOPHY AND TECHNIQUE OF THINKING AND ACTING TOGETHER.

By placing this subject first, we prepare ourselves for the Congress and for subsequent work and discussion together in the Association, while at the same time we introduce the question as to how all sections or groups in industry may act and think together. The subject is divided into two parts: (1) a consideration of the philosophy and technique of thinking together; (2) an actual experience in seeking agreement between groups.

In considering the philosophy and technique of developing a collective idea, we have in mind seeking light upon the "how" of attaining group co-operation as indicated, for instance, by Graham Wallas when he wrote in "Our Social Heritage": "The ideal of genuine intellectual co-operation, in which men combine and compare each other's observations, follow up by logical processes each other's suggestions, and assign to each of a group of co-operating thinkers the part in a complex inquiry for which he is best fitted by his talents and training, is still very seldom realized." When the group transcends national boundaries, and represents many nations and races, as do many branches of industry to-day, especially in the U. S. A., the co-operative process becomes much more complex; yet world co-operation in economic life is a present necessity because economic activities are world-wide.

Consideration of fundamental relationships in industry demands study of the ways in which we may think together. "The greatest need of today", says Mary Follett, in "Creative Experience", "is a keen, analytical, objective study of human relations.... But we wish to do far more than observe our experience, we wish to make it yield up for us its riches.... We need, then, those who are frankly participant-observers, those who will try experiment after experiment and note results, experiments in making human interplay productive in industry and business, in legislative committees and administrative commissions, in trade unions and shop committees"<sup>1</sup>

An experiment need not be consciously made as such; any experience bearing upon a problem, if fully enough recorded

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and analyzed, may become the data of experiment. Hence the second lecture of the first day will be an analysis of the experience gained in seeking agreement between groups in industry.

### GROUPS IN INDUSTRY: THEIR ORIGIN, CHARACTERISTICS AND ACTIVITIES.

The conflicts which disturb economic life are usually between groups, not between individuals, even though individual leaders exert a strong influence. Moreover, progress is usually made by a change in the conscious attitude of groups, or in the terms of their relationships. Clear analysis of relationships must be built upon an analysis of what conditions, needs, or common interests create groups in industry out of which organizations of various kinds evolve. Specialization divides wage-earners into various occupational groups with a variety of grades of skill. The place of the consumer, the degree to which service to the buying group becomes the fundamental aim of business, and the exact character of the service aimed at, affect profits and earnings, and even more fundamentally influence quality and standard of work, and determine the status of the worker and his opportunity for creative activity. Moreover, as management tends to become a professional task, not to be identified exclusively with the employer group or with capitalistic control, managers become a new group related to wage-earners on the one hand and to employers and owners on the other, and obviously a new alignment of relationships may be brought about. Finally there are also the national groupings which exist in economic life, and these too have their influence upon human relationships. What underlying principles and considerations bearing on relationships between all sections of the industrial community are revealed by an analysis of these and other groupings which actually exist in a complicated network in industry? How do the groups actually behave? What influence do they severally exert on the management to give right recognition to human beings and to protect man and society against the evils of mechanization and impersonal capitalistic control? To quote Miss Follett again: "We need a technique of human

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relations based on the preservation of the integrity of the individual". How are the groupings actually found in industry to-day affecting the integrity of the individual? Granted that groups are an inevitable concomitant of large-scale industry, how can the groups be related to one another so as to become a means of preserving the individual and enlarging his opportunity for a satisfactory life?

### THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES TO INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS.

Implicit in the preceding discussions is the idea that the scientific method is to be used to increase understanding of human relations in industry. The development of the social sciences may be expected to contribute greatly to this end. Sociology and economics are both going through a time of transition as changed conditions offer a challenge to old theories. The newer group of students in these fields is concentrating more and more upon analysis of social and economic situations and trends, as pre-requisite to the formulation of theory. The data thus gathered have direct application to conditions affecting men and women in industry. From such studies in economics as, for example, the problem of fluctuations in business, we may expect a direct contribution to stabilization of employment.

Psychology has much to contribute, as has been evidenced in studies of fatigue as well as in the use of psychological tests for vocational guidance and employment. Can we expect a further fundamental contribution from psychology in our study of relationships? How can we bring about team work among the scientists? This idea is suggested by Prof. Patrick Geddes in his introduction to "The Coal Crisis and the Future", in which he pleads for the "working together of the physical, biological and social sciences in a "mobilization of minds".

The symposium proposed on this subject is to consider the contribution of sociology and economics, the contribution of psychology and the interrelation of sciences.

### THE EFFECT OF SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT AND RATIONALIZATION UPON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS.

All countries of the world are studying the procedures and

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the methods of scientific management and rationalization. These have arisen in response to the need for better organization of economic activities. How is their development likely to affect industrial relationships?

### PUBLIC OPINION AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

To what extent does public opinion on the subject actually exist? In how far is the public really conscious of its responsibility as consumer? It seems worth while to analyze how public opinion can be educated and how an informed and enlightened opinion on the part of the public can be brought to bear upon industrial relations. It seems therefore to be an appropriate topic for a public lecture held during the Congress. Its purpose will be to stress public responsibility and the many ways in which it can show itself in improving human relations in industry.

### RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENT.

The title of this subject speaks for itself. It is proposed that it be treated both from the point of view of the worker and the point of view of management, and that special reference be made to Works Councils. The proposed round table sessions will also offer plenty of scope for the elaborating of questions arising out of the treatment of this subject.

### ROUND TABLE DISCUSSIONS.

It is intended to organize round table-discussions on the three subjects, respectively, of (1) Education; (2) Personnel and Employment Management; (3) Research in Industrial Relations. Each of these three round tables will have three sessions. Their purpose is to bring to light problems and experiences represented in the membership and to work out together the application of some of the larger ideas developed in the lectures.

### CONCLUDING SUMMARY.

This is intended to be a formulation of the essentials which will have emerged in the course of the Congress proceedings, on the consideration and promotion of which the Association should base its further development.

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LES NOTES SUIVANTES, RELATIVES AU PROGRAMME ONT ÉTÉ  
ADRESSÉES A TOUS LES PARTICIPANTS, INTRODUCTEURS DE  
DISCUSSIONS ET PRÉSIDENTS, DE MANIÈRE A ÉTABLIR LE  
MAXIMUM DE COMPRÉHENSION MUTUELLE ET LA PLUS GRANDE  
UNITÉ POSSIBLE QUANT A LA FAÇON DE TRAITER LE SUJET  
SOUMIS AU CONGRÈS.

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En choisissant pour sujet de son premier Congrès, la "Nature des Relations fondamentales entre les diverses sections de la communauté industrielle", l'Association a obéi au désir de rechercher et de définir les éléments naturels composant chacune de ces "sections", en même temps que de favoriser, au sein du monde industriel, une connaissance plus approfondie de leur valeur relative, et d'accroître enfin la conscience de leur unité essentielle. On espère que l'examen de ce sujet, aussi vaste qu'important, permettra aux aspirations de l'Association de se manifester avec une plus grande clarté, et qu'il fournira de nouvelles formules des problèmes qui se présenteront dans l'avenir à l'étude des Congrès ou des assemblées de discussion. De plus, ce même sujet donnera au Congrès la possibilité de faire ressortir ce que l'on peut envisager comme le but essentiel de l'Association, c'est à dire la création, sur une base volontaire, d'un commun terrain de rencontre pour les membres de tous les groupes composant la communauté industrielle. Dans l'Association, ils n'ont pas entre eux les mêmes relations que d'ordinaire, - trop souvent divisés qu'ils sont par les circonstances ou par l'antagonisme des intérêts -, mais ils s'y rencontrent, sur un terrain commun, en tant qu'individus réfléchissant ensemble à ce qui constitue l'essentiel de leurs rapports. Ce ne sont ni de simples observateurs vivant à l'écart de la vie industrielle, ni des hommes absorbés par cette dernière au point d'être devenus incapables de comprendre les conditions qui les entourent. Ils sont ce qu'on pourrait appeler, en reprenant les termes récents d'un écrivain américain (Miss Mary Follett), des "observateurs participants", cherchant, à partir de leur expérience personnelle, à définir les idées pouvant favoriser l'avènement de relations plus harmonieuses.

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étude ou de son activité, se trouvaient déjà implicitement contenus dans les débats du Congrès de Flessingue, et le présent programme forme le développement naturel des idées et des problèmes présentés alors dans l'examen général. Ce dernier a formé l'introduction du rapport sur le Congrès de Flessingue et montré, d'après l'expérience des participants eux-mêmes, combien on a déjà commencé à se rendre compte de l'importance de l'industrie quant à ses effets sur l'homme.

Au cours des dix dernières années, l'évolution de l'industrie a été extrêmement rapide. En fait, elle nous a dépassés. Aucun individu isolé n'est désormais en mesure d'en interpréter la marche d'ensemble; cette interprétation exige la mise en commun des expériences et des réflexions familières aux personnes ayant des aspirations et une mentalité sociales et que leur vie, leur travail amènent à se placer du côté des intérêts humains, chaque fois que ces derniers viennent à entrer en conflit avec les exigences immédiates de la production mécanisée.

Le programme du Congrès comprendra deux parties générales: des exposés, tendant à présenter les aspects fondamentaux du vaste sujet à examiner, - et des discussions en petits groupes, au cours desquelles les membres participant aux diverses phases de la vie industrielle examineront en commun les principes généraux, au point de vue de leur application quotidienne.

Préalablement à l'examen du sujet proposé, la première matinée sera consacrée aux rapports<sup>1</sup> sur les différents pays. Ces rapports montreront de quelle manière les relations fondamentales dans l'industrie se trouvent affectées par: 1. la collaboration entre individus ou entre groupes de l'industrie; 2. l'instruction et la formation professionnelle de tous les membres de l'industrie; 3. l'organisation du service du personnel; 4. l'organisation scientifique du travail; 5. la psychologie industrielle; 6. l'orientation professionnelle. Ces données, de même que les rapports plus détaillés sur lesquels elles seront établies, fourniront les matériaux nécessaires à la

<sup>1</sup> Publiés dans la première Section du Rapport sur le Congrès de Cambridge.

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discussion des exposés et aux échanges de vues réalisés en petits groupes. Nous nous efforcerons, dans toutes les phases du programme, de mettre en rapport la philosophie impliquée par les faits, avec les conditions et les problèmes actuels tels que l'industrie des différents pays nous les présentent; ou en d'autres termes, nous tâcherons de dégager les principes philosophiques généraux résultant de l'expérience réalisée par les différents pays quant aux effets exercés sur l'homme par l'industrie moderne.

### L'IDEE COLLECTIVE; CONSIDERATION SUR LA PHILOSOPHIE ET LA TECHNIQUE DE PENSER EN COMMUN.

Commencer par ce sujet, c'est nous préparer nous-mêmes au Congrès, comme à l'oeuvre ultérieure de travail et de discussion en commun au sein de l'Association, et c'est en même temps poser la question de savoir comment doivent agir et penser en commun toutes les sections ou tous les groupes de la vie industrielle. Ce sujet comporte deux parties: 1. considération sur la philosophie et la technique de penser en commun; 2. considération sur les expériences relatives à la recherche d'un accord entre les groupes dans l'industrie.

En examinant la philosophie et la technique propres au développement d'une idée collective, notre intention est de nous procurer quelque lumière sur la façon dont il convient de rechercher la coopération entre des groupes, telle qu'elle a été indiquée, par exemple, par Graham Wallas, lorsqu'il écrit dans "Our Social Heritage": "L'idéal de la véritable coopération intellectuelle, où les hommes combinent et comparent leurs observations respectives, poursuivent par des voies logiques les conséquences de leurs suggestions mutuelles et assignent, à chacun des membres d'un groupe de penseurs mettant leurs efforts en commun, dans une enquête complexe, la partie même à laquelle il se trouve le mieux préparé tant par son talent personnel que par ses travaux habituels, - cet idéal n'a encore été que très rarement réalisé." Quand, de plus, le groupe se trouve dépasser les frontières nationales, quand il représente une grande diversité de pays et de races, comme il arrive dans un grand nombre des branches de l'industrie actuelle, particulièrement aux Etats-Unis, le processus

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le la coopération devient nécessairement encore beaucoup plus compliqué; et pourtant, une coopération mondiale, dans le domaine de l'économie, est une nécessité actuelle, les diverses activités économiques étant elles-mêmes mondiales. L'examen des relations fondamentales dans l'industrie requière l'étude de la façon dont il convient de penser en commun. "Le plus grand besoin de l'heure actuelle", dit Mary Follett dans son livre <sup>1</sup> "Creative Experience", "c'est une étude hardie, analytique, objective des relations humaines.... Mais nous voulons bien autre chose que nous contenter d'observer notre propre expérience, nous voulons encore nous enrichir de ses enseignements.... Aussi avons-nous besoin de tous ceux qui sont nettement des "observateurs participants", de tous ceux qui feront expérience sur expérience et qui en noteront les résultats, - de tous ceux qui enregistreront les essais tentés pour rendre productive l'interaction humaine dans l'industrie et les affaires, les commissions législatives et les organes administratifs, les syndicats et les comités ouvriers." Une expérience n'a pas besoin d'être consciemment réalisée comme telle; la constatation d'un fait quelconque ayant trait à un problème peut, une fois ce fait suffisamment observé et analysé, fournir une donnée d'expérience. Aussi la seconde communication de la première journée portera-t-elle sur une analyse des faits acquis relatifs à la recherche d'un accord entre des groupes industriels.

### LES GROUPES DANS L'INDUSTRIE: LEUR ORIGINE, LEURS CARACTERISTIQUES ET LEURS ACTIVITES.

Les conflits que troublent la vie économique naissent généralement entre les groupes et non entre les individus, même lorsque des chefs individuels exercent une forte influence. De plus, le progrès y est généralement amené par un changement intervenu dans l'attitude consciente des groupes ou dans les termes de leurs relations. Une claire analyse des relations doit être établie sur une analyse des conditions, des besoins ou des intérêts communs qui, dans l'industrie, créent les groupes à partir desquels on voit se développer les différentes sortes d'organisations. La spécialisation divise les salariés en

<sup>1</sup> Page 9 et 11.



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divers groupes se différenciant par un degré plus ou moins élevé d'adresse professionnelle. La situation du consommateur, la mesure dans laquelle le service du groupe des acheteurs occupe un rôle prépondérant dans l'entreprise, de même que le caractère particulier de ce service, influencent le profit et le salaire, affectent même, plus fondamentalement, la qualité et le type idéal du travail et déterminent ainsi le "status" du travailleur et la possibilité qui lui est offerte de manifester une activité créatrice. En outre, le "management", l'administration d'une entreprise, tendant à devenir une tâche essentiellement professionnelle, qu'il serait faux d'identifier exclusivement avec le groupe des employeurs ou avec le seul contrôle capitaliste, les "managers" (directeurs ou administrateurs d'entreprises) finissent par former un nouveau groupe relié, d'une part, aux salariés et, d'autre part, aux employeurs et aux possédants, ce qui semble évidemment devoir susciter une nouvelle perspective dans le domaine des relations. Enfin, il y a encore les groupements nationaux, qui ont leur existence à l'intérieur de la vie économique et qui, eux aussi, ne sont pas sans exercer leur influence sur les relations humaines. Quels principes et quels points de vue relatifs aux relations entre toutes les catégories de la communauté industrielle nous sont-ils révélés par l'analyse de ces groupements ou par celles des autres groupes dont le réseau complexe s'étend sur toute l'industrie? Comment les groupes se comportent-ils en fait? Quelle influence exercent-ils, dans certains cas, sur la direction des entreprises afin d'obtenir une juste reconnaissance des êtres humains et de protéger l'homme et la société contre les maux causés par la mécanisation et par le contrôle capitaliste impersonnel? Pour citer encore Miss Follett: "Nous avons besoin", écrit-elle, "d'une technique des relations humaines fondée sur la préservation de l'intégrité de l'individu." Comment les groupements existant en fait dans l'industrie affectent-ils aujourd'hui cette intégrité de l'individu? La formation de groupes constituant l'une des conséquences nécessaires de la grande industrie, comment ces groupes peuvent-ils être reliés entre eux de manière à servir à la préservation de l'individu et à accroître pour lui la possibilité d'une vie satisfaisante?

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### LA CONTRIBUTION DES SCIENCES SOCIALES AUX RELATIONS INDUSTRIELLES.

Les discussions précédentes supposent la conception selon laquelle il convient d'utiliser les méthodes scientifiques pour aboutir à une plus grande compréhension des relations humaines dans l'industrie. On peut espérer que le développement des sciences sociales servira grandement cette fin. La sociologie et les disciplines économiques traversent actuellement une période transitoire, la transformation des conditions venant battre en brèche les anciennes théories. Les investigateurs modernes, dans ce domaine, se consacrent de plus en plus à l'analyse des situations et des tendances sociales ou économiques qui leur paraissent constituer l'indispensable précondition de toute théorie. Les données ainsi recueillies trouvent leur application directe dans les conditions intéressant les hommes ou les femmes dans l'industrie. C'est ainsi, par exemple, que des études économiques de ce genre, relativement au problème des fluctuations dans les affaires, permettent d'attendre une contribution directe à la stabilisation de l'emploi.

La psychologie pourra apporter une contribution considérable, comme l'ont montré les études faites sur la fatigue et l'emploi des tests pour la détermination des aptitudes (choix du métier, attribution des tâches). Pouvons-nous attendre de la psychologie une contribution fondamentale plus étendue, en ce qui concerne notre étude des relations? Comment pouvons-nous amener les savants à accomplir oeuvre collective? Cette dernière idée a été exprimée par le professeur Patrick Geddes, dans l'introduction de son ouvrage "The Coal Crisis and the Future", où il plaide en faveur de la collaboration des trois disciplines physique, biologique et sociale, à réaliser dans ce qu'il appelle une "mobilisation des esprits".

Les délibérations sur ce sujet devront examiner la contribution de la sociologie et de l'économie, celle de la psychologie, et les relations réciproques de ces sciences.

### EFFETS DE L'ORGANISATION SCIENTIFIQUE ET DE LA RATIONALISATION SUR LES RELATIONS INDUSTRIELLES.

Tous les pays du monde étudient les procédés et les méthodes de l'organisation scientifique et de la rationalisation. Ces

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deux aspects de la vie industrielle moderne répondent au besoin d'une meilleure organisation de l'activité économique. De quelle manière leur évolution semble-t-elle devoir affecter les relations industrielles?

### L'OPINION PUBLIQUE ET LES RELATIONS INDUSTRIELLES.

Dans quelle mesure existe-t-il une opinion publique sur ce sujet? A quel point le public est-il réellement conscient de sa responsabilité en tant que consommateur? Il semble qu'il vaille la peine d'examiner comment l'opinion publique peut être éduquée et de quelle façon une opinion renseignée et éclairée, dans le public, pourrait être amenée à exercer une influence sur les relations industrielles. Ce point paraît offrir, en conséquence, un sujet tout indiqué pour un exposé durant le Congrès. Le but de cet exposé sera de souligner la responsabilité du public et d'énumérer les nombreuses possibilités selon lesquelles ce dernier peut se montrer utile à l'amélioration des relations humaines dans l'industrie.

### LES RELATIONS DANS L'ENTREPRISE INDUSTRIEL.

Le titre de cette rubrique suffit à la définir. On propose de la traiter au double point de vue du travailleur et de la gestion et de prendre spécialement en considération la question des conseils ouvriers. Les discussions en petits groupes, proposées au programme, offriront également un champ considérable à l'examen des questions soulevées par ce sujet.

### DISCUSSIONS EN PETITS GROUPES (TABLES RONDES).

On a l'intention d'organiser des discussions en petits groupes sur les trois sujets respectifs suivants: 1. l'éducation; 2. l'organisation du personnel et de l'emploi; 3. recherches dans le domaine des relations industrielles. Chacun des groupes délibérants aura trois séances. Le but poursuivi sera de mettre en lumière les problèmes et les expériences représentés par les différents membres et d'élaborer en commun l'application de quelques-unes des idées générales développées au cours des exposés.

Quant au Résumé final, il aura pour but de formuler les résultats essentiels des délibérations du Congrès, l'examen et l'accroissement de ces résultats devant à leur tour servir de base au développement et au travail ultérieurs de l'Association.

## ERLÄUTERUNGEN ZUM KONGRESS-PROGRAMM

DIE FOLGENDEN ERLÄUTERUNGEN ZUM PROGRAMM DES KONGRESSES VON 1928 WURDEN ALLEN TEILNEHMERN, REFERENTEN UND VERHANDLUNGSLEITERN ZUGESANDT, UM GEGENSEITIGE VERSTÄNDIGUNG UND EINHEITLICHKEIT IN DER BEHANDLUNG DER KONGRESSTHEMEN ZU ERZIELEN.

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Als die Vereinigung für ihren ersten Kongress das Thema "Grundlegende Beziehungen zwischen allen an der Industrie beteiligten Gruppen" wählte, wurde sie von dem Wunsch geleitet, die Entstehungs- und Daseinsbedingungen jeder Gruppe zu untersuchen und zu bestimmen, den industriellen Kreisen eine vertiefte Kenntnis ihrer relativen Bedeutung zu vermitteln und das Bewusstsein ihrer inneren Verbundenheit zu wecken. Wir sind der Ueberzeugung, dass die Aussprache über dieses bedeutsame Thema zu grösserer Klarheit über die Vereinigung führen wird, dass sich neue Problemstellungen ergeben werden, die späteren Kongressen und Tagungen zur Diskussionsbasis dienen können. Der Kongress wird ferner durch die Wahl eines solchen Themas die Hauptfunktion der Vereinigung erweisen: ein Forum der freiwilligen Verständigung aller an der Industrie beteiligten Gruppen zu bilden. In der Vereinigung stehen sie nicht in dem Verhältnis zueinander, das in der Industrie massgebend ist, und das zumeist durch Interessenkonflikte bestimmt wird - sondern als Individuen, die sich auf gemeinsamem Boden treffen und gewillt sind, über das Wesen ihrer Beziehungen zusammen nachzudenken. Sie sind hier nicht nur Beobachter, die der Wirklichkeit des Wirtschaftslebens fernstehen, sie sind nicht Geschäftsleute, die durch ihre wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit so stark in Anspruch genommen sind, dass sie ihre Umwelt nicht mehr beurteilen können. Man könnte sie mit den Worten einer modernen amerikanischen Schriftstellerin, Miss Mary Follett "Beteiligte Beobachter" nennen, die auf Grund eigener Erfahrungen Gedanken entwickeln über die Herbeiführung befriedigender Beziehungen. Wirkungsmöglichkeiten, Ziel und Interessengebiete der Vereinigung ergaben sich bereits aus den Verhandlungen des Vlissinger Kongresses, und unser jetziges Programm ist hervorgewachsen aus einer Zusammenfassung der auf dem Kongress vorgebrachten Ideen und Probleme. Letztere sind in

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der Einleitung zu dem Bericht über den Vlissinger Kongress noch einmal dargelegt und formuliert worden. Die von den Kongressteilnehmern mitgeteilten Erfahrungen haben erwiesen, dass das Verständnis für den Einfluss der Industrie auf menschliche Verhältnisse allgemein erwacht ist.

Die Industrie hat sich im letzten Jahrzehnt rapide entwickelt. Sie hat uns gewissermassen überrumpelt. Der Einzelne kann diesen Prozess nicht mehr allein interpretieren; Erfahrungen müssen zusammengetragen und ihre Bedeutung gemeinsam von Menschen untersucht werden, die sozial eingestellt und entschlossen sind, in ihrem persönlichen Leben und in ihrer Arbeit jederzeit für die menschlichen Interessen einzutreten, wenn diese mit den Forderungen einer mechanisierten Industrie in Konflikt geraten.

Das Kongressprogramm besteht aus zwei Hauptteilen: Vorträge, in denen die Grund-Ideen dieses weitgefassten Themas dargelegt werden sollen, und Aussprachen "am runden Tisch", in denen die Mitglieder, die ganz verschiedene Aufgaben im Wirtschaftsprozess zu erfüllen haben, gemeinsam über die Anwendungsmöglichkeiten dieser allgemeinen Grundlagen und über ihre Bedeutung für die Praxis diskutieren können.

Ehe das eigentliche Thema behandelt wird, sollen am ersten Vormittag Berichte<sup>1</sup> aus den verschiedenen Ländern erstattet werden, die zeigen, wie die grundlegenden Beziehungen in der Industrie beeinflusst werden durch 1.) Zusammenarbeit innerhalb und zwischen den verschiedenen Gruppen in der Industrie, 2.) Berufserziehung und Ausbildung in allen Gruppen, 3.) Personal- und Einstellungswesen, 4.) wissenschaftliche Betriebsführung, 5.) Berufspsychologie, 6.) Berufsberatung. Aus diesen Darlegungen und den umfassenderen Berichten, auf die sie sich stützen, wird sich Material für die Aussprache nach den Vorträgen und für die Sitzungen "am runden Tisch" ergeben. In allen Teilen des Programms versuchen wir die grundlegenden Gedanken in Beziehung zu setzen zu den Zuständen und Problemen, die die moderne Industrie in den verschiedenen Ländern zeitigt; oder anders ausgedrückt, wir versuchen, aus den Erfahrungen der einzelnen Länder über den Einfluss der

<sup>1</sup> Veröffentlicht im 1. Teil des Kongressberichtes von Cambridge.

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modernen Industrie auf die Menschen zu bestimmten Richtlinien zu gelangen.

DER KOLLEKTIVE GEDANKE (THE COLLECTIVE IDEA): EINE BETRACHTUNG ZUR PHILOSOPHIE UND TECHNIK GEMEINSCHAFTLICHEN DENKENS.

Wenn wir dieses Thema an die erste Stelle setzen, bereiten wir uns für den Kongress, die folgende gemeinsame Arbeit und die Aussprache in der Vereinigung vor; gleichzeitig werfen wir die Frage auf, wie alle Zweige und Gruppen der Industrie sich zu gemeinsamem Handeln und Denken zusammenfinden können. Das Thema zerfällt in zwei Teile: 1.) Betrachtung über die Grundlagen und Technik gemeinsamen Denkens, 2.) Praktische Erfahrungen bei Versuchen zu einer Verständigung zwischen den verschiedenen Gruppen.

Wenn wir die Grundlagen und Technik gemeinsamen Denkens zu entwickeln suchen, wollen wir die Frage klären, "wie" Gruppenzusammenarbeit zu erzielen ist, sowie dies z.B. Graham Wallas versucht, wenn er in seinem Werk "Unsere soziale Erbschaft" (Our social Heritage) sagt: "Das Ideal wahrer geistiger Zusammenarbeit, bei der die Menschen ihre wechselseitigen Beobachtungen vereinen und vergleichen, die Vorschläge der anderen logisch durchdenken und jedem Mitglied einer geistigen Arbeitsgemeinschaft den Teil einer vielseitigen Aufgabe zuweisen, für dessen Bearbeitung er durch Begabung und Vorbildung am besten geeignet ist - dieses Ideal wird auch jetzt noch selten verwirklicht." Wenn die Gruppe die nationalen Grenzen überschreitet, Vertreter vieler Völker und Rassen umfasst, wie dies heute besonders in den Vereinigten Staaten in vielen Zweigen der Industrie der Fall ist, so gestaltet sich das Zusammenarbeiten viel komplizierter. Trotzdem sind Weltarbeitsgemeinschaften für das Wirtschaftsleben jetzt eine Notwendigkeit, da die Verflechtungen im Wirtschaftsleben die Welt umspannen.

Die Betrachtungen der grundlegenden Beziehungen in der Industrie verlangen ein Studium der Methoden, nach denen wir gemeinsam denken können. "Was uns heute am meisten fehlt", sagt Mary Follett in "Schöpferische Erfahrung" (Creative



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Experience<sup>1</sup>, "ist eine genaue objektive analytische Untersuchung der menschlichen Beziehung.... Aber wir wollen mehr als diese Erfahrung analysieren, wir wollen sie uns nutzbar machen.... Wir brauchen vorurteilslose, beteiligte Beobachter, die unermüdlich Versuche anstellen, Ergebnisse aufzeichnen und sich bemühen, das Zusammenwirken menschlicher Kräfte in Industrie und Handel, in gesetzgebenden Körperschaften und Verwaltungsausschüssen, in Gewerkschaften und Betriebsausschüssen fruchtbar zu gestalten." Es ist nicht nötig, dass ein Experiment bewusst als solches gemacht wird; jede Erfahrung, die sich auf ein bestimmtes Problem bezieht, ist - wenn sie sorgfältig niedergelegt und analysiert wird - für die Untersuchung verwertbar. Daher wird der zweite Vortrag des ersten Tages eine Analyse der Erfahrungen sein, die bei Versuchen zur Herbeiführung von Vereinbarungen zwischen den einzelnen industriellen Gruppen gewonnen wurden.

### DIE INDUSTRIELLEN GRUPPEN: IHR WERDEGANG, IHRE KENNZEICHEN, IHRE TAETIGKEITEN.

Die Konflikte, die das wirtschaftliche Leben stören, entstehen meist zwischen Gruppen und nicht zwischen Individuen, selbst wenn die einzelnen Führer einen starken Einfluss ausüben. Der Fortschritt beruht zumeist auf einem Wechsel in der bewussten Haltung der Gruppen oder in der Art ihrer Beziehung. Eine scharfe Analyse der "Beziehung" muss aufgebaut werden auf einer Analyse der Bedingungen, Bedürfnisse, oder gemeinsamen Interessen, die zur Gruppenbildung in der Industrie und weiterhin zur Bildung von Organisationen Anlass geben. Die weitgehende Arbeitsteilung führt innerhalb der Arbeitnehmerschaft zur Bildung von Berufsgruppen mit verschiedenen Graden des Fachkönnens. Die Stellung des Konsumenten, die Frage, wie weit die Befriedigung der Wünsche der Konsumenten richtunggebend für die Ziele des Handels wird und für die Ausgestaltung des Dienstes für den Konsumenten, beeinflusst Gewinn- und Verdienstmöglichkeiten, und beeinflusst in noch höherem Masse Qualität und Standard der Arbeit, bestimmt das Berufsniveau des Arbeitnehmers und die ihm ge-

<sup>1</sup> Seite 9 und 11.

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botene Möglichkeit zur schöpferischen Arbeit. Da sich ausserdem die Tendenz zeigt, die Betriebsleitung (management) zu einer besonderen beruflichen Funktion zu gestalten, die weder ausschliesslich mit der Tätigkeit der Arbeitgebergruppe, noch mit der Funktion der Kapitalisten zu identifizieren ist, so bilden die Betriebsleiter eine neue Gruppe, die einerseits Beziehungen zu den Arbeitnehmern, andererseits zu den Arbeitgebern und den Kapitalisten hat; offensichtlich entsteht hier eine ganz neue Form von Beziehung. Schliesslich üben die nationalen Gruppierungen im Wirtschaftsleben einen Einfluss auf die menschlichen Beziehungen aus. Lassen sich tieferliegende Zusammenhänge und Leitideen aufdecken durch eine Analyse der Beziehungen zwischen den am Wirtschaftsleben beteiligten Gruppen und anderer Gruppenbildungen, die im vielverschlungenen Gewebe der Industrie bestehen? Wie wirken die Gruppen wirklich aufeinander? Welchen Einfluss üben sie im einzelnen aus auf die leitenden Stellen, in der Richtung der Würdigung des Menschen und des Schutzes der Menschen und der Gesellschaft vor den Schäden der Mechanisierung und der unpersönlichen kapitalistischen Machtentfaltung?

Miss Follett sei noch einmal zitiert: "Wir brauchen eine Technik menschlicher Beziehungen, die sich auf die Erhaltung der Integrität des Individuums gründet". Wie können wir die Gruppierung in der Industrie feststellen, die diese Integrität des Individuums gefährden? Zugegeben, dass die industrielle Gruppenbildung eine unvermeidliche Begleiterscheinung der Massenproduktion ist, wie können diese Gruppen so zueinander in Beziehung gebracht werden, dass sie ein Mittel werden, um das Individuum zu schützen und ihm erweiterte Möglichkeiten für eine befriedigende Lebensführung zu bieten?

### DER BEITRAG DER SOZIALWISSENSCHAFT ZU DEN INDUSTRIELLEN BEZIEHUNGEN.

Die vorhergehenden Ausführungen gehen von der Voraussetzung aus, dass wissenschaftliche Methoden angewandt werden müssen, um das Verständnis für menschliche Beziehungen in der Industrie zu erhöhen. Die Entwicklung der Sozialwissenschaften kann viel zur Erreichung dieses Zieles beitragen. Soziologie und Nationalökonomie machen augen-

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blicklich eine Wandlung durch, weil die alten Theorien in Widerspruch zu den veränderten Bedingungen des Wirtschaftslebens geraten. Die jüngeren Schulen konzentrieren ihre Untersuchungen auf die Analyse sozialer und wirtschaftlicher Zustände und Entwicklungstendenzen; sie erblicken in diesen Vorstudien eine Vorbedingung für die Aufstellung von Theorien. Die Ergebnisse solcher Untersuchungen nehmen unmittelbar Bezug auf die Bedingungen, unter denen Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen in der Industrie beschäftigt werden; von volkswirtschaftlichen Studien, wie zum Beispiel der Untersuchung über das Problem der Konjunkturschwankungen kann ein unmittelbarer Einfluss auf die Stabilisierung der Beschäftigung erwartet werden.

Die Psychologie spielt gleichfalls eine hervorragende Rolle; dies gilt sowohl für die Untersuchungen über die Ermüdung, wie z.B. für die Anwendung psychologischer Prüfungsmethoden bei der Berufsberatung und Arbeiterauslese. Können wir von der Psychologie eine weitere Förderung unserer Studien über die Beziehungen in der Industrie erwarten? Wie können wir ein Zusammenwirken der Vertreter verschiedener Wissenschaften erreichen? Professor Patrick Geddes erörtert diesen Gedanken in der Einleitung zu seiner Arbeit "Die Kohlenkrise und die Zukunft" (The Coal Crisis and the Future); er befürwortet darin die Zusammenarbeit der physikalischen, biologischen und sozialen Wissenschaften "zur Mobilmachung der Geister".

Das für dieses Thema vorgeschlagene "Symposium" soll das Zusammenwirken der Volkswirtschaftslehre, Soziologie und Psychologie behandeln, sowie die "Zielverbundenheit der Wissenschaften".

### AUSWIRKUNG DER WISSENSCHAFTLICHEN BETRIEBSFÜHRUNG UND DER RATIONALISIERUNG AUF DIE INDUSTRIELLEN BEZIEHUNGEN.

Alle Länder der Welt beschäftigen sich jetzt mit Fragen der wissenschaftlichen Betriebsführung und Rationalisierung. Der Grund hierfür liegt in der Notwendigkeit einer besseren Organisation und Gestaltung der Arbeit. Wie wird diese Entwicklung die industriellen Beziehungen voraussichtlich beeinflussen?

## ERLÄUTERUNGEN ZUM KONGRESS-PROGRAMM DIE ÖFFENTLICHE MEINUNG UND DIE INDUSTRIELLEN BEZIEHUNGEN.

Wie weit gibt es wirklich eine öffentliche Meinung über diese Frage? Wie weit ist sich das Publikum seiner Verantwortung als Konsument bewusst? Es wäre der Mühe wert, festzustellen, wie weit die öffentliche Meinung bildungsfähig ist, und wie weit ein aufgeklärtes und gut informiertes Publikum einen Einfluss auf die industriellen Beziehungen ausüben kann. Dies wäre daher ein geeignetes Thema für einen öffentlichen Vortrag während des Kongresses. Sein Zweck ist, das Verantwortungsgefühl des Publikums zu stärken, und die Wege zu weisen, auf denen es menschliche Beziehungen in der Industrie bessern kann.

### BEZIEHUNGEN INNERHALB DES INDUSTRIELLEN UNTERNEHMENS.

Der Sinn dieses Themas ist ohne weiteres klar. Das Thema soll sowohl vom Standpunkt der Arbeitnehmers, wie von dem der Betriebsleitung behandelt werden, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Betriebsräte. Die in Aussicht genommenen Sitzungen "am runden Tisch" werden auch Möglichkeiten zu näherem Eingehen auf die sich hieraus ergebenden Fragen bieten.

### AUSSPRACHEN "AM RUNDEN TISCH".

Es besteht die Absicht, drei Aussprachen "am runden Tisch" zu veranstalten über: 1.) Erziehung, 2.) Personal- und Einstellungspolitik, 3.) Untersuchungen über industrielle Beziehungen. Jede dieser Sektionen wird drei Sitzungen abhalten. Ihr Zweck ist, Probleme und Erfahrungen, die von den Teilnehmern vorgebracht werden, zu klären und gemeinsam über die Anwendbarkeit der grundlegenden Gedanken, die in den Vorträgen entwickelt worden sind, zu beraten.

### ZUSAMMENFASSENDER SCHLUSSBERICHT.

Dieser soll eine Uebersicht der wichtigsten Ergebnisse der Kongressverhandlungen erbringen; die Fortführung und Vertiefung dieser Fragen wird den Inhalt der künftigen Arbeit der I. R. I. bilden.

# LECTURES

## GROUPS IN INDUSTRY

### THEIR ORIGIN, CHARACTERISTICS AND ACTIVITIES

BY C. DELISLE BURNS, M. A., D. Lit.,

Author of "Industry and Civilization"

I hope that what I say will be regarded simply as an opportunity for discussion. I feel the very greatest hesitation in speaking to you about industry, because you know much more about it than I do. I am simply an outside observer. I have my suspicions. I think I know the worst, and I hope for the best, but I cannot tell. You must tell me whether my suspicions are confirmed by facts.

The subject-matter that I have in mind is psychological. There are certain factors in industrial life which seem to me to be somewhat neglected both by students and by those who have to produce goods and distribute them. These psychological factors show themselves in associations such as Trade Unions, in institutions such as the peculiar habit of paying wages once a week and in mental sets or attitudes adopted by whole groups of men. One of the most peculiar of these sets or attitudes is that adopted by the business man, a most peculiar person who calls his opinions "common sense", but who is really encased in a certain tradition of economic language, and so completely that in some cases he cannot see the facts. The whole of industry seems to me to be affected by the distinction between groups of men who do not recognize that their attitudes are not essential to man as man, but are the results of certain peculiar experiences that they and their groups have gone through. Because these almost accidental sets or impulses or tendencies in certain groups of men are not recognised, we have friction, we have what is sometimes called unrest, we have problems of discontent, with which men try to deal by giving higher wages, although the real cause of the discontent is much deeper down than the mere lack of income. The failure in solving such problems arises from the lack of the recognition that there are these psychological sets or attitudes; and yet the problems themselves cannot be understood without reference to what has been called *hormé* or the impulsive tendency to work. Psychological sets are the results

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of certain quite obvious circumstances in which the modern world produces its potatoes and bread, distributes its goods, and consumes them. Groups of likeminded persons, such as Trade Unions, and the wider groups that include all those occupied in a trade even if they do not belong to a Trade Union, are formed partly by the influence of the same environment or circumstances on individuals, and partly by the inter-action between the individuals within the same circumstances.

I am assuming that a group is a mental fact, and that a group can be formed by the pressure of the same circumstances upon the mind of individuals. Circumstances are affecting us now. We are not only men, pure and simple. There is not any such thing as a human being, pure and simple. At this moment, we are people in the middle of a library, with brown wood around us and imitation Gothic decorations; and that is affecting us all. But besides that, each of us is affecting the other. There is an inter-action between the persons who are within the same circumstances, especially in industry, where very often the work of one man is dependent upon the work of the other man. Very often the work of a girl at one bench is affected, apart from the fact that she knows her work is to be continued, by the mere presence of another girl at her elbow, talking to her about dress, theatres, dancing or anything else. There is therefore an inter-action forming the group as well as the pressure of similar circumstances.

I propose to omit ancient history. There are in contemporary life survivals of an ancient situation, but I propose to emphasize only those factors in group life in industry which are significant for our time.

The first of these is large-scale machinery. Of course, this is not true of agriculture and of some sections of industry. It is true of engineering, ship-building, cotton-spinning, biscuit-making, and of all kinds of industry in which the scale of the tool used by the worker in industry is much bigger than the size of a man. There is a very great difference between the tool of a writer and the tool of a shipwright, or even of a cotten operative, which is a vast apparatus of

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machinery in the midst of which there is a little person tending it.

That is new, and that has created in human beings a new attitude. The new attitude is appreciated much more keenly by the artists, the literary men, the poets, than by the scientific psychologists. You will find it, for example, in Kipling's "McAndrew's Hymn", and in Butler's "Erewhon", where he speaks of the enslavement of man to machinery. There really is in the modern world a certain set or attitude, in which great numbers of workers are affected by the presence of an immense tool to which they become, as it were, attendants.

I myself have listened during the Railway Strike of 1919 at meetings of the locomotive drivers standing off from their work; and the way they talked of their engines was psychologically most interesting. They were almost pathetic, thinking of their engines. Those poor engines were going cold and would not be fed for so many days. The tool had become alive. Similarly, from my talk with ordinary workers, I get the impression that they feel dwarfed, not by capitalism but by large-scale machinery.

Secondly, one of the great psychological factors in the workers' minds is due to the rhythms of contemporary industry. Again, I am not referring to agricultural or domestic work. I am not referring to small-scale but to large-scale industry. The rhythms of contemporary industry are exceedingly regular, exceedingly repetitive. That is to say, there is a continual repetition of the same process, day after day, week after week, year after year; and the rhythm is therefore regular. But human beings are not regular in their rhythms. Everybody knows that on one day he is up, on another day he is down; in one five minutes he may be in heaven, the next in hell. That is to say, a real human being has these varieties of experience. The man who has no variety of rhythms is no human being; he is a machine. Again, the rhythms of a woman's life are different from those of a man's life; and the rhythms of an adolescent's life are different from those of an adult's life. But there is no recognition of this in the regulation of contemporary industry. The productive system depends for its efficiency upon a hard, monotonous rhythm,



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which is felt as monotonous when it becomes conscious. But for great numbers of people in industry, the regularity is not consciously perceived. I have spoken to Post Office sorters whose work is not merely mechanical, because they have to read the addresses on the letters; but they can sort these letters without a single mistake and yet continue a political argument with the person across the table. Similarly girls in match factories can do repetitive work, and so long as they are not conscious of it, so long as it is mechanised, psychologically the mind is free and they can converse even in the noise of a great factory about the most subtle things. Similarly conversation may occur even where the noise is immense and absurd, a monstrous thing. The curse of modern life is that we have exchanged the smells of the Middle Ages for the noises of the twentieth century; but we moderns do not feel noise as we should, because we are already half dead, most of us. But in any case, in the midst of this noise, where you have steel being cut and riveting going on, a quiet conversation can be carried on under their breath between two men about painting, about drawing, about architecture. My point is that the mechanism does not affect people until it rises to the conscious level and they therefore feel resistance to it. With that is connected what psychologists call day-dreaming. Where there is no possibility of conversation in a mechanical occupation, the mind tends to day-dream; and in such occupations you find extreme communism, extreme idealism of a religious kind and so on, because the mind is day-dreaming. You know perfectly well what day-dreaming is. It is a sort of running free of the gear; or in the mind one gear is working, the other is running free. In some industries you will find communism, and in others satisfaction with the state of things, largely because conversation is possible in the latter industries.

A third influence in the formation of mental attitudes in groups of men is the wages system, which is a peculiar institution of comparatively recent date, a substitution for slavery, in some ways more effective and in some ways more dangerous. It is a system that has not been studied psychologically, because economists are the only people who have really looked at it,

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and economists do not understand human beings. They talk about natural laws, which are quite excellent things, like gravitation, but are not psychologically of very great importance.

The wages system is peculiar because it gives people short views and uncertainty of the future. Those are the two significant effects of this system upon all groups of manual workers. Watch charwomen waiting in a line to be paid on the Saturday morning. Watch men waiting at the pay-desk in an engineering works or anything of that kind.

First of all, the wages sheet is an abomination. It is mechanised so that every man is simply an item, No. 1, No. 2 and so on. Of course, if certain men have to go from a works, it is the wages sheet that decides. Five are crossed out at the top of the sheet or at the bottom. There is no distinction between such men; they are only items on a sheet.

Secondly, if you get your income in very small quantities at short intervals, it is natural that you should never be able to take long views. The scale of your thinking is shortened. But it affects politics and domestic life, if men think in terms of weeks and cannot think in terms of years, still less in terms of ten years.

Who among the workers envisages what the economic situation will be in ten years' time? It is the immediate week that matters, because of the small quantities paid at short intervals. I am not suggesting any alternative. I am simply saying that the wages system is a psychological fact of very great interest.

Then uncertainty. In many sections of industry, if not in railways, the wages system also implies uncertainty at the end of the week. This week may be the end of your job; or in another fortnight you may fall into the slough of unemployment as your fellows have fallen this week.

The wages system therefore means a short view, and uncertainty of tenure, and therefore a certain social malaise. I do not mean revolution, - but just malaise, discomfort spreading very far, and put down to all kinds of different causes but really due to an institution which is called the wages system.

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Such are the general facts in contemporary environments producing the manual workers' outlook or state of mind. There is a group of manual workers; but the groups within this general class of manual workers differ very much. There are particular circumstances and particular interconnections between smaller groups such as coal miners, railway men, cotton spinners and so on.

Each of these have their own peculiarities of environment, making their peculiarities of outlook. The skill of management consists in not treating a coal miner as you would treat a railway man. The difficulty in getting industrial problems solved by politicians is precisely that politicians do not recognize that it is useless to treat a railway man as you would treat a coal miner, or a coal miner as you would a cotton spinner.

Let us take examples of different groups. Coal miners in most places live isolated from the rest of the community. They live around the pits. They do not meet people who are not connected with their own industry. For them the outer world simply does not exist. It is outside the horizon of their vision. The consequence is that coal miners are very difficult, when they have a grievance, to bring to a discussion even of that grievance. They think you ought to understand it, and they cannot explain it. Their terminology is a terminology which explains things to coal miners but makes the situation unintelligible to anyone outside the coal industry.

On the other hand railway men are very amenable to discussion and can express themselves very well, because the railway industry is continually in contact with the persons it serves. They are up against the public, the other part of the community. The coal miner never sees the man who burns his coal. The railway man sees the man who travels in his train. These industries differ in the closeness of the grouping. Some groups are much more open to permeation from the outside; other groups are much more closed, tight and unchanging. But even they can be affected. Wireless, for example, and elementary education are breaking down the isolation of the coal districts. You can see it. I do not know foreign coal districts, but in England the cap of the coal miner

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and the whippet dog are going. The old-fashioned idea that woman is simply a slave for getting any meals at any hour of the night or morning is going. The younger coal miners tell me that the girls they want to marry make it a condition that if they marry they shall have two evenings a week entirely to themselves, and secondly that there shall be no meals during the night required to be cooked. Such conditions are due partly to the cinema, partly to elementary education. Defences are being made by women against the enslavement which was taken for granted in the coal districts. The resistance against a lower standard of life in the coal districts is coming from the women. This is an indication of the sort of sets which come about through external environment.

With regard to interaction between the persons in a particular trade, it is a new thing in history that workers in a particular trade should be close by in the same building, for great numbers of hours together, and all of them similarly occupied. I am referring to what is usually called the factory system. The factory system has had a very great effect on the mental attitude of men in general. Its effects have spread over into the attitude of men outside the actual work of a factory. For example, our modern conception of natural law is due probably to the machine age. It is the regularity of the machine that has given us the idea that the natural world is a large machine. It is not. To suppose it so is a quite absurd philosophy; but the whole nineteenth century believed we were in the centre of a factory among vast machines which we could only stand and admire, or tend and watch.

This affected not simply the workers' mind but the mind of a time. But the whole nineteenth-century philosophy will disappear as soon as we begin to understand where the evidence comes from, from which we now get our philosophy of nature and the world. It comes from machines, from our own creations. Similarly in the factory world, where men are working elbow to elbow, where you have fifty or ten thousand men coming out at the same hour from the same buildings, working at the same sort of job, there you have a new form of social attitude. It is a coagulation of personalities and a greater

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homogeneity among persons so far as their external habits are concerned. They all do the same things. They have meals at the same time. They eat the same sort of things. They dress in the same way, largely because of this working in great groups.

This is quite different from the Middle Ages and other times. For industry in modern times is bringing men together in homogeneous occupations which interlock, so that what I do is dependent upon what you do, - in engineering, for example. Such an experience gives people the opportunity of a very highly developed social attitude; but that opportunity so far has not been taken. However, in my opinion, the factory system is far in advance of the old medieval craftsmanship. That is heresy, no doubt, from the point of view of many writers; for they esteem more highly the Morris craftsman who makes the whole of a boot than a man in a big ship-building yard who has built part of the "Mauretania". How the Morris craftsmen propose to build the "Mauretania" in a back yard, I do not understand. The "Mauretania" is a product of modern industry, and the scale of the product of modern industry being immense, it gives men the sense of a power which is co-operative as opposed to a power which is individual. They have not grasped it yet, I admit; but it is beginning, especially among the more conscious workers. Co-operative power is immense; individual power nothing. Man is dwarfed, but men are exalted by the contemporary experience of large-scale products in which many men are working at the same job, or, secondly and still more important, men are working into each other's hands. One man does the riveting, another the carpentering, and so on; and the result is the "Mauretania" or any large piece of carpet or any large amount of cotton goods or anything of that kind. Association has become habitual, although the new type of association is not yet consciously understood as contrasted with old-fashioned co-operation which was the co-operation of separate craftsmen.

Out of all these different sets and interactions and circumstances has come, as a natural and inevitable psychological

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product, the Trade Union. The Trade Union is the result of psychological processes, mainly the desire for fellowship and the valuing of fellowship, - not the desire for more wages, nor for less hours, nor for the control of industry, - for nothing else but fellowship. That is the original basis of the Trade Union.

The fellowship of the early nineteenth century, the primitive Trade Unionism, is changing. In the district that I know best at the moment, the Glasgow area, the situation has changed within the last three years. Three years ago, five years ago certainly, the attitude of the groups which we call Trade Union groups was different from what it is to-day. These Trade Unions during the late nineteenth century and just before the war were beginning to think in terms of control. They felt that they were "out of it"; that there was no place for them, and that they wanted to do their part in the arrangement of lathes, in establishing the position of the riveter and in fixing the amount of time the cotton spinner should spend on his particular job.

That is changing. It is beginning now to be felt by the worker that "If the manager will leave me alone, I will leave him alone. Managing is one job; running your lathe is another job. You must not come and tell me how to run the lathe; and I will not come and tell you how to run your office".

On the other hand, the conscious persons in these groups are beginning to feel that the manager as well as the worker at the lathe or in the mill is being moved by forces which he cannot control, and that he, too, the manager in industry, is a cog in the vast machine. He suspects that what runs the machine is not the management in industry, still less the management in the shop, but economic policy.

I am speaking, of course, only of a very small, self-conscious group in Trade Unionism. Everybody knows that an ordinary Trade Union meeting, or local branch meeting, is not well attended. There are perhaps six or seven hundred members of the branch. Two will attend; both of them may be Communists; and that will be "the conscious mind". That is inevitable; but that is largely because the majority of people know that their votes make no difference.

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I hesitate to touch on this. It is too big an issue. But the myth of voting is now disappearing even in political philosophy. The idea that one man has one vote, when obviously one man can swing the votes of hundreds of people by a chance phrase, is a fiction. The democratic fictions of the nineteenth century have to be examined psychologically. The workers are dimly conscious that what matters is not the arrangement of the work in the shop, but the continuance of the working of the industry to which they belong, which depends on forces outside. Therefore what the conscious Trade Union worker now wants is control of economic policy and a say in that control, not dabbling in shop management.

What is really exciting the workers is general economic policy, and not particular management problems; because in currency, in export trade, in general problems of emigration and so on, the conscious part of the working population is beginning to see the fate which decides whether they shall have a job next or not. The old attitude is changing, but it is not quite changed enough for me to say that I can reach a conclusion. In the Glasgow area, in place of workers' control, what you hear of to-day is economic policy; and what men want is security of tenure and regular wages - not high wages but regular wages. It is the experience of the postwar period that has affected the area. The situation has changed. It may make a new attitude which is too acquiescent in an established order; on the other hand, it may make an attitude which is more statesmanlike in the sense that it is a long-view attitude as contrasted with attention to immediate problems.

I must not leave the impression that group minds in industry are workers' minds only, still less manual workers'; nor are the different groups operative in industry all formed by the regularity of rhythm, large-scale machinery and other influences discussed above. There is a very interesting group affecting industry at present, called shareholders or owners of capital, people who have a little money in a particular trade or industry or a lot of money, and whose attitude toward that trade or industry is purely financial. These

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are the people to whom Mr. Tawney is referring when he argues that profit-making dominates modern industry. As far as I can understand the shareholders' mind - or in so far as he has a mind - he is not quite awake. He is barely aware of the situation from which his income is derived, but he has a great effect upon industry. These people are not highly organized. Shareholders' meetings are not attended. They are most amusing. There is a sort of professional shareholder, who goes around and makes speeches; but the majority of the people who hold the capital never hear from one end of the year to the other how their income is earned. Nor do they care. And besides, they are completely out of touch with the mechanisms, the tools, the use of which make their income. They are dominated by the desire for what they call security and a regular income. They do not want disturbance. They call themselves sometimes "the public". They are not the public. They are simply people who have acquired the habit of expecting to-morrow what they had to-day. These are the people who do not want anything changed, because any change might be a change for the worse. I do not mean that they are definitely obstructive. They are inert; but they are the people whose influence in industry has an ambiguous effect. It may be used to resist changes in industry because any change might make a difference to the dividend.

I use just one instance. You remember Brunner Mond's Directors decided some time ago to devote a few thousand pounds out of the annual income of the firm to research. The shareholders brought a case in the law courts against the Directors, saying that the Directors had no right to devote to research a few thousand pounds which might have been distributed in dividends. The case went against the shareholders; but there you have the managing mind opposed to the shareholding mind quite clearly. The shareholding mind is distinct from the managing mind. You must not talk about employers and employed; there are at least three or four parties in industrial organization at present. There is the shareholder. There is the financier-banker type outside, and there is again the manager. The manager is in with the worker. He has to sell the actual products that are made.



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That is another group in contemporary industry with a mind of its own, very often expressed in chambers of commerce, and unconsciously and rather ingenuously expressed in the simplicities of the speeches of Chairmen of Companies. These speeches are delightful reading, because they are so simple and kind. The chairmen do not recognize that they are giving themselves away; but if you read the speeches of Chairmen of Companies you will recognize that the world is what it ought to be, and above all that the chairmen know how to run this particular industry or shop, and that they have done it so well that you cannot deny it. That is what they say. The business mind attitude is generally the attitude of self-confidence - "Leave me alone, and everything will be right". It is the attitude which resists Government interference, because that may involve somebody else coming in to do my job.

The self-confidence of business men is due perhaps to their meeting together at lunch. The worker's mind is formed in the factory. The business man's mind is formed at lunch; and perhaps the business man's mind tends to fatty degeneration because of lunch.

But among business men there is a group mind that is worth studying. I am afraid I have not enough evidence to say what the character of that group mind is. There are other experiences like lunch, like social habits, which have spread outside the business world and affect the whole of us in this unfortunate age. For instance, I have to go about dressed as an unsuccessful business man. I should much prefer to come in scarlet to address you; but you would think I was mad. But whatever its character and whatever the influences that form it, there is a business man's mind, which is to be found in particular groups.

Modern industry, analyzed in such psychological terms as these, consists of groups of persons fixed in little rings, in contact at the edges, and not in very skilful contact because there is very little movement between these different groups. They do not understand one another. Their languages differ. The language of an engineer is quite different from the language of a coal miner. The terminology, the actual words

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are different. The carpenter knows the names for the parts of that door. I do not know them. Similarly the business man has his language; the shareholder has his language; the worker has his language in the different trades. These languages are dialects, and there is no common language in industry. Or perhaps the common language is provided by economists who have read Ricardo and not literature. They do not know anything of painting or music; they are uneducated in every other aspect of life, but they know surplus value, supply and demand, and that sort of thing. The difficulty in contemporary industry, the difficulty against which your society is struggling, is the dehumanizing of the actual contacts between men who belong to different groups. To humanize such contacts, I take it, is your chief function, not making workers happy. And humanizing industry is to make each man do the job he is best fitted to perform in close co-operation with those whose co-operation is necessary for his job to be perfected.

If we study sets and attitudes and habits of mind, we see at once that they are natural. It is useless to say - "A man's a man for a' that". He is not. A man is a carpenter or a shareholder. There is no such thing as a man in general, nor even a consumer in general. Otherwise how can you explain modern architecture or British food? If there was anybody who had any conception of the arts of consuming, the products we now consume would be non-existent. In fact, a great deal of the difference in wages in Great Britain, Germany and France is due to the fact that the British cannot cook; they need more wages because they throw away half of what they have to eat. The art of consumption is not yet begun. We are savages in actual life; otherwise we would not dress, eat or sleep as we do. Modern life is fantastic, barbaric.

All I have put before you is not conclusion, but a suggestion for study. I think if we went more deeply into the study of the worker as a psychological problem, thinking not of the rate of his wages, nor of the number of hours he works, but of his attitude towards dogs, towards the house he lives in and so on, then we should begin to understand industry.

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Similarly with regard to business men, we must have a study of managers because they dominate the situation so far as policy is concerned, and they affect politicians who are simple-minded people, willing to swallow anything. Politicians like to call themselves statesmen. I have no objection to that; but there seems to be no statesmanship in industrial affairs. There is no policy; but by way of substitute for a policy we have clichés, largely derived from Ricardo and Adam Smith. What we need is a psychological study of the attitude actually operative in industrial policy. When we know more, we shall see how this particular shop can be made to work, by a clearer understanding of the attitude of the persons in the shop and the persons managing. Also in a much bigger field we shall see that the industrial world is not made up simply of men as men, but of men in occupations, with the attitudes caused by those occupations and the vague desires that originate deep down in men to live their lives as men, in spite of the conditions which we have inherited.

## THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES TO INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

- I. SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS: Dr. FRIEDA WUNDERLICH
- II. PSYCHOLOGY: Dr. C. S. MYERS, C.B.E., F.R.S.
- III. THE INTERRELATED SCIENCES: VICTOR BRANFORD, M.A.  
AND PROFESSOR P. GEDDES

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY MARY VAN KLEECK, *Chairman*

While leaders in industry on the side of both employers and wage-earners face daily in the workshops, albeit often unconsciously, the task of adjusting their relations to one another, scientists are busy studying society and industry, the mind of man and how human beings behave. What knowledge have these scientists to contribute to the tasks of the practical man? Are they selecting problems arising out of actual human situations in industry? Are the results of their research made known among men and women who are responsible for policy and practice in industrial relations? Are industrial establishments, trade unions and employers' organizations using the services of sociologists and economists to give a factual basis for their decisions? Is research on industrial subjects modifying the established theories of the social sciences?

The I.R.I. has put these questions before three social scientists who will give us their answers for sociology and economics combined, for psychology, and for a sum total which we have designated as the interrelated sciences.

Two years before the world war began, a little book was published in England with the title, "The Great Analysis". Its authorship was anonymous. The introduction was written by Gilbert Murray. The author posed a problem: It has been held that the moon began to move in the heavens when its substance had floated off from the surface of the earth, leaving the space now occupied by the Pacific Ocean. Suppose Yorkshire or Massachusetts in the United States were similarly to float into space, carrying their resources in soil and minerals, their occupational skills and all their libraries - that is to say, all the heritage of scientific knowledge, art and philosophy which bears upon human life and its activities. How would the inhabitants undertake to organize their lives?

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They would have absolutely definite knowledge, on the one hand, of their physical and material resources and, on the other hand, of their needs. It would no longer be possible to make up for their own deficiencies by importation of materials or goods from distant lands, nor would there be any temptation to go to war with any other nation for the sake of a new market beyond their own boundaries. The degree to which their own resources were utilized without waste would be the subject of common knowledge. If perchance some inhabitant wished to use for a deer park, land which might otherwise produce food for a large number of families, he would be subject to the pressure of public opinion.

In the relation between resources and needs, a number of questions involving judgment and a philosophy of relative values in life would arise. Should the population be restricted, and within what limits, to make possible the adequate sheltering, feeding and clothing of all? Must there be a surplus of leisure and resources for art and the life of the spirit which must enter into the planning of the size of the population in relation to its material resources? The characteristic of this new earth, floating independently in the firmament, would be that its people would possess knowledge of their own land and would be in a position to plan for the common welfare. To this characteristic the whole world is today approaching. In the centuries which have passed there were always unknown portions of the earth's surface from which dangers might come and out of which treasures might be discovered by pioneers who, finding them first, would henceforth possess them. By and large, we now know practically the whole of the earth's surface. The Great Analysis, which is really the statistical study of the social scientist, is within our reach if we can plan co-operatively to make the study and to act upon its results. It would appear that the unknown author of *The Great Analysis* had in 1912 a vision of the possibilities in the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization.

How far has the Great Analysis already progressed in the hands of the scientists, the economists and the sociologists? In answer to this question there came to me from Dr. Wunderlich this reply: "Hoffentlich enttäusche ich Ihre Erwar-

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tungen nicht. In Deutschland gibt es nur geringe Beziehungen zwischen Wissenschaft und Praxis, und unsere Wissenschaft bleibt viel abstrakter als die der anderen Länder. Ich gehe deshalb mit einiger Sorge an den Bericht heran."

I anticipate no such disappointment in what Dr. Wunderlich will say to us. Need there be this antithesis between applied science and pure science? In the study of human relations do we not seek the integration of both of them in the realities of experience? Research becomes the more scientific if its problems be drawn from real life. Life becomes richer if, after the abstracting process of science, knowledge be turned back into the vital current of daily living. The social scientist and the practical man alike are concerned with reality, and they can neither act nor study truly apart from it.

# I. DER BEITRAG DER SOZIOLOGIE UND NATIONAL- OEKONOMIE ZU DEN INDUSTRIELLEN BEZIEHUNGEN

VON FRAU DR. FRIEDA WUNDERLICH

Schriftleiterin der Zeitschrift „Soziale Praxis“, Bureau für Sozialpolitik, Berlin

Die Erörterung der Frage, was die Wissenschaft zur Lösung eines praktischen Lebensproblems, in diesem Falle der Arbeitsverfassung im Betriebe, leisten kann, hat mit der Feststellung zu beginnen, dass die Einreihigkeit und Abstraktheit des wissenschaftlichen Denkens nicht das Leben in der Fülle seiner Beziehungen fassen kann, sondern dass man gezwungen ist, einzelne Lebenserscheinungen zu isolieren, um sie systematisch zu erforschen. Daraus ergeben sich Erkenntnisse, die wohl dem Leben nutzbar gemacht werden können, die man aber, weil sie auf Abstraktionen beruhen, erst übertragen muss. Die junge Wirtschaftswissenschaft hat zuerst ihre Erkenntnisse unbekümmert in die Welt gesetzt, bis eines Tages festgestellt wurde, dass sie nur in eine Welt ganz bestimmter Beschaffenheit, nämlich die der freien Konkurrenz, hineinpassen, und nur unter der bestimmten Bedingung, dass jeder seinem wohlverstandenen Interesse folgt, der Wirklichkeit entsprechen. Und seitdem hat die Erkenntnis sich durchgesetzt, dass wir die Daten der Wirklichkeit untersuchen müssen, um der Wissenschaft den Weg zum Leben zu bahnen. Hat man z.B. mit allen Mitteln der Wirtschaftswissenschaft erforscht, wie eine Lohnveränderung sich wirtschaftlich auswirken kann, so bleibt als zweite Aufgabe die Uebertragung in die historisch gegebene Wirklichkeit; d.h. es ist nunmehr zu prüfen, ob in der gegebenen Situation die Gewerkschaften nicht mächtig genug sein würden, eine Herabsetzung der Löhne zu verhindern, ob nicht aus psychologischen Gründen die Herabsetzung zu einer Leistungssenkung führen würde, oder wie bei steigenden Löhnen eine Abnahme der Kapitalvermehrung wirken, ob die Erhöhung durch Rationalisierung kompensiert werden könnte. Die reine Wissenschaft bedarf der Kunstlehre, bedarf der vermittelnden Hilfe von Psychologie und Soziologie, um wirken zu können. Wir Deutschen nehmen den Konflikt von Wissenschaft und Leben aus Liebe zur reinen Wissenschaft besonders schwer, während man jenseits des Ozeans die angewandte Wissenschaft so betont, dass wir oft glauben, in der Praxis des Lebens

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zu stehen, während man dort noch von Wissenschaft spricht. So z.B. würde man bei uns die wissenschaftliche Betriebsführung als systematisch durchdachte Praxis bezeichnen.

Ich will im folgenden von der Frage ausgehen: wo wird die Hilfe der Wissenschaft heute gebraucht, und was kann sie an diesen Stellen leisten? Gebraucht wird die Wissenschaft schon deshalb, weil alle Eingriffe in die Wirtschaft, die nicht ihrer Struktur gerecht werden, sich der Eigengesetzlichkeit, die ihr innewohnt, nicht einfügen, entweder zum Scheitern verurteilt sind, oder aber Schädigungen an anderer Stelle hervorrufen.

Fragen wir, warum die Arbeitsbedingungen des Industriearbeiters, auf dem der Druck der industriellen Verhältnisse heute am schwersten lastet, gebessert werden müssen, und an welcher Stelle diese Besserung einzusetzen hat, so gibt die Ethik darauf folgende Antwort: entsprechend der Doppelstellung, die der Mensch als Arbeitskraft und als Konsument, also als Ziel der Produktion in der Wirtschaft einnimmt, ist zu fordern, dass seine Würde innerhalb der Arbeit geachtet und seine Versorgung so gestaltet wird, dass seine Würde darunter nicht leidet. Beide Forderungen werden heute bei jenen nicht erfüllt, die man als Proletariat bezeichnet. Die Kennzeichen des proletarischen Verhältnisses sehe ich in drei Beziehungen, bei denen alle Aenderungsversuche anzuknüpfen hätten: 1) in der mechanischen Verwendung des Arbeitenden; 2) seiner Abhängigkeit und Existenzunsicherheit und 3) in der mangelhaften Versorgung, die zum mindesten in den europäischen Industriestaaten die Erblichkeit des Lohnverhältnisses bedingt.

Als mechanisch bezeichne ich diejenige Arbeit, die infolge weitgehender Arbeitszerlegung oder Maschinenverwendung vom Arbeitenden weder eigenes Denken noch Disponieren verlangt, bei der der Mensch nicht den Arbeitsvorgang führt, seine gestaltenden und bildenden Kräfte ausgeschaltet sind. Wenn nach Mitteilungen aus den Fordbetrieben 95 % aller Arbeitenden mechanisch beschäftigt werden, so ist darin ebenso eine Entwürdigung zu sehen wie eine Gefahr für den Bestand unserer Kultur. Hier wird nicht die Sozialwissenschaft sondern die Technik eingreifen müssen, um die



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Arbeit so umzugestalten, dass die Maschine alle Handgriffe übernimmt und den Betrieb zum Mechanismus werden lässt, der selbsttätig funktioniert. Leider fehlt es in der Wirtschaft völlig an Organisationen, die ein Interesse daran haben, diese Formänderungen des Betriebes zu studieren und bewusst weiter zu entwickeln. Ich hoffe, dass es uns gelingen wird, in Deutschland in das Reichskuratorium für Wirtschaftlichkeit, das sich aus Parlamentariern und Wirtschaftsführern zusammensetzt und dessen Aufgabe die Förderung der Rationalisierung auf allen Gebieten der Wirtschaft ist, den sozialen Gedanken hineinzutragen. Vielleicht wird auch in Zukunft das Rationalisierungsinstitut in Genf sich stärker mit der Frage einer Einspannung des technischen Fortschritts in Richtung einer Befreiung des Menschen von unwürdiger, schwerer, mechanischer Arbeit befassen müssen.

In Deutschland sind von soziologischer Seite zwei Gedankengänge entwickelt worden, die sich die Wiederbeseelung der Arbeit zum Ziele setzen. Professor Heilpach geht davon aus, dass, vom Standpunkt der Arbeit gesehen, die Fabrik nicht der geeignete Lebensraum ist, weil sie alle seelischen Antriebe zur Arbeit ertötet und dem Menschen, der eine Teilfunktion ausübt, den Ueberblick über das Ganze des Fabrikationsprozesses nimmt. Um ihm diesen Ueberblick wiederzugeben, will er an die Stelle der heute üblichen Reihenfabrikation die Gruppenfabrikation setzen, d.h. es sollen nach Art der kleinen Werkstatt Fabrikationsgruppen gebildet werden, die sich aus allen Arten von Maschinen und Arbeitern zusammensetzen und verschiedene zusammengehörige Teile fertig bearbeiten, die miteinander einen abgeschlossenen Bestandteil des Gesamterzeugnisses bilden. Dem gleichen Gedankengang entspringt der Vorschlag Professor Rosenstocks, Maschinen und Arbeitsplatz vom Arbeiter pachten zu lassen und den Arbeitsplatz für Gruppen von Arbeitern aus der Fabrik hinaus in eine kleinere Werkstatt zu verlegen. Dem Arbeiter soll dadurch das Gefühl der Gebundenheit, der Abhängigkeit genommen werden, er soll der Fabrikdisziplin, der Nummer am Eingang und dem Sirenenpfeiff entgehen und freie Beweglichkeit erlangen. Mit beiden Vorschlägen sind Versuche in Deutschland gemacht worden, soweit ich sehe, ohne wesentlichen Erfolg. Beide

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bieten nur begrenzte Möglichkeiten. Dass die Gruppenfabrikation allein die Beseelung der Arbeit nicht bringen kann, sehen wir bei der Montage am fließenden Band, die vor den Augen des Arbeitenden ein Stück fertig werden lässt und damit doch die Mechanisierung seiner Arbeit nicht beseitigt. Die Aussiedelung wird bei vielen Produktionsarten deshalb unmöglich sein, weil die Grossbetriebe sich nicht auflösen lassen und oft eine geschlossene Einheit ineinandergreifender Funktionen darstellen. Immerhin wird sie für manche Fabrikationsarten ohne Hemmung des technischen Fortschritts durchführbar sein. In diesen Fällen sollte man Versuche mit ihr machen. Aufgabe der Wissenschaft wird es jedenfalls bleiben, alle Formänderungen der Betriebsgestaltung zu verfolgen und auf ihre Tragweite für die Vergeistigung der Arbeit zu untersuchen.

Bis es gelungen sein wird, die Arbeit dem, der sie ausführt, zum Stück eigenen Lebens werden zu lassen, in ihr der Persönlichkeit wieder eine Entwicklung zu verschaffen, werden die Bildungswünsche und Kulturbedürfnisse der Menschen sich in die Freizeit hineinretten und wird der Kampf um Verkürzung der Arbeitszeit nicht zur Ruhe kommen. Hier kann die ökonomische Wissenschaft, unterstützt durch die Physiologie, der die Erforschung der physiologisch optimalen Arbeitszeit verbleibt, insofern Wesentliches leisten, als sie die wirtschaftlichen Auswirkungen der Arbeitszeitverkürzung erforscht. Hier liegen zahlreiche Studien aus den Vereinigten Staaten und England vor. Seit über einem Jahr ist in Deutschland ein von der Regierung beauftragter, aus Wissenschaftlern und Wirtschaftspraktikern zusammengesetzter Enqueteausschuss damit befasst, für jeden Industriezweig die Zusammenhänge zwischen Arbeitszeit und Leistung zu erforschen. Obwohl bisher nur ein kleiner Teil der Ergebnisse veröffentlicht worden ist, kann man schon heute sagen, dass die Verschiedenheit der Faktoren von Betrieb zu Betrieb, ihr Wechsel mit der Entwicklung der Technik ein generelles Ergebnis unmöglich machen. Wahrscheinlich wird die Erhebung nicht nur die alte Beobachtung, dass die optimale Arbeitsdauer bei den einzelnen Industrien und Arbeitsarten eine verschiedene ist, bestätigen, sondern die Verschiedenheit

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des Optimums für die einzelnen Betriebe feststellen. Und würde sie ihre Untersuchungen auf die einzelnen Mitglieder der Belegschaft erstrecken, so müsste sie beim individuellen Optimum jedes Arbeitenden enden. Damit wäre wohl erwiesen, dass jede Arbeitszeitregelung eine schematische ist und doch kein Beweis gegen die Notwendigkeit der Regelung erbracht; denn die moderne Technik, die eine gleichzeitige Benutzung der Arbeitsmittel voraussetzt, lässt eine individuelle Regelung nicht zu.

Trotz dieser Einschränkung versprechen wir uns von den systematischen Untersuchungen des Ausschusses eine Klärung der Beziehung zwischen der Länge der Arbeitszeit und der Leistung, sowie zwischen ihr und der Entlohnungsart und Lohnhöhe. Die theoretische Mitarbeit der Arbeitgeber und der Arbeitnehmer beschränkt sich in der Arbeitszeit- ebenso wie in der Arbeitslohnfrage darauf, mit Hilfe ihrer angestellten Akademiker die theoretischen Gedankengänge, die den eigenen Interessenstandpunkt stützen, in Denkschriften, in der Presse, bei Versammlungen und bei Verhandlungen klarzulegen.

Die Mechanisierung trägt dadurch, dass sie den Menschen ersetzbar macht, dazu bei, das zweite Kennzeichen des proletarischen Verhältnisses, die Existenzunsicherheit, erheblich zu verschärfen. Die Hauptursache dieser Unsicherheit ist allerdings begründet in ökonomischen Vorgängen, in Krisen, die die Arbeitnehmerschaft - dieses Schicksal wird von den Angestellten geteilt - mit Entlassung, mit Arbeitslosigkeit bedrohen. Den Kampf gegen diese wird die ökonomische Wissenschaft in nächster Zeit schon deshalb aufnehmen, weil sie erkannt hat, welche sinnlose Verschwendung das Brachliegen von Arbeitskräften bedeutet, die ausserdem durch das Brachliegen in ihrer Arbeitsfähigkeit geschädigt werden. Die ersten Schritte, die Erforschung der Krisenursachen, haben zur Scheidung verschiedener Krisentypen geführt, deren Charakteristik man darin sieht, ob sie durch Wandlungen der Wirtschaftsstruktur, durch regelmässige Wellenbewegungen der Konjunkturschwankungen, langsamere Säkularschwankungen, durch den Wechsel der Jahreszeiten oder durch zufällige Störungen bedingt sind. Die Analyse der Krise und die Aufdeckung ihrer spezifischen Ursachen ist die Vorbedingung jeden

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Eingreifens, das auf Stabilisierung der Beschäftigung zielt. Eine zweite Voraussetzung ist die planmäßige Konjunkturbeobachtung, statistische Materialsammlung und Individualbeschreibung aller für die Konjunktur wichtigen Tatsachen wie z.B. die Bewegung der Geldkapitalien, Einkommen, Güterproduktion, des Handels und anderer und ihre Verarbeitung zu Indices; sie wird heute mit Hilfe der ökonomischen Wissenschaft in den Industriestaaten durchgeführt. In Deutschland ist es dem vor zwei Jahren gegründeten Institut für Konjunkturforschung gelungen, zahlreiche Unternehmungen für die Publizität zu gewinnen und Lager, Umsatz, Auftragsbestandsziffern ganzer Wirtschaftsgruppen fortlaufend zu ermitteln. Auf Grund der Diagnose der Konjunkturforschung werden Warnungssignale gegeben oder wird die Initiative angeregt. Das Institut sucht durch einprägsame Zahlen und knapp formulierte Ergebnisse auch dem Geschäftsmann, nicht nur dem Wirtschaftspolitiker zu dienen. Während es anfangs nur Wirtschaftssymptome aufzeigte, wird jetzt auch die Bedeutsamkeit der Symptome untersucht.

Ob man zur absolut sicheren Konjunkturprognose, d.h. zur Voraussage des künftigen Wirtschaftsverlaufes kommen wird, ist zweifelhaft,<sup>1</sup> man neigt dazu, die Konjunkturbeherrschbarkeit durch die Möglichkeit der Kreditkontrolle zu bejahen. Vielleicht werden internationale Vereinbarungen, wie die Rohstahlgemeinschaft, stärker zur Stabilisierung des Wirtschaftslebens führen, als alle Konjunkturbarometer es können. Denn indem das Kartell die Produktion dem Marktbedürfnis entsprechend reguliert, wird die Ueberproduktion verhindert, werden übermässig ausgeweitete Produktionszweige, wie heute Kohle und Eisen es in allen Ländern der Welt sind, auf das Mass zurückgeführt, das ihnen im Verhältnis zu anderen Produktionszweigen zusteht. In der deutschen Wirtschaft ist die Bedeutung der Wirtschaftsstabilisierung theoretisch stark umstritten. Es wird auf die Gefahr wirtschaftlicher Stagnation,

<sup>1</sup> Voraussetzung einer praktisch verwertbaren Wirtschaftsprognose ist neben der erschöpfenden Erkenntnis aller wichtigen Symptome eine internationale Zusammenarbeit der Konjunkturforschungsinstitute aller wichtigen Länder - besonders gut ausgebaut sind das Harvard-Institute, das Londoner und das deutsche - und eine Vereinheitlichung der Methoden, deren die Institute sich bedienen.

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die mit der Stabilisierung einsetzen könnte, hingewiesen. Nach meiner persönlichen Ueberzeugung streben alle Wirtschaftstendenzen einer solchen Stabilisierung zu; in einem Lande stärker infolge der Vereinbarungen privater Monopole, die an Profitsstabilisierung interessiert sind, in anderen mehr durch Staatseingriffe, wie etwa die Sozialversicherung oder Kartellkontrolle es sind. Man vergleiche das hemmungslose Auf und Ab der Konjunkturen zu Beginn des Kapitalismus mit der Bändigung, die heute schon erfolgt ist. Früher wurden in jeder Krise die Massen auf die Strasse geworfen und damit der Lohn gedrückt; durch die Unterstützung der Arbeitslosen ist dieser Lohndruck weggefallen. Der Hochkonjunktur ging früher eine Steigerung der Hauptrohstoffpreise, vor allem der Kohlenpreise, der Krise ging ein Sinken voran. Heute bewahrt das Kartell den Preis vor dem Sinken, ist in Deutschland das Steigen vielfach an die Zustimmung staatlicher Instanzen gebunden. Der stark schwankende Kapitalismus nähert sich der stabilen Planwirtschaft als der Wirtschaftsform der Zukunft, wird aber noch manche Krise durchmachen müssen, bis die Verhältnismässigkeit zwischen allen Produktionszweigen und zwischen Produktion und Konsum hergestellt sein wird. Mit Problemen dieser Art hat sich die Krisentheorie und die Konjunkturforschung der letzten Jahre und Jahrzehnte in allen Ländern in einer fast unübersehbaren Literatur auseinandergesetzt. Sowohl über die theoretische Möglichkeit der Prognose wie über die technische Durchführbarkeit bestehen noch erhebliche Meinungsverschiedenheiten.

Unumstritten ist die Zweckmässigkeit eines Ausgleichs saisonmässiger Schwankungen und des Ausgleichs der Arbeit innerhalb des einzelnen Unternehmens. In beiden Fragen scheinen bisher nur die Vereinigten Staaten über Erfahrungen zu verfügen, über die Bellerby in den Schriften des I. A. A. berichtet hat. Krisen, die auf Strukturveränderungen der Wirtschaft beruhen, kann nach dem heutigen Stande des Wissens noch nicht begegnet werden. Vielleicht werden bei ständiger Durchorganisierung der Wirtschaft auch hier Ausgleichsmöglichkeiten gefunden werden. Ich sehe bisher z.T. Verschärfungen, die sich aus der mangelnden Elastizität des technischen Apparats und dem wachsenden Kapitalentwer-

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tungswiderstand beim Fortschritt der Technik ergeben. D.h. jeder Fortschritt entwertet die bestehenden Anlagen, die umso schwerer umgestellt werden können, je gewaltiger sie sind. Ein Hochofen von besserer Konstruktion entwertet die alten, die aber nicht plötzlich stillgelegt werden können, weil zu viel Kapital dadurch vernichtet würde. Also das bereits vorhandene Kapital hemmt den Ausbau der Produktion.

In Deutschland wird zurzeit der schon von den Webbs gemachte Vorschlag einer Aufstellung von Wirtschaftsplänen für die öffentlichen Beschaffungen und Arbeiten, die sich über mehrere Jahre erstrecken, beraten. Man hofft, dadurch eine Verteilung der Aufträge durchführen zu können, die sich den Konjunkturen anpasst und sie ausgleicht.

Neben der Mechanisierung der Arbeit und der Existenzunsicherheit ist das dritte Merkmal des proletarischen Verhältnisses, die nicht ausreichende Versorgung zu bekämpfen, die wiederum die Erbllichkeit des Lohnverhältnisses bedingt. Mit dieser Frage kommen wir zum Verteilungsproblem, das die nationalökonomische Wissenschaft in allen bisherigen Systemen als Zentralproblem erkannt hat, d.h. das Problem, in welcher Höhe die einzelnen an der Produktion beteiligten Gruppen der Bodenbesitzer, Kapitalisten, Unternehmer, Arbeiter u.a. für ihre Funktionen entlohnt werden, wie das Nationalprodukt in Rente, Lohn, Profit zerfällt. Obwohl das Interesse an der Erforschung der theoretischen Zusammenhänge des Wert- und Einkommensproblems seit Jahren hinter dem an praktischen Fragen in bedauerlicher Weise zurückgetreten ist, liegen doch wertvolle Studien von Clark, Schumpeter, Amonn, Oppenheimer auch aus dem letzten Jahrzehnt vor. Das schwindende Interesse erklärt sich daraus, dass die Verteilungsfrage mehr und mehr zur Frage der Machtkämpfe wird und damit die ökonomischen Gesetze zurücktreten. Sie sind vorhanden, aber sie können sich nicht unbeeinflusst auswirken. Theoretisch haben sich Böhm-Bawerk, Wieser, Tugan-Baranowski und andere mit dem Verhältnis von Macht und ökonomischem Gesetz beschäftigt, mit dem Ergebnis, dass auch ein Machtdiktat sich nur innerhalb der ökonomischen Verteilungsgesetze auswirken kann. Unter dem Eindruck der Klassenkämpfe hat in Deutschland die Frage, wie wirken Lohner-

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höhungen auf die Wirtschaft ein, die wissenschaftliche Forschung stark beschäftigt und hat zur Klärung einzelner Zusammenhänge geführt. Ich erwähnte schon eingangs, dass die Uebertragung des theoretisch Erkannten in die von Machtpositionen durchsetzte, in jedem Augenblick das Verhältnis von Kapital und Arbeit verschiebende Wirtschaft ein Problem für sich ist. Dafür das folgende Beispiel: Mitten in unserer schweren Wirtschaftskrise der Jahre 1925 und 1926 traf uns Deutsche der Vorwurf des schwedischen Nationalökonomen Cassel, dass unsere Gewerkschaftspolitik und unsere staatliche Arbeitslosenpolitik, die beide einen Absturz der Löhne hemmten, damit die Sanierung der Krisen hinderten. Fast die gesamte Wissenschaft hat sich - angeregt durch Cassel - mit dieser Frage auseinandergesetzt, mit dem Ergebnis, dass es wohl theoretisch richtig ist, durch unbegrenzten Sturz der Preise aller Produktionsmittel, also auch der Arbeitskraft, die Sanierung zu beschleunigen, dass aber die Einsetzung aller Daten der Wirklichkeit ein völlig anderes Bild gebe und eine so stark planwirtschaftlich von Kartellen, Trusts und ähnlichen Gebilden regulierte Wirtschaft nicht nach dem Schema einer rein individualistischen Wirtschaft zu beurteilen sei. Wenn Monopole alle Preise hochhalten, warum soll gerade die Arbeitskraft, die am stärksten darunter leiden würde, allein den Druck aushalten? Vielleicht hätte uns nichts deutlicher als die Diskussion um diese Frage zum Bewusstsein bringen können, dass reine Theorie der Soziologie als des Mittelers bedarf, um auf die Wirtschaft übertragen zu werden.

Die Diskussion der Lohnfrage führt aber das Argument, dass hohe Löhne die Kaufkraft stärken, an die Frage des Konsums heran, die leider in der wissenschaftlichen Forschung bisher zu kurz gekommen ist. Es wird Aufgabe der zukünftigen Wirtschaftswissenschaft sein, eine Theorie des Konsums zu schaffen; die ersten schwachen Ansätze einer Theorie der Qualität liegen bereits vor; aber noch bleiben Fragen über die Gestaltung der Nachfrage, zweckmässige Verwendung des Gutes und der Organisation der Verwendung im Haushalt zu klären.

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nicht einfach in die Praxis des Lebens übertragen werden kann, so sollte damit kein Zweifel an der Bedeutung der Wissenschaft für die Lebensgestaltung ausgesprochen werden. Denn Kenntnis der Wirtschaftsdaten ohne Verständnis für die theoretischen Zusammenhänge kann uns noch weniger Weiterhelfen als reine Abstraktion. Und so könnte man in Variation eines Kantwortes sagen: "Theorie ohne Praxis ist leer, Praxis ohne Theorie ist blind."



# I. THE CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS TO INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

BY DR. FRIEDA WUNDERLICH

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The discussion of the question of what science can contribute to the solution of the practical problems of life - in this instance, industrial relationships - must begin with the realization that the abstracting process of scientific thinking cannot possibly include life in the completeness of its interrelations but is compelled to isolate particular phenomena in order to examine them systematically. Knowledge thus gained can be made useful for life, but, being based on abstractions, must first be translated into concrete terms. The young science of economics at first cast its conclusions carelessly upon the world until one day it became clear that they only applied in a world of clearly defined elements, namely, that of free competition, and that they corresponded to reality only under the definite condition that everyone follow his well-understood self-interest. Since then the realization has forced itself upon us that we must investigate the facts of reality in order to connect science with life. So, for instance, when it has been found out by all the methods of scientific research, how a change in wages will work out from the point of view of economics, there still remains the second task to apply this to existing conditions; that is, to examine now whether, in the given situation, the trade unions have power enough to prevent a reduction of wages, whether, for psychological reasons, the reduction would lead to a decrease in output, or how a decrease of capital growth caused by the raising of wages would affect industry, and whether these higher wages could be balanced through rationalisation. Pure science needs the guidance of technology and the mediating assistance of psychology and sociology, in order to be effective. Our love of pure science makes us Germans consider the conflict between science and reality a very serious matter. On the other side of the ocean they so emphasize applied science, that what we would call practice, they talk about as science; for instance, we would regard scientific management as systematically thought-out practice.

I wish to take as a starting point the following question: Where

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is the help of science used to-day and what can it there accomplish? Science is needed because any interference with industry which is not in accord with its structure or does not conform with its inherent laws, is doomed either to fail or to cause damage somewhere.

If we ask why the working conditions of the industrial worker, who suffers the most from the pressure of present conditions in industry, should be improved and where these improvements should begin, ethics gives the following answer: The man in his double capacity of producer and consumer being the end for which industrial production is carried on, it is imperative that his dignity within his work should be respected and his standard of living be such as not to impair his dignity. Neither of these requirements is met for those who are known as the proletariat. I find three features distinctive of the condition of the proletariat, with which all attempts to bring about changes should start: 1. the mechanical utilisation of the worker; 2. his dependency and insecurity of livelihood; 3. an insufficient standard of living, which decrees for the worker, at least in European industrial countries, the inheritance of the wage-earning status. I define as mechanical that work which, as a result of extreme specialization (splitting up of processes) or mechanization, demands of the worker neither thought nor actual participation, so that man does not control the process, and his organizing and creative powers are deprived of all expression. If, as we are informed, 95 per cent of the workers in the Ford organisation are thus mechanically employed, that condition is as degrading as it is a danger to our civilisation. Here it is not social science but technology which must take hold of the situation in order so to transform the work that the machine will perform all manipulations and convert the whole plant into a mechanism which functions automatically.

Unfortunately, industry lacks entirely organisation which would be interested in studying these changes in methods of operation, and in consciously controlling their development. I hope that we shall succeed in Germany in incorporating social thinking in the Reichskuratorium für Wirtschaftlichkeit (National Board of Economic Organisation), which includes members of Parliament

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and industrial leaders and has the task of promoting rationalisation in all areas of economic life. Possibly also, in future, the International Management Institute at Geneva will have to concern itself more vigorously with the question of directing technical progress toward the release of man from unworthy, heavy and mechanised jobs.

In Germany, on the part of sociologists, two trains of thought have been developed which are directed toward the restoration of the spiritual values of work. Professor Hellpach contends that from the standpoint of labor the factory does not afford the appropriate human environment, since it destroys all spiritual incentive in work and takes from the worker, who has only a partial function to perform, the possibility of a general view of the process of production as a whole. In order to restore this general view, he would substitute production in groups for the present customary production through successive operations; that is, operating groups should be set up, each in the nature of a small workshop, composed of all types of machines and all kinds of workers, which would complete the different related parts which form a whole section of the total product. From the same train of thought comes the proposal of Professor Rosenstock to have machines and the "work place" leased by the worker and to transfer the "work place" for groups of workers from the factory into a smaller workshop. Thereby, the feeling of being bound, the sense of dependence, would be taken from the worker, who would escape from factory discipline, from the time-clock at the door and from the siren-whistle, and would attain freedom of movement.

Studies of both proposals are being made in Germany, without significant success, so far as I can see. Both offer only limited possibilities. That group production alone cannot bring spirit into work, we see in the assembling at the moving belt which finishes a piece before the eyes of the worker, but does not remove thereby the mechanization of his work. The division of a plant into small workshops would be impossible in many kinds of production, because large undertakings cannot be broken up, and often exhibit a completed unit composed of interrelated functions. However, for many types of industry, it

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could be carried through without the obstacle of technical continuity. For these instances studies of the plan should be made. In every instance it will remain the task of science to follow up all transformations in forms of organisation and to investigate their bearing upon the spiritualizing of work. Until we can succeed in making a man's work a part of his own life, with scope in it for the expansion of his personality, the aspirations of human beings for education and their need for culture will seek expression in leisure time, and the struggle for shorter working hours will not cease. Here the science of economics, assisted by physiology - to which there remains the task of research into the optimum physiological working period, - can render an essential service by investigating the effect on industry of shorter working hours. On this subject numerous studies are available from the United States and England. In Germany the Government has appointed a Commission of Inquiry, including scientists, industrialists and leading men of the Trade Unions who, for over a year, have been investigating the interrelation between working hours and output, in every branch of industry. Although only a small part of the results has so far been published, it may already be said that the differences in factors from establishment to establishment, their change with technical development, makes a general conclusion impossible. Probably the conclusion will confirm not only the old observation that the optimum duration of work differs in different industries and different kinds of occupations, but will also establish the difference in the optimum within the individual plant. Should these studies be extended to the individual members of the enterprise, they must end with an individual optimum for every worker. It would thereby be demonstrated that every regulation of working time is a formula, and still this would not be evidence against the necessity of the regulation. For modern technique, which requires simultaneous operation of machinery assumes a uniform time. In spite of this limitation, we anticipate from the systematic investigations of the Commission a clarification of the relationship between the length of the working time and the output, as well as between working hours and the methods and rates of wage payment. The theoretical co-operation of employer and employed limits

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itself, as concerns the working day - as in the question of wages -, to setting forth in publications, newspapers and conferences, with the help of the academic members of their staffs, the considerations which protect their own interests.

Mechanisation, in that it makes it possible to dispense with human beings serves thereby inevitably to accentuate the second characteristic of the condition of the proletariat, insecurity of livelihood. The chief reason for this insecurity is, to be sure, grounded in economic events, in crises which threaten the labor force with dismissal and with unemployment - a fate shared with the salaried workers. The science of economics will soon undertake the struggle against unemployment, because it has recognized what senseless waste the failure to utilise the working force betokens, while unemployment also does damage to a man's capacity for work. The first steps, the investigation of the causes of crises, have led to the separating out of the different types of crises, whose characteristics one can observe, whether they are caused by changes in economic organization, or by the regular fluctuations of the business cycle or the longer fluctuations of secular changes, or by the changes of the seasons, or by accidental disturbances. The analysis of the crisis and the setting forth of its specific causes is the prerequisite of every measure which aims at the stabilization of business. A second project is being carried through today with the help of economic science in the industrial countries, in the systematic observation of business cycles, the collection of statistical material and individual statements of all facts important in connection with the cycle, such as the movement of capital, income, production of goods, trade, etc., and their formulation in indices. In Germany the Institut für Konjunkturforschung (Institute for Investigation of Business Cycles), established two years ago, has succeeded in enlisting the co-operation of numerous enterprises in providing data as to stocks, turnover and orders on hand for whole industrial groups. On the basis of the diagnosis established by research in the business cycle, warning signals are given or initiative is stimulated. The Institute seeks through impressive figures and concisely formulated findings to serve not only the social economist but also the man of business.

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While in the beginning it confined itself to pointing out economic symptoms, it now also studies their significance.

Whether we can arrive at absolute certainty in the prognosis of the business cycle, that is, in forecasting the future course of business, is doubtful<sup>1</sup>; one is inclined to affirm that the business cycle can be controlled through the possibility of control of credit. Perhaps international agreements, such as the raw steel cartel, will contribute to a greater extent to the stabilisation of economic life than all trade barometers. For in that the cartel regulates production with reference to the needs of the market, overproduction is prevented, and the over-developed branches of production, such as coal and iron in all countries of the world, will be reduced to a quota which will maintain the natural balance with other branches of industry. In German economic life the significance of the stabilisation of industry has been vigorously debated. The danger of economic stagnation which could accompany stabilisation is pointed out. It is my personal conviction that all economic tendencies move toward such stabilisation; in one country more strongly on account of the agreements of private monopolies which are interested in the stabilisation of profits, and in others more through state interference, as to some extent is true of social insurance or the control of cartels. Compare, for instance, the unobstructed ups and downs of the business cycle at the beginning of capitalism with the control which is already achieved today. Formerly, in every crisis, the masses were thrown upon the streets and wages thereby depressed; through the relief of the unemployed this depression of wages is done away with. The peak of the business cycle formerly was preceded by an increase in the price of essential raw material, chiefly of coal, while decrease in prices was the forerunner of depression. Today the cartel prevents prices from falling, while in Germany a rise is sometimes subject to the consent of state authorities. The strongly fluctuating capitalism is approaching the stable

<sup>1</sup> The condition of a practically valuable economic prognosis is, besides a thorough understanding of all important symptoms, international co-operation between the institutes of business research of all important countries - especially well organized are the Harvard Institute, that in London and the German - and the uniformity of methods which the institutes use.

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planning system as the economic form of the future, but it will necessarily pass through many crises before the balance between all branches of production and between production and consumption is established. With problems of this type the theory of crises and research in business cycles have been concerned in the last decade in all lands, resulting in a voluminous literature. Concerning both the theoretical possibility of forecast and the technical practicability of control, there are still considerable differences of opinion.

Undebatable is the expediency of a regularisation of seasonal fluctuations and the steadying of employment within the individual establishment. In both problems hitherto only the United States appears to have the experiences upon which Bellerby has reported in the publications of the International Labour Office. Crises which arise from the structural changes in industry cannot yet be met in the present status of science. Perhaps by the more permanent organisation of business, here also possibilities of equilibrium will be found. Up to the present I have seen a certain intensification of the evil which arises out of the insufficient elasticity of technical equipment and the growing resistance of capital to depreciation through the progress of technique. For example, every forward step causes a depreciation in the existing apparatus, which is the more difficult to displace the more powerful it is. A blast furnace of better construction decreases the value of the old ones, but these cannot suddenly be laid aside, because thereby too much capital would be lost. Hence the capital already in hand is an obstacle to the extension of production.

In Germany at present the proposal already made by the Webbs is being considered, namely, the projecting of plans for public works which extend over a number of years. It is hoped thereby to be able to achieve a distribution of the projects which will conform to fluctuations in business and equalize them.

Besides the mechanisation of work and the uncertainty of a livelihood, there is the third mark of the condition of the proletariat to be combated, - the inadequate standard of living which again makes the status of the wage earning class hereditary. With this question we come to the problem of distribu-

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ion which the science of political economy in all previous systems has recognized as central, namely, the problem of what compensation the different groups sharing in production will receive - the owners of land, the capitalists, the entrepreneurs, the workers, and so forth - in return for their functions, and how the national product divides in dividends, wages and profits. Although, for several years, the interest in research into the theoretical interdependence of problems of value and income has regrettably declined, as compared with the interest in practical questions, valuable studies have in fact been available in the last decade by Clark, Schumpeter, Amonn and Oppenheimer. The declining interest results from the fact that the question of distribution more and more becomes a subject of class conflict and as a result economic laws recede. They are in existence, but they cannot work themselves out unaffected by influences. Böhm-Bawerk, Wieser, Tugan-Baranowsky and others have concerned themselves in theory with the relation between power and economic law, with the conclusion that also the dictates of force can work themselves out only within the laws of economic distribution.

Under the influence of the class conflict in Germany, the question of how higher wages actually affect industry has actively engaged the attention of scientific research and has led to a clarification of certain interrelationships. I have already mentioned in the beginning that the application of theoretical knowledge to an economic order which changes continually the relationship between capital and labour under the influence of their relative positions of power is a problem in itself. The following example: In the midst of our difficult economic crisis in the years 1925 and 1926, there struck us Germans the reproach of the Swedish economist Cassel, that our trade union policy and our governmental policy on unemployment, both of which prevented a drop in wages, hindered recovery from the crisis. Almost the whole world of science, stimulated by Cassel, has busied itself with this question, with the result that it is well established in theory that, through an unrestricted collapse of the prices of all the means of production, including the labor force, recovery can be accelerated, but that the setting forth of all the data of experience gives a



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totally different picture, and that an economic system so strongly organised in cartels, trusts and similar forms is not to be judged as though it were a purely individualistic economic system. If monopolies keep up all prices, why should the labor force, which would suffer the most severely under a collapse, alone bear the burden? Perhaps nothing could have made clearer to our consciousness than the discussion of this question that pure theory is in need of sociology as a mediator in order to be carried over into economic life.

The discussion of the question of wages nevertheless leads the argument that high wages increase buying power, to the question of the consumer, which unfortunately has been too little considered hitherto in economic research. It will be a task of the economic science of the future to create a theory of consumption; the first tentative beginnings of a theory of quality are already at hand; but there still remain questions to be solved, concerning the formation of demand, the regulated utilisation of goods and the organisation of their use in the household.

If, in the beginning, I indicated that pure abstraction could not simply be carried over into practice in life, nevertheless there should be no doubt as to the significance of science in shaping life. For the knowledge of the data of economic life without the understanding of theoretical interrelationships can help us still less than pure abstraction. And so we may quote Kant with variation: "Theory without practice is empty; practice without theory is blind".

## II. THE CONTRIBUTION OF PSYCHOLOGY TO INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

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When I was asked to contribute this paper to the series of communications entitled "The Contribution of the Social Sciences to Industrial Relationships", two questions naturally occurred to me. The first of these was "What is meant by the term "Industrial Relationships"? No doubt those who have preceded me in this series of papers will have already given their own definition of the term. For my own part I intend to give it such a wide signification that it covers the entry, in all its aspects, of what we may call "the human factor" in industry and its influence upon all ranks of those who are concerned in production.

The second question which I have had to consider was whether a psychologist has any right, so far as his own subject is concerned, to take part in a discussion upon the contribution to industrial relationships made by the Social Sciences.

For Psychology is not, properly speaking, a Social Science; it is a science primarily concerned with the individual, - with the living organism. In its concern with the living organism, it finds a complementary science in Physiology, the one dealing with the mental functions, the other with the bodily functions of the individual. In practice it is often impossible to delimit their respective boundaries. Psychology cannot, for example, exclude the study of human behaviour which results from mental processes. And it cannot draw any line between processes of which the individual is conscious and those of which he is unconscious. Nor can Physiology, on the other hand, neglect the study of mental processes in endeavouring to ascertain the changes in living substance which are associated therewith. Psychology and Physiology, together with Morphology and Pathology, go to form Biology, the Natural Science that is occupied with the phenomena of life.

But whether the living individual is considered from the psychological or from the physiological standpoint, or from the still wider biological aspect, he must be studied in relation to his environment. In the individual's environment are in-

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cluded other individuals. It is therefore necessary, in studying the individual, to study the influence upon him of the "group". He has to be studied in his thought and actions not merely as a more or less isolated individual, but also as a member of the social group to which he belongs.

The principles of any science may be applied to satisfy certain practical ends. In this way a pure science, hitherto pursued for the advancement of knowledge *per se*, becomes an applied science. The arts and sciences of Medicine, Education, Industry and Sociology have each invoked the aid of Psychology in certain of their special problems. Hence have arisen the applied sciences of Medical Psychology, Educational Psychology, Industrial Psychology and Social Psychology. Each of these arts and sciences, within which a branch of Applied Psychology has thus been developed, is of course far wider than the Applied Psychology which it has called into being.

Sociology, for example, which embraces the Social Sciences, is far wider than Social Psychology. It deals with all aspects of social life. It involves - besides psychology - ethics, economics, religion, aesthetics, law, history, geography, and the like, but only insofar as their subject matter helps in our knowledge of the factors determining the forms and modes, the institutions, etc., of social life. Social facts are in a sense *sui generis*; so far as psychology is concerned, they include mental phenomena only insofar as those phenomena determine the forms and modes of social life and its relationships.

So, too, there is now evolving a *corpus* of Industrial Science which, similarly, is wider than Industrial Psychology. It deals with all aspects of industrial life. It involves psychology, ethics, economics, statistics, law, chemistry, physics, engineering, etc. But here again industrial facts are in a sense *sui generis*: so far as psychology is concerned, they include mental phenomena, but only insofar as those phenomena determine the forms and modes of industry and its relationships.

It may be safely asserted that without expert aid neither the psychologist nor the industrialist can safely employ the

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data of applied psychology in any systematic investigation. Their application must rest in the hands of the applied psychologist. Nevertheless, as I shall indicate, some knowledge of the facts and scope of psychology is most valuable for the sociologist and industrialist, both as a background for his own work and so that he may know when and where the aid of the expert in applied psychology is likely to be of use to him.

It may be also safely asserted that no one can be an expert in any applied science without previous adequate training in the corresponding pure science. I wish therefore to emphasize at the outset the need of a training in pure psychology for the future expert in social or industrial psychology.

Pure psychology is no longer an aggregate of purely philosophical conceptions. It has accumulated a large body of facts, the fruit of careful observation and experiment. The sphere of experiment in psychology is rapidly growing. The applicability of experiment towards problems of human behaviour was evident from the early days of the modern psychologist's efforts to establish his subject among the Natural Sciences. Witness the success and the valuable results of psychological experimentation in memory, fatigue, practice, distraction of attention and the like. The applicability of experiment when conscious processes are under observation, involving careful training in introspection, began with sensation, - e.g. the conditions of colour vision; it passed on to imagery and perception; and it has now reached the sphere of thought and volition.

But, like Natural History of which it forms part, Psychology is not dependent wholly on experiment; much progress is possible by observation of the effects of conditions variously arranged by nature. There is much in mental life, particularly on the emotional and temperamental side, which is not easily within reach of experiment.

The careful analysis of the causes, conditions and sublimations of emotional states, the nature and course of conflicting feelings, the methods of solution of conflicts, the effects of suppressed experiences and the study of the influence of sub-

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conscious processes, - all of these involve observation; and by means of observation carried out under normal and abnormal conditions, results of extraordinary value and promise have been achieved.

The industrial psychologist requires a careful preliminary training in introspection, observation and analysis, such as is afforded by general psychology. By this means he will come to appreciate what is perhaps the greatest value of a psychological training - the great variety and the vast importance of individual differences.

"Do unto others as you would others do unto you", only envisages a part of the problem of industrial relationships. It is not enough to try to put yourself in the place of others. It is not enough to consider how you would react if you were in the position of another. You have to consider how that other person will respond. His feelings and his conduct are bound to be different, and may be widely different, from your own. A systematic training in psychology points out at an early stage the remarkable individual differences in reacting to the simplest conditions of psychological experiment; it reveals the wide individual differences in imagery, thought, interests, talents and temperament; it indicates the important part played by heredity and by early environment in determining these and other important differences; it assists one not only to know one's self, but also to know others, - and not only to know, but also to control one's self and others. One comes to realise the enormous part played by emotional and instinctive processes in behaviour which to the subject appears to be determined by reason and by cold, deliberate volition. One acquires some knowledge of the cause of these often unconscious influences that determine our responses to situations, and some knowledge of the methods by which they may be best dealt with when they lead to undesirable or disorderly results. Such knowledge of individual differences, of the play of (in the psychological sense) rationalisation, of the importance of repression and of conflicts and their solution, of the effects of fatigue and unrest upon phantasy, of the effects of phantasy on interest, memory, attention and action, and so forth, - such knowledge cannot

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fail to assist in the improvement of industrial relations, whether that knowledge be acquired by the managing director, the manager, the foreman, the welfare worker, or by the rank and file of workers themselves.

A psychological training will not, of course, suffice to make the ideal manager or the ideal personnel administrator, any more than it will suffice to make the ideal teacher. *Poeta nascitur, non fit*; so, too, with the musician or any other "artist". But a proper training will help all of these to escape the many failures which otherwise they could only learn to avoid by long and bitter experience; it will provide them, in other words, with a series of short cuts to success; and it will enable them to understand the fundamental principles on which their "art" is based, substituting a sure scientific foundation for happy-go-lucky, "trial and error" procedure, and proving of inestimable help particularly when new situations have to be faced.

One special value of a psychological training to those who have occasion to introduce changes in industrial conditions and to observe the effects of those changes, consists in the acquisition of a reliable method. It is relatively easy for the physicist or for the chemist to plan and to carry out an experiment in the inorganic world to determine its results. But when we come to deal with living organisms, and above all with men, the conditions are so complex and are so difficult to control that a special training in special experimental methods becomes essential. Nowhere is this more necessary than in the field of industry. He who has had a thorough training in what are termed the psycho-physical methods of psychological experiment will realise more clearly the pitfalls that await the introducer of changes in industrial conditions, - how difficult it is for him to be sure that only one change has been made and that consequently the results achieved are solely attributable to that change, how important it is for him to realise the play of suggestion or of prejudice and to prevent their influence, how complex are the effects of expectation, adaptation, practice, novelty, monotony, etc., and in what ways these and many other difficulties may be best avoided, so that the real effects of the changed conditions on

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the human beings concerned be established.

Without such training in methods which the science of pure psychology has evolved, no one can safely be entrusted with the practical work which it is one of the most important functions of the applied sciences, social psychology, educational psychology and industrial psychology, to carry out. It is true that in social life, in school life and in industrial life, the investigator may seldom be able to plan an experiment along the relatively simple lines which are possible in the psychological laboratory. Nevertheless, his previous systematic scientific training provides him with a background that is an invaluable safeguard against the dangers and temptations to which a person without such training will inevitably succumb in planning experiments and in interpreting their results within the field of the social sciences.

I have of late been reading a book entitled "Psychology for Executives" quite recently written by one of the managers in the well-known firm of the Dennison Manufacturing Company of Framingham, Mass. The writer, Mr. Elliott Dunlap Smith, came to the firm after a training in law and became a student of psychology because he found that this subject more than any other helped him to understand the human aspects of many of the problems of management that confronted him. The expert psychological critic may cavil at certain technical details in the book; but no one can read the concrete instances given of the managerial difficulties experienced and of their happy solution with the backing of psychological knowledge, without realising the value of this knowledge to executives. "Industry", as Mr. Smith says, "up to the present generation generally assumed that the minor executives and the workmen were passive instruments. As a result the managers looked upon a factory exactly as upon a machine. No effort was made to give the employees opportunity for self-expression. . . . The personality of the employees was entirely neglected. Any display of undesirable individuality (and almost all individuality was considered undesirable) was repressed by discipline. . . . The entire task of labor management was conceived of as one of getting methods and rules that were adapted to facilities and product and of enforcing them.

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Today... industrialists and psychologists are beginning to realise that the price of control by force is high. They are beginning to have borne in upon them the dangers of repressing and the advantages of enlisting the support of the elements which compose the industrial and the mental organisation.<sup>1</sup> I have not the time to quote the many concrete illustrations drawn from Mr. Smith's actual experience which this book contains. It gives one the impression not only that his psychological training has served him in good stead but also that he is innately fitted to managerial work. His innate fitness suggests in turn a specific field in which industrial psychology is likely to prove of the greatest value in industrial relationships, viz., in the selection of suitable executives. Too often he is chosen merely for his technical knowledge; sometimes because, like the bygone type of non-commissioned army officer, he can be relied on to bully those of lower rank and to force their work through somehow; sometimes because outside influence is brought to bear.

Industrial psychology has begun its work in vocational selection among the rank and file of workers. By carefully analysing the physical and mental characters required for success in a given occupation, by devising tests that will reveal individual differences in innate endowment with the special characters of sensory, perceptual and mechanical ability, manual dexterity, the kind of attention and memory, etc., which are required, by improving the interview so that it will better disclose and evaluate the temperament and character needed for success, - by such procedure steady progress is being made both in the selection and in the guidance of workers, thus improving their contentment by improving their chances of success, and by preventing the high labour turnover and the spirit of unrest which must inevitably occur when those who are naturally unfitted for a certain occupation become engaged in it.

Such systematic selection and guidance has to be extended and will, I am confident, be successfully extended, by the industrial psychologist to the choice of executives, so that the nagging and bullying, the weak and undecided, the cranky

<sup>1</sup> Pages 91-93.



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and unbalanced types of men may be excluded from occupying the positions of managers and foremen.

If they in their turn receive some training in psychology, they will come to realise more fully the enormous importance of preventing and allaying the feelings of resentment against real or imaginary injustice, of suspicion arising out of the concealment of facts, of anxiety in regard to accidents, unemployment, promotion and responsibility, and of reducing ignorance as regards higher policy and as to what is happening in other departments of their concern. They will come to realise more fully the enormous psychological effect of the summation of a vast number of minute causes of friction and irritation, each almost insignificant in itself. They will come to realise more fully the striking inefficiency of considering matters solely from the mechanical aspect, without also viewing them from the psychological and physiological aspect, - whether these matters relate to the design of machinery, the layout and organisation of the works, or the movements and training of the workers. The shortest route, the shortest path of movement is not necessarily the best from the human standpoint. The fewest movements are not necessarily the least fatiguing. The movements which suit one worker are not necessarily those which will be best for another worker.

Wherever we turn, a knowledge of pure and industrial psychology must prove and is proving of increasing importance for industry and industrial relations today. Not only the mechanician but also the economist must temper his principles according to practical human needs. Methods of payment and promotion, the provision of incentives, the machinery for industrial negotiation cannot possibly succeed, if pursued along mathematical, mechanical or abstract economical lines. The subjective standpoint must invariably be considered whenever apparent improvements in conditions are being introduced. To impose them when they are misunderstood, or without the cooperation of all those on whom they are to produce their effect, is to court disaster. Thus Personnel Administration - or Welfare Work as it is called in Great Britain - has been too often regarded by the workers as a sop or narcotic foisted on them by the employer - simply because they have never

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been consulted and have not been given sufficient voice in what is introduced in its name. Into the work of those functioning within this department, exactly as into the work of management, a knowledge of psychology must inevitably enter. The Personnel Administrator who has received some instruction in industrial psychology will realise when (before it is too late) the help of the expert in that subject should be invoked, whether it be in relation to needless strain of effort, bad arrangements of material, lighting, ventilation, etc., bad selection of the worker, bad distribution of hours of work and rest, bad systems of training, bad methods of payment and organisation, bad relations between management and labour. The Personnel Administrator must have sufficient instruction in psychology to realise what benefits the industrial psychologist can confer after his prolonged observations and experiment which the Personnel Administrator clearly has not the time, nor has had the expert training, to carry out. The value of the industrial psychologist's work in a factory must closely depend on the sympathy and cooperation he can receive from the Personnel Administrator.

Both with this object and to assist the Personnel Administrator in his own special field, a knowledge of pure and industrial psychology and physiology is essential. It should always be the Personnel Administrator's special province to impress on management, so far as possible, the need for consideration of its problems, from an adequately wide psychological standpoint.

This psychological standpoint will differ in different countries, in different industries, even in different works within the same industry. Industrial relationships must necessarily depend on the psychology of the group. And the psychology of the group will vary under, say, highly democratic, highly autocratic, Soviet, Fascist or other conditions of government; it will vary according to the nature of the work which has to be performed and according to the conditions in which it has to be performed, - the psychology of the coal miner's group, for example, necessarily differing from the psychology of the seaman's group; it will vary according to the tradition and atmosphere of the firm, which will be determined again largely by the

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psychology of the management sub-group within the bigger industrial unit. The true practice of industrial psychology is incompatible with universal mechanical standardisation. Industrial relationships must necessarily be fluid, or at best plastic; perhaps the most valuable contribution of psychology to industrial relationships consists in enforcing this fluidity and plasticity through the realisation of the inevitably wide individual and group mental differences.

### III. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE INTERRELATED SCIENCES TO INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS<sup>1</sup>

BY PATRICK GEDDES

Collège des Écossais, Montpellier

AND VICTOR BRANFORD,

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Examples are increasing of discouragement with the progress of physical science and its applications; witness the presidential address at the recent centenary celebrations of the Institute of Civil Engineers, with not merely candid admission of the need of moral and social progress to control these advances and applications, but outspoken demand for them. The most interesting event of the celebrations was a lecture on "A Century of Inventions", by Sir Alfred Ewing, one of the most distinguished of living engineers, before the war our leading educator for the navy, and now Principal of Edinburgh University. While, of course, fully appreciating the great physical and chemical advances of the past century, he anticipates, and even hopes for, social advances and possibilities so different from current mechanistic ideas that we cannot do better than quote his words:

"It may very well happen that the mental energy of mankind, now flowing so strongly in this channel of ours, will seek and find outlets in other directions. While as engineers we may regret such an issue, we cannot but admit that it may prove beneficial to the human race, since beyond question there is grave need for progress of quite a different kind.

"For the fact remains that all our efforts to apply the sources of power in nature to the use and convenience of man, successful as they are in creating for him new capacities, new comforts, new habits, leave him at bottom much what he was before. I used, as a young teacher, to think that the splendid march of discovery and invention, with its penetration of the secrets of nature, its consciousness of power, its absorbing mental interest, its unlimited possibilities of benefit, was, in fact, accomplishing some betterment of the character of man. I thought that the assiduous study of engineering could not fail to soften his primitive instincts, that it must develop a sense of law and order and righteousness.

"But the war came, and I realised the moral failure of applied mechanics. It was a shock to find that a nation's eminence in this department of intellectual effort did nothing to prevent a reversion to savagery, conscienceless, unbridled, made only the more brutal by its vastly enhanced ability to hurt. I saw that the wealth of products and ideas with which the engineer had enriched mankind might be prostituted to ignoble use.

<sup>1</sup> With the author's consent the editors have amplified this paper by inserting illustrative material from longer version. The added material appears in small print.

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It served to equip the nations with engines of destruction incomparably more potent and ruthless than any known before. We had put into the hand of civilisation a weapon far deadlier than the weapons of barbarism, and there was nothing to stay her hand.

"Civilisation, in fact, turned the weapon upon herself. The arts of the engineer had, indeed, been effectively learnt, but they had not changed man's soul. In our diligent cultivation of these arts, we engineers have perhaps forgotten that progress in them has far outstripped the ethical progress of the race. We have given the child a sharp-edged tool before he has the sense to handle it wisely. We have given him the power to do irreparable mischief, when he hardly knows the difference between right and wrong.

"Does it not follow that the duty of leadership is to educate his judgment and his conscience? Collective moral sense, collective political responsibility, the divine maxim to do to others as we would that they should do to us - these are lessons in respect of which all the nations, even the most progressive, have still much to learn.

"There are people who talk glibly of the next great war. I wonder if they know how near in the last war the world came to destruction through misapplying the endowment which it owes to the engineer. Do they realise that with added experience and further malignant ingenuity, the weapons of a future war will be more than ever deadly, more than ever indiscriminate, and the peril to civilisation will be indefinitely increased?

"Surely it is for the engineer, as much as any man, to pray for a spiritual awakening, to strive after such a growth of sanity as will prevent the gross misuse of his good gifts. For it is the engineer who, in the course of his labours to promote the comfort and convenience of man, has put into man's unchecked and careless hand a monstrous potentiality of ruin."

Hence the need of changes in education: and, above all, such as are turned towards a fresh understanding of life, both organic and social, and each in its functioning on its environment, both in general and in particulars. This educational change may be brought about through a freshened geography, historical and actual, by means of Regional and City Surveys, with their introduction to the better understanding of Nature and also of Civilisation.<sup>1</sup> In this way all the sciences of nature, and all humanistic studies also, are attractively reached, and also better understood, in their interaction and their needed harmony. And their applications are correspondingly better directed: for Surveys are for Service, just as is diagnosis before treatment.

Such Regional awakening is easy in our vacation times spent amid natural surroundings; for here we better recognise the

<sup>1</sup> Information as to Regional and City Surveys, their aim, method and application may be obtained from the Secretary, Leplay House, 65 Belgrave Road, London S.W. 1.

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fundamental elements of rural thought. And this moreover to the advantage of the rural, as vital, over the urban and mechanistic; and not the opposite as is popularly supposed. For despite all the keenness of the latter, it is essentially developed, yet limited, by the market and the workshop, on their ever increasing scale. Whereas the rural mind, despite all its slowness and apparent backwardness, essentially turns upon its tending of life throughout its growth - whether of crops, stock or children.

This blindness of urban thought to rural reality persists also in all schools of Socialism. Here take Marx, with his precursors and successors; take Fabian administrative endeavours; or Shavian income-equalisations; and so on, to the utmost Communistic utopias, even beyond their preliminary one of fury and fire. Even grant them all the changes they desire - are these not still essentially in the urban thought-circle, mechanistic and pecuniary by turns? Were this not so, how could any Socialist have gone on for the past two generations preaching socialism or trying to practise it, without seeing that beyond all his familiar illustration of the ancient and undeniable socialism of the public highway, is the forest, to and from which it should lead, instead of to desolated moorland. Surely it is a commonplace to every social geographer, that of all forms of rural development over Europe, it is the forest which most definitely thrives and prospers under collective ownership, that of the village, the town and city, the province or State also.

Other concrete instances may be given, as from the interpretation of the fundamental contrasts of Western law, so individualistic, and of Eastern law, so communalistic; since each is largely in terms of the different cultures necessitated by their characteristic cereals - wheat, etc., and rice, respectively.

When the rural sociologist looks at law - without getting lost amid its details and fictions, as its professional practitioners still do - he sees the broad and simple generalisation (mostly unconsidered by them), that what essentially characterises the Individualist tradition of law, as from Rome onwards, and its contrast from the more communal social system of the Eastern village, is essentially based on their different modes of farming. For in raising our cereals of the West, each man minds his own plough and his own field, and not his neighbour's; whereas in rice, as the

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characteristic cereal of the East, the first thing of all is to organise the communal water and give each and every field its share. With our Western cereals, too, women and even children once helped in their secondary and minor ways, at harvest time, though now invented away; but in the East all the family, old and young, can take their part, alike in planting the rice and in cutting it. So definite is this contrast between the western individualistic cultivation of corn and the eastern communalistic cultivation of rice, that after a generation of rice-culture in the well-irrigated parts of Lombardy, the peasants began petitioning for legal and social changes to the Italian Government. Their pleas were practically unintelligible to the Parliamentary mind, until a senator, who had been in China, threw up his hands in astonishment, saying, "Dio mio! These people are asking for Chinese institutions!" Of course they were; rice demands and creates them.

So the current needs of British agriculture, with extensive renewal of drainage and water-management generally, are naturally ignored by the pecuniary and mechanistic urban mind, in its dominant policy, or lack of policy, and towards disaster accordingly.

Hence the need of foresighted rural finance, with steady social direction, towards enduring values; as contrasted with the predominant but shallow urban finance, of immediate individual gains and ever-extending indebtedness, through dissipation of energies. The rural view is in every other way needed, too, and beneficial to town life; witness the garden-villages and garden cities of the Town-planning movement, still so little developed.

Above all, the recent Coal Crisis and the subsequent serious depression, are an extreme instance of the failure of the urban mind; too much alike among coal-masters and men, in Government and even in Coal Commission, as among the public.

Of course, we know all the customary excuses, of which one is as easily demolished as another; for were there but the will to seek and find the way even among any, much less all the five, parties who alike failed so lamentably in the recent coal crisis - masters, workers, the Government, Coal Commission and the public - reconstruction would follow. Indeed, the skilled group most competent in this matter, the Town Planning Institute, with their engineering and hygienist allies, are failing also, for they too remain little more than technical experts, and are loaded up with lawyers and administrators who are too largely dead weight; so that their social planners for social service have not yet the courage to claim their needed and definite leadership of the preceding five parties. Closely connected with this is the problem of the unemployed, a million or more, whom mechanists can but leave to bureaucrats to debase and unman by

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"dole". Here permit an extract from our associated specific challenge<sup>1</sup> to the public, before the coal crisis lapsed into its persisting catastrophe, which is, in fact, an open letter to the Government:

"and to Coal Commission, to owners and to workers, and indeed to all who are not only suffering from the present situation, but also thinking over it, our proposition is briefly this: Try Regional Planning. Give us our hearing, and our chance, as an evolutionary group, and not as a party. "To create working examples of useful re-employment is for us a familiar experience, when our own too rare opportunities of employment arise. And if either central or local governments had had the wisdom to employ us, and give us our chance, as captains of reconstructive industry, to utilise even a fraction of their doles, we should by this time have cleared up many a squalid village and town, both industrial and rural. We should have applied their waste to use, providing building materials here, and cheap fuel there, or turning it to fertility. We should have drained marshy places, - sometimes to irrigate meadows. Our forestry-plantations would already be growing, and so on; and all this with labour so manly, so healthy and even joyous as to attract youth to a period of such service as the supposedly backward Bulgarians are already doing." "But again the "practical man" may produce his biggest objection of all - that to organise these Planning Offices, with their Surveys and Reports upon the national Coal situation will cost money - and where and how is that to be got? (Always money, observe: never money's worth, never a word of real energy-saving, or industry-improving!)

"To this of course there are answers; and it should be possible for the Town Planning Institute approximately to forecast them. Meantime a first rough and ready answer is this: Multiply the ascertained cost of Prof. Abercrombie's Kent Coalfield Survey and Report by the number of districts requiring the like. After this, of course, financing towards execution has to be considered; but as examples to begin with, are there not a good many mining companies who would be willing to face their share of this, as indeed some have already done in years past? From such experience, approximate regional estimates could soon be obtained. "Suppose, however, for illustration, we were even to ask as much as a million! What is that, compared with the local and national losses since the coal strife began?"

"Recall the financings of War. Have combatants ever had the money in hand for that? They fight along, and get it as they can; and so again, in this crisis - already a minor civil war, and full of evil omens of a greater one - must we not somehow do the like?"

"The really practical question thus is - can these Regional Planning Offices in reasonable time pay for their keep, and give good value for it? And the answer, from every planner of experience, and as his life-work shows - Assuredly! Of course individual powers differ: some Surveys and Reports will not be as good as others; yet it is safe to say that none of these would prove inefficient. For given reasonable facilities and a very few months time, work found too slow or of inferior quality could be transferred to more effective hands."

"And as to usefulness - is there any sane man, be he within or without the coal industry and business, who does not see the thousandfold return

<sup>1</sup> See "The Coal Crisis and the Future, and Coal Ways to Reconstruction": Leplay House, 65 Belgrave Road, London S. W. I.



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to be obtained from carrying out methods like those for Kent, in preference to creating for this new area the wasteful and woeful muddles which other coal districts so commonly show? And the tasks of clearing up these old ones are not so entirely different as at first sight may seem."

This and other challenges of the two Coal Crises books, issued by our little sociological group, accomplished nothing, since, so far as we could ascertain, they were left practically unread by all the above-named five sections, i.e., the public, the masters, the workers, the Government, or even the Royal Commission (despite proposals often excellent as far as they went). Yet in spite of these discouragements, it is necessary, and not too late even now, to set about retrieving this pitiable coal situation. And as this problem carries with it most of the main issues for which the Cambridge Congress stands, we venture here to lay on the table, on one side, the Report of the Coal Commission, and on the other our two little books. Of course, had time and powers allowed, these might have been better and more fully done, and more convincingly presented. But it is not their limitations which explain their failure, but their qualities! For here we have summarised the efficient planning of the new coalfield in particular; and the claim of regional planners in general, as able, willing and ready to clear up the coal areas, and these alike in terms of better engineering, and of better homes, with gardens and allotments in improved villages and towns; for these are the essentials of real wages, and which all men need, but will never get until they transcend the urban fiction of wages essentially as money. With this planning, and its engineering and technology explained in outline by leading experts, there should have been some response, and from all five classes, instead of none.

Yet when we do not catch the fish, there is after all no use in blaming them. The angler must also consider what was wrong with his bait, and the fisherman must find out how his far cast net scared them away. We now, of course, see and confess these errors in our volumes, which might have had more readers had we not rashly dared beyond speaking of planning and engineering, and even of hygiene, in ordinary readable technical terms - to refer to the real social issues, and with outline therefore of their relevant elementary sociology as necessary, which was too outspokenly done.

Given the above five groupings, all possessed - if not more or less obsessed - by the pecuniary aspects of the situation, and too little with the technical ones, and with the social aspects practically ignored - to begin and end, as we did, with the call from urban pecuniary conventions and mechanistic routines to regional life and social science, was too utopian altogether! We dared to affirm that the coal situation is far more than a money squabble; we have treated it as a collapse of the paleotechnic order of industry, yet with opening for the neotechnic one. That is to say, the coal age needs to repeat upon our modern spiral that ancient change of the stone ages, from paleolithic to neolithic, and from hunting to agriculture, which is the broadest general fact of human prehistory. But this thesis, as there explained, is true; so we challenge criticism; and we invite fuller verification by such members of the Cambridge Congress as will grant it consideration, if they do not know it already. And if granted, we again challenge and invite consideration of the necessary revolution in thought which this material transition carries with it.

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Hence our further insistence on human evolution, as at once organic and mental - even towards Olympian and Parnassian at their best - and with mind and body at their highest accordingly. For by such evolutionary policy alone can we escape the corresponding and manifest evils which arise for lack of such Idealistic policy, as poverty and disease, ignorance and folly, even to vice and crime. We maintain that for want of such serious evolutionary studies, and their applications, the would-be "practical man" of every class, be he capitalistic or labouring, governing or muddling, is thereby too much maintaining, continuing and even accelerating our too manifest movement towards evolution downwards and backwards. Hence, for instance, the ugliness of the coal regions is the index of the wasteful and muddling inefficiency of our paleotechnic industry; as indeed the contemporary American advance of efficiency methods begins to show. Hence also the ignoring, as "idealistic", of the need for re-education, and this fundamentally regional and rural, and of the three H's - Heart, Hand and Head - as distinct from, and necessary beyond, misinstruction in the three R's, so essentially urban, indeed metropolitan in its pecuniary obsessions, its verbalistic thought-substitutes.

This rural outlook yields even a better understanding of the physical sciences and their mechanistic and kindred applications; yet its main strength lies in its developments beyond their level, and towards ethico-social policy; thus practically utilising and combining, all that is best in the too separate mental attitudes of religious, moral, philanthropic and political endeavours.

Without an element of esthetic feeling, no "good job", not even a scavenger's, is thinkable. And without true and rural return to sanity in thinking, the permanent habit of health is not attainable; while without the ethical and social appeal, no general order, much less progress, is realisable. Here it is commonly answered by many of those we here criticise: "See our immediate agencies to relieve poverty, as formerly by workhouse and now by dole; see our hospitals for mind and body; see our efforts of regulation or would-be suppression of vice, and also our vigilant police and more than ample gaol provision against crime." Yet even granting these all they claim, as the best an urban and paleotechnic society could think of and do, is it not obvious to-day that they count for little against the growth of urban revolutionary forces, proletarian in mass and mechanistic and pecuniary in thought, as so plainly in their leaders, from Marx as student and writer in the British Museum to Lenin in conspiracy or power. Whereas our regional and rural interpretation moves towards a larger and higher efficiency in the understanding and control of the physical environment, because also with more understanding of the organic and mental life, of social origins, and of the corresponding ethical evolution.

Hence the contrast of the growth of the mechanistic and correspondingly warlike "red" revolutionary spirit of the town,

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and that of the incipient "green" revolution of the peasant, who is now beginning to raise his banner also, yet one not of mere militancy and life-destruction, but essentially towards peaceful advance in vital thought, and its constructive and life-promoting action. Whereas the present deterioration of great cities, as often also their material and organic decline, is here compared with that of old Rome itself.

Yet with the vital City - the City in deed - its Region comes also to its highest fruition. The task of science is to render explicit in thought, and thence fit for application, all that which life-experience carries implicit within itself. The mechanistic and pecuniary occupations producing our urban aggregations have long outrun the slower awakening of the rural mind (and have even too much urbanised this mind); but now its time of arousal and of development has arrived. The rural outlook and impulse have thus to supplement our urban thought, and to advance beyond its prevalent physical, mechanical, and arithmetical pecuniary levels. How? Upon those of life, mind, morals and society; and this even renewing our physical environment and activities accordingly. And these, moreover, in survey and interpretation, and in applications throughout the whole range of industrial relationships. Hence for our treatment of these we are at the opening of nothing short of evolutionary science, philosophy and policy; which, taken together, are capable of appreciably abating the present misunderstandings in thought and conflicts in action.

This appeal of rural thought, from its simplest levels onwards, is thus ethical and social, mental and organic; in a word, it is in the fullest sense *vital*. The normal rustic mind thus not simply realises, and shrinks from, the ill-health and other disharmonies of the industrial town: it next discerns these as inevitably associated - and in vicious circles - in the measure of their inefficiency as to its needed life-promoting activities, and their excessive specialisation upon their mechanistic labours, and their individual pecuniary interests accordingly, with far too simple insistence on gain or on bare livelihood, and these alike at the expense of life in evolution.

It is therefore necessary to clear our minds from the present preponderance of such urban thought; and towards a far fuller

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encouragement and development of the rural mind in its vital and harmoniously social attitude, and thus with fresh activities towards "life more abundantly". Such life-advancement obviously does not consist, as the urban mind essentially reckons, in mere quantity of population, but above all in its quality: that is to say, of rural and urban life in its regional and civic evolution. And this on all its levels, ethico-social and psycho-organic.

For social life, as "conduct" (or, in simpler term, "duty"), is at once ethical and economic. As individual "behaviour", it unites sanity of mind with health of body. And as efficiency of working "activity" or "industry" in our environment, it has esthetic values as well as physical. Thus something of each and all the above is, and has to be, realised in every possible "good job"; and so throughout all industrial relationships.

Had space allowed, it would also have been clearly noted that there are important occupations which do not tend life, but take it - especially those of the hunter and fisher, and the woodcutter, and the miner's work in the inorganic world. And as all occupations must come to the market - the fundamental economic beginning of the town - it is as yet the development and interaction of these life-taking occupations which have been most influential in our towns, above all those of our industrial age. The rural occupations here insisted upon are those especially concerned with the fostering and tending of life; namely, those of the shepherd and the agriculturist, in his three main varieties - the poor peasant, or "crofter", the richer as farmer, and the most developed as gardener and fruit-grower. These too have, of course, had their developments and their influences in the city also: but, in our industrial age, these life-tending occupations and interests have been far distanced by the life-taking occupations and interests. To bring these influences of the life-tending occupations forward and towards the needed vital advance of urban thought, and correspondingly towards the vitalising of urban action accordingly, is the essential purpose of the present paper.

## PUBLIC OPINION AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

BY KERSTEN HESSELGREN

Inspector of Factories and Member of Parliament, Sweden

We have come from twenty different countries to this old historical town in order to discuss the fundamental relationships between all sections of the industrial community. That is the subject of our present Congress. Why is it that the industrial community should be of such special interest that it can persuade people to come from all over the world? It must be that the problems of industry are felt, and keenly felt, as an intense difficulty, and that everywhere men and women are trying to find the solution to these problems in a manner which will bring back again something of what we have lost by the change brought about by the industrial revolution, without losing what we have so richly gained.

I think it is very appropriate that such a Congress should come here to this country, because it is in this country that the new method of working sprang into life. It was in the North of England that those new methods were first tried, which we now call industry. That was about a hundred and fifty years ago. You might say a hundred and fifty years would be enough to learn the lesson of this new method. But if you really take into account what has happened, what enormous changes have taken place, how large numbers of people have had their lives and daily existence quite changed, how even the character of the mind has changed, you will realize that it really means that we have come into a new epoch in the history of mankind; and as it is a new epoch, we might well say that we are still in our young days, with all that it means of uncertainty, mistakes, groping for light and wisdom in our ways of living this new industrial life.

The more I have been brought into contact with industry - and as you have heard, I am a factory inspector and have been for sixteen years - the more I have felt this - that we are living in a new era, that it is really an entirely new experiment we are making with this work which we call industrial work; and, because of this, I think we may have great hope of being able to adjust ourselves to these new ways and of finding solutions for our present problems.

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What are these problems? I do not think I need enumerate them. We all suffer from them more or less. You in England have had your coal question, or have it still. You have had a General Strike. In Sweden we have our general lockout. Most of the countries here represented will have had similar experiences. These all indicate that there is a maladjustment in the public body. Masses of people all over the world are suffering from the sense of uncertainty of livelihood and tenure, of the inadequacy of their reward, and lack of information as to the financial results of their work, - so states the report of the Liberal Industrial Enquiry.

I have already said that I have great hope of our being able to change things and find a solution of our industrial problems. I say that because from the very beginning there have always been men and women who have tried their best to find the way, and they have invariably endeavoured to bring their solutions into being by calling on public opinion. Hence the importance of speaking of public opinion in its relation to industry.

I would remind you that Robert Owen in his time understood that in order to be able to change existing evils, he must get public opinion on his side - and insofar as he was successful in this nationally, he was able to bring about the first legislation introducing protective measures for people in industry. He thought that he would also be successful internationally, and for that reason he brought his question before the Holy Alliance in 1818. It is quite remarkable to remember that the Holy Alliance - the International League of that time - had this question brought before it in 1818. But he was laughed at. He was thought to be a fool and an impossible idealist. However, he had set the ball rolling. Not much showed at first, but finally in 1919 public opinion had formed itself sufficiently on this subject to be able to hold the first Conference on International Labour Legislation.

You know how the sufferings during the war awakened the public conscience and hence originated what has been called the Magna Charta of Labour. I suppose you all know of this, but I am not quite sure that you all realize what has really been undertaken through this Magna Charta. Although it

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was the public mind which forced this Magna Charta into being, the curious thing happened that, when the first Labour Conference after this Resolution was held in the United States, it was put to the President of the United States as a question, how he could allow such red Radicals and Bolsheviks to come over to the United States. It was suggested to him that he should take one of the warships, put them all on it, and send them back to Europe where they belonged. I have always felt that this was a very useful object lesson in social progress. You must always remember that it takes some time for ideas to permeate the public mind and, vice versa, that ideas once formed are equally difficult to get rid of.

But what is public opinion? It is yourself and myself. It is everyone we come in contact with. Therefore we all help, often quite unconsciously, to form this public opinion, and perhaps often not in the right way, by using carelessly words which we do not realize may have quite another meaning in different quarters.

Dr. Delisle Burns and several of the speakers during these days, have given you very striking instances of how difficult it is for one group in industry to understand another. How much more difficult must it not be for people living outside of industry to understand the groups within industry!

I remember going as a factory inspector for the first time to one of our big match factory towns. It struck me that everybody in that town was convinced that everything wrong in the town was owing to the factory girls. "Of course", they said, "it is those girls who have done that". The girls themselves were so used to being called "those girls" that they really thought they were something apart, not really belonging to the community. I am quite sure that the people of that town did not mean to be cruel. It was just "public opinion". I am happy to say that in the sixteen years during which I have been a factory inspector, this has utterly changed. Public opinion now about "those girls" is quite different.

You must admit, of course, that public opinion very often is the same as mass suggestion. Mass suggestion is a feature of our present time. The new method of working and living

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which we call industrial, is forcing on us all that queer thing called mass suggestion, and it is very difficult to withstand it. I met it once very strikingly. During the crisis of the war-time, food was very scarce and as many children as possible were being sent out to camp in the country, where they got good food. A woman in a tobacco factory had two children at one of these camps. Suddenly this woman went out to the country and, in spite of the protests of her two children, brought them back with her. When she came to the factory the next day, the welfare worker said, "Why did you do that? You know the children got food enough". "Oh yes", she replied, "I know. But I also know that if some day people were to begin to tell me that the children were not getting enough food, I would believe it". We do not all of us so readily admit that we are influenced by what other people say, but I am perfectly certain that each of you can remember some instance when you have been influenced in this way by what other people have said.

It is not necessary that I go back to the experience of the war to remind you of the two biggest factors that influence life and, for that reason, public opinion also. I mean fear and distrust. They are the big promoters of difficulties in relation to individuals, groups, nations and races. They are what was underlying the idea that this first Labour Conference was composed of Radicals and Bolshevists. The factory girl by herself has already changed that, and I am quite sure that if another Labour Conference went to the United States there would be no danger of any question in the Senate.

It is very interesting to watch the shifting of public opinion. I think that public opinion has moved very much since the day of Robert Owen, via the Versailles Treaty until the present time. I am thinking of factory legislation. Public opinion has become clearer on that subject, but I have taken my example in order to show that you can count on the moving of public opinion in that direction.

Public opinion has become clearer with regard to the necessity for protective legislation for industrial and many other workers, but new demands are now being made. There are other



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things that we must get public opinion to understand. There is a new demand for collaboration, for better relations between all sections in industry, which needs to be understood by public opinion. I am not going into what is meant by these things; I hope the next speaker will do that. But, before closing, I want to say that it rests with us all to remember that we help to form public opinion, and therefore are responsible for the development of possibilities for the solution of industrial problems.

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BY PAUL U. KELLOGG

Editor of "The Survey" and "Survey Graphic", New York

My endeavor will be to discuss public opinion less as a detached and dramatic leverage operating upon industrial relations from the outside, than as a magnetic field playing through all the interstices of our scheme of life and labor; something organic, manifesting itself in spheres small and large in our going industrial life.

Let me underscore that whatever the sphere of any public, the development of common opinion within its bounds depends upon understanding, and that in turn upon communication. When in your General Strike the newspapers were shelved, myths, fears and fables bred and spread overnight. In the characterization of William Bolitho, the Australian war correspondent, England at that time was like an Indian bazaar filled with scaremongering because communication among men had been shut off. He goes on to point out that there is today a similar situation in Italy, where the informational function of the press has been suppressed so completely that an entire people have been "turned out of the theatre of the world's news and crowded into a lecture hall."<sup>1</sup> Something of the same sort we are told has happened in Russia.

Similarly in the United States and with equally untoward results, we had the cessation of editorial discussion by practically all the Boston newspapers in the summer of 1927 because of the strong feeling over the Sacco-Vanzetti trial. The Springfield Republican presented a courageous contrast.

Communication among men, the free interchange of those syllables by which experience and ideas are transferred and translated from one group to another, is essential to the healthy development of public opinion anywhere.

Our first great American interpreter to Europe was Benjamin Franklin, who came over here at the time of the Revolution. Many people know of Franklin not only as patriot or rebel but as the man who with kite and key first identified lightning

<sup>1</sup> "The Eyes and Ears of Democracy", by William Bolitho, p. 731, Survey Graphic for March 1927, a special number on "Fascism; a challenge to the Spirit of 1776."

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with electricity. We in America think of him also as a pioneer of our postal service. As postmaster of Philadelphia, postmaster general of the Colonies before the Revolution, and of the States afterward, he was one of those who conceived it to be necessary, if we were going to turn thirteen colonies into a nation, that the people in all of them should be in touch with each other, that the means of communication among them should be straight and cheap and swift. Modern postal systems had had their beginnings in France, England, Spain and Germany from the 13th to 16th centuries, but it is less than a hundred years ago that the Englishman, Rowland Hill, is credited with originating the postage stamp. Our Civil War taught us how important it was that men hundreds of miles apart should be as close together as those in neighboring villages - so far as the price of a letter goes. Of course, that has become a truism in all national life today; however uneconomic it may be, a common rate of postage is accepted as politically and socially indispensable. And we are more and more applying the same principle to the world's intercourse. Since the days of Franklin and Rowland Hill we have had developments in means of communication such as our forefathers never dreamed of. The stage coach has given way to the railroad; the letter has been outstripped by the telegraph, and both by the radio.

Some time ago I talked with an overseas visitor to the United States who anticipated that the coming of air mails and wireless would mean as much in binding the outlying reaches of the earth to European seats of authority, as transcontinental railroads and telegraphs had meant in welding the American Union. He proved more progressive in his mechanical ideas than in his political. He assumed that the world would adopt all these new contrivances, but that there would be no corresponding development of the human spirit; that backward people would remain backward and continue to be governed by their far-off betters.

What he said gave me pause. Are we all caught in the same net? We have built up great looms of communication, but how much heed have we paid as to who is throwing the

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shuttles, or what are the interferences with the free play of ideas? In facing the industrial problems of the new century, what barriers must be overcome if we are to have genuine contact and understanding?

A first barrier comes of the very growth of our means of communication. As the president of our Association has just pointed out, we are victims of mass suggestion. We have our radio, our movies, our syndicated features and newspaper "strings" too often handled in ways that tend to make people give up their thinking functions and respond and act in all but chemical unison. Such regimentation must be countered if we look for concerted action based on independent thinking.

Next we must note the slow spread of ideas compared with that of mechanical inventions. If I should contrive some small improvement to the electric lights in this room, one that had a commercial kick to it, it would be taken up all over Europe, all over America; the profit to be made out of it would prove a tremendous driving force to spread that slight invention by which we would all see a little better. But if your chairman should have a brilliant idea, a new social conception prescient for human well being, and should try to get that out to the world, he would find no such dynamic force ready to spread it; rather, he would run into all sorts of barriers of habit and prejudice and economic self-interest.

Again, compare the slow emergence of creative ideas with the rapid multigraphing of fashions. I suppose there has been no political or social evangel in our modern life to which more energy and more imagination were subscribed than the Woman Suffrage Movement which made such amazing strides in the first twenty-five years of the century. Witness the post held by the president of the I. R. I. in the upper chamber of the Swedish Parliament. The other day the New York Times republished a photograph of the first suffrage parade in New York. You saw again those determined women going up Fifth Avenue. They were putting all of themselves into that march and what it stood for; they exerted all the influences they could bring to bear, and they succeeded. It took them years. Now, that picture showed those women with towering hats

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and skirts that trailed in the streets. If they had met in assembly and decided that they would set out to persuade the women of America to paint their faces, to cut off their back hair, to emancipate themselves from woollen under-clothing, to lift their skirts knee-high and free their stride, those good ladies would have been run out of town. Yet fashion did these things almost overnight, without the bother of procession or argument.

Another barrier to communication and understanding grows out of our extreme specialization. This meeting is unusual in that it brings together doctors, psychologists, personnel directors, economists, investigators, employers, scientific managers, shop-chairmen - a wide gamut of humankind, with differing approaches and vocations, differing prejudices, aptitudes, points of view. That is what gives this meeting its exceptional quality. For the most part, we tend to develop water-tight compartments in our modern life. We know progressive people in our own callings; we sense what they stand for and press toward; but we do not know the corresponding people in other callings. Your progressive lawyers, for example, may have only vague ideas of what your progressive doctors are creating and inventing, how they are pushing out their horizons. Your doctors may have only the blindest of notions as to what the engineers are driving at when they talk of "giant power" and the high speed transmission that may prove all but as revolutionary as was the introduction of the steam engine. Your engineers, on the other hand, may be purblind to what the chemists are concocting, how their tubes are brimming with promise. Much less, how all these advances may be integrated for the common welfare. In his Outline of History, H. G. Wells pointed out that the reason the Alexandrian civilization went down was not merely because of ancient wars or because the library burned, but because that civilization was one of specialists, one of savants so absorbed in particular fields of learning that they knew nothing of each other's work of hand. Their civilization was sand without cement and crumbled.

We have a counterpart in the specialization characteristic of modern research which tends to segregate discoveries rather

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than unify them for the service of life. In the second quarter of the new century we must give as much attention to synthesis and the vital application of scientific advances as we put into analysis in the first quarter.

Another barrier we face is the persistence of great chasms in our social life, great insulations between groups by which they fail to apprehend each other in any true sense. We see this in exaggerated form in the class conflict, but it holds also in the less tense convolutions of our ordinary workaday affairs.

Let me illustrate our experience in America with post-war prosperity. We have prosperity in a very real sense. We have it in the sense that perhaps for the first time our people have a surplus rather than a deficit on which they can plan and build. None the less American prosperity is a very ragged and uneven thing. We may not have the primary poverty with which Europe has had to grapple, but we have a sobering contrast between the surface prosperity in which so many share and the sapping and mining which goes on beneath that surface.

In 1921 we had a rather serious unemployment situation in the United States, and Secretary Hoover called what was known as the President's Unemployment Conference. It was perhaps the first time that our national government had recognized hard times as an engrossing human situation in industry about which something might be done. It was a meeting of what in those days we called the "best minds". It worked out emergency programs for our industrial centers and visualized some of the factors entering into causation and control.

Since then we have had some remarkable studies of the business cycle. We have had gains in regularization on the part of certain industries - notably the building trades. We have distributed statistics of stocks in hand, so that manufacturers and merchandizers need no longer produce or buy in the dark. We have handled discount rates and credit facilities with greater intelligence. As a result, seven years later, when, if economic history was to repeat itself, the dip of the cycle was due, we experienced last winter either a very shallow

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cyclical depression or the beginnings of a deferred depression; we did not know which. We did know we had mounting unemployment in most of our cities, though conceivably it was merely the residual of what would have confronted us had the steps referred to not been taken. Under Mr. Hoover's leadership the National Bureau of Economic Research has entered upon an investigation of Recent Economic Changes. This is really a study of the forces that have made for our continued prosperity, or, in terms of industrial relations, that have made for stability of employment.

I do not want to minimize the importance of stability of employment, but I do want to point out that it may be a different thing from security of employment. Obviously the best answer to the hazard of unemployment is work, just as the best answer to the hazard of industrial accidents is safety. But while efficient safety engineering, such as has developed in the United States in the last twenty years, may cut down the toll of life and limb in industry, it butters no parsnips for the man who is killed or for his family. For that we look to insurance under our compensation laws, which have spread during the same period and which have put pressure behind the safety movement by making "killing come higher". Similarly, it does not salvage the households of men without work if you cut down the bulk of unemployment. You have delimited their predicament as a statistical group, but you do not meet rent or food bills for those who are laid off.

We have in the United States at the present time serious unemployment in coal and textiles. Some students maintain that because of the rapid strides in mechanization in the years since the war, we have unsettled a body of permanently unemployed people the country over. However that may be, we know our relief agencies are dealing with an exceptional number of unemployed middle-aged men who, once displaced, find it difficult to get new jobs. We know that our employment statistics are inadequate and that our Federal Employment Exchange system, which was developed during the war, has dwindled into ineptitude; we know that neither city nor state nor nation had developed a program of public works to swing into line when industrial operations fell off last winter, and

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that our American communities went through the old rigmarole of emergency relief as if we had learned nothing in the dislocation of 1921, and less in the seven fat years since.

Our lethargy in the United States toward this problem of security of employment, despite searching reports by research agencies, our failure to develop statesmanship to meet it comparable with that of European countries, illustrates the gaps in understanding between one group and another. In Germany and England practically all classes shared in the common experience of post-war depression. With us the prosperous groups and their "best minds", to whom we might look for leadership, well nigh remained unconscious that anything had been out of kilter between men and jobs.

The experience of Detroit in 1927 is a case in point. The other day, a cable quoted Mr. Henry Ford as saying on his recent visit to England that there had been no unemployment in America. (Since coming here I have been told that he never made the statement.) Testimony to the contrary could be given by sixty thousand men hitherto employed either by Ford or the industries serving the Ford plants in the Detroit district and who were out of work for longer or shorter periods while he changed models. Today the Ford plants are thrumming with work, but throughout 1927 the city experienced a sag in employment of a sort which ordinarily would be the complement of a serious financial depression. It was registered in a heavy load of charitable relief, in savings wiped out, in instalment-buyers and home owners caught short, in the failure of small tradesmen, in taxes defaulted; in a general ravelling of the texture of household life for great numbers of men, women and children. Here we had a disastrous illustration of the fact that American management has not thought through the problem of security or worked out any scheme by which a community may have a cushion under it in the midst of market changes.

At the same time tremendous office buildings were going up in Detroit. Bank balances were up. There was a superficial prosperity at the business centre while these tragic experiences were undergone in the working-class neighborhoods which had been brought together by the rise of the automobile industry.



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We see these gaps in understanding, in contact and in imagination repeated and magnified on a world scale. We in this room are representative of twenty different nationalities in our concern for the problems confronted in the modern factory; and yet we may be fiddling while Rome is burning. Our efforts to work out the refinements of industrialism at our great centres may prove the salvation of the world. Through them we may achieve formulae which will serve all mankind in the years ahead in adjusting modern civilization to the backward reaches of the globe. On the other hand, by focusing our attention too exclusively on problems close in, we may be neglecting their wider reaches - such outlying flanges as were taken up at the missionary conference just held at Jerusalem. Your missionaries are not industrial psychologists nor personnel directors nor scientific managers; but out in the field they see the effects of our penetrating industrialism in East Africa and on the Congo, in China, India and the Near East. They are witnesses to the encroachment of machinery and capitalism on native peoples. They are shouting to us that here is something happening that our publics should know and reckon with. We have been slow to grapple with those problems of social engineering which Miss Byrd envisaged at this morning's session and which emerge when the implements, the resources and inventions of our highly developed nations are thrown into regions where there are tremendous natural resources and labor is cheap, but where by irresponsible exploitation we may be creating tensions which will spring back and upset all our comfortable apple carts. Such gaps in understanding may become the rending cleavages of race wars.

So much for the barriers that confront us. Let us look now at some of our scaling ladders. What magics have we to conjure with in investing our new industrial world?

At the outset it is well for us to bear in mind how it was that public opinion developed in our civil life. It did not come overnight or as an enveloping state of mind that settled down like the gentle rain from heaven; rather it grew slowly, we may presume, in family, clan and tribe. As our civil

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institutions took shape, it manifested itself first in the small groups, in household, neighborhood, community; then in the nation, then in the world. It grew as our spheres of contact and understanding widened stage by stage. Just so it seems to me we must look for the development of patterns of opinion in our industrial fabric. We must look for them in the workshop, in the areas where men are living and working and co-operating in creating the world's utilities; in the industries through which they set up their schemes of profit-making and self-protection, of production and livelihood. That is why it seems to me that such a conference as this is full of portent for the future. It taps the process at work.

First among our magics - some of you may think I go a bit far afield - is the spread of elementary education. Yet that is about the biggest dynamic in the world today. I had a very interesting illustration of it three days ago, when I went up to Wales to see a little by-election in a district largely agricultural but hard by the mines. There, in a mass meeting, at which a Welsh colliers' club sang the Welsh songs as I have seldom heard men sing, one man after another got up whose father and grandfathers had been illiterate. The candidate of the Labour Party was of their number. On the platform sat his widowed mother, who could neither read nor write, but who had seen her boy through the elementary schools. Then she had come up to Cambridge and opened a lodging house here to help put him through. He left Cambridge for the war and came back a Major, studied law in London and became a barrister. We know the self-made epic in America; and his story had a familiar ring for me; but his was more than an individual success; he had come back to the vales and villages of his youth to put his training at the service of his people in a movement as significant as the rise of the middle classes to political power a century ago. We are witnessing the world over the emergence of people whose fathers and mothers were illiterate. They are having a new say in our civil life through the spread of education and the vote; they are having a new say in our economic life. And whatever the frictions in the process, they represent a tremendous accession of energy linked with intelligence.

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Then we have a second great magic, and that is in the recent spread of adult education. We have come to recognize that life is a changing thing, that schooling is not for youth alone, and that grown men and women must keep abreast of change. The consequence of these leavens of education upon the lump of what we call the industrial problem, as they are kneaded into the understandings and adjustments of the next twenty-five years, are incalculable.

Let us glance at two or three other factors that may seem closer to this conference. Along with leaps forward in engineering and invention, we have the spread of scientific management, meaning by that the application of the scientific spirit to the human as well as the mechanical ordering of the day's work. Close on its heels psychology has, within the last twenty years, almost within the last ten years, come out of the laboratory and into life, and we are beginning to turn to practical account its amazing discoveries about ourselves, about our behavior, and about our relations one to another. Here is pollen that is going to be immensely fertile in the contacts between managers and men, between managers, men and the public.

Along with these new magics from the scarcely opened treasure chest of science, we have the old djins of democracy giving a rub to our factory lamps. The other day I visited a modern metal trade plant in the North of England - the Renold Works at Manchester. I was taken through, not by the superintendent, but by two trade union shop stewards, who are the president and secretary of the Works Council. What they showed me was not alone the functionings of that Council, not merely where one geographical unit in their scheme of works representation began and where it ended; what they showed me, in a way that I, as a layman, could understand, was the whole system of production, the flow of manufacture by which that plant was producing its goods and getting them on to the market and what were the values involved. That was a very remarkable experience for me. I have dealt with trade unionists and with managers, but these were two labor leaders on the border line between the two. In that plant, every worker has the opportunity of going through the

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various departments so that he will understand the operation from beginning to end; so that, as they expressed it, a man who works there for ten years will not feel the humiliation of not knowing how the whole thing is made. In that plant they have had remarkable success with lectures, attended voluntarily by all the working force, which deal with the entire scheme of production from raw materials to marketing. In the monthly meetings of the Works Council, they have business statements which are as complete as those presented at the meetings of the directors. In that plant the displacement of workers due to mechanical changes is not announced by posted notices, but is subject for co-operative study and decision. In that plant, you have mutual confidence well rooted; a sound development of concentric circles of public opinion reaching from the relation a man bears to his bench, to the relation the factory bears to the trade, and the relation the shop council bears to the national unions.

These arrangements are not without precedent. I could cite similar illustrations in railroad machine shops and in the garment trades in America. You could match them with others from England and on the continent. The English Whitleys and the German Works Councils may be little more than blueprints as yet, but they hint of the growth of future organic structure. I mention them as evidence of new units out of which must come our mosaic of public opinion in industry. They seem to me of high significance. While our changing problems - mechanical, psychological, financial, managerial, our issues as to wages and hours and control - will have to be settled on their merits as they come up, we have here a new ground work of understanding for the constructive consideration of such changing issues by the people most concerned.

If there were time I should like to speak of the importance, as I see it, of the graphic arts, of the movies and the radio, of pageants and expositions, museums and magazines, of projects in education and conferences such as this, as media by which we are discovering how to interpret to each other within the vocations and across the barriers of vocation some

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of the things which concern us all deeply. Let me at least in conclusion endeavor in my turn to visualize the larger bearings of what I have said in terms of personal experience.

Twenty years ago I spent a year in Pittsburgh, a center of vitality, energy, initiative, but a center where, in a single county in a single year, industrial operations killed five hundred men at their work in the mines and mills and railroad yards. Moreover, by spy systems and the employment of immigrant strike breakers, the employers had practically ironed out all self-government on the part of the workers. This American steel district was run from the top and still is. Thereafter I spent a week in Essen, and there in the German steel district I went through plants in which I found American machines plastered over with German safety devices. There I found housing colonies and schemes for old age pensions, for workmen's compensation, health insurance and the like; schemes that conserved life. For, as Krupps saw it, if they took a farm hand and trained him as a worker and he were later incapacitated, it was a loss to industry. But here, also, their paternalism was run from the top. It was a relief to get over to Düsseldorf, where people did things on their own, and a greater relief to get across the Channel and feel the tang of British liberty. By chance my first day in England was spent with the hunger marchers who had come to Canterbury from London to hold a meeting at the Cathedral and, by so doing, knock with their bare knuckles on the heart of England. For the country suffered from financial depression and thousands of men were out of work. Every morning, they told me, bodies were fished out of the Thames of men who had given up. Here, also, something was out of gear in the scheme of life and labor. I was baffled, and at Westminster Abbey sought out Canon Barnett, who in his youth had gone to the East End of London and founded the first of the settlements, those colons of social insight and understanding. I told him of these things. I told him of the youthful energy, the ruthlessness toward life, the denial of democracy in Pittsburgh; of the conservation of health and strength coupled with the negation of self-control in Essen; of the hunger

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marchers and the freedom which had become liberty to starve on this side of the Channel. He pointed out that England in the old time had had a remarkably fine ordering of the business of life, one in which liberty and self-dependence were ingrained; but it had been caught in the grappling mechanisms of the industrial revolution. These were taking generation after generation of English youth, squeezing them for what they had to give, throwing them aside. It had become a scrap-heap civilization. Somehow or other, he said, England must work out a new balance between liberty and life. So must the rest of us. Germany had not found the answer under its autocratic arrangements, nor had we in America in our impetuous foray into industrialism.

It seems to me, as I have seen the new developments emphasized at this conference, that we are all groping toward Canon Barnett's formula. Here in England perhaps you have the best chance at achieving it first. Of France I have only a reader's knowledge. Under the new republic in Germany, they have carried security to new lengths and there are stirrings in the way of industrial democracy. We have made progress in Pittsburgh and in America in conserving life along with our free initiatives. In each great country the showing is uneven; smaller countries lead the way at significant points. Yet in every country represented here, men and women are striving for higher levels for the common welfare. It may be that under dictatorship they can reach such levels quicker in Communist Russia or Fascist Italy. But for the democracies of this earth, for those people who would rely upon themselves, we must have mutual understanding if we are to work out collective solutions. We must have contacts for clashes, and concert of opinion amid the great mechanisms of modern life. We must begin with our everyday relations in the workshop and build from the bottom up, as we did in fabricating civil structures which comprehend both individual liberty and the self-government of nations.

## ROUND TABLE DISCUSSIONS

# THE NATURE OF THE EDUCATIONAL TRAINING TO EQUIP FOREMEN AND SUPERVISORS

BY L. URWICK O.B.E., M.A.,

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The cardinal difficulty in dealing with the training of foremen and supervisors is that we have no agreed analysis of the foreman's job and no accepted conception of supervision. The only factor on which there is common agreement is that we are dealing with those grades of the management who are in immediate contact with the workers.

The existing mass of literature on this subject is therefore premature. It prepares for industry as it is to-day, ignoring its dynamic character. It contemplates the training of men and women who are already in responsible positions - almost a hopeless task.

It comes in the majority of cases from the United States, and, owing to the difference of social background, is inapplicable to European conditions.

The duties comprised in the foreman's position are bound to change with the development of industrial organisation, to become specialised and functional.

Any system of training must therefore be extremely simple. It must also be long-period, starting with young men and women. It should seek to develop:

Co-operation through:

- a. Policies which can command intelligent adherence.
- b. Rational economics, and a recognition of the foreman's position as an employee.
- c. Self-expression.
- d. Industrial organisation.

Leadership through:

- a. Psychology.
- b. Knowledge of labour movements and their history.
- c. Directed practice in handling small groups, including the opportunity to make mistakes.

In dealing with this last subject, industry must learn from other organisations, such as armies, which have special experience in the study of leadership. Direct attention must be paid to morale. It is doubtful whether, in the European environment, prestige can be developed without some segregation of a special class of leaders. There is no denial of democratic principles if opportunity of entry to that class is open and equal. It is merely a question of function and the method of training for special functions.

The question is vital to better industrial relations. The controllers of industry, whoever they are, are powerless to make any material change unless they have a trained body of subordinates capable of expressing their policy in the daily contacts with the workers.

There are of course half a hundred angles of approach to this problem of the foreman or supervisor. He is already the somewhat bewildered subject of an enormous literature. But the writers of books for him and about him, seem to be agreed

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on one subject only - his vital importance in the industrial scheme of things. I sometimes think that he must feel a little like God in the hands of the theologians. I could indeed have analysed and summarised for you some minute corner of "The Foreman and His Job" by X., "How we train Supervisors" by Y., and "Education for Foremanship" by Z., demy octavo 50 and 700 pages with 3 tables and 10 illustrations, \$ 5 net or by our special installment plan.

The indigestion resulting from my brief excursion into the literature of foremanship nearly ended in a disastrous re-action. For a time I toyed with the attractive pose of the "practical man"... so dear to certain captains of industry. I would limit myself rigidly to the narrow field of my personal experience, describe to you, with timetables of lectures and correlations all complete, how we train foremen in the Blankshire Lemonjuice Co. Ltd. One could introduce the usual instances of the cabin-boy to admiral persuasion, adorning the tale with the chosen generalisations of the Managing Director who first learned the meaning of S. P. O. R. at a foremen's study circle in Roman history. It would have been simple and straight-forward. But this is an international conference. And if international action has any seed of hope in it, it must surely rest in the nations being similar in the broad human qualities - sufficiently similar at all events for all of you to have heard that sort of thing a hundred times before at countless conferences.

And then, looking at the matter afresh, it occurred to me that the general object of the Conference as a whole is to discuss "The Fundamental Relations of the various parties to Industry". And what I propose to do is to discuss this question of Foremanship Training strictly from that angle - from the point of view of the fundamental relations involved in it. My observations may possibly seem to you a little disconnected. I feel that is inevitable. Because I believe that in this subject above all others we are only groping - only at the first rude picture-writing on the question. All these attempts to work out a technique of foreman training, to collate existing experience, are premature. They lack any foundation in a clear vision of our aim.

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This of course is true in part of any system of education. But it is particularly true of education designed for any grade of person engaged in industry; because machine industry, as we know it, is a very recent institution indeed. It is also a highly dynamic institution at a particularly active period of its evolution. And in all the questions which are concerned with management, with the relations between those grades in industry whose duty is to plan and to direct and those who co-operate with them, this dynamic characteristic is particularly marked. We are at an intensely interesting stage of development, a stage which has sometimes been called "the second industrial revolution". Just as the application of power to production and advances in the physical sciences opened out that sudden alteration in technique and processes which ushered in the machine age, so the application of the moral and sociological sciences to the relations of those who work in industry which is gathering in force today, and of which this conference is an example, is pregnant with vital alterations in our way of looking at things.

Now it is the inevitable handicap of almost all systems of education that they tend to prepare for the world as it was yesterday rather than for the world as it will be tomorrow. By the time living, vital creative thought has become part of the general intellectual currency of mankind so that it can be netted in pedagogic expositions and compressed to the bare skeletons of text-book practice, it is almost always out of date. There is this great justification for those who would base all teaching on the humanities and ignore vocational bias of any kind whatever, that on the whole the humanities are exercises in methods of thinking. The vast bulk of vocational training is merely the inculcation of knowledge which has already lost touch with truth. What is true of all education, is, for the reasons I have given you, doubly true of systems designed for those who work in industry.

You will agree with me that it is impossible to design a suitable scheme of training for any office, any group of duties, unless you have first analysed the nature of that office, the requirements of those duties. Well, when we talk about foremen and supervisors, what do we mean? I have recently

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completed a job analysis of a medium size factory employing about 7,000 people. There are some hundreds of so-called foremen. No two of their job analyses read the same. The term covers every grade and variety of duty and responsibility from posting wage-books to the management of a large and varied department. And what is true of that factory is, "mutatis mutandis", true of every factory in Europe and of a large majority of those in the United States.

It is the same with supervisors. We all know that two men in a given factory with ostensibly the same official degree of authority, exercise in practice degrees of supervision that are psychologically poles asunder. In a few cases attempts have been made to define supervision, to express its degrees. But these are crude and inexact, lacking in any practical system of checks. It will take half a century at least for any principles of authority to be worked out and to become established in the great body of industrial life. In the meanwhile the exercise of direction and control must remain the haphazard, unco-ordinated mixture of cajolery, personal influence and intimidation which it is today.

If we are honest with ourselves, we must confess that when we talk about foremen and supervisors we are talking of a group of widely dissimilar positions, entirely lacking in any common or accepted principles, either as to the duties involved or as to the degree of authority implied and the nature of the sanctions supporting it. I think it is a fair guess that there is only one element in these titles which is common to all the minds I am here addressing, namely, that they imply those individuals in the industrial hierarchy who are directly in touch with the great body of workers whether operative or clerical. That of course is an important fact. It gives us some basis for discussion. It explains the emphasis which is placed upon this subject. Because, whatever the quality and intention of the policies of management, their results in practice will depend on the kind of impression which is made by those final personal contacts. No scheme of national advertising can overcome the handicap of an ill-trained and ill-mannered sales force. The strength of any chain of industrial relations is essentially the strength of this final link.

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But this is the sole fact we have to build upon. If we turn to the quality and kind of relations which should subsist between the workers and those immediately in contact with them, we are at a loss. Because working relations must depend on the nature of the work. And here that dynamic character of industrial organisation to which I have referred steps in. We don't know, any of us, what the character of the foreman's work is going to be even a decade ahead.

Mr. R. M. Fox, to whom we shall have the pleasure of listening on Monday, has recently published a very stimulating and challenging little book under the title of "The Triumphant Machine". In it he pours a great deal of scorn on Scientific Management. He regards it as an outworn and demoded solution of industrial problems, designed to speed up the workers in the interest of the employers. I feel that Mr. Fox has a great big apology coming to the shade of F. W. Taylor, if life gives him the opportunity of studying in more detail the real significance of that great pioneer's work.

The idea of applying the method of thought, the intellectual technique evolved by the scientists to the problems of industrial management is yet young. Taylor died, at a comparatively early age, in 1915. There has been little or no opportunity for early genuine experiment on a conclusive scale with the more revolutionary and far-reaching of his ideas. Among these I count the conception of functional foremanship. But I am sure that all of you who have studied those ideas without bias will agree that that conception was integral, an essential development of his whole industrial philosophy. I regard the wider application of this cardinal principle of industrial organisation as an inevitable development. It will come slowly, but it will come none the less surely, probably within the lifetime of many here.

For this belief I have three reasons. In the first place Taylor's analysis of the qualities and duties required of the foreman under the older form of industrial organisation, seems to me unanswerable. You will remember that he listed 9 qualities which the foreman was called upon to possess, including Brains, Education, Tact, Special Knowledge, Energy, Grit, Honesty, Judgment, and Good Health. It leads directly

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to his conclusion that the job is an impossible one, that only one man in a thousand can be found who is really competent to fill it - and he is naturally not available at a foreman's wage. Taylor knew very little about experimental psychology. But his analysis was curiously confirmed by Mr. Ordway Tead whose "Instincts in Industry" contains a fascinating summary of the mental conflict involved in the foreman's position.

In the second place, even since Taylor's time, the amount and range of specialized knowledge which should be employed in the everyday tasks of industrial management has increased enormously. When we are discussing the higher executive positions, we say quite glibly that it is unnecessary for the administrator to be intimately acquainted with all the sciences which bear on his task. He must delegate to and co-ordinate the work of experts. We sometimes forget, especially when we are discussing educational schemes, that the foreman has no one to whom to delegate. The trend of industrial organisation must be similar to the general tendency of all the social organisation of our time - which is increasingly to confide work of all kinds to functional specialists. We cannot leave the foreman out of this process, a relic of an older system, still a Jack of all Trades. Even a buffer will lose its resilience if it is hit too hard and too often.

Thirdly, and most important of all, I believe that the functional conception of management, alone of all the theories of industrial organisation which have been put before us in the last decades, really goes to the heart of our difficulties. In his last book, Mr. H. G. Wells writes, "A vast amount of moral force has been wasted in the past hundred years by the antagonism of Labour to Capital, as though this was the primary issue in human affairs. But this never was the primary issue and it is steadily receding from its former importance". I believe that to be absolutely and literally true. No man, whatever his political complexion, who has any practical experience of administration today, really pretends to himself that a mere shift of ownership in the means of production, or in the right to its surplus, will make any fundamental difference in industrial relations. Whatever the ownership of industry,

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the real hardships will continue unless there is a fundamental change in organisation and method.

We are dealing with something far more subtle than a vague sense of injustice which is open to any legal adjustment. We are dealing with an objection to direction and obligation become articulate with the spread of political liberty and popular education. And the sole answer we can give to that objection is to show that direction and obligation are not personal, not enforced by sanctions which rest on might, but natural, inevitable in the order of things if the world is to be clothed and housed and fed. That is to say we must give to the workers exactly the same answer as Taylor gave, when challenged on the ground that this functional foremanship contravenes the principle that "no man can serve two masters". He replied that it did not upset the principle, but enforced it. Under functional foremanship everyone, employer, foreman, and workers alike, serves one master. . . . knowledge. Looked at in this way functional organisation contains the germ of a real hope, a permanent resolution of our discontents. For it envisages an industrial society in which we shall all be both servants and masters, each in our turn, masters in those things in which we have special knowledge and training, and servants in those things in which others are more instructed.

If, however, we believe that evolution of our industrial organisation in this direction is inevitable, for what duties are we to educate our foremen and supervisors? Clearly our existing methods will not do. For, and this is my objection to practically all the published schemes of training, they are designed to produce men and women fitted to perform better the group of duties which is conventionally assigned to the foreman today. What we want is a scheme of training designed to fit men and women for the duties of the foreman and supervisor as they will be tomorrow. We must educate, not for what is, but for what might be.

Here, again, we turn to the one solid fact on which we can agree, viz., that the term foreman or supervisor does imply an individual who in some managerial capacity or other is in direct contact with the worker. If my second conclusion

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is accepted and we are agreed that within a decade or so the group of duties at present conventionally allotted to the foreman is likely to be broken down into a variety of more specialised tasks, we have at least an indication of limitations. It is obviously hopeless to try to educate future foremen for all of the eight or ten special functions for any one of which they may be selected.

It appears to me that any system of education for these positions, if it is to be of practical utility must, in the first place, be largely confined to the one common element on which we have insisted. That is, the first quality of primary import which we should seek to develop in our future foremen and supervisors is leadership. And in the second place, we should, I feel, abandon any attempt to inculcate special knowledge of the various functions, any one of which he may be called upon to perform and none of which we can teach thoroughly, and concentrate rather on that general attitude towards industrial work, that faculty of appreciating the method and the spirit by which a number of specialized tasks may be united in furthering a single end, which we call co-operation. Leadership and co-operation - these are the two, and I feel personally the only two, ends of importance towards which systems of foreman education should be directed.

But, it may be argued, those are not intellectual qualities at all, things which can be taught. They are moral qualities, matters of the spirit. And it is doubtful if there is any system of training which will develop them.

This is, of course, in part true. And here is my second great difficulty with the existing systems which have been described at such length. In nearly every instance when they speak of foremen or supervisors, they mean men and women who have already reached positions of minor responsibility in industry. Heaven forbid that I should appear to criticise the noble and honourable workers who, with little opportunity, no immediate training, and against immense difficulties, are holding these appointments in industry today. But in the majority of cases, and more particularly in the older countries where employment with the same concern is more stable and promotion less flexible than in the United States, we are

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starting to educate men and women when they are often of middle age, settled in their main characteristics, and liable to view with resentment any suggestion that they should go to school again. We must help them all we can. It is our duty as managers to do so. It is our fault not theirs, if they are unequal to the task and unsuitable material for instruction. But I think we must recognise that any attempts in this direction are not systems of education at all. They are the veriest patchwork, making good at fifth best, the careless and shortsighted management of the past.

Moreover, the majority of the foremen and supervisors in industry today have been selected, not for their possession of those qualities which I have outlined as important, but on one ground and one ground only - skill in the particular task which is to be supervised. Curiously enough, the great body of the workers seem to give a kind of tacit approval to this method. It seems natural to them that it should form the basis of selection. It is much as if we chose our officers for the army because they were good at drill. It is, of course, important that the foreman should have a decent workmanlike knowledge of the tasks he is supervising; but no more than any worker we should be willing to retain in employment. It is a "sine qua non" without which he is not a candidate for selection at all. But - given this basis - it is an issue which becomes of paramount insignificance alongside these other qualities which are of the essence of his task.

This point leads me direct to my second main conclusion that if we really desire to evolve a genuine system of training to equip foremen and supervisors, it must be a long-period system - a system designed for men and women who are selected when they are young, just because they show evidence of the possession of those qualities which I have indicated as essential.

This brings me to my third and last difficulty with the majority of the systems which have hitherto been described. Again, I should be the last to cavil at the magnificent work done by our American friends. I think all of us here in Europe should be profoundly grateful to them for the quantity and quality of the original and courageous research which they are putting



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into these industrial problems. We cannot hope to rival them in this field. They are an inspiration to all of us. On this subject, as on many others, the bulk of the published literature comes from them. But while it is immensely helpful and suggestive, it is inapplicable directly to European conditions. The reason is this:

The two qualities which I have defined - leadership and cooperation - are essentially personal attitudes towards two sets of industrial relationships. Subjectively they imply the power to inspire and direct others on the one hand, and the power to work collectively with others on the other hand, towards the fulfilment of a given task. Objectively they imply on the one hand the recognition of exceptional qualities which induce acceptance of direction, and on the other understanding of the common plan and enthusiasm that others should have the fullest opportunity of making their maximum contribution to it.

Personal attitudes of this type are conditioned and determined largely by the social and group background in which they are set. It is not logic, but tradition and habit which guide individual action. Now - and this is what I particularly wish to emphasize to our friends and fellow workers from the United States - there is a real and vital difference in social background, particularly as it bears on this problem. They live in a country which not only started with the constitutional assumption that all men are free and equal, but a country where, owing to its physical break with the past and the rapid development of an almost virgin continent, men really do feel equal. Of course there are qualifications. They say you can't convict a million dollars and I fancy that the Daughters of the Revolution would hardly define liberty agreeably to John Stuart Mill. But there is a radical difference - a difference clear to every sensitive European the first time he asks for a shoeshine in New York. The American shoulders his knapsack with a baton swing so to speak. He guesses he may be President some day.

It is wholly significant that "guess". Here in Europe we don't guess, except about horses. About the big social issues our attitude is one of knowing. The worker either "knows his

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place", or he is convinced that it is only the bloodsucking capitalist who keeps him from what he knows to be his rightful place. We are still under the shadow of feudalism. You will hear a business man say "I don't know what to do with my business when I die. You see I lost my boy in the war". While one pities him, one wonders what he thinks his boy died for. There are parishes all up and down Europe where the parson and the squire still dominate the social situation. The long slow emancipation with its deep-set habits of mind and its crude reactions is still only in the making. The class-war is poor imitative stuff, repeating consciously the attitude which the ruling classes have held unconsciously for a thousand years..... the exploited playing the same suit as the exploiters out of the same old greasy pack. Class divisions and class distinctions, arrogance and subservience, thinking which cannot get away from what people are to what people do, they are still woven into the fabric of our society. But America put the knife through that tangle at Yorktown and the last litter was cleared away by the men who died at Gettysburg.

The difference is never clearer than in this question of foremanship. If I read the literature aright a foreman in the United States is a man who does a particular job. A foreman in Europe is still a man of a particular social class. That is why the American literature on foremanship is inapplicable to European conditions. What is more it is apt to have a narcotic effect - to inhibit European employers from thinking out this foreman situation down to the bottom.

Take first of all co-operation. Co-operation is a state of mind. Men can be taught to co-operate on one basis and one basis only, enthusiasm for a common object which they understand and appreciate. The relations between the foreman and his employer in Gt. Britain are still almost invariably the master-servant relations. The foreman is expected to co-operate as a matter of course, because he is a member of the staff. Employers who fully accept Trade Unionism as a reasonable economic device, of value to all concerned, go pale with rage and astonishment when members of their staff show

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any signs of group consciousness. But the economic relationship of the salaried staffs to the employer or owner group is precisely the same as the workers'. The staff are dismissed a little less easily, carried a little longer in times of adversity, because they cost more to replace. But that's all there is to it. They are workers and wage earners all the same.

Why then does the employer get angry? Because he is still thinking in feudal terms. He would regard group action by his staff in defence of their economic position as "disloyalty to him". You see the old complex. And, generally speaking, the staff accept this view for much the same reasons. They have a position of privilege which carries certain social dignities. They are intensely class-conscious: they would sooner lose every hope of heaven than "come down in the world". But I ask the employers to consider carefully, how does this relation differ one iota from that between the baron and the crowd of understrappers, bailiffs, vinters, and what not who hung about the manor? They depended on their overlord's personal favour that they were better than the serfs: they depended on their wits and their power of digesting humble pie to win advancement one from another. But their loyalty, their adherence, was entirely a personal affair. And the same is true to day over a large area of European industry. No common idea is put before men which can win their allegiance. It is futile to talk about co-operation with the workers, or to attempt to teach co-operation to foremen, unless and until the basis of that co-operation, its object, has been defined in terms which cut behind personal advantage and the individual dominance of the bandit chief, to a logical description of economic process as the servant of the community fit to command the willing adherence of thinking and civilised men. That must be the basis of all reasonable foremen training in co-operation - a statement of policy, the policy of the enterprise, which will hold water, which, if I may express it in a phrase, will convince them that they "are in business for their health".

This leads immediately to a second consideration. I am always filled with amazement when I hear business men talking about competition. I am a believer in competition as

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a device with certain valuable applications to economic life. But in its crude form, "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost"..... how can it be reconciled with the realities of our industrial life today? Here we have a technique of production which for its efficient working requires the most delicate co-ordination of countless specialised functions and processes in ever-increasing units of control. It calls for a degree of mutual understanding and forbearance, of appreciation of the other fellow's job, unparalleled in any enterprise within human history. And Sir Ernest Benn and others solemnly assure us that the mainspring of all that delicate tissue of loyalties and self-abnegations is and must be self-interest. I wonder if Lady Benn tells the little Benns the same story: "There dear go and play nicely with little Johnny. But be careful about your enlightened self-interest. If you want his toys and you are the stronger, take them. If he objects, hit him in the eye. Then be a clever lad and tell me that he hit you first. All will work out for the best. There run along and have a delightful game." You cannot maintain that competition is a self-regulating process which if left alone will come right by Divine ordinance, and inside your own works expect to be rid of the frictions, and the lyings and the forestallings which acute competition between individuals always brings in its train. Or at all events you can only do so by imagining that within those works you are capable of supplying the divine regulation.

I suggest that the second point in training the foreman of the future in co-operation is a course in economics which is practical and realistic, which puts competition in its place as a device of utility between groups of producers subject to certain controls which we are in process of working out, but a device which has no place within the individual works. As long as our captains of industry treat competition as a basic principle of economic life, an end in itself, a guide to conduct, so long will the mental attitude of those who should be co-operating in our industrial enterprises reflect that erosive belief. I believe that the new attitude to economics which I have suggested is the underlying significance of that general movement of world thought which we are beginning to call Rationalisation.

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I have left to the end the simplest points in connection with co-operation. Successful co-operation between human beings is primarily a question of successful communication. I fancy the simultaneous translation device which is being worked out experimentally at Geneva is likely to have a more profound influence on international relations than all the diplomats have had for a century. But communication between man and man is largely carried on by the written and spoken word, and even where men nominally speak the same language, words are tricky things. I believe that training in self-expression is part of training in co-operation. I would include in the foreman's course in co-operation what Mrs. Malaprop called "the nice derangement of epitaphs".

Second to facility of communication comes knowledge of what the other man's work signifies. Here again, I must repeat, you do not want to teach details. You cannot train every foreman in costing, and personnel work, and chemistry and engineering and safety devices and a dozen other functions. What you can teach is the part each of these activities plays in the total effort of the concern. In short he should be taught the elements of industrial organisation.

But both these last subjects seem to me of infinitely less importance than the first two, which are not really academic subjects at all, but attitudes on the part of the employer. Only by a revision of the mental set on these questions can we hope to resolve the acute conflict which the foreman's present position involves. You have got to define for him the general object of the enterprise in terms which will enable him to feel an intelligent interest in its success on grounds of citizenship, not of personal adherence. You have got to express for him his own position and the position of his group in the general structure of economic life in a form which will neither damage his own instinctive loyalties to his worker colleagues from whose ranks he has come, nor his new loyalties to the management group. Lastly you have got to reconcile for him the theory of competition which has been handed down by the classical economists, with the facts of large scale machine production as we see them round us today.

Before leaving this subject it is worth noting that despite the

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absurdities to which I have called attention, the manager and employer group have managed, at least as far as Gt. Britain is concerned, to evoke an amazing degree of co-operative effort and of feeling for the concern as a concern from the lower grades of the staff. They should take no credit for it. It is merely a demonstration of the amazing susceptibility of the human mind to group loyalties and ideals..... an almost untilled field in psychology. I suggest to all of you that this one fact contains a core of hope for the future social progress of humanity. We have here at our hands a dynamic power for betterment, when we have learned to control and direct it to social ends, comparable to the problem of the atom in chemistry and physics.

Now as to leadership.

If my analysis of the European situation is accepted I believe that we have got to ask ourselves some particularly searching questions on this point. I have already suggested that the foreman of the future can only be trained if he is caught young. But there is a further question. Leadership is a reciprocal relation, an attitude on the part of the leader compounded of self-confidence, desire to take a lead, to initiate, and of sympathy for and understanding of those under his authority. On the part of the led it postulates absence of the desire for self-assertion, confidence in and affection for the leader, and that acceptance of his position which is usually described by saying that he possesses prestige. If it is true that to a large degree the old feudal habits of mind still persist in business life, it is at least arguable that such a relationship cannot be developed at its best in any system which draws the leader direct from the ranks of his fellows.

Industry is of course desperately short of any real experience in this problem. The present position has "just grown" like Topsy without any deliberate study of the subject as a whole. Moreover we are only just beginning to realize that the modern large-scale business is a system of administration, rather than a glorified family party. But there are organisations which have been forced by their character deliberately to train to leadership. An army is such an organisation. Now

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it is nearly universal in the armies of the world to find this job of the leadership of small groups divided as it were into two functions. I am speaking of the foreman's job, the small unit of command. Take the platoon in the British Army. It has first of all a platoon officer, a man who is not usually drawn directly from the ranks, and never, except in emergency, from the ranks of the same regiment in which he serves as an officer. His job is essentially leadership as I have defined it. . . . . the moral part of the total task of commanding the platoon. Assisting him is a platoon sergeant, who as it were looks after the technical side of the work. He is expected to be able to manage men. He is usually an older man than his officer with a great deal more experience of the details of soldiering. But he is not expected to nearly the same degree as the officer, to exercise that moral influence which we call leadership.

Now let us look back at industry, at the conventional foreman promoted from the ranks in the same shop, largely because he is a good technical man. Sometimes we get leadership, but how often? May not just here be the root of nine-tenths of the trouble which issues in strikes and bitterness, that there is no group in industry whose specific function it is to supply in close and intimate contact with the small units of control just that factor of prestige, of confidence and affection, which it is the express and defined task of the subaltern officer to evoke?

We have recently had an opportunity of watching military training systems put into operation on the largest possible scale. We have been able to study organisations expanded to twenty and thirty times their normal size with lightning rapidity, forced to train officers and non-commissioned officers in a twentieth part of the time usually considered desirable. I suggest that that is a practical test of principles of organisation and command, such as industry seldom contemplates. And yet, right up to the end of the war, speaking for the army which I knew intimately and I imagine for all the armies, there was case after case where the whisper that the "young officer" was wounded out in front would send half a dozen men into the thick of machine gun fire to fetch him

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in. Those boys were often silly, often lesser men than those they led: but, somehow or other they gained an ascendancy which had nothing to do with courtmartial and military discipline. So that their men loved them and laughed at them and would go through the fires of hell behind them.

I often wonder as I contemplate industry, with its muttering and disgruntled shops, its middle-aged foremen, often feared, sometimes respected, but seldom loved, whether it is possible to grow the flower of leadership in such a soil.

At least I believe that if we are to do so, we shall have to devote much more attention and study to the methods of those organisations which have almost as many centuries of experience in the matter as industry has years. I suggest that we shall have to make up our minds that the men who are to supply the leadership factor in relation to the small groups of workers must be specialised for this task to a far greater degree than is the case at present. I doubt if they can command sufficient prestige, at all events in the older countries, if they are put immediately in charge of men whose colleagues they were the day before yesterday. Above all they must stand or fall, as the officer in the army stands or falls, by the morale of their unit, by its general contentment and readiness to put forward co-operative effort.

This will no doubt sound rather dreadful to some of my labour friends. It smacks of privileged classes. What is to become of the sacred principles of democracy? Personally I feel that democracy has one sacred principle and one only, and that is equality of opportunity. By all means let us destroy as soon as may be those privileges and forestallings in the body politic which make the children of rich parents able to compete at a great advantage with far abler youths from poorer homes. I am with them in the elimination of every form of log-rolling and influence. Let every appointment in the land, whether in industry or in the public service, be made on the basis of fitness and fitness alone. But I also believe that undue sensitiveness about class is not confined to the more fortunate. And that it is one of the greatest inhibitions from which we suffer, when we try and think scientifically about methods of administration.



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If a particular job requires that those who are going to hold it should be selected at an early age and carefully and specially trained for that service, that is a question of method, not of principle. I do suggest that the real gift of leadership is too rare and too precious, to refuse to use it from whatever class it originates.

As to the subjects of training there are certain obvious points. I do not believe any man is equipped to lead men in industry today who has not a working acquaintance with the findings of modern experimental psychology, and with fatigue study. I think too he must have some knowledge of modern labour movements and of Trade Union history.

But here again, as with co-operation, the vital lessons are a matter of attitude on the part of the employer or management. In the final reckoning the only school for leadership is to lead; but to lead under sympathetic and careful direction. Here again we have got to get rid of the competitive complex and of the repression of subordinate executives to which it leads, so that a chance is given to every man who is qualifying for leadership to make a few mistakes and to learn from them. He has got to be taught too that leadership is not a matter of privilege, of titles and freedom from discipline, but of responsibility. Above all he has got to be taught that men will follow only the man who puts their interests first.

I can remember to this day a scene in 1915. A tired group of officers just relieved from the line had rolled into the mess hut. One of them was a raw hand fresh from England. The Colonel looked at him a minute and then said "Jones, have your men had their teas yet?" Jones hesitated and said "the Sergeant's just sending the teas up". The reply came like a flash "Jones, your dinner can wait. Go and look after your men". Or another instance..... a subaltern was put on to administrative work of a trying character. One day he lost his temper with a careless clerk. A Captain at the other end of the office waited until the clerk had gone out and said quietly "Come over here". The subaltern who was on excellent terms with him walked over. Suddenly, sharply, "Stand to attention when I'm talking to you". And then for

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10 minutes the stream flowed, till the boy wished he had never been born. The final peroration was a work of art. Suddenly the angry voice dropped to a quiet tone "Now you know exactly what it feels like when you can't answer back". Five minutes later the astonished subaltern heard a friendly voice behind him say "Come and have some dinner with me in Rouen".

Yes, leadership can be taught. Here and there in isolated instances one finds examples of deliberate teaching in industry. But they are rare. We have got to think this question out again from the beginning. It is urgent. For until we do, no changes in the higher organisation of industry will avail us. In the long last it is the details of every day which count. Industrial relationships are made in the shops, in the intimate contacts between the workers, in the smallest units of control and those who represent to them personally and immediately the policies of the management. In modern large scale production you must have systems of administration and you must have discipline, whoever owns the capital, wherever the ultimate authority resides. No man or body of men taking over the control of English industry to-day would have any power whatever to alter the majority of the causes which underlie strikes and endemic discontent; because the reciprocal relations between this key group of foremen and supervisors and the higher management group on the one hand, and the workers they supervise on the other, have never been worked out, the conceptions of authority and the methods by which it is enforced are alike feudal and elementary. There is no trained staff of small-group-leaders for the quite simple reason that the principles which underlie such training have never been defined.

I have been able to do no more in this paper than try to indicate some of the directions in which it seems to me that research and experiment are possible.

## NATURE DE LA FORMATION PÉDAGOGIQUE DES CONTREMAÎTRES ET DES SURVEILLANTS

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Quand on veut étudier la formation de contremaîtres et de surveillants, la difficulté cardinale réside dans le fait qu'il n'existe aucune définition critique généralement acceptée de la tâche du contremaître et aucune conception communément reconnue des fonctions de surveillance. Le seul point sur lequel il y ait accord, c'est que l'on est en présence des échelons de direction qui se trouvent en contact immédiat avec les ouvriers.

La majeure partie de la bibliographie du sujet est donc embryonnaire. En effet:

elle a trait à l'industrie sous la forme où cette dernière se présente aujourd'hui, çad. qu'elle en ignore le caractère dynamique, elle envisage la formation des travailleurs des deux sexes occupant déjà des situations qui comportent des responsabilités, tâche presque sans espoir, elle provient, dans la majorité des cas, des Etats-Unis et ne peut donc, à cause de la différence du milieu social, s'appliquer aux circonstances qui existent en Europe.

Fatalement, avec le développement de l'organisation industrielle, les devoirs que comporte la position de contremaître devront se transformer pour se spécialiser et devenir fonctionnels.

Tout mode de formation professionnelle devra donc être extrêmement simple; la formation devra également porter sur un long espace de temps, et s'adresser à des travailleurs des deux sexes suffisamment jeunes.

Elle devrait s'efforcer de développer:

L'esprit de collaboration en se fondant sur:

- a. des principes directeurs qui puissent faire l'objet d'une adhésion intelligente;
- b. des méthodes économiques rationnelles et la reconnaissance du rôle que le contremaître joue comme employé;
- c. la faculté, chez le contremaître, de savoir exprimer sa pensée.

L'aptitude au commandement, en la développant au moyen:

- a. d'études psychologiques;
- b. de la connaissance des mouvements travaillistes et de leur histoire;
- c. de la pratique, sous une direction éducative, du maniement de petits groupes, pratique comportant la possibilité de commettre des erreurs.

Pour aborder ce dernier point, l'industrie devra se mettre à l'école d'autres organisations, telles que les organisations militaires, par exemple, qui possèdent une expérience spéciale dans l'étude du commandement. Une attention particulière devra être accordée à la question du "moral". Il est douteux qu'il soit possible, dans l'ambiance européenne, de créer l'élément nécessaire de prestige sans recourir à une certaine ségrégation d'une catégorie spéciale de chefs. Cette nécessité ne porterait d'ailleurs pas

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atteinte au principe démocratique, pourvu que l'accès à cette catégorie soit ouvert à tous, dans des conditions d'égalité.

Il s'agit en effet simplement de déterminer les fonctions et d'établir un régime éducatif préparant à ces fonctions spéciales. La question est vitale, si l'on veut améliorer les relations industrielles. Il sera impossible aux maîtres de l'industrie, quels qu'ils soient, d'opérer un changement effectif quelconque s'ils ne disposent pas d'un groupement exercé de subordonnés capables de mettre en application leurs idées, dans les contacts journaliers avec les ouvriers.

Ce problème du contremaître ou surveillant, on peut l'aborder de cinquante manières différentes. Le contremaître se trouve être, un peu à sa stupéfaction, le sujet d'une énorme littérature. Cela n'empêche pas d'ailleurs, les auteurs de livres qui parlent de lui, ou qui lui sont destinés, de ne paraître s'accorder que sur un seul point; à savoir son importance fondamentale dans le plan de l'univers industriel. J'ai quelquefois l'impression que ce pauvre contremaître doit se sentir un peu dans la situation de la divinité livrée aux théologiens. J'aurais même pu, à ce propos, analyser et résumer à votre intention quelques passages de détail de l'ouvrage "le Contremaître et sa tâche", par M. X., de "Comment former des surveillants" par M. Y., et de "la Préparation aux fonctions de contremaître", par M. Z., format in 8° Jésus, 700 pp., ouvrage orné de trois tableaux et de dix illustrations, prix \$ 5 net, ou payable par mensualités.

L'indigestion qui est résultée pour moi de ma brève incursion dans la littérature du sujet a failli aboutir à une réaction désastreuse. Car pendant un certain temps, j'ai joué avec l'idée de prendre la pose avantageuse de "l'homme pratique" . . . ., pose si chère à certains capitaines d'industrie. J'ai pensé me borner strictement à l'étroit domaine de mon expérience particulière, et à vous décrire comment nous formons les contremaîtres à la Société anonyme pour la fabrication du jus de citron, du Blankshire, en vous donnant l'horaire des conférences et tous autres renseignements détaillés à ce sujet. J'aurais pu y joindre les considérations habituelles sur le droit des mousses à atteindre le grade d'amiral, et enfin orner mon récit de quelques anecdotes humoristiques. Cette manière de faire eût été simple et dépourvue d'artifice. Mais je me suis

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avisé qu'il s'agissait ici d'une conférence internationale, et que si nous devons avoir foi, le moins du monde, dans un mouvement international, c'est assurément parce que les divers peuples se ressemblent sous le rapport des qualités humaines d'ordre général. Et j'ai compris que, dans tous les cas, ils se ressemblent assez pour que vous ayez tous entendu, au moins cent fois déjà, cette sorte d'exposé au cours d'innombrables conférences.

Et puis, m'étant remis à examiner le sujet, il m'est venu à l'esprit que la conférence, considérée dans son ensemble, avait pour objet général l'étude des "Relations fondamentales entre les diverses parties intéressées dans l'industrie". Ce que je me propose donc de faire c'est de discuter cette question de la formation des contremaîtres, en me plaçant strictement au susdit point de vue, çad. celui des relations fondamentales que suppose cette formation éducative. Peut-être les observations que je compte présenter vous sembleront-elles manquer un peu de lien entre elles. Mais j'ai l'impression que cet inconvénient est inévitable, car je crois que dans ce domaine, plus que partout ailleurs, nous ne faisons que tâtonner - que nous en sommes seulement à rédiger la première ébauche de définition du sujet. Toutes ces tentatives en vue d'élaborer une technique de la formation du contremaître, en vue de recueillir les constatations existantes, sont en effet prématurées, car il leur manque la fondation qu'une vision nette du but auquel nous tendons pourrait seule leur donner.

Ceci est vrai, dans une certaine mesure, de tout système d'éducation, mais particulièrement vrai de l'éducation destinée à une catégorie quelconque d'individus exerçant leur activité dans l'industrie.

L'industrie fondée sur le machinisme, telle que nous la connaissons, est en effet une institution très récente. C'est également une institution de nature hautement dynamique et qui se trouve à une période particulièrement active de son évolution. Or, cette caractéristique dynamique est spécialement marquée dans toutes les questions qui ont trait à l'organisation du travail, ou qui se rapportent aux relations que les catégories d'individus, exerçant dans l'industrie un rôle de prévision et de direction, entretiennent avec leurs collaborateurs. Nous

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nous trouvons à un stade si extraordinairement intéressant du développement industriel qu'il a même reçu quelquefois le nom de "seconde révolution industrielle". L'application de la force mécanique à la production et les progrès des sciences physiques ont ouvert les voies au changement soudain dans la technique et dans les procédés de fabrication, qui a inauguré l'ère du machinisme. Semblablement, l'application des sciences morales et sociales aux relations existant entre tous ceux qui travaillent dans l'industrie, est grosse de modifications essentielles dans notre manière d'envisager les choses. Et cette application croît en importance, à l'heure présente, notre conférence même en témoigne.

Or la faiblesse inévitable de presque tous les systèmes d'éducation, c'est qu'ils tendent à préparer leurs élèves pour le monde tel qu'il a existé la veille, plutôt que pour le monde tel qu'il existera demain. Au moment où la pensée vivante, la pensée essentiellement créatrice, en arrive à faire partie suffisamment intégrante de la monnaie intellectuelle courante de l'humanité, pour pouvoir être encaissée sous forme d'un exposé pédagogique, et pour pouvoir être à tel point condensée, qu'elle se réduise au schéma décharné des manuels pratiques, elle a presque toujours déjà vieilli. C'est ici une grande justification en faveur de ceux qui voudraient faire reposer l'éducation exclusivement sur les humanités et ignorer toute tendance professionnelle quelconque, car, à tout prendre, les humanités sont des exercices qui enseignent à penser, tandis que le fond principal de l'éducation professionnelle consiste uniquement à inculquer des connaissances qui ont déjà perdu contact avec la réalité. Pour les raisons que je vous ai données, ce qui est vrai de toute éducation, est doublement vrai des systèmes destinés à ceux qui travaillent dans l'industrie.

Vous serez d'accord avec moi pour estimer qu'il est impossible de dresser un programme de formation appropriée pour une fonction, pour un ensemble de tâches quelconque, sans avoir procédé, au préalable, à une étude critique de la nature de cette fonction, des nécessités de ces tâches. Qu'entendons-nous donc par contremaîtres et surveillants, quand nous prononçons ces mots? J'ai récemment terminé une étude critique

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des tâches dans une usine d'importance moyenne qui emploie environ 7.000 ouvriers. Cette usine compte quelques centaines de contremaîtres, désignés sous ce nom. Or, il n'en est pas deux pour lesquels l'étude critique de leurs tâches aboutisse aux mêmes constatations. Le terme couvre toutes les catégories et toutes les variétés de fonctions et de responsabilités, depuis la tenue des livrets de paie, jusqu'à la gestion d'un département important, dont l'activité affecte des formes multiples. Et ce qui est vrai de cette usine, est également vrai "mutatis mutandis" de toute usine en Europe, et d'une grande majorité des usines aux États-Unis.

Il en est de même des surveillants; nous savons tous que, dans une usine donnée, deux hommes revêtus en apparence, d'une autorité dont le degré est officiellement le même, exercent, en pratique, deux formes de surveillance dont les degrés sont, psychologiquement, aux deux pôles. Dans quelques cas, l'on s'est efforcé de définir la surveillance et d'en marquer les gradations, mais ces tentatives sont rudimentaires et inexactes, car il leur manque d'être pourvues d'un moyen qui permette de les vérifier pratiquement. Il nous faudra un demi siècle au moins pour élaborer quelques principes et en faire des points de repère stables dans le grand organisme de la vie industrielle. En attendant, l'exercice de la direction et du contrôle devra persister à n'être que ce mélange hasardeux et incoordonné de persuasion, d'influence individuelle et d'intimidation, dont il est fait aujourd'hui. Pour être sincères envers nous-mêmes, nous devons reconnaître que quand nous parlons de postes de contremaîtres et de surveillants, nous désignons sous ces termes un ensemble de situations fort dissemblables, n'obéissant à aucun principe commun ou communément accepté, soit quant aux devoirs que comportent ces situations, soit quant au degré d'autorité dont elles sont pourvues, et à la nature des sanctions destinées à appuyer cette autorité. Je crois tomber juste en disant que, dans les esprits de tous les auditeurs rassemblés ici, un seul et unique élément est commun à toutes ces désignations, à savoir qu'elles englobent les individus se trouvant, dans la hiérarchie industrielle, en contact immédiat avec la grande masse des travailleurs, ouvriers ou employés de bureau. Il va sans dire

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que ce fait présente une grande importance, car il nous fournit, jusqu'à un certain point, une base de discussion, et il explique pourquoi l'on s'attache à ce sujet avec une telle insistance. Quelle que soit, en effet, la valeur de l'attitude des dirigeants et les intentions dont elle s'inspire, les résultats dépendront, dans la pratique, de l'effet causé par ces contacts ultimes d'homme à homme. Aucun plan de publicité nationale ne pourra surmonter, par exemple, les insuffisances dues au manque de préparation et de doigté des équipes de vente. Et l'on peut bien dire que la force de la chaîne des relations industrielles est représentée par celle de son chaînon final.

Mais c'est aussi le seul fait sur lequel nous puissions bâtir. Si nous abordons la question de la qualité et de la nature des relations qui devraient être établies entre les travailleurs et ceux qui sont en contact immédiat avec eux, nous perdons déjà pied, car les relations de travail dépendent forcément de la nature du travail. Et c'est ici qu'intervient ce caractère dynamique de l'organisation industrielle auquel j'ai fait allusion. Nous ne savons pas à l'avance, ni les uns ni les autres, ce que sera le caractère du travail du contremaître, ne serait-ce même que dans une dizaine d'années d'ici.

M. R. M. Fox - nous aurons le plaisir de l'entendre Lundi prochain - a publié récemment, sous le titre "Le Triomphe de la Machine" ("The Triumphant Machine"), un petit livre qui donne un stimulant et même lance un défi à notre pensée. Dans cet ouvrage, il couvre d'un grand mépris l'organisation scientifique. Il la considère comme une solution usée et démodée des problèmes industriels, solution conçue en vue d'accélérer le travail des ouvriers dans l'intérêt des patrons. Eh bien, pour peu que la vie lui donne l'occasion d'étudier plus en détail la signification réelle des travaux de F. W. Taylor, j'ai comme une idée que M. Fox se verra bientôt dans l'obligation de faire d'amples excuses aux mânes de ce grand précurseur!

L'idée d'appliquer la méthode de pensée, la technique intellectuelle élaborée par les hommes de science, aux problèmes de l'organisation industrielle, est encore récente. Taylor est mort en 1915, à un âge relativement peu avancé. Il ne s'est présenté que de rares occasions, disons même qu'il ne s'est



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pas présenté d'occasions d'expérimenter véritablement, çad. dans des proportions qui permettent de conclure, les idées les plus révolutionnaires et les plus divinatrices de Taylor.

Or je range précisément la conception du rôle fonctionnel du contremaître parmi ces idées . Mais je suis certain que ceux d'entre vous qui les ont étudiées sans parti pris, seront d'accord pour reconnaître que cette conception fait partie intégrante et constitue une des manifestations essentielles de toute la philosophie industrielle de Taylor. Je considère une application plus complète de ce principe cardinal d'organisation industrielle comme devant constituer un phénomène inévitable de l'évolution. Ce phénomène se produira lentement, mais il ne s'en produira pas avec moins de certitude, et probablement au cours même de la vie de plusieurs de ceux qui m'écou- tent.

Je fonde cette conviction sur trois raisons. En premier lieu l'analyse faite par Taylor des qualités et des tâches exigées du contremaître dans l'ancien régime d'organisation industrielle, me semble irréfutable. Vous vous rappelerez qu'il a établi une liste de neuf qualités que le contremaître était appelé à posséder: à savoir, l'intelligence, l'instruction, le tact, les connaissances spéciales, l'énergie, la ténacité, l'honnêteté, le jugement et la bonne santé. Cette liste a amené directement Taylor à formuler la conclusion que le rôle est impossible à remplir, qu'il se trouvera à peine un homme sur mille qui soit réellement capable de s'en acquitter et que, naturellement, un salaire de contremaître ne suffira pas à retenir les services de cet être exceptionnel.

Taylor connaissait fort peu la psychologie expérimentale, mais son étude critique a reçu une curieuse confirmation de M. Ordway Tead, dont l'ouvrage "Les Instincts dans l'Industrie" ("Instincts in Industry") contient un résumé saisissant du conflit mental inhérent à la situation de contremaître.

En second lieu, même depuis l'époque de Taylor, l'importance et l'étendue des connaissances spéciales auxquelles il est nécessaire de recourir dans les tâches journalières d'organisation industrielle, ont augmenté énormément. Quand nous parlons des postes de haute direction, nous avons vite fait de dire qu'il n'est pas nécessaire pour un administrateur de posséder

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une connaissance intime de toutes les sciences relatives à sa tâche. Il doit, ajoutons-nous, s'en remettre à des experts dont il coordonne le travail. Mais nous oublions quelquefois, particulièrement quand nous parlons de programmes d'éducation, que le contremaître, lui, ne peut s'en remettre à d'autres. L'organisation est appelée à s'orienter conformément à la tendance générale de toute organisation sociale à notre époque, tendance qui consiste à confier, de plus en plus, toute espèce de travaux aux spécialistes fonctionnels. Nous ne pouvons laisser, tel un vestige d'un régime plus ancien, le contremaître en dehors de cette évolution. Nous ne pouvons le laisser continuer à faire éternellement le maître Jacques. Un tampon amortisseur lui-même perdra de son élasticité si on le frappe trop fort et trop souvent.

Troisièmement, et c'est ici le point le plus important de tous, je crois fermement que, parmi toutes les théories d'organisation industrielle qui nous ont été proposées depuis une trentaine d'années, la conception fonctionnelle de l'organisation est la seule qui pénètre réellement au cœur de nos difficultés. Dans son dernier livre M. H. G. Wells a écrit ceci: "Une grande somme d'énergie morale a été perdue au cours des cent dernières années par suite de l'antagonisme entre le travail et le capital, comme si cette question constituait le problème primordial dans les affaires de l'humanité. Or, en réalité, elle n'a jamais été le problème primordial, et elle perd constamment de son importance antérieure".

J'estime que ces lignes sont vraies, de façon absolue et au pied de la lettre. Aucun homme, quelle que soit son orientation politique, mais possédant une expérience pratique de l'administration moderne, ne peut réellement se prétendre à lui-même qu'un simple transfert dans la propriété des moyens de production, ou dans le droit à l'excédent net résultant de cette production, que ce simple transfert sera capable de modifier essentiellement la nature des relations industrielles. Quelque soit le possesseur de l'industrie, les maux véritables continueront, si ce n'est pas dans l'organisation et dans les méthodes mêmes que survient un changement fondamental.

Nous sommes aux prises avec quelque chose de bien plus subtil qu'un vague sentiment d'injustice, auquel il est possible de

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remédier grâce à un ajustement des lois pratiqué sous une forme ou une autre. Nous nous trouvons en présence d'une aversion à être dirigé et soumis à des devoirs, aversion qui, - l'extension de la liberté politique et les progrès de l'éducation populaire aidant -, est parvenue à s'exprimer de façon articulée. Et la seule réponse que nous puissions faire à cette aversion, consiste à montrer que la nécessité de subir une direction et de se soumettre à des devoirs, n'est pas particulière à tels ou tels individus et ne repose pas sur des sanctions appuyées par la force, mais, qu'étant donné la nature des choses, c'est une nécessité naturelle et inévitable, si nous voulons que le monde soit vêtu, logé et nourri. Autrement dit, nous devons répondre aux travailleurs exactement comme Taylor a répondu à ceux qui lui faisaient remarquer que le rôle fonctionnel du contremaître portait atteinte au principe énoncé dans la maxime „nul ne peut servir deux maîtres à la fois". Taylor répliqua que son idée, loin de saper ce principe, le confirmait au contraire. Avec la conception du rôle fonctionnel du contremaître, tous au même titre, patrons, contremaîtres et travailleurs, ne servent qu'un seul chef... la connaissance. Prise ainsi, l'organisation fonctionnelle contient le germe d'une véritable espérance, d'une solution permanente de nos misères. Car elle envisage une société industrielle dans laquelle, tous, nous serons à la fois maîtres et serviteurs. Nous deviendrons en effet, chacun à tour de rôle, maîtres dans les choses pour lesquelles nous posséderons des connaissances et une formation spéciales, et serviteurs dans celles où d'autres se montreront plus instruits.

Si donc nous sommes convaincus que l'évolution de notre organisation industrielle doit inévitablement se faire dans ce sens, en vue de quels devoirs devons-nous former nos contremaîtres et nos surveillants? Il est évident que les méthodes existantes ne se montreront pas satisfaisantes, car les projets d'enseignement professionnels qui ont été publiés - et c'est ici l'objection que je leur adresse pour ainsi dire à tous - ces projets sont conçus en vue de préparer des travailleurs des deux sexes à mieux s'acquitter du groupe de tâches que l'on convient aujourd'hui d'assigner aux contremaîtres. Or ce qu'il

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nous faut, c'est un programme d'enseignement destiné à préparer des travailleurs des deux sexes aux devoirs de contremaîtres et de surveillants, mais à ces devoirs tels qu'ils se présenteront demain. Nous devons instruire non en vue de ce qui est, mais en vue de ce qui pourrait être.

Ici de nouveau, nous en revenons au seul fait solide sur lequel nous puissions nous mettre d'accord, à savoir que le terme contremaître ou surveillant s'applique à un individu qui, dans un certain rôle de direction exercé sous une forme ou une autre, se trouve en contact direct avec le travailleur. Si vous acceptez ma seconde conclusion, et si vous reconnaissez avec moi que dans une dizaine d'années environ, le groupe de tâches que l'on convient d'attribuer à présent aux contremaîtres sera probablement fractionné en une variété de tâches spécialisées, nous parvenons tout au moins à nous faire ainsi, une idée des limites auxquelles nous devons nous borner. Il est manifestement vain, en effet, de vouloir préparer de futurs contremaîtres à huit ou dix fonctions spéciales indistinctement, quand ils doivent être choisis pour n'exercer que l'une quelconque d'entre elles.

Il me semble que, pour présenter une utilité pratique, tout programme de préparation à ces postes, doit d'abord se restreindre à prendre surtout en considération l'élément commun unique sur lequel nous avons déjà insisté. En d'autres termes, nous devrions, en premier lieu, essayer de développer chez nos futurs contremaîtres et surveillants, la qualité d'importance primordiale qu'est l'aptitude au commandement.

En second lieu, nous devrions, selon moi, renoncer à toute tentative d'inculquer indistinctement des connaissances spéciales relatives à des fonctions variées, quand les candidats sont appelés à n'exercer que l'une quelconque de ces fonctions et quand nous ne pouvons en enseigner aucune convenablement. Nous devrions bien plutôt concentrer notre effort sur l'attitude générale qu'il convient de prendre à l'égard du travail industriel, sur cette faculté d'apprécier la méthode et la disposition mentale, grâce auxquelles un certain nombre de tâches spécialisées peuvent être coordonnées en vue d'une fin unique, bref sur ce que nous appelons l'esprit de collaboration. L'ap-

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titude au commandement et l'esprit de collaboration, telles sont les deux - et, en ce qui me concerne, les deux seules - fins d'importance vers lesquelles devraient être orientés les programmes de formation des contremaîtres.

Mais l'on peut arguer qu'il ne s'agit aucunement ici de qualités intellectuelles, de vertus qui puissent être enseignées. Ce sont des qualités de caractère inhérentes à l'esprit du sujet; il est donc douteux qu'il existe aucun système d'éducation capable de les développer.

Jusqu'à un certain point cette objection est, bien entendu, exacte, et voici précisément la seconde grande difficulté que je trouve aux programmes connus qui ont déjà fait l'objet d'exposés si complets. Presque toujours, quand ces programmes parlent de contremaîtres ou de surveillants, ils envisagent des hommes et des femmes qui sont déjà parvenus, dans l'industrie, à occuper des postes comportant une responsabilité subalterne. Le ciel me préserve de paraître vouloir critiquer de dignes, de nobles travailleurs, qui, avec des facilités très réduites, sans la moindre formation immédiate, en présence de difficultés immenses, détiennent aujourd'hui ces postes industriels. Mais dans la majorité des cas, et plus spécialement dans les vieux pays, où l'emploi dans une même entreprise est plus stable, et l'avancement moins souple qu'aux Etats-Unis, nous nous mettons à former ces hommes et ces femmes lorsque ils ont déjà atteint l'âge mûr, lorsque les principaux traits de leur caractère se sont déjà fixés, et lorsque les intéressés sont enclins à considérer avec ressentiment toute suggestion tendant à les renvoyer à l'école. Nous devons les aider tant que nous pouvons; en notre qualité de dirigeants, nous sommes tenus de le faire. C'est en effet, de notre faute, et non de la leur, s'ils ne se montrent pas à la hauteur de leur tâche, et s'ils ne sont pas aptes à recevoir une formation. Mais je crois, d'autre part, qu'il nous faut reconnaître que toutes les tentatives faites dans ce sens, ne constituent aucunement des systèmes éducatifs. Ils ne représentent, au pied de la lettre, qu'un effort de rapièçage pour essayer de réparer au mieux - un mieux de cinquième ordre - les effets de la direction négligente et à courte vue du passé.

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En outre, dans l'industrie d'aujourd'hui, les contremaîtres et surveillants ont été choisis en majorité, non parce qu'ils possèdent les qualités que j'ai signalées comme importantes, mais pour un unique motif - l'habileté dont ils font preuve dans la tâche particulière qu'ils sont appelés à surveiller. Chose assez curieuse, la grande masse des travailleurs semble donner une approbation tacite à cette méthode. Il lui semble naturel que la sélection se fonde sur ce critérium. C'est à peu près comme si, dans l'armée, l'on choisissait les officiers parce que ils font bien l'exercice. Il importe, bien entendu, que le contremaître possède une connaissance et une expérience convenables des tâches qu'il est appelé à surveiller. Mais il n'est pas nécessaire qu'il en sache plus que tout ouvrier dont on désire conserver les services. Il s'agit ici en effet d'une condition "sine qua non", en l'absence de laquelle l'intéressé ne pourrait même pas présenter sa candidature. Mais, - ce point de départ une fois acquis -, la question devient souverainement insignifiante en regard des autres qualités qui, elles, ressortissent à l'essence même de la tâche envisagée.

Cette considération m'amène directement à ma seconde conclusion principale, à savoir que si nous désirons effectivement élaborer un véritable système de préparation des contremaîtres et des surveillants, l'application de ce système doit s'étendre sur une longue période. Il doit s'adresser à des hommes et à des femmes choisis dans leur jeunesse et précisément comme faisant preuve des qualités dont j'ai montré l'importance essentielle.

J'en viens ainsi à la troisième et dernière difficulté que je rencontre dans la plupart des systèmes exposés jusqu'ici. Je répète que je serais le dernier à dénigrer les admirables travaux qu'ont accomplis nos amis américains. Je crois que tous tant que nous sommes en Europe, nous devrions leur être profondément reconnaissants et de la quantité et de la qualité des recherches originales et hardies qu'ils poursuivent sur ces problèmes industriels. Nous ne pouvons espérer rivaliser avec eux dans ce domaine, ils nous donnent des inspirations à tous, sous ce rapport comme sous beaucoup d'autres. La masse des publications sur ce sujet vient d'eux. Mais si elle

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est extraordinairement utile et suggestive, elle ne saurait s'appliquer directement aux circonstances européennes.

La raison en est la suivante: les deux qualités que j'ai définies, - l'aptitude au commandement et l'esprit de collaboration, - représentent essentiellement des attitudes de l'individu à l'égard de deux catégories différentes de relations industrielles. L'aptitude au commandement implique, subjectivement, la faculté d'inspirer et de diriger les autres et, objectivement, la reconnaissance des qualités exceptionnelles qui amènent à accepter une direction. L'esprit de collaboration implique, subjectivement, la capacité d'exécuter avec d'autres un travail concerté en vue d'accomplir une tâche donnée et, objectivement, une compréhension du dessein commun et une ardeur qui pousse à ménager aux autres une entière possibilité d'apporter à la tâche collective leur contribution la plus complète.

Des attitudes individuelles de ce genre sont conditionnées et déterminées, en grande partie, par le cadre social et le cadre de groupe qui les entourent. Ce n'est pas la logique, mais la tradition et la coutume qui dirigent les actes individuels. Or, - et c'est ici le point sur lequel je voudrais insister particulièrement, en m'adressant à nos amis et confrères en recherches des États-Unis -, il existe une différence réelle, une différence essentielle dans nos cadres sociaux, surtout quand il s'agit de ce problème. Les Américains vivent dans un pays qui n'est pas seulement, dès le début, parti de l'axiome constitutionnel que tous les hommes sont libres et égaux, mais dans un pays où, par suite de la rupture matérielle avec le passé et du développement rapide d'un continent presque intact, les hommes se sentent réellement égaux. Il existe naturellement des nuances. L'on prétend qu'il est impossible de prononcer une condamnation criminelle contre le possesseur d'une fortune d'un million de dollars, et j'ai idée que les Filles de la Révolution américaines ne définiraient pas précisément la liberté de manière acceptable pour John Stuart Mill. Mais nous sommes néanmoins en présence d'une différence radicale - une différence que tout européen percevra nettement, s'il possède une sensibilité délicate, la première fois qu'à New York il se fera cirer les souliers. L'Américain

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met sac au dos avec l'élan de celui pour qui ce sac contient le bâton de maréchal. Cet Américain "devine" en effet, qu'il pourrait bien, quelque jour, devenir président.

Ce mot "guess" est tout à fait significatif. Ici en Europe, nous ne cherchons pas à deviner, sauf quand il s'agit de parler aux courses. Dans toutes les grandes controverses sociales notre attitude est celle de gens qui "savent". Le travailleur ou bien "sait se tenir à sa place", ou bien est convaincu que seul un capitaliste vampire l'empêche d'occuper la place légitime qu'il "sait" lui être due. La féodalité projette encore son ombre sur nous. Vous entendrez dire un homme d'affaires qu'il ne sait comment disposer de son entreprise en prévision de sa mort, car il a perdu son fils à la guerre. On se demande, tout en le plaignant, quel peut bien être, dans sa pensée, le but pour lequel son fils est mort. Rappelons-nous aussi qu'il existe, dans toute l'étendue de l'Europe, des villages où le châtelain et le curé dominant encore l'ordre social. La longue et lente émancipation, avec ses habitudes d'esprit profondément enracinées et ses réactions grossières, commence à peine à entamer son cours. La guerre de classe n'est qu'un geste imitatif médiocre qui reproduit consciemment l'attitude prise inconsciemment par les classes dirigeantes pendant un millier d'années . . . les exploitants y donnent le même jeu que les exploités, en prenant les cartes aux mêmes paquets antiques et maculés. Les limites et les distinctions de classe, l'arrogance et la servilité, une pensée qui ne peut faire abstraction de la qualité sociale des gens pour s'attacher seulement à leur genre d'activité, tous ces traits sont encore mêlés à la trame de notre société. L'Amérique, elle, a tranché à Yorktown dans cette confusion, dont les derniers débris ont été balayés par les hommes morts à Gettysburg.

La différence n'est jamais plus marquée que dans cette question du contremaître. Si j'ai bien compris la littérature du sujet, un contremaître, aux Etats-Unis, est un homme qui remplit une tâche particulière. En Europe au contraire, un contremaître est un homme qui appartient encore à une classe sociale particulière. C'est pourquoi la littérature américaine du contremaître ne saurait s'appliquer à la situation européenne. Qui plus est, elle risquerait d'avoir un effet narcotique



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- d'empêcher les patrons européens de méditer ce problème tout à fait à fond.

Prenons d'abord l'esprit de collaboration. L'esprit de collaboration est une disposition mentale. L'on ne peut apprendre aux hommes à collaborer que sur une seule et unique base, à savoir l'ardeur pour un but commun qu'ils comprennent et qu'ils apprécient. Or les relations entre le contremaître et son patron, en Grande-Bretagne, sont encore presque invariablement des relations de maître à serviteur. La direction attend du contremaître, comme chose d'être, qu'il montre un esprit de collaboration, parce que le contremaître fait partie des employés de la maison. Tels patrons qui acceptent pleinement les syndicats comme un organe économique dont l'existence est rationnelle et utile à tous les intéressés, deviennent pâles de rage et d'étonnement lorsque leurs employés manifestent quelques signes d'une conscience de groupe. Mais les relations économiques des employés appointés avec les patrons ou le groupe de patrons, sont précisément les mêmes que celles des ouvriers. Les employés sont congédiés un peu moins facilement, sont conservés un peu plus longtemps, quand les temps sont difficiles, parce qu'ils coûtent plus cher à remplacer; et c'est tout ce que l'on peut en dire, car ce ne sont quand même que des travailleurs qui gagnent leur vie.

Pourquoi donc le patron se fâche-t-il? C'est parce que sa pensée obéit toujours à une conception féodale. Il est enclin à considérer qu'une action de ce genre, venant de ses employés, et destinée à défendre leur situation économique, constitue un manque de "loyalisme" envers lui. Saisissez-vous la persistance de la vieille mentalité? Les employés d'autre part, à peu près pour les mêmes raisons, acceptent en général cette manière de voir. Ils occupent une situation privilégiée qui comporte une certaine mesure de dignité sociale. Une conscience de classe intense les anime; aussi préféreraient-ils renoncer à toute chance de gagner le paradis que "perdre leur rang dans le monde". Eh bien, je demande aux patrons d'examiner avec soin en quoi pareilles relations diffèrent aucunement de celles qui existaient entre le baron féodal et la foule de subordonnés, baillis, messieurs et autres, qui gravi-

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talent autour du manoir? Il dépendait de la faveur individuelle de leur suzerain qu'ils fussent supérieurs aux serfs. Il dépendait de leur propre habileté et de leur capacité de subir des humiliations, qu'ils pussent se devancer réciproquement dans la course aux distinctions. Mais leur loyalisme, leur dévouement, étaient entièrement affaire individuelle. Et cela est vrai, aujourd'hui, d'une très grande partie de l'industrie européenne. Point d'idée commune qui puisse être proposée aux hommes et recueillir leur serment de fidélité. Il est vain de parler de collaboration avec les travailleurs ou de s'efforcer d'enseigner aux contremaîtres un esprit de collaboration, tant que la base et l'objet de ce travail concerté n'auront pas été définis en termes qui dépassent l'intérêt particulier et la domination individuelle du chef de bande. Et cette définition devra exposer, de manière logique, que l'activité économique a pour but le service de la communauté. Elle devra montrer qu'elle est digne de s'imposer à l'adhésion volontaire d'hommes pensants et civilisés. Telle doit être la base de toute éducation rationnelle des contremaîtres dans les voies de la collaboration, çad. qu'elle doit consister en un exposé de doctrines, de la doctrine de l'entreprise. Cet exposé cohérent, si je puis le résumer en quelques mots familiers, devra les convaincre qu'ils "sont dans les affaires pour leur santé". Ceci nous amène tout droit à la seconde considération. Je suis toujours émerveillé quand j'entends des hommes d'affaires parler de la concurrence. Je crois que la concurrence est un phénomène dont certaines applications à la vie économique présentent de la valeur. Mais sous sa forme brute "chacun pour soi, et le dernier arrivant au diable".... comment peut-on la réconcilier avec les réalités de notre industrie d'aujourd'hui? Nous voici en présence d'une technique de la production efficace qui exige la coordination la plus délicate de fonctions innombrables et de processus spécialisés, se traduisant par la formation d'un nombre toujours croissant d'unités qui demandent une surveillance. Elle exige un degré de compréhension et de tolérance mutuelles, d'appréciation de la tâche du voisin, dont nous ne trouvons jusqu'ici l'équivalent dans aucune des entreprises dont peut nous parler l'histoire de l'humanité. Et Sir Ernest Benn, et d'autres, nous assurent

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avec solennité que le ressort principal de tout cet édifice délicat, fait de dévouements et d'abnégations, ne saurait être que l'intérêt particulier. Je me demande si Lady Benn chante la même chanson aux petits Benn: "Va, mon chéri, va jouer gentiment avec ton petit ami Jean. Mais n'oublie surtout pas ton intérêt bien entendu. Si tu as envie de ses jouets et que tu sois le plus fort, prends-les-lui. S'il proteste, tape-lui dessus. Et ensuite débrouille-toi pour me raconter que c'est lui qui t'a battu le premier. Tout s'arrangera au mieux. Va vite faire une bonne partie." Vous ne pouvez affirmer que la concurrence est un phénomène qui se règle de lui-même, un phénomène qui, à condition de ne pas s'en mêler, doit s'arranger par décret de la divine Providence, et vous attendre en même temps à être débarrassé, dans votre propre usine, des frottements, des ruses et des rivalités qu'une concurrence aiguë entre individus entraîne toujours avec elle. Vous ne pouvez le faire, en tout cas, que si vous vous imaginez être de taille à établir, au dedans de votre usine, un règlement divin.

Je propose donc que le second article du programme de la formation de l'esprit de collaboration chez le contremaître de l'avenir consiste en un cours d'économie pratique et réaliste, qui mette la concurrence à son rang, comme méthode présentant de l'utilité entre groupes de producteurs, et encore à condition d'être soumise à certaines mesures de contrôle que nous sommes en train d'élaborer, mais aussi comme une manière de procéder qui n'a pas à trouver place au dedans des entreprises individuelles. Tant que nos capitaines d'industrie traiterons la concurrence comme un principe fondamental de vie économique, comme une fin en soi, comme un guide de conduite, l'attitude mentale de ceux qui devraient collaborer à nos entreprises industrielles, reflètera cette croyance destructrice. Je suis convaincu que la nouvelle attitude économique à laquelle j'ai fait allusion, traduit la signification intime du mouvement général de la pensée universelle que nous commençons à désigner sous le nom de rationalisation.

J'ai laissé pour la fin les points plus simples que soulève le problème de la collaboration. Le succès d'un travail concerté entre êtres humains dépend, avant tout, de l'établissement d'un

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mode de communication satisfaisant de la pensée. J'ai idée que le procédé de traduction simultanée que l'on est en train d'étudier expérimentalement à Genève, aura probablement une influence plus profonde sur les relations internationales, que l'activité de tous les diplomates depuis un siècle. Mais les communications entre hommes ont lieu surtout au moyen de la parole écrite et parlée, et, même dans les cas où l'on parle théoriquement la même langue, les mots sont pleins d'embûches. J'estime qu'un enseignement qui apprend à l'homme à se faire comprendre constitue un des articles du programme éducatif de collaboration. Je désirerais introduire dans cet enseignement à l'usage des contremaîtres, une discipline qui s'inspirerait de la parole de Voltaire: "Définissons les termes".

Après la facilité de communication vient la faculté d'apprécier le travail du voisin. Ici encore, je dois le répéter, il ne s'agit pas de donner une instruction s'occupant de spécialités. L'on ne peut en effet, enseigner à tous les contremaîtres, avec la manière de diriger les hommes, le calcul d'établissement des prix, la chimie, le génie civil, l'organisation de la sécurité, et une douzaine d'autres disciplines fonctionnelles. Mais ce que l'on peut leur apprendre, par contre, c'est le rôle que joue chacune de ces activités dans l'effort global fourni par l'entreprise.

Pour tout dire d'un mot, il faudrait leur apprendre les éléments de l'organisation industrielle. Mais ces deux derniers sujets me paraissent présenter infiniment moins d'importance que les deux premiers, qui ne sont nullement, à vrai dire, des sujets d'enseignement académique, mais bien des attitudes d'esprit de la part du patron. Ce n'est qu'en révisant notre disposition d'esprit à l'égard de ces questions, que nous pouvons espérer résoudre le conflit aigu inhérent, de nos jours, à la situation de contremaître. Il importera de définir à l'intention de ce dernier, l'objet général de l'entreprise dans des termes qui lui permettront de prendre un intérêt intelligent au succès de celle-ci et d'agir ainsi pour des raisons de civisme général et non pour des raisons de loyalisme particulier. Il faudra lui exposer sa propre position et celle de son groupe dans la structure d'ensemble de la vie économique, et les lui exposer

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sous une forme qui ne portera atteinte ni à son loyalisme instinctif envers les travailleurs ses collègues, d'entre lesquels il est sorti, ni à son loyalisme nouveau envers le groupe des dirigeants. Il faudra, enfin, réconcilier à son usage la théorie de la concurrence, telle qu'elle nous a été transmise par les économistes classiques, avec les réalités du mécanisme de la production en grand, telles que nous les constatons autour de nous aujourd'hui.

Avant de passer à un autre sujet, il est utile de faire remarquer qu'en dépit des absurdités sur lesquelles j'ai attiré l'attention, le groupe des dirigeants et des administrateurs, du moins en ce qui concerne la Grande-Bretagne, a réussi dans une mesure surprenante à susciter un effort de collaboration et d'intérêt pour l'entreprise considérée en elle-même, parmi les rangs inférieurs de ceux qu'elle occupe. Il n'a d'ailleurs pas à s'en attribuer le mérite; nous sommes, en effet, simplement en présence d'une preuve de la facilité extraordinaire avec laquelle l'esprit humain est capable de se rallier aux manifestations de loyalisme et d'idéal de groupe... domaine presque inexploré de la psychologie. Permettez-moi d'attirer votre attention à tous sur le germe d'espérance que contient ce seul fait pour l'avenir du progrès social de l'humanité. Nous avons ici à portée de main un pouvoir dynamique de perfectionnement qui sera comparable à la théorie de l'atome en chimie et en physique, si nous apprenons à le diriger et à l'orienter vers des fins sociales.

Passons maintenant à l'aptitude au commandement. Si mon tableau de la situation européenne est reconnu exact, je crois que nous avons à nous poser à ce sujet des questions particulièrement pressantes. J'ai déjà fait observer qu'il ne sera possible de former le contremaître de l'avenir que si on le prend jeune. Mais alors intervient une autre considération. L'exercice du commandement est une relation réciproque exigeant de la part du chef une attitude composée de confiance en soi, de désir de prendre l'initiative et la tête d'un mouvement, enfin de sympathie et de compréhension envers ses subordonnés. De la part des dirigés, cette relation postule l'absence du désir de s'affirmer, la confiance et l'affection

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envers le chef, et l'acceptation du rôle que joue ce dernier. C'est cette adhésion des subordonnés qui constitue ce que l'on appelle généralement le prestige du chef.

Or s'il est vrai que les vieilles habitudes d'esprit féodales persistent encore en grande mesure dans la vie économique, il est tout au moins permis de prétendre qu'une relation de ce genre ne pourra guère se développer dans les conditions les plus favorables si l'on adopte un système qui tire le chef directement des rangs de ses camarades.

Il est désespérant de constater combien l'industrie manque, en réalité, du renseignement le plus vague sur ce problème. Tout ce que l'on peut dire de la situation présente c'est qu'elle a grandi spontanément, comme grandit un enfant, et sans que l'ensemble de la question ait fait l'objet d'un examen délibéré.

En outre, nous commençons seulement à comprendre que les grandes affaires modernes doivent être conçues comme représentant un système d'administration plutôt qu'une réunion de famille portée à un degré transcendant. Or il existe des organisations qui ont été obligées, par leur caractère même, de prévoir délibérément une éducation en vue du commandement. L'armée, par exemple, est une organisation de ce genre. L'on constate presque partout, dans les armées du monde entier, que cette tâche de commandement des petits groupes se subdivise, pour ainsi dire, en deux fonctions. Je parle ici d'une activité analogue à celle du contremaître, à savoir le manquement de la petite unité de commandement. Prenons par exemple le peloton dans l'armée britannique. Il possède d'abord un officier de peloton qui, en général, ne sort pas directement du rang, et, sauf en cas d'extrême urgence, ne sort jamais des rangs du régiment dans lequel il est appelé à commander comme officier. Sa tâche consiste essentiellement à remplir un rôle de commandement tel que je l'ai défini... çad. à s'occuper du côté moral de la tâche totale du commandement du peloton. Pour le seconder, il existe un sous-officier de peloton qui s'occupe, en quelque sorte, du côté technique du travail. On lui demande de savoir manier les hommes. Il est généralement plus âgé que l'officier, et possède une beaucoup plus grande expérience des détails pratiques de la vie

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de la troupe. Mais on ne lui demande pas, à beaucoup près dans la même mesure que l'officier, de faire preuve de cet ascendant moral que nous appelons la capacité de commandement.

Revenons maintenant à l'industrie et au contremaître du type communément accepté, çad. tiré des rangs de l'atelier même, surtout parcequ'il est un bon technicien. Nous rencontrons quelquefois chez lui des capacités de commandement, mais les reconstruisons-nous souvent? Et ne nous trouverions-nous pas justement ici à la source des neuf dixièmes des difficultés qui aboutissent à des grèves et à des rancunes sociales, quand nous constatons que, dans l'industrie, il n'existe pas de groupe dont la fonction spécifique soit précisément d'apporter, au contact étroit et intime des petites unités qu'il s'agit de diriger, ce facteur de prestige, de confiance et d'affection que l'officier subalterne a pour tâche de susciter?

Il nous a été donné récemment d'observer l'application des systèmes d'instruction militaire sur la plus grande échelle qu'il soit possible de concevoir. Nous avons pu étudier des organisations qui ont du prendre, avec une rapidité fulgurante, un développement vingt ou trente fois supérieur à leurs dimensions normales, et qui ont été forcées de former des officiers et des sous-officiers en un vingtième du temps généralement considéré comme convenable. Je ferai remarquer que voici une épreuve pratique des principes d'organisation et de commandement, telle que l'industrie est rarement appelée à en envisager. Et cependant, jusqu'à la fin de la guerre - je parle pour l'armée que j'ai connue de près, mais je crois que je peux parler pour toutes les armées - les cas se sont succédés où la simple nouvelle, chuchotée à voix basse, que le "petit officier" était resté blessé en avant du front, où cette simple nouvelle a suffi pour qu'une demi douzaine d'hommes, plongeant au plus fort du feu de mitrailleuses, aillent chercher leur chef. Ces jeunes gens - je parle des officiers - étaient souvent assez insignifiants, ils valaient quelquefois moins que ceux qu'ils commandaient, mais de façon ou d'autre, ils avaient acquis un ascendant dont la force ne devait rien à l'existence des conseils de guerre et de la discipline militaire, un ascendant tel que leurs hommes les aimaient tout en les "blaguant", et auraient passé à travers un feu d'enfer pour les suivre.

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Je me demande souvent, quand je considère l'industrie avec ses ateliers murmurants et grognons, ses contremaîtres d'âge mûr, craints souvent, respectés quelquefois, mais rarement aimés, s'il est possible d'obtenir, dans le sol, l'épanouissement de la plante qu'on appelle l'art de mener les hommes. Je crois, en tout cas, que si nous voulons y parvenir, nous devrons étudier avec beaucoup d'attention les méthodes employées par les organisations dont l'expérience dans ce domaine compte presque autant de siècles que l'industrie d'années. Nous devons, à mon avis, nous décider à admettre que les hommes appelés à fournir, dans les relations avec les petits groupes de travailleurs, le facteur de commandement, devront se spécialiser en vue de cette tâche beaucoup plus qu'ils ne le font à présent. Je doute que ces hommes puissent disposer, tout au moins dans les vieux pays, d'un prestige suffisant, si on leur confie immédiatement la charge de diriger des ouvriers dont ils étaient les collègues l'avant-veille encore. Leur succès ou leur échec, comme celui de l'officier dans l'armée, dépendra avant tout du moral de leur unité, de son état de contentement général, et de son empressement à fournir un effort de collaboration. Ce que je viens de dire paraîtra, sans doute, plutôt affreux à certains de mes amis travaillistes. Il s'en exhale comme un relent de classes privilégiées. Que devient en tout ceci les principes sacrés de la démocratie? Pour moi, j'estime qu'il existe un principe sacré de la démocratie mais qu'il n'en existe qu'un, c'est l'égalité de possibilité pour tous d'accéder aux emplois. Ne négligeons rien, en effet, pour détruire aussitôt que possible dans l'organisme politique, ces privilèges et ces droits acquis d'avance en vertu desquels les enfants de parents riches sont considérablement avantagés dans la concurrence avec des jeunes gens beaucoup plus capables, mais sortis d'un milieu plus humble. Je suis en faveur de l'élimination du "piston" et de l'influence sous toutes leurs formes. Je souhaite que, dans un pays, toutes les désignations à des emplois, soit industriels soit publics, soient faites d'après les aptitudes seules. Mais je crois aussi que ce ne sont pas uniquement les milieux les plus fortunés qui se montrent trop accessibles aux considérations de classe, et j'estime que ce fait représente l'une des plus fortes entraves



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dont nous ayions à souffrir lorsque nous nous efforçons de réfléchir, dans un esprit scientifique, aux problèmes d'administration.

Une tâche spéciale exige-t-elle que ceux qui sont appelés à s'en acquitter soient choisis dans leur jeune âge et reçoivent une formation soigneuse et particulière en vue de ce service? Question de méthode et non de principe. J'ose affirmer que le don réel du commandement est trop rare et trop précieux pour que nous refusions d'en tirer parti quelle que soit la classe où il a pris naissance.

Quant aux sujets d'enseignement, il en est certains qui s'imposent avec évidence. Je crois que, dans l'industrie actuelle, nul ne possèdera les connaissances nécessaires pour diriger les autres s'il n'est pas familiarisé de façon pratique avec les constatations de la psychologie expérimentale moderne, et les recherches relatives à la fatigue. J'estime également qu'il doit avoir quelque teinture de l'évolution moderne des classes ouvrières et de l'histoire du syndicalisme. Mais ici aussi, comme pour l'esprit de collaboration, l'essence de l'enseignement consiste dans une certaine attitude de la part du patron ou de la direction. En fin de compte, la seule école du commandement c'est l'exercice du commandement, mais un exercice du commandement pratiqué sous une direction bienveillante et avisée. Dans ce cas aussi, il nous faut nous débarrasser des habitudes mentales dictées par l'esprit de concurrence et éviter de restreindre, comme ces habitudes mentales nous porteraient à le faire, les initiatives des agents d'exécution subalternes. Nous donnerons ainsi à tous les élèves-chefs l'occasion de commettre quelques erreurs et de s'instruire en se trompant. L'élève doit apprendre également que le commandement n'est pas une question de privilèges, de titres et un droit à être exempté de la discipline, mais bien une responsabilité. Il convient avant tout de lui enseigner ceci: un chef n'est suivi que s'il fait passer d'abord les intérêts de ses hommes.

Je me rappelle encore aujourd'hui une scène à laquelle j'ai assisté en 1915. Un groupe d'officiers fatigués, venant d'être relevés, avaient fait irruption dans le barraquement du mess.

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L'un d'eux était un nouveau, récemment arrivé d'Angleterre. Le colonel, après l'avoir regardé un moment lui dit: "Jones, est-ce que vos hommes ont mangé la soupe?" Jones hésita et répondit: "Le sergent se charge de la leur faire distribuer." La réplique survint comme l'éclair: "Jones, votre repas peut attendre; allez vous occuper de vos hommes." Un autre exemple encore, . . . Un officier subalterne fut affecté à un travail administratif d'un caractère ingrat. Il perdit un jour patience avec un secrétaire négligent. Un capitaine qui se trouvait à l'autre bout du bureau attendit que le secrétaire fût sorti et dit tranquillement à l'officier: "Venez ici." Ce dernier, qui était en excellents termes avec le capitaine, traversa la pièce. Tout d'un coup le capitaine très sèchement: "Mettez-vous au garde à vous quand je vous parle." Et pendant dix minutes, l'avalanche passa; le jeune homme eut souhaité rentrer sous terre. La péroraison fut un chef-d'oeuvre. Puis, soudainement, la voix irritée tomba pour faire place à un ton tranquille: "Eh bien, maintenant, vous savez exactement ce que l'on ressent quand on ne peut pas répondre."

Cinq minutes après, le jeune officier entendit avec étonnement une voix amicale dire derrière lui: "Venez donc dîner avec moi à Rouen."

Oui, il est possible d'apprendre à commander. Ça et là existent dans l'industrie des cas isolés d'un enseignement de ce genre donné à dessein. Mais ces cas sont rares; en réalité, nous devons reprendre à pied d'oeuvre tout l'examen de la question. Il y a urgence, car tant que nous ne nous y serons pas décidés, aucune réforme dans l'organisation supérieure de l'industrie ne nous servira de rien. En toute dernière analyse, ce sont les détails journaliers qui comptent. C'est dans les ateliers que s'édifient les relations industrielles, dans les relations étroites des travailleurs dont sont faites les petites unités de commandement, avec ceux qui incarnent pour eux, de façon immédiate, la politique de la direction. Dans la grande production moderne, quels que soient les possesseurs du capital, quels que soient les détenteurs de l'autorité ultime, il est impossible de se passer d'un système d'administration et d'une discipline. Aucun homme, aucun groupe d'hommes,

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à supposer qu'il se rendit maître de l'industrie anglaise telle qu'elle existe aujourd'hui, ne serait capable de modifier en rien la plupart des causes profondes des grèves et du mécontentement qui règnent à l'état endémique. Et cela parce que l'on n'a jamais étudié à fond les relations réciproques que le groupe-clé des contremaîtres et des surveillants devrait entretenir, d'une part avec le groupe de la haute direction et d'autre part avec les travailleurs soumis à sa surveillance. Les conceptions existantes de l'autorité et des méthodes destinées à appliquer cette dernière sont à la fois féodales et rudimentaires et s'il n'existe pas un état-major instruit de chefs de petits groupes, c'est pour la raison très simple que les principes fondamentaux de cet enseignement n'ont jamais été définis.

Je n'ai pu, dans cette communication, que tenter tout au plus, d'indiquer dans quelles directions il me semble possible de procéder à des expériences et à des recherches.

# DIE ERZIEHERISCHE AUSBILDUNG VON WERKMEISTERN UND AUFSEHERN

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Wenn man sich mit dem Thema der Ausbildung von Werkmeistern und Aufsichtsbeamten beschäftigt, stösst man auf die Kardinalschwierigkeit, dass es keine allgemein gültige Abgrenzung der Aufgabe des Werkmeisters und keine allgemein anerkannte Erklärung des Begriffes "Aufsicht" gibt. Man ist sich nur darüber einig, dass es sich dabei um das Betriebspersonal handelt, das in unmittelbarer Berührung mit der Arbeiterschaft steht.

Die umfangreiche Literatur über diesen Gegenstand ist daher verfrüht. Sie geht von der Industrie aus, wie sie heute ist, übersieht aber ihren dynamischen Charakter; sie beschäftigt sich mit der Schulung von Männern und Frauen, die bereits in verantwortlichen Stellungen sind - eine fast hoffnungslose Aufgabe; sie kommt in der Mehrzahl der Fälle aus den Vereinigten Staaten und ist infolge der Verschiedenheit des sozialen Hintergrundes auf europäische Verhältnisse nicht übertragbar.

Die Pflichten, die mit der Stellung eines Werkmeisters verbunden sind, müssen sich notwendigerweise mit der Entwicklung der industriellen Organisation ändern, spezialisiert und funktionell werden.

Deshalb muss jedes Ausbildungssystem äusserst einfach sein. Es muss langfristig sein, denn es beginnt mit jungen Leuten. Es sollte entwickeln: Zusammenarbeit durch:

- a. einen Geist der Betriebspolitik, der verständnisvolles Mitgehen erwirkt;
- b. eine rationelle Betriebs- und Wirtschaftslehre; die Anerkennung des Werkmeisters als Arbeitnehmer;
- c. persönliche Ausdrucksfähigkeit;
- d. Industrielle Organisation.

Führertum durch:

- a. Psychologie;
- b. Kenntnis der Arbeiterbewegung und ihrer Geschichte;
- c. Praktische Unterweisung in der Leitung kleiner Gruppen mit der Gelegenheit, an Fehlern zu lernen.

Hinsichtlich dieses letzten Punktes muss die Industrie von anderen Organisationen, z.B. vom Heerwesen, lernen, die über besondere Erfahrungen in der Pflege des Führertums verfügen. Unbedingte Aufmerksamkeit erfordert die Frage der sittlichen Verantwortung. Es ist zweifelhaft, ob in einer europäischen Umwelt dieses Prestige ohne eine gewisse Auslese für eine besondere Klasse von Führern entwickelt werden kann. Demokratische Grundsätze werden nicht verleugnet, wenn die Gelegenheit zum Eintritt in jene Klasse jedermann offensteht. Es ist dies nur eine Frage der Funktion und der Methode der Heranbildung für besondere Funktionen.

Für die Bessergestaltung industrieller Beziehungen ist es eine Lebensfrage.

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Die Persönlichkeiten, die einen entscheidenden Einfluss auf die Industrie ausüben - wer sie auch immer seien - haben keine Macht, eine wesentliche Aenderung herbeizuführen, wenn sie nicht über eine Schar geschulter Unterorgane verfügen, die fähig sind, ihre Absichten den Arbeitern im täglichen Umgang nahe zu bringen.

Man kann das Problem des Werkmeisters und des Aufsichtspersonals natürlich von hundert Seiten betrachten. Der Werkmeister ist bereits zum etwas verblühten Helden einer Riesenliteratur geworden. Die Verfasser von Büchern für ihn und über ihn scheinen jedoch nur in einem Punkt übereinzustimmen - seiner vitalen Bedeutung für die Gestaltung der Dinge im Betriebe. Es scheint mir manchmal so, als ob er sich ein bisschen wie Gott in den Händen der Theologen vorzukommen müsste. Ich hätte einige kleine Stichproben aus "Der Werkmeister und sein Beruf" von X., "Wie wir Aufsichtsbeamten ausbilden" von Y., und "Erziehung zum Werkmeister" von Z., halboktav, 750 Seiten mit 3 Tabellen und 10 Abbildungen, 5 \$ netto, oder "nach unseren besonderen Zahlungsvergünstigungen" für Sie herausgreifen und zusammenstellen können.

Die Verdauungsstörungen, die sich nach meinem kurzen Ausflug in die Literatur über die Arbeit des Werkmeisters eingestellt haben, endeten beinahe mit einer verhängnisvollen Reaktion. Eine Zeitlang liebäugelte ich nämlich mit der anziehenden Pose des "Mannes der Praxis", die gewisse führende Männer der Industrie so schätzen. Dann wollte ich mich streng auf das enge Feld meiner persönlichen Erfahrung beschränken, und Ihnen an der Hand von Stundenplänen für Vorlesungen und für Arbeitsgemeinschaften ausführlich darlegen, wie wir Werkmeister in den Blankshire Lemonjuice Co. Ltd. ausbilden. Man könnte hier das übliche Beispiel des Schiffsjungen, der das Zeug zum Admiral hat, anführen, und die Geschichte nach Belieben mit dem Erlebnis des Betriebsdirektors ausschmücken, der die Bedeutung der Bezeichnung S. P. Q. R. (Der Senat und das Römische Volk) gelegentlich eines Werkmeister-Kurses für römische Geschichte kennen lernte. Das wäre ein kurzes und bündiges Verfahren, aber wir sind hier auf einer internationalen Konferenz. Und wenn eine internationale Aktion ein Samenkorn Hoffnung in sich

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birgt, so liegt dies sicherlich in der Tatsache, dass die Nationen in den allgemein menschlichen Eigenschaften einander ähnlich sind - auf jeden Fall so ähnlich, dass Sie sicher alle diese Dinge schon hundertmal auf zahlreichen Konferenzen gehört haben.

Aber als ich mir dann die Sache noch einmal überlegte, fiel mir ein, dass es der Hauptzweck der ganzen Konferenz ist, "die grundlegenden Beziehungen zwischen den verschiedenen Gruppen der Industrie" zu erörtern. Und ich will nun die Frage der Schulung der Werkmeister ausschliesslich von diesem Gesichtspunkt betrachten - vom Gesichtspunkt der grundlegenden Beziehungen, die hier eine Rolle spielen. Meine Beobachtungen mögen Ihnen vielleicht etwas zusammenhangslos erschienen, ich weiss, dass dies unvermeidlich ist. Denn ich glaube, dass wir bei dieser Frage mehr als bei allen anderen noch herumtappen - gerade bei dem ersten rohen Entwurf auf der Leinwand angelangt sind. Alle Versuche, eine Methodik der Werkmeisterausbildung herauszuarbeiten, vorhandene Erfahrungen zu sammeln, sind verfrüht. Ihnen fehlt jede Möglichkeit einer klaren Erkenntnis unseres Ziels.

Dies gilt natürlich bis zu einem gewissen Grade für jedes Erziehungssystem. Aber es gilt im besonderen für die Berufserziehung der in industriellen Betrieben beschäftigten Personen, und zwar in allen Stellungen. Denn der Maschinenbetrieb, wie wir ihn kennen, ist ja tatsächlich noch eine junge Einrichtung. Er ist auch eine stark dynamische Einrichtung in einer besonders aktiven Periode der Werdens. Und in allen Fragen, die mit der Betriebsleitung verknüpft sind, mit den Beziehungen zwischen jenen Instanzen der Wirtschaft, deren Aufgabe es ist zu planen und Direktiven zu geben, und denjenigen, die mit ihnen arbeiten, tritt dieser dynamische Charakter besonders hervor. Wir befinden uns in einem ausserordentlich interessanten Stadium der Entwicklung, einem Stadium, das zuweilen "die zweite industrielle Revolution" genannt worden ist. Ebenso wie die Anwendung der Naturkräfte auf die Produktion und die Fortschritte der physikalischen Wissenschaften jene plötzliche Aenderung in Technik und Herstellungsprozess bewirkte, die das Maschinenalter einleitete, hat der Einfluss

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der ethischen und der Sozial-Wissenschaften auf die Beziehungen der in der Industrie Beschäftigten - dessen Bedeutung im Wachsen ist und auf dieser Konferenz zum Ausdruck kommt - auch von Grund aus umgestaltend auf unsere Denkungsweise eingewirkt.

Ein unvermeidlicher Hemmschuh fast aller Erziehungssysteme ist die Tendenz, die Menschen vorzubereiten für die Welt von gestern statt für die Welt von morgen. Bis der lebendige, kraftvolle, schöpferische Gedanke in die allgemeinen intellektuelle Weltwährung aufgenommen wird, sodass er in pädagogische Begriffe eingefangen und zu dem dünnen Skelett einer Lehrbuch-Weisheit zusammengepresst werden kann, ist er beinahe schon überholt. Eine Rechtfertigung für diejenigen, die den Unterricht auf den humanistischen Fächern aufbauen und den Unterricht in der Richtung der Fachvorbereitung irgendwelcher Art ablehnen wollen, liegt in der Tatsache, dass die humanistischen Fächer im Allgemeinen das Denken schulen. Der grösste Teil der Fachvorbereitung ist ein Einpacken von Kenntnissen, die bereits den Kontakt mit der Wirklichkeit verloren haben. Was für jede Ausbildung gilt, trifft aus den dargelegten Gründen in erhöhtem Masse für die Ausbildungssysteme zu, die in erster Reihe für die in der Industrie Tätigen in Frage kommen.

Sie werden mir zustimmen, dass es unmöglich ist, einen geeigneten Ausbildungsplan für irgend ein Amt, irgend eine Gruppe von Tätigkeiten zu entwerfen, wenn man nicht zunächst das Wesen jenes Amtes, den Inhalt jener Aufgaben klar erkannt hat. Wenn wir nun über Werkmeister und Aufsichtspersonal sprechen, was meinen wir damit? Ich habe kürzlich die Arbeitsanalyse eines mittelgrossen Fabrikbetriebes beendet, der etwa 7000 Leute beschäftigt. Es gibt dort ein paar hundert sogenannte Werkmeister. Aber nicht zwei haben die gleiche Tätigkeit. Die Bezeichnung wird angewandt für die verschiedensten Grade und für eine Vielfältigkeit von Aufgaben und Verantwortlichkeiten - angefangen mit der Führung von Lohnbüchern bis zur Leitung einer grossen und vielseitigen Abteilung. Und was für jene Fabrik zutrifft, gilt mutatis mutandis für jede Fabrik in Europa, und für die grosse Mehrzahl der Fabriken in den Vereinigten Staaten.

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Ebenso ist es mit dem Aufsichtspersonal. Wir wissen alle, dass zwei Leute in irgend einer beliebigen Fabrik mit einer nach aussen hin scheinbar gleichen Autorität tatsächlich Aufsichtssphären haben, die vom psychologischen Gesichtspunkt polar verschieden sind. In einigen wenigen Fällen sind Versuche gemacht worden, "Aufsicht" zu definieren, ihre Grade auszudrücken. Aber sie sind unfertig und ungenau, da jedes praktische Nachprüfungssystem fehlt.

Es wird mindestens ein halbes Jahrhundert vergehen, bis Grundsätze für die "Autorität" herausgearbeitet und in dem grossen Organismus des Wirtschaftslebens Aufnahme gefunden haben werden. Bis dahin werden Leitung und Kontrolle das zufällige und unverbundene Nebeneinander von Schmelchelei, persönlichem Einfluss und Einschüchterung bleiben, das sie heute bilden.

Wenn wir ehrlich gegen uns selbst sind, müssen wir gestehen, dass wir, wenn wir von Werkmeistern und Aufsichtsbeamten reden, von völlig verschiedenen Stellungen sprechen, für die es weder allgemein übliche, noch vereinbarte gleiche Normen gibt, und zwar weder bezüglich der in Frage kommenden Aufgaben, noch in Bezug auf den Grad der damit verbundenen Autorität, noch hinsichtlich der ihnen zustehenden Befugnisse. Man kann sagen, dass es bei all dieser Vielfältigkeit nur ein Gemeinsames gibt, das allen, an die ich mich hier wende, bekannt ist, nämlich, dass die Bezeichnung auf jene Glieder der industriellen Hierarchie Anwendung findet, die in unmittelbarer Berührung mit der grossen Masse des in den Betrieben beschäftigten gewerblichen oder kaufmännischen Personals stehen. Das ist eine wichtige Tatsache. Sie bietet uns eine Grundlage für die Diskussion. Sie macht den Nachdruck erklärlich, der auf diese Frage gelegt wird. Denn unabhängig von der Qualität und den Intentionen der Betriebspolitik werden ihre praktischen Erfolge immer von dem Eindruck abhängen, der durch diese letzten persönlichen Beziehungen ausgelöst wird. Kein nationales Propaganda-System kann die Hemmungen überwinden, die von einer schlecht ausgebildeten und unerzogenen Verkäuferschaft ausgehen. Die Stärke einer Kette industrieller Beziehungen wird bestimmt durch die Stärke jenes letzten Gliedes.



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Aber dies ist die einzige Tatsache, auf der wir weiter bauen können. Wenn wir die Qualität und die Art der Beziehungen betrachten, die zwischen den Arbeitern und den unmittelbar mit ihnen in Berührung Kommenden bestehen, geraten wir in Verlegenheit. Denn Arbeitsbeziehungen hängen von der Natur der Arbeit ab, und hier macht sich wieder jener dynamische Charakter der industriellen Organisation geltend, auf den ich früher hingewiesen habe. Keiner von uns weiss, wie der Charakter der Arbeit des Werkmeisters in einem Jahrzehnt beschaffen sein wird.

Mr. R. M. Fox, den wir zu unsere Freude am Montag hören werden, hat kürzlich ein sehr anregendes und kämpferisches kleines Buch veröffentlicht, mit dem Titel: "Der Triumph der Maschine". Das Buch giesst ein gut Teil Spott auf die wissenschaftliche Betriebsführung (Scientific Management). Er hält sie für eine abgebrauchte und altmodische Lösung industrieller Probleme mit dem Zweck, die Arbeiter im Interesse der Unternehmer anzutreiben. Ich bin überzeugt, dass Mr. Fox dem Schatten F. W. Taylors eines Tages eine lange Apologie zu halten haben wird, wenn das Leben ihm Gelegenheit gibt, die eigentliche Bedeutung des Werkes jenes grossen Pioniers eingehend zu erfassen.

Die Idee, durchdachte Methoden, eine intellektuelle Technik - die von Menschen, die sich wissenschaftlich und systematisch mit diesen Fragen beschäftigt haben, herausgearbeitet worden ist - auf die Probleme der industriellen Betriebsführung anzuwenden, ist noch jung. Taylor starb in verhältnismässig jungen Jahren 1915. Für ernsthafte Versuche mit definitiven Ergebnissen auf Grund seiner revolutionären und weitreichenden Ideen ist wenig oder gar keine Gelegenheit gewesen. Zu diesen Ideen zähle ich den Gedanken des "Funktionsmeisters". Ich bin sicher, dass alle diejenigen unter Ihnen, die diese Ideen vorurteilslos studiert haben, mir zustimmen werden, dass dieser Begriff integrierend ist und eine wesentliche Entwicklungsstufe in Taylors Wirtschaftsphilosophie bildet. Ich sehe in der weitgehenden Anwendung dieses Kardinalsatzes der industriellen Organisation eine unausbleibliche Entwicklung. Sie wird langsam kommen, aber sicher; wahrscheinlich werden es manche von uns noch erleben.

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Zu dieser Annahme veranlassen mich drei Gründe. In erster Linie erscheint mir Taylors' Analyse der Eigenschaften und Aufgaben, die von einem Werkmeister unter der alten Form industrieller Organisation gefordert wurden, unhaltbar. Sie werden sich erinnern, dass er neun Eigenschaften nennt, die der Werkmeister besitzen soll, und zwar sind dies: Verstand, Vorbildung, Takt, Spezialkenntnisse, Energie, Fleiss, Ehrlichkeit, Urteilskraft und gute Gesundheit. Dies führt direkt zu seinem Schluss, dass die Aufgabe an sich unmöglich ist, dass unter tausenden kaum ein Mann gefunden werden kann, der fähig ist, sie zu erfüllen, und dass dieser natürlich nicht für den Lohn eines Werkmeisters zu haben ist. Taylor wusste sehr wenig von industrieller Psychologie. Aber seine Analyse wurde in denkwürdiger Weise von Mr. Ordway Tead bestätigt, dessen Arbeit "Instinkte und Industrie" eine fesselnde Darstellung der inneren Konflikte enthält, die die Stellung eines Werkmeisters mit sich bringt.

Zweitens haben sich, sogar seit Taylors Lebzeiten, die Forderungen an das Fachkönnen, das für die Erfüllung der Tagesaufgaben der industriellen Betriebsführung verlangt wird, in Bezug auf Umfang und Inhalt wesentlich erhöht. Wenn wir über die höheren Posten der Leitung sprechen, so erklären wir glatt, dass der Leiter nicht eingehende Kenntnisse aller Spezialfächer, die mit seiner Aufgabe irgendwie im Zusammenhang stehen, zu haben braucht. Er muss vielmehr die Hilfe von Sachverständigen in Anspruch nehmen und diesen Arbeit zuweisen. Wir vergessen manchmal, besonders, wenn wir über Ausbildungsfragen diskutieren, dass der Werkmeister niemanden hat, den er zur Hilfe heranziehen kann. Die industrielle Organisation muss sich der Richtung der allgemeinen sozialen Organisation unserer Zeit anpassen, die dahin geht, alle Arten von Arbeit in steigendem Masse Fachleuten anzuvertrauen. Wir können den Werkmeister nicht von dieser Entwicklung ausschliessen, als Ueberbleibsel eines veralteten Systems, als ein ewiger "Hans in allen Gassen". Selbst ein Puffer verliert seine Widerstandskraft, wenn er zu oft und zu hart gestossen wird.

Drittens - und dies, glaube ich, ist das Wichtigste - halte ich den funktionellen Begriff der Betriebsführung von allen Theo-

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rien der industriellen Betriebslehre, die uns während der letzte Jahrzehnte vorgesetzt worden sind, für den einzigen, der wirklich zum Kern der Schwierigkeiten vordringt. In seinem letzten Buch schreibt Mr. H. G. Wells: "Ungeheure moralische Kräfte sind in den letzten hundert Jahren durch den Kampf zwischen Arbeit und Kapital verzehrt worden - gerade als ob dieser das ursprüngliche Ergebnis menschlichen wirtschaftlichen Handelns gewesen sei. Er war jedoch niemals das ursprüngliche Ergebnis, und er hat in zunehmendem Masse seine frühere Bedeutung eingebüsst." Ich bin überzeugt, dass dies unbedingt richtig, buchstäblich richtig ist. Keiner, der praktische Erfahrung in der Betriebsverwaltung besitzt, wird, ganz abgesehen von seiner politischen Einstellung, sich vortäuschen, dass ein blosser Wechsel des Eigentums an Produktionsmitteln oder ein Anspruch auf die Produktionsüberschüsse einen fundamentalen Unterschied in den Beziehungen in der Industrie hervorrufen würde. Unabhängig von der Eigentumsfrage werden die wirklichen Nöte innerhalb der Industrie fort dauern, wenn nicht in Organisation und Methode von Grund auf ein Wandel eintritt.

Wir beschäftigen uns mit etwas, das viel subtiler ist, als ein unbestimmtes Gefühl für eine Ungerechtigkeit, die sich durch eine gesetzliche Regelung beheben lässt. Wir befassen uns mit dem Widerstand gegen Leitung und Bindung, dem durch die Erweiterung der politischen Freiheit und der Volksbildung Sprache verliehen worden ist. Und die einzige Antwort, die wir diesem Widerstand gegenüber finden können, besteht darin, zu zeigen, dass Leitung und Bindung nicht persönlicher Natur sind, nicht erzwungen durch Regelungen, die von Menschen ausgehen, sondern, dass sie natürlich sind, sich zwangsläufig aus der Ordnung der Dinge ergeben, wenn die Menschheit gekleidet, mit Wohnungen versorgt und ernährt werden soll. Das heisst, wir müssen dem Arbeiter dieselbe Antwort geben, die Taylor gegeben hat, als er mit der Begründung angegriffen wurde, sein Funktionsmeistertum verletze das Gesetz, dass "niemand zweien Herren dienen kann". Er erwiderte, dass er den Grundsatz nicht umgestossen hätte, sondern ihn neu zur Geltung brächte. Unter dem System des Funktionsmeistertums diene jeder, Unternehmer und Werkmeister und Arbeiter,

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einem Herrn: dem Wissen. So betrachtet, schliesst die funktionelle Organisation den Keim einer wirklichen Hoffnung, einer dauernden Behebung unserer Unzufriedenheit ein. Denn sie sieht eine industrielle Gesellschaft vor, in der wir alle Diener und Herren sind, sowie die Reihe an uns kommt; Herren in jenen Dingen, in denen wir besonderes Fachkönnen und Schulung besitzen, und Diener in jenen Dingen, in denen andere besser erfahren sind.

Wenn wir jedoch glauben, dass die Entwicklung unserer Wirtschaftsorganisation in dieser Richtung unausbleiblich ist, für welche Aufgaben sollen wir dann unsere Werkmeister und unser Aufsichtspersonal erziehen? Es ist klar, dass die vorhandenen Methoden nicht ausreichen. Denn - und dies ist mein Einwand gegen nahezu alle bisher veröffentlichten Ausbildungsvorschläge - sie bezwecken Männer und Frauen zu schulen, die befähigt sind, den Aufgabenkreis besser zu erfüllen, der dem Werkmeister hergebrachter Weise übertragen wird. Was wir brauchen, ist aber ein Ausbildungsplan mit dem Ziel, Männer und Frauen für die Aufgaben der Werkmeister und Aufsichtsbeamten von morgen zu befähigen. Wir müssen erziehen, nicht für das, was ist, sondern für das, was sein könnte.

Hier wenden wir uns nun wieder der einen feststehenden Tatsache zu, über die wir uns einig sind, nämlich, dass mit dem Ausdruck Werkmeister eine Persönlichkeit in einer im gewissen Sinn leitenden Stellung und in direktem Kontakt mit der Arbeiterschaft stehend, bezeichnet wird. Wenn meine zweite Schlussfolgerung angenommen wird, und wir darin übereinstimmen, dass in ungefähr einem Jahrzehnt die Aufgabengruppen, die wir jetzt dem Werkmeister im allgemeinen zu übertragen pflegen, vermutlich in eine Vielheit spezialisierter Funktionen aufgeteilt sein werden, so haben wir wenigstens einen Fingerzeig für die Begrenzung der Aufgaben. Es ist ja offensichtlich hoffnungslos, zu versuchen, den zukünftigen Werkmeister für jede der acht oder zehn Teilfunktionen zu erziehen, von denen ihm eine gegebenenfalls übertragen werden wird. Er scheint mir, dass jeder Ausbildungsgang für diesen Beruf, wenn er praktischen Wert haben soll, sich vor allem

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auf das gemeinsame Element beschränken muss, das wir früher gekennzeichnet haben. Die Fähigkeit von hervorragender Bedeutung, die wir in unseren künftigen Werkmeistern und Aufsichtsbeamten zu entwickeln haben, ist das Führertum. Und zweitens scheint mir, sollten wir jeden Versuch aufgeben, Spezialkenntnisse der verschiedenen Funktionen, von denen jede einmal verlangt werden, keine aber gründlich gelehrt werden kann, einzupacken. Wir müssen uns also mehr auf jene allgemeine Haltung gegenüber der industriellen Arbeit konzentrieren, jene Achtung vor der Arbeitsweise und vor dem Geist, durch die eine Reihe spezialisierter Aufgaben im Interesse eines einzigen Zweckes, den wir Zusammenarbeit nennen, vereinigt werden. Führertum und Zusammenarbeit, das sind die beiden, und wie mir persönlich scheint, die einzigen Ziele von Bedeutung, die die Berufserziehung der Werkmeister erreichen soll.

Aber, könnte man einwenden, das sind keine geistigen Fähigkeiten, die gelehrt werden könnten, es sind sittliche Charaktereigenschaften, seelische Qualitäten. Und es fragt sich, ob sie überhaupt durch Erziehung entwickelt werden können.

Dieser Einwand ist natürlich zum Teil berechtigt, und hier liegt die zweite grosse Schwierigkeit, auf die wir bei den vorhandenen Ausbildungsformen stossen, die ich früher ausführlich beschrieben habe. Fast immer, wenn von Werkmeistern und Aufsichtsbeamten gesprochen wird, wird an Männer und Frauen gedacht, die schon eine Stellung von einer gewissen Verantwortlichkeit im Betriebe erreicht haben. Der Himmel verhüte, dass ich den Eindruck erwecke, als ob ich Kritik an den ausgezeichneten, Achtung verdienenden Arbeitern üben möchte, die mit wenig Aussichten und ohne eine besondere Schulung ihren Posten unter ungeheueren Schwierigkeiten ausfüllen. Aber in der Mehrzahl der Fälle, und besonders in den älteren Ländern, in denen die Menschen in ihrem Wirkungskreis eingespannt zu pflegen bleiben und in denen die Aufstiegsmöglichkeiten geringer sind als in den Vereinigten Staaten, fangen wir an, Männer und Frauen auszubilden, wenn sie schon oft im mittleren Alter stehen, wenn ihre Entwicklung im grossen und ganzen abgeschlossen ist, und wenn sie mit einem gewissen Unwillen das an sie gerichtete Ansinnen aufnehmen, noch ein-

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mal mit Lernen anzufangen. Ihnen müssen wir helfen so gut wir können. Es ist eine Pflicht der Leiter dies zu tun. Es ist unser Fehler, nicht der ihrige, wenn sie der Aufgabe nicht gewachsen und ungeeignete Objekte für eine Unterweisung sind. Jedenfalls müssen wir zugeben, dass Versuche einer Nachschulung in dieser Richtung nicht als Berufserziehung anzusehen sind. Sie sind nur Flickwerk, Arbeit fünften Ranges, wie sie eine unbekümmerte und kurzsichtige Fabrikleitung in früheren Zeiten vorzunehmen pflegte.

Ausserdem wird die Mehrzahl der Werkmeister und Aufsichtsbeamten in der Industrie heute nicht in Anbetracht jener Eigenschaften ausgewählt, die wir als die wesentlichen gekennzeichnet haben, sondern aus einem anderen Grunde und nur aus diesem Grunde: Technisches Können in der besonderen Arbeit, die sie zu beaufsichtigen haben. Merkwürdigerweise scheint die grosse Masse der Arbeiterschaft diese Methode gewissermassen stillschweigend anzuerkennen. Es scheint ihnen natürlich, dass das Können die Basis für die Auswahl abgibt. Es ist gerade so, als wenn wir unsere Offiziere für die Armee unter dem Gesichtspunkt auswählten, dass sie im Exerzieren tüchtig sind. Selbstverständlich muss der Werkmeister eine ausreichende Kenntnis der Arbeiten haben, die er überwachen soll. Aber er braucht nicht mehr zu können als irgend ein Arbeiter, der von uns beschäftigt wird. Dies ist eine "sine qua non", ohne die er für die Auswahl überhaupt nicht in Frage kommt. Aber, ist diese Grundbedingung erfüllt, so wird dieser Punkt neben den anderen Eigenschaften, die zur Erfüllung seiner Aufgabe notwendig sind, ausgesprochen nebensächlich.

Das führt mich direkt zu meiner zweiten wichtigen Schlussfolgerung: Wenn wir wirklich den Wunsch haben, ein gutes Ausbildungssystem zu entwickeln, um Werkmeister und Aufsichtsbeamte zu schulen, so muss es eine langfristige Ausbildung sein - eine Berufserziehung von Männern und Frauen, die ausgewählt werden, wenn sie jung sind und offensichtlich die Eignung für diese Arbeit besitzen, die ich zur Voraussetzung gemacht habe.

Dieses bringt mich zu der dritten und letzten Schwierigkeit der bisher dargestellten Ausbildungssysteme. Ich betone

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nochmals, ich wäre der Letzte, der die vorzügliche Arbeit kritisieren würde, die von unseren amerikanischen Freunden geleistet worden ist. Ich glaube, jeder von uns hier in Europa muss ihnen aus tiefstem Herzen dankbar sein für die wertvolle und starke Initiative und den Mut, mit dem sie an die Untersuchungen dieser industriellen Probleme herangegangen sind. Wir können nicht hoffen, es ihnen auf diesem Gebiete gleich zu tun. Sie haben uns inspiriert. Die meiste Literatur über diese Frage, wie über viele andere, kommt von ihnen. Aber trotzdem sie uns eine ungeheure Hilfe geleistet haben, ist diese Literatur auf europäische Verhältnisse nicht ohne weiteres anwendbar.

Der Grund ist folgender:

Die beiden Eigenschaften, die ich hervorgehoben habe - Führertum und den Willen zur Zusammenarbeit - sind im wesentlichen eine persönliche Haltung gegenüber den beiden Gruppen von Beziehungen in der Industrie. Subjektiv schliessen sie erstens die Fähigkeit ein, andere anzuregen und zu leiten und zweitens die Begabung, gemeinsam mit anderen auf die Erfüllung einer gegebenen Aufgabe hinzuwirken. Objektiv schliessen sie einerseits die Erkenntnis der besonderen Qualitäten ein, die zur Unterordnung unter die Leitung führt, und andererseits ein Verständnis für das gemeinsame Ziel und lebendiges Interesse daran, dass den anderen Gelegenheit gegeben wird, ihr Bestes zu leisten.

Eine persönliche Haltung dieser Art ist in hohem Masse abhängig von dem sozialen Hintergrund und der gesellschaftlichen Umwelt.

Nicht Logik, sondern Ueberlieferung und Gewohnheit bestimmen die Handlungen des Individuums. Nun - und dieses möchte ich besonders unseren Freunden und Mitarbeitern aus den Vereinigten Staaten mit Nachdruck sagen - es gibt einen wirklichen und lebenswichtigen Unterschied des sozialen Hintergrundes, besonders in Bezug auf diese Probleme. Sie leben in einem Staat, dessen Leben nicht nur mit dem in der Verfassung verankerten Grundsatz begann, dass alle Menschen frei und gleich sind, sondern in einem Lande, wo die Menschen infolge eines physikalischen Bruches mit der Vergangenheit und der ungeheuer schnellen Entwicklung eines

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jungfräulichen Kontinents sich wirklich gleich fühlen. Natürlich gibt es auch dort Unterschiede. Man sagt, dass "eine Million Dollar nicht verurteilt werden kann" und ich glaube kaum, dass die "Töchter der Revolution" die Freiheit im Sinne von John Stuart Mill definieren würden. Aber darüber hinaus gibt es einen radikalen Unterschied - einen Unterschied, der jedem feinfühligen Europäer klar wird, wenn er sich zum ersten Mal in New York die Schuhe putzen lässt. Der Amerikaner trägt gewissermassen den Marschallstab im Tornister. Er wettet darauf (he guesses), dass er gegebenenfalls auch einmal Präsident werden könnte.

Dieses "Wetten" ist sehr bezeichnend. Bei uns in Europa wettet man nur auf Pferde. Unsere Meinung über die letzten sozialen Fragen ist immer auf "Wissen" gegründet. Auch der Arbeiter weiss, wo er hingehört, oder er ist davon überzeugt, dass nur der Blutsauger von Kapitalist ihm den ihm zukommenden Arbeitsplatz sperrt. Wir leben noch im Schatten des Feudalismus. Man kann noch einen Geschäftsmann sagen hören: "Ich weiss nicht, was aus meinem Geschäft werden soll, wenn ich einmal sterbe; meinen Sohn habe ich im Kriege verloren". Wir haben Mitleid mit dem Mann, fragen uns aber, wofür sein Sohn seiner Ansicht nach gestorben ist. Ueberall in Europa gibt es noch Gemeinden, in denen der Pastor und der Gutsherr einen dominierenden Einfluss in sozialen Fragen haben. Die lange und langsame Emanzipierung von tief eingewurzeltten Anschauungen und ihren unausgereiften Reaktionen ist noch im Werden. Der Klassenkampf ist eine armselige, aber bewusste Nachahmung der Haltung, die die herrschenden Schichten unbewusst seit tausend Jahren eingenommen haben. Der Ausgebeutete spielt die gleichen fettigen Karten aus wie der Ausbeuter. Klassenbildung und -unterschiede, Ueberheblichkeit und Unterwürfigkeit, das Nichtloskönnen von der alten Gewohnheit zu fragen, was einer ist, statt zu fragen, was einer kann, all dies ist noch in unserer sozialen Struktur verwoben. Diesen Knoten hat Amerika bei Yorktown zerschnitten und der letzte Rest wurde von den Männern weggefegt, die bei Gettysburg fielen.

Nirgends zeigen sich die Unterschiede klarer als bei der Werkmeisterfrage. Wenn ich die Literatur recht verfolgt



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habe, so ist der Werkmeister in den Vereinigten Staaten ein Mann, der eine besondere Akkordarbeit leistet. In Europa dagegen ist er noch ein Mann, der einer bestimmten sozialen Klasse angehört. Daher sind die amerikanischen Begriffe über den Werkmeister auf die Verhältnisse in Europa nicht zu übertragen. Mehr noch, sie könnten sogar eine gewisse narkotische Wirkung ausüben, indem sie nämlich den europäischen Unternehmer davon zurückhalten, sich über die tatsächliche Lage des Werkmeisters bei uns bis ins Letzte klar zu werden.

Nehmen wir zunächst einmal die Zusammenarbeit. Der Wille zur Zusammenarbeit ist eine Gesinnungssache. Die Menschen können dahin gebracht werden auf einer Basis, aber nur auf einer Basis zusammen zu arbeiten: Begeisterung für ein gemeinsames Ziel, das sie erkennen und würdigen. Die Beziehungen zwischen Unternehmer und Werkmeister in Grossbritannien sind noch jetzt fast unverändert ein "Herr- und Knecht-Verhältnis". Vom Werkmeister wird selbstredend verständnisvolle Mitarbeit erwartet, weil er zum Personal der Betriebsleitung gehört. Arbeitgeber, die das Gewerkschaftswesen als eine durchaus vernünftige Organisation anerkennen, die für alle Teile von Nutzen ist, werden blass vor Empörung und Erstaunen, wenn Angehörige ihres Personals irgendwelche Anzeichen von Gruppensolidarität zeigen. Aber die Beziehung der bezahlten Angestellten zum Arbeitgeber oder zum Kapitalisten ist keine andere wie die des Arbeiters. Die Angestellten werden nicht ganz so leicht entlassen und bei schlechter Konjunktur etwas länger mitgeschleppt, weil ein Ersatz mit höheren Kosten verknüpft ist. Das ist aber auch alles. Im Grunde sind sie doch Arbeiter und Lohnempfänger.

Warum ärgert sich also der Arbeitgeber? Weil er noch in feudalen Begriffen befangen ist. Er betrachtet ein solida-  
risches Vorgehen zur Vertretung der wirtschaftlichen Interessen der Angestellten als "illoyales Verhalten". Hier taucht wieder der alte Vorstellungskomplex auf. Und, allgemein gesprochen, sind die Angestellten in gehobener Stellung der gleichen Auffassung und zwar aus ähnlichen Gründen. Sie

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leben in der Vorstellung ihrer privilegierten Stellung, die mit einer gewissen sozialen Würde verbunden ist. Sie haben ein ausgeprägtes Klassenbewusstsein und würden lieber die Hoffnung auf die ewige Seligkeit aufgeben, als "herunter zu kommen".

Ich bitte aber die Unternehmer, sich einmal genau zu überlegen, ob sich dieses Verhältnis auch nur um ein Jota unterscheidet von dem Verhältnis zwischen dem Baron und seiner Schar von Untergebenen, Vögten, Weibern und dem, was sonst noch vom Herrenhaus abhing? Sie verdankten der Gnade ihres Herrn, dass sie es besser hatten als die Leibeigenen. Sie verdankten es ihrer Schlaueit und der Fähigkeit, das Brot der Demut zu essen, um sich untereinander Vorteile zu verschaffen. Aber ihre Treue und Anhänglichkeit waren rein persönliche Angelegenheiten. Und das sind sie auch heute noch für weite Kreise der europäischen Industrie. Den Menschen wird kein Gemeinschaftsideal nahe gebracht, das sie zur Gefolgschaft begeistern könnte. Es ist daher vollkommen unfruchtbar, über eine wirkliche Zusammenarbeit mit den Arbeitern zu sprechen oder zu versuchen, die Werkmeister zur Zusammenarbeit zu erziehen, so lange und bevor nicht für diese Zusammenarbeit und ihre Ziele eine Formel gefunden wird, durch die mit persönlichen Vorteilen und mit der willkürlichen Herrschaft des Bandenführers aufgeräumt und an ihre Stelle eine logische Erklärung des Wirtschaftsprozesses gesetzt wird als Dienst an der Allgemeinheit, dem sich denkende und kulturbewusste Menschen freiwillig unterordnen. Die Basis aller vernünftigen Werkmeistererziehung zur Zusammenarbeit muss sein: Eine Einführung in die Betriebspolitik, d.h. in eine Betriebspolitik, die Hand und Fuss hat und die sie, wenn ich einmal so sagen darf, davon überzeugt, dass ihre Arbeit im Betrieb auch ihrem eigenen Besten dient.

Das führt unmittelbar zu einer zweiten Betrachtung. Ich bin immer von neuen überrascht, wenn ich Geschäftsleute über Konkurrenz sprechen höre. Nach meiner Ansicht ist die Konkurrenz ein wertvoller Anreiz für das Wirtschaftsleben, jedoch in ihrer rohen Form "Jeder für sich und den Letzten beißen die Hunde" ist sie unmöglich mit den Erfordernissen unserer

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heutigen Wirtschaft in Einklang zu bringen. Auf der einen Seite haben wir eine Produktionstechnik, die im Interesse der Produktivität eine höchst verfeinerte Zusammenarbeit von zahllosen spezialisierten Verrichtungen und Arbeitsvorgängen mit einem sich ständig ausdehnenden Netz von Kontrolleinheiten erfordert. Sie verlangt ein Mass gegenseitigen Verständnisses, von Geduld und Respekt vor der Arbeit des anderen, für die wir kein Gegenbeispiel in irgend einer anderen Unternehmungsform in der Geschichte der Menschheit finden. Sir Ernest Benn und andere versichern ernsthaft, dass die Hauptspule dieses zarten Gespinstes von Pflichttreue und Hingabe das Eigeninteresse ist und bleiben muss. Ich möchte daher gern wissen, ob Lady Benn den gleichen Ton anschlägt, wenn sie mit den kleinen Benns spricht: "So, geht jetzt und spielt hübsch mit dem kleinen Johnny, aber denkt an euch selbst. Wenn ihr seine Spielsachen haben wollt und ihr habt mehr Kraft, dann nehmt sie ihm weg. Wenn er sich wehrt, so gebt ihm eins ins Gesicht. Aber seid schlau und erzählt, dass er euch zuerst geschlagen hat. Dann wird alles gut werden. So, nun lauft und spielt nett miteinander." Man kan nicht behaupten, dass die Konkurrenz eine sich selbst regulierende Institution ist, die, sich selbst überlassen, durch göttliche Fügung in Ordnung gehalten wird - und dann erwarten, dass der eigene Betrieb frei von Reibungen bleiben wird, frei von den Lügereien und Uebervorteilungen, die die scharfe Konkurrenz zwischen einzelnen Grossbetrieben stets mit sich bringt. Jedenfalls kann man das nur behaupten, wenn man sich zutraut, den eigenen Betrieb mit der göttlichen Ordnung versorgen zu können.

Ich schlage vor, dass das zweite Ausbildungsfach für zukünftige Werkmeister ein Kursus in Volkswirtschaftslehre ist, der von der Praxis und den Tatsachen des realen Lebens ausgeht, - eine Volkswirtschaftslehre, in der der Konkurrenz ihr richtiger Platz zugewiesen wird, als System des Wettbewerbes zwischen Produzentengruppen, das einer gewissen, von uns noch auszubauenden Kontrolle untersteht, das aber keine Daseinsberechtigung im Einzelbetrieb hat. Solange die führenden Köpfe der Wirtschaft die Konkurrenz als das Grundprinzip des Wirtschaftslebens ansehen, als Selbstzweck und Weg-

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weiser, so lange wird diese unterminierende Auffassung sich auch in der Haltung der Arbeitnehmer widerspiegeln, die in unseren industriellen Betrieben Mitarbeit leisten sollten. Ich glaube, dass die neue Auffassung von der Wirtschaft, die ich oben dargelegt habe, den letzten Sinn jener in der ganzen Welt wirksamen geistigen Bewegung bildet, die wir gegenwärtig "Rationalisierung" nennen.

Ich habe die einfachsten Punkte, die im Zusammenhang mit der Kooperation stehen, bis zum Schluss gelassen. Erfolgreiches Zusammenarbeiten mit Menschen ist in erster Linie eine Frage guter Verständigung. Ich bilde mir ein, dass die Pläne für gleichzeitige Uebersetzungen, die jetzt in Genf ausprobiert werden, wahrscheinlich einen grösseren Einfluss auf die internationalen Beziehungen haben werden, als alle Diplomaten des letzten Jahrhunderts.

Aber die Verständigung von Mensch zu Mensch wird meist durch das geschriebene oder gesprochene Wort herbeigeführt, und selbst da, wo die Menschen die gleiche Sprache sprechen, sind Worte oft tückische Gesellen. Ich glaube, dass Uebung im Ausdruck einen Teil der Erziehung zur Zusammenarbeit bildet, und ich möchte in die Werkmeisterkurse für Kooperation das aufnehmen, was Mrs. Malaprop "die freundliche Verwirrung der Epitheta" nennt.<sup>1</sup>

Neben die Bemühung zur Erleichterung der Verständigung tritt die Erziehung zum Respekt vor der Arbeit des Anderen. Ich wiederhole hier, es sollen keine Einzelheiten gelehrt werden. Man kann nicht jeden Werkmeister in Kosten, Personalfragen, Chemie und Maschinenbau, Unfallschutz und in einem Dutzend anderer Fächer unterrichten. Was man ihm aber beibringen kann ist ein Begriff von der Rolle, die jedem Arbeitsfeld im Gesamtbetrieb zukommt. Kurz, er soll die Grundelemente der Betriebslehre kennen lernen.

Aber die beiden letzten Punkte scheinen mir von viel geringerer Bedeutung als die beiden ersten, die absolut keine akademischen Grundbegriffe sind, sondern lediglich Auffassungen der Unternehmer. Nur durch eine Aenderung der Stellung zu diesen Fragen können wir hoffen, den Konflikt,

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Malaprop "die Wortverdreherin", eine Figur aus dem Lustspiel "The Rivals" des englischen Dichters Sheridan.

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der durch die jetzige Stellung des Werkmeisters hervorgerufen wird, zu beseitigen. Dazu würde gehören, dass man ihm den Sinn des Unternehmens so verständlich macht, dass er ein lebhaftes Interesse an dessen Erfolg hat, aber nicht aus persönlichen Motiven, sondern aus einem Gefühl der Zugehörigkeit, als Mitglied einer Gemeinschaft. Dazu gehört, dass man ihm seine eigene Stellung zum Bewusstsein bringt und die seiner Gruppe im Gesamtbau des Wirtschaftslebens, und zwar in einer Weise, die weder sein natürliches Anhänglichkeitsgefühl für die Arbeitskollegen, aus deren Reihe er hervorgegangen ist, verletzt, noch sein neu erwachtes Gefühl der Verpflichtung gegenüber der Betriebsleitung. Nicht zuletzt müsste versucht werden, die Theorie der Konkurrenz, die uns von der klassischen Nationalökonomie überliefert worden ist, in Einklang zu bringen mit den Tatsachen der Massenproduktion, die uns umgeben.

Bevor wir dieses Thema verlassen, möchte ich noch bemerken, dass es - trotz der Widersinnigkeiten, auf die ich Ihre Aufmerksamkeit gelenkt habe - den Unternehmern und Direktoren wenigstens in Gross-Britannien gelungen ist, erstaunliche Erfolge in der Zusammenarbeit und in der Belebung des Werkszugehörigkeitsgefühls zu erzielen, und gerade eines Zugehörigkeitsgefühls in den unteren Reihen des Betriebspersonals. Sie sollten sich darauf nicht zuviel zu gute halten. Dies ist nur ein Beweis der erstaunlichen Empfänglichkeit des menschlichen Geistes für Gruppensolidarität und Gruppenideale - ein fast noch ganz unbeackertes Feld der Psychologie.

Ich möchte sie davon überzeugen, dass schon diese eine Tatsache eine Fülle von Hoffnungen für den sozialen Fortschritt der Menschheit einschliesst. In unsere Hände ist eine dynamische Kraft zur Bessergestaltung gegeben, wenn wir nur lernen, sie in die richtigen Bahnen zu lenken und auf soziale Zwecke zu richten, wenn wir diesem Problem nur das gleiche Interesse zuwenden, wie etwa der Lehre von den Atomen in der Chemie und Physik.

Wir kommen jetzt zur Führerschaft. Wenn meine Darlegung der sozialen Situation in Europa richtig ist, so müssen wir uns jetzt einige besonders dringende Fragen über diesen Punkt

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vorlegen. Ich habe bereits ausgeführt, dass die Ausbildung der zukünftigen Werkmeister in der Jugend beginnen muss. Aber da ist noch eine zweite Frage. Führerschaft ist eine wechselseitige Beziehung; auf Seiten des Führers setzt sie voraus: Selbstvertrauen, den Wunsch zu führen, die Initiative zu ergreifen, Sympathie und Verständnis für diejenigen, die geführt werden sollen. Auf Seiten der Geführten setzt sie voraus: Fehlen des Wunsches zur Selbstbehauptung, Vertrauen und Zuneigung zum Führer, Anerkennung seiner Stellung, dessen, was man gewöhnlich mit "Prestige" bezeichnet. Wenn es stimmt, dass die alten feudalen Gedankengänge noch im Geschäftsleben wirksam sind, so muss zum mindesten daraus gefolgert werden, dass solche Beziehungen nicht gerade zum Besten in einem System entwickelt werden können, das den Führer unmittelbar aus den Reihen seiner Kameraden nimmt. Die Industrie hat leider noch keine Erfahrungen auf diesem Gebiet. Die augenblickliche Praxis ist "Wildwuchs", ein Drunter und Drüber, ohne irgendwelche vertiefte Kenntnis der Fragen, um die es sich hier handelt. Ausserdem fangen wir gerade jetzt erst an zu begreifen, dass der moderne Grossbetrieb ein Verwaltungsorganismus ist und keine glorreiche Familienangelegenheit. Aber es gibt Einrichtungen, die durch ihren besonderen Zweckcharakter gezwungen sind, eine gut durchdachte Ausbildung von Führern vorzunehmen. Die Armee ist eine solche Einrichtung. Nun findet man fast in allen Heeren der Welt das System der in kleinen Gruppen aufgeteilten Führerschaft, und zwar geschieden nach zwei Funktionen. Ich denke hier an die Arbeit des "Werkmeisters im Heere", d.h. des Unterführers in der kleinsten Kommandoformation. Nehmen wir das Peloton<sup>1</sup> der britischen Armee. An ihrer Spitze steht ein Offizier, ein Mann, der gewöhnlich nicht im Heer gedient hat und niemals, ausser im Notfall, aus demselben Regiment stammt, in dem er als Offizier tätig ist.

Er hat nur eine Führertätigkeit in dem Sinne, wie ich sie definiert habe, er hat den geistigen Anteil an der Gesamtaufgabe, die Kompanie zu kommandieren. Ihm steht ein Unteroffizier zur Seite, der die technische Leitung hat. Von ihm verlangt

<sup>1</sup> Entspricht der Stärke eines Zuges.

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man, dass er Menschen zu behandeln versteht. Er ist meistens älter als sein Offizier und hat bedeutend grössere Erfahrung in allen militärischen Dingen. Aber man erwartet nicht von ihm, dass er in demselben Masse wie der Offizier den moralischen Einfluss ausübt, den wir eben mit Führerschaft bezeichnen.

Wir wollen uns nun wieder zur Industrie zurückwenden, wo gewöhnlich der Arbeiter zum Werkmeister ernannt wird, der über die besten technischen Kenntnisse verfügt. Manchmal hat er auch Führerqualität, aber wie oft? Ist hier nicht die Wurzel fast aller Streitigkeiten zu suchen, die mit Streik und Not enden, und nur, weil es in der Industrie niemanden gibt, dessen Haupttätigkeit darin besteht, in einem engen Kontakt mit den kleinen Betriebseinheiten gerade jene Faktoren des Ansehens, des Vertrauens und der Anhänglichkeit zu stärken, wie es die ausgesprochene Aufgabe des Offiziers unteren Ranges in der Armee erfordert.

Es ist ja noch nicht so lange her, dass wir Gelegenheit hatten, das grossartige System der militärischen Schulung kennen zu lernen. Wir konnten Einrichtungen beobachten, die sich zwanzig- bis dreissigmal über ihr normales Mass hinaus mit blitzartiger Geschwindigkeit vergrösserten, und die gezwungen waren, Offiziere und Nicht-Berufs-Offiziere im zwanzigsten Teil der Zeit auszubilden, die gewöhnlich für notwendig gehalten wird. Das war meiner Meinung nach eine praktische Erprobung der Organisations- und Kommando-Prinzipien, wie sie die Industrie nur selten erleben kann. Und bis zum Schluss des Krieges, ich spreche jetzt von der Armee, die ich genau kenne (aber ich glaube, man kann von den anderen Heeren dasselbe sagen), - wie oft kam es da vor, dass das Gerücht, der "junge Offizier" sei an der Front verwundet, ein halb Dutzend Männer veranlasste, mitten ins Maschinengewehrfeuer vorzudringen, um ihn zu holen. Diese jungen Offiziere waren oft töricht, oft viel weniger Männer als die, die sie führten, aber auf die eine oder andere Weise hatten sie einen Einfluss auf sie gewonnen, der nichts mit Kriegsgericht und militärischer Disziplin zu tun hatte. Ihre Leute liebten sie, freuten sich an ihnen und wären durch sämtliche Feuer der Hölle hinter ihnen hergezogen. Ich frage mich,

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wenn ich die Fabriken beobachte: Das Murren und die Unzufriedenheit in den Werkstätten, die mittelalterlichen Werkmeister, die oft gefürchtet, manchmal geachtet, aber nur selten geliebt werden, - ob es überhaupt möglich ist, Führer in einem solchen Boden aufzuziehen.

Ich bin der Meinung, dass wir - wenn wir daran glauben - mit viel mehr Eifer und Aufmerksamkeit die Methoden der Organisationen studieren müssen, die auf ebensoviel Jahrhunderte von Erfahrungen zurückblicken wie die Industrie auf Jahre. Wir müssen uns dann auch mit dem Gedanken vertraut machen, dass die Menschen, die den Führerschaftsgedanken den Arbeitergruppen näherbringen sollen, für diese Aufgabe viel besser ausgebildet werden müssen, als es augenblicklich geschieht. Ich bezweifle, dass sie über genügend Autorität verfügen; - besonders in den älteren Ländern - wenn sie plötzlich denen übergeordnet werden sollen, mit denen sie noch am Tage vorher gleichgestellt waren. Vor allen Dingen aber müssen sie, wie der Offizier im Heere, stehen oder fallen mit der moralischen Haltung ihrer Gruppe, mit deren Zufriedenheit und deren Bereitschaft, mit gemeinsamer Kraft vorzugehen.

Ueber das eben Gesagte werden zweifellos einige meiner Arbeitskollegen ziemlich entsetzt sein. Es schmeckt nach privilegierten Klassen. Und was soll aus den geheiligten Prinzipien der Demokratie werden? Ich persönlich bin der Ansicht, dass die Demokratie nur ein geheiligtes Prinzip hat, und einzig dies: die gleichen Möglichkeiten für alle. Mit allen Mitteln wollen wir so schnell wie irgend möglich die Vorrechte und Vorstellungen in der Politik beseitigen, die es den Kindern reicher Eltern ermöglichen, sich mit mehr Aussicht auf Erfolg zu bewerben als befähigtere Kinder aus minder bemittelten Kreisen. Ich stehe auf ihrer Seite in der Abwehr gegen jede Form der Cliquenwirtschaft und der Begünstigung. Jede Besetzung eines Postens, sei es in der Industrie oder im öffentlichen Dienst, soll nur auf Grund der Eignung und nur nach dieser allein erfolgen. Ich bin aber der Meinung, dass die unangebrachte Empfindlichkeit in Fragen der Klasse nicht nur in der bemittelten Klasse zu finden ist. Und hier bestehen die grössten Hemmungen, unter denen wir leiden, wenn wir



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ernstlich und planmässig über Betriebs-Verwaltungsmethoden nachzudenken versuchen. Wenn eine besondere Arbeit erfordert, dass diejenigen, die sie ausführen sollen, frühzeitig ausgebildet werden, so ist dies ein Frage der Methode und keine Frage des Prinzips. Die wirkliche Begabung zum Führer ist zu selten und zu kostbar, als dass man sie zurückweisen dürfte, ganz gleich, woher sie stammt.

Unter den Unterrichtsgegenständen sind einige von besonderer Wichtigkeit. Kein Mensch ist heute fähig, als Führer in einem Betriebe aufzutreten, der sich nicht in praktischer Arbeit mit den Ergebnissen der modernen Experimental-Psychologie und den Studien über die Ermüdung vertraut gemacht hat. Er muss auch über Kenntnisse in der modernen Arbeiterbewegung und in der Geschichte des Gewerkschaftswesens verfügen.

Aber hier ist es wieder so wie bei der Zusammenarbeit. Der lebendige Unterricht ist Sache der Haltung des Unternehmers oder der Betriebsleitung. Im letzten Grunde kann der Führer nur durch das Führen lernen, aber er sollte unter einer wohlwollenden und sorgfältigen Leitung führen lernen. Auch hier muss man sich wieder frei machen von dem Komplex der Konkurrenz und der Unterdrückung der untergeordneten Arbeiter, die sie im Gefolge hat. Dann ist jedem die Möglichkeit gegeben, der sich zum Führer eignet, Fehler zu machen und aus ihnen zu lernen. Er lernt dann auch, dass Führerschaft kein Privilegium ist, keine Frage des Titels oder des Freiseins von Disziplin, sondern der Verantwortung. Vor allem aber muss er lernen, dass die Menschen nur dem folgen, der ihr Interesse voranstellt.

Ich erinnere mich noch heute einer Szene aus dem Jahre 1915. Einige müde Offiziere, die gerade von der Front abgelöst worden waren, kamen in die Offiziersmesse. Einer von ihnen war ein unerfahrener Junge, kurz vorher aus England gekommen. Der Oberst sah ihn eine Minute lang an und fragte ihn: "Jones, haben Ihre Leute schon ihren Tee bekommen?" Jones zögerte einen Augenblick mit der Antwort: "Der Unteroffizier schickt gerade den Tee herauf." Die Antwort kam blitzschnell: "Ihr Essen hat Zeit, sehen Sie nach Ihren Leuten."

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Ein anderes Bild: Einem Subaltern-Offizier war eine schwierige Verwaltungsarbeit übertragen worden. Eines Tages verlor er bei einer Nachlässigkeit eines Büroangestellten die Geduld. Am anderen Ende des Büros wartete ein Hauptman, bis der Angestellte sich entfernt hatte und sagte dann ruhig: "Kommen Sie her!" Der junge Offizier, der ausgezeichnet mit ihm stand, ging auf ihn zu. Plötzlich ganz scharf: "Stehen Sie stramm, wenn ich mit Ihnen rede!" Und dann bekam der Junge in den nächsten zehn Minuten so viel zu hören, dass er wünschte, er wäre nie geboren. Der Schluss der Rede war ein Kunstwerk. Ganz plötzlich ging die ärgerliche Stimme in einen ruhigen Ton über: "Nun wissen Sie genau, wie es ist, wenn man nicht antworten kann." Fünf Minuten darauf hörte der Offizier zu seinem Erstaunen eine freundliche Stimme hinter sich sagen: "Kommen Sie und essen Sie mit mir zusammen in Rouen".

Ja, Führerschaft kann gelernt werden. Hier und da findet man in der Industrie vereinzelte Beispiele, dass sie bewusst gelehrt wird. Aber diese Fälle sind zu zählen. Wir müssen die Frage von Anfang an neu durchdenken. Das ist dringend. Denn so lange wir dies nicht tun, wird uns keine Aenderung in den höheren Instanzen der Industrie etwas nützen. Auf die Dauer kommt es auf die Kleinigkeiten des täglichen Lebens an. Industrielle Beziehungen werden in den Betrieben geschaffen durch den unmittelbaren Kontakt zwischen den Arbeitern in den kleinsten Arbeits-Einheiten und denen, die ihnen persönlich und unmittelbar als Vertreter der Politik der Betriebsleitung gegenüber stehen. Im modernen Grossbetrieb brauchen wir Verwaltungssystem und Disziplin, ganz gleich wem das Kapital gehört und wem die letzte Machtbefugnis zusteht. Kein Mensch und keine Körperschaft, die heute die Kontrolle über die englische Industrie übernehmen, würden irgend welche Möglichkeit haben, die Mehrzahl der Ursachen zu ändern, deren Folge Streik und Unzufriedenheit im Betriebe sind. Weil diese wechselseitigen Beziehungen zwischen der Schlüsselgruppe der Werkmeister, dem Aufsichtspersonal und der Betriebsleitung auf der einen Seite - und den Arbeitern, die sie überwachen, auf der anderen Seite - niemals durchdacht wurden, sind die Vorstellungen von Autorität und den

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Methoden, die Autorität durchzusetzen, feudalistisch und primitiv geblieben. Wir haben keinen Stab geschulter Führer für kleine Gruppen - aus dem einfachen Grunde, weil die Grundsätze einer solchen Schulung noch niemals genau festgelegt worden sind.

Ich konnte in meinem Vortrag daher nur den Versuch machen, die Richtung aufzuzeigen, in denen meiner Meinung nach Forschungen und Versuche möglich sind.

# AN INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS POLICY AND PROCEDURE FOR A LARGE ENTERPRISE

BY RODERIC M. OLZENDAM

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We are on the threshold of a new phase of economic development. During the next decade many small, independent organizations will by the very force of circumstances give way to larger units. Mergers and combinations, national and international, will come to occupy a larger place in industrial economy. Because such organizations present peculiarly difficult problems, I am making my hypothetical case such a large-scale enterprise.

I am selecting it more particularly because it is in large-scale enterprise that is found the greatest obstacle to sound industrial relations - the loss of personal touch between owners, managers and workers. To the extent that such personal touch disappears must ownership and management be governed by a social conscience - a conscience that conserves in proper balance the interests of society, workers, management and ownership.

But this social perspective is not sufficient. Many leaders mean well but do not know how to express their good intentions in conduct. There must be a check upon the judgments as well as upon the purposes of leaders. Therefore there should be organized provision for all functional interests to make their desires known, to contribute information and to participate in decisions as to policy and procedures.

Let us assume that I have been appointed managing director of a large business internationally organized with many plants. What will be the nature of my leadership toward a policy of industrial relations, and how shall I make it effective? Drawing upon an experience with many owners, managers, trade unions and workers, with whom I have been associated in the United States, Canada and Europe during the past twelve years, I should proceed as follows:

**Fundamental.** As a company we should announce a definite labor policy to cover our activities as a company for

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the next decade. This policy should be based upon the accumulated experience of our various companies during the past decade. By coming out definitely with a policy we are going to see greater unification of effort. Knowing our policy and program for the next decade, men and management are going to come to agree with this policy and work for its accomplishment. We shall be more united and therefore more powerful under a clear-cut policy than we are under one which is vague and unexpressed.

The Directors will announce the policy and watch results. Continuity of policy and management is a fundamental necessity for industrial success.

I shall go before the Board of Directors and ask them to appoint a policy committee to draft an industrial relations policy. On this committee there shall be two members of the Board of Directors, two trade union leaders, one superintendent, and one representative chosen by the workers, and myself acting as Chairman. This policy committee will be instructed by the Board of Directors to draft what in their judgment is the proper policy to be followed during the next decade. The Board of Directors will examine the suggested policy and finally give it their stamp of approval and backing. They will then leave the carrying out of this policy in daily operation to those whose duty it is to secure the maximum results in mills and offices. Once stated and agreed upon by the directorate, the action which produces maximum results will be left to those to whom the Director and stockholders look for results, namely to the Managing Director and his staff. Details of how, when and where will not bother anyone other than those who are held responsible for results. If the labor policy as part of the general program of management produces increasingly good returns, there will be no questions. Let us assume now that this committee has been appointed, has had its meetings and has drafted the policy. May I put forward a policy and program which in my judgment would express the combined viewpoints of the policy committee and of the Board of Directors of an international company desiring to obtain the greatest possible success during the next decade?

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### Object of the organization of the company:

The international company has been organized for the manufacture of a commodity necessary for the satisfaction of the natural wants of men and women in the various countries, to provide a permanently profitable investment of capital and to bring about continuous and enjoyable occupation for men and women at the highest wages and salary which the company can afford to pay steadily.

**Object of the organization of industrial relations:** The object of an industrial relations program is to aid in the carrying out of the object of the company by:

Consistently reducing the cost of producing a unit of product.

Securing greater output per man per day, resulting in a gradual increase of wages and salaries.

Producing a product of a quality so high that the demand for this company's products will be increasingly great.

Surrounding the workers in mills and offices with security against life's major risks.

Development of men.

**Attitude towards unions:** It is our firm conviction that organized labor should do all within its power to aid by every legitimate means at its command, without injury to the organized workers, in promoting the permanent success of those companies who sign annual working and wage agreements with organized labor. The executive officers of the union should charge themselves first, last and always with as complete a knowledge as they possibly can, of the trade, and they should at all times have this thought - that while they are executives of a union, while they have a responsibility with respect to membership in that union, yet they have a very serious responsibility with respect to the international company in whose jobs their union members work and get their living. There is just as much responsibility on the part of the president of the union to see that the international company prospers, as there is for the managing director. The interest of one is equal to that of the other. The union president and the managing director are working in the trade,

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and if the trade is not prosperous, those who work in it cannot be prosperous.

The opening clause in the agreements which the company signs should read as follows: The successful operation of the mills and offices is hereby declared to be a matter of mutual interest between the unions and the company. It is hereby agreed that it is the duty of every man in the organization to promote at all times the progress of the mills and offices by cooperating to the fullest extent in all matters having to do with operation, such as the elimination of waste, quality and quantity of output, cleanliness and the protection of the mills, and development of new processes.

**Security:** Men who are worried by outside matters will not give us the mental effort which is vitally necessary. The international company during the next decade will require the undivided attention of its people eight hours of every day. We therefore recognize the business value of security in relieving the minds of all employees from worry. By surrounding the worker with security he will be freer in mind and can concentrate more completely upon his work than would otherwise be the case were he facing insecurity through unemployment, illness, old age, accident, etc.

We desire security for the people employed in the international company. We believe it essentially and economically unsound that security should rest in the hands of an employer, even one who for the moment is benevolent and has good-will. Therefore we are in favor of surrounding our workers with security under a plan which we jointly agree to be sound and which becomes sanctioned by law so that a decade from now our workers will have guaranteed security and not be at the mercy of a changing management.

**Cooperation:** Without cooperation between men, management, stockholders and the community, the international company cannot reach its highest success. The building up of a spirit of cooperation must come from all sides. The responsibility of cooperation rests as much with the head of the union as it does with the managing director. The struggle formula is antique; collaboration for the creation of greater wealth, to be more widely distributed, is our policy.

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**Wages and salaries:** We believe that the attitude towards wages and salaries observed generally in industry today is one which does not bring out the best in men. When a person begins to worry about his income - when he says to himself, "My efforts are underpaid, and worth more than I am receiving" - that person's value to his employer becomes greatly reduced, so long as he maintains this attitude. This psychology should be reversed. Rates in the international company should always be such that our people are asking themselves the question, "Am I earning as much as I am being paid?" This attitude will accomplish vastly more for the company and everyone in it than the reverse attitude. In return for these wages, we must see to it that every man earns his pay - not by driving him from the outside, but by affording him the opportunity to express the desire which, under this policy, he will have, to see the international company succeed. Our wage policy therefore is to find the ways and means whereby we can be gradually increasing wages and salaries.

**Hours:** We will adopt the 8-hour day, the 40-hour week, and at least a 24-hour rest period weekly for every worker.

**Vacations:** Annual vacations of two weeks with full pay will be granted to all employees.

**Promotion and choice of executives:** Promotion from within the organization is sound and makes for efficiency of operation and satisfaction to all employees. This policy will be followed whenever men of capacity for advancement are available, and there will be understudies for every position in mills and offices. We believe that a college training in economics is very worth while but not absolutely necessary for business men who will occupy executive positions in the international company. As far as possible we shall adopt the policy of only appointing to higher positions in the company those persons who have had a thorough training in economics through experience in the company. No person will be promoted to a higher position who has not been a manual worker for one year or more, had membership in the trade union and in every way come to realize exactly the position of a so-called manual worker.



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**Stock-ownership:** We believe it to be sound business for employees of the company to own stock in the company, and therefore a plan will be worked out jointly to make this ownership possible. When the employees of the company own 10 per cent of the stock, it will be expected that they will choose their own representative who will sit on the Board of Directors. We favour the creation of an investment trust through which the employees of the international company may have the opportunity to make sound investments in securities other than those of our own company.

**Elimination of waste:** The international company realizes that waste exists in many forms in the every-day operation of its plants. Waste of time, waste of materials, waste of human energy, all combine to prevent the international company from making the greatest possible success, and to reduce materially the benefits we might all receive as individuals if we made a better job of our business. Regardless of where the responsibility for any particular form of waste now rests, we earnestly and whole-heartedly desire to discover how that waste can be prevented, in that production may be increased and costs lowered, wages and salaries raised and, as conditions permit, quality improved.

It is of the greatest importance that we approach our problems with open minds. We should not cling too tightly to old ideas and time-worn methods. Where waste is found to exist under present conditions, it is our job to discover and develop ways and means to eliminate that waste. To do so successfully, we must let our minds run free, ready to receive new ideas, to examine those ideas without prejudice, and to select the best solution for each problem whether that solution involves some entirely new idea or a modification of an old and tried one. Waste benefits no one; the elimination of waste would benefit every one of us, and it is therefore vitally important to us that we find where waste is occurring, what causes it, and then take without delay the necessary steps to prevent it.

A permanent committee on the elimination of waste will be appointed at each mill by the general superintendent of that

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mill, each committee to consist of three members, one of whom shall be an employee representative elected by the employees, one to be an engineer whose sole duty will be to work with the elimination of waste committee.

It is economically unsound to pay a man much for producing something which is to be wasted. These committees on the elimination of waste will go back of the thing itself and bend their efforts toward reducing it. We desire to get full value from labor in order to be able to pay it full value. We want to use materials to their limit in order that the time of men may not be lost. By an assay of loss in our processes, materials, or labor, we will be able to reveal facts which, if properly dealt with, will combine to represent a very appreciable increase in the wealth produced per worker and make a better job of those things which constitute the daily operations of the international company.

**More information for everybody:** The successful carrying out of the labor policy rests upon the educational program. It is the policy of the international company to see to it that employes are fully informed in the matters which concern them and that they are at all times dealt with as business men. An informed employee is a better all-around employee than one who is not informed. We as a company must see to it that all employees receive correct information based upon facts so that their actions may be governed at all times by an intelligent insight into the matters with which they have to do. Our educational development will be responsible for our attaining and maintaining the leadership of our industry.

**Standard practices:** By experimentation we shall find the most effective way of performing the various operations in our plants and that way shall be standardized until a better way is found. Our men will follow standard practices, rather than obey arbitrary commands. In determining standard practice the workers' representatives shall take full part. If new methods are advised by the research and planning departments they shall not be adopted without a shop try-out, and the workers shall be given every opportunity to contribute to these standard practices. No practice shall

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become standard until it has received the approval of the  
elimination of waste committee.

**Outside contacts:** The International Labour Organization is working for the establishment of social justice. This organization believes that the first step towards social justice is surrounding the worker with security. They believe that as a sound business principle the workers in every country should have a measure of security. From a competitive point of view it is to our advantage to have all employees in all companies at least on the minimum level of security. Therefore we, as far as normally comes within our responsibility, will advance the work of the I.L.O. in the interest of employees, employers, and the community. We endorse the resolution introduced by the Canadian employers' representative at the 11th International Labour Conference, and intend to carry out the policy in the international company. By the Treaty of Versailles we have to deal with the I.L.O. We feel that the I.L.O. has up to now followed the only course it could follow. From now on, however, we feel that the Labour Organization should realize in all its publications and its contacts that there are four parties to industry: the men, the management, the stock-holders, and the community.

We shall join the manufacturers' research associations to which we logically belong, and we shall work with those organizations so long as their attitude is one of recognizing the inter-dependency of men, management, and stock-holders. The management of the company pledges itself to do all within its power to bring its standards of management up to the highest possible point. We therefore look with greatest favor upon the management research groups which have been formed. We shall join for the purpose of learning the best practices in management from other people, and in turn, give them an insight into our management system. We believe in the exchange of information among non-competing companies.

**Decentralization:** Each operating unit shall have a general manager in charge of all local activities, including industrial relations, which is part of management. The responsibility of each general manager will be to keep uppermost the aim, not only of getting results, but also of aiding

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in the development of the men within his factory. This should be done not as benevolent paternalism, but as a function of his own career as a business executive. We will have no professional hand-shakers nor evangelists to inoculate us with good-will. As a program of sound business we will follow the policies set down, realizing that under such management, good-will is bound to develop.

Each individual factory shall be as far as possible a separate company, yet all working under the same definite general policies.

**President's banquet:** An annual dinner will be given by the Chairman of the Board to which will be invited, representatives of the Board of Directors, superintendents, foremen, and two representatives of the workers from each mill, elected by the people, to be the guests of the President. The object of the dinner will be to give the President and the Board of Directors the opportunity of outlining in detail to representatives of all branches of the company, the accomplishments of the year past and the plans for the future, and to give the workers the opportunity of telling the executives of the company how the organization has progressed in the year past and what the plans for the future from their point of view ought to be. There will be three worker's as speakers, chosen by ballot from the workers in the various mills.

**Leadership in the company:** The human element is as important in a big merger as it is in an individual company and with us will play as large a part in the management. It is our conviction that there will be an even greater opportunity for industrial leadership in the international company than existed in the individual companies. The opportunity for the development of the individual will be increased rather than checked. Under a decentralized organization we feel that there will be more opportunity for constructive leadership than formerly existed under the separate companies. The success of almost every company has in the past been built around the leadership of a few individual men, and in the last analysis the success of these leaders depends more upon their understanding of human nature and their willingness to consider the human problem in business, than it does

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upon their technical brilliance or their ability to drive a sharp bargain. We recognize man as a human being, having fundamental instincts for progress, justice, liberty, and self-preservation. In all of our dealings, we shall treat each other as business associates.

Under the international company system of collaboration it will be ideas that count. The person who can put forth the best suggestion will be the person who will most influence the decision. This means that the whole work relation in our company will give an opportunity for mental development. Leadership, under any situation in this company, will rest with the person most competent to deal with it. Under our policy responsibilities will no longer be assigned by the management group. They will evolve out of the group situation.

**Industrial freedom:** We, in the international company, call it industrial relations, and for the next decade we shall endeavor to make those two words spell freedom in the highest possible definition of the word as it can be interpreted in industry. We shall endeavor to make the relations between management and men free of suspicion, doubt, unfairness, distrust - to make men's minds free of fear of the future, fear of the boss, fear of the trade union president. We realize that we are only starting down the road, but we believe firmly that we are on the right road and we will ultimately attain that object which we seek. Meanwhile, we shall have faith. Unjust managements, unjust unions cannot last, and it is only through their change or eradication that success and happiness can come to those concerned. We shall work together in the international company during the next decade in perfecting a system of the highest and most business-like form of freedom. The only price we have to pay for this freedom is old-fashioned common honesty, and sincere mutual effort.

# THE FORM COORDINATION SHOULD TAKE OR THE PLACE OF PERSONNEL WORK IN THE ORGANISATION

BY B. EUGENIA LIES

Director of Planning R. H. Macy & Co., Inc., New-York.

We have been discussing at this congress the "Fundamental Relationships between a ll sections of the Industrial Community". Since industry itself forms the most important section in the industrial community, we must admit that the place of personnel work in the industrial unit or in the business organization is a subject which should receive our careful consideration. In opening the discussion of this subject, I shall attempt to do two things:

Suggest some of the more recent trends of personnel work in the United States.

Present in outline the personnel activities in the organization with which I am connected.

What I shall say, therefore, must be interpreted in the light of American industrial history, our habits of work and attitudes of mind. Some of our experiences in America have probably been the experiences, also, of other countries. On the other hand, it is more likely that personnel work has necessarily taken different forms in other countries because the industrial and social backgrounds of those countries are unlike ours and the needs to be met are also different.

The material which I shall present should be considered merely as contributing to a fund of "experience data", to which others, I hope, will add from their own experiences. By such a pooling of case material, we shall be enabled to evaluate present methods, discover points of similarity and of difference, and eventually develop more effective methods.

**FUNCTION OF MANAGEMENT.** It seems to me that any discussion of personnel work should be prefaced by a statement of the functions and objectives of management with regard to personnel. In the United States, today, enlightened management is holding itself responsible for developing the best methods of work, providing the best working conditions, and placing the worker on the job to which he is best adapted,

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for the purpose of enabling the worker to reach a maximum of production with a minimum of fatigue, to increase his earnings, and to secure greater satisfaction from his work. This attitude of management is economically sound because it inevitably results in reduced unit cost of operation, the benefit of which can eventually be shared with the customer in the form of improved service or reduced selling price.

**FUNCTION OF PERSONNEL WORK.** This responsibility of management, if we accept it, requires the greatest possible understanding of human behavior, and personnel work, therefore, becomes one of the very important functions of management. In fact, it is not too much to assume that personnel work is an integral part of the entire organization, along with the purchasing, manufacture and selling of merchandise.

It seems, therefore, to most of us in the United States who are interested in the human factor in industry, that what we should strive for is a universal acceptance by management of its responsibility for human relations. Once management accepts this obligation, it usually follows that it recognizes the necessity of enlisting technical assistance in this essential phase of its work.

It is my opinion that this gradual enlarging of the responsibilities of management and the humanizing of its objectives is the outstanding recent trend in our country. Do not misunderstand me; I do not say that all management is thus inspired - far from it.

Furthermore, there are no statistics available, to prove even that more plants have this point of view today. There seem to be, though, many unmeasurable indications that the trend is in the direction I have indicated.

More specifically, we may define the personnel function of management to include the responsibility for:

I. The following operation or line functions:

Selecting, placing and training workers for the job.

Developing workers on the job by:

a. Periodic personnel audits and salary reviews;

b. Promotional training and promotion.

Medical and psychiatric treatment.

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Accident prevention and safety work.

Maintaining lunch rooms.

Maintaining social service and recreational activities.

II. The training of Managers and Executives in better understanding of human behavior.

III. Cooperation with the research, or planning, or methods department, insofar as the human element is affected, in:

The development of standard methods of performance.

The development of job specifications.

The improvement of working conditions, such as:

Lighting, ventilation, seating, safety devices, noise, etc.

Hours of work (including rest periods) and wages.

Vacations plans.

Insurance plans.

**ORGANIZATION.** Having analyzed the personnel function, the next consideration is what is the best type of organization for discharging this function. The organization of the personnel department will, of course, depend upon the type and size of the business or industrial unit, and, again, on the attitude of the management. The one general principle which should always be kept in mind is that all branches of the personnel program must be properly coordinated. The smaller the organization, the less likelihood that the personnel functions will lack coordination, for in smaller organizations the operating manager himself may discharge all responsibilities relating to personnel. Even in slightly larger organizations, having only two or three members in the personnel department, there is little probability that each function will be specialized to such an extent as to interfere with proper coordination, because the same individual usually shares in all of the activities. In larger organizations, however, - those which employ ten, twenty, or even thirty staff members to do this work - coordination is more difficult because of over-specialization of the personnel functions. To avoid this difficulty, it seems to me that insofar as it is practical, a vertical organization which holds each personnel worker responsible for all of the personnel functions of a department or group of depart-



## THE PLACE OF PERSONNEL WORK IN THE ORGANISATION

ments, is better than a horizontal one which holds each personnel worker responsible for one function in a number of departments.

**METHOD AND TECHNIQUE.** Having defined the function and organization, we come next to a consideration of the technique or method of a personnel department. I shall not attempt within the limits of this paper to enter into a discussion of the details of technique, for in the last analysis each establishment will have to work out its own method. The value of a correct technique cannot be overemphasized but it is secondary in importance to the attitude and the objectives of management. This is so because it is management which must always judge the effectiveness of any technique. When, as in the case of personnel technique, evaluation on the basis of exact statistical measurement is impossible, it is most important that the management be in sympathy with the efforts of the personnel department. Even though statistical measurement may be difficult in personnel work, the attempt to measure results quantitatively should not be abandoned altogether. Whenever possible, therefore, an effort should be made to gather statistical proof of the value of any technique or device introduced in personnel work. As many records as possible should therefore be set up for the purpose of demonstrating statistically the effect of such devices as shorter hours of work or unemployment insurance, on morale. To give a complete picture, such records must be kept over a period sufficiently long to include results under depressed as well as prosperous business conditions. It must be borne in mind, though, that there will always be certain factors which materially influence results but which cannot be measured quantitatively. It is for this reason that it is important that the management which judges the effectiveness of the personnel program be sympathetic.

A fundamentally sound and permanently effective personnel procedure requires, in addition to a correct technique, standard working methods and working conditions. Here again the exact method of developing these conditions will depend upon the individual organization. I merely mention this point now

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but I shall have more to say about it in the description of our own methods.

To sum up, then, personnel work in America is being accepted more and more as a definite function of management, which provides the best methods of work and the best working conditions and which fits the worker to the job for which he is best equipped. Two elements are essential in order to achieve this result:

A proper coordination of all the personnel functions through an organization adapted to the requirements of the individual establishment.

Technique developed on the basis of the needs of the individual establishment.

**APPLICATION OF PRINCIPLES TO R. H. MACY & Co.** Leaving the discussion of the general principles of personnel organization, I come now to the second part of my paper.

To furnish a background against which to place the picture of our personnel department that I shall attempt to sketch, I shall first give you a few facts regarding our establishment. In the first place, Macy's is a department store having over 150 selling departments and doing an annual business of over 80 million dollars. We employ an average of 8,000 people in operating our business, divided roughly into 40 % engaged directly in selling and 60 % in non-selling work. At Christmas time, which is our peak season, we have as many as 12,000 employes on the payroll. Our salary costs are about 50 % of our total expense. From these figures you will see at once that the proper organization of our personnel activities is an important problem.

There are four important steps in fitting our personnel to the proper jobs:

Determining what is to be done on the job and the best way of doing it.

Determining the type of individual who is most likely to succeed on the job.

Selecting the individual for the job.

Training the worker who has been selected.

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Our planning or methods department (which you will note from our organization chart is responsible to our Board of Operations which directs and controls all operating procedures) assists the operating managers in a staff or service capacity in the determination of what work shall be done, the method to be used, and the conditions under which it shall be done. When the standardization of the job is completed, the Employment and Training Departments, together with the Planning Department, develop job specifications which describe the functions of the job and the qualifications of the worker. Using these job specifications as a guide, the Employment Department selects the workers, and the Training Department instructs them.

The supervision of the employment and training functions is in the hands of an Assistant General Manager who reports to the General Manager. Our General Manager is thus responsible for all personal activities as well as for all operating departments. This means that we consider the personnel functions definite responsibilities of management. The lines of responsibility are indicated on our organization chart.

You will see what the functions of our Employment and Training Departments are, from the organization charts of these departments. (They have since come under the supervision of one executive).

The Employment Department with a staff of interviewers who have had special training in psychiatry and psychology, is charged with the following responsibilities:

Interviewing, testing, selecting and placing employes. (The medical examination is made by the hospital, the mental tests are conducted by the Conference Office, or Psychiatric Clinic).

Following up all employes who have been placed, to make sure that they are properly adjusted to their jobs.

Interviewing employes when they leave the organization - either because of lay-off or resignation - in order to secure correct information for labor turnover data.

The responsibility for training of all personnel is divided between two divisions of the Training Department: the selling division responsible for training those in direct

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contact with the customer, - that is, salesclerks and Section Managers; and the non-selling division which trains all other employes. The program includes initial training at the time of employment, follow-up training on the job, and training for promotion.

All salesclerks are instructed in store system, merchandise information, service and policies. All employes - those in selling and in non-selling departments - are closely followed up and re-instructed if necessary by the teacher assigned to the department. In addition, the Training Department supervises the work of the Training Squad - a group made up principally of young college graduates - who receive training in all branches of the organization in preparation for junior executive and executive jobs. The Training Department conducts also the annual executive training course for junior executives who have demonstrated their fitness for executive jobs.

Another division of our personnel organization is the Conference Office, or Psychiatric Clinic, which is responsible for:

- Conducting the psychological tests given to applicants.

- Handling all cases of maladjustment referred by Department Managers or the Salary Review Committee.

This involves:

- Securing the complete history - work, social, physical - of the individual from records available and by interview.

- Conducting the necessary psychological and psychiatric tests.

- Diagnosing the situation and making recommendations.

- Making research studies of personnel in departments and developing on basis of job specifications a testing technique for the various jobs.

- Compiling and analyzing labor turnover data.

**The Social Service and Recreation Division** has three main branches:

Social Service, including:

- Emergency relief to employes.

- Representation on the governing board of the Mutual Aid Association.

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Recreation, involving:

Supervision of Employees' Recreation Room.

Employees' Camp, entertainments, evening club, and outings.  
Miscellaneous personnel activities, such as:

House Publication;

Employees' Lunchrooms;

Library;

Banking service.

Our employees' hospital is an activity of the Macy Mutual Aid Association which is an organization managed by the employees. The hospital medical staff gives the pre-employment physical examinations to all candidates for jobs in the organization, and after employment the services of both the medical and nursing staffs are available to all employees.

The Central Personnel Record Room is located in the Manager's Office and is under the General Manager. It is the function of the Record Room to collect and record all information necessary for a complete history of each employe while he is in our employ. There is a folder for each employe which includes:

The Employment blank and references.

The Personnel Record Card, on which is recorded:

Educational background;

Salary increase, promotions and transfers with reasons therefor;

Production and errors;

Attendance and punctuality;

Ratings by Training Department and findings of Conference Office;

Interviews regarding performance when it is below standard;

Ratings of periodic personnel audits.

The Periodic Personnel Audit, or Salary Review as it is called, is an attempt to review performance records at regular periods with the idea of securing an accurate evaluation of individual production and service to the organization. The personnel of the Salary Review Committee is composed of the Salary Budget Director, directly responsible to the General Manager, the Assistant General Manager in

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charge of the department being reviewed, the Department Manager, the Superintendent of Employment and Training, the director of the Conference Office, the supervisor of the Record Room and the Divisional Teacher.

The following statement regarding the purpose of the periodic salary reviews appeared in our employes publication:

"The purpose of the salary review is to gain a thorough, many-sided, and therefore impartial estimate of the value of the service which each employe renders. It affords an unbiased and exact basis for recommending advances, layoffs and transfers.

"It supplants the old hit-or-miss method of making increases on the recommendation of the department manager only and is an effective tool of centralized management because it gives to the general manager all the information which he requires to enforce a policy of the square deal for every one.

"For the organization, it means that, by evaluating service and rewarding especially good service as soon as it is brought to light, it will develop a steady force of employes who are content to remain here and who will do faithful and intelligent work because they know that the results will be acknowledged and rewarded.

"For the employe, it means that he has the cooperation of the organization in adjusting any condition which temporarily handicaps maximum performance, such as physical handicaps, or family maladjustments which the conference office investigates. It means also that he must toe the mark, and that favoritism cannot help him rise. He must do his best, and he is secure in his feeling that his best will be recognized".

**SUMMARY.** I hope I have made it clear to you that personnel work in the Macy organization has been accepted as a function of the management. Policies with regard to personnel are formulated by the management division, which also exercises control of transfer of employes from job to job, promotions, and separations of employes from the organization. The hiring of employes is delegated to the Employment Department, directly responsible to the General Manager. Except in rare cases, the manager of a department does not see an applicant for a job in his department until after that applicant has been hired by the employment interviewer. In the training of employes, the coordination of all training activities is the responsibility of the Training Department and even when any part of the training is handled by the individual operating department, this is done with the cooperation of the divisional teacher who is a staff member of the Training Department.

While the specialized personnel functions, like hiring and

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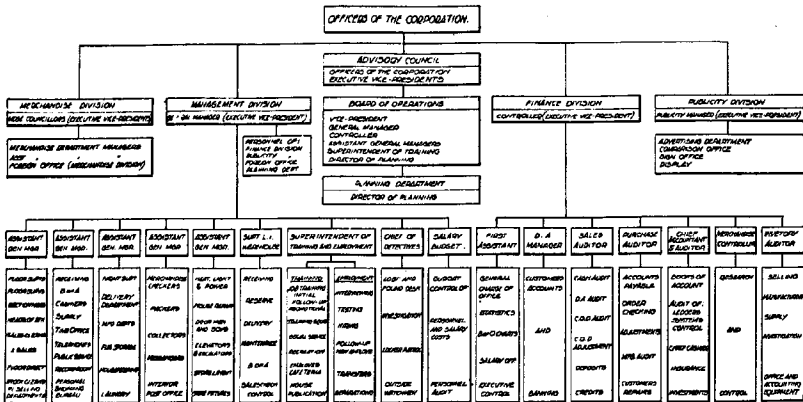
training, are delegated to special departments, the executives in charge of operating departments, being in closest contact with their employes, obviously exercise considerable influence in creating morale and reducing labor turnover, and are, for that reason, important factors in the personnel situation. It is essential, therefore, that executives be carefully selected and trained so that they may have an intelligent understanding of human behavior. We are making a deliberate effort in the Macy organization to secure men and women of high calibre for executive positions. For that reason we have organized the training squad and conduct the annual executive training course. We are attempting to provide the proper training by having the Conference Office discuss with the executives concerned, the findings of the psychiatrist in all cases studied by him. In addition to this we offer our executives in the performance of their personnel functions, the competent assistance of the training and employment staffs and of the Conference Office.

In a word, we believe that the personnel function reaches its highest development when the operating executives realize and accept their responsibilities for personnel relations in their individual departments, and when the personnel department recognizes its function to be that of lending the aid of the technician to the operating manager.

# ORGANIZATION CHART

*R. H. Macy & Co.*  
INCORPORATED IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK

EX-1.  
 ORGANIZATION CHART  
 R. H. MACY & CO. INC.





# PROBLEMS OF METHOD IN RESEARCH IN INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

BY GEORGE H. MILES, D.S.C.

Assistant Director, National Institute of Industrial Psychology, London

In dealing with problems of method in research in industrial relations, it may be well to outline first the field of work, examine the predominant factors in the field and then state the problems of method that arise.

For the sake of convenience, industrial relationships can be grouped in three classes.

There are the relations between groups of persons, such for instance as are involved in the reactions of the employers in an industry towards the employees in that industry. In another case there may be considered the relations between one group of workers and another, for example that of one trade union with another union, that of a union group with a non-union group.

Within these groups there are well-defined relationships between individuals and groups. An instance of this is the relationship between the Managing Director and the employees, or that between the foreman and the group which he supervises.

In the third class can be grouped the relationships which exist between individuals, as for instance between heads of departments.

The industrial relationship (harmonious or otherwise) which exists between groups involves material factors such as rates of pay, output rendered, hours and conditions of work, and mental factors such as the general attitude of one group towards the other, while questions such as the recognition and delimitation of what are considered to be the rights and duties of individuals within the group still further complicate the issue. An enquiry into industrial relations may thus begin with an enquiry either into the material factors or into the mental factors in the situation, but eventually both must be included.

The material factors can be measured and stated objectively with considerable precision in the case of simply organised industries. In the much more complicated vertical amalgam-

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ations where a combine buys and sells within its own organisation, as is the case of many undertakings interested in the coal industry, it is most difficult to arrive at a complete statement of the material facts on which to decide such questions as wages and hours of work. With regard to hours of work, conditions of work, reduction of fatigue, industrial psychology and physiology are beginning to make a valuable contribution to such questions, and active research is being carried out in many diverse branches of industry.

The basis facts concerning the mental and physical activities of the human being at work under industrial conditions are being determined, and when more research has been done in this field, the facts obtained will give a deeper and more scientific insight into many factors in industrial relationships. The problems of method which arise in this direction of approach cover the whole field of industrial psychology, and it is too wide a subject for this discussion. There remains the more obvious method of direct study of industrial relations.

It is possible to gain very useful information concerning each of the three classes of relationship previously mentioned, by systematic observation of and enquiry into the groups and individuals involved.

Probably the most difficult task in making an investigation into industrial relationships is that of evaluating the relative importance of the material and the mental factors. In human relationships the personal and emotional aspect is in general of much greater weight than the purely intellectual aspect. It may be quite possible to arrive at a solution of a problem in relationships which is satisfactory from the material point of view, is logically correct, and intellectually sound, yet this solution may not be accepted by any of those fundamentally concerned, due to the fact that sufficient weight has not been given to the emotional aspect of the problem. This is as much a reality as the more easily defined material side.

Now in most human reactions to environment likes and dislikes arise. These always influence in some way the subsequent judgments. Thus circumstances which arouse anger

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are viewed in a very different light from what they would be if they could be considered dispassionately. When dislikes arise between two persons or two groups, the effect is often irrationally cumulative and passes to bitter hatred. In such circumstances even the most innocently conceived action may be wrongly interpreted. It is the influence of these emotional factors always present in a greater or lesser degree, favourable or unfavourable, which constitutes the greatest difficulty in understanding the complexities of industrial relationships.

No research is effective which omits this aspect. Suspicion will wreck an industry as effectively as will the loss of markets, and if true advance in industrial relations is to be made, research must endeavour to bring to clear understanding the origin, development and results of such apparently intangible but important factors.

The mental influences which are operative when a number of persons are engaged in the same type of work are as powerful as, and perhaps more powerful than, the physical environmental conditions, and the maxim "When in Rome do as Rome does", is as much a rebuke to those who do not adapt their reactions to the group in which they find themselves, as a guide to those who wish to be at ease in strange company. Conduct that would give rise to no comment in one set of social or industrial circumstances, may arouse open hostility and even the bitterest resentment if persisted in within another group. There is always a tendency for a group to set up for itself a standard of conduct by which its own members are judged. The more isolated the group becomes, the more likely is it to diverge from the normal. This divergence from the normal is frequently not recognised by the members of the group and, in fact, it is frequently not openly expressed. This is probably due to the fact that such conduct or mode of behaviour, being a complex of instinctive and emotional reactions, is seldom, if ever, expressed in words. It is only by actually living within the group that the real significance of such reactions can be realised. Certain things are simply not done, and that is as far as any explanation or definition goes.

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In industry there is always a tendency for the growth of such groups. In the factory a number of men or women engaged on similar work have the same experiences in common. They have similar difficulties in their work, they are subject to the same contacts with management and in time there develops an accepted mode of reaction to this environment. It sometimes happens that in the same factory or organisation there are distinct groups which may hardly be on speaking terms with one another.

It is not surprising under modern industrial conditions, requiring as they do a high degree of specialisation, that numerous groups develop within the organisation. The higher management of necessity works in an environment which is totally different from that of the worker in the factory. In the early days of industry, however, the manager was frequently in direct contact with the worker and was but little removed from his particular social group. He had a much more intimate understanding of the worker's point of view, though he did not necessarily in his managerial position accept that point of view. Under present-day conditions the gulf both from an intellectual point of view and from the group point of view, between the higher management and the rank and file worker is enormous. It is not to be wondered at that from time to time clashes occur in which the outlook of the two groups are entirely at variance. Methods, actions and ideas which within the group are quite legitimate and normal, may arouse the bitterest hostility and opposition outside the group. Even where there is not so great a separation as, for instance, in the case of the relationship between a foreman or a departmental manager and his subordinates, there is still a tendency to take up an entirely different attitude towards the same facts.

It is obvious that the research methods must include means and facilities for recognising and interpreting the significance of such behaviour. Otherwise an important factor in group relationships is omitted. I have therefore selected this particular aspect of the wider problem as a starting point for the ensuing discussion.

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only by direct personal contact with numerous members of the group, over a considerable period and in typical industrial surroundings.

It is further essential for purposes of control and comparison that similar contacts should be made with other persons of similar social standing, but not associated with either of the groups under observation.

Evidently much will be learned in preliminary contacts. But in all enquiries of this kind there is a great temptation to cover too wide a field and to indulge in generalisations supported only by opinions instead of well-defined facts. The first problem, therefore, is to limit the sphere of enquiry so that the information is clear and precise and can be correlated with the material factors in the situation. The procedure can then generally be resolved into attempt 1) to define clearly the actual relationships, 2) to evaluate the contributing factors at present, 3) to ascertain the paths by which the situation has been reached.

The next step, and a difficult one, is to select suitable means of acquiring an objective measure of the facts obtained. Usually a tentative questionnaire is developed in order that the enquiry may proceed along definite lines and irrelevant factors may be excluded. It often happens that the preliminary use of this questionnaire shows that the important aspects have been overlooked in the preliminary survey. These defects must be made good and a final form of enquiry can then be outlined.

Some of the questions may be put in written form. This saves time and also allows of covering a wider field. Other questions can be put verbally while there will be a number which the investigator must keep prominently before himself in the progress of the enquiry, as he is making his general observations.

Even with the greatest care in the choice of questions there is often a great difficulty in obtaining adequate answers to those questions which relate to present relationships, especially when these are strained or emotionally tinged. There is a tendency to evade direct replies, irrelevant matter is introduced, and facts are distorted. For a correct interpretation

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of these answers, therefore, a sound psychological training is essential, but unfortunately this qualification is sometimes overlooked. The enquiry is of little value if it does not recognise the true significance of the evasions, irrelevancies and distortions.

The evaluation of the factors actively influencing the particular relations under investigation is beset with similar difficulties. Serious disturbances of industrial relationships have often apparently trivial immediate causes, but fuller investigation shows a multitude of grievances and irritants both physical and mental, many of which may hardly be recognised as such, even by those most intimately concerned. Thus certain unsatisfactory working conditions such as poor lighting, exposure to heat, etc., are sometimes regarded by both employers and employees as inevitable and inherent in the nature of an industry. They give direct and constant irritation to the workers and by checking output cause annoyance to the management, with the ultimate disturbance of personal relationships. High cost of production is met on the part of the management by reduction of wages and accusation of slackness. This may be countered by the workers adopting an attitude of 'ca' canny and accusing the employers of "sweating". The tense relationship thus aroused renders both parties incapable of a clear appreciation of the whole situation. In an enquiry into industrial relationships in such a case, it is obvious that great skill must be exercised in drawing up the questionnaire and a very careful analysis of the replies will be necessary if the true facts of the situation are to be discovered.

Industrial relationships are the outcome of growth and development, and therefore a true appreciation of any particular case requires a knowledge of the fashion by which the situation has been reached and the influences which have determined the course of development. In such an enquiry a knowledge of the problems of method in historical enquiry is essential if the numerous pitfalls are to be avoided.

Thus in studying, for example, the effects which changes in the rates of pay produce on industrial relations, it may be

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observed that in the case of one firm a reduction in wages is accepted by the employees and produces no marked change in relationships. In another firm a similar reduction meets with the bitterest opposition, even when the material and economic facts indicate that reduction is inevitable if the industry is to continue. A study of the past history of relationships will in such cases often reveal a succession of broken promises, of attempts to gain unfair advantages, and the memory of such treatment remains long after the initial irritant is removed. The effect of a series of mistakes in the treatment of personnel may persist for years and show itself in suspicion of every form of change.

As has been stated before, the extent and character of the training of the investigator is of utmost significance in researches of this type and probably the greatest problem is to devise some means of ensuring that the personal bias of the investigator does not colour his conclusions. The questionnaire, case study and other observational methods of approaching problems in industrial relations are very alluring. They so readily produce voluminous results and it is even easier to build up convenient and satisfying conclusions from this material. In capable hands and when used by trained critical scientific observers, these methods are undoubtedly useful, but there is great scope for the development of more exact methods of enquiry and of more concise statement of results.

## WHAT ARE THE MOST PRESSING PROBLEMS REQUIRING RESEARCH IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE

BY H. M. VERNON, M.D.

Investigator for the Industrial Fatigue Research Board, London

In opening this discussion, I do not for a moment wish to claim that I am more competent than other people engaged in investigating industrial conditions to decide on the relative degrees of importance of the innumerable problems which present themselves for our consideration. I can merely state what is my own individual opinion, and it is open to any of you here present to say that you consider such and such other problems are more important than any I have touched upon. I cordially welcome such suggestions, for it is only by discussion on broad lines and by a free comparison of views that we are likely to arrive at some more or less general consensus of opinion about the most pressing problems requiring research in the immediate future.

And firstly, I suggest that it is inappropriate for us to consider technical problems confined to a limited number of industries. We should seek for broad problems which concern many or most industries in greater or less degree, and involve a considerable proportion of the workers engaged in industry. The problems need not relate only to manual workers, but may involve employers and the managing staff in addition. Arguing on these broad lines, it seems to me that the most pressing problems of all are those which relate to the discontent of the worker with his job. If he is in a state of unrest and of irritation against the conditions under which he works, and if he labours under a constant sense of grievance against his employers and overseers, it is unlikely that he will make a satisfactory workman. He will not do his best either for his employer or for himself. He will not put forth the maximum effort of which he is capable without undue strain, and he is apt to restrict his output, either wilfully or through sheer slackness.

### THE EVIDENCE OF DISCONTENT.

Labour Disputes. And how are we to recognise this discontent? One obvious method, concerning which we un-



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fortunately have far too much evidence, relates to the occurrence of labour disputes. If the worker has a grievance, he brings it to the notice of his employer, and if it is not rectified to his satisfaction, he may decide to go on strike. The number of industrial disputes has tended to increase considerably during the last twenty years, and we see from the data here adduced<sup>1</sup> that in 1906—1913 the average number of workers involved and the number of days lost was

Period	Average number of disputes per annum	Average number of workers involved per annum	Average number of days lost per annum
1898—1905	546	168,000	4,300,000
1906—1913	695	568,000	11,100,000
1919—1926	819	1,385,000	44,300,000

about three times greater than in the preceding eight years, whilst in 1919—1926 it was ten times than in 1898—1905.

The ostensible causes of strikes are remarkably regular, when taken in bulk. Thus we find that in the years 1900 to 1921 the proportion of disputes relating to questions of wages averaged 65 per cent of the whole, or practically two-thirds, whilst in individual years they varied between the extremes of 57 to 76 per cent.<sup>2</sup> Questions relating to hours of labour accounted only for 4 per cent of the whole, questions dealing with the employment of particular classes of persons to 14 per cent, and other questions, 17 per cent. No doubt the relative proportions differ a good deal in different industries, but I think it may be said that in the majority of industries over half the disputes concern questions of wages. It may be suggested that such disputes are unavoidable, as they represent a contest between the employee, who wishes to extract as much as he can for the price of his labour, and the employer, who wants to pay as little as he can, and so reap a larger proportion of the profits. Though there is a modicum of truth in this statement, we find that it holds to very different degrees in different industries, and the tendency to strike does not appear to depend on the scale of wage payment.

From the data in the following Table it will be seen that on an

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from "Britain's Industrial Future". London, 1928. p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> Encyclopaedia Britannica. Vol. 32, p. 582. 1922.

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average, for the years 1901 to 1907, men engaged in mining and quarrying (chiefly mining) lost 0.45 per cent of their working time in trade disputes, whilst those engaged in various other industries lost only a third as much. In the 1910 to 1913 period the difference was accentuated, for the miners lost eight times more of their working time than they did in the earlier period, and 6 to 45 times more than the other industrial workers. Their unrest continued to increase, for in the 1920-25 period they lost the equivalent of over 2½ weeks of working time,<sup>1</sup> and in 1926 they far surpassed all previous records by losing seven months out of the twelve. Grouping together the 21 years before the war, we find that no less than 56 per cent of the total time lost in all industries put together was due to the mining and quarrying industry, whilst in the eight years since the war 62 per cent of the time lost was due to these industries. A prolonged strike of coal miners indirectly affects most other industries, whilst it brings some of them to an absolute standstill. Hence it is of great importance for us to discover the fundamental causes of labour unrest in this particular industry.

Group of Trades	Percentage of time lost over trade disputes in		
	1901—07	1910—13	1920—25
Mining and quarrying . . . . .	0.45	3.58	5.48
Metals, engineering and shipbuilding	0.13	0.51	1.33
Textile . . . . .	0.09	0.56	0.60
Building . . . . .	0.07	0.08	0.25
Clothing . . . . .	0.05	0.11	0.08

And firstly, is the question of wages the true cause of the repeated disputes in the coal mining industry? Are the workers more badly paid than in other comparable industries? The Coal Commission<sup>2</sup> went into this question in some detail, and they concluded that in 1925 the miners' wages, as compared with the average for 1909-13, had increased in almost the same proportion as the increase in the cost of living.

<sup>1</sup> Data calculated from the "Abstract of Labour Statistics of the United Kingdom, 1926", and from the numbers of workers in the Industries in 1901-07 (cf. Encycl. Britt. Vol. 25. p. 1025), on the supposition that these numbers remained unchanged in the later statistical periods.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Report of Royal Commission on Coal Industry. 1926. p. 156.

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The labourers and semi-skilled men engaged in mining were better off than men engaged in engineering and shipbuilding, though not so well off as those engaged in building and in transport services. The skilled coal miners, chiefly hewers and timbermen, were relatively better off than the unskilled, and got as good pay as builders and printers, and considerably better pay than skilled men in the engineering and shipbuilding.

It is probable, therefore, that the ostensible cause of most disputes in the coal mining industry is not the real cause, but is merely a sign of some more fundamental cause of discontent. This hypothesis is borne out by the differences in the strike habit exhibited by the men in various coal areas. It has been pointed out by Collis<sup>1</sup> that the results of the strike ballots of the miners taken in 1920, 1921 and 1924 show very similar features in the various districts. We see from the following Table that the Lancashire miners always voted in largest proportion for striking, whilst the South Wales miners came next. The Nottinghamshire miners usually showed the least desire to strike, and the other miners came between the extremes mentioned, with one exception. This related to the Yorkshire miners in 1920, and there can be no doubt that the relatively low proportion of votes then given for a strike was because it followed closely on a previous strike in 1919, which involved Yorkshire, but not other coal fields.

Coalfield	Percentage of miners voting for strike in			Comparative mortality in 1910—1912			Percentage of men taken on in 1924	
	1920	1921	1924	All Causes	Accidents	Pneumonia and Bronchitis	Under-ground	Surface men
Nottinghamshire	55	54	69	570	66	65	28	16
Derbyshire	72	53	77	591	73	73	26	19
Northumberland and Durham	70	67	76	635	83	87	13	12
Yorkshire	(51)	65	75	758	117	114	33	16
South Wales	78	73	90	777	131	135	30	15
Lancashire	91	90	94	941	183	188	54	18

These differences of strike habit appear to depend largely on the conditions of work, and on their influence on health and

<sup>1</sup> E. L. Collis. *Journal of Industrial Hygiene*. Vol. 7. p. 221. 1925.

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mortality. In the middle columns of the Table are recorded the comparative mortality figures of the miners from accidents, from pneumonia and bronchitis, and from all causes put together. We see that the figures follow nearly the same order as the strike figures, and appear to be inter-dependent. A greater liability to accident and to death from other causes naturally tends to induce increased discontent in the miners, and to provoke them to strike for what they hope will prove to be an improvement in their material conditions. The underground men, who form four-fifths of the whole body of miners, undoubtedly have to work under extremely arduous conditions. In addition to the ever-present risk of injury and sudden death, the temperature is frequently very high, and the work has to be done in a miserable light. The miners' lamp has an illumination of only about half a candle power, and even this feeble light is greatly reduced in strength by the absence of reflection from the coal face, and by the coal dust suspended in the air.

Though the material conditions under which the worker labours have a great influence upon his contentment and his liability to strike, they are by no means solely responsible. In the iron and steel trade, for instance, where much of the work is as arduous as that of coal mining, labour disputes are almost unknown. This is due partly to the fact that employers and employees have an agreement under which wage rates are fixed on a sliding scale dependent on the selling price of the produce. Also there is a very complete system of arbitration and conciliation, under which every dispute is dealt with first at the works, and if this fails, it is referred to district committees with a neutral chairman as umpire.

What is perhaps the outstanding example of successful collective bargaining is met with in the boot and shoe trade. In this industry there has, practically speaking, been no labour dispute since 1895, in consequence of the agreement then made between the Employers' Federation and the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives. Under this agreement all disputes are referred to Boards of Arbitration and

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Conciliation, consisting of equal numbers representing the management and the workers. These Boards meet at frequent intervals, and fix rates for hundreds of operations for different classes of workers. The present agreement includes a scheme of compulsory contributions from employers and workers to provide for annual holidays, and a clause which provides that there shall be no restriction of output.<sup>1</sup>

Labour Turnover. Another index of the workers' discontent with his job is afforded by the labour turnover. The turnover in many industrial concerns is extremely large. For instance, the United States Department of Labour collected statistics of turnover in 16 to 176 industrial establishments for the years 1910 to 1919<sup>2</sup>, and found an average turnover of 112 per cent per annum; i.e., on an average each employee changed his job more than once a year. Of the men leaving, no less than 71 per cent went at their own desire. Detailed information of the reasons for leaving was obtained at six metal and engineering factories<sup>3</sup>, and of the aggregate number of over 28,000 workers leaving, 42 per cent did so because they were dissatisfied with their job, and 21 per cent because they obtained a better position elsewhere; i.e., they were not sufficiently satisfied with their present job to remain in it. In Great Britain a good deal of information has been collected by the Industrial Fatigue Research Board<sup>4</sup> concerning the labour turnover of women working in munition factories. It was found that amongst the married women working at six factories the annual labour turnover varied from 46 to 212 per cent, but it was smaller amongst single women, as in them it ranged from 27 to 172 per cent. From 44 to 87 per cent of the women left at their own request, but this was usually due to ill health or to domestic reasons, and only 10 per cent of the women were dissatisfied with their job. No doubt labour turnover tended to be greater during the war period than at other times, and an analysis of the turnover in nine American

<sup>1</sup> cf. "Britain's Industrial Future." p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> cf. P. S. Florence. "Economics of Fatigue and Unrest". p. 147. 1924.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* p. 332.

<sup>4</sup> G. M. Broughton, E. M. Newbold and E. C. Allen. Report No. 13 of Industrial Fatigue Research Board, 1921.

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factories of all kinds (concerned in the manufacture of machinery, chemicals, clothing, printing, rubber, etc.) gave an average turnover of 112 per cent in 1913-14, and of 209 per cent in 1917-18, or nearly twice as much during the war period.

In some industries, such as coal mining, the men usually settle in villages near a colliery or group of collieries, and it might be thought that they would, in consequence, remain at the same colliery for years, if not for their whole working life. Yet they change not infrequently, as can be gathered from the labour turnover data recorded on the right side of the preceding Table. These figures represent the percentages of men taken on in various coalfields during 1924<sup>1</sup>, and we see that the underground men varied between the extremes of 13 and 54 per cent. The extent of the turnover corresponds roughly with the proportions of men in the various coalfields who voted for a strike, and they, it will be remembered, corresponded with the mortality rates from accidents and other causes. Hence a sense of dissatisfaction induced by adverse conditions of work shows itself in more ways than one. It is noticeable that the surface men who, in contrast to the underground men, would not be more likely to experience adverse working conditions in one coalfield than in another, showed a fairly steady turnover throughout.

**Voluntary Absenteeism.** A discontented man not only tends to give up his job altogether, but even when he retains it he is more apt to take a day off work occasionally than a contented man, in other words, to lose working time by voluntary absenteeism. In a recent investigation made by Dr. T. Bedford, Mr. C. G. Warner and myself in a group of ten collieries, where 23,000 men were at work<sup>2</sup>, we determined the time lost voluntarily, as well as by sickness and accidents, for a period of 21 months (in 1924-26). We found a definite correspondence between voluntary absenteeism and labour turnover. On grouping the collieries according to their turnover, we found that in those collieries where it showed

<sup>1</sup> Report of Royal Commission on the Coal Industry. Vol. 3. pp. 213. 192.

<sup>2</sup> Report No. 51 of Industrial Fatigue Research Board. 1928.

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an average of 10 per cent per annum the time lost voluntarily was only two-thirds as great as in collieries with a turnover of 27 per cent. Again, a correspondence between labour turnover and voluntary absenteeism was observed in relation to the distance between the homes of the men and the colliery. Men living  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles away had a turnover which was 35 per cent greater than that of the men who lived only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles away, whilst their voluntary absenteeism was 80 per cent greater. The increase of both appeared to be due to increased discontent, and we obtained further evidence in support of this conclusion from the relationships observed between voluntary absenteeism and the distance the men had to walk underground from pit bottom to coal face. We found that when they had to walk  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles the voluntary absenteeism was 58 per cent greater than when they had to walk only two-thirds of a mile. It should be realised that the greater the walking distance the less time remaining to the men for hewing coal, and as coal getting is paid at a piece rate, this means a diminution of wages.

### THE REDUCTION OF DISCONTENT.

Having discovered the existence of substantial discontent by the methods mentioned, and in other ways such as by personal interviews between employers and employees, it is our bounden duty to do what we can to remove the causes of irritation. In some cases this may be easy, and in others, difficult, if not impossible. Take, for instance, the coal mining industry, to which such frequent reference has already been made. It is obvious that by no possible means can it be converted into a light and pleasant industry such as the boot and shoe trade. The work is bound to be arduous and unpleasant, but nevertheless much can be done to lighten the load. Underground work would be much more bearable if the illumination were greatly improved, and the possibilities of such improvement are indicated by the fact that in one mine at least the coal face is illuminated by 100 candle-power lamps. The ventilation of mines is usually capable of considerable improvement, whilst the loss of time entailed by a long walk from pit bottom to working place can be

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overcome by introducing a system of mechanical transport. Almost as important as the improvement of underground conditions is the increase of amenities above ground. Even now only about 1 per cent of all the miners in Great Britain find a pit-head-bath provided for them when they reach the surface, though in Germany such baths have long been compulsory at all collieries. The miners in this country, clad in their soiled pit clothes, find themselves an object of aversion when travelling homewards in tramcar or train, and this must tend to diminish their self respect, and increase their discontent. I am glad to say that this extraordinary lack of facilities for cleanliness is likely to be remedied in the course of the next few years. In addition to a lack of baths, there is a great lack of suitable housing accommodation in the neighbourhood of collieries, though here again some progress is being made to remedy the deficiency.

When everything possible is done to improve the working and living conditions of the miner, it is probable that the dangerous nature of his calling will always tend to make him less contented than other industrial workers, but for this very reason he deserves greater sympathy and consideration.

And what can we do to reduce the discontent which is rampant even in many of the light and relatively pleasant industries? However much the material conditions of work are improved, by the building of well lit, well heated and well ventilated factories, having canteens attached where good and cheap meals are provided, by shortening the hours of work and introducing rest pauses during the work spells, by granting representatives of the workers some share in the control of the industry, and so on, there will still be a great deal of discontent until we introduce a systematic scheme of vocational guidance and selection of the workers. Much of modern industrial work is bound to be monotonous in character, but this monotony, though unbearable to most men and to some women, is often welcomed by people of a certain class of intelligence. They do not care for a task requiring thought, but prefer something repetitive and mechanical, which permits them to day dream. Others prefer



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work which requires much thought and initiative. Though it may be impossible to find exactly the class of work to which every worker is best adapted, yet much can be done to place him in a job fairly well suited to his special capabilities. Striking evidence in support of this statement was obtained in the joint enquiry recently undertaken by the Industrial Fatigue Research Board and the National Institute of Industrial Psychology.<sup>1</sup> A group of 100 children, aged 14, were carefully tested in respect of intelligence, of character, and of mechanical ability shortly before they left school, and were given advice as to the kind of occupation they should aim at getting. Two years later the effects of this advice were enquired into. It was found that 52 per cent of the children had been successful in obtaining employment of the type recommended, whilst 40 per cent were in occupations dissimilar from those recommended. As compared with the latter group of children, the former group were, on an average, in receipt of higher pay; they generally obtained promotion earlier; they experienced fewer changes of situation, and they hardly incurred a single dismissal between them. Over 80 per cent of them declared themselves satisfied alike with the work they had taken up and with their prospects and pay. On the other hand, of those who obtained employment different from the kind advised less than 40 per cent were satisfied, and nearly half disliked their work. Dr. Cyril Burt, who directed this investigation, is careful to point out that it is only a first experiment, which calls imperatively for further research, and I am glad to say that the National Institute of Industrial Psychology are now engaged in a much more extended enquiry. There can be no doubt that when this and other enquiries reach fruition, and the results obtained are freely applied by the controllers of our industries, an immense step will have been taken in reducing discontent amongst our industrial workers.

To sum up, it appears that though no single and royal road is open to us for abolishing the discontent of the worker with his job, much can be done to abate it by improving the material conditions under which the work is carried out, and still more, by vocational guidance and selection of the workers.

<sup>1</sup> Report No. 33 of Industrial Fatigue Research Board. 1926.

## THE RELATION OF INDUSTRY TO CONTEMPORARY CIVILIZATION

BY SPENCER MILLER Jr.

Secretary, Workers' Education Bureau of America

A little over thirty years ago Professor de Gibbens wrote in his great work on Industry in England, "The history of industry is the history of civilization".

The story of industry is in reality the story of the fulfillment of those pressing natural needs which occupy, and always must occupy, the bulk of mankind in the struggle for ordinary existence. "There is no fact in a nation's history but has some traceable bearing on the industry of man, and no fact that can be altogether ignored as if it were unconnected with industrial life", wrote Cunningham in his "Growth of Industry". "The progress of mankind is written in the history of its tools", asserted Walpole in one of his notable volumes.

It is a long way from the writings of de Gibbens, Cunningham and Walpole to the recent remarkable study of Britain's Industrial Future which bears that title. But to the most casual observer of British life, it would appear that the industrial future of Britain is, broadly speaking, her only future. Industry has become the life blood of many of the nations of the Western World.

In considering these vast industrial and social changes that have taken place in our contemporary civilization, Professor Henri Bergson wrote some years ago, "A century has elapsed since the invention of the steam engine and we are just now recovering from the shock which it gave us. The change which it wrought in the mechanical process has profoundly altered our entire social, economic and industrial life".

With the accuracy of this evaluation of the consequences of the industrial revolution, I think we would all probably agree. Industry has come to mean something far more than organized manufacturing. With the wellnigh universal presence of the machine, especially in our western civilization, and with its rapid penetration into the civilization of the East, industry now means all those relationships of economic activity which are both the essentials of human existence and the means to culture.

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Industry has so completely dominated contemporary civilization that it has given to it its essential character. Our present-day civilization is in essence an industrial civilization. Industry is the very process by which it lives and moves, and in which it has its being. And this in spite of the essential dependence of our civilization on its source of food.

Let some great calamity befall some city and wipe out the entire population and in a generation, perhaps in a decade, it can be rebuilt and populated if the countryside remains unchanged. But let some unfortunate blight affect the farms and the food crop, and the cities will decline and become but the spectres of their former selves. And yet, with it all, our industry overshadows our agriculture as the characteristic of our civilization. Even agriculture itself is becoming industrialized.

As we consider the Relationships of Industry to Contemporary Civilization, we have before us some of those problems which touch at the very basis of our modern life and constitute the reasons for the existence of such an association as the I. R. I. We are invited to consider, in my opinion, not only the relationships that exist, but the extent to which the standard of values which are raised up in our industrial life can be said to reflect the values of a Great Society.

The observations of an American Indian and an Indian poet, representatives of two civilizations that have not been completely transformed by the industrial process, cannot fail to challenge our attention. Both are fundamental criticisms. When an American Indian, some years ago, came from one of the Indian reservations to the center of industrial America and was asked as a result of his visit what impressed him most in our development, he replied: "Children working". When Tagore, the Indian poet, came to Europe and America on his last visit, he said that the substance of the western civilization was portrayed for him by an advertisement of one of the great bakeries in America which stated that their bread "was not touched by the human hand from the raw flour to the finished bread wrapped in wax paper". This criticism of contemporary life was summarized in a sentence by a fellow-countryman of Tagore, who observed that the outstanding fact of industrial-

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ism in the West was the "civilization of labor through the loss of skill".

If industry has this controlling influence upon the very character of our contemporary civilization, then it would seem to follow that any considerable effort, courageously pursued to humanize industry, must of necessity reach out and influence the whole of our contemporary civilization.

May we not consider together this morning during our discussion some of the ways in which our industry may be transformed so as to elevate mankind? I am not thinking of systems of social reorganization but of the development of new attitudes toward the industrial process out of which the architecture of the future society must be fashioned. That, I take it, is the task which we, as members of this Congress, should have some competence to perform. For the time being, we are to consider the general position of industry in relation to contemporary civilization - above the differences of political outlook, above sectarian separations, indeed above our national racial barriers.

I should like to submit the following seven propositions for your consideration; you may wish to add others, but at least these will give us a basis upon which to open our discussion: 1. The way in which we look upon our fellowmen conditions the relationship which develops. So long, for example, as man looked upon his fellowman as a slave, he justified the whole institution of human slavery. And by the same token, so long as the employer looked upon labour as a commodity and an article of commerce, it justified his exploitation of labor. The recognition, on the other hand, of the sanctity of human personality of the worker in industry has placed an entirely new emphasis on our problem and has given rise to many of the groups whose representatives are present in this Congress.

2. The recognition of the sanctity of human personality is evolving a new attitude toward industry itself. We have talked in the past, and to a certain extent today, of the product of a factory or of industry as the inanimate thing which is made and sold. Man has been considered a by-product. I submit that the new conception is that man is the product; the inanimate thing

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is the by-product. Man is central in the process, the material is secondary. In a word, industry exists for man and not man for industry.

3. As the condition of growth is the opportunity for self-expression, so the tests of the industrial process is its capacity to afford creative satisfaction in work to all who are employed. Of all wrongs done to labor, perhaps the greatest was when the efficiency of the machine took the place of personal skill and self-expression in work. The rediscovery of the importance of this fact and the effort of certain trade unions to achieve something creative in work by recording accomplishment and by enlarging the economic outlook of the worker, reflects this newer attitude toward our problem.

4. If education is a life-long experience, then productive labor forms a part of that experience. Education must, therefore, concern itself with life's work as well as leisure. In the words of Dr. Jacks, "It is only as a laborer that man is either capable of education or worthy of it. The men of science, the artists, the poets, the philosophers, the heroes, the saints, the captains of industry and the captains of salvation - what are they in the last analysis, but highly educated laborers, found most frequently in communities where culture and labor are working in alliance; least frequently where they have drifted apart, as alas! they are drifting these days. The great task of our times is to reunite these separated elements."

5. With the temporary flooding of the world with goods which are the results of mass production there is a growing need for emphasis on the quality instead of the quantity standard. The implication of quality standards in industry on the whole international situation is very great. It will not be so much the rivaling of national competition as a performance of the task excellently, irrespective of its national origin.

6. Industry for service thus will not be the rather too limited conception of indifference to financial responsibility, but a deeper and more lively concern for the service of all those who participate in the process of industry whether by hand or by brain. By thus serving its own group, it will be truly serving the interest of the entire community.

7. There is, finally, an attitude toward industry which is bound

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up with our international relations. It touches deeply the whole question of human relations. If we are ever to achieve a warless world it will be because we have learned first to achieve those larger integrations within the structure of our industrial life which can reconcile the conflicting interests and convert strife to larger constructive service. Therein, it seems to me, is one of the great promises of our task in the sphere of human relations.

# GENERAL DISCUSSION

ON THE SUBJECT OF RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE INDUSTRIAL  
ESTABLISHMENT

# RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENT

(FROM THE WORKERS' POINT OF VIEW)

BY R. M. FOX

Author of "The Triumphant Machine", Ireland

Approaching the question primarily from the workers' standpoint, I would say that the most important line of development in industry is the provision of facilities for the expression of the workers' point of view.

Works Committees are the best machinery for the purpose. The idea of works committees is not new. Before the war they functioned to some extent, especially in the engineering industry with which I am most familiar. During the war these committees - composed of shop stewards - did much at a difficult time to supervise on the men's side, changes from ordinary trade union practice, such as questions concerned with the dilution of labour, the rating of machines, etc. Had it not been for these Shop Stewards' Committees there would have been much more friction in workshops. Trouble, such as that which occurred on the Clyde in the early days of the war, was largely due to the management refusing to allow these committees to function.

**Need for independence.** It is essential that these works committees should be real Workers' Committees, entirely free from patronage or undue influence from the employers' side. On this point the statement regarding the experience of a Steel Rolling Mills in England is of value:

"In our experience, a purely Workers' Committee is most effective. When a body of workmen meet together, some of them rough and probably illiterate, they are not afraid to express themselves in their own way. There is, therefore, a much better chance of having a subject thoroughly thrashed out and of getting to the root of a matter. There would not be the same readiness to get things off their chest and say what they want to say, were any members of the management sitting with them."<sup>1</sup>

In this case the works committee is represented on a larger Works Council in which the management takes part. What I

<sup>1</sup> Welfare Work, May 1925.



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wish to emphasize is that no Joint Committee can be an effective substitute for a Workers' Committee, though it may be a useful piece of machinery through which the workers can bring their influence to bear, after they have discussed matters among themselves. It is not fair to expect workmen to formulate their opinions at a committee where the management is represented. Workshop machinery is only successful insofar as it secures the expression of real opinions and grievances. If opinion is stifled, then the whole purpose of workshop organisation is defeated. Discontent is intensified and finds other expression either inside or outside the workshop. Possibly the failure to realise the need for independence has led, apart from other factors, to the poor results of the Whitley Council scheme that was initiated in England in 1918. Of 73 Joint Industrial Councils working in 1922, only 43 were surviving in 1923 and the scheme has produced distinctly disappointing results. But the idea of the works committee has persisted and grown stronger. In the English Engineering Industry, the York Agreement in 1919 recommended the setting up of Shop Steward Committees in every establishment. The Mining Industry Act (1920) established District and Pit Committees, and the Railway Agreement (1921) set up an elaborate system of committees. The industrial depression affected all these schemes, but the idea of works committees is coming to the front again. This is indicated by the proposal in the Liberal Industrial Report for the compulsory establishment of councils in all factories employing over fifty people.

**Influence of Committees.** It is recorded of several of these committees which are well-established, that while at first grievances monopolised the whole time and attention, the discussion soon became less destructive and more constructive. Workers have been forced into the position of opponents or critics of workshop methods, because their co-operation has never been sought. It was only by grumbling and threatening that they could get any changes made. If this position is to be altered, the works committees must have a wide scope. Questions of workshop management and arrangement must be brought up for discussion. If in any industry "managerial functions" are a reserved subject, to that extent

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the committee will not be able to act in a creative and constructive way. Everything is to be gained by allowing committees to make suggestions as to management and to press them forward. His experience in the workshop makes the worker's opinion of value on every point. There is the need for greater freedom of discussion in these committees, and this would give an opportunity for greater personal expression in industry.

Co-partnership and Profit-sharing have little bearing on workshop relations because in the main they appeal solely to the acquisitive instinct. These schemes do not necessarily carry with them any voice in workshop conditions. They do not directly appeal to any creative or constructive impulse. In the same way wise benevolence or kindly autocracy falls short. With growing maturity the workers desire some machinery through which their own opinions may be expressed. As against the stultifying influence of mass production, workers claim the right of individual assertion through workshop committees - the use of their minds as well as their fingers - in matters of shop organisation.

It is sometimes urged that the greater influence of the worker in the shop will make for inefficiency. But in general it is not true that the workers are opposed to efficiency. Speaking from a workshop standpoint, I should say that the most miserable time is when work is slack. When there is not much to do the hours seem to crawl by. What the worker will try to ensure is that efficiency will not be at his expense either financially or of health and comfort.

Problems of education and welfare so far as they come into the workshop are matters of legitimate discussion by works committees. In one case I know, the workers contribute through their shop organisation towards scholarships, while the firm also contributes. On the question of how far repetition work is necessary and how it may be varied, the works committee view is important. The Machine Age is here to stay. But industry is now carrying an incubus of autocracy along with it. Works committees are needed to give balance to the machine - a means for human expression which otherwise it would lack.

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We are often asked by cautious people - where will these works committees stop? But we can leave the future to settle that. The real question is where they should start. They should start in the workshop to deal with problems of maladjustment, of repressed individuality, of stunted lives. They are a reaction against regarding the workers as "man-power", as so much material. In one workshop when work was slack the night shift was abolished and the day men had to work till nine o'clock every evening. There was no work for some and overwork for the others. Conditions were made worse for all and discontent increased all round. A workers' committee would have urged a fairer distribution of the work and in general have emphasised the human side of workshop organisation.

The most important development facing us in workshop relations is the growth of these works committees. As they function in the works they will be admitted as an integral part of workshop management. It is on these lines that we must look for a solution of present industrial evils. These committees will bring a new point of view to bear on everything in the workshop. Efficiency experts, whose work up to the present has often intensified evils rather than lessened them, will have to consider this new factor.

The relationship within the industrial establishment must begin on the basis of the recognition of the workers' right to present an independent point of view and to give that point of view effective expression. This will not eliminate discontent, but it should reduce it. It should lead to co-operation in the workshop on some points, and a clarification of points of difference. The improved status of the worker in itself would help to remove much irritation. Works Committees stimulate thought on workshop problems and difficulties, and result in greater practical knowledge. They are the starting point of real improvement in workshop relations.

# RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENT

(FROM THE EMPLOYERS' POINT OF VIEW)

BY A. R. COLMAN

Director, Messrs. J. J. Colman, Ltd., Norwich, England

I was asked only yesterday to say a few words on this subject, because I was told that for once we wanted to get down to real brass tacks, to hear what is being done in a factory, and not deal with general broad tendencies over the next ten years. So for ten minutes or so, if that is what is required, I will endeavour just to tell you what is happening with us at Norwich.

Talking of industrial relations and policy seems to suggest somehow to one's mind something derived from America. I do not know why, but it is so. As one of the Americans suggested last night, not in so many words perhaps, but the sense was that the difference between Americans and Englishmen, and perhaps to some extent Continental people too, is the difference which exists between a perfectly well regulated hen and a perfectly well regulated duck. If a hen is so fortunate as to lay a good egg, she has got to let the world know about it; the duck probably lays an equally good egg, but she just slips off and has a swim. About a year ago an American came down to us at Norwich and asked us if we could give him a line on our industrial relations policy, and we told him we were afraid we had not got one. When he explained what it all meant, we found after all we had most of the ingredients that go to make up that policy, but we just had not thought to give it that name. I think probably that is so in a good many places in Europe. The policies which have been adopted have grown up with the business out of a sense of sound business policy and of trying to give the worker and everybody in the business a fair deal, and not from any specially thought-out academic policy.

I can summarize the needs of a worker in any particular job as about four:

1. fair wages;
2. good working conditions;

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3. security;
4. an interest in the business as a whole.

I will tell you how we try to meet these four points.

First, fair wages: I need not say anything about that, except that our wages are fixed in consultation with the trades unions, and have relation to the rates of wages which are ruling in the district and to the nature of the work performed. There are of course the usual privileges that, I expect, most firms give, such as one week's holiday per year on full pay. and so on.

The working conditions are kept right in two ways. First of all, by giving every worker the right of access at any time to his manager, and if he does not get satisfaction there, to the General Managers' Room and the Directors' Room. Secondly, there is a Works Council, such as you are all familiar with. Every Department sends a member to the Works Council, which meets once a month in Company time. The Works Council elects an Executive Committee which meets the Directors and the General Manager also once a month. The representatives have a chance of reporting the decisions reached at this meeting to their constituents in the workrooms, in half an hour per month, which is given by the Company. That is how they keep in touch with their electorate.

As regards security of tenure, the chief safeguard we have at Norwich is that we do not leave the power of decision with the foreman or with the manager. No regular worker - that is to say, no man over 18 years of age who has been with us more than a year - may be discharged without the consent of the General Manager and one or more of the Directors. So any man who is discharged knows he will get a fair hearing before any action is taken. I daresay even more important to the men than that, is the knowledge of the policy of the Company over the past twenty or thirty years. Our labour turnover has averaged less than one per cent, so they have a fair feeling of security in their jobs. Then there is a short-time scheme, the details of which may be in keeping with that of many other firms, whereby, if any man loses more than six hours per week through systematic short time, any

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loss of wages in excess of six hours per week is made up out of a short-time fund, which originally started by a grant from the Company, but is now maintained by a grant each year from the Prosperity Sharing Scheme.

In the event of any department being forced to get rid of regular workers - so far we have not had to discharge anyone - we do it in this manner: We have what is known as a "Yard" Department, which is a department of unskilled manual labour, and any regular workers which have to be turned off from any skilled department are offered the opportunity of being transferred to the Yard Department, where they share out the work that is available for them, as long as there are extraneous jobs going on in the firm, such as the erection of new buildings and so on. Up till now there has been opportunity of giving all the people in this department full work, but it is possible that when the outside work is completed, the sharing of this work among so many men may mean that every man in that department will have to stand down one week in every month. During that week he will draw the state unemployment pay, so that for the average of a month he will receive five per cent less than the standard rate of the department, and so he has a fair amount of security in that way - he knows he will not suffer at any rate a very heavy decrease in his income. There is also a contributory pension scheme for the men, which operates at the age of 65, and to which they all belong. We recently instituted a small non-contributory scheme for women, because we found that there are a few widows who do not leave our employment as do most of the girls with us, and who stop on up to the age of 65, and we have now made provision for these few also.

As regards the necessity of giving the workers a direct interest in the business, that is probably the most difficult phase of all. Our chief effort in this direction has been the institution of a Prosperity Sharing Scheme whereby the amounts which remain over after the shareholders have received their dividends, are divided equally between employees and the shareholders; this is distributed among the employees as a dividend and is payable on the wages which they have received from the Company during the year. This scheme has been in

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operation for three years, and the average amount every man has received is about £9. or £10. per year.

We have also instituted a Suggestion Scheme to try to encourage employees to take an interest in the work. That has only been running a year, but it has not produced quite the number of suggestions I had hoped for. We have only averaged about 40 a month, which is not very much from 2,000 employees.

I suppose the next step one would like to take would be to give more information for everybody. It must be a matter which the workers would appreciate to some extent, to be brought into the counsels of the Company and given some information, or more information, not only about the work they are doing, but about the whole policy of the Company. In this connection we suffer at Norwich from a disease which is very common in England; I refer to the secrecy complex. It is well known, I think, that an Englishman travelling in America or even on the Continent can immediately be recognised as English by the way he slinks along and tries to get into the only empty carriage, buttons up his coat and does not say anything to anybody if he can possibly help it. This is not confined to business men, as far as I can see, but is a deeply ingrained English trait. People seem to regard their personal affairs, especially their personal financial affairs, as not quite suitable for polite conversation. It has not been directly put up to the Board, but I am fairly sure I know what the result would be, if we suggested throwing open our books for inspection by the employees in the same way as Mr. Rowntree, and I daresay other firms, probably Cadburys, do. There is somehow a great reluctance to make known information of that sort, although there is nothing particularly to be ashamed about. Still I hope we shall make a start some time in that direction. It will be delayed by the fact that it is no good until one is ready to go the whole way. Until one is ready to throw the books right open, I am afraid it is not much good making a start in a smaller way.

# ZUM SYSTEM DER PERSONENBEZIEHUNGEN IN BETRIEBEN (PSYCHOLOGISCHE BETRIEBSVERFASSUNG)

VON H. MARS, B. A.,

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Die Mitglieder der I. R. I. sind durch die Satzungen verpflichtet, Erörterungen politischer Fragen im Rahmen der I. R. I. grundsätzlich zu unterlassen. Das kann aber selbstverständlich nicht heissen, dass bei der Erörterung wirtschaftlicher, sozialer, wirtschaftspsychologischer und -philosophischer Fragen politische Gegebenheiten nicht in Rechnung gestellt werden dürfen. Oesterreich, das Land, das auch ich zu vertreten die Ehre habe, hat aus verschiedenen Gründen eine stark klassenbewusste Arbeiterschaft. Mit dieser sozialpsychologischen Tatsache muss man in Oesterreich rechnen, wenn es sich darum handelt, befriedigende Arbeitsbeziehungen, gesunde Arbeitsbedingungen in Produktion und Verteilung einzuführen. Wir haben Beispiele in Oesterreich, dass trotz dieser politischen Haltung der Arbeitnehmer, die entgegengesetzte Interessenlage von Kapital und Arbeit als Ausgangspunkt ihrer Beziehungen zu den Arbeitgebern zu nehmen, zwischen den einzelnen Arbeitnehmern, den Betriebsräten und den Gewerkschaftsvertretern einerseits und Unternehmern andererseits persönliche Beziehungen möglich sind, die sowohl die Bildung der Arbeitsfreude als auch die Vertretung der gegenseitigen Interessen erleichtern.

Es muss eine internationale Vereinigung für Bestgestaltung der Arbeit auch Interesse dafür haben, wie in einem Lande mit klassenbewusster Arbeiterschaft die Personenbeziehungen innerhalb der Betriebe befriedigender gestaltet werden können, damit die Arbeitnehmer, die von ihrem politischen Standpunkt nicht abrücken wollen, eine wesentliche sozial-psychologische Arbeitserleichterung empfinden und damit die Produktionsaufgaben besser erfüllt werden können. Ganz allgemein herrscht die falsche Auffassung vor, dass Personenbeziehungen zwischen Unternehmern und klassenbewussten Arbeitnehmern naturnotwendig andauernd gestört sein müssen. Nichts wäre falscher als gerade in einer Wirtschaft, in der die eigentlichen



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Produktionsmittelbesitzer dem Arbeiter als eine unpersönliche Macht erscheinen, eine solche Auffassung zu hegen.

Eine Analyse der Betriebsorganisation ergibt, dass sie eigentlich ein System von vier ineinander verflochtenen Organisationskomplexen ist:

Die materiell-technische Organisation hat die technischen Arbeitsmittel miteinander zu verbinden;

Die kalkulatorische Organisation hat die Bewertungen der einzelnen Betriebsvorgänge zur Aufgabe;

Die verwaltungstechnische Organisation organisiert fortlaufend die Arbeitsaufgaben der einzelnen Arbeitnehmer und Arbeitsmittel;

Die Organisation der Personenbeziehungen zwischen allen Belegschaftsmitgliedern, die neben und im wesentlichen unabhängig von den drei übrigen Organisationskomplexen besteht.

Diese Unterteilung wurde vorgenommen, um zur Einsicht zu verhelfen, dass im Folgenden die Beziehungen zwischen den im Betriebe versammelten Personen und ihre psychologische Situation als eigenes Problem behandelt werden können, ohne viel Bezug auf die anderen drei Organisationskomplexe zu nehmen.

Henry Ford hat einmal ausgesprochen, dass zur Herbeiführung eines guten Einvernehmens zwischen den einzelnen Persönlichkeiten eines Unternehmens oder deren Abteilungen besondere Anstrengungen überflüssig sind, denn "um Hand in Hand zu arbeiten, muss man sich nicht lieben". Schärfer kann der Standpunkt nicht präzisiert werden, der dem in diesem Referate vertretenen entgegengesetzt ist.

Man kann zwei Systeme von Personenbeziehungen in Betrieben erkennen. Es gibt da zunächst die dienstlich-disziplinären Personenbeziehungen, die den regelrechten Fortgang der Arbeit gewährleisten müssen. Daneben bestehen demokratisierende (ausgleichende) Personenbeziehungen, die vielfach den dienstlich-disziplinären gegensinnig gerichtet sind. Die Betriebsräte, die gewerkschaftlichen und politischen Vertrauensmänner, die Funktionäre

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kultureller und gesellschaftlicher Arbeitnehmer-Organisationen ausserhalb des Betriebes stehen oft in einem dienstlichen Unterordnungsverhältnis zu höhergestellten Betriebsmitgliedern. Diese Betriebsmitglieder in höherer Stellung sind aber wieder ihrerseits ausserhalb des Betriebes den dienstlich untergeordneten Arbeitnehmern unterstellt und zwar im Interesse der gewerkschaftlichen, politischen, kulturellen und gesellschaftlichen Organisationsziele und -Disziplin. Es durchkreuzen sich daher die psychischen Personenbeziehungen in dem Sinne, dass ein und dasselbe Betriebsmitglied einem anderen sowohl über- als auch untergeordnet ist.

Dieser Zustand ist äusserst wünschenswert in einem Lande wie Oesterreich, das erst vor 10 Jahren in die glückliche Lage kam, den absolutistischen Militarismus und Bürokratismus abzustreifen. Jeder der weiss, wie schwer ein Volk die militärische und bürokratische Tradition brechen kann, muss es begrüessen, dass im Betriebe diese Gegensinnigkeit der Personenbeziehungssysteme vorhanden ist, denn sie ist gewiss das beste und sicherste Mittel, um den militaristischen und bürokratischen Geist aus der Betriebsdisziplin zu bannen.

Die Betriebsdisziplin ist nämlich leider in Oesterreich, und wahrscheinlich auch in anderen Ländern, nicht nur reine Arbeitsdisziplin, sondern sie ist auch Sozialdisziplin. Die Arbeitsdisziplin ist dadurch gekennzeichnet, dass sich die ausführenden Arbeitnehmer im Bewusstsein eines gemeinsamen technischen Produktionszieles der technischen und arbeitsorganisatorischen Führung durch die ihr Vertrauen besitzenden, technisch begabten Funktionäre freiwillig unterwerfen. Die Sozialdisziplin aber dient der sozialen Machtbehauptung. Sie verlangt, dass sich der sozial tieferstehende Arbeitnehmer dem sozial höherstehenden Unternehmer und seinen Vertretern erzwungenermassen unterwerfe, nur weil diese soziales Prestige, soziale Vorrechte, soziale Machtmittel, etc., besitzen. Die angestrebte soziale Uebermacht im Betriebe kann nur mittels militärischer und bürokratischer Methoden aufrecht erhalten werden und gerade dagegen sträuben sich die Arbeitnehmer und zwar vor allem die klassenbewussten Arbeitnehmer. Sie betrachten und empfinden die soziale Disziplin als eine arbeitshemmende, unnütze Störung

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und Beschwerung der Personenbeziehungen die auch in der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise zum Teil zu beseitigen sind.

Es ist bekannt, dass gewöhnlich der Aufbau der leitenden Betriebshierarchie, ihre Befugnisse und Amtsführung gewollt und ungewollt zur sozialen Beherrschung und Geltendmachung der sozialen Machtüberlegenheit führen. Will man also die ausschlaggebendste sozialpsychologische Ursache der Arbeitsunlust und Feindseligkeit gegenüber dem Betrieb beseitigen, so ist somit die richtige Zusammensetzung und das richtige Verhalten der Betriebshierarchie das wichtigste Mittel. Für Länder, in denen die leitende Betriebshierarchie ähnlich wie die österreichische beschaffen ist, müssen folgende sozialpsychologische Forderungen aufgestellt werden:

Die Betriebshierarchie darf keine schmarotzende Bürokratie enthalten. Man darf nicht unnütze höhere Betriebsfunktionen erfinden, nur damit man verwandtschaftlich oder gesellschaftlich nahestehende Personen in der Wirtschaft unterbringt. Ein Sonderfall der schmarotzenden Bürokratie sind die unnützen Autoritätsstellungen, die man für alteingessene, längst pensionsreife Angestellte schafft, nur damit sie einen Wirkungskreis haben.

Die leitenden Angestellten müssen sowohl psychische als auch physische Begabung für ihre Funktion besitzen; sie müssen insbesondere zur technischen und pädagogischen Menschenführung taugen. Sie müssen eine natürliche Autorität darstellen, die nicht erst Zuflucht zu Mitteln der sozialen Machtüberlegenheit nehmen muss, um sich zu behaupten.

Kein leitender Angestellter darf Disziplinargewalt ohne entsprechende technisch-arbeitsorganisatorische Verantwortung besitzen. Jene Vorgesetzte, die durch soziale Herkunft, Bildungsstufe, berufliches Können und Einkommen den Arbeitern nahestehen, müssen mit besonderer Sorgfalt und unter Mitwirkung der Arbeitnehmer ausgelesen werden, denn sie machen gewöhnlich einen krampfhaft übersteigerten Machtwillen geltend, der das Selbstwertungsgefühl der Arbeiter umso mehr beleidigt, als diese Vorgesetzten ja aus derselben sozialen Schicht stammen.

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Einer richtig zusammengesetzten leitenden Betriebshierarchie mit der richtigen sozialen Einstellung sind zwei sozialpsychologische Aufgaben gestellt. Sie hat erstens auf richtige Mischung der Persönlichkeitstypen im Betriebe, zum Teil ganz unabhängig von den Arbeitsaufgaben, zu achten. Sie muss z.B. trachten, dass neben "Motorenmenschen", deren Arbeitsablauf Geduld und Gleichmass charakterisieren, "Impulsgeber" gestellt werden, die fortwährend Anregungen geben, Neuerungen und Verbesserungen durchführen wollen. Ferner müssen auch die Praktiker, die Optimisten, die geborenen "Schlichter", die Kontrollmenschen, etc., im richtigen Mischungsverhältnis vertreten sein, damit im ganzen Betrieb ein psychisches Niveaugefälle, eine psychische Spannung, vorhanden ist, die allein einen fortschrittlichen Produktionsgeist garantieren und die psychische Betriebsatmosphäre für die Entwicklung der Arbeitsfreude günstig gestalten.

Ebenso schwierig, aber wichtiger als diese Aufgabe der Betriebsleitung, ist die andere: Menschenbehandlungskunst zu üben. Diese Kunst muss sich vor allem darauf beziehen, die besonders in klassenbewussten Arbeitern eingewurzelten konträren sozialpsychologischen Reaktionen von aller künstlichen Steigerung durch psychologische Fehlgriffe der Betriebsleitung zu befreien. Es seien einige konträre sozialpsychologische Reaktionen (oder Ressentiments, wenn der Ausdruck in diesem Zusammenhang zutreffend ist) herausgegriffen.

Die Sozialdisziplin steigert das Gefühl der Unterdrückung ins masslose. Die Eigenart des der Denklöge vielfach widersprechenden psychischen Mechanismus bedingt es, dass das Ressentiment gegen die soziale Machtüberlegenheit einiger Angestellter fälschlich auf alle leitenden Angestellten ohne Ausnahme, auf die materielle Betriebsausstattung, auf den Weg zur und von der Arbeit, auf die Betriebskollegen, etc., übertragen wird. Die Arbeiterschaft wird sich unter solchen Umständen entgegen der sonstigen Gepflogenheit selbst gegen Notwendigkeiten der Produktionsdisziplin stellen.

Das Gefühl der Ungleichheit entspringt dem Ressentiment gegen die soziale Minderwertigkeit, die sich aus

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dem Vergleich der eigenen Lage mit jener der Unternehmer ergibt. Es ist eine Illusion, zu meinen dass man allen Arbeitnehmern das Gefühl der sozialen Minderwertigkeit ausreden könne. Den Handarbeitern ganz bestimmt nicht. Denn die Geringschätzung der industriellen Handarbeit ist nicht etwas, das nur in der Einbildung der Menschen lebt, sondern es bestehen dafür konkrete gesellschaftliche Ursachen, die diese Geringschätzung hervorrufen. Die Aufdeckung der Ursachen lässt auch zugleich die Mittel erkennen, wie dieses Gefühl von künstlerischen Steigerungen befreit werden kann. Leider ist zu erkennen, dass die denkbaren Abhilfemittel im gegenwärtigen Stadium der Technik und der Verfassung nicht zu beschaffen sind oder nicht angewandt werden können. Welches wären die Abhilfemittel?

Weitgehende Existenzsicherung muss den Zwang der Not als primäres Arbeitsmotiv in den Hintergrund treten lassen. Beseitigung der Sozialdisziplin muss die Handarbeit vom Zwange der sozialen Uebermacht befreien; technischer Fortschritt muss die intellektuell-minderwertige rationalisierte Handarbeit verdrängen; höhere Löhne und mehr Freizeit müssen den wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Tiefstand der Arbeiter beheben; ästhetischer Fabrikbau muss die Arbeit vom Eindruck des Hässlichen, Gefängnisartigen erlösen; Verbesserung des technischen Arbeiterschutzes muss die Handarbeiter gesund erhalten, damit sie nicht physisch inferior werden. Beistellung von Arbeitskleidung, Waschgelegenheiten, etc., müssen der Arbeit das Stigma des Schmutzigseins nehmen. Nur wenn diesen Forderungen Rechnung getragen wird, wird der klassenbewusste Arbeiter empfinden, dass das Gefühl der Ungleichheit von künstlichen Verstärkungen frei ist.

Eine der praktisch wichtigsten konträren, sozialpsychologischen Reaktionen ist das Gefühl der Solidarität, das eigentlich eine Umbildung verschiedener Gefühle wie z.B. des Ausgebeutetseins, des Unterdrücktseins, der Ungleichheit und eine aufbauende, namentlich gesinnungsbildende Kraft ist. Die klassenbewussten Arbeiter lehnen instinktiv alles ab, was die wirtschaftliche und ethische Bedeutung ihres Solidaritätsempfindens zu verkleinern oder zu ignorieren versucht. Es muss daher

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jede Einflussnahme des Unternehmers auf das wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Verhalten der Arbeiter an dieses Gefühl anknüpfen und auf ihm weiterbauen, indem womöglich immer mit der Gesamtheit der Arbeitnehmer oder ihren Vertretern jede weitergehende Massnahme beraten wird. Man kann den Arbeitnehmern, namentlich den klassenbewussten Arbeitnehmern, die Arbeit nicht mehr psychologisch erschweren, als durch den Versuch, das Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl dadurch zu bekämpfen, dass man jeden einzelnen Arbeiter nach Möglichkeit isoliert. Es soll im Gegenteil jede isolierte Arbeit vergesellschaftet werden.

Die Arbeiter empfinden, dass viele ihrer tieferen Wünsche und Bedürfnisse in der Gegenwart nicht befriedigt werden können und deshalb entstehen in ihnen Vorstellungen eines besseren Zukunftszustandes. Wer dieses auf die Zukunft gerichtete Gefühl herabsetzt oder verhöhnt, muss das Ressentiment der Arbeiter gegen sich ohne wirtschaftliche Gründe entfachen.

Zu dieser eben gekennzeichneten Gefühlslage der Arbeiter kommen noch eine Reihe von typischen intellektuellen Verhaltensweisen hinzu, deren Kenntnis für die Behandlung der Arbeiter grundlegend ist. Das Denken der Arbeiter ist vor allem durch **Impulsivität, Neigung zum Protest und zum Misstrauen** sowie durch **nervöse Unruhe** gekennzeichnet. Die Betriebsleitung muss mit dieser intellektuellen Verhaltensweise rechnen und darf die Impulsivität, Proteststimmung, Nervosität nicht gegen sich persönlich gerichtet erachten. Es muss von der betriebsleitenden Hierarchie verlangt werden, dass sie gegenüber dem durch Umweltseinflüsse bedingten Willensverhalten und intellektuellen Habitus der Arbeitnehmer ausreichende Nachsicht zu üben versteht.

Die Berücksichtigung der Gefühlslage und der intellektuellen Verhaltensweise erfordert vom Betriebsleiter die Beachtung einer Reihe von Grundsätzen der **Menschenbehandlungskunst** und der Erziehungslehre, so z.B. dass so wenig Gebote und Verbote aufgestellt werden dürfen als nur möglich; dass das Gefühl des Arbeitszwanges möglichst vermieden werden soll; dass jeder Befehl die Form einer Bitte annehmen soll; dass Ueberwachungen und Kontrollen nach Möglichkeit unauffällig durchgeführt werden sollen; dass die Kritik an den Arbeiten

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der unterstellten Arbeitnehmer milde und nur sachlich durchgeführt werden soll; dass Lob reichlich und gerne gesendet werden soll; dass Tadel am Verhalten der Betriebsleitung gerne und freudig von dieser entgegengenommen werden soll; dass Umgangsformen der Arbeitnehmer, die durch deren kulturelle Umgebung bedingt sind, nicht abfällig kritisiert werden; dass dem Arbeitnehmer auch für seine eigene Person Interesse gewidmet werden soll; etc.

Der Menschenbehandlungskunst der Betriebsleitung muss jene der unterstellten Arbeitnehmer gegenüber stehen. Die Arbeitnehmer müssen es verstehen, unnütze Reibungsflächen mit der Betriebsleitung zu vermeiden und für unvermeidbare Reibungen eine Schlichtungstechnik zu entwickeln. Oesterreich hat hauptsächlich durch die Institution der Betriebsräte, die zu 90% aus klassenbewussten Arbeitnehmern bestehen, in weitem Masse diese Schlichtungstechnik entwickelt.

Die Voraussetzung dafür, dass unter gleichgestellten Mitarbeitern befriedigende Personenbeziehungen herrschen, ist die Einflussnahme der Arbeitnehmer auf die Zusammensetzung der Belegschaft. Namentlich soll die Zusammenfassung von Arbeitern zu einer Arbeitsgruppe nicht ohne Mitwirkung der Arbeiter geschehen. Eine gute psychologische Betriebsatmosphäre unter den gleichgestellten Mitarbeitern entwickelt sich dann von selbst.

Die Personenbeziehungen zwischen gleichgestellten Frauen und Männern sind noch vielfach sehr unbefriedigend. Trotz aller politischen Gleichberechtigung versagen männliche Arbeitnehmer den Frauen nicht nur im Betriebe, sondern auch im Hause gleiche soziale Wertung. Im Familienleben der meisten Arbeiter ist die Frau noch immer bloss die untergeordnete, abhängige Lebensgefährtin und Haushälterin. Die jederzeit vorhandene, latente Spannung wird noch durch die schlechtere Bezahlung der Frauenarbeit erhöht. Daran sind oft nicht nur die Unternehmer, sondern auch die Arbeitnehmer schuld. Auf verschiedene Probleme der Personenbeziehungen, die sich aus den geschlechtlichen Verschiedenheiten ergeben, kann leider nicht eingegangen werden. Vielleicht ist es richtig, als Grundsatz aufzustellen, dass unter den Arbeiterinnen möglichst viele

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verheiratete Frauen sein sollen, dass Frauen und Männer nur dann im selben Arbeitssaale arbeiten sollen, wenn sie zahlenmässig gleich stark sind, etc. Diese Personenbeziehungen sind noch wenig durchforscht. Jedenfalls aber ergibt auch schon eine oberflächliche Analyse, dass sie unbefriedigend sind.

In den voranstehenden Ausführungen wurden die Hauptgebiete der betrieblichen Personenbeziehungen berührt. Es wurde besonderes Hauptgewicht auf die Erörterung jener Faktoren gelegt, die gewöhnlich übersehen werden. Es sind aber gewiss noch viele andere zu entdecken. Mitgliedern der I. R. I. eröffnet sich hier ein dankbares Arbeitsgebiet.



# DIE BEZIEHUNGEN INNERHALB DES INDUSTRIELLEN UNTERNEHMENS VOM STANDPUNKT DES BETRIEBSRATES

VON E. LÜBBE

Werkzeugdreher, Vorsitzender des Gesamtbetriebsrates der Siemens-Schuckert A.-G.  
Berlin

Traditionelle Beziehungen innerhalb der Belegschaften.

Die Stellung der Werksleitung:

a. innerhalb ihres eigenen Kreises,

b. zur Angestelltenschaft,

c. zur Arbeiterschaft.

Die Verschiebung der Bedeutung der Angestelltenschaft früher und jetzt.

Die Stellung der Angestelltenschaft zur Arbeiterschaft.

Die Stellung der Gewerkschaften zu den Belegschaften.

Die politische Partei und ihr Einfluss auf die Belegschaften.

Die Betriebsräte innerhalb des bisher behandelten Gebietes.

Politik, Gewerkschaft und die Auswahl der Betriebsvertretungen.

Die Widerstände in der Erfüllung der gestellten Aufgaben.

Die Schulung der Betriebsvertretungen.

Ihre gesetzlichen Aufgaben.

Die Möglichkeit der Betätigung in diesem Rahmen.

Schon seit langem ist mir bekannt, dass der deutschen Betriebsrätebewegung ein ausserordentliches Interesse entgegengebracht wird. Diese Tatsache ist besonders verständlich für die jetzige Konferenz, da die Betriebsrätebewegung mit dem Hauptthema des Kongresses ja auf das engste verbunden ist.

Ehe ich auf das Wesen und die Auswirkungen der deutschen Betriebsrätebewegung eingehe, darf ich mir ein paar allgemeine Bemerkungen über den Betrieb und die in ihm tätigen Gruppen von Menschen gestatten.

Die Untersuchungen über die Beziehungen zwischen den in der Industrie beschäftigten Gruppen zeigen, dass ein Unterschied besteht zwischen Unternehmungen, die in jahrzehntelanger Entwicklung aus kleinsten Anfängen gewachsen sind - meist noch mit der Begleiterscheinung, dass starker Familienbesitz an ihnen interessiert ist - und denjenigen Unternehmungen, die gleich als Aktiengesellschaft gegründet wurden. Diese Anschauung ist vielleicht manchen Beobachtern, die nicht ganz und gar mit dem Betriebsleben verwachsen sind, nicht ganz verständlich, doch ist es so, dass manchmal innerhalb zwei gleich grosser Gesellschaften eine ganz verschiedenartige Gesamttenenz herrscht, die nur durch die Entwicklung er-

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klärlich ist. Es mag hierbei gleich eingangs erwähnt werden, dass sich auch der Standort des Unternehmens nicht gleichgültig auf die Beziehungen innerhalb der Beschäftigten auswirkt, z.B. ist die Belegschaft eines Werkes, das in der Grosstadt liegt, viel weniger miteinander verwachsen, als desjenigen Betriebes, der seinen Sitz in einer Landstadt hat. Dies erklärt sich erstens infolge der getrennten Wohngebiete, die ausserhalb der Arbeitsstelle das Zusammenkommen der Menschen verhindern und zweitens durch die viel stärkere Fluktuation infolge der meist grösseren Auswahlmöglichkeit des Arbeitsmarktes.

Das, was auf die zuletzt angezogenen Betriebe Geltung hat, findet sich in denjenigen Grossbetrieben in Grosstädten in gewisser Weise dort wieder, wo ein Stamm langjährig Beschäftigter vorhanden ist.

Die langjährige Zugehörigkeit zu einem Unternehmen ist aber von ausserordentlich vielen Faktoren abhängig. Diese Faktoren einzeln aufzuführen und zu untersuchen, führt an dieser Stelle zu weit.

Für die hier angestellten Betrachtungen ist eine kurze Skizzierung der drei grossen Personengebiete, die das Unternehmen bilden, notwendig.

Diese drei Gebiete sind: die Werksleitung, die Angestelltenschaft und die Arbeiterschaft. Wie vielseitig die Beziehungen dieser drei Gebiete zunächst einmal innerhalb des eigenen Kreises und dann von einem Kreis zum andern sind, haben die Verhandlungen des Kongresses erwiesen. Es mag hier nur noch darauf hingewiesen werden, dass auch die Betriebsräte sich bemühen, diese Beziehungen zu erkennen und bei ihrer Arbeit zu verwerten.

Es ist auch den Betriebsräten klar, dass der Stab der Werksleitung eines Unternehmens aus Menschen mit ihren Fehlern und Schwächen zusammengesetzt ist, und dass die Führerauslese für die Werksleitung leider nicht immer von dem sachlichen Gesichtspunkt der Qualifikation aus erfolgt, sondern dass persönliche und Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen vielfach eine grosse Rolle spielen.

Die Angestelltenschaft nimmt im heutigen Wirtschaftsleben eine ganz andere Stellung ein als die, die ihr in den An-

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fängen der industriellen Entwicklung zugewiesen war. Mit dem Herauswachsen des Betriebes aus dem Kleinbetrieb - in welchem der Besitzer oder der Meister noch seinen gesamten Betrieb selbständig überschauen konnte - zum Grossbetrieb, schwoll die Verwaltungsarbeit ganz ungemein an. Nicht wenige Angestellte gab es mehr, die mit allen das Geschäft berührenden Fragen vertraut und verwachsen waren, sondern ein Heer von Angestellten, das auch seinerseits jetzt nur noch wieder Spezialarbeiten verrichtet und damit überhaupt keine Kenntnis vom Gesamtunternehmen hat. Angestellte, die in jahrzehntelanger Tätigkeit in diesen Betrieben deren Entwicklung mitgemacht haben und die die Möglichkeit hatten, bei der Umstellung des Apparates die sehr wenigen leitenden Posten besetzen zu können, haben diese Entwicklung als eine glückliche betrachtet und sie zählen zu dem Stamm, der der Werksleitung am nächsten steht. Alle die Angestellten aber, für die die gezeichnete Entwicklung eine Herabdrückung von ihrer einstigen kenntnisreichen Stellung des Unternehmens in die schablonisierende Arbeit des Verwaltungsapparates bedeutet, wurden nach der Seite derer abgedrängt, die für diese Entwicklung kein Verständnis hatten, und die sowohl materiell wie auch seelisch keine befriedigende Arbeitstätigkeit in dem entwickelten Arbeitsprozess finden konnten.

Die Werksleitungen erkennen diese Entwicklung, sie sind und waren vor die Frage gestellt, ob sie dieser Angestelltenschaft die gleiche Behandlung angedeihen lassen sollten wie der Arbeiterschaft oder nicht. Sachlich und objektiv gesehen war eine unterschiedliche Behandlung kaum notwendig, denn, wie schon oben erwähnt, hat die Entwicklung der Verwaltungsarbeit auch die zu verrichtenden Arbeiten teilweise soweit schematisiert, dass genau so, wie bei den Arbeitern, aus dem Arbeitslosenheer im allgemeinen jederzeit ohne grosse Schwierigkeiten die notwendigen Hilfskräfte herausgezogen werden konnten. Trotzdem haben sich die Werksleitungen entschlossen, eine getrennte Angestellten- und Arbeiterpolitik zu betreiben.

Diese Tatsache grenzt an Gebiete, deren Untersuchung heute nicht notwendig ist, sondern es sollen ja heute lediglich die Beziehungen untersucht werden, unter dem Gesichtswinkel der

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nun einmal bestehenden Verhältnisse. Dabei mag hier über die Beziehungen der Angestelltenschaft zur Firmenleitung im Zusammenhang mit der Schaffung kooperativer Arbeitsmethoden nur noch soviel gesagt werden, dass das Unternehmertum sich mehr als bisher daran gewöhnen sollte, die Mitarbeit der Angestelltenschaft zum Wohle des Unternehmens nicht dadurch zu erschweren, dass man der Angestelltenschaft und ihren Vertretungen nur sehr zögernd geringe Rechte bei der Verwaltungsarbeit eines Werkes einräumt.

Das weitaus grösste Gebiet in der Behandlung bleibt aber die Arbeiterschaft. Sie ist der Träger der produktiven Förderung. Dadurch, dass man während des ganzen Entwicklungszeitraumes dieser Arbeiterschaft nicht die geringsten Betätigungsmöglichkeiten in der Verwaltung gegeben hat, musste bei der Arbeiterschaft die Entfremdung zum Betriebe entstehen, die ihre Ueberbrückung nur fand in der Notwendigkeit der Schaffung eines Lebensunterhaltes und der gewissen Sicherung desselben. Alle früheren Versuche einzelner Unternehmer, die Arbeiterschaft an den Betrieben zu interessieren, waren Palliativmittel und als solche meist nur gedacht zur Erreichung besonderer Zwecke. Bei der Massenwirkung und der Massensuggestion, mit der in Grossbetrieben nun aber einmal gerechnet werden muss, musste aber solchen Mitteln eine durchschlagende Wirkung versagt bleiben.

Die Sorge um's tägliche Brot - und das oft sehr geringe Verständnis der Arbeitgeber hierfür - zwang die Arbeiter zur Bildung von Gewerkschaften, es war dies selbstverständlich nur einer der Gründe.

Die Gewerkschaften, die losgelöst sind und sein müssen vom Einzelbetriebe, können bei ihren Bestrebungen zur Erreichung besserer Lohn- und Arbeitsbedingungen oftmals nicht die Interessen des Einzelbetriebes berücksichtigen, sondern sind abhängig von der Lage der Gesamtindustrie.

Ebenso, wie die Theorie von den Arbeitgebern noch heute aufgestellt wird, dass ohne einen starken Zwang kein Mensch arbeiten würde - diese Frage hat ja den Kongress auch schon berührt - kann mit aller Bestimmtheit erklärt werden, dass ohne starke Gewerkschaften die Arbeitgeber die notwendigen Belange der Arbeitnehmerschaft nicht in Rechnung stellen

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werden, sondern sie werden in den meisten Fällen den Sicherheitsfaktor für die Erhaltung und den Ausbau der Werke - ganz abgesehen von der Profitsrate - so hoch einsetzen, dass zu einer besseren Befriedigung der Arbeitnehmerschaft freiwillig nur geringe Mittel zur Verfügung gestellt würden.

Diese Tatsache ist auch für die Arbeiten der Vereinigung von massgebender Bedeutung, nur dass das Gewicht unserer Tätigkeit in den Versuchen begründet liegt, die Unternehmer von der Durchführung der von uns als richtig erkannten Massnahmen mit geistigen Mitteln zu überzeugen. Soweit für die Durchführung dieser Massnahmen erhebliche Mittel erforderlich sind, werden sich sicherlich auch hier die stärksten Widerstände bemerkbar machen.

Der Vollständigkeit halber - und weil dieses Moment für die nächsten zu behandelnden Fragen von Wichtigkeit ist - sei auch noch der Einfluss der politischen Parteien auf die Belegschaften kurz erwähnt.

In Deutschland wurde nach Beendigung des Krieges der Versuch unternommen, die bisher geschilderten Verhältnisse durch die Schaffung des Betriebsrätegesetzes sowohl gesetzmässig als auch ideell zu erfassen und zu verbessern. Wie weit dies gelungen ist, welcher Weg bis zu dem im Augenblick als ideal erscheinenden Zustand noch zurückzulegen ist, sei in folgendem gesagt.

Die deutsche Revolution im November 1918 brachte nach russischem Vorbild den damaligen sogenannten Arbeiterrat. Dieser Arbeiterrat hatte - mit seinem Vollzugsrat an der Spitze - die politische Leitung des ganzen Reiches in die Hand genommen und somit waren auch sämtliche Unterglieder rein politische Organe. Die furchtbaren Auswirkungen des Krieges, die Entbehrungen und die Not der ganzen Bevölkerung, brachten es aber mit sich, dass die Arbeiterräte in ihren kleinsten Zellen, wie sie in den Betrieben gewählt worden waren, sich im wesentlichen mit den reinen Wirtschaftsfragen befassen mussten.

Der Kampfruf "Alle Macht den Arbeiterräten" führte zu heftigen politischen Kämpfen. Da der Umsturz in Deutschland sich ausserordentlich plötzlich vollzog, konnte nicht verhindert werden, dass bei der Wahl der Arbeiterräte, die meist der

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Massenpsychose unterworfen war, Personen mit der Führung von Arbeiten betraut wurden, denen sie oftmals nicht gewachsen waren. Die politischen Gegensätze trugen dann noch weiter dazu bei, dass das gesellschaftliche Ansehen dieser Arbeiterräte nicht immer das beste war. Auch die allen derartigen Bestrebungen abgeneigte gegnerische Presse tat, nachdem sie sich wieder hervorwagte, das ihrige, um die Verhetzung breiter Volksschichten dahin zu treiben, dass sie auch die gesunde Grundlage, die in dem Räte-System - als Vorläufer zu einer Demokratisierung der Betriebe - steckte, verkannte. Als mit der Wiederschaffung der Konstitution in Deutschland dann im Jahre 1920 das Betriebsrätegesetz die damaligen Arbeiterräte ablöste, vollzog sich diese Ablösung leider auch unter den schärfsten Bedingungen. Viele Menschenleben wurden bei den damals stattfindenden Demonstrationen vernichtet. Die Gegensätze zwischen dem grossen Teil der Arbeiterschaft einerseits und der Unternehmerschaft und breiten Masse des Bürgertums andererseits waren derart zugespitzt, dass ein günstiges Resultat aus einem Gesetz, das eine gemeinsame Arbeit von Unternehmern und Arbeitnehmerschaft voraussetzte, gar nicht zu erzielen war. Einesteils versuchten die Arbeiter, die in dem Gesetz bemängelte fehlende Macht zu erweitern; andererseits versuchten die sich nach dem Kriege ausserordentlich fest zusammenschliessenden Unternehmer die Gesetzesbestimmungen mit allen juristischen Spitzfindigkeiten abzuwehren. In einer solchen Atmosphäre konnten sich die Betriebsräte unmöglich zu einer Körperschaft entwickeln, die wie es der § 1 des Gesetzes sagt, sowohl die wirtschaftlichen Interessen der Arbeitnehmer als auch die des Betriebes wahrnehmen sollten.

Massgeblich für diesen Tatbestand war selbstverständlich auch die Zusammensetzung und Auswahl der Betriebsvertretungen. Diese war abhängig von der politischen und gewerkschaftlichen Struktur des Betriebes.

Das was oben schon über die Auswahl der politischen Arbeiterräte gesagt war - nicht immer beste Eignung - traf zum mindesten in den ersten Jahren bis zu einem gewissen Grade auch auf die Betriebsratsmitglieder zu.

Es muss als erfreulich bezeichnet werden, dass sämtliche Ge-

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werkschaften erhebliche Mittel angewandt haben, um die Betriebsratmitglieder zu schulen und in ihre Aufgaben hineinzuwachsen zu lassen. Leider muss aber in diesem Zusammenhang auch gesagt werden, dass heute noch in Deutschland den Betriebsräten die Bedeutung, die ihnen auf Grund des Gesetzes - als öffentliche Körperschaft - zukommt, versagt bleibt. Dies führt einesteiis dazu - und das trifft namentlich auf die Angestelltenkreise zu - dass sich die wirklich befähigten Köpfe scheuen, einer Betriebsvertretung anzugehören, da sie gesellschaftliche Achtung und andere wirtschaftliche Nachteile befürchten, die leider nicht immer zu verhindern waren und andererseits dazu, dass breite Massen der Arbeitnehmer nicht an einen erheblichen Einfluss der Betriebsräte glauben.

Mit den gesetzlichen Aufgaben der Betriebsräte in Deutschland könnten sich ohne weiteres die auf diesem Kongress gezeigten Bestrebungen identifizieren lassen. Die Durchführung dieser Aufgabe hängt von dem guten Willen der Arbeitgeber ab, freiwillig die Betriebsvertretungen auf Arbeitsgebieten tätig werden zu lassen, die sie aus bestimmten Gründen als ihr alleiniges Betätigungsfeld in Anspruch nehmen.

Zweifellos wurden auch von den Betriebsvertretungen nicht immer die geeigneten Mittel zur Erreichung der Ziele in Anwendung gebracht.

Wie sehr die Arbeitgeber sich weigern, den Betriebsvertretungen eine tatsächliche Mitwirkung einzuräumen, sei an der Wohlfahrtsarbeit gezeigt.

Soweit eine Betätigung hierbei in grossen Konzernen in Frage kommt, hat sie mehr den Charakter eines Aushängeschildes nach aussen, als einer tatsächlichen mit innerer Anteilnahme verbundenen Mitarbeit. Ein grösserer Einblick in die tatsächliche Wohlfahrtsarbeit und die mitbestimmende Auslese der dafür in Frage kommenden Personen wird nach Möglichkeit verhindert. Die erkennbaren Ursachen dieser Einstellung der Unternehmer können nur darin zu suchen sein, dass es ihnen geboten erscheint, dass die menschlichen Schwächen und Nöte, die den einzelnen Arbeitnehmer betreffen, ihnen allein zu Gehör gebracht werden, womit sie einen nicht unmassgeblichen Einfluss auf das Familienleben bekommen. Ein Arbeitnehmer der weiss, dass es nur in das Belieben der

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Werksleitung gestellt ist, ihm in seiner Not zu helfen, wird dieser Werksleitung, die ihm geholfen hat, zweifellos sehr viel ergebener sein, als der Arbeitnehmer, der weiss, dass eine ihm gewährte Unterstützung aus den Gesamterträgen eines Unternehmens unter Mitwirkung der von ihm gewählten Betriebsvertretung erfolgt.

Eine mit der Massenpsychose zusammenhängende Frage ist auch die Frage der Wahlzeit der Betriebsvertretungen. In Deutschland müssen alljährlich die Betriebsräte neu gewählt werden. Diese Bestimmung resultiert aus dem Misstrauen in der deutschen Arbeiterschaft, das ihr aus den früheren Erfahrungen vielleicht nicht unberechtigt innewohnt. Trotzdem muss nach langjähriger Praxis ganz offen zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, dass gerade darum, weil auch die Auslese - Listenwahl-System - nicht vor Zufälligkeiten schützt, in einer einjährigen Tätigkeit die eigentlichen Arbeiten für eine Mitwirkung im Betriebe nicht durchgeführt werden können.

Besondere Gegensätze in der Erfüllung der gestellten Aufgaben ergeben sich auch dadurch, dass die gegensätzliche Einstellung der Arbeitgeber den Betriebsräten gegenüber dazu geführt hat, dass die Arbeitgeber zwischen die Betriebsräte und die massgebenden Werksleiter Instanzen eingeschoben haben, die die notwendigen Verhandlungen mit den Betriebsräten zu führen haben. Diese Instanzen, die oftmals aus Personen zusammengesetzt sind, die sich im Gegensatz zur neuen arbeitsrechtlichen Entwicklung befinden, mussten erneute Reibungen und Schwierigkeiten, in die an sich schon so ausserordentlich schwierige Materie bringen. Es kann natürlich unmöglich innerhalb einer Belegschaft verstanden werden, wenn die massgebenden Vertreter solcher Abteilungen Artikel veröffentlichen, die sämtlichen Angehörigen der Werke ins Haus geschickt werden, in denen z.B. die Frage des an sich schon so knapp bemessenen Urlaubs der Arbeiter in der Tendenz behandelt wird, dass mit Rücksicht auf die Vorkriegszeit in der Urlaub überhaupt nicht oder nur viel kürzer gewährt wurde, dieser bei den heutigen Verhältnissen für ein Unternehmen untragbar sei und deshalb wahrscheinlich gekürzt werden müsse, oder aber indem in anderen Artikeln versucht wird, nachzuweisen, dass die Krankenkasse durch



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simulierende Arbeitnehmer so schwer geschädigt würde, dass die an sich schon scharfen Kontrollbestimmungen noch erweitert werden müssten. Derartige Artikel, die die objektive Einstellung zu den Dingen vermissen lassen - denn die Frage der Renten-Psychose wirkt sich nicht nur im Krankenkassenwesen aus, sondern sie kehrt ja in der krassesten Form auch auf anderen Gebieten wieder - (Unfallversicherung: Fall Marek (Wien) und Kühr (Olpe) verschärfen lediglich die Gegensätze zwischen Arbeitgeber und Arbeitnehmer.

In den bisherigen Ausführungen habe ich versucht, Ihnen die Schwierigkeiten, unter denen sich die Betriebsrätebewegung in Deutschland entwickelt hat, zu schildern und zum Verständnis zu bringen. Wenn ich dabei so manches kritisiert habe, so möchte ich Ihnen nunmehr aber auch in aller Kürze sagen, welche Tätigkeit die Betriebsräte in Deutschland entfalten und welche direkten Aufgaben sie zu erfüllen haben.

Ganz roh umrissen werden die Aufgaben der Betriebsräte durch den § 1 des Gesetzes. Es heisst da: Die Betriebsräte werden gebildet zur Wahrnehmung der gemeinsamen wirtschaftlichen Interessen der Arbeitnehmer dem Arbeitgeber gegenüber und zur Unterstützung des Arbeitgebers in der Erfüllung der Betriebszwecke. Schon diese allgemeine Definition der Aufgaben zeigt die schwierige Stellung, die die Betriebsräte im Wirtschaftsleben einnehmen. Darüber hinaus erfordert aber gerade die Erfüllung dieser beiden gegensätzlichen Aufgaben - Vertretung der Interessen der Arbeitnehmer und Unterstützung des Arbeitgebers - ein aussergewöhnliches Mass von wirtschaftspolitischer Einsicht und Klugheit, wenn die Betriebsräte ihr Amt zum Wohle der Wirtschaft ausüben sollen.

Zur Unterstützung der Betriebsleitung hat der Betriebsrat in Betrieben mit wirtschaftlichen Zwecken die Betriebsleitung mit Rat zu unterstützen, um dadurch für einen möglichst hohen Stand und für möglichste Wirtschaftlichkeit der Betriebsleitung zu sorgen.

Er hat an der Einführung neuer Arbeitsmethoden fördernd mitzuwirken.

Er soll den Betrieb vor Erschütterungen bewahren helfen, d.h.

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er hat alles zu versuchen, um durch Verhandlungen Wirtschaftskämpfe zu verhindern. Er muss darüber wachen, dass die von den Beteiligten anerkannten Schiedssprüche eines Schlichtungsausschusses oder einer vereinbarten Schiedsstelle auch eingehalten werden.

Er hat gemeinsame Dienstvorschriften mit dem Arbeitgeber zu vereinbaren.

Er hat das gute Einvernehmen innerhalb der Arbeitnehmerschaft sowie zwischen ihr und dem Arbeitgeber zu fördern, sowie für die Wahrung der Vereinigungsfreiheit der Arbeitnehmerschaft einzutreten.

Er hat auf die Bekämpfung der Unfall- und Gesundheitsgefahren im Betrieb zu achten, die Gewerbeaufsichtsbeamten und sonstigen in Betracht kommenden Stellen bei dieser Bekämpfung durch Anregungen, Beratungen und Auskünfte zu unterstützen, sowie auf die Durchführung der gewerbepolizeilichen Bestimmungen und Unfallverhütungsvorschriften hinzuwirken.

In Unternehmungen, für die ein Aufsichtsrat besteht, entsenden die Betriebsräte auf Grund besonderer Bestimmungen ein bis zwei Vertreter, die in den Sitzungen des Aufsichtsrates Sitz und Stimme haben.

Zur Erfüllung der Aufgaben hat der Betriebsrat das Recht, vom Arbeitgeber über alle den Dienstvertrag und die Tätigkeit der Arbeitnehmer berührenden Betriebsvorgänge Aufschluss zu verlangen. Ferner hat der Arbeitgeber vierteljährlich einen Bericht über die Lage und den Gang des Unternehmens und des Gewerbes im allgemeinen und über die Leistungen des Betriebes und zu erwartenden Arbeitsbedarf im besonderen zu erstatten. Der Arbeitgeber hat dem Betriebsrat auf Verlangen die Betriebsbilanz und eine Betriebsgewinn- und Verlustrechnung über das abgelaufene Geschäftsjahr vorzulegen und zu erläutern.

Bei Erweiterungen, Einschränkungen oder Stilllegung des Betriebes soll sich der Arbeitgeber möglichst längere Zeit vorher mit dem Betriebsrat über Art und Umfang der erforderlichen Einstellungen und Entlassungen, und über die Vermeidung von Härten bei letzteren, ins Benehmen setzen.

Der Betriebsrat kann in grösseren Betrieben an einem oder mehreren Tagen der Woche eine regelmässige Sprechstunde

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einrichten, in welcher die Arbeitnehmer Wünsche und Beschwerden vorbringen können. Der Gruppenrat hat, soweit eine tarifvertragliche Regelung nicht besteht, im Benehmen mit den beteiligten wirtschaftlichen Vereinigungen der Arbeitnehmer bei der Regelung der Löhne und sonstigen Arbeitsverhältnissen mitzuwirken, namentlich auch bei der Festsetzung der Akkord- und Stücklohnsätze, der für ihre Festsetzung massgebenden Grundsätze, bei der Einführung neuer Lohnungsmethoden, bei der Festsetzung der Arbeitszeit, insbesondere bei Verlängerungen und Verkürzungen der regelmässigen Arbeitszeit und bei der Erledigung von Beschwerden über die Ausbildung und Behandlung der Lehrlinge im Betrieb.

Eine der wichtigsten Tätigkeiten des Betriebsrates ist die Mitwirkung bei Entlassungen. Die gesetzlichen Bestimmungen hierüber sind folgende:

"Arbeitnehmer können im Falle der Kündigung seitens des Arbeitgebers binnen fünf Tagen nach der Kündigung Einspruch erheben, indem sie den Arbeiter- oder Angestelltenrat anrufen:

1. wenn der begründete Verdacht vorliegt, dass die Kündigung wegen der Zugehörigkeit zu einem bestimmten Geschlechte, wegen politischer, militärischer, konfessioneller oder gewerkschaftlicher Betätigung oder wegen Zugehörigkeit oder Nichtzugehörigkeit zu einem politischen, konfessionellen oder beruflichen Verein oder einem militärischen Verband erfolgt ist;
2. wenn die Kündigung ohne Angabe von Gründen erfolgt ist;
3. wenn die Kündigung deshalb erfolgt ist, weil der Arbeitnehmer sich weigerte, dauernd andere Arbeit, als die bei der Einstellung vereinbarte, zu verrichten;
4. wenn die Kündigung sich als eine unbillige, nicht durch das Verhalten des Arbeitnehmers oder durch die Verhältnisse des Betriebes bedingte Härte darstellt."

Erfolgt die Kündigung fristlos aus einem Grunde, der nach dem Gesetz zur Kündigung des Dienstverhältnisses ohne Einhaltung einer Kündigungsfrist berechtigt, so kann der Einspruch auch darauf gestützt werden, dass ein solcher Grund nicht vorliegt. Der Gruppenrat bildet in allen Entlassungsfragen ein gewisses Betriebsgericht. Erkennt nämlich der Betriebsrat die Ent-

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lassung als berechtigt an, so kann kein Gericht mehr etwas dagegen unternehmen.

Dieses sind die wichtigsten Aufgaben des Betriebsrates. Auf allen diesen Gebieten sind die Betriebsräte in Deutschland auch tätig und haben versucht, sich einen gewissen Einfluss zu verschaffen. Wenn es nicht immer möglich war, ein befriedigendes Zusammenarbeiten mit den Arbeitgebern zu erzielen, so liegt dies in den Ursachen begründet, die ich einleitend geschildert habe. Nach jahrelanger Tätigkeit in der Betriebsrätebewegung darf trotz aller Schwierigkeiten der Hoffnung Ausdruck gegeben werden, dass die Betriebsrätebewegung in zukünftigen Jahren in Deutschland zu einem Faktor werden wird, der sein Teil dazu beitragen wird, die vom Kongress in klarer Weise zum Ausdruck gebrachten Möglichkeiten zur Bessergestaltung der Arbeit für den Menschen im Betriebe und damit zur Erhaltung der Menschlichkeit und der menschlichen Eigenart zu wirken.

## CONCLUDING SUMMARY

## CONCLUDING SUMMARY

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My task has grown more difficult with every hour of this Conference, as the discussion has penetrated deeper and ramified more widely.

The first thought to recall is one which only an artist could truly express. It is something which has not been put into words, but which we all must have felt; it is the contribution coming from every nation to this subject of human relations. Forgetting for a moment the actual industrial conditions in these different countries, I ask you to dwell in your own minds upon these characteristic contributions from the nations here represented: from Great Britain, to which we of the English-speaking branch of the human family, turn back with affection, to find here a certain quietness in daily life, a certain skill in ways of living, a background of thought, of art and of science which is an essential part of our life in the new world, skill and power in governmental administration and a far-flung contact with nations throughout the world; from the countries of Northern Europe where men have had to struggle with adverse conditions, and where they have developed the power of overcoming obstacles; from the countries of the far East, - China with its contribution to human relations in the small group, in family life, and in the clanlife out of which a nation is now growing; from Japan with its adaptability to modern conditions, with its eager questioning as to the ways of life of other lands - (I have heard that the records of the League of Nations show that no other country asks so many questions as does Japan); from India with its knowledge of the meaning of the inner life in its relation to the outer life; from Germany, with its reverence for science, and its grasp of the deeper philosophy underlying all our problems; from Rumania, a people who have sung at their work; and from the Latin nations with their sense of beauty, with a certain power of joy in life, which can best be expressed in the phrase "l'energie mysterieuse de l'esprit".

In the ways of thinking, in the deeper spiritual currents of the lives of the various races and nations of the earth is to be

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found the source of the contribution which an international association can give to human relations. These ways and attitudes are a reality, however difficult it may be to define or describe them. They are a reality more tangible and more enduring than all our machines and all our economic devices and all our programmes. Out of those deeper levels of the spirit we must bring forth the power, the energy, the vision to deal with the problems and the conditions of industry. To these problems concrete expression has been given in these various meetings.

I cannot hope to defend any choice which I might make of what seem to me to be the most important points in the Conference. All I can hope for is that as my own selection is offered to you, the very omissions will help you to review the Conference, so that what I have left out may make thereby quite as deep an impression on your minds as what I put in. We are here this evening, not to listen to an interpretation by any one member of the Conference, but rather to sit together while one person gives the headlines of the main topics, and to think quietly together here about what has been said, and more especially to gather up in our thinking those questions to which we are going to devote a great deal more thought in the future, both as individuals and as an Association. It is in that spirit of merely guiding your meditation that I wish to report to you some of the things which have stirred interest in me as I have listened.

Our president, Miss Hesselgren, gave us in her opening greetings the thought that the common element in our thinking is our faith in human relationships as something which will not be overcome by the tremendous development of the technical aspects of modern life; that technical invention is not enough, but that the relationships between human beings are more essential than technique. To give expression to this idea, the I. R. I. has been organized.

Those of us who have come to this Conference for the first time, must have been thinking of the significance of the growth of the I. R. I., from its beginnings in Argeronne in 1922 with a small group, and then the meeting together of the Interim

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Committee, and the decision at Flushing to form an organization, and then this Congress, the first real test of the need for the organization, and the possible methods of its procedure. It seems to me that in those six years since the beginning, there has been opportunity to test out the need, and to discover the special contribution which such an Association might have to make. As Miss Fleddéus said in her report at our first session, the I. R. I. exists because of the needs of the present time, and not for any other reason.

In her plea that we should restore the explanatory title of the Association, as worded by the Interim Committee, "for the study and promotion of satisfactory human relations", Miss Fleddéus defined our objective. She pointed out the meaning of "satisfactory human relations"; that we are not here setting up a formula, nor deciding that we shall go out and convert the world to some special programme, but we recognise that human relations are a changing thing, that they have constantly to be created and re-created, and that the test of whether they are satisfactory is to be found in harmonious functioning toward a common end. That is a test which is applicable under all sorts of changing conditions. Whatever may be the form of the society, and whatever may be the scope of industrial life within the society or the stage of industrial development, there is always the test of whether or not work is so organized as to enable individuals to work together to a common end. That is our test and that is our programme, - to promote those principles and methods, and more especially to understand those principles and methods which result in that kind of harmonious functioning. This is the key-note of our method of working in the Association. Miss Fleddéus said also that collectively we could attain a thought which is impossible of attainment by any one of us alone. The method of work of the Association, in other words, is to bring together for conference and study, as wage-earners, as managers, or as promoters of social welfare or students of its problems, those who are engaged in some aspect of industrial life, and to give them opportunity to think together, and out of their diverse experiences to find the common elements.



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Now if anyone complains that there are not enough "brass tacks" in this programme and in our discussions, I think we have to ask, is there anything more tangible or more concrete in its possible effects than coming together once in three years for a Congress and once a year for a Summer School, to try to think together, in a synthesis of experience bringing together the points of view of labour, of employers, of managers and of those who are students of industry, and getting thereby new light upon conditions in our particular parts of the world. I know of nothing more practical than that, for our practice must rise out of our thought, and only sound thought can produce harmonious relationships. Practice without thought produces merely accidental relationships; it is the method of trial and error - with many errors.

Closely connected with this conception is another thought that Miss Fledderus put before us, - that the future is forecast before it is enacted; "Each age is a dream that is dying, or one that is coming to birth". The dream is after all the reality. To put it in another way, psychology is teaching us that to understand a man's actions, we must find out the idea which is behind his actions. So in human relationships the idea is all-important; and when the idea is once developed and expressed, there is a strong probability that it will be translated into action.

The picture of conditions in the various countries as revealed in the reports by councillors, I shall not attempt to review, except to point out that it has shown certain common elements in the underlying economic problems, - the underlying problem of the growth and movement of population as giving rise to many of our problems of industry; the emerging problem of markets, which is growing in importance and difficulty as production results in greater and greater output; and the problem of raw materials. The problem of markets and the problem of raw materials affect these different countries differently, according to whether they have wide markets within their own borders and their own raw materials, or little or no raw materials and restricted markets, so that they must depend upon foreign markets for the sale of their products over and above their own use.

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Another clear note which comes out of the reports of these different countries is the difference in economic development in different parts of the world. In certain countries the whole problem of political life and of education is intertwined with the suddenness of changes wrought by modern industry; suddenly wrought, because with markets as wide as they must now be, those countries are open to a certain form of exploitation (using the word without any connotation as to good or bad), a form of exploitation due to the growth of industry in other parts of the world, which presents a problem altogether different from the changes wrought by the industrial revolution in a country where the change was gradual and within its own borders. Changes in factory life and in economic organization, forms and processes in England in the century or more since the beginnings of the modern industrial revolution, present problems of human relations quite different from those in a country where modern industry is developed as an outlet for the excessive production of another nation. Here economic life becomes intertwined with political control of one country by another and from this emerges another aspect of our problem which we must consider as in the background of our discussion.

Perhaps it is fortunate that in the first formal lecture of the Conference, ideas were presented with which some of us could not agree. We had planned to have discussed at that point in the programme just what are the obstacles in an attempt to think together about a big industrial problem. Why is it, for example, that in the United States, and in England, we have not been able to solve this problem of coal, despite the fact that under Governmental auspices as representing the people, there have been brought together representatives of the workers, representatives of the employers, representatives of the public, and investigators of all possible phases of the problem? Why has it not been possible to think together toward a common solution? That was the big question we wanted to have discussed, but instead a more common interpretation was laid before us of the mass mind; a picture of Labour as acting without any idea of where it was going or

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what it wanted, ready to fire the Docks one day and ready the next day to accept precisely the same terms which were offered the first day. The mass mind was interpreted as chaotic and irrational, and the picture seemed to show that wisdom was only with those who were appointed as conciliators, and that there is no rational basis for the attitude of the workers. What that picture really showed was the need for just such a programme as we are trying to carry out in this Association: the need, in other words, to analyse these situations and find out the realities behind them; the need to find out what is the point of view of the working people, why these things affect them as they do, what are the conditions in different industries which give rise to quite different problems and quite different attitudes of mind, how these are involved with racial attitudes, with traditional social heritage, and, finally, by what methods of investigation we can arrive at an understanding of the problems of relationships. As Mr. van der Leeuw said when Lord Askwith spoke, we we have always two parts to such a problem: we may not depend upon a merely logical interpretation of material factors. We must first of all make a clear analysis of the situation and of the problem, but then there must be mutual confidence in the relationships of those who are involved in solving it.

In these discussions the idea of group difference, as you will remember, has emerged again and again. Some members of the Conference have not liked to be told that it is not true that "A man's a man for a' that", that he is a coal miner, or a railway man or a textile worker, a shareholder or the President of the Company, and that these all have different ways of thinking. Though it is true that we do recognise certain common elements in what is called human nature, it is certainly true also, that the reaction of a person to the life about him differs according to differing circumstances. Surely those who have known the workers, or who have observed any of our social relationships, must see to what an extent we are the product of our industrial environment, and must realise the difference between the agricultural worker, the coal miner working in isolation, the railway worker close to the public,

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the shareholder who is often remote from the struggle and who, having a fair means for satisfaction in life is naturally disposed to agree with the present order and unwilling to see the necessity for any change. The individual experience can only be enlarged by enlarging contacts, by enlarging communication, and by more adequate means of mutual understanding.

Behind all group conflicts is the inevitable influence of ideas upon conduct arising from the environment, - the ideas which a man formulates to defend the reasonableness of his own attitude toward industry. These are not merely the ideas of individuals, but the group having a common experience is drawn together, and whenever the group becomes conscious of its common interests and environment, there you get the organized group which becomes then a fact. There is a curious desire often displayed by those who have greater power in the economic order, to recognise only the individual, and to explain the group as irrational, and the result of the actions of some unreasonable leader who is influencing the group, so that if we could somehow dispose of those leaders we could deal in a sensible way with our own employees one by one, and there would not be the difficulties due to the formation of large groups.

These discussions have shown that such an approach gives no clear basis for action. The group is after all not an invention of somebody's imagination. We have to recognise that modern life is too complicated for the individual acting alone; that "m a n is dwarfed" but "m e n are exalted" by the necessity and the opportunity for co-operation. Our task is to bring about clearer understanding of the relationships of group to group by the individuals composing them. We must find ways of understanding why the groups exist and what has brought them together, and more especially what their relationship should be to the economic organization. With a highly elaborated economic organization, it is perfectly clear that group organization becomes necessary. Otherwise there can be no clear performance of function. It is no longer the finding of a place for the individual which is the important thing from this angle. The task that we have, is to find how the group

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who are wage-earners, and the group which controls financial resources, and the group known as the public, can function together.

More and more the idea is emerging that in these broad questions of economic control there is need for research and experiment. Outside financial control must not be supreme over human beings; the workers, including in that phrase everybody actually engaged in an enterprise, must control their own conditions, and harmonious relationships must be established by a clearer definition of functions. We have to discover what is the functional relationship of these various groups to the economic process, and what are the mechanisms for such participation in control as shall achieve the right end. By the right end we mean working relationships which are effective for their purpose. Each man has to do the job which he is best able to perform, and we can translate that into the idea that each group has to do the job which it is best able to perform and must have, as a group, the chance to participate in decisions affecting its own interests and the common end. Competence is the only ground for functioning. The changed status of the worker involves a change in relation to control of policy but it does not mean that the man at the bench is to go into the Treasurer's Office and keep the books; neither does it mean that if you will just open all the complicated ledgers and let the workmen file by and examine the figures, you will have a happy working relationship, for ledgers and reports, even reports to stockholders, do not always tell a very illuminating story. We can however produce such a relationship between groups as shall establish their responsibility one to another in their common aim, and the first step towards that end is the definition of an aim which combines the interests of all groups. It must be clearly recognized that the primary aim of a given industry is to make goods or to perform some service, not, in the first instance, to make money. The test of whether it is performing that service is, first, the quality of its goods and its service, and the price it charges to the public; second, quality and price depend upon the status of those who produce the goods or perform the service, and their power to do their work well depends upon

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recognition of their status as human beings; the third test under present conditions is whether or not the enterprise provides a safe investment for capital.

It makes a vast difference, I believe, as to which of these things we put first. If we put the making of money first, we get the kind of financial control which is utterly unrealistic; we get what Mr. Branford referred to as the "urban mind" and "urban finance". We have examples of this urban finance in the United States - you will forgive me if I have to draw my illustrations from there, because they come more easily to my mind. One of our most powerful financiers was asked, as a witness before the Industrial Relations Commission some years ago, whether he thought twelve hours was the right length of working day for men in the steel works. He said that he knew nothing about it, and yet he was sitting on several Boards of Directors by which policies were determined which resulted in the twelve-hour day and the seven-day week in the steel industry. It was true that he knew nothing about it; he had no realising sense of what the production process means. Until we put the realities of production in the centre of the picture and make production the practical objective of economic activity, and test economic activity by whether or not it is producing goods well, we are going to get unreal economic policy which understands the figures involved in finance and does not understand what is involved in production. Human relationships cannot be sound under such conditions.

In considering scientific management, it is time we began to talk about scientific finance and really to study it, because a science of finance, under a highly developed economic organization in which finance and capital play so enormously important a part, is vital to human happiness. We have paid attention to the science of production, but the whole question of controls and of finance in its actual effect upon working relationships and economic organization has not been studied in any truly scientific way.

The scientific management movement, as we have heard it presented here, deserves some emphasis in this review. It

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has been defined in the report which was made on this subject by a representative of scientific management in the United States, as a mental attitude towards work, as primarily a philosophy, and a procedure usable in any industrial order, and only secondarily as a set of practices. Again, scientific management means the substitution of facts for prejudices, the procedure of finding out before one establishes a policy. This procedure depends again upon the relationship of the groups of producers to the groups of consumers, as the two great primary groups, with management serving them both. The effect of scientific management upon human relationships depends upon the control of it, and therein is the explanation of the antagonism of trade unions towards scientific management. If the stop watch be used by someone representing autocratic management, with power to watch my work and tell me how I ought to do it and then to determine my pay and my hours, my whole attitude is different from the attitude which I would have if I were a member of a trade union which had decided that in the interests of higher wages and cheaper costs to the consumer and more effective work, it would, as a union, share in studying my job and the conditions of management affecting it, so that I might do it better. The trade union would, as a group with the employers, set the standard and decide the most economical way of doing the work, with full consideration of the members' interests. Without that joint control, there are inevitable dangers due to conflict of interest, and due to the very human fact that without some such group representation, the individual will lack confidence in the final decision.

Then there is the relation of this mass group called the consumer and the public to this whole matter. Here we come to the discussion which we had on public opinion. As Miss Hesselgren said, fear and distrust are the promoters of difficulties in industry. Fear and the sense of insecurity on the part of the worker result in opposition even to what in the long run may be in the best interests of the working group. Mr. Kellogg showed us that, having had many analyses of our industrial situation, we now need a synthesis which will result in actually

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applying, throughout a wider area, the things that we have found out. Public opinion, which we think of as decisive in conflicts, is often not decisive at all; it is often indifferent, and poorly informed. Often it is on the side of the groups who prefer to keep things as they are. The public, for its own convenience, prefers not to interrupt the usual course of economic life, even for a little while. But the important phase of public opinion to which Mr. Kellogg was calling our attention was not public opinion in times of conflict, but public opinion as a slow process, a slow growth, a slow illumination of the mind tending to clearer understanding. Evidences were given that social legislation, for example, has been increased in scope and in effectiveness as a reflection of public opinion and the desire of the public to establish satisfactory standards in industry in the interest of the wage-earners.

The outlook for more enlightened public opinion is not discouraging, but public interest depends upon the means of communication as necessary to understanding. Without understanding, the pressure of public opinion may be misdirected. Hence the importance of joint conference and study. That elusive thing called an idea again is seen as a controlling element in forming the mind of society, and all groups must contribute to the group idea.

The social settlement movement as it began in England at Toynbee Hall was directed toward a sharing of ideas. University men went into the communities where men and women lived who had not had the advantages of education, in order to share their life, and to give them the benefit of their larger advantages. Now, as Mr. Kellogg pointed out, we are beginning to get the reverse process, as the workers are teaching the universities, by interpreting social needs and conditions. We are beginning to appreciate the elements of culture and education which grow out of working experience, as Mr. Miller showed in his report of the round table discussions of education. The workers have not had the same chance to learn what is in books that has been possible to those who have gone to universities, and yet many are responsive to culture and beauty which, indeed, cannot safely be divorced from the great mass of the people and their work.



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Hence working conditions affect culture and beauty. If modern industry submerges the producers and workers, and destroys in them the possibility of creative expression and the power of responsiveness to beauty, it stultifies life and makes sterile the soil from which beauty may spring. In the workers' education movement we have emerging the opportunity for those who are not of the workers to be in touch with them, to understand their reaction to life and to our social relationships. Workers' education will make articulate the experience and philosophy of the wage-earning group. Thus in the workers' education movement we have a fundamental process of communication which is necessary for social evolution.

The workshop then can be regarded as the centre and source of understanding of human relationships "close in", as Mr. Kellogg expressed it. Within the workshop there develops understanding which in turn spreads until it involves the larger group. It simplifies our task if, instead of talking about industry and society in the large, we realize that the place to begin is in the shops where men have human relationships. If we think of all modern industry at once, or even of modern industry in one country, - England for instance - it becomes really too complicated for us to grasp, but if we begin to think about the shops and the mines, we begin to see that within each place of work can be started an educational process, out of which will come a basis for organization of larger groups. The importance of the workshop as a microcosm has received recognition in this programme, in giving a session to the individual establishment and the practical task of organizing human relations therein.

In the discussion of public opinion again we realised that certain movements are in progress which are affecting understanding, such as the scientific management movement, which has actually resulted in a closer and more intensive study of conditions within the individual workshop, and the whole movement for psychological study within industry, which again is revealing facts necessary for understanding.

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but again to choose in a more or less accidental way certain things which have emerged as suggestive for the future. In the discussion of problems requiring research, one point was especially illuminating. We were discussing the importance of investigating the causes of discontent, and we were talking about wages, the working day and so on, and Mr. von Haan suggested that, instead of talking about discontent and grievances as they are, we should take the positive problems of management and make an analysis of them, as a means of preventing discontent. Why spend time, for instance, in discovering that workers in coal mines have very irregular employment when, as a basis for action, we need to find out what are the real elements which cause irregular employment and insecurity, what facts are needed in order to set the wage rate properly, and what kind of joint action will result in the most intelligent policies? Research, in short, must become more inventive and more constructive, instead of merely collecting evidence that things are as they are.

In the session on the contribution of the social sciences to human relations, Mr. Branford pointed out that there is considerable dissatisfaction with the progress made in applying what we know about the physical and social sciences. There is need for a fresh understanding of life which he, as representing the sociologists, believes could be brought about through the integrating process which is the task of sociology. For example, instead of studying biological problems, psychological problems and economic processes, each in abstraction quite removed from the realities of a particular situation, and unrelated to each other, we should survey a region, studying its conditions and bringing to bear upon it the biological facts about the quality of a population as well as its quantity; the facts derived from sciences which are involved in agriculture; data from the technical sciences which are involved in industry; and finally the data of sociology, combining them all into a plan for the common life, recognising that social life is at once ethical and economic, aesthetic as well as physical. Because people cannot be separated into the artificial divisions which have grown up in the sciences, because a person is a whole and a community is a whole, the only way to gain any

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real illumination transferable into reality is through the interrelation of the sciences.

Dr. Wunderlich pointed out that as it must be the method of science to abstract from the stream of events and facts, a scientific study could not therefore comprehend the whole of reality at once; it could not be completely identified with all the complexities of a single situation. But science is not to be divorced from reality. Science must be used in industry, because since society and nature are subject to law, any interference with industry which is not in accord with the fundamental laws, technical, physical and social, which underlie it, must be doomed to failure. Unless the methods of science, which alone can reveal laws and sequences of cause and effect, be used, we cannot safely establish practice and procedures.

The workers' dignity must be respected and his standard of living must be such as not to impair his dignity. If that idea is to be the guide, we have presented to us in industry, through modern conditions, three great groups of problems to which science must be applied. The first is the mechanical utilisation of the worker, and Dr. Wunderlich pointed out that it is not the social sciences, but the technical sciences which must find a way out of the condition endangering the culture of society, the evils of monotonous and repetitive work. If 95 per cent of the workers in the Ford plants, are doing monotonous, repetitive mechanical work, there is a problem for the technical sciences to free human beings from the necessity for their part in that automatic work. As was pointed out by other speakers in one of the round table conferences, there is great need there for experiment in the ways in which, while carrying on production on a large scale, there can be restored somehow through smaller groups, the values which were inherent in small scale industry. A very interesting point that came out in the discussion of mass production, was that where large groups of people are gathered together, there results loneliness and isolation of the individual in the midst of the mass. Unless we can find a way for a natural organization within smaller groups, mass production becomes mechanical and inhuman. The second large group of problems requiring the use of

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science relates to insecurity of employment. Probably no one problem is more pressing, or more common throughout the world than insecurity of employment. It is certainly an accompaniment of mass production, because with mass production there must be far-flung markets, and any disturbance of the market will throw thousands of people out of work. It appears that insecurity is increased rather than decreased with the size of the unit of production, since the market must extend as production increases. Insecurity of employment has many other aspects, but obviously it offers a field where many sciences must be brought to bear. Particularly, I believe, this is the place where the science of finance needs development, since a sound policy of finance might stabilize industry and avoid insecurity. The economic studies of the business cycles are throwing more light upon that problem. This is one of the studies which is being carried on in different countries, so that we are beginning to get an international picture of business cycles.

The third group of problems for study relates to inadequate earnings; sometimes the problem involves high rates of pay, but because of insecurity of employment or high costs of living, the high rates do not result in an adequate income. Technical science must deal with some aspects, social science with others. As Dr. Wunderlich said, "Theory without practice is empty; practice without theory is blind."

Our programme and our conference memberships may be regarded as a kind of synthesis of opposites. We have the people who are interested in the scientific background, and we have those who say: Let us be practical. Let us have a synthesis which shows where science is needed, not as the plaything of theorists but as necessary for practice; and let us then see how practice can contribute to the data of science by giving real facts, instead of assumptions, as the material for analysis.

Again, we have the contrast between the single workshop and industry as a whole, - the necessity for seeing the larger forces which are behind all these conditions, while at the same time realising that those who have shops and those who work in

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shops can begin at once working out plans and relationships which are set against the background of the larger problem. Then again we have the antithesis between the inner and the outer attitude, between those who believe that what we need is a programme of activities, and those who believe that it is important that human beings should be developing within themselves the resources and the power to deal with their problems, that as human relations are changing, as industrial organization is changing, and as invention grows, then man's constructive power to change social conditions must grow. The ultimate source of power must be the highly developed individual. For this reason Miss Bennett and others plead for a longer school period for children to the age of 16, and a postponement of the beginning of the working period. This proposal is a recognition of the necessity for so equipping the individual as to enable him to deal with his problems and to recreate human relations. The workers' education movement is in line with such a conception, because education cannot stop even at the age of 16, and certainly not at 14. Without a lengthened educational period, we are in danger of losing the social heritage which can only be carried on from generation to generation if the working period be kept within its right limits, both as to the working day and as to the length of the working life, so that in each new generation the workers may have time to acquire the heritage of social experience.

Now I would say a word about what seems to me to be the possible function of the I. R. I. in this situation. It is obvious that it is not practicable with its present resources to organize a research office to study all these conditions, but it can do an enormous service in all our countries, it seems to me, if it can enable us to come together for conferences, to establish communication which shall help us to understand each other and to be informed of work done in our different lands. Moreover, it can stimulate the individual, whatever function he is performing, whether as employer, as manager, as worker, as trade union leader, as Government official or as a student of problems, to enlarge his understanding so that he will the better accomplish that task.

That seems to me to be the function of the I. R. I., and by the

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same token, it seems to me to be related in an analogous way to other organizations. It is not of course intended to take the place of a labour union, or an employers' organization or a combination of both, but it serves as a common meeting ground of understanding between individuals in those movements. It is not intended to be a substitute for the work of the International Labour Office, but certainly if it enlarges the group of people who understand what the International Labour Office means, it is thereby creating an atmosphere within which the International Labour Office will work more effectively. In the same way it is not its function to advocate labour legislation in different countries or serve the purposes of the International Association for Social Progress, but it can bring to bear upon the activities of that organization the understanding which results from the many points of view and varied experience of its members.

Its threefold function seems to me to be expressed in the words of an old philosophy: Life should be activity inspired by love and guided by wisdom.

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PRÉSENTÉS PAR MARY VAN KLEECK

Directeur de la Section des études industrielles de la Russell Sage Foundation  
New York

La difficulté de ma tâche s'est accrue à chaque heure de cette conférence, à mesure que la discussion s'approfondissait et se ramifiait.

La première impression à rappeler ne saurait être réellement bien exprimée que par un artiste. C'est un quelque chose qui n'a pas été formulé en paroles, mais que tous nous avons dû sentir; c'est la contribution apportée par chaque nation à ce sujet des relations humaines. Oubliant pour un instant les conditions industrielles présentes de ces différents pays, je vous prie de revoir dans votre esprit les contributions caractéristiques des nations représentées ici: la Grande-Bretagne, vers laquelle nous autres qui appartenons à la branche de langue anglaise de la famille humaine nous revenons avec affection pour y trouver une certaine quiétude dans le développement de la vie, un certain savoir dans la manière de vivre, un fond de pensée, d'art et de science qui constitue une partie essentielle de notre vie dans le nouveau monde, une technique et une puissance de l'administration gouvernementale et un vaste réseau de relations avec toutes les nations du monde; les pays de l'Europe du Nord où les hommes ont eu à lutter contre des conditions adverses et où ils ont acquis le pouvoir de surmonter les obstacles; les contrées de l'Extrême-Orient, la Chine avec sa contribution à l'établissement des relations humaines dans le petit groupe, dans la vie de famille et dans la vie de tribu à partir de laquelle se forme maintenant une nation; le Japon avec sa faculté de s'adapter aux conditions modernes avec l'empressement qu'il met à s'instruire du mode de vie des autres pays - (J'ai entendu dire que les relevés de la Société des Nations montrent qu'aucun autre pays ne lui adresse autant de demandes d'informations que le Japon) -; l'Inde avec sa connaissance du sens de la vie intérieure dans ses relations avec la vie extérieure; l'Allemagne avec son respect de la science et sa compréhension de la profonde philosophie sur laquelle se fondent tous nos problèmes; la Roumanie, un peuple dont le travail est accompagné de chants; et les nations latines avec leur sens de la beauté, avec leur

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joie de vivre que l'on ne saurait mieux indiquer que par la formule "l'énergie mystérieuse de l'esprit".

C'est dans les modes de penser dans les profonds courants spirituels de la vie des diverses races et nations de la terre qu'il faut trouver la source des contributions qu'une association internationale peut apporter au perfectionnement des relations humaines. Ces modes et ces attitudes sont une réalité, combien difficile qu'il soit de les définir ou de les décrire. Ils sont une réalité plus tangible et plus durable que toutes nos machines, que tous nos systèmes économiques et que tous nos programmes. Ce sont ces profonds leviers de l'esprit qui doivent nous aider à produire la puissance, l'énergie, la faculté de vision nécessaires à l'examen et à la solution des problèmes et des conditions de l'industrie. Une expression concrète a été donnée à ces problèmes au cours de nos diverses réunions.

Quel que soit le choix que je fasse de ce qui m'a paru être le plus important au cours des discussions de cette conférence, je ne saurais compter le justifier. Tout ce que je puis espérer c'est que, tandis que mon choix vous sera présenté, mes omissions mêmes vous aideront à passer en revue la conférence, de telle manière que ce que j'aurai laissé de côté pourra exercer sur vos esprits une impression aussi profonde que ce que j'aurai incluí dans mon choix. Nous sommes ici ce soir non point pour entendre l'interprétation d'un membre quelconque de la conférence, mais bien plutôt pour nous trouver réunis tandis qu'une personne indique les directives des principaux sujets, pour réfléchir posément ensemble à ce qui a été dit et plus spécialement pour grouper, au cours de nos réflexions, les questions auxquelles nous allons vouer à l'avenir, tant comme individus que comme association, une plus grande part de notre pensée. C'est dans cet esprit et simplement pour guider votre méditation que je désire vous indiquer certaines des choses qui m'ont frappée tandis que j'écoutais.

Dans ses paroles de bienvenue, notre Président, Miss Hesselgren, nous a dit que l'élément commun dans notre pensée c'est notre foi dans les relations humaines, comme une chose qui ne saurait être renversée par le développement extrême des aspects techniques de la vie moderne; elle nous a dit que



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L'invention technique ne suffisait pas et que les relations entre êtres humains sont plus essentielles que la technique. C'est pour donner une expression matérielle à cette idée que l'I. R. I. a été organisée.

Ceux d'entre nous pour qui cette conférence a été la première, ont dû songer à la signification du développement de l'I. R. I. à ses débuts, comme petit groupe, à Argeronne, en 1922, à la réunion du comité intérimaire, à la décision prise à Flessingue de former une organisation puis, à ce Congrès, la première preuve réelle de la nécessité de cette organisation et des méthodes à suivre pour son développement. Il me semble qu'au cours des six années qui se sont écoulées depuis ses débuts, l'occasion s'est présentée de prouver la nécessité d'une telle association et de reconnaître les contributions spéciales qu'elle peut avoir à apporter. Comme l'a dit Miss Fleddérus dans son rapport à notre première session, l'I. R. I. existe pour répondre aux nécessités de l'heure actuelle et c'est la seule raison de son existence.

Dans son plaidoyer en faveur d'un rétablissement du nom explicite de notre association, tel qu'il a été formulé par le comité intérimaire: "pour l'étude et le développement de relations humaines satisfaisantes", Miss Fleddérus a défini nos buts. Elle a fait ressortir la signification de "relations humaines satisfaisantes"; elle a montré que nous ne sommes pas ici en train de fixer une formule ni de décider que nous allions partir et convertir le monde à quelque programme particulier, mais nous reconnaissons que les relations humaines sont une chose vivante, que constamment elles doivent être créées et recrées et que seul leur jeu harmonieux en vue d'une fin commune peut donner la preuve qu'elles sont satisfaisantes. C'est une preuve qui peut être faite sous toutes les conditions, même instables. Quelle que soit la structure de la Société, et quel que soit le but de la vie industrielle dans le cadre de cette Société ou l'état de son développement industriel, il est toujours possible de reconnaître si le travail est - oui ou non - organisé de manière à permettre aux individus de poursuivre ensemble une fin commune. C'est là notre étalon, c'est là notre programme: favoriser le développement des principes et des méthodes et plus spécialement comprendre les principes

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et les méthodes qui aboutissent à ce mode d'harmonieux fonctionnement. C'est la clef de voûte de la méthode de travail de notre association. Miss Fleddérus a dit aussi qu'ensemble nous pouvions atteindre à une pensée que chacun de nous pris isolément ne saurait concevoir. La méthode de travail de notre association est, en d'autres termes, de réunir pour l'étude et pour la discussion, salariés, directeurs, personnes travaillant au développement du bien-être social ou étudiants de ces problèmes, tous ceux qui participent à un titre quelconque à la vie industrielle, et de leur donner la possibilité de réfléchir ensemble et de trouver les éléments communs de leurs expériences diverses.

Et si quelqu'un se plaint de ce que l'esprit pratique manque à ce programme et à nos discussions, je crois que nous devons demander: Y a-t-il rien de plus tangible et de plus concret dans ses effets possibles que nos réunions une fois tous les trois ans pour un congrès et une fois par an pour un cours d'été, où nous nous efforçons de réfléchir ensemble dans une synthèse d'expériences qui associent les points de vue du travailleur, de l'employeur, de la direction, de tous ceux qui font des recherches dans l'industrie et d'obtenir ainsi de nouvelles lumières sur les conditions de la région du globe qui nous est propre. Je ne connais rien de plus pratique que cela, car nos règles pratiques doivent être fondées sur nos réflexions et seules de saines réflexions peuvent produire des relations harmonieuses. La pratique sans la réflexion ne produit que des relations purement accidentelles; c'est la méthode de l'expérience et de l'erreur, avec beaucoup d'erreurs.

Il y a un rapport étroit entre cette conception et une autre pensée que nous a soumise Miss Fleddérus - que l'avenir est déterminé avant de se réaliser: "toute époque est un rêve qui se meurt, ou un rêve près de naître". Le rêve, après tout, c'est la réalité. Ou pour le formuler d'une autre manière, la psychologie nous enseigne que pour comprendre les actions de l'homme nous devons connaître le motif qui a déterminé ses actions. Ainsi dans les relations humaines l'idée est de toute importance et une fois que l'idée est développée et exprimée, il est très probable qu'elle sera mise en action.

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Le tableau des conditions industrielles dans les divers pays nous a été présenté dans les rapports des membres du conseil. Je n'essaierai pas de les résumer, sauf pour indiquer qu'ils ont fait ressortir certains éléments communs aux problèmes économiques fondamentaux: au problème essentiel du développement et du mouvement de la population sur lequel sont fondés tant d'autres de nos problèmes industriels; au problème des marchés, grandissant en importance et en difficulté à mesure que la production est accompagnée d'un rendement plus élevé; et au problème des matières premières. Le problème des marchés et le problème des matières premières affectent les différents pays à un degré différent, selon que ces pays disposent de vastes marchés intérieurs et de leurs propres matières premières ou de peu ou pas du tout de matières premières et de marchés restreints, de telle manière qu'ils doivent dépendre des marchés étrangers pour l'écoulement de leur production dans la mesure où celle-ci dépasse les besoins nationaux.

Un autre point qui résulte clairement des rapports que nous avons entendus, c'est la différence du développement économique des diverses parties du globe. Dans certains pays l'ensemble du problème de la vie politique et de l'éducation se trouve enchevêtré à la suite des changements subits apportés par l'industrie moderne; changements subits, parce qu'avec des marchés aussi vastes qu'ils doivent l'être maintenant, ces pays sont livrés à une certaine forme d'exploitation (j'emploie ce mot sans aucune nuance péjorative ou laudative) une forme d'exploitation due au développement de l'industrie dans d'autres parties du monde, ce qui soulève un problème entièrement différent de celui des changements provoqués par la révolution industrielle dans un pays où ce changement a été graduel et provoqué par des conditions purement nationales.

Les modifications de la vie à la fabrique et de l'organisation économique, les changements de forme et de procédés en Angleterre, au cours des cent années ou plus encore qui se sont écoulés depuis le début de la révolution industrielle moderne, présentent sur le plan des relations humaines des problèmes tout à fait différents de ceux qui se posent dans un pays où l'industrie moderne s'est développée pour répondre à la pro-

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duction excessive d'une autre nation. Dans ce dernier cas la vie économique est compliquée du contrôle politique exercé par un pays sur un autre et de là résulte un nouvel aspect de notre problème que nous devons considérer à l'arrière-plan de nos discussions.

Il est peut-être heureux que dès la première leçon donnée au cours de cette conférence l'on nous ait présenté des idées que certains d'entre nous n'ont pu accepter. Nous avons songé à faire discuter, à ce point là du programme, quels étaient précisément les obstacles à une réflexion commune au sujet d'un important problème industriel. Pourquoi est-ce, par exemple, qu'aux Etats-Unis et en Angleterre nous n'avons pas été capables de résoudre le problème du charbon, malgré le fait que, sous les auspices du gouvernement comme représentant de la nation, l'on ait réuni les représentants des travailleurs, les représentants des employeurs, du grand public et des techniciens qui ont étudié toutes les faces du problème? Pourquoi n'a-t-il pas été possible de réfléchir ensemble à une solution commune? C'est là la grande question que nous avons voulu faire discuter, mais au lieu de cela l'on nous a présenté une interprétation plus générale de l'esprit de la foule; on nous a montré les travailleurs comme agissant sans avoir aucune idée d'où ils allaient ou de ce qu'ils feraient, prêts un jour à mettre le feu aux docks et le lendemain à accepter les termes mêmes qui leur avaient été offerts la veille. L'esprit des foules a été interprété comme chaotique et irrationnel et la description semblait montrer que la sagesse n'appartenait qu'à ceux qui étaient nommés comme arbitres et qu'il n'y avait pas de base rationnelle à l'attitude des travailleurs. Ce que cette description nous a réellement montré, c'est le besoin d'un programme semblable en tous points à celui que notre association s'efforce de réaliser: la nécessité, en d'autres termes, d'analyser de telles situations et de trouver leurs raisons fondamentales; la nécessité de déterminer le point de vue des travailleurs, de reconnaître pourquoi ces choses les affectent de telle ou telle manière, de voir quelles sont les conditions qui, dans les différentes industries, provoquent des problèmes et des attitudes d'esprit tout à fait différents, comment ces

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faits se compliquent des attitudes propres à chaque race, à l'héritage social traditionnel et enfin par quelles méthodes de recherches nous pouvons arriver à une compréhension de ces problèmes des relations. Comme l'a dit M. van der Leeuw après la conférence de Lord Askwith, nous avons toujours à considérer deux aspects d'un tel problème: nous ne pouvons pas nous borner à une interprétation purement logique des facteurs matériels. Nous devons avant tout analyser clairement la situation et le problème, mais nous devons pouvoir compter ensuite qu'une mutuelle confiance règlera les relations des personnes engagées à résoudre ce problème.

Vous vous souviendrez qu'au cours de nos discussions l'idée de la différence entre les groupes est revenue à plusieurs reprises; certains membres de notre conférences n'ont pas aimé s'entendre dire qu'il n'était pas vrai que "Après tout un homme est un homme ("a man 's a man for a' that") qu'il était un ouvrier des charbonnages ou un cheminot ou un ouvrier des textiles, un actionnaire ou le président d'une société anonyme et que tous ont une manière différente de penser. Bien qu'il soit vrai que nous reconnaissons certains éléments communs dans ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler la nature humaine, il est tout aussi vrai que les réactions d'une personne aux événements de la vie et de son entourage diffèrent selon les circonstances. Certes, ceux qui connaissent les travailleurs ou qui ont observé tel ou tel domaine de nos relations sociales doivent se rendre compte à quel point nous sommes le produit de notre milieu industriel et doivent réaliser la différence entre l'ouvrier agricole, l'ouvrier des mines travaillant isolé, le cheminot dont l'occupation le rapproche du public, l'actionnaire qui se trouve souvent à l'écart de la lutte, dispose de moyens suffisants pour s'assurer des satisfactions dans la vie et est naturellement enclin à accepter l'ordre présent et peu désireux d'admettre la nécessité d'un changement quelconque. L'expérience de chaque individu ne saurait être étendue sans la multiplication des contacts, et sans des mesures susceptibles d'assurer la compréhension mutuelle.

Au fond de tous les conflits de groupes on retrouve l'influence inévitable des idées sur la conduite provoquée par le milieu, des idées qu'un homme formule pour défendre et justifier sa

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propre attitude vis-à-vis de l'industrie. Il ne s'agit, pas là seulement des idées des individus, mais ceux qui ont été soumis à des expériences communes se trouvent réunis en groupes et chaque fois qu'un groupe reconnaît que ses membres partagent les mêmes intérêts et sont soumis aux mêmes conditions, l'on se trouve en face d'un groupe organisé qui devient un fait concret. Il est un curieux désir souvent manifesté par ceux qui jouissent d'une grande puissance dans l'ordre économique: le désir de reconnaître uniquement l'individu, de considérer le groupe comme un phénomène irrationnel et d'interpréter le résultat des actions de quelques chefs peu raisonnables qui dirigent le groupe, en affirmant que si l'on pouvait se débarrasser de ces chefs il serait possible de discuter d'une manière raisonnable avec chacun des travailleurs membre du groupe et qu'aucune des difficultés dues à la formation de larges groupes ne se présenterait.

Ces discussions ont montré qu'une telle manière d'attaquer le problème ne fournit pas une base nette pour l'action. Après tout, le groupe n'est pas un produit de l'imagination. Nous devons reconnaître que la vie moderne est trop compliquée pour l'individu agissant isolé; que l'homme est un nain, mais que les hommes sont rendus puissants par la nécessité et la possibilité d'une coopération, comme l'a exprimé le docteur Delisle Burns. Notre tâche est de provoquer une compréhension plus nette des relations de groupe à groupe par l'intermédiaire des individus qui les composent. Nous devons chercher à comprendre pourquoi les groupes existent et ce qui les a formés et plus particulièrement à déterminer quelles devraient être leurs relations à l'égard de l'organisation économique. Il est évident qu'avec une organisation économique hautement perfectionnée, l'organisation par groupe devient nécessaire. Il ne saurait y avoir sans cela d'exécution nette des fonctions. A ce point de vue, ce n'est plus de trouver une place pour l'individu qui est le fait important, la tâche que nous devons résoudre c'est de trouver comment le groupe des salariés, le groupe qui contrôle les ressources financières et le groupe connu sous le nom de public peuvent agir en fonction l'un de l'autre.

De plus en plus l'idée se fait jour que dans ces grandes

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questions du contrôle économique, la recherche et l'expérience deviennent nécessaires. Le contrôle financier extérieur ne devrait pas statuer en dernier ressort sur des êtres humains; les travailleurs, et nous entendons par ce terme toutes les personnes activement engagées dans une entreprise, doivent pouvoir contrôler leurs propres conditions et des relations harmonieuses doivent être établies par une définition plus claire des diverses fonctions. Nous avons à déterminer les relations fonctionnelles de ces divers groupes à l'égard du processus économique et à reconnaître quelles sont les règles d'une participation au contrôle qui permettraient d'attendre à une bonne fin. Par bonne fin nous entendons les relations du travail qui répondraient à leur but. Il faut confier à chaque individu la tâche qu'il est le plus apte à exécuter et nous pouvons transposer cette règle et dire qu'à chaque groupe doit être confiée la tâche qu'il est le plus apte à remplir et qu'il doit avoir, en tant que groupe, une possibilité de participer aux décisions qui affectent ses propres intérêts et la fin commune. La compétence est la seule justification pour l'exercice d'une fonction.

Le changement dans la situation du travailleur implique un changement à l'égard du contrôle de la politique générale de l'entreprise, mais cela ne signifie pas que l'homme qui a travaillé à l'établi s'en ira dans les bureaux du trésorier tenir les livres de comptes; et cela ne signifie pas non plus que pour assurer de bonnes relations dans votre entreprise il suffirait que vous ouvriez tous vos grands livres, que vous laissiez les ouvriers s'approcher et examiner les chiffres, car les grands livres et les rapports, même les rapports aux actionnaires ne content pas toujours des histoires très lumineuses.

Toutefois, nous pouvons provoquer entre les groupes des relations telles, qu'elles fixent les responsabilités mutuelles de ces groupes à l'égard du but commun, et le premier pas à faire dans cette direction c'est de préciser un but qui associe les intérêts de tous les groupes. Il faut reconnaître clairement que la fin première de toute activité industrielle est de produire des marchandises ou d'assurer quelque service et non de faire de l'argent.

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est remplie, c'est premièrement la qualité des produits et des services rendus et le prix imposé au public; en second lieu la qualité et le prix des produits comparés à la situation de ceux qui produisent les biens ou exécutent le service, étant donné que leur capacité d'effectuer leur tâche est en fonction des égards pris pour leur condition d'être humain; à l'heure actuelle la troisième mesure est donnée par le fait que l'entreprise permet ou ne permet pas un sûr investissement des capitaux.

Je crois que ce qui fait une grande différence, c'est de savoir auquel de ces points nous nous attachons essentiellement; si nous considérons en premier lieu les bénéfices nous en arrivons à une sorte de contrôle financier excessivement peu conforme aux nécessités réelles, nous nous trouvons alors en présence de ce que M. Branford indiquait comme la "mentalité citadine" et les "finances citadines". Nous connaissons de nombreux exemples de ce type de finances aux Etats-Unis - vous m'excuserez de tirer mes illustrations de mon pays, elles me viennent à l'esprit tout naturellement. Il y a quelques années, l'un de nos plus puissants financiers fut invité, par la Commission des relations industrielles, à indiquer s'il estimait que 12 heures représentaient une journée de travail d'une longueur convenable pour les ouvriers des aciéries. Il déclara qu'il n'en savait absolument rien et pourtant il faisait partie d'un certain nombre de conseils d'administration qui fixaient les règlements relatifs à la journée de 12 heures et à la semaine de 7 jours dans l'industrie de l'acier. Il est vrai qu'il ne connaissait pas du tout la question; il ne réalisait pas la signification des processus de la production. Aussi longtemps que nous ne placerons pas au centre de nos préoccupations les réalités de la production, que nous ne ferons pas de la production le but pratique de notre activité économique et que nous ne jugerons pas de la valeur de cette activité en prenant comme critère la bonne marche de la production, notre politique économique ne sera pas basée sur des réalités, mais elle dépendra du développement de la puissance des groupements qui en assument le contrôle, en toute connaissance des chiffres que présente l'aspect financier de la question, mais sans rien comprendre aux phénomènes de la production elle-



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même. Dans de telles conditions nous ne pouvons pas nous attendre à avoir des relations humaines solidement fondées.

Il est temps que dans notre étude de l'organisation scientifique nous commencions à nous préoccuper sérieusement d'une direction scientifique des finances; en effet, les sciences financières sont essentielles à la réalisation du bonheur humain, dans une organisation économique aussi hautement développée que la nôtre et dans laquelle les finances et le capital ont une part si considérable. Nous avons accordé notre attention à la science de la production, mais toute la question du contrôle, des finances et de leurs effets sur les relations des groupes participant à la production et sur l'organisation économique n'a encore jamais fait l'objet d'une étude vraiment scientifique.

Tel qu'on nous l'a présenté ici, le mouvement en faveur de l'organisation scientifique mérite que nous nous y attachions quelque peu. Ce mouvement a été défini, dans l'un des rapports fournis sur ce sujet par un représentant de l'organisation scientifique aux Etats-Unis, comme une attitude de l'esprit à l'égard du travail, et principalement comme une philosophie, une procédure applicable à tous les faits de l'ordre industriel, en second lieu, seulement comme une série de règles pratiques.

Par ailleurs, l'organisation scientifique nécessite la substitution de faits à des préjugés, l'habitude d'étudier et de reconnaître avant d'établir une règle. Ce procédé même implique que le mouvement doit se fonder sur les relations entre le groupe des producteurs et le groupe des consommateurs, les deux grands groupes que l'organisation tend à servir en commun. Quant aux effets de l'organisation scientifique sur les relations humaines, ils dépendent du contrôle de cette organisation et c'est là que l'on trouvera l'explication de l'opposition des syndicats au mouvement de l'organisation scientifique.

Si quelque représentant d'une direction autocratique venait chronométrer mon travail en disposant du pouvoir nécessaire pour me dire comment je devrais l'effectuer, et pour déterminer ensuite mon salaire et mes heures de travail, mon attitude serait toute différente de celle que j'aurais si, comme

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membre d'un syndicat j'avais décidé qu'en vue d'atteindre à un salaire plus élevé, à des prix plus réduits pour le consommateur et à un travail plus productif, je participais à une analyse de mon travail et des conditions de gestion affectant ce travail afin de pouvoir l'effectuer d'une manière plus satisfaisante. Ce seraient alors les syndicats comme groupes qui, d'un commun accord avec les employeurs, fixeraient les normes, les méthodes les plus rationnelles de faire un travail, en tenant compte pleinement des intérêts de leurs membres. Sans ce contrôle commun, l'on ne saurait éviter les dangers liés au conflit des intérêts ou au fait très humain que sans représentation collective l'individu reste méfiant à l'égard des décisions finales.

Nous devons ensuite considérer l'attitude du vaste groupe qu'il est convenu de nommer les consommateurs ou le public, à l'égard de ces problèmes. Nous en arrivons ici à la discussion que nous avons eue au sujet de l'opinion publique. Comme le disait Miss Hesselgren, la peur et la méfiance sont à la source de bien des difficultés dans l'industrie. La crainte et le sentiment de l'insécurité éprouvés par le travailleur provoquent son opposition même à des mesures qui pourraient, à la longue, servir au mieux les intérêts du groupe ouvrier. M. Kellogg nous a montré qu'après avoir fait de nombreuses analyses de notre situation industrielle, il nous fallait maintenant obtenir une synthèse qui tendrait à appliquer réellement, dans une vaste sphère, les résultats de nos recherches. L'opinion publique, à laquelle nous attribuons un rôle décisif dans la solution des conflits, manque souvent tout à fait d'influence; elle est fréquemment indifférente et mal informée; elle penche souvent en faveur des groupes qui préfèrent maintenir les choses telles qu'elles sont. Pour sa commodité propre, le public préfère ne pas interrompre le cours routinier de la vie économique, ne serait-ce même que pour un temps très court. Mais le rôle de l'opinion publique, sur lequel M. Kellogg attirait notre attention, ce n'était pas l'opinion publique en temps de conflit, mais l'opinion publique comme un lent développement, un progrès, un éclaircissement graduel des idées tendant vers une compréhension meilleure. Il nous a indiqué, par exemple,

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le développement et l'importance pratique grandissants de la législation sociale, à la suite des mouvements de l'opinion publique et du désir général de voir établir des conditions industrielles satisfaisantes dans l'intérêt des salariés.

Nos prévisions, en ce qui concerne l'éducation de l'opinion publique, ne sont pas défavorables, mais l'intérêt du public dépend des moyens de communication nécessaires à créer la compréhension. Si cette compréhension n'est pas développée, l'opinion publique risque d'être mal orientée. De là l'importance de conférences et d'études en commun. Cette chose imprécise que l'on nomme l'idée apparaît à nouveau comme un élément de contrôle dans la formation de la mentalité collective et tous les groupes doivent contribuer à l'élaboration de l'idée collective.

Dès son origine, en Angleterre, à Toynbee Hall, le mouvement a été dirigé vers un échange d'idées. Des universitaires s'en sont allés vivre avec des groupes dont les membres, hommes ou femmes, n'avaient pas connu les avantages d'une instruction supérieure, afin de partager leur existence et de les faire bénéficier des avantages qu'ils avaient eus. A l'heure actuelle - M. Kellogg l'a fait ressortir - nous voyons se développer le phénomène inverse: ce sont les travailleurs qui vont enseigner aux universités à interpréter les nécessités et les conditions sociales. Nous commençons à apprécier les éléments de culture et d'éducation fournis par l'expérience pratique du travail et M. Miller l'a bien montré dans son rapport lors des discussions sur l'éducation. Les travailleurs n'ont pas, au même degré que ceux qui fréquentent les universités, la possibilité d'apprendre ce qu'il y a dans les livres et pourtant ils sont touchés par la beauté et la culture spirituelle qui d'ailleurs ne sauraient être séparées de la masse du peuple et de son activité. C'est ainsi que les conditions du travail affectent la civilisation et la beauté. Si l'industrie moderne absorbe les producteurs et les travailleurs, leur enlève toute possibilité d'activité créatrice et restreint leur capacité d'émotion par le beau elle limite la vie et rend stérile le sol où pourrait germer la beauté. Dans le mouvement en faveur de l'éducation ouvrière, nous trouvons une possibilité nouvelle, pour ceux qui ne font pas partie du groupe des travailleurs,

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d'établir des contacts avec eux et de comprendre leurs réactions à l'égard de l'existence et de notre ordre social.

L'éducation des ouvriers donnera une structure plus nette aux expériences et à la philosophie du groupe des salariés; ainsi le mouvement en faveur de l'éducation ouvrière crée pour nous les communications fondamentales si nécessaires à l'évolution sociale.

L'atelier peut ainsi être considéré comme le centre et la source de la compréhension des relations humaines directes, "close in", comme l'a dit M. Kellogg. Dans l'atmosphère de l'atelier se développe une compréhension qui s'étend jusqu'à ce qu'elle touche un groupe plus vaste. Nous simplifions notre tâche si, au lieu de parler de l'industrie et de la société dans leur ensemble, nous réalisons que le point où nous devons commencer c'est l'atelier où les individus entretiennent des relations humaines directes. Si nous songeons d'emblée à l'ensemble de l'industrie moderne ou même à l'industrie moderne d'un seul pays - de l'Angleterre par exemple - la chose devient beaucoup trop compliquée pour que nous puissions la comprendre entièrement, mais si nous commençons par penser aux ateliers et aux mines, puis à une certaine mine et à un certain atelier, nous verrons que chaque endroit où l'on travaille peut devenir le point de départ d'un processus d'éducation qui servira de base à l'organisation de groupements plus vastes. L'importance de l'atelier comme microcosme a été nettement témoinnée dans notre programme par le fait qu'une de nos sessions a été consacrée à l'entreprise particulière et à la tâche pratique d'organiser les relations humaines dans cette entreprise.

Lorsque nous discutons de l'opinion publique, nous avons également constaté les progrès de certains mouvements susceptibles d'affecter la compréhension mutuelle, tel que par exemple le mouvement d'organisation scientifique qui provoque actuellement une étude plus serrée et plus intensive des conditions de travail dans l'atelier individuel, et l'ensemble du mouvement des études psychologiques dans l'industrie qui, de son côté, révèle des faits nécessaires à la compréhension.

Je n'essaierai pas de résumer les "conférences autour des

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tables rondes"; je choisirai de nouveau, d'une manière plus ou moins arbitraire, certains faits particulièrement marquants et riches en suggestions pour l'avenir. Au cours de la discussion relative aux problèmes qui exigent des recherches, un point a éclairé plus spécialement la situation. Nous étions en train de discuter de l'importance des recherches relatives aux causes de mécontentement, et nous parlions de salaires, de la journée de travail, etc. M. von Haan a suggéré qu'au lieu de parler du mécontentement et des griefs tels qu'ils existent, nous considérions bien plutôt les problèmes positifs de la direction, que nous en fassions une analyse afin d'arriver ainsi à prévenir le mécontentement. Pourquoi passerions-nous notre temps, par exemple, à reconnaître que les ouvriers des charbonnages connaissent une très grande instabilité du travail, alors que pour avoir une base d'action nous devrions bien plutôt rechercher quels sont les éléments réels qui causent les irrégularités et l'instabilité de l'emploi, quels faits déterminent la possibilité de fixer des salaires équitables et quelle manière d'action commune pourrait aboutir aux règlements les plus intelligents? En un mot la recherche doit devenir plus inventive et plus constructive au lieu de se borner à réunir des preuves pour démontrer que les choses sont ce qu'elles sont.

Au cours de la session consacrée à l'étude des contributions des sciences sociales aux relations humaines, M. Branford a fait ressortir le mécontentement très net que l'on éprouve à l'égard des progrès faits jusqu'ici dans l'application des sciences physiques et sociales. Il y a là un grand besoin de compréhension directe de la vie que M. Branford, comme représentant des sociologues, croit possible d'obtenir par le processus d'intégration qui est la tâche même de la sociologie. C'est ainsi par exemple qu'au lieu d'étudier les problèmes biologiques, psychologiques et les processus économiques d'une manière abstraite, indépendamment les uns des autres et sans tenir compte des réalités d'une situation particulière, nous devrions, lorsque nous étudions une région, examiner les conditions auxquelles sont soumis, considérés sous cet angle, les faits biologiques relatifs à la qualité et au nombre de la population; les faits dérivés des sciences agronomiques; les données

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obtenues à l'aide des sciences techniques qui touchent à l'industrie et enfin les données d'ordre sociologique qui combinent tous ces autres éléments sur un même plan de vie commune, en tenant compte du fait que la vie sociale est en même temps un phénomène éthique et économique, physique et esthétique. C'est parce que les êtres humains ne peuvent être groupés selon les divisions artificielles qui se sont produites dans le classement des sciences, c'est parce que l'individu est une entité et que la communauté en est une autre, que le seul moyen d'obtenir quelque compréhension effective est de faire appel à l'interrelation des sciences.

Mme Wunderlich a fait ressortir que le propre de la méthode scientifique était de conclure à partir des séries d'événements et de faits, et que par conséquent une étude scientifique ne pouvait comprendre tout l'ensemble de la réalité et ne pouvait pas s'identifier complètement avec tous les éléments complexes d'une situation donnée. Mais la science ne doit pas être séparée de la réalité. Il est indispensable d'appliquer la science à l'industrie, parce que la société et la nature étant soumises à des lois, tout acte, dans le domaine industriel, qui ne serait pas en accord avec les lois fondamentales de la technique, de la physique et de la structure sociale qui en sont la base provoquerait nécessairement un échec. A moins que nous n'appliquions les méthodes de la science qui, seules, peuvent révéler les lois et les séquences de cause à effet, nous ne saurions compter sur la stabilité des règles et des procédés que nous établissons.

Il faut que la dignité du travailleur soit respectée et que son niveau d'existence soit assez élevé pour que cette dignité ne subisse aucune atteinte. Si nous faisons notre guide de cette idée, les conditions modernes de l'industrie nous soumettent trois grands groupes de problèmes à la solution desquels nous devons appliquer les méthodes de la science. Le premier de ces groupes c'est l'utilisation mécanique du travailleur. Mme Wunderlich a montré que ce n'était pas aux sciences sociales mais bien aux sciences techniques qu'il appartenait de trouver le remède aux dangers que font courir à la civilisation de la société les méfaits d'un travail répété et monotone. Si 95 % des ouvriers des usines Ford sont attachés à un travail méca-

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nique, monotone et répété, c'est aux sciences techniques qu'incombe la tâche de libérer ces êtres humains de leur part à ces travaux automatisés. Comme l'a fait ressortir un autre orateur, au cours des discussions à la table ronde, il y a là un très grand besoin de poursuivre des expériences sur les moyens de rétablir, grâce à la constitution de plus petits groupes, les valeurs inhérentes à la petite industrie. Tout en continuant à développer la production sur une vaste échelle, un point très intéressant qui a été reconnu au cours de la discussion sur la production en masse, c'est que là où de larges groupes de personnes sont constitués, il en résulte pour l'individu une grande solitude et un isolement au milieu de cette masse. Si nous n'arrivons pas à rendre possible une organisation naturelle par le moyen de groupes plus petits, la production en masse devient un système mécanique et inhumain.

Le second groupe de problèmes qui demandent l'application des sciences est celui de l'instabilité de l'emploi. Aucun problème n'est, semble-t-il, plus angoissant ni plus commun dans le monde économique que celui de l'instabilité de l'emploi. Il est certainement un corollaire de la production en masse, car celle-ci demande des marchés très étendus et toute difficulté apparaissant sur ce marché peut priver de leur emploi des milliers de personnes. Il semble que cette insécurité de l'emploi ait augmenté plutôt que diminué par l'accroissement de l'unité de production puisque le marché doit s'étendre à mesure que la production s'accroît. L'instabilité de l'emploi a d'autres aspects encore et présente un champ d'application à de nombreuses sciences. Je crois tout particulièrement à l'importance à cet égard du développement des sciences financières; en effet, une politique financière raisonnable doit pouvoir stabiliser l'industrie et diminuer le risque d'insécurité. L'étude des cycles économiques peut également éclairer ce problème. Ces études sont actuellement poursuivies dans différents pays et nous commençons à connaître les aspects internationaux des cycles économiques.

Le troisième groupe de problèmes qui s'offrent à notre étude a trait à l'équité des revenus. Parfois nous nous trouvons en présence de taux élevés de salaires, mais cependant en

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raison de l'instabilité de l'emploi ou du coût de la vie ces forts salaires ne représentent pas un revenu équitable. Ici les sciences techniques doivent intervenir aussi bien que les sciences sociales. Comme l'a dit Mme Wunderlich, la théorie sans la pratique est vaine; la pratique sans la théorie est aveugle.

Le programme autant que la liste des membres de cette conférence peuvent apparaître comme une synthèse d'oppositions. Nous avons des participants qui s'intéressent essentiellement au fond scientifique de ces questions; nous en avons d'autres qui disent: "soyons pratiques". Recherchons une synthèse qui montre les points auxquels il convient d'appliquer la science non parce qu'elle est le jouet des théoriciens, mais parce qu'elle est indispensable à toute application pratique; examinons ensuite comment la pratique peut contribuer au développement de la science en lui apportant des faits réels au lieu de suppositions comme base et objet de ses analyses.

De même nous nous trouvons en présence du contraste entre l'entreprise isolée et l'industrie dans son ensemble, - la nécessité de reconnaître les grandes forces qui sont à l'origine de toutes ces conditions et de tous ces faits et en même temps l'obligation de réaliser que ceux qui dirigent des entreprises et ceux qui y travaillent peuvent se mettre immédiatement à l'établissement de plans et de relations qui iront se profiler contre le fond du problème général.

Nous avons ensuite l'antithèse entre l'attitude de ceux qui se replient sur eux-mêmes et ceux qui s'extériorisent, entre ceux qui croient qu'il nous faut un programme d'activité et ceux qui croient plus important que les êtres humains développent en eux-mêmes les ressources et l'énergie de résoudre les problèmes qui se posent à eux; que dans la mesure où chaque jour se développent les relations humaines, l'organisation industrielle et les inventions, le pouvoir constructif de l'homme de changer les conditions sociales doit s'accroître également. L'ultime source de pouvoir doit être l'individu développé au plus haut point. C'est pourquoi Miss Bennett et d'autres plaident en faveur d'une prolongation de la période



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scolaire jusqu'à l'âge de 16 ans et en faveur d'un déplacement correspondant de la limite d'âge requise pour l'admission aux travaux professionnels. Cette proposition implique la reconnaissance de la nécessité de mettre l'individu en mesure de résoudre par ses propres moyens les problèmes qui se présentent à lui et de donner un élan nouveau aux relations humaines. Le mouvement en faveur de l'éducation ouvrière part d'une conception analogue; en effet, l'éducation ne saurait s'arrêter à l'âge de 16 ans ni à plus forte raison à celui de 14. Si nous ne prolongeons pas la période d'éducation, nous courons le danger de perdre notre héritage social. Celui-ci ne saurait être repris par une génération à la génération précédente, si la période de travail, et j'entends aussi bien la journée de travail que la durée de la vie consacrée essentiellement à l'activité professionnelle, n'est bornée à de justes limites. Justes, c'est-à-dire permettant à chaque génération nouvelle de travailler, d'acquérir par elle-même l'héritage de l'expérience sociale.

Et maintenant j'aimerais dire un ou deux mots sur ce qui, dans ces conditions, me paraît être le rôle possible de l'I. R. I. Il est évident qu'avec ses ressources actuelles l'I. R. I. ne peut pas organiser un centre de recherches pour l'étude de toutes les conditions que nous avons indiquées, mais elle peut rendre un service signalé dans tous les pays que nous représentons en nous donnant l'occasion de nous réunir par des conférences, d'établir des communications qui nous aident à nous comprendre mutuellement et à être au courant des activités poursuivies dans nos différents pays. Bien plus, l'I. R. I. peut encourager l'individu, quelles que soient les fonctions qu'il remplisse, employeur, directeur, travailleur, chef syndicaliste, fonctionnaire d'état ou homme de science, elle peut le stimuler à développer sa compréhension des faits de telle manière, qu'il sera mieux à même d'accomplir sa tâche.

C'est là que je vois le rôle de l'I. R. I. et c'est là aussi que je vois ses points de contact avec d'autres organisations. Sans doute l'I. R. I. ne doit pas prendre la place d'une organisation syndicale, d'une organisation patronale ou d'une combinaison de ces deux types d'associations, mais elle doit servir de terrain de rencontre et de compréhension aux individus

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qui participent à ces mouvements sociaux. L'I. R. I. ne doit pas être un substitut à l'activité du Bureau International du Travail, mais il est certain que si elle accroît le nombre des personnes qui comprennent la signification du Bureau International du Travail, elle crée par là même une atmosphère qui permettra au Bureau International du Travail d'exercer une activité plus vivante.

De même il n'appartient pas à l'I. R. I. de se faire l'avocat de la législation sociale dans les différents pays ou de poursuivre les mêmes buts que l'Association internationale pour le Progrès social, mais elle peut diriger sur les travaux de cette association la compréhension qui est la somme des nombreux points de vue et des riches expériences de ses membres.

Ainsi la triple fonction de l'I. R. I. peut, me semble-t-il, être formulée dans les termes mêmes d'une philosophie ancienne: la vie doit être une activité inspirée par l'amour et commandée par la sagesse.

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VON MARY VAN KLEECK

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Meine Aufgabe ist durch die Vertiefung und Verzweigung der Aussprache während unserer Verhandlungen mit jeder Stunde schwieriger geworden.

Den ersten Gedanken, den wir uns zurückerufen wollen, könnte nur ein Künstler erschöpfend darstellen. Es ist etwas, das nicht in Worte gefasst worden ist, aber das wir alle mitempfinden haben; es ist der Beitrag jedes einzelnen Landes zur Frage der menschlichen Beziehungen. Ich vergesse einen Augenblick die tatsächlichen Zustände in den verschiedenen Ländern und bitte Sie, bei den charakteristischen Berichten, die uns von den Nationen hier gegeben worden sind, zu verweilen: Bei Gross-Britannien, dem sich die englisch sprechenden Mitglieder der menschlichen Familie voll Zuneigung zuwenden und dort eine gewisse Gesamtheit der Lebensweise, eine besondere Kunst der Lebensführung, eine Kultur des Denkens, der Künste und der Wissenschaften finden, die ein wesentliches Lebensgut der neuen Welt bilden; eine kluge und machtvolle Verwaltung und einen weitgespannten Kontakt mit den Nationen der ganzen Welt; - bei den nördlichen europäischen Ländern, in denen die Menschen mit ungünstigen Bedingungen kämpfen und die Fähigkeit entwickelt haben, Schwierigkeiten zu überwinden; bei den Ländern des fernen Ostens - China, dessen Beitrag für die menschlichen Beziehungen aus der engeren Gemeinschaft fließt, aus dem Familienleben, dem Leben der Clans, aus dem jetzt eine Nation hervorsticht; Japan mit seiner grossen Anpassungsfähigkeit an moderne Lebensverhältnisse, seinem intensiven Interesse an der Lebensweise der anderen Länder (wie ich erfahren habe, stellt nach der Statistik des Völkerbundes kein Land so viele Fragen wie Japan), Indien mit dem Wissen um den Sinn des inneren Lebens und seiner Beziehung zu den äusseren Dingen; - bei Deutschland, dem Land der Ehrfurcht vor der Wissenschaft und des philosophischen Denkens, bei Rumänien, dem Volke, das einst bei seiner Arbeit sang, - und bei den romanischen Ländern mit ihrem ausgeprägten Schönheits-

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gefühl und der Gabe, das Leben zu genießen, die Länder, in denen die "Wunderkraft des Geistes" wirkt.

Aus den Denkweisen, aus den tieferen geistigen Strömungen des Lebens der verschiedenen Rassen und Nationen der Erdequellen die Kräfte, durch die eine internationale Vereinigung an dem Aufbau menschlicher Beziehungen mitwirken kann. Diese Denkweisen und Auffassungen sind eine Realität, greifbarer und beständiger als Maschinen, als Wirtschaftsprojekte und -programme. Aus diesen tieferen Ebenen des Geistes muss uns die Kraft kommen, die Energie, die Einsicht für die Meisterung der Probleme und die Umgestaltung der Bedingungen des Wirtschaftslebens. Diese Probleme haben in unseren verschiedenen Verhandlungen einen konkreten Ausdruck gefunden.

Ich kann nicht damit rechnen, dass die Auswahl der Punkte, die mir in den Verhandlungen die wichtigsten schienen, allgemeine Billigung findet. Ich hoffe aber, dass durch die von mir getroffene Wahl, Ihnen gerade die Dinge, die ich nicht berühre, wieder einfallen und das Bild der Tagung ergänzen, sodass das von mir Ausgelassene Ihnen ebenso als Eindruck im Gedächtnis haftet wie das Angeführte. Wir sind an diesem Abend nicht zusammen, um einem Vortrag zu folgen, sondern um uns gemeinsam die Leitideen der Hauptthemen zurückzurufen und still noch einmal durchzudenken, was vorgebracht worden ist, um dann die Fragen zusammenzufassen, denen wir in Zukunft mehr Denkarbeit zuwenden wollen - als Individuen sowohl, wie als Vereinigung. Und nur, um in diesem Sinne Ihren Gedanken eine gewisse Richtung zu geben, möchte ich jetzt über die Dinge berichten, die mein Interesse beim Zuhören besonders erregt haben.

Unsere Präsidentin, Fräulein Hesselgren, brachte uns bei ihrer Begrüßung den Gedanken nahe, unsere Gesinnungsgemeinschaft beruhe auf dem Glaube, dass "die menschlichen Beziehungen" durch die Entwicklung der modernen Technik nicht vernichtet werden können, dass technische Erfindungen nicht genügen, sondern dass die Beziehungen zwischen Menschen wesentlicher sind als die Technik. Um dieser Idee Ausdruck zu geben ist die I. R. I. gegründet worden.

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Wer von uns zum ersten Mal einer Tagung der I. R. I. beigewohnt, hat sich die Bedeutung der Entwicklung der I. R. I. klarmachen müssen: die ersten Anfänge in Argeronne 1922 im kleinen Kreis, dann die Zusammenkunft des Interimskomitees, der Vlissinger Beschluss zur Gründung einer Organisation, und schliesslich dieser Kongress, der erste wirkliche Beweis für die Daseinsnotwendigkeit der Vereinigung; - die Möglichkeiten der Weiterentwicklung. Ich glaube, dass in den 6 Jahren seit der Gründung die Existenzberechtigung der I. R. I. erprobt und herausgefunden worden ist, welche besonderen Aufgaben sie zu erfüllen hat. Fräulein Fleddérous hat in ihrem Bericht bei unserer ersten Sitzung gesagt: die I. R. I. ist da, weil unsere Zeit sie braucht - aus keinem anderen Grunde. Als Fräulein Fleddérous für die Wiederannahme des Untertitels der Vereinigung in der ursprünglichen Fassung des Interimskomitees eintrat: "Zum Studium und zur Förderung befriedigender menschlicher Beziehungen" hat sie unsere Ziele noch einmal gekennzeichnet. Sie erklärte die Bedeutung der Worte "befriedigender menschlicher Beziehungen" und hob hervor, wir sässen nicht hier, um Formulierungen zu suchen, oder um zu beschliessen, dass wir hinausziehen und die Welt zu einem bestimmten Programm bekehren wollten, aber wir erkannten an, dass die menschlichen Beziehungen etwas Wechselndes, ständig neu zu Schaffendes und Umzuformendes wären, und dass der Beweis dafür, dass sie befriedigend sind, nur im harmonischen Zusammenwirken für ein gemeinsames Endziel zu finden sei. Ein solcher Beweis kann unter allen Verhältnissen und wechselnden Bedingungen geführt werden. Unabhängig von der Gesellschaftsordnung oder von der Wirtschaftspolitik auf irgend einer Stufe der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung wird sich immer feststellen lassen, ob die Arbeit so organisiert ist, dass sie die Zusammenarbeit der Menschen für ein gemeinsames Ziel ermöglicht. Es ist unser Maxime und unser Programm, diese Grundsätze und Methoden zu fördern, und vor allem Verständnis für Grundsätze und Methoden zu wecken, die harmonische Zusammenarbeit herbeiführen können. Dieses ist der Grundton der Arbeit der Vereinigung. Fräulein Fleddérous wies auch darauf hin, dass wir in gemeinsamer Arbeit Gedanken herausarbeiten können, zu denen der

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Einzelne nicht allein zu gelangen vermag. In anderen Worten: die Arbeit der Vereinigung ist darauf gerichtet, in Tagungen und Studien Arbeitnehmer, Arbeitgeber, Sozialpolitiker und Sozialarbeiter, die in irgend einer Beziehung zum Wirtschaftsleben stehen, zusammenzubringen und ihnen Gelegenheit zum Gedankenaustausch und zum gemeinsamen Auffinden allgemein gültiger Grundtatsachen mit Hilfe ihrer verschiedenen Erfahrungen zu geben.

Wenn sich nun jemand darüber beklagt, dass dieses Programm und unsere Aussprachen nicht genug "greifbare Aufgaben" enthält, so müssen wir fragen: gibt es denn etwas Greifbareres und etwas, was mehr Erfolge verspricht, als dreijährige Zusammenkünfte auf Kongressen, und jährliche Veranstaltungen von Sommerschulen; als der Versuch zu gemeinsamer geistiger Arbeit, zu einer Erfahrungssynthese, zu einem Meinungsaustausch der verschiedenen Einstellungen von Arbeitern, Unternehmern, Betriebsleitern und Sozialpolitikern zu gelangen, und auf diese Weise die Verhältnisse in unseren eigenen Arbeitsgebieten in den verschiedenen Erdteilen in neuem Licht zu sehen. Ich weiss nichts, was unserer Praxis mehr dienen könnte, denn unsere Praxis muss auf unserem Denken aufbauen, und nur gesunde Anschauungen können harmonische Beziehungen hervorbringen. Praxis ohne Denken bringt nur zufällige Beziehungen zustande, sie ist die Methode des nutzlosen Experimentierens und des Irrtums und führt zu Fehlern.

Im engen Zusammenhang mit dieser Auffassung steht ein anderer Gedanke, den Fräulein Fleddérous anregte: die Zukunft ist vorgezeichnet, ehe sie zur Tat wird. Jedes Zeitalter ist ein sterbender oder ein werdender Traum, der Traum wird schliesslich zur Wirklichkeit, oder anders ausgedrückt, die Psychologie lehrt uns, dass wir eines Menschen Handlungen nur verstehen, wenn wir seine Motive kennen. Das Gleiche gilt für die menschlichen Beziehungen. Auch hier ist die Leitidee ausschlaggebend; ist diese erst einmal erkannt, und zum Ausdruck gebracht, so kann ihre Verwirklichung kaum mehr verhindert werden.

Die Verhältnisse in den verschiedenen Ländern sind in den Berichten des Mitglieder des Rats dargestellt worden. Ich

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will nicht versuchen, hiervon eine Uebersicht zu geben, sondern mich darauf beschränken, Gemeinsames aus den wirtschaftlichen Grundproblemen hervorzuheben, d.h. das Grundproblem der Bevölkerungszunahme, aus dem sich viele unserer heutigen Wirtschaftsprobleme ergeben; das auftauchende Problem der Absatzmärkte, das mit der ständigen Steigerung der Produktion an Bedeutung und Schwere zunimmt und das Rohstoff-Problem. Das Markt- und das Rohstoff-Problem berührt die einzelnen Länder in verschiedener Weise, je nachdem sie weite Absatzmärkte innerhalb ihrer Grenzen und eigene Rohstoffe haben, oder knappe bzw. keine Rohstoffe und beschränkte Märkte, sodass sie hinsichtlich des Absatzes ihrer Produktionsüberschüsse von fremden Märkten abhängig sind. Aus den Berichten der einzelnen Länder treten ferner die Unterschiede der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung in den verschiedenen Erdteilen deutlich hervor. In verschiedenen Ländern sind die Probleme des politischen Lebens und des Berufsbildungswesens aufs engste verknüpft mit den plötzlichen Umwälzungen, die durch die moderne Industrie hervorgerufen sind; plötzlich hervorgerufen - weil die heutige Ausdehnung der Märkte zu einer wirtschaftlichen Ausnutzung (das Wort wird hier ohne Werturteil gebraucht) <sup>1</sup> der Länder führt, einer Ausnutzung, die auf die Expansion der Industrie in anderen Teilen der Erde zurückzuführen ist und ein ganz anderes Problem darstellt, als die Industrialisierung eines Landes, in dem sich die Wandlung allmählich und innerhalb der nationalen Grenzen vollzogen hat. Wandlungen im Fabrikwesen und in der Wirtschaftsorganisation, in Formen und Verfahren in England während des letzten Jahrhunderts, bzw. eines noch grösseren Zeitraumes seit dem Beginn der modernen industriellen Revolution, weisen eine andere Problematik der menschlichen Beziehungen auf, als ein Land in dem sich eine moderne Industrie entwickelt hat gewissermassen als Ventil für die überschüssige Produktion einer anderen Nation. Hier wird das Wirtschaftsleben verquickt mit der politischen Vormachtstellung eines Landes gegenüber dem anderen, und von dieser Seite her fällt ein neues Licht auf das Problem, das im Hintergrunde unserer Aussprache steht.

<sup>1</sup> Im Englischen "exploitation".

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Vielleicht war es eine glückliche Fügung, dass im ersten Vortrag dieser Konferenz Anschauungen geäußert wurden, denen einige von uns nicht zustimmen konnten. Es war beabsichtigt, bei diesem Punkt der Tagesordnung über die Hemmungen zu diskutieren, die sich dem gemeinsamen Durchdenken wichtiger Wirtschaftsprobleme entgegenstellen. Wir haben z.B. in den Vereinigten Staaten und in England die Kohlenfragen nicht lösen können, obgleich unter der Aegide der Regierung, als dem Organ des Volkswillens, Vertreter der Arbeiter und Arbeitgeber, Vertreter des Publikums und Persönlichkeiten, die alle Phasen des Konflikts untersucht hatten, zusammengebracht worden waren. Warum war es nicht möglich, zu einer gemeinsamen Lösung zu gelangen? Dies war die Frage, die wir besprechen wollten; statt dessen wurde uns eine allgemein gehaltene Charakteristik des Masseingeistes geboten, das Bild einer Arbeiterschaft, die ihren Weg nicht kennt und nicht weiss, was sie will, die heute auf dem Sprung ist, die Docks anzuzünden, und morgen bereit, genau dieselben Bedingungen anzunehmen, die ihr am ersten Tage angeboten wurden. Die Masse wurde als ein Chaos, ein Irrationales gesehen; es schien nach dieser Darstellung, als ob die Vernunft nur bei den gewählten Schiedsrichtern zu finden sei, und als ob die Haltung der Arbeiter jeder sinnvollen Grundlage entbehre. Aber gerade diese Darstellung gab einen Beweis für die Notwendigkeit, das Programm der I. R. I. zu verwirklichen, anders ausgedrückt, für die Notwendigkeit, solche Situationen zu analysieren und die dahinter stehenden Realitäten zu enthüllen; die Notwendigkeit, die Einstellung der arbeitenden Bevölkerung kennen zu lernen, zu erforschen, warum gewisse Dinge sie in dieser Weise berühren, welche Verhältnisse in den einzelnen Industriezweigen zu ganz verschiedenen Problemen, zu ganz verschiedenen Haltungen und Stimmungen führen, wie weit sie auf Rasseinflüsse zurückzuführen sind, auf Tradition und Vererbung, und schliesslich, durch welche Untersuchungsmethoden wir zum Verständnis der Problematik der Beziehungen gelangen können. Mr. van der Leeuw hat nach dem Vortrag von Lord Asquith gesagt, wir hätten solchen Problemen gegenüber immer zwei Aufgaben: wir dürfen uns nicht auf eine rein logische Berechnung



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materieller Faktoren stützen, wir müssen erst zu klarer Uebersicht der gesamten Situation und des Problems gelangen, und dann wäre gegenseitiges Vertrauen zwischen denjenigen zu schaffen, die an der Lösung beteiligt sind.

Sie werden sich erinnern, dass in diesen Besprechungen die Frage der Gruppenunterschiede immer wieder aufgetaucht ist. Einigen Teilnehmern war es nicht angenehm, sich zu vergegenwärtigen, "dass ein Mann nicht wie der andere ist", sondern, dass er entweder Kohlenarbeiter, oder Eisenbahner, oder Textilarbeiter ist, oder Aktionär oder Direktor einer Gesellschaft, und dass all diese Leute ihre eigene Denkweise haben. Wenn wir natürlich auch das Gemeinsame der menschlichen Naturen anerkennen, so ist doch ebenso wahr, dass die Art, in der ein Mensch auf das Leben reagiert, abhängig ist von den jeweiligen Verhältnissen. Wer die Arbeiter kennt, oder soziale Beziehungen beobachtet hat, weiss, bis zu welchem Grad wir das Produkt des wirtschaftlichen Milieus sind und würdigen auch den Unterschied zu würdigen wissen zwischen dem Landarbeiter, dem isoliert arbeitenden Bergarbeiter, dem im ständigen Verkehr mit dem Publikum stehenden Eisenbahner, dem Aktionär - der dem Wirtschaftskampf oft fernsteht, die Mittel besitzt, sich sein Leben angenehm zu machen, daher mit der gegenwärtigen Ordnung einverstanden ist, und die Notwendigkeit irgendeiner Veränderung nur mit Unwillen aufnimmt. Die persönliche Erfahrung kann nur erweitert werden, wenn die Möglichkeiten der Fühlungnahme erweitert werden, wenn Wege und Mittel zu besserem gegenseitigen Verständnis gefunden werden.

Hinter allen Gruppenkämpfen steht der unvermeidbare Einfluss bestimmter Anschauungen, die in der Umwelt wurzeln. Gedanken, die formuliert werden, um die Berechtigung der eigenen Einstellung zum Wirtschaftsleben zu verteidigen. Es handelt sich hier nicht bloss um individuelle Anschauungen, die Gruppe wird durch gemeinsame Erfahrungen verbunden; und überall da, wo sich die Mitglieder einer Gruppe der Gemeinsamkeit ihrer Interessen und ihrer Verhältnisse bewusst werden, entsteht die organisierte Gruppe und wird zum Faktor. Menschen, die eine gewisse wirtschaftliche Macht besitzen, zeigen oft die eigentümliche Neigung, nur das Indivi-

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dum anzuerkennen und die Gruppe als etwas Irrationales zu erklären, als das Produkt der Agitation eines unvernünftigen Führers, der auf die Gruppe einen Einfluss ausübt, und ohne dessen Existenz man mit den Arbeitnehmern, Mann für Mann, vernünftig verhandeln und ohne die Schwierigkeiten, die durch die Bildung grosser Gruppen entstehen, auskommen würde.

Unsere Besprechungen haben erwiesen, dass eine solche Auffassung keine geeignete Arbeitsbasis bietet. Die Gruppe ist doch schliesslich kein Phantasiegebilde. Wir müssen anerkennen, dass das komplizierte Leben unserer Zeit durch das Individuum allein oft nicht bewältigt werden kann. "Der Mensch ist", wie Dr. Delisle Burns sagte, "verzerrt worden, aber die Menschen können durch die Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit des Zusammenwirkens über sich hinaus gesteigert werden". Unsere Aufgabe ist es, mehr Verständnis über die Beziehungen der Gruppen untereinander durch Menschen zu verbreiten, die diesen Gruppen zugehören. Wir müssen versuchen, Verständnis zu wecken für die Frage, warum die Gruppe existiert, was ihre Glieder zusammengeführt hat und wie ihre Beziehungen zur Gesellschaft gestaltet werden sollen. Es ist einleuchtend, dass in einer hochentwickelten Wirtschaftsorganisation Gruppenbildung notwendig wird, sonst kommen wir nicht zu einer richtigen Durchführung der Funktionen. Unter diesem Gesichtspunkt kommt es nicht in erster Reihe darauf an, die Stellung für das Individuum zu finden, unsere Aufgabe ist es, aufzuzeigen, wie die Gruppe der Lohnempfänger, wie die Gruppe der Geldgeber und die Gruppe "Publikum" zusammenwirken können.

Mehr und mehr dringt der Gedanke durch, dass die tiefgreifenden Fragen der Finanzkontrolle eingehender Untersuchung und Erprobung bedürfen. Eine von aussen her wirkende Finanzkontrolle darf nicht als höchste Gewalt über Menschen schicksalen stehen; alle Arbeitenden, d.h. hier alle irgendwie an Unternehmungen Beteiligten, sollten ein Kontrollrecht über ihre Arbeitsbedingungen haben; befriedigende Arbeitsbeziehungen sind nur auf Grund klarer Abgrenzung der Funktionen herzustellen. Wir müssen die funktionelle Beziehung der verschiedenen Gruppen zum Wirtschaftsprozess erforschen und einen Mechanismus der Kontrolle des Wirtschaftsapparats

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ersinnen, der zum guten Ende führt. Unter "gutem Ende" verstehen wir produktive Arbeitsbeziehungen. Jeder soll die Arbeit tun, für die er am besten geeignet ist; wir können diesen Grundsatz übertragen und sagen, jede Gruppe muss die Arbeit tun, die sie am besten leisten kann, und sie muss an den Entscheidungen ein Mitbestimmungsrecht haben, die ihre eigenen Interessen und das Gesamtwohl betreffen. Grundbedingung produktiver Arbeit ist die Mitverantwortung. Der Wandel in der Stellung des Arbeiters schliesst einen Wandel seiner Beziehung zur Kontrolle der Wirtschaftspolitik ein. Es bedeutet aber nicht, dass der Mann an der Drehbank in das Verwaltungsbüro geht und die Bücher führt; wenn man die komplizierten Hauptbücher aufschlägt und den Arbeitern Einsichtnahme und Nachprüfung der Zahlen gestattet, so ist damit noch nicht gesagt, dass hierdurch ein erfreuliches Arbeitsverhältnis erreicht wird, denn Hauptbücher und Berichte, selbst Geschäftsberichte für Aktionäre, sind nicht immer gerade aufschlussreich. Wir können jedoch zwischen Gruppe und Gruppe Beziehungen schaffen, die gegenseitige Verantwortungsgefühle für ein gemeinsames Ziel wachrufen. Der erste Schritt hierzu ist die Aufstellung eines Ziels, das die Interessen aller Gruppen vereinigt. Es muss einmal klar erkannt werden, dass der ursprüngliche Zweck einer Industrie die Herstellung von Gütern oder die Bewirkung von Leistungen ist und nicht in erster Linie das Geldverdienen. Ausschlaggebend für die Frage, ob jener Zweck erfüllt wird, ist erstens die Qualität der Waren oder Leistungen und die Höhe der Preise, die vom Publikum verlangt werden, zweitens hängen Qualität und Preis von der Qualität der Menschen ab, die die Waren produzieren und die Leistungen vollziehen, - und deren Fähigkeit, die Arbeit gut zu leisten, ist wiederum von der Achtung abhängig, die ihrer Menschenwürde gezollt wird; drittens ist unter heutigen Bedingungen zu berücksichtigen, ob das Unternehmen eine sichere Kapitalanlage bietet oder nicht.

Es macht, glaube ich, einen gewaltigen Unterschied, ob man den einen oder den anderen Gesichtspunkt an die erste Stelle rückt. Wenn wir das Geldwesen an die erste Stelle setzen, so kommen wir zu jener Verfügungsmacht über die Wirt-

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schaftsmittel, die in höchstem Grade unrealistisch ist, wir kommen dann zu dem, was Mr. Brandford als "the urban mind" - die lebensentfremdete Einstellung - und das lebensentfremdete Kapital genannt hat. Wir haben dafür Beispiele in den Vereinigten Staaten; - entschuldigen Sie, wenn ich meine Beispiele von dort her nehme, weil sie mir näher liegen. Einer unserer einflussreichsten Finanzleute wurde als Gutachter des Ausschusses für Wirtschaftsbeziehungen (Industrial Relations Commission) gefragt, ob seiner Ansicht nach der Zwölfstundentag die angemessene Arbeitszeit für männliche Arbeiter in Stahlwerken wäre. Er antwortete, er wüsste nichts darüber, aber er war Aufsichtsratsmitglied verschiedener Gesellschaften, die massgebende Entschlüsse über die Festsetzung des Zwölfstundentages und die Siebentagewoche in der Stahlindustrie gefasst hatten; er hatte keine lebendige Vorstellung vom Ablauf des Produktionsprozesses. Solange wir nicht die sachlichen Fragen der Produktion in den Mittelpunkt rücken, und die Produktion zum eigentlichen Objekt wirtschaftlicher Tätigkeit machen, so lange wir die wirtschaftliche Leistung nicht nach der Qualität der Güter bewerten, treiben wir eine unfruchtbare Geschäftspolitik, eine Wirtschaftspolitik, die sich aus dem Erstarken einer herrschenden Gruppe ergibt, die zwar die Finanzierungs-Ziffern kennt, aber nicht weiss, worum es bei der Produktion geht. Menschliche Beziehungen können sich unter solchen Bedingungen nicht gedehlich entwickeln. Bei den Erörterungen über die Bestgestaltung der Arbeit schien es an der Zeit, auch einmal über die Rationalisierung des Finanzierungswesens zu sprechen, und dieses eingehend zu untersuchen; in einem hochentwickelten Wirtschaftswesen, in dem Finanz- und Kapitalfragen eine so ungeheuer wichtige Rolle spielen, ist die Orientierung des Finanzierungsproblems von volkswirtschaftlichen Gesichtspunkten aus eine lebensnotwendige Angelegenheit. Wir haben unser Interesse der Produktionswissenschaft zugewandt, aber die ganze Frage der Finanzkontrolle und ihres Einflusses auf die Gestaltung der Arbeitsverhältnisse und der Wirtschaftsorganisation ist überhaupt noch nicht in gründlicher Weise wissenschaftlich untersucht worden.

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Die Frage der Rationalisierung (scientific management), wie wir sie hier gekennzeichnet haben, verdient in dem zusammenfassenden Bericht über die Tagung eine besondere Betonung. Sie wurde in dem Bericht eines Vertreters der Vereinigten Staaten über diese Frage als "geistige Haltung zur Arbeit" definiert, als eine Philosophie der Arbeit, als eine innerhalb der Wirtschaftsordnung anzuwendende Methode, und erst in zweiter Linie als eine Reihe praktischer Massnahmen. Rationalisierung bedeutet ferner: Tatsachen an die Stelle von Vorurteilen setzen, Erkenntnisse zur Grundlage wirtschaftspolitischer Massnahmen machen. Rationalisierung ist abhängig von dem Verhältnis der Produzentenkreise zu den Konsumentenkreisen, jenen beiden grossen Gruppen, denen die Wirtschaftsbetriebe dienen. Wesentlich für den Einfluss, den die Rationalisierung auf menschliche Beziehungen ausübt, ist die Frage, in wessen Händen sie liegt, und gerade hier finden wir eine Erklärung für den Widerstand der Gewerkschaften gegen die Rationalisierung. Wenn die Stopuhr von einem Vertreter des Herrn-im-Hause-Prinzips angewandt wird, der das Recht hat, meine Arbeit zu kontrollieren, mir zu sagen, wie ich sie machen soll und meinen Lohn und meine Arbeitszeit zu bestimmen, so ist meine Einstellung eine völlig andere, als wenn ich ein Mitglied einer Gewerkschaft bin, die im Interesse höherer Löhne und niedriger Preise für den Konsumenten und produktiver Arbeit beschliesst, meine Arbeit und die Arbeitsorganisation, mit der sie verknüpft ist, zu untersuchen, um mir eine zweckmässigeren Arbeitsweise zu ermöglichen. Die Gewerkschaft als Gruppe würde dann gemeinsam mit den Arbeitgebern die Normen festlegen und die rationellsten Arbeitsmethoden zur Anwendung bringen unter voller Wahrung der Interessen ihrer Mitglieder.

Weiter handelt es sich um die Beziehungen der Masse der Konsumenten und des Publikums zu dieser ganzen Frage. Damit kommen wir zu unserer Aussprache über die öffentliche Meinung. Fräulein Hesselgren hat hierbei Furcht und Misstrauen als die Ursachen der Reibungen in der Industrie gekennzeichnet. Furcht und das Gefühl der Unsicherheit schlagen auf Seiten der Arbeiter in Opposition um, selbst gegen Dinge,

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die sich bei längerer Sicht als Massnahmen im Interesse der Arbeiterschaft erweisen würden. Mr. Kellogg hat nachgewiesen, dass auf die zahlreichen Analysen der Wirtschaftssituation nun die Synthese folgen müsse - die eigentliche Nutzbarmachung all der gefundenen Ergebnisse innerhalb eines grösseren Rahmens. Die öffentliche Meinung, der wir einen ausschlaggebenden Einfluss bei Konflikten zu zuschreiben pflegen, ist oft durchaus nicht ausschlaggebend; sie ist oft gleichgültig und nur dürftig informiert. Oft ist sie auf Seiten der Gruppen, die alles beim Alten lassen wollen; das Publikum liebt es aus Bequemlichkeit nicht, den gewöhnlichen Lauf der Wirtschaft zu unterbrechen; selbst nicht auf kurze Zeit. Mr. Kellogg hat aber unsere Aufmerksamkeit darauf gelenkt, dass das Schwergewicht nicht auf die Stellungnahme der öffentlichen Meinung in Konfliktzeiten liegt, sondern, dass es auf die langsame Bildung der öffentlichen Meinung ankommt, auf den langsamen Prozess der Aufklärung, die allmähliche Aufhellung der Geister, die zu besseren Einsichten führt. Er konnte nachweisen, dass sich z.B. die soziale Gesetzgebung erweitert und in ihrem Wirkungsradius erhöht hat, in dem Masse, in dem sich die öffentliche Meinung und die Forderung des Publikums nach befriedigenden Arbeitsbedingungen der Arbeitnehmer in der Industrie Geltung verschafft haben.

Dieser Ausblick auf grösseres Verständnis des Publikums ist nicht entmutigend, aber der Grad des öffentlichen Interesses ist abhängig von der Anwendung geeigneter Verständigungsmittel. Ohne die notwendige Einsicht kann die Macht der öffentlichen Meinung irregeleitet werden, daraus erhellt die Notwendigkeit gemeinsamer Tagungen und Untersuchungen. Jenes wandelbare Etwas - die Idee - erscheint auch hier wieder als kritisches Element bei der Bildung von Gesellschaftsauffassungen; alle Gruppen müssen Träger der Idee der Gruppe werden.

Die Settlement-Bewegung, die in England in Toynbee-Hall begann, war auf geistige Gemeinschaftsarbeit gerichtet. Akademiker gingen in Bezirke, in denen Menschen lebten, die keine Ausbildung genossen hatten, um deren Leben zu teilen und sie gleichzeitig die ihnen selbst zu Gebote stehenden Vorteile mitgenossen zu lassen. Jetzt beginnt - wie Mr. Kellogg her-

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vorgehoben hat - der umgekehrte Prozess; die Arbeiter belehren die Akademiker durch Aufklärung über soziale Nöte und Lebensbedingungen. Wir fangen an, die Kultur- und Bildungselemente zu werten, die aus dem Erfahrungskreis der Arbeiterschaft hervorgewachsen, sowie es Mr. Miller in seinem Bericht in der Aussprache über das Ausbildungswesen ("am runden Tisch") dargelegt hat. Dem Arbeiter steht nicht die gleiche Möglichkeit offen, ein Wissen aus Büchern zu erwerben, wie dem Akademiker. Und es gibt dennoch vieles aus dem Reich der Kultur und der Schönheit, das von der grossen Masse des Volkes und seiner Arbeit nicht getrennt werden kann. So werden die Arbeitsbedingungen auch von Einfluss für die Kultur und die Pflege des Schönheitssinnes. Wenn die moderne Industrie Produzenten und Arbeiter verschlingt, und in ihnen die schöpferischen Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten und die Kraft auf Schönheit zu reagieren, zerstört, wird ihr Leben stumpf, und der Boden, aus dem Schönheitquellen könnte, unfruchtbar. Durch die Arbeiterbildungsbewegung wird den Kreisen, die nicht der Arbeiterschaft angehören, Gelegenheit gegeben, mit ihr in Kontakt zu kommen und Verständnis für ihre Haltung zum Leben und zu den sozialen Beziehungen zu gewinnen. Die Arbeiterbildung wird Ausdrucksformen für die Erfahrungen und das Gedankenleben der Gruppe der Lohnempfänger finden helfen. Sie ist daher einer der Hauptwege fortschreitender Verständigung, die die soziale Evolution bedingt.

Die Arbeitsstätte ist das Zentrum und der Quellpunkt der Verständigung für menschliche Beziehungen "im engeren Kreise", wie Mr. Kellogg es ausgedrückt hat. In der Arbeitsstätte entwickelt sich gegenseitiges Verstehen und breitet sich aus, bis es die grössere Gruppe durchdringt. Unsere Aufgabe wird vereinfacht, wenn wir - statt über allgemeine Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsfragen zu sprechen - uns vergegenwärtigen, dass wir von den Betrieben ausgehen müssen und den menschlichen Beziehungen der dort Arbeitenden. Wenn wir an die gesamte Industrie denken, oder auch nur an die industrielle Entwicklung eines Landes - z.B. Englands - so wird das Problem so kompliziert, dass wir es nicht entwirren können, wenn wir jedoch nur an die Betriebe und Bergwerke, oder an

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ein Bergwerk und einen Betrieb denken, so sehen wir, dass man an jeder Arbeitsstätte mit einem Erziehungswerk beginnen kann, das zur Grundlage für grössere Gruppen werden kann. Die Bedeutung der Werkstätte als Mikrokosmos ist in unserem Programm berücksichtigt worden; wir haben uns in einer Sektion mit dem Einzelbetrieb und seiner Aufgabe, der Pflege menschlicher Beziehungen, beschäftigt.

In der Aussprache über die öffentliche Meinung wurde uns auch klar, dass die gegenseitige Verständigung beeinflusst wird durch Entwicklungstendenzen, wie z.B. die Rationalisierung, die bereits zu sorgfältigen und interessanten Studien der Arbeitsbedingungen in Einzelbetrieben geführt hat; ferner durch die Entwicklung der Arbeitspsychologie, die Tatsachen enthüllt hat, die für die Verständigung sehr wesentlich sind.

Ich will nicht versuchen, die "Konferenzen am runden Tisch" zusammenfassen, sondern ich werde mehr oder weniger zufällig gewisse Punkte herausgreifen, die für die zukünftige Entwicklung bedeutsam erscheinen. In der Aussprache über die Probleme, die der Erforschung bedürfen, war ein Punkt besonders aufschlussreich. Als wir über die Notwendigkeit, die Ursachen der Unzufriedenheit zu erforschen, diskutierten, schlug Herr von Haan vor, anstatt über Unzufriedenheit und die bestehenden Unzuträglichkeiten zu sprechen, an die positiven Probleme der Betriebsleitung heranzugehen und uns mit ihnen auseinanderzusetzen, um so einen Weg zur Vermeidung von Unzufriedenheit zu gewinnen. Warum soll man Zeit verlieren, um herauszufinden, dass die Arbeiter in Kohlenbergwerken unregelmässige Beschäftigung haben, wenn es im Interesse der Betriebspraxis liegt festzustellen, wo die eigentlichen Ursachen für die unregelmässige Beschäftigung und die Unsicherheit liegen, welche Masstäbe für eine gerechte Festsetzung der Löhne anzuwenden sind, und welche Form der Zusammenarbeit zu den erfolgreichsten Methoden der Betriebsleitung führt. Kurz, betriebswissenschaftliche Untersuchungen müssten, statt nur Material über die Dinge, wie sie einmal sind, zu sammeln, mehr produktive und aufbauende Arbeit leisten.

In den Verhandlungen über die Leistungen der Sozialwissen-



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schaft für die menschlichen Beziehungen hat Mr. Brandford dargelegt, dass grosse Unzufriedenheit über die Verzögerung der Nutzbarmachung naturwissenschaftlicher und sozialwissenschaftlicher Erkenntnisse herrsche. Wir brauchen ein neues Gefühl für das Leben; als Soziologe glaubt er, dass dies auf dem Wege der Integration, - die die Aufgabe der Soziologie ist - gewonnen werden kann. Statt z.B. biologische oder psychologische Probleme oder Wirtschaftsvorgänge zu erforschen - und zwar jeweils in abstrakten, von den Gegebenheiten der Wirklichkeit unberührten Untersuchungen ohne Zusammenhang zwischen den verschiedenen Disziplinen - sollte man ein Gebiet und dessen Gesamtbedingungen zum Gegenstand gemeinsamer Untersuchungen machen. Die biologischen Tatsachen über die Bevölkerungsqualität und die Bevölkerungsquantität wären zusammenzutragen; es müssten die Daten aus den Gebieten der Agrarwissenschaften, der Wirtschaftswissenschaft, der Technik und schliesslich die soziologischen Ergebnisse zu einem Bild des Gemeinschaftslebens verschmolzen werden, in der Erkenntnis, dass das Leben eines sozialen Organismus gleichzeitig ein ethisches, ein wirtschaftliches, ein ästhetisches und ein physisches ist. Weil die Menschen nicht in die von der Wissenschaft gebildeten künstlichen Kategorien eingewiesen werden und leben können, weil ein Mensch ein Ganzes, und weil eine Gemeinschaft ein Ganzes ist, geht der einzige Weg zur Gewinnung von Einsichten, die sich auf die Wirklichkeit übertragen lassen, über die Arbeitsverbindung der Wissenschaften. Dr. Wunderlich hat hervorgehoben, dass die Wissenschaft von der Fülle der Erscheinungen und Tatsachen des Lebens abstrahieren muss, und dass eine wissenschaftliche Untersuchung daher nicht alle Realitäten auf einmal berücksichtigen kann. Aber die Wissenschaft darf den Boden der Wirklichkeit nicht verlassen. Die Hilfe der Wissenschaft ist unentbehrlich, weil das Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsleben bestimmten Gesetzen unterworfen ist. Alle Eingriffe in das Wirtschaftsleben, die der Struktur der Wirtschaft und ihrer Eigengesetzlichkeit nicht gerecht werden, müssen scheitern. Ohne die Wissenschaft, die allein diese Gesetzmässigkeit und die Verkettung von Ursache und Wirkung enthüllen kann, können wir nicht zu einer ge-

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sunden Wirtschaftspraxis und Arbeitsgestaltung gelangen. Die Menschenwürde des Arbeiters muss gewahrt und seine Lebenshaltung darf nicht so tief herabgedrückt werden, dass seine Menschenwürde darunter leidet. Wenn wir diesen Gedanken zum Prinzip erheben, so ergeben sich in der Industrie drei Problemgruppen, auf die die wissenschaftliche Untersuchung Anwendung finden muss. Das erste ist die Verwendung der Arbeiter für mechanische Arbeit; Dr. Wunderlich hat hervorgehoben, dass hier nicht die Sozialwissenschaft, sondern die Technik einen Weg aus den Arbeitsbedingungen heraus finden muss, die die gesellschaftliche Kultur bedrohen: die Schäden der monotonen und mechanischen Arbeit. 95 % der Arbeiter in den Werkstätten von Ford tun monotone und mechanische Arbeit; es ist ein Problem der Technik, die Menschen von automatischer Arbeit zu befreien. Ähnlich haben andere Redner gelegentlich der "Konferenzen am runden Tisch" hervorgehoben, dass untersucht werden müsste, in welcher Weise bei Aufrechterhaltung der Massenproduktion durch die Einführung von Gruppenarbeit die Werte herüberzuretten sind, die den Vorzug der Kleinbetriebe bilden. In der Diskussion über die Massenproduktion wurde besonders die interessante Tatsache erörtert, dass bei der Anhäufung von Arbeitermassen in Fabriken das Individuum das Gefühl der Vereinsamung und Isolierung inmitten dieser Massen empfindet. Solange wir keinen Weg zu einer natürlichen Arbeitsorganisation mit kleinen Arbeitsgruppen finden, wird die Massenproduktion mechanisierend und menschenentwürdigend wirken.

Die zweite grosse Problemgruppe, die wissenschaftliches Durchdenken erfordert, betrifft die Unsicherheit der Beschäftigung. Vermutlich gibt es kein dringenderes und kein so weltumfassendes Problem wie die Unsicherheit der Beschäftigung. Sie ist zweifellos eine Begleiterscheinung der Massenproduktion. Denn diese erfordert Riesensmärkte und jede Störung des Marktes wirft Tausende aus der Arbeit. Es scheint, als ob sich diese Unsicherheit mit der Grösse der Produktionseinheit eher steigert als vermindert, denn der Markt muss sich ausdehnen in dem Masse, in dem sich die Produktion steigert. Die Unsicherheit in der Beschäftigung

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kann von verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten betrachtet werden, aber gerade darum wird die wissenschaftliche Untersuchung dieser Frage von verschiedenen Seiten wünschenswert. Meiner Ueberzeugung nach sollte sich vor allem die Finanzwissenschaft mit der Frage beschäftigen; durch eine gesunde Finanzierungspolitik könnte eine Stabilisierung der Industrie herbeigeführt und die Unsicherheit ausgeschaltet werden. Die volkswirtschaftlichen Untersuchungen über die Wirtschaftskrisen haben neues Licht auf diese Probleme geworfen; da diese Forschungen in verschiedenen Ländern vorgenommen werden, fangen wir jetzt an, ein internationales Gesamtbild der Wirtschaftskrisen zu gewinnen.

Den dritten Problemkreis, der zu untersuchen wäre, bildet die Lohnfrage. Einzubegreifen ist hier die Frage der hohen Nominallöhne, die sich infolge der Beschäftigungsunsicherheit oder hoher Lebenshaltungskosten nicht als ausreichende Real-löhne auswirken. Die Technik geht von anderen Gesichtspunkten aus als die Sozialwissenschaften; um mit Dr. Wunderlich zu sprechen: Theorie ohne Praxis ist leer, Praxis ohne Theorie ist blind.

Unser Programm und die Teilnehmerschaft unserer Tagung stellen in gewissem Sinne eine Synthese von Gegensätzen dar. Wir haben Mitglieder, die besonders an den wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten interessiert sind, und andere, die sagen, es kommt alles auf Praxis an. Wir wollen eine Synthese versuchen, in der die Wissenschaft nicht als Spielerei der Theoretiker, sondern als Erfordernis der Praxis lebendig wird, und wir wollen uns dann überlegen, wie die Praxis zur Sammlung von Material für eine wissenschaftliche Analyse durch Beibringung realer Tatsachen (statt blosser Annahmen) beitragen kann. Ferner müssen wir uns befassen mit dem Gegensatz zwischen dem Einzelbetrieb und der Industrie als Ganzes - wir müssen die Mächte erkennen, die hinter diesen Verhältnissen stehen und uns gleichzeitig vergegenwärtigen, dass Unternehmer und Belegschaften sofort gemeinsame Pläne für die Neugestaltung der Arbeit und der Beziehungen im Betriebe aufstellen könnten, unter Berücksichtigung der allgemeinen grossen Probleme.

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Weiter haben wir die Spannung zwischen der inneren Haltung und der äusseren Lebensgestaltung, d.h. zwischen denen, die glauben, wir brauchen ein Programm mit bestimmten Aufgaben, und denjenigen, die glauben, dass die Menschen in sich die Kraft und die Fähigkeit, mit ihren Problemen selbst fertig zu werden, entwickeln sollten; dass menschliche Beziehungen dem Wandel unterliegen, ebenso wie Wirtschaftsorganisationen, und dass in dem Masse, in dem die Technik sich entwickelt, auch die schöpferische Fähigkeit der Menschen, soziale Bedingungen umzugestalten, wachsen muss. Die stärkste Kraftquelle sollte das hoch entwickelte Individuum sein. Aus diesem Grunde treten Miss Bennett und andere für die Verlängerung der Schulzeit bis zum 16. Jahre ein und für eine Hinaufsetzung des Schutzesalters für arbeitende Kinder und Jugendliche. Diese Vorschläge beruhen auf der Ueberzeugung, das Individuum müsse so ausgerüstet werden, dass es die Probleme seines Lebens selbst meistern und die menschlichen Beziehungen neu gestalten kann. Die Arbeiterbildungs-Bewegung geht von gleichen Voraussetzungen aus. Die Ausbildung eines Menschen kann nicht mit dem 16. Lebensjahr als abgeschlossen gelten, und erst recht nicht mit dem 14. Ohne Ausdehnung der Ausbildungszeit geraten wir in Gefahr, das soziale Erbgut zu verlieren, das nur von Generation zu Generation weiter gereicht werden kann, wenn die Arbeitszeit in den richtigen Grenzen gehalten wird, sowohl in Bezug auf den Arbeitstag, wie auf die Länge des werktätigen Lebens. Sodass in jeder neuen Generation die Arbeiter die Zeit haben, die Erbschaft sozialer Erfahrungen zu erwerben.

Nun möchte ich noch ein Wort über die Wirkungsmöglichkeiten der I. R. I. sagen, die mir die Gegenwart zu bieten scheint. Es versteht sich von selbst, dass die I. R. I. mit den ihr jetzt zur Verfügung stehenden Mitteln kein Forschungs-Institut zum Studium all dieser Bedingungen organisieren kann, aber sie kann unseren Ländern einen ungeheuren Dienst erweisen, scheint mir, wenn sie es uns ermöglicht, auf Tagungen zusammenzukommen, Verbindungen anzuknüpfen, die das gegenseitige Verständnis erleichtern und uns über die Arbeit, die in den verschiedenen Ländern geleistet wird, zu unterrichten. Weiter kann sie der einzelnen Persönlichkeit -

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gleichviel welche Tätigkeit sie ausübt: als Arbeitgeber, Betriebsleiter, Arbeiter, Gewerkschaftsführer, Regierungsbeamter oder Forscher - helfen, ihren Gesichtskreis zu erweitern, und ihr Amt besser zu erfüllen.

Hierin sehe ich die Aufgabe der I. R. I., und unter diesem Zeichen scheint sie mir in entsprechender Weise mit anderen Organisationen verbunden zu sein. Sie will keine Gewerkschaft oder eine Arbeitgebervereinigung oder eine Verbindung von beiden sein, sondern sie will einen gemeinsamen Boden der Verständigung schaffen zwischen einzelnen Persönlichkeiten, die diesen Organisationen angehören. Sie will nicht die Arbeit des Internationalen Arbeitsamtes tun, aber sie will die Gruppe der Menschen erweitern, die die Bedeutung des Internationalen Arbeitsamtes würdigen, und dadurch eine Sphäre schaffen, in der das I. A. A. wirksam arbeiten kann. Sie hat nicht die Aufgabe, die Arbeiterschutzgesetzgebung in den einzelnen Ländern zu fördern oder den Zwecken der Internationalen Vereinigung für sozialen Fortschritt zu dienen, aber sie wird den Bestrebungen dieser Organisationen das Verständnis zubringen, das aus der Zusammenfassung verschiedener Anschauungen und vielseitiger Erfahrungen ihrer Mitglieder erwächst.

Die dreifache Aufgabe unserer Vereinigung scheint mir in jenem alten philosophischen Spruch ausgedrückt: Leben ist Tat, beseelt von Liebe, geleitet von Weisheit.

## APPENDIX

REPORT OF SECRETARIES<sup>1</sup> FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL  
30TH 1928, SUBMITTED TO THE COUNCIL MEETING HELD AT  
CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND, JUNE 1928.

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Another year has passed since presenting the report covering the year ending April 30th 1927, the second year in the life of the Association. While the work of that year was mainly devoted to the further establishment of the Association and to the laying down of its programme, the year which has just closed may be regarded much more as one of actual fulfilment.

**BAVENO SUMMER SCHOOL.** The first activity to report was the holding of a very successful Summer School which took place at Baveno, Italy, from June 19th to 26th 1927, in which 55 members from 14 countries participated.

In choosing as the subject for the Summer School "The Elimination of Unnecessary Fatigue in Industry" the Association was actuated by the desire to give immediate expression to its fundamental purpose, namely that of providing a common meeting ground for all sections of the industrial community, for the dispassionate study and consideration of developments in the vast world of industry. The subject of industrial fatigue, and how far it can be eliminated, necessarily draws together on one platform Manager and Worker, the Engineer and the Psychologist, the Foreman and the Scientific Investigator, the Personnel (Welfare) Worker, the Factory Inspector and the Educationalist.

The approach to the subject was made both from the psychological and the physiological side. The directly psychological aspect was studied under Prof. Pear, the physiological under Dr. Lipmann, Dr. Vernon and Mr. Weston. Prof. Loriga developed the historical aspect of the subject, supplemented by a lecture from Mr. Piacitelli, who referred specially to the methods in operation in the U. S. A. The allotted time for each subject was one and a half hours, half of which was devoted to the delivery of the lecture and the remaining half to the putting of questions. Not the least valuable were the contributions made by the lecturers in answer to these.

<sup>1</sup> Slightly abbreviated.

## REPORT OF SECRETARIES

As an experiment the Summer School may be considered an unqualified success. Not a little of this was due to the excellent work of the lecturers, officials and translators, to all of whom the special thanks of the Association are due.

From the statement of accounts, it will be seen that the direct expenses of the Summer School itself have been no charge upon the Association.

**SUMMER SCHOOL REPORT.** Notwithstanding the delay caused by the removal of the Secretariat Headquarters from Zürich to the Hague during the month of August, the Report of the Summer-School, the editing of which was carried out by Miss Fleddérus, appeared during the course of the following October. The Report consists of 130 pages and contains outlines of the lectures, in the languages in which they were delivered, a summary of discussion, and a short introduction, the two latter being in the English, French and German languages.

According to the reviews which have appeared in newspapers and periodicals in many countries, the Report has had a very favourable reception, and has been the means of bringing the Association some valuable new contacts. It has been regarded as a new contribution to the existing literature on the subject, its special value lying in the combination, hitherto infrequent, of scientific research with practical experience.

**BAVENO COUNCIL AND STOCKHOLM EXECUTIVE MEETING.** The yearly meeting of the Council immediately followed the Summer School and was attended by 21 members from 14 countries. The chief items for consideration were the draft new Constitution and the preparations for the 1928 Congress.

**DRAFT CONSTITUTION.** As regards the new Constitution, the reason for revising the present one has already been stated in last year's Report. A draft drawn up and circulated beforehand formed a useful basis for discussion. The main principles to be embodied in the future Constitution were agreed upon, and the working out of a further draft was entrusted to a Committee consisting of the following:



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Dr. A. Correggiari, Miss Mary van Kleeck, Miss F. A. F. Livingstone, Miss K. Hesselgren, Miss M. L. Fledderus and Miss E. B. Voysey, the latter three ex officio,

who reported to the Executive Committee at their meeting which took place in Stockholm in the following January. The draft as presented by this Committee and as amended by the Executive Committee, was circulated to the members of the Council by the middle of February, and a final draft, including recommendations received from Council members, was circulated to the general body of Members by the end of April.

The main points where the proposed new Constitution differs from the present one are:

a simpler and more logically connected arrangement of the sections, the absence of bye-laws, and a more complete provision with regard to the procedure where experience has shown this to be necessary;

a change of name;

a further defining and re-arranging of the groups of membership;

the provision of a maximum of four Councillors from each country, drawn as far as possible from different groups of membership, the office of Proxy being discontinued except to replace Councillors at a particular meeting;

the provision for a nucleus of national committees and the appointment of a Corresponding Councillor in each country;

a re-distribution of functions among the Officers;

a special provision for the appointment of an Executive Committee and Executive Secretary.

The need of the Association would seem to be for a simple Constitution regulating its conduct without in any way hampering its free development. It is believed that the draft Constitution for presentation at the Congress provides this.

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PREPARATIONS FOR THE 1928 CONGRESS. The Council unanimously decided to adopt as the subject for the 1928 Congress the following proposal which had already been circulated in advance of the meeting:

"Fundamental Relationships between all Sections of the Industrial Community".

It was realized that the elaboration of this subject would increasingly reveal the line of thought for which the Association wishes to stand. It may be anticipated that the Report of this Congress will play an important part by showing forth with greater clearness than has hitherto been possible or advisable the aims which the Association desires to further in the world, thus using to the full the unique opportunity which a Congress provides for bringing the ideas of the Association before a wider public.

The working out of the actual programme was once again entrusted to a Committee, consisting of the following:

Miss Mary van Kleeck, Mr. C. H. van der Leeuw, Miss F. A. F. Livingstone, Frau Dr. F. Wunderlich, Miss K. Hesselgren, Miss M. L. Fledderus and Miss E. B. Voysey, the latter three ex officio,

who likewise reported to the Stockholm meeting.

The Committee was very successful in drawing up a stimulating and well-rounded programme of lectures and round table discussions. In addition Introductory Notes to the Programme were written for the purpose of acquainting Speakers, Discussion Openers and Chairmen with the programme of the Congress in its entirety, in order that there might be mutual understanding and unity of treatment of the Congress subject. We quote from these notes as follows:

"The programme of the Congress will have two main parts: "lectures for the presentation of fundamental aspects of this "large subject, and round table discussions in which the "members concerned in various phases of industrial activities "will discuss together the significance of these larger principles "in their daily application.

"Preliminary to the treatment of the subject, statements from

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"the different countries will be made during the first morning,  
"based on the written reports previously presented to the  
"Congress, showing the way in which fundamental relationships  
"in Industry are being affected by (1) cooperation within and  
"between the various groups in industry, (2) education and  
"training for all groups, (3) industrial welfare work, including  
"personnel and employment management, (4) scientific man-  
"agement, (5) industrial psychology, (6) vocational guidance.  
"Out of these statements and reports will be drawn material  
"for discussion of the lectures and for use in the round table  
"meetings. We are seeking in all phases of the program to  
"relate underlying philosophy to the actual conditions and  
"problems as they are presented by modern industry in the  
"different countries; or to put it in another way, we are seeking  
"to evoke an underlying philosophy out of the experiences  
"of the different countries as to the effect of modern industry  
"upon men and women.

The Executive Committee fully endorsed the work of the Programme Committee and the Preliminary Programme was published early in the New Year.

The wisdom of the choice of the Congress subject would seem to have been confirmed by the ready response of the invited speakers and openers of discussion who, as may be seen from the programme, cover a wide and interesting range of experience.

**FINANCES.** The consideration of the financial position of the Association occupied a prominent place in the discussions. It was realized that the Association was fast approaching the end of the experimental period underwritten by a few generous contributors, by means of which time has been granted for its establishment. The task of the Council regarding the necessity for raising the additional money required for the continued conduct of the Association was clearly defined both during the present financial year and for the future.

The proposal:

"that quotas of the additional amount needed to meet the  
"Budget of Expenditure be assigned to each country (the  
"Executive drafting the assignment to be confirmed by the

## REPORT OF SECRETARIES

"Council) the Reporters and Members in each country  
"endeavouring to raise the assigned amount through appeals  
"to individuals, firms or foundations in their particular  
"country - such approach to be made by the Reporters,  
"unless by their request it be made through the Secretariat  
"Headquarters"

was adopted, and the amounts payable from each of the 26 countries taking part in the Association, were agreed upon.

At the Stockholm Executive Meeting the Treasurer reported that amounts had been received from Austria, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland and the U. S. A. The Income and Expenditure account for 1927-28 shows the total amount received under this heading.

Later in the year a small Finance Committee was appointed by the Executive Committee, consisting of:

Mr. C. H. van der Leeuw (Chairman), Miss D. A. Cadbury,  
Miss M. L. Fleddéus and the President, ex officio,

to consider possible means of raising the necessary finances and to report to the Cambridge meetings.

**COUNCIL.** The Council consists at present of 69 members from 22 countries.

Valuable collaboration has been given by the Council Members in the following matters:

the compilation of Reports from their countries for presentation at the 1928 Congress;

acquainting the Secretariat with the most suitable papers and periodicals for obtaining publicity, especially in view of the 1928 Congress;

the formation of distribution centers for the propaganda material of the Association.

The provision made in the draft new Constitution, that the Councillors for each country, together with any officers who may be resident in that country, shall form the nucleus of a committee for that Country and shall designate one of the

## REPORT OF SECRETARIES'

Councillors to act as Corresponding Councillor between the Committee and the Secretariat Headquarters, has already been put into operation in several countries.

**PUBLICITY.** During the whole of the past year the activities of the Secretariat have centred very much round the work of making the Congress known in many different spheres in all parts of the world. An interesting announcement of the Congress was prepared early in the autumn and circulated to papers, periodicals and journals in 23 countries, in addition to various international press agencies. In order to make this publicity as effective and complete as possible, all reporters had been asked to supply revised lists of the most suitable papers and journals in their country. At the same time the press announcement was attractively printed as a leaflet and has been continuously used in acquainting the public with the fact of the forthcoming Congress, supplemented by the Preliminary Programme published early in the New Year. A final press communication giving full particulars as to subjects and speakers was issued nearer the time of the Congress.

This concentration on publicity has naturally very much extended the contacts of the Association, with the result that our information with regard to the various countries has not only considerably increased, but it has also been more possible to compile a selected Mailing List, the possession of which is of the greatest importance for future effective publicity.

**TRAVELLING.** The existing contacts have further been strengthened and extended through the travelling of the Hon. Secretary in the U.S.A., the holding of the Executive Meeting in Stockholm, and the visit of both Secretaries to Berlin on the return journey from Stockholm. The Hon. Secretary also visited various bodies and persons in Geneva and London.

It may be of interest to mention that, on the occasion of the visit to Stockholm, various members of the Executive Committee were invited to address the annual meetings of the Federation of the Northern Countries of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

## REPORT OF SECRETARIES

**MEMBERSHIP.** Membership of the Association at the present time consists of 344 <sup>1</sup> members from 27 <sup>1</sup> countries, as compared with 241 at the close of the previous year. A list of members up to the close of 1927 has been circulated, the printing of which was made possible by a special gift for this purpose by one of the members. The membership of the Association shows an interesting variety of experience which, in itself, demonstrates the purpose for which the Association exists. A new and much more complete application for membership form, asking for fuller particulars of the applicant's experience, was put into circulation from January onwards. Attached to this form is a newly worded leaflet, explaining the scope of the Association and setting forth its objects in a concise manner, the emphasis being laid on Fundamental Relationships.

**FINAL CONGRESS PREPARATIONS.** A large part of the final preparations for the Congress have consisted of the editing of the Reports from countries in readiness for use at Cambridge, to form the first volume of the Report of the proceedings of the Congress.

Reports from 18 countries were promised, of which 15 <sup>2</sup> actually arrived in time to be included in this volume. A special contribution was made by the U. S. A. group extending considerably over the size prescribed for the Reports. This contribution was accompanied by a gift in money to meet the extra cost of printing involved. Our sincere thanks are due to the collaborators in this piece of work and to the members of the Committee responsible for its compilation - Mr. Glenn Bowers, Mrs. Lillian Gilbreth and Miss Mary van Kleeck.

Another item of importance in the Congress preparations has been the making of arrangements for visiting factories and institutions in Gt. Britain. In this connection various important bodies and a large number of well-known and representative firms have been approached, with the result that

<sup>1</sup> On the 31st December 1928, these numbers are 373 members from 30 countries.

<sup>2</sup> Three further Reports have since been printed as an Addendum to this volume, the total number of Reports thus being 18.

## REPORT OF SECRETARIES

members attending the Congress will have the opportunity of a wide choice of visits.

This piece of work has naturally made the Association and the Congress much more widely known in Gt. Britain, especially in those circles where the right understanding may be expected.

The Association is greatly indebted to the following bodies for valuable cooperation given: The Association for Education in Industry and Commerce, Bournville, Birmingham; the Industrial Fatigue Research Board, London; the Institute of Industrial Welfare Workers, London; Management Research Groups, London; National Industrial Alliance, London; National Institute of Industrial Psychology, London; the Women's Engineering Society, London; and to Miss S. M. Bevington B.Sc., Reporter for Gt. Britain, who is kindly acting as intermediary between the members of the Congress and the firms and bodies concerned, in making the arrangements for the actual visits.

In order to facilitate the attendance at the Congress of members representative of the workers' group of membership and of some other members from countries little represented, who would otherwise be unable to participate, a small fund has been collected, the Executive Committee to be responsible for its allocation. The thanks of the Association are due to those members who have generously responded to the appeal for the formation of this fund. A small donation was also very kindly given by the Boeke Trust, Bournville, Birmingham.

With the close of this year ends the first triennial period in the life of the Association. The Cambridge Congress may be regarded as the first milestone, closing off one period and entering upon a new, opening up vistas of interesting possible developments.

The most important of these seem to be those created nationally from the impetus given internationally. The spontaneous drawing together in national groups of individuals representative of widely differing industrial activity and experience may be considered one of the most promising features of the past

## REPORT OF SECRETARIES

year, and it would seem that the encouragement of these groups and their intimate contact with the Association as a whole may well form the work on which to concentrate during the next triennial period.

In this development the Councillors in each country will obviously play a major part and the extent to which they are representative of different groups in Industry is therefore a matter of prime importance.

Thus may the Association be expected to fulfil its aim - the promotion of satisfactory human relations and conditions throughout the vast world of Industry - through the bringing together of experience and the voluntary consultation and collaboration, both nationally and internationally, of its enlightened men and women.

M. L. Fleddérus, Hon. Secretary.  
E. Brenda Voysey, Gen. Secretary.

THE HAGUE, June 1928.



RAPPORT DES SECRÉTAIRES<sup>1</sup> POUR L'ANNÉE DU 1 MAI  
1927 AU 30 AVRIL 1928, PRÉSENTÉ A L'ASSEMBLÉE DU CONSEIL  
TENUE A CAMBRIDGE, ANGLETERRE, EN JUIN 1928.

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Encore une année s'est écoulée depuis la présentation du rapport sur l'année qui a pris fin le 30 avril 1927 et qui fut la seconde année d'existence de l'Association. Tandis que le travail de l'année 1926-1927 a surtout porté sur l'organisation complémentaire de l'Association et sur l'élaboration de son programme, l'année qui vient de s'achever peut être, au contraire, considérée davantage comme une année de réalisations positives.

COURS DE VACANCES DE BAVENO. Un Cours de Vacances extrêmement réussi a eu lieu à Baveno, Italie, du 19 au 26 juin 1927, avec la participation de 55 membres de 14 pays. En choisissant pour sujet du Cours de Vacances "L'Élimination de la Fatigue inutile dans l'Industrie", l'Association a obéi au désir de donner une expression immédiate de son objectif fondamental, qui est d'établir un terrain de rencontre commun à toutes les sections de la communauté industrielle pour une étude impartiale et pour l'examen de tous les développements qui se manifestent dans le vaste domaine de l'industrie. La question de la fatigue industrielle, celle de savoir jusqu'à quel point cette dernière peut être éliminée, rapprochent nécessairement sur la même plateforme la Direction de l'Entreprise et l'Ouvrier, l'Ingénieur et le Psychologue, le Contremaître et l'Enquêteur Scientifique, le Surintendant, l'Inspecteur d'Usine et l'Éducateur professionnel. Le sujet du Cours a été envisagé à la fois sous son aspect psychologique, et sous son aspect physiologique. L'aspect psychologique proprement dit a été étudié sous la direction de M. le Professeur Pear et l'aspect physiologique sous celle des Drs. Lipmann et Vernon et de M. Weston. Le Professeur Loriga a exposé l'historique de la question et a été secondé par une conférence de M. Piacitelli, traitant spécialement des méthodes appliquées aux États-Unis. Le temps disponible pour chaque sujet particulier était d'une heure et demie, dont

<sup>1</sup> Abrégé légèrement.

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la première moitié était consacrée à la conférence et la seconde aux questions posées par les auditeurs. Une des parties les plus fécondes du travail réside sans doute dans les réponses faites à ces questions par les conférenciers.

A titre d'expérience, on peut considérer ce Cours comme un succès incomparable. Une part de ce succès, et non la moindre, doit être attribué à l'excellent travail des conférenciers, des personnes de confiance et des traducteurs, auxquels il convient d'exprimer tout particulièrement nos remerciements.

On pourra voir, d'après le relevé des comptes, que les dépenses pour le Cours de Vacances proprement dit n'ont en rien grevé le budget de l'Association.

**RAPPORT SUR LE COURS DE VACANCES.** Malgré les retards causés par le transfert du Secrétariat Central de Zurich à la Haye, au mois d'août, le rapport sur le Cours de Vacances, dont Mlle Fledderus a assumé l'édition, a pu paraître, dans le courant du mois d'octobre. Ce rapport comprend 130 pages et contient des comptes-rendus des différentes conférences, rédigés dans les langues des conférences elles-mêmes, plus un résumé des discussions et une brève introduction générale, ce résumé et cet avant-propos étant imprimés à la fois en anglais, en français et en allemand.

Suivant les comptes-rendus publiés par les journaux et par les revues dans nombre de pays, le rapport a trouvé un accueil très favorable et a permis à l'Association de jouir de plus d'un précieux et nouveau contact. On a considéré ce volume comme une contribution nouvelle à la littérature du sujet et l'on a vu son principal mérite dans l'union, jusque là assez rare, de la recherche scientifique et de l'expérience pratique.

**L'ASSEMBLÉE DU CONSEIL DE BAVENO ET L'ASSEMBLÉE DU COMITÉ EXÉCUTIF A STOCKHOLM.** L'Assemblée annuelle du Conseil suivit immédiatement le Cours de Vacances, avec la participation de 21 membres, appartenant à 14 pays différents. Les points principaux de l'ordre du jour furent, d'une part, le projet de révision des statuts et, d'autre part, la préparation du Congrès de 1928.

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**PROJET DE STATUTS.** En ce qui concerne le projet des nouveaux statuts, le rapport de l'année dernière a déjà exposé les raisons militant en faveur de la modification des statuts actuel. Un projet, établi et distribué à l'avance, fournit une base utile à la discussion. On tomba d'accord sur les principes essentiels, qu'il conviendra d'incorporer aux nouveaux statuts et l'élaboration d'un second projet fut confiée à une commission ainsi composée:

Dr. A. Correggiari, Mlle Mary van Kleeck, Mlle F. A. F. Livingstone, Mlle K. Hesselgren, Mlle M. L. Fieddérus  
Mlle E. B. Voysey.

Cette commission présenta un rapport au Comité Exécutif, lors de l'assemblée de ce dernier tenue à Stockholm en janvier. Le projet présenté par la commission ci-dessus indiquée, et tel que l'avait amendé le Comité Exécutif, fut distribué vers le milieu de février aux membres du Conseil. Enfin, un dernier projet, comprenant les recommandations adressées par les membres du Conseil, a été distribué à tous les membres, à la fin d'avril.

Les principaux points sur lesquels les nouveaux statuts diffèrent des statuts actuels sont les suivants:

une disposition plus simple et plus logique des sections, l'absence d'un règlement intérieur et des dispositions plus complètes relativement à la procédure, là où l'expérience en a montré la nécessité;

le changement du nom de l'Association;

la définition plus précise et le remaniement des groupes entre lesquels se répartissent les membres;

la fixation d'un maximum de 4 conseillers par pays, chacun de ces 4 conseillers appartenant autant que possible à des groupes de membres respectivement différents, la charge de "mandataire" se trouvant abolie, sauf pour le remplacement des Conseillers dans des assemblées particulières;

la création d'un "noyau" en forme de comités nationaux et la nomination, dans chaque pays, de secrétaires-correspondants;

## RAPPORT DES SECRÉTAIRES

la redistribution des devoirs des fonctionnaires;  
une disposition spéciale quant à la désignation d'un Comité Exécutif et d'un secrétaire exécutif.

L'Association semble avoir besoin de statuts très simples, capables de régler son libre développement sans en rien l'entraver, et il est permis de croire que le projet de statuts qui doit être présenté au Congrès se trouve répondre à cette exigence.

PRÉPARATION DU CONGRÈS DE 1928. Le Conseil décida à l'unanimité d'adopter pour le Congrès de 1928, le sujet suivant, dont la proposition avait été transmise d'avance aux membres du Conseil:

"Nature des relations fondamentales entre les diverses sections de la communauté industrielle."

On a pensé que l'élaboration de ce sujet laisserait nettement apparaître les points de vue auxquels l'Association désire donner son adhésion. Il est permis d'augurer que le Rapport de ce Congrès jouera un rôle essentiel en montrant avec une clarté beaucoup plus grande qu'on n'avait pu ou jugé utile de le faire auparavant, les buts dont l'Association se propose de poursuivre la réalisation dans le monde. De cette façon, en effet, on pourra profiter de l'occasion fournie par un Congrès, pour manifester devant un vaste public les idées de l'Association.

L'élaboration du programme avait, une fois de plus, été confiée à une commission, composée de la façon suivante:

Mlle Mary van Kleek, M. C. H. van der Leeuw, Mlle F. A. F. Livingstone, Mme le Dr. F. Wunderlich, Mlle K. Hesselgren, Mlle M. L. Fleddérus, Mlle E. B. Voysey.

Cette commission présenta également un rapport à la réunion de Stockholm.

La commission a remarquablement réussi à établir un programme, à la fois intéressant et exhaustif, de conférences et de discussions. En outre, on a rédigé des notes complémentaires au programme, dans le but de fournir tous renseigne-

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ments utiles, aux orateurs, aux personnes chargées d'ouvrir les discussions et aux présidents. De cette façon, on a espéré rendre possible la compréhension mutuelle entre ces personnes et assurer un maximum d'unité dans la façon de traiter le sujet du Congrès.

Nous citons de ces notes les passages suivants:

"Le programme du Congrès comportera deux parties essentielles: des conférences pour la présentation des principaux aspects de ce vaste sujet et des discussions au cours desquelles les membres intéressés de quelque manière dans les différentes phases de l'activité industrielle procéderont en commun à des échanges de vue quant à la signification pour leur application quotidienne, des principes généraux énoncés dans les conférences.

"Préalablement au traitement du sujet, des rapports oraux sur les différents pays seront exposés au cours de la première matinée; ces rapports auront eux-mêmes pour base les rapports écrits présentés auparavant au Congrès, et montrant de quelle façon les rapports fondamentaux de la vie industrielle se trouvent affectés, par: (1) la collaboration, soit à l'intérieur de chaque groupe industriel, soit entre les différents groupes entre eux; (2) l'éducation et la formation professionnelle des membres de tous les groupes de l'industrie; (3) le service social dans l'industrie y compris l'organisation du personnel et de l'emploi; (4) l'organisation scientifique du travail; (5) la psychologie industrielle; (6) l'orientation professionnelle. Outre ces rapports oraux et écrits, on rassemblera les matériaux nécessaires à la discussion des conférences et aux discussions par tables rondes. Nous nous efforcerons dans toutes les phases du programme, de faire ressortir les aspects philosophiques sous-jacents aux conditions réelles et aux problèmes tels que les présentent l'industrie moderne dans les différents pays; en d'autres termes, nous essayerons de montrer quelle philosophie se trouve immanente à l'expérience des différents pays quant aux effets de l'industrie moderne sur l'homme et sur la femme."

Le Comité Exécutif approuva complètement le travail de la commission du programme et l'on procéda dès le début de 1928 à la publication du programme préliminaire.

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L'excellence du choix arrêté, quant au sujet du programme, semble avoir trouvé sa confirmation dans l'empressement avec lequel les orateurs et les personnes chargées d'ouvrir les discussions ont répondu à l'appel. Les uns et les autres, comme le programme permet de s'en rendre compte, se trouvent représenter un vaste champ d'expérience.

**QUESTIONS FINANCIÈRES.** La situation financière de l'Association a préoccupé sérieusement les Membres du Conseil. Ils se sont rendus compte qu'ils n'étaient plus loin de la fin de cette période de tatonnement pour les besoins de laquelle de généreux donateurs avaient pourvu par des dons importants.

La tâche du Conseil - pour ce qui concerne les ressources financières - a été déterminée clairement pour l'année financière qui vient de s'écouler aussi bien que pour l'avenir.

La proposition:

"que chaque pays ait à contribuer à l'équilibre du budget dans une mesure déterminée (quoteparts proposées par le Comité exécutif et approuvées par le Conseil) les Rap-  
"porteurs et les Membres de chaque pays s'arrangeant  
"pour trouver les sommes qui leur sont demandées en  
"s'adressant, soit personnellement soit par l'intermédiaire  
"du Secrétariat, à des individus, à des firmes ou à des As-  
"sociations",

a été adoptée et les redevances des 26 pays adhérents ont été déterminées.

A l'Assemblée du Comité Exécutif tenue à Stockholm la trésorière a fait savoir que des versements avaient été effectués par l'Autriche, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, l'Italie, la Suède et la Suisse. Le compte des recettes et des dépenses pour 1927-1928 montre la somme totale reçue sous cette rubrique.

Plus tard une petite commission financière fut désignée par le Comité Exécutif; cette commission se composait de:

M. C. H. van der Leeuw (président), Mlle D. A. Cadbury,  
Mlle M. L. Fledderus et, ex officio, de la Présidente.

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Ladite commission fut chargée d'envisager, par quels moyens il serait possible d'acroître le budget qui devra être présenté lors du Congrès.

**CONSEIL.** Le Conseil comprend à l'heure actuelle 69 membres, relevant de 22 pays différents.

Une précieuse collaboration a été fournie par les membres du Conseil, dans les domaines suivants :

la compilation de rapports sur leurs pays respectifs, en vue du Congrès de 1928 ;

la désignation, à l'usage du Secrétariat, de la plupart des journaux et des revues possibles d'accorder leur publicité, spécialement en vue du Congrès de 1928 ;

la formation de centres de distribution pour le matériel de propagande de l'Association.

Enfin la mesure prévue par le projet de nouveaux statuts et tendant à ce que les Membres du Conseil de chaque pays formeront, avec tous ceux des fonctionnaires de l'Association pouvant se trouver avoir leur résidence dans le même pays, le noyau d'un comité national, et désigneront l'un des Membres du Conseil pour servir d'agent de liaison entre le comité national et le Secrétariat central, - cette mesure a déjà trouvé une heureuse réalisation dans plusieurs pays.

**PUBLICITÉ.** Pendant tout le cours de l'année écoulée, le Secrétariat s'est spécialement efforcé de porter l'existence du Congrès à la connaissance des milieux les plus divers dans toutes les parties du monde. Dès le début de l'automne, une note intéressante et donnant l'annonce du Congrès, a été préparée puis adressée aux journaux, revues et périodiques de 23 pays, sans compter les différentes agences de presse internationales. Afin de rendre cette publicité aussi efficace et aussi complète que possible, tous les rapporteurs ont été appelés à fournir des listes revues et corrigées de la plupart des journaux et des revues intéressées paraissant dans leurs pays respectifs. En même temps, cette annonce de presse a été reprise sous la forme d'un tract imprimé de façon parlante et l'on en a fait continuellement usage pour porter à la connaissance du public la prochaine

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réunion du Congrès; en outre on a eu recours au programme préliminaire, publié dans les premiers jours de l'année.

Une dernière communication de presse, donnant tous les détails sur le sujet du Congrès et sur les orateurs a été publiée aux approches du Congrès lui-même.

Cette concentration des efforts dans le sens de la publicité a eu naturellement pour effet d'étendre considérablement les contacts entretenus par l'Association. Aussi, non seulement notre information relative aux divers pays s'en est-elle trouvée largement accrue, mais de plus, il a été beaucoup plus aisé de dresser une "Liste des services d'édition" qui sera de la plus grande importance pour une publicité efficace dans l'avenir.

**VOYAGES.** Les contacts déjà existants ont été renforcés et multipliés par suite du voyage aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique de la Secrétaire Honoraire, de même que par la réunion du Comité Exécutif à Stockholm et par le séjour à Berlin de deux secrétaires lors de leur retour de Stockholm. La Secrétaire Honoraire a également visité divers groupements et différentes personnes à Genève et à Londres.

Il semble intéressant de mentionner qu'à l'occasion de leur séjour à Stockholm, divers membres du Comité Exécutif ont été invités à prendre la parole au cours des réunions tenues par la Fédération des Pays Septentrionaux affiliée à la Ligue Internationale des Femmes pour la Paix et la Liberté.

**MEMBRES.** L'Association comprend à l'heure actuelle 344 membres<sup>1</sup>, provenant de 27 pays<sup>1</sup>, au lieu de 241 membres, à la fin de l'année précédente. Une liste des membres jusqu'à la fin de 1927 a déjà été distribuée, l'impression de cette liste ayant été rendue possible grâce à un don spécialement accordé à cet effet par un des membres. Le recrutement de l'Association accuse une intéressante variété d'expérience, variété montrant par elle-même le but en vue duquel existe l'Association.

Un nouveau formulaire d'inscription des membres, beaucoup plus complet et comportant un questionnaire beaucoup plus précis quant à l'expérience des intéressés, a été mis en cir-

<sup>1</sup> Au 31 décembre 1928, ces nombres étaient 373 membres de 30 pays.



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culation à partir du mois de janvier. Une brochure, de rédaction nouvelle, se trouve jointe à ce formulaire; elle explique la valeur de l'Association et en expose l'objet de façon concise, en faisant porter tout l'accent sur les relations fondamentales.

**DERNIERS TRAVAUX PRÉPARATOIRES EN VUE DU CONGRÈS.** Une grande part des travaux préparatoires en vue du Congrès a consisté dans l'édition de ceux des rapports sur les différents pays qui se trouvaient déjà prêts à être présentés à Cambridge. Ces rapports forment le premier volume du Rapport général sur les travaux du Congrès.

On avait prévu la rédaction de rapports sur 18 pays, et 15<sup>1</sup> de ces rapports sont arrivés en temps utile pour être insérés dans ce premier volume. Une contribution toute spéciale a été fournie par le groupe des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, dont le mémoire a de beaucoup dépassé les limites prescrites pour les rapports.

Cette contribution fut accompagnée d'un don en espèces, destiné à couvrir les frais d'impression supplémentaires. Il convient d'exprimer tout particulièrement nos remerciements aux collaborateurs dans cet oeuvre et aux membres de la commission qui a composé le rapport: Mr. Glenn Bowers, Mrs. Lillian Gilbreth et Miss Mary van Kleeck.

Un des autres points importants de la préparation du Congrès a consisté à passer tous arrangements nécessaires pour la visite des usines et de diverses institutions en Grande Bretagne. A cet égard, différentes associations et un grand nombre de firmes bien connues et représentatives ont été pressenties, et les membres prenant part au Congrès disposeront, en conséquence, d'un très grand choix pour ces visites. Cet aspect du travail réalisé a naturellement fait beaucoup plus largement connaître l'Association en Grande-Bretagne, spécialement dans les milieux chez lesquels il est permis de s'attendre à une juste compréhension de son oeuvre.

L'Association doit une grande reconnaissance aux corps ci-

<sup>1</sup> Depuis l'impression de ce volume, trois rapports de plus ont été imprimés dans un supplément, de sorte que le premier volume se compose de 18 rapports.

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dessous énoncés et qui ont bien voulu lui assurer leur collaboration: The Association for Education in Industry and Commerce, Bournville, Birmingham; the Industrial Fatigue Research Board, London; the Institute of Industrial Welfare Workers, London; Management Research Groups, London; National Industrial Alliance, London; National Institute of Industrial Psychology, London; the Women's Engineering Society, London. De même, l'Association doit beaucoup aux bons offices de Mlle S. M. Bevington B.Sc., Rapporteuse pour la Grande-Bretagne, qui a l'obligeance, en faisant les arrangements pour les visites, de servir d'intermédiaire entre les membres du Congrès d'une part, et, d'autre part, les firmes et les groupements en question.

Afin de faciliter la participation au Congrès de la part des membres représentant la catégorie ouvrière de notre recrutement, ou bien encore de la part des membres qui seraient dans l'impossibilité de participer au Congrès - spécialement s'ils appartiennent à des pays faiblement représentés, - il a été constitué un petit fond pour l'allocation duquel le Comité Exécutif est responsable. L'Allocation doit tout ses remerciements à ceux de ses membres qui ont généreusement répondu à l'appel quant à la formation de ce fond. De même, une petite donation a été généreusement faite par le Boeke Trust, Bournville, Birmingham.

La clôture de la présente année marque l'achèvement de la première période triennale dans l'existence de l'Association. Il est permis de considérer le Congrès de Cambridge comme la première borne posée sur la route à parcourir. Ce Congrès viendra clore une première période et il en ouvrira une seconde, laquelle offrira de nouvelles perspectives quant à la possibilité d'intéressants développements ultérieurs.

Les plus importants de ces développements paraissent être les possibilités, créées sur le plan national, par l' "impetus" donné internationalement.

Le concours spontané, dans des groupes nationaux, d'individus représentant des activités industrielles extrêmement différentes, doit être considéré comme l'une des caractéristiques les plus heureuses de l'année qui vient de s'écouler, et il est

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permis de penser que l'encouragement à donner à ces groupes et leur intime mise en contact avec l'Association dans son ensemble pourra sans doute représenter l'oeuvre en vue de laquelle il conviendra de concentrer nos efforts dans un prochain avenir.

A cet égard, les Conseillers de chaque pays joueront évidemment un rôle essentiel. Aussi la mesure dans laquelle ils se trouvent représenter des groupements différents de l'activité industrielle constitue-t-elle un point de toute première importance.

De cette façon il sera permis de s'attendre à ce que l'Association puisse atteindre le but qu'elle se propose, c'est à dire la défense ou la création de relations et de conditions humaines satisfaisantes dans le monde si vaste de la vie industrielle. Et pour ce faire, elle devra, nationalement à la fois et internationalement, mettre en commun l'expérience et faire appel à la libre consultation et à la collaboration volontaire des hommes et des femmes qui lui ont accordé leur concours.

M. L. Fleddérus, Secrétaire Hon.

E. Brenda Voysey, Secrétaire Générale.

LA HAYE, Juin 1928.

GESCHÄFTSBERICHT<sup>1</sup> FOR DAS AM 30. APRIL 1928 ENDENDE  
GESCHÄFTSJAHR, VORGELEGT IN DER SITZUNG DES RATES  
IN CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND, IM JUNI 1928.

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Ein Jahr voll Tätigkeit ist vergangen seit Erstattung des Berichtes für das am 30. April 1927 endende Geschäftsjahr, d.h. des zweiten Jahres seit Bestehen der Vereinigung. Während die Arbeit jenes Jahres dem weiteren Ausbau der Vereinigung und der Aufstellung ihres Arbeitsprogrammes gewidmet war, ist das jetzt abgeschlossene Jahr eine Zeit tatkräftigen Schaffens gewesen.

SOMMERSCHULE IN BAVENO. Eine sehr erfolgreiche Sommerschule wurde in Baveno, Italien, vom 19.—26. Juni 1927 abgehalten, an der 55 Mitglieder aus 14 Ländern teilnahmen.

Ausschlaggebend für die Wahl des Themas der ersten Sommerschule "Die Vermeidung unnützer Ermüdung in Industriebetrieben", war der Wunsch der Vereinigung, ihrem Hauptzweck zur Verwirklichung zu verhelfen, d.h. einen Boden zu schaffen für vorurteilslose, gemeinsame Untersuchungen aller an der Produktion beteiligten Gruppen über industrielle Fragen und Entwicklungserscheinungen. Das Problem der industriellen Ermüdung und die Frage, inwieweit dieselbe vermieden werden kann, führt Betriebsleitung und Arbeiterschaft, Ingenieure und Psychologen, Werkmeister und Leiter wissenschaftlicher Betriebsuntersuchungen, Fabrikpfleger, Gewerbe-Inspektoren und Pädagogen notwendigerweise auf demselben Forum zusammen.

Das Thema der Studienwoche wurde sowohl von der psychologischen wie von der physiologischen Seite behandelt. Die psychologischen Studien wurden von Professor Pear, die physiologischen von Dr. Lipmann, Dr. Vernon und Mr. Weston geleitet. Professor Loriga gab einen Ueberblick über die historische Entwicklung; seine Darstellungen wurden ergänzt durch einen Vortrag von M. Piacitelli, der besonders auf die in den Vereinigten Staaten angewandten Untersuchungs- und Arbeitsmethoden einging. Die einzelnen Themen wurden in etwa 1½ Stunden behandelt und zwar entfiel die Hälfte dieser Zeit auf den Vortrag, die andere Hälfte auf die Aussprache.

<sup>1</sup> Etwas gekürzte Fassung.

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Sehr wertvoll waren die Ausführungen, mit denen die Referenten die von den Hörern an sie gerichteten Fragen beantworteten.

Der Versuch der Sommerschule kann als unbedingter Erfolg gewertet werden. Dieser ist nicht zum wenigsten der ausgezeichneten Mitwirkung der Vortragenden, Leiter und Uebersetzer zu danken, denen sich die Vereinigung ganz besonders verpflichtet fühlt.

Aus dem Rechnungsbericht ist zu ersehen, dass die Kosten, die unmittelbar aus der Sommerschule entstanden sind, die Vereinigung nicht belastet haben.

**BERICHT UEBER DIE SOMMERSCHULE.** Trotz der Verzögerung, die durch die Verlegung der Hauptgeschäftsstelle von Zürich nach Haag im Monat August entstand, erschien der Bericht über die Sommerschule, dessen Herausgabe von Fräulein Fleddérus vorbereitet wurde, im Laufe des nächsten Oktobers. Der Bericht besteht aus 130 Seiten und enthält die Grundzüge der Vorträge in den Sprachen, in denen sie gehalten wurden, eine Zusammenfassung der Diskussionen und eine kurze Einführung - die beiden letzteren in englischer, französischer und deutscher Sprache.

Die in Zeitungen und Zeitschriften vieler Länder erschienenen Besprechungen zeigen, dass der Bericht eine sehr günstige Aufnahme gefunden und der Vereinigung wertvolle neue Beziehungen vermittelt hat. Er wird als eine Bereicherung der einschlägigen Literatur angesehen, deren besonderer Wert in der bisher ungewöhnlichen Verbindung von wissenschaftlicher Untersuchung und praktischer Erfahrung liegt.

**SITZUNG DES RATES IN BAVENO UND DES GESCHAFTSFUEHRENDEN AUSSCHUSSES IN STOCKHOLM.** Die jährliche Sitzung der Rates schloss sich unmittelbar an die Sommerschule an und wurde von 21 Mitgliedern aus 14 Ländern besucht. Die wichtigsten zur Verhandlung stehenden Themen waren der Entwurf der neuen Satzung und die Vorbereitung für den Kongress 1928.

**SATZUNGSENTWURF.** Die Gründe für die Revision der geltenden Satzung sind schon im letzten Jahresbericht dargelegt worden.

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Ein vorher aufgestellter und versandter Entwurf bildete eine gute Grundlage für die Aussprache. Die Hauptgrundsätze der künftigen Satzung wurden vereinbart und die weitere Ausarbeitung des zweiten Entwurfes einem Ausschuss übertragen, der sich aus folgenden Persönlichkeiten zusammensetzte:

Dr. A. Correggiari, Miss Mary van Kleeck, Miss F. A. F. Livingstone, Miss K. Hesselgren, Miss M. L. Fleddéus, Miss E. B. Voysey,

die dem Geschäftsführenden Ausschuss auf der in Stockholm stattfindenden Sitzung Bericht erstatteten. Der von diesem Ausschuss vorgelegte und vom Geschäftsführenden Ausschuss ergänzte Entwurf ging den Mitgliedern des Rates Mitte Februar zu; ein endgültiger Entwurf, der die von den Mitgliedern des Rates empfangenen Vorschläge enthielt, wurde allen Mitgliedern Ende April zugesandt.

Die Hauptpunkte, in denen die neue Satzung von der jetzt geltenden abweicht, sind:

Eine einfachere und logisch verbundene Anordnung der Paragraphen, der Verzicht auf einen Anhang (Bye-Laws) und die ausführlichere Regelung der Verhandlungsformen, in den Punkten, in denen sie erfahrungsgemäss erforderlich war;

die Aenderung des Namens;

eine eingehendere Definition und Umordnung der Mitgliedergruppen;

die Festsetzung einer Höchstzahl von vier Ratsmitgliedern für jedes Land, die soweit wie möglich von den verschiedenen Mitgliedsgruppen entsandt werden sollen; das Amt des Stellvertreters bleibt nur für den Fall des Ersatzes eines Ratsmitgliedes bei einer besonderen Sitzung bestehen; vorgesehen wird die Bildung nationaler Ausschüsse und die Ernennung von Schriftführern in jedem Land;

Neuverteilung der Aufgaben der Vorstandsmitglieder;

vorgesehen wird die Ernennung eines Geschäftsführenden Ausschusses und eines Geschäftsführers.

Leitung ermöglicht, ohne ihre Entwicklung zu hemmen, und wir hoffen, dass der Satzungsentwurf, der dem Kongress vorgelegt wird, diese Gewähr bietet.

VORBEREITUNG FUER DEN KONGRESS 1928. Der Rat fasste den einstimmigen Beschluss, als Thema für den Kongress 1928 den folgenden Vorschlag anzunehmen, der schon vor der Sitzung übermittelt worden war:

**"Grundlegende Beziehungen zwischen allen an der Industrie beteiligten Gruppen".**

Man war sich bewusst, dass die Herausarbeitung dieses Gegenstandes die Gedankenrichtung, die die I. R. I. vertritt, besonders klar zum Ausdruck bringen würde. Wir dürfen schon jetzt sagen, dass der Kongressbericht wesentlich dazu beitragen wird, mit grösserer Klarheit als es bisher möglich oder ratsam war, die Ziele aufzuzeigen, die die Vereinigung künftig anstreben will, und so diese einzigartige Gelegenheit, die der Kongress für Verbreitung der Ideen der Vereinigung in einem grossen Publikum bietet, voll auszuwerten.

Die Ausarbeitung des eigentlichen Programmes wurde wieder einem Ausschuss anvertraut, der sich aus folgenden Persönlichkeiten zusammensetzte:

Miss Mary van Kleeck, Mr. C. H. van der Leeuw, Miss F. A. F. Livingstone, Frau Dr. F. Wunderlich, Miss K. Hesselgren, Miss M. L. Fleddéus, Miss E. B. Voysey,

die gleichfalls in Stockholm Bericht erstatteten.

Es gelang dem Ausschuss ein anregendes und abgerundetes Vortragsprogramm für die Vorträge und die Tafelrunden aufzustellen. Zur Ergänzung wurden "einführende Bemerkungen" herausgegeben mit dem Zweck, die Vortragenden, die Eröffnungsredner der Aussprachen und die Leiter mit dem gesamten Programm des Kongresses vertraut zu machen, um gegenseitiges Verständnis und Einheitlichkeit in der Behandlung des Kongressthemas zu erzielen.

Wir zitieren aus diesen Bemerkungen die folgenden Sätze:

"Das Programm des Kongresses wird zwei Hauptteile umfassen: Vorträge, in denen die grundlegenden Probleme des

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"grossen Verhandlungsthemas dargelegt werden, und Aussprachen im engeren Kreis, in denen die in den verschiedenen Gebieten des Wirtschaftslebens tätigen Kongressteilnehmer über die Bedeutung dieser grundsätzlichen Fragen für die tägliche Praxis des Arbeitslebens diskutieren werden.

"Als Einführung zu den Verhandlungen dienen die von den verschiedenen Ländern am ersten Morgen zu erstattenden Referate, die sich auf schriftliche, dem Kongress vorher eingereichte Berichte stützen, und die zeigen, in welcher Weise die grundlegenden Beziehungen in der Industrie berührt werden: (1) durch die Zusammenarbeit innerhalb und zwischen den einzelnen Gruppen, (2) durch Berufserziehung und Anlernung für alle Gruppen, (3) durch die Betriebswohlfahrtspflege einschliesslich des Personal- und Anstellungswesens, (4) durch wissenschaftliche Betriebsführung, (5) durch Berufspsychologie und (6) durch Berufsberatung. Diese Angaben und Berichte werden Stoff für die sich an die Vortragsträger anschliessende Aussprache und für die Tafelrunden bieten. Wir suchen in allen Teilen des Programmes grundlegende Erkenntnisse und Leitideen in Beziehung zu setzen zu den tatsächlichen Verhältnissen, und den Problemen, die die heutige Wirtschaft in den verschiedenen Ländern aufweist; mit anderen Worten: wir versuchen aus den Erfahrungen der verschiedenen Länder grundlegende Erkenntnisse über die Wirkungen der heutigen Industrie auf Männer und Frauen herauszukristallisieren."

Der Geschäftsführende Ausschuss billigte die Arbeit des Programmausschusses und das vorläufige Programm wurde zu Anfang des neuen Jahrs veröffentlicht.

Auf eine Anerkennung der Wahl des Kongressthemas glauben wir aus den bereitwilligen Zusagen der Vortragenden und der Diskussionsredner schliessen zu dürfen, die - wie aus dem Programm ersichtlich ist - Vertreter eines vielseitigen und reichen Erfahrungsgebietes sind.

FINANZEN. Die Erörterung der finanziellen Lage der Vereinigung nahm in der Aussprache eine hervorragende Rolle ein. Die Anwesenden waren sich bewusst, dass die Zeit, während der einige Freunde der Vereinigung die für ihren Aufbau not-



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wendigen Beträge in grosszügiger Weise zur Verfügung gestellt hatten, nahezu abgelaufen ist. Die Verpflichtung des Rates zur Aufbringung der für den Bestand der Vereinigung notwendigen zusätzlichen Mittel für das laufende Jahr und für zukünftige Jahre, wurde allseits anerkannt.

Der Vorschlag:

"den Betrag für die Ausgaben der Vereinigung auf die einzelnen Länder umzulegen (Verteilung vom engeren Vorstand entworfen und durch den Rat bestätigt) und zwar so, dass die Berichterstatter und Mitglieder die umgelegten Beträge durch Werbung bei Einzelpersonen, bei Firmen oder Stiftungen des betreffenden Landes entweder persönlich oder mit Hilfe der Geschäftsstelle der I. R. I. "aufbringen,"

wurde angenommen, und die auf jedes der 26 der Vereinigung angehörenden Länder entfallenden Beträge festgesetzt.

Auf der Sitzung des Geschäftsführenden Ausschusses in Stockholm berichtete die Schatzmeisterin, dass Beträge aus Oesterreich, Italien, Schweden, der Schweiz und den Vereinigten Staaten eingegangen waren. Die Aufstellung der Einnahmen und Ausgaben für 1927/1928 enthält die Totalsumme der unter diesem Titel eingegangenen Beiträge.

Später wurde ein Finanzausschuss von dem Geschäftsführenden Ausschuss ernannt mit folgender Zusammensetzung:

Mr. C. H. van der Leeuw (Vorsitzender), Miss D. A. Cadbury, Miss M. L. Fleddérus, und dem Präsidenten von amtswegen,

um Möglichkeiten für die Beschaffung von Mitteln zu erwägen, über die dann auf der Tagung in Cambridge berichtet werden sollte.

RAT. Der Rat besteht jetzt aus 69 Mitgliedern aus 22 Ländern. Wertvolle Mitarbeit wurde von den Ratsmitgliedern in folgender Weise geleistet:

Zusammenstellung der Berichte ihrer Länder für die Berichterstattung auf dem Kongress 1928;

Orientierung der Geschäftsstelle über die für die Presse-

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propaganda geeigneten Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, besonders im Hinblick auf den Kongress 1928;  
Bildung von Verteilungsstellen für das Werbematerial der Vereinigung.

Die in den neuen Satzungen vorgesehene Regelung, "die Ratsmitglieder eines jeden Landes bilden zusammen mit den Vorstandsmitgliedern, die in dem betreffenden Lande wohnen, den Stamm eines Ausschusses für dieses Land und ernennen ein Ratsmitglied zum Vermittlungssekretär zwischen dem Ausschuss und der Hauptgeschäftsstelle", ist schon in einigen Ländern erfolgreich in die Tat umgesetzt worden.

PROPAGANDA. Während des ganzen vergangenen Jahres hat sich die Tätigkeit der Geschäftsstelle vorzugsweise auf die Propaganda für den Kongress in den verschiedensten Kreisen in allen Erdteilen erstreckt. Eine Interesse erweckende Anzeige des Kongresses wurde früh im Herbst vorbereitet und den Zeitungen, Zeitschriften und Journalen in 23 Ländern zugesandt, ausserdem auch an verschiedene internationale Korrespondenten. Um diese Pressepropaganda so wirksam und ausgedehnt wie möglich zu gestalten, waren alle Berichtersteller gebeten worden, revidierte Listen der geeignetsten Zeitungen und Zeitschriften ihres Landes einzusenden. Gleichzeitig wurde die für die Presse bestimmte Anzeige in anziehender Form als Flugblatt gedruckt und ist ständig verwandt worden, um das Publikum mit dem nahenden Kongress bekannt zu machen. In Verbindung damit wurde das vorläufige Programm zu Anfang des neuen Jahres veröffentlicht und versandt. Eine endgültige Pressenotiz, die nähere Einzelheiten über Themen und Redner brachte, ist kurz vor dem Kongress herausgegeben worden.

Die eingehende Pressepropaganda hat selbstverständlich die Beziehungen der Vereinigung ausgedehnt und unsere Kenntnisse über die einzelnen Länder wesentlich erweitert; es ist auch möglich geworden, eine sehr sorgfältig zusammengesetzte Versendungsliste aufzustellen, die von grösstem Wert für eine zukünftige erfolgreiche Propaganda sein wird.

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REISEN. Die bestehenden Beziehungen sind gefestigt und aus-

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gedehnt worden durch die Reisen der ehrenamtlichen Schriftführerin in den Vereinigten Staaten, die Veranstaltung der Sitzung des Geschäftsführenden Ausschusses in Stockholm und den Besuch der beiden Schriftführerinnen in Berlin auf der Rückreise von Stockholm. Die ehrenamtliche Schriftführerin hat ausserdem verschiedene Organisationen und Persönlichkeiten in Genf und London aufgesucht.

Es ist von Interesse, dass gelegentlich des Besuches in Stockholm verschiedene Mitglieder des Geschäftsführenden Ausschusses gebeten wurden, auf der Jahresversammlung des Bundes der nordischen Länder der Internationalen Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit Ansprachen zu halten.

**MITGLIEDSCHAFT.** Die Vereinigung zählt zur Zeit 344 Mitglieder<sup>1</sup> in 28 Ländern<sup>1</sup>, gegen 241 zum Schluss des vergangenen Jahres. Eine Mitgliederliste nach dem Stande vom Schluss des Jahres 1927 wurde versandt; der Druck dieser Liste ist durch eine besondere Spende für diesen Zweck, die ein Mitglied zur Verfügung gestellt hat, ermöglicht worden. Die Gesamtheit der Mitglieder stellt eine interessante, verschiedenartig zusammengesetzte Vertretung von Erfahrungen und Fachwissen dar, die in sich selbst den Zweck verkörpert, dem die Vereinigung dient.

Ein neues vollständigeres Anmeldeformular zur Mitgliedschaft, das genauere Angaben über die Berufserfahrung der sich Anmeldenden enthält, wird seit Januar versandt. Diesem Formular beigelegt ist ein neu gefasstes Flugblatt, das auf die Bedeutung der Vereinigung hinweist, und ihre Ziele in prägnanter Weise zum Ausdruck bringt. Besonderer Nachdruck ist auf die "grundlegenden Beziehungen" gelegt worden.

**LETZTE VORBEREITUNG FÜR DEN KONGRESS.** Ein wesentlicher Teil der Schlussvorbereitung für den Kongress bestand in der Herausgabe der Berichte der einzelnen Länder, die für Cambridge schon fertiggestellt worden sind, und den ersten Band des Berichtes über die Kongressverhandlungen bilden.

<sup>1</sup> Am 31. Dezember 1928 war der Mitgliederstand 373 Mitglieder aus 30 Ländern.

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Berichte wurden von 18 Ländern eingesandt; 15<sup>1</sup> trafen rechtzeitig ein, sodass sie noch in den Bericht aufgenommen werden konnten. Einen besonderen Beitrag, der erheblich über den vorgeschriebenen Umfang für den Bericht hinausgeht, übersandte die Mitgliedergruppe der Vereinigten Staaten. Dieser Beitrag wurde von einer Geldspende zur Bestreitung der durch den Druck entstehenden Sonderkosten begleitet. Unseren besonderen Dank schulden wir den Mitarbeitern an diesem Bericht und den Mitgliedern des Ausschusses, die ihn zusammengestellt haben: Mr. Glenn Bowers, Mrs. Lillian Gilbreth und Miss Mary van Kleeck.

Einen anderen wichtigen Teil der Vorarbeiten für den Kongress bildete die Vorbereitung der Besichtigungen von Fabriken und Einrichtungen in Grossbritannien. Zu diesem Zweck sind wir in Verbindung mit verschiedenen bedeutenden Körperschaften und einer grösseren Anzahl bekannter und bedeutender Firmen getreten mit dem Erfolg, dass den Kongressteilnehmern reiche Gelegenheit und Auswahl zu Besichtigungen geboten werden kann. Diese Arbeit hat die Vereinigung und den Kongress in Grossbritannien, besonders in den Kreisen bekannt gemacht, bei denen wir auf das rechte Verständnis hoffen dürfen.

Die Vereinigung fühlt sich besonders den folgenden Körperschaften für ihre wertvolle Mitarbeit zu Dank verpflichtet: The Association for Education in Industry and Commerce, Bournville, Birmingham; the Industrial Fatigue Research Board, London; the Institute of Industrial Welfare Workers, London; Management Research Groups, London; National Industrial Alliance, London; National Institute of Industrial Psychology, London; the Womens' Engineering Society, London, und Miss S. M. Bevington B.Sc., Berichterstatterin für Grossbritannien, die freundlichst die Vermittlung zwischen den Mitgliedern des Kongresses und den betreffenden Firmen und Körperschaften bei der Vorbereitung der im einzelnen vorzunehmenden Besichtigungen übernommen hat.

Um die Teilnahme an dem Kongress den Vertretern der Arbeitnehmergruppe der Mitglieder und denjenigen Mitgliedern,

<sup>1</sup> Seitdem sind drei weitere Berichte eingegangen, die in einem Nachtrag gedruckt wurden, sodass dieser Band jetzt aus 18 Berichten besteht.

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besonders aus den noch wenig vertretenen Ländern zu erleichtern, denen die Teilnahme sonst nicht möglich gewesen wäre, ist ein kleiner Fonds gesammelt worden, für dessen Verteilung der Geschäftsführende Ausschuss verantwortlich ist. Der Dank der Vereinigung richtet sich an jene Mitglieder, die in grosszügiger Weise der Bitte um Bildung dieses Fonds entsprochen haben. Eine kleinere Spende ist auch freundlicherweise von dem Boeke Trust, Bournville, Birmingham, zur Verfügung gestellt worden.

Mit dem Schluss dieses Jahres endet der erste Dreijahresabschnitt im Leben der Vereinigung. Der Kongress in Cambridge ist der erste Meilenstein, der diese Zeitperiode abschliesst und den Anfang einer neuen kennzeichnet, die Ausblicke auf interessante Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten bietet.

Dass grösste Interesse scheinen die Möglichkeiten der nationalen Auswirkung internationaler Impulse zu verdienen. Der spontane Zusammenschluss nationaler Gruppen von Einzelpersonlichkeiten, die die verschiedensten industriellen Wirkensgebiete und Erfahrungsbereiche repräsentieren, stellt eine vielversprechende Erscheinung des letzten Jahres dar, und man darf annehmen, dass die Arbeit der nächsten Zukunft sich ganz besonders auf die Förderung dieser Gruppen und auf die Herstellung des engen Kontaktes zwischen ihnen und der Vereinigung als Ganzes richten wird.

Hierbei werden die Ratsmitglieder in jedem Land eine bedeutende Rolle spielen, und daher ist die Frage, in welchem Umfange sie verschiedene Gruppen der Wirtschaft vertreten, von hervorragender Bedeutung.

Es darf erwartet werden, dass die Vereinigung ihrem Ziel - die Herbeiführung befriedigender menschlicher Beziehungen und Arbeitsbedingungen im weiten Bereich der Industrie - näher kommen wird, wenn es ihr, mit Hilfe der von ihren Ideen erfüllten Männer und Frauen gelingt, Erfahrung, freiwillige Führung und Zusammenarbeit auf nationaler und internationaler Grundlage zu vereinigen.

M. L. Fleddérus, Schriftführerin.

E. Brenda Voysey, Geschäftsführerin.



**STATUTES OF THE INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS  
ASSOCIATION (FOR THE STUDY AND PROMOTION OF SATIS-  
FACTORY HUMAN RELATIONS AND CONDITIONS IN INDUSTRY)**

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**ARTICLE I. NAME AND PURPOSE.**

- Sec. 1.** The name of the Association shall be "The International Industrial Relations Association (For the study and promotion of satisfactory human relations and conditions in industry.)"
- Sec. 2.** The aim of the Association shall be to study and promote such principles and methods as tend to develop satisfactory human relations and conditions in all undertakings involving the employment of persons. This aim is based upon the conviction that in whatever social order industry, agriculture and commerce may take form, there will always be human problems arising from the employment of persons that can be solved or approached by all concerned without abandoning their attitude towards the social and economic order.
- Sec. 3.** All political or religious discussion and propaganda are definitely outside the scope of the Association.

**ARTICLE II. MEMBERSHIP.**

- Sec. 1.** Membership of the Association is open to all who are engaged in any undertaking involving the employment of persons, or who are occupied in work of scientific research or social significance bearing on industry, and who are in sympathy with the aims of the Association.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Membership of the Association falls therefore into the following main groups:  
Directors, Managers, Personnel (Welfare) Workers, Psychologists, Doctors, Engineers, Foremen and Forewomen;  
Employees;  
Officers of Employers', Workers' and other Industrial Organisations;  
Factory Inspectors, Members of Industrial Boards and Councils;  
Industrial Research Workers, Industrial Educationalists, Industrial Social Workers;  
and so forth.

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- Sec. 2. All membership is individual. Applications for Membership shall be proposed and seconded by Members of the Association, the procedure for admission to be decided by the Council.
- Sec. 3. The minimum annual subscription for each member shall be decided from Congress to Congress by the Members present at the General Meeting held in connection with each Congress. The fee decided upon may be adjusted by the Council according to fluctuations in the rate of exchange.<sup>1</sup>
- Sec. 4. Membership fees shall be due on election and at the beginning of each succeeding financial year. Members whose fees are more than one year in arrears shall forfeit their membership after due notice has been given, unless special arrangements are made otherwise by the Council.  
New Members are expected to pay membership fees in advance before being permitted to exercise the privileges of membership.
- Sec. 5. The Council shall have the right by vote of two thirds of those present at any Council Meeting, notice of which shall have contained a statement of the proposed action, to expel from the Association a member guilty of conduct out of harmony with the purposes of the Association. Such person shall receive at least two months' notice in writing of such meeting and shall be permitted to be present and heard in his own defence.

## ARTICLE III. COUNCILLORS.

- Sec. 1. The members from each country taking part in the Association shall elect not more than four Councillors, whose duty, it shall be to serve as members of the

<sup>1</sup> Rather than specially reducing the individual membership fee for those categories of Members for whom the payment of a fee sufficiently large to give adequate support to the Association might prove a deterrent to their joining, it is recommended that a minimum fee be adopted at a rate which little more than covers the actual outgoing expenses for each Member. Those who are in a position to give larger amounts than this minimum are therefore specially invited to fix their fee accordingly.



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Council, to make reports to the Association regarding subjects of interest to it in their respective countries, and to interpret the work of the Association to other members and to the public in their own countries.

If a Councillor is unable to attend a Council Meeting he shall have power, in consultation with the other Councillors for his country, to appoint a Proxy to take his place at the meeting concerned.

- Sec. 2. The Councillors shall be elected during the period immediately preceding each Congress by the members in the country concerned. The Corresponding Councillor in each country (see Section 5 below) shall be responsible for all arrangements and shall communicate the names of the new Councillors to the Secretariat Headquarters not later than the opening of each Congress. Councillors shall serve from the General Meeting to the General Meeting held in connection with each Congress and shall be eligible for re-election.<sup>1</sup>
- Sec. 3. Vacancies in the office of Councillor, whether due to an incomplete number of appointments in the first place, or to retirement during the term of Office, may be filled by the remaining Councillors concerned. In the event of there being no remaining Councillors, the Executive Committee, in consultation with the members of the country concerned, shall have power to appoint substitutes. In either case such appointments shall be confirmed at the next meeting of the Council.
- Sec. 4. Where a country takes part in the Association for the first time between the Congresses, the Executive Committee, in consultation with the members in the country concerned, shall have power to appoint the Councillors

<sup>1</sup> In view of the wide range of membership of the Association, it is suggested that as far as possible each Councillor shall be selected from a different group in order that the Association may have the benefit of various points of view. In the event of an insufficient number of suitable Councillors being available for election, attention is drawn to the fact that the full complement of four places need not necessarily at once be filled.

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to serve until the next Congress, such appointments to be confirmed at the next Meeting of the Council.

- Sec. 5. The Councillors for each country, together with any Officers who happen to be resident in that country, shall form the nucleus of a Committee for that country, and shall designate one of the Councillors to act as Corresponding Councillor between the Committee and the Secretariat Headquarters.<sup>1</sup>

## ARTICLE IV. OFFICERS.

- Sec. 1. The Officers of the Association shall be:

President

Not more than three Vice-Presidents

Treasurer.

In addition to the customary duties, the Vice-Presidents shall be responsible for:

1. The Secretariat Headquarters

2. Editing and Publicity

3. Such other phases of the work as the current needs of the Association may suggest.

- Sec. 2. The officers shall be elected by ballot by the Members present at the General Meeting held in connection with each Congress, from nominations submitted by the Council, which shall post its report at least 24 hours before the last Council Meeting preceding the General Meeting at which the election of Officers takes place: for the purpose of preparing these nominations the Council shall appoint a Nominating Committee of three members, one year before the meeting of the Congress. Members of the Association may submit independent nominations which must be handed in to the Nominating

<sup>1</sup> In this way a means is provided whereby each national group is enabled to take a more active share in the constructive work of the Association, and a centre will thus be formed which may serve as a clearing house for information both to and from the Secretariat Headquarters.

Where practicable the Councillors are urged to consider the holding of regular meeting for Members of the Association in the country concerned, with a view to obtaining their constructive collaboration in the work of the Association.

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Committee not later than the Council Meeting referred to above, and the Council shall have the power to decide, on the occasion of each election, the number of supporters, up to a maximum of 10, necessary for each independent nomination.

- Sec. 3.** The Officers shall serve from the General Meeting to the General Meeting held in connection with each Congress and shall be eligible for re-election. A vacancy occurring during the term of office may be filled by the Council for the remainder of the term. The same person may serve as an Officer and as a Councillor if desired.

### ARTICLE V. COUNCIL.

- Sec. 1.** The administration of the Association shall be vested in a Council which shall serve from the General Meeting to the General Meeting held in connection with each Congress and shall be composed of the Officers and Councillors. The Council shall have power to elect from among the members of the Association not more than seven additional persons to serve on the Council in an advisory capacity until the succeeding Congress when they shall be eligible for re-election. The Council may also include, in an advisory capacity, any members of the Executive Committee who have not been originally elected as Members of the Council (see Art. VI, Sec. 2, below).
- Sec. 2.** The function of the Council shall be to direct the work of the Association and to manage its affairs, funds and property.
- Sec. 3.** The Council shall prepare and adopt an annual budget and shall be authorized to employ such persons as may be necessary for carrying out the work of the Association, to pay out of the funds such travelling, subsistence and other allowances to Officers and Members as may seem necessary and proper; and to incur financial responsibilities within the limits of the annual budget.

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Sec. 4. The Council shall make a full report to the members of the Association at the Congress concerning the progress of the work in the interval between Congresses, including an audited financial report.

Sec. 5. Voting on the Council shall be on an individual basis, each member of the Council, other than those serving in an advisory capacity, being entitled to one vote.

### ARTICLE VI. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Sec. 1. The Council shall appoint an Executive Committee to administer the affairs of the Association between the meetings.

Sec. 2. The Executive Committee shall consist of the Officers of the Association and not more than seven other Members who, if not already members of the Council, shall become advisory members of the Council by force of their election to the Executive Committee.

### ARTICLE VII. EXECUTIVE SECRETARY.

Sec. 1. The Council shall have power to appoint an Executive Secretary and to attach a salary to the Office.

The Executive Secretary shall be in charge of the Secretariat and shall, *ex officio*, normally take part in all meetings. In order to preserve the neutrality of the Secretariat, the Executive Secretary shall not vote.

### ARTICLE VIII. SUB-COMMITTEES.

Sec. 1. The Council and the Executive Committee shall have power to appoint Sub-Committees for special purposes, to serve in an advisory capacity. The Members of the Sub-Committees need not be Members of the Council.

Sec. 2. The Executive Secretary shall be *ex-officio* a member of all Sub-Committees.

Sec. 3. The Officers shall have the right to attend all meetings of Sub-Committees.

### ARTICLE IX. FINANCES.

Sec. 1. The funds of the Association may be derived from  
a. Membership fees

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b. Donations and legacies

c. Other sources.

- Sec. 2. The funds of the Association shall be managed by the Council, subject to control by the members through action taken at any General Meeting.
- Sec. 4. In the event of the Association deciding to discontinue its activities, its funds, after assets and liabilities have been ascertained, assets realized and liabilities paid, shall be disposed of as shall be directed by an Extraordinary General Meeting called for that purpose, provided that the notice of such meeting shall contain as full a report as possible of the funds to be disposed of.
- Sec. 5. If the liabilities of the Association exceed its assets, the financial obligation of any member shall be limited to the payment of one additional year's membership subscription.

### ARTICLE X. MEETINGS.

- Sec. 1. Unless otherwise determined by the Council, the members shall, under normal circumstances, meet every three years at a Congress, the date and place of which shall be determined by the Council.
- Sec. 2. Additional general meetings may be convened at the discretion of the Council, but at these meetings only those matters may be acted upon which are specified in the notices.
- Sec. 3. The notice and agenda of any general meeting shall, under normal circumstances, be circulated to members at least two months before the date of such meeting.
- Sec. 4. A member shall be entitled to an individual vote in all matters except those connected with the Statutes of the Association and the election of Officers, for which voting privileges are specifically defined in Article XII.
- Sec. 5. The Council shall meet annually at a time and place determined by itself. A meeting of the Council may also be called at the discretion of the Executive Committee or at the request of the Councillors from five countries.

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### ARTICLE XI. QUORUMS.

- Sec. 1. At a General Meeting, members from at least a fourth of the countries represented in the Association shall constitute a quorum. At an Extraordinary General Meeting, members from one third of the countries represented in the Association shall constitute a quorum. In the event of there being no quorum at an Extraordinary General Meeting, a further General Meeting may be called for the transaction of the business, at which no quorum is required.
- Sec. 2. At a meeting of the Council, an eighth of the membership shall constitute a quorum, provided that these members represent at least a fourth of the countries represented in the Council.
- Sec. 3. At a meeting of the Executive Committee, five members, of whom at least three must be Officers, shall constitute a quorum.

### ARTICLE XII. AMENDMENTS.

- Sec. 1. The Statutes of the Association may be altered or amended by a two thirds vote of members present at a General Meeting, the agenda of which shall have contained notice of the proposed alterations or amendments.

For purposes of forming, adding to or altering the Statutes and for the election of Officers, Members present at the General Meeting shall only vote individually up to a limit of 10 votes for each country. Where more than 10 members are present from any one country, such members shall form a group entitled to a maximum of 10 votes. On each question where a vote is taken, the members forming each such group shall take a preliminary vote on an individual basis, in order to determine the allocation of the 10 votes to which each group is entitled.

# STATUTS DE L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES RELATIONS INDUSTRIELLES

## ARTICLE I. NOM ET BUT.

Par. 1. Il est constitué une Association dite "Association Internationale des Relations Industrielles (pour l'étude et l'amélioration des rapports individuels et des conditions générales de travail dans l'Industrie)".

Par. 2. L'Association a pour but d'étudier et de propager les principes et méthodes tendant à améliorer les rapports individuels ainsi que les conditions générales de travail dans les entreprises de toutes natures.

Les membres de l'Association ont la ferme conviction que, quel soit l'ordre social dans lequel évoluent l'industrie, le commerce et l'agriculture, il est toujours possible de résoudre, ou tout au moins d'examiner les problèmes soulevés par l'organisation du travail de l'homme sans abandonner son attitude et ses opinions personnelles.

Par. 3. L'Association s'interdit toute discussion et toute propagande politique ou religieuse.

## ARTICLE II. MEMBRES.

Par. 1. Peuvent devenir membre de l'Association toute personne occupée dans une entreprise à quel que titre que ce soit et quelle que soit la nature de cette entreprise, toute personne se livrant à des recherches scientifiques ou à des oeuvres sociales ayant trait à l'industrie, enfin toute personne en accord avec les buts de l'Association.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Les membres de l'Association peuvent donc se diviser comme suit:  
Patrons, Directeurs, Surintendants, Psychologues, Médecins, Ingénieurs, Contre-maîtres;  
Ouvriers et Employés;  
Représentants des organisations patronales et ouvrières ou de toute autre organisation industrielle;  
Inspecteurs du travail, Membres des Commissions officielles du travail;  
Investigateurs et Professeurs de l'Industrie, Travailleurs sociaux de l'industrie;  
et ainsi de suite.

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Par. 2. L'adhésion est individuelle. Les adhérents sont présentés par deux membres de l'Association. La procédure d'admission est fixée par le Conseil.

Par. 3. La cotisation minimum annuelle est fixée par les membres présents à l'Assemblée générale tenue conjointement à chaque congrès. Le montant ainsi fixé peut être adapté, par le Conseil, aux fluctuations du cours des changes.<sup>1</sup>

Par. 4. Les cotisations sont payables lors de l'inscription et au commencement de chaque année financière. Le non-paiement de la cotisation pendant plus d'un an entraîne la radiation après notification à l'intéressé et sauf arrangement spécial avec le Conseil.  
Les nouveaux membres doivent acquitter leur cotisation avant d'être admis à l'exercice de leurs droits.

Par. 5. Tout acte incompatible avec les buts de l'Association entraîne la radiation, après délibération du Conseil et à une majorité des deux tiers des membres présents. L'action contre le membre coupable doit figurer à l'ordre du jour envoyé aux Membres du Conseil avant la réunion. Le membre coupable est prévenu par écrit au moins deux mois à l'avance et peut présenter sa défense verbalement à ladite réunion.

## ARTICLE III. MEMBRES DU CONSEIL.

Par. 1. Les membres de chaque pays nomment au maximum quatre personnes qui assument la charge de Membres du Conseil. Ils assurent l'échange des renseignements entre l'Association et les membres de leur pays. Ils tiennent le public au courant des travaux de l'Association.

<sup>1</sup> Il est préférable de fixer une cotisation minimum représentant la moyenne des frais occasionnés par chaque sociétaire, plutôt qu'une cotisation élevée qu'il serait indispensable de diminuer en faveur des membres ne pouvant y faire face. Les personnes en mesure d'effectuer des versements plus élevés que le minimum requis sont instamment priées de fixer elles-mêmes le montant de leur cotisation.



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Si un Membre du Conseil est empêché d'assister à une réunion du Conseil, il peut désigner un suppléant d'accord avec les autres membres de son pays.

Par. 2. Les Membres du Conseil sont élus immédiatement avant chaque Congrès. Le Secrétaire-Correspondant de chaque pays (v. par. 5 art. III) est responsable de l'organisation de l'élection et transmet au Secrétariat les noms des nouveaux Membres du Conseil, au plus tard à l'ouverture du Congrès. Le mandat des Membres du Conseil dure jusqu'à l'Assemblée Générale tenue conjointement au Congrès suivant. Les Membres du Conseil sont rééligibles.<sup>1</sup>

Par. 3. En cas de vacances, faute de candidats lors de l'élection ou par suite de démission, les Membres du Conseil du pays intéressé pourvoient à l'attribution des sièges vacants.

Dans le cas où il n'y aurait plus de Membres du Conseil en fonctions pour un pays, le Comité Exécutif, d'accord avec les membres du même pays peut désigner des suppléants. Ces désignations sont ratifiées par la plus prochaine réunion du Conseil.

Par. 4. Lorsqu'un pays adhère pour la première fois à l'Association entre deux Congrès, le Comité Exécutif, d'accord avec les membres de ce pays peut désigner des Membres du Conseil dont les fonctions prennent fin au plus prochain Congrès. Ces désignations doivent toujours être ratifiées par le Conseil au cours de sa plus prochaine réunion.

Par. 5. En vue de faciliter le travail du Secrétariat et de concentrer et renforcer la collaboration des représentants nationaux avec l'Association, les Membres du Conseil d'un pays et tous les fonctionnaires de l'Association

<sup>1</sup> Eu égard à la diversité de recrutement des membres de l'Association, il est souhaitable que les Membres du Conseil soient élus par des groupes différents afin que tous les points de vue soient représentés. Si le nombre des candidats conseillers est insuffisant, il est rappelé que les sièges vacants peuvent être attribués en cours d'exercice.

## STATUTS

résidant dans ce même pays constituent un comité national et désignent l'un deux comme Secrétaire-Correspondant.<sup>1</sup>

### ARTICLE IV. BUREAU.

**Par. 1.** Le bureau de l'Association est composé comme suit:

Un président

Trois Vice-présidents au maximum

Un trésorier.

En dehors de leurs charges usuelles, les Vice-Présidents sont responsables:

1. du Secrétariat

2. de la Publicité et des Editions

3. de tous les travaux nécessités par la vie courante de l'Association.

**Par. 2.** Le bureau est élu au scrutin secret par les membres présents à l'assemblée générale tenue conjointement à chaque Congrès. Un an avant le Congrès, le Conseil nomme une Commission de trois membres, chargée de recueillir les candidatures. Les Membres de l'Association peuvent toujours se réunir pour soumettre à cette Commission les candidatures de leur choix. Le Conseil décide à chaque élection le nombre minimum des membres devant présenter ces candidatures indépendantes pour qu'elles soient valables. En aucun cas, il ne peut exiger plus de 10 partisans. Le conseil fait connaître le nom des candidats agréés par lui, au moins 24 heures avant sa dernière réunion précédant l'Assemblée Générale.

**Par. 3.** Le mandat des membres du bureau expire à l'Assemblée Générale tenue conjointement au Congrès suivant leur élection. En cas de vacances au cours de l'exercice le Conseil nomme les remplaçants. Les pouvoirs des

<sup>1</sup> Les Membres du Conseil sont instamment priés d'organiser des réunions périodiques entre les membres de l'Association dans le but d'assurer leur collaboration aux travaux de l'Association.

## STATUTS

membres ainsi nommés prennent fin à la date où devait normalement expirer le mandat des membres remplacés. Les Membres du Bureau sont rééligibles. Ils peuvent être choisis parmi les Membres du Conseil.

### ARTICLE V. CONSEIL.

- Par. 1. L'Administration de l'Association est confiée à un Conseil élu pour la période séparant deux Assemblées Générales et composé des Membres du Conseil et des Membres du Bureau. Le Conseil peut s'assurer le concours des membres de l'Association dont l'expérience lui est utile. Ces personnes assistent aux réunions avec voix consultative. Leurs fonctions prennent fin à chaque Congrès. Elles sont rééligibles. Leur nombre ne peut dépasser Sept.  
Les Membres du Comité Exécutif qui ne font pas partie du Conseil peuvent également assister aux réunions à titre consultatif (voir Art. VI, Par. 2).
- Par. 2. Le Conseil dirige les travaux de l'Association. Il en administre les affaires, les fonds et les propriétés.
- Par. 3. Le Conseil prépare et adopte le budget annuel. Il est autorisé à employer toutes personnes nécessaires à l'exécution du travail, de même qu'à prélever sur les fonds de l'Association les frais de voyage, subsistance, ou autres, qu'il juge nécessaire de rembourser aux membres de l'Association et à ses dirigeants. Il assume toutes les responsabilités financières dans les limites du budget annuel.
- Par. 4. A chaque Congrès le Conseil présente un rapport moral et un rapport financier, ce dernier vérifié et certifié exact par un commissaire aux comptes.
- Par. 5. Les membres du Conseil votent individuellement, chacun d'eux disposant d'une voix. Les personnes assistant aux réunions à titre consultatif ne prennent pas part aux votes.

## STATUTS

### ARTICLE VI. COMITÉ EXÉCUTIF.

- Par. 1. Le Conseil nomme un Comité Exécutif chargé d'administrer les affaires de l'Association dans l'intervalle des réunions.
- Par. 2. Le Comité Exécutif se compose des Membres du Bureau et de sept autres membres au maximum. La nomination de ces derniers au Comité Exécutif entraîne leur admission au Conseil s'ils n'en font déjà partie, mais seulement à titre consultatif.

### ARTICLE VII. SECRÉTAIRE EXÉCUTIF.

- Par. 1. Le Conseil a la faculté de nommer un Secrétaire Exécutif et d'en appointer la charge. Le secrétaire assume les travaux du Secrétariat, et, d'office, prend part à toutes les réunions. Afin d'assurer la neutralité du secrétariat, le secrétaire ne prend part à aucun vote.

### ARTICLE VIII. SOUS-COMMISSIONS.

- Par. 1. Le Conseil et le Comité Exécutif peuvent désigner des sous-commissions qui fonctionnent à titre consultatif. Les membres des sous-commissions ne font pas nécessairement partie du Conseil.
- Par. 2. Le Secrétaire Exécutif fait, d'office, partie de toutes les sous-commissions.
- Par. 3. Les Membres du Bureau peuvent assister à toutes les séances des sous-commissions.

### ARTICLE IX. FINANCES.

- Par. 1. Les fonds de l'Association proviennent:
- a. des cotisations de ses membres
  - b. de dons et legs
  - c. de toute autre source.
- Par. 2. Les fonds de l'Association sont gérés par le Conseil. Celui-ci est soumis au contrôle des membres qui peuvent entreprendre toute action à cet effet au cours des assemblées générales.

## STATUTS

- Par. 3. Le Comité Exécutif fera vérifier le compte-rendu financier annuel. Le rapport du Commissaire aux comptes est joint au rapport financier envoyé aux membres.
- Par. 4. En cas de dissolution, l'utilisation de l'actif net est fixée par l'Assemblée Générale extraordinaire convoquée spécialement à cet effet. La convocation à cette Assemblée contient l'indication précise des fonds disponibles.
- Par. 5. Dans le cas où les dépenses engagées par l'Association dépasseraient l'actif, l'obligation financière de chaque membre ne pourrait excéder le montant d'une cotisation annuelle supplémentaire.

### ARTICLE X. ASSEMBLÉES.

- Par. 1. L'Association tient un Congrès tous les trois ans, à moins de décision différente du Conseil ou de circonstances anormales. Le Conseil décide le lieu et la date du Congrès.
- Par. 2. Le Conseil peut convoquer les Membres de l'Association en Assemblées Générales Extraordinaires. Toutefois au cours de ces Assemblées l'ordre du jour spécifié dans la convocation peut seul venir à la discussion.
- Par. 3. Les notices et ordres du jour de toute assemblée générale sont adressées aux membres au plus tard deux mois avant la date de ces assemblées. En cas de circonstances anormales, ce délai pourra être modifié.
- Par. 4. Le droit de vote individuel s'entend sur toutes les questions, sauf celles prévues à l'article XII, concernant les modifications aux status et l'élection des Membres du Bureau.
- Par. 5. Le Conseil se réunit tous les ans. Il décide lui-même le lieu et la date de ses réunions. Le Conseil se réunit également à la demande du Comité Exécutif ou des Membres du Conseil de cinq pays.

## STATUTS

### ARTICLE XI. QUORUM.

- Par. 1. La présence de membres du quart des pays représentés à l'Association est nécessaire pour la validité des délibération dans les Assemblées Générales. Cette proportion est élevée à un tiers pour les assemblées générales extraordinaires. Au cas où un quorum ne serait pas atteint lors d'une Assemblée Générale Extraordinaire, une nouvelle Assemblée Générale Extraordinaire pourra être convoquée pour l'expédition des affaires dans lesquels il n'est pas exigé de quorum.
- Par. 2. Dans les réunions du Conseil, le huitième des membres et le quart des pays représentés à l'Association constituent simultanément le quorum.
- Par. 3. Dans les séances du Comité Exécutif, cinq membres dont trois du Bureau constituent le Quorum.

### ARTICLE XII. AMENDEMENTS.

- Par. 1. Les statuts ne peuvent être modifiés qu'à la majorité des deux tiers des membres présents à l'Assemblée Générale. La convocation à cette Assemblée porte mention des modifications ou amendements proposés. En ce qui concerne les modifications aux statuts de même que l'élection des Membres du Bureau, les membres présents à l'Assemblée Générale se prononcent également par votes individuels, jusqu'à concurrence de 10 voix par pays. Si plus de 10 membres d'un pays sont présents, les votes individuels sont groupés proportionnellement à la base 10 avant d'être présentés à l'Assemblée Générale.

Juillet 1928.

# SATZUNGEN DER INTERNATIONALEN VEREINIGUNG FÜR BESTGESTALTUNG DER ARBEIT IN BETRIEBEN

## ARTIKEL I. NAME UND ZWECK.

Abs. 1. Die Vereinigung führt den Namen "Internationale Vereinigung für Bestgestaltung der Arbeit in Betrieben."<sup>1</sup>

Abs. 2. Zweck der Vereinigung ist das Studium und die Förderung von Grundsätzen und Arbeitsmethoden, die der Herbeiführung befriedigender persönlicher Beziehungen und Arbeitsbedingungen in allen Betrieben dienen. Dieser Zweck wird begründet durch die Ueberzeugung, dass sich - unabhängig von der gegebenen Sozialordnung in Industrie, Landwirtschaft und Handel - persönliche Probleme ergeben, die von allen Beteiligten ohne Aufgabe ihrer Haltung gegenüber der Gesellschafts- oder Wirtschaftsordnung gelöst oder einer Lösung näher gebracht werden können.

Abs. 3. Die Erörterung politischer oder religiöser Fragen und die Propaganda für solche Zwecke sind grundsätzlich ausgeschlossen.

## ARTIKEL II. MITGLIEDSCHAFT.

Abs. 1. Mitglied der Vereinigung können alle Personen werden, die in einem Betrieb tätig sind oder die in betriebswissenschaftlicher oder sozialer Arbeit in irgend einer Beziehung zur Industrie stehen und sich den Bestrebungen der Vereinigung anschliessen.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "International Industrial Relations Association (for the Study and Promotion of Satisfactory Human Relations and Conditions in Industry)".

<sup>2</sup> Die Mitglieder der Vereinigung setzen sich daher aus folgenden Hauptgruppen zusammen:  
Direktoren, Betriebsleiter, Fabrikpfleger, Psychologen, Aerzte, Ingenieure, Werkmeister und Vorarbeiter;  
Arbeiter und Angestellte;

(Fussnote auf der nächsten Seite fortgesetzt.)

## SATZUNGEN

- Abs. 2.** Die Mitgliedschaft bei der Vereinigung ist persönlich. Alle Aufnahmeversuche sind durch Mitglieder der Vereinigung einzureichen und zu befürworten; über das Aufnahmeverfahren entscheidet der Rat.
- Abs. 3.** Der Mindestmitgliedsbeitrag wird von Kongress zu Kongress durch die Mitglieder festgesetzt, die an der im Anschluss an jeden Kongress stattfindenden Generalversammlung teilnehmen. Der Rat kann den Betrag den Veränderungen der Währung anpassen.<sup>1</sup>
- Abs. 4.** Mitgliedsbeiträge werden fällig beim Eintritt in die Vereinigung und zu Beginn jedes folgenden Rechnungsjahres. Mitglieder, die mit ihrem Beitrag länger als ein Jahr im Rückstand bleiben, verlieren, nachdem sie vorerst eine Mahnung erhalten haben, die Mitgliedschaft, wenn der Vorstand nicht etwas anderes bestimmt. Neue Mitglieder zahlen den Mitgliedsbeitrag im voraus, ehe sie die Vergünstigungen der Vereinigung in Anspruch nehmen.
- Abs. 5.** Der Rat hat das Recht mit zwei Drittel Mehrheit der Anwesenden - auf jeder Sitzung des Rats, zu der eine Einladung mit einem Hinweis auf das beabsichtigte Vorgehen ergangen ist - ein Mitglied auszuschließen, dessen Verhalten nicht im Einklang mit den Bestrebungen der Vereinigung steht. Dem betreffenden Mitglied ist mindestens zwei Monate vor der Sitzung eine entsprechende schriftliche Mitteilung zu machen und

Beamte von Arbeitgeber-, Arbeitnehmer- und andern industriellen Organisationen;  
Gewerbe-Inspektoren, Mitglieder der für die Industrie zuständigen Ministerien und Körperschaften;  
Betriebswissenschaftliche Forscher, Pädagogen, Industrielle Sozialarbeiter; u. s. w.

<sup>1</sup> Anstatt den Mitgliedsbeitrag für diejenigen Mitglieder, die nicht in der Lage sind einen ausreichenden Beitrag zu zahlen, im Einzelfalle herabzusetzen, um ein Fernbleiben solcher Persönlichkeiten von der Vereinigung zu vermeiden, wird empfohlen einen Mindestbeitrag festzusetzen, der etwas höher ist als der Betrag der auf jedes Mitglied entfallenden Ausgaben. Diejenigen Mitglieder, die in der Lage sind, mehr als den Minimumbetrag zu geben, werden daher gebeten, ihren Beitrag entsprechend höher festzusetzen.



## SATZUNGEN

die Möglichkeit zur Teilnahme und zur Verteidigung zu geben.

### ARTIKEL III. MITGLIEDER DES RATS. (Councillors).

Abs. 1. Die Mitglieder eines Landes, das der Vereinigung angehört, wählen höchstens vier Ratsmitglieder, deren Aufgabe es ist, als Mitglied des Rats zu wirken, der Vereinigung Bericht über ihr Land zu erstatten in Fragen, die für die Vereinigung von Interesse sind, und die Bestrebungen und Tätigkeit der Vereinigung andern Mitgliedern und der Öffentlichkeit in ihren Ländern nahezubringen.

Wenn ein Ratsmitglied verhindert ist, der Tagung des Rats beizuwohnen, so hat es das Recht, im Einverständnis mit den anderen Ratsmitgliedern des betreffenden Landes einen Stellvertreter zu bestimmen, der seinen Platz auf der in Frage kommenden Tagung einnimmt.

Abs. 2. Die Mitglieder des Rats werden kurz vor Beginn eines jeden Kongresses durch die Mitglieder ihres Landes gewählt. Das federführende Ratsmitglied eines jeden Landes (s. Abs. 5. Art. III) ist für alle Vorbereitungen verantwortlich und muss die Namen der neuen Ratsmitglieder dem Generalsekretariat spätestens zu Beginn eines jeden Kongresses mitteilen. Die Mitglieder des Rats werden für die Zeit von einer bis zur andern im Anschluss an einen Kongress stattfindenden Generalversammlung gewählt und sind wieder wählbar.<sup>1</sup>

Abs. 3. Wenn das Amt eines Ratsmitgliedes frei wird - entweder weil die entsprechenden Wahlen noch nicht vorgenommen worden oder weil Mitglieder während der Dauer ihrer Amtstätigkeit zurückgetreten sind - so können die übrigen Ratsmitglieder des betr. Landes die

<sup>1</sup> Mit Rücksicht auf den weitgesteckten Rahmen der Mitgliedschaft der Vereinigung wird vorgeschlagen, die Ratsmitglieder möglichst so zu wählen, dass alle Mitgliedergruppen vertreten werden und dass auf diese Weise verschiedene Gesichtspunkte Berücksichtigung finden. Falls eine genügende Anzahl geeigneter Mitglieder des Rats nicht zur Verfügung steht, ist es nicht notwendig, die vier Plätze sofort zu besetzen.

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Ernennung eines Ersatzmannes vornehmen. Sollte es vorkommen, dass ein Land überhaupt keine Ratsmitglieder mehr hat, so hat der Geschäftsführende Ausschuss, im Einverständnis mit den Mitgliedern des betreffenden Landes, das Recht, die Ernennung von Ersatzmännern vorzunehmen. In jedem Fall müssen solche Ernennungen von der nächsten Ratsversammlung bestätigt werden.

Abs. 4. Wenn ein Land der Vereinigung zwischen zwei Kongressen beitrifft, so hat der Geschäftsführende Ausschuss, im Einverständnis mit den Mitgliedern des betreffenden Landes, das Recht, Ratsmitglieder bis zum nächsten Kongress zu ernennen; die Ernennung bedarf der Bestätigung bei der nächsten Tagung des Rates.

Abs. 5. Die Ratsmitglieder eines jeden Landes bilden zusammen mit denjenigen Vorstandsmitgliedern, die in dem betreffenden Lande wohnen, den Stamm eines Ausschusses für dieses Land und ernennen ein Ratsmitglied zum Federführenden zwischen dem Ausschuss und der Hauptgeschäftsstelle.<sup>1</sup>

## ARTIKEL IV. VORSTAND. (Officers.)

Abs. 1. Dem Vorstand gehören an:

Der Präsident

Nicht mehr als drei Vize-Präsidenten

Der Schatzmeister.

Neben den üblichen Pflichten haben die Vize-Präsidenten noch die Verantwortung zu übernehmen für:

1. Das Generalsekretariat

2. Redaktion und Presse

3. Aufgaben, die sich aus den laufenden Geschäften der Vereinigung ergeben.

<sup>1</sup> Auf diese Weise kann jede nationale Gruppe lebhafteren Anteil an der Aufbauarbeit der Vereinigung nehmen und eine Zentrale bilden, die gleichzeitig als Vermittlungs- und Auskunftsstelle für das Generalsekretariat sowie für die Mitglieder des betreffenden Landes dient.

Die Ratsmitglieder sollen, soweit als möglich regelmässige Sitzungen der Mitglieder ihres Landes veranstalten, um ihre lebendige Mitarbeit für die Bestrebungen der Vereinigung zu gewinnen.

## SATZUNGEN

**Abs. 2.** Der Vorstand wird durch Stimmzettel von den Mitgliedern gewählt, die bei der im Anschluss an einen Kongress stattfindenden Generalversammlung anwesend sind, nach Wahlvorschlägen, die vom Rat unterbreitet werden; der Rat soll seinen Bericht wenigstens 24 Stunden vor der letzten Ratssitzung vorlegen, die der Generalversammlung vorausgeht, in der die Wahl des Vorstandes stattfindet; zum Zweck der Vorbereitung dieser Wahlvorschläge ernennt der Rat einen Wahlvorbereitungsausschuss von 3 Mitgliedern ein Jahr vor der Tagung des Kongresses. Mitglieder der Vereinigung können unabhängige Wahlvorschläge einreichen, die dem Wahlvorbereitungsausschuss spätestens auf der oben erwähnten Ratssitzung zu übermitteln sind. Der Rat hat das Recht bei jeder Wahl die Zahl der für einen unabhängigen Wahlvorschlag erforderlichen Unterzeichner - bis zur Höchstzahl von 10 - festzusetzen.

**Abs. 3.** Die Vorstandsmitglieder üben ihr Amt in der Zeit von einer bis zur andern im Anschluss an einen Kongress stattfindenden Generalversammlung aus und dürfen wieder gewählt werden. Scheidet ein Vorstandsmitglied während der Amtszeit aus, so wird ein Stellvertreter von dem Rat für den Rest der Amtszeit ernannt. Auf Wunsch kann eine Persönlichkeit gleichzeitig Vorstandsmitglied und Mitglied des Rates sein.

### ARTIKEL V. DER RAT. (Council.)

**Abs. 1.** Die Leitung der Vereinigung wird einem Rat übertragen, der sein Amt von einer bis zur andern im Anschluss an einen Kongress stattfindenden Generalversammlung ausübt. Der Rat besteht aus dem Vorstand und den Ratsmitgliedern. Der Rat hat das Recht aus den Mitgliedern der Vereinigung nicht mehr als 7 weitere Personen bis zum nächsten Kongress, an dem sie wieder gewählt werden können, als Beirat in den Rat aufzunehmen.

## SATZUNGEN

Diejenigen Mitglieder des Geschäftsführenden Ausschusses, die nicht ursprünglich Ratsmitglieder waren, werden beratende Ratsmitglieder. (Beiräte s. Art. VI. Abs. 2.)

- Abs. 2. Aufgabe des Rates ist es, die Arbeit der Vereinigung zu leiten, ihre Geschäfte zu führen, ihre Angelegenheiten und ihr Vermögen zu verwalten.
- Abs. 3. Der Rat hat das Recht, den jährlichen Haushaltsplan aufzustellen und anzunehmen; er ist ermächtigt, die für die Durchführung der Arbeit der Vereinigung erforderlichen Kräfte anzustellen und für Reise-Auslagen, Tagegelder und sonstige Zwecke den Vorstandsmitgliedern und Mitgliedern aus den Mitteln der Vereinigung die erforderlichen Zuschüsse zu gewähren. Der Rat hat ferner das Recht, innerhalb der Grenzen des jährlichen Haushaltsplanes finanzielle Verpflichtungen einzugehen.
- Abs. 4. Der Rat hat den Mitgliedern der Vereinigung auf dem Kongress einen eingehenden Bericht über den Fortschritt der Arbeit in der zwischen den Kongressen liegenden Zeit und einen geprüften Rechnungsbericht zu erstatten.
- Abs. 5. Der Rat stimmt auf einer individuellen Basis ab. Jedes Ratsmitglied, mit Ausnahme der Beiräte, hat eine Stimme.

## ARTIKEL VI. GESCHAFTSFUEHRENDER AUSSCHUSS. (Executive Committee.)

- Abs. 1. Der Rat hat das Recht, einen Geschäftsführenden Ausschuss zu ernennen, der die Geschäfte der Vereinigung in der Zeit zwischen den Tagungen führt.
- Abs. 2. Der Geschäftsführende Ausschuss besteht aus den Vorstandsmitgliedern der Vereinigung und aus nicht mehr als 7 andern Mitgliedern, die, sofern sie nicht bereits Mitglieder des Rats sind, durch ihre Wahl in den Geschäftsführenden Ausschuss Beiräte des Rates werden.

ARTIKEL VII. GESCHAEFTSFUEHRER.  
(Executive Secretary.)

- Abs. 1. Der Rat hat das Recht, einen Geschäftsführer zu ernennen und für dieses Amt ein Gehalt auszusetzen. Der Geschäftsführer hat das Sekretariat zu führen und soll in der Regel an allen Sitzungen von Amts wegen teilnehmen. Um die Neutralität der Sekretariates zu wahren, hat der Geschäftsführer kein Stimmrecht.

ARTIKEL VIII. UNTERAUSSCHUESSE.

- Abs. 1. Der Rat und der Geschäftsführende Ausschuss haben das Recht, zu besonderen Zwecken Unterausschüsse mit der Eigenschaft von Beiräten zu bilden. Die Mitglieder der Ausschüsse brauchen nicht Mitglieder des Rats zu sein.
- Abs. 2. Der Geschäftsführer ist von Amts wegen Mitglied aller Unterausschüsse.
- Abs. 3. Der Vorstand hat das Recht, an allen Sitzungen der Unterausschüsse teilzunehmen.

ARTIKEL IX. FINANZEN.

- Abs. 1. Die Mittel der Vereinigung setzen sich zusammen:
- a. aus Mitgliedsbeiträgen
  - b. aus Schenkungen und Vermächtnissen
  - c. aus andern Einkünften.
- Abs. 2. Das Vermögen der Vereinigung wird durch den Rat verwaltet; den Mitgliedern steht jedoch das Recht der Kontrolle auf jeder Generalversammlung zu.
- Abs. 3. Der Geschäftsführende Ausschuss hat für die jährliche Rechnungsabnahme des Finanzberichtes Sorge zu tragen. Der Bericht der Kassenrevisoren ist in den Rechnungsbericht des Rats für die Mitgliederversammlung aufzunehmen.
- Abs. 4. Im Fall der Auflösung der Vereinigung werden die Bestimmungen über die Verwendung ihres Vermögens - nach Feststellung der Aktiva und Passiva, nach Reali-

## SATZUNGEN

sierung der Forderungen und Ausgleich der Verpflichtungen - durch eine für diesen Zweck einzuberufende ausserordentliche Generalversammlung getroffen. Die Einberufung der Generalversammlung soll einen möglichst eingehenden Bericht über die der Beschlussfassung unterliegenden Mittel enthalten.

Abs. 5. Uebersteigen die Passiva die Aktiva, so haften die einzelnen Mitglieder bis zum Höchstbetrage eines weitem Jahresbeitrages.

## ARTIKEL X. TAGUNGEN.

Abs. 1. Sofern der Rat keine andere Verfügung trifft, findet in der Regel alle drei Jahre eine Mitgliederversammlung gelegentlich eines Kongresses statt; Tag und Ort werden durch den Rat bestimmt.

Abs. 2. Ausserordentliche Generalversammlungen können nach Ermessen des Rates einberufen werden, doch dürfen auf diesen Versammlungen nur Fragen behandelt werden, die in der Einladung angegeben worden sind.

Abs. 3. Die Einladung und die Tagesordnung zur Generalversammlung müssen den Mitgliedern in der Regel mindestens zwei Monate vor dem Tag der Generalversammlung zugehen.

Abs. 4. An der Abstimmung können alle Mitglieder teilnehmen, sofern es sich nicht um Beschlüsse, die die Satzungen oder die Wahl des Vorstandes betreffen, handelt. Für diese Abstimmung ist eine besondere Regelung in Artikel XII getroffen.

Abs. 5. Tagungen des Rats finden alljährlich statt; die Bestimmungen über Ort und Zeit werden vom Rat selbst getroffen. Eine Tagung des Rats kann auch auf Wunsch des Geschäftsführenden Ausschusses oder auf Antrag der Ratsmitglieder aus fünf Ländern stattfinden.

## ARTIKEL XI. BESCHLUSSFAEHIGKEIT.

Abs. 1. Eine Generalversammlung ist beschlussfähig, wenn Mitglieder von mindestens einem Viertel der in der Ver-

## SATZUNGEN

einigung vertretenen Länder anwesend sind. Eine ausserordentliche Generalversammlung ist beschlussfähig, wenn Mitglieder aus einem Drittel aller Länder, die in der Vereinigung vertreten sind, anwesend sind. Falls eine ausserordentliche Generalversammlung nicht beschlussfähig ist, so kann eine weitere Generalversammlung für die Erledigung der Angelegenheit einberufen werden, bei der eine Beschlussfähigkeit nicht erforderlich ist.

- Abs. 2. Eine Versammlung des Rats ist beschlussfähig, wenn ein Achtel der Ratsmitglieder anwesend ist, vorausgesetzt, dass diese Mitglieder mindestens ein Viertel der in dem Rat vertretenen Länder darstellen.
- Abs. 3. Eine Versammlung des Geschäftsführenden Ausschusses ist beschlussfähig, wenn fünf seiner Mitglieder, von denen mindestens drei Vorstandsmitglieder sein müssen, anwesend sind.

## ARTIKEL XII. SATZUNGSÄNDERUNGEN.

- Abs. 1. Die Satzungen der Vereinigung können mit zwei Drittel Mehrheit der anwesenden Mitglieder einer Generalversammlung verändert oder ergänzt werden, deren Tagesordnung die Vorschläge für die beabsichtigten Änderungen oder Zusätze enthalten hat. Bei Abstimmung über die Formulierung von Satzungen, von Satzungszusätzen oder Satzungsänderungen und bei der Wahl des Vorstandes hat jedes Mitglied eine Stimme bis zur Höchstzahl von 10 Stimmen für jedes Land. Sind mehr als zehn Mitglieder eines Landes anwesend, so bilden sie eine besondere Gruppe, die das Recht auf zehn Stimmen hat. Bei jedem Punkt, über den abgestimmt werden muss, stimmen sämtliche Mitglieder der Gruppe. Das Resultat wird hierauf proportionell auf 10 Stimmen ausgerechnet und der Versammlung eingereicht.

**LIST OF OFFICERS, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND  
COUNCIL MEMBERS**

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### OESTERREICH

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au Dr. Else Züblin-Spiller Direktion "Schweizer Verband Volksdienst"  
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öken Ingrid Hesselgren Personnel Worker  
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öken Kerstin Hesselgren President of the L.R.I.  
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vented from attending Congress. Empêchés de participer. An der  
nahme verhindert.