

ORGANIZED LABOUR IN FOUR CONTINENTS

By H. A. Marquand

THE DYNAMICS OF INDUSTRIAL
COMBINATION

12s. 6d. net.

ORGANIZED LABOUR IN FOUR CONTINENTS

BY

H. A. MARQUAND

and others

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
LONDON · NEW YORK · TORONTO

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO. LTD.
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.4
17 CHITTARANJAN AVENUE, CALCUTTA
NICOL ROAD, BOMBAY
36A MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
114 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
221 EAST 20TH STREET, CHICAGO
88 TREMONT STREET, BOSTON

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
215 VICTORIA STREET, TORONTO

X:9.1
G9

First Published 1939

12783

PREFACE

THE years that have elapsed between the signing of the Peace Treaties of 1919 and the destruction of trade unionism in Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Spain clearly constitute a distinct period in the history of labour organization. This book is designed to help its readers to an understanding of the chief developments of the period, not by attempting an impossible synthesis, but by surveying events and trends in thirteen typical countries in Europe, America, Australasia and Asia.

When the various sections of the book were written nine of the authors were actually resident in the countries with which they deal. Professor Roll and Mr. Dobb, though living in England, were already authors of scholarly works dealing with economic and political developments in Germany and the Soviet Union respectively. Each author has treated his topic in the manner best suited, in his judgment, to bring out the salient developments during the period in the particular country concerned. Each has had complete freedom in expressing his opinions and each is solely responsible for his own judgments upon matters of controversy.

The editor wishes to record his gratitude to all his collaborators for assisting him in his task and for the patience with which they have submitted to inevitable delays in the production of the book.

Madison, Wisconsin.
February 1939.

H. A. MARQUAND.

CONTENTS

EUROPE	PAGE
FRANCE. By ANDRE PHILIP, Professor of Political Economy, Université de Lyon, Député du Rhone	1
GERMANY. By ERICH ROLL, B. Comm., Ph.D., Professor of Economics and Commerce, University College, Hull	61
✓ GREAT BRITAIN. By H. A. MARQUAND, M.A., D.Sc., Professor of Industrial Relations, University College, Cardiff	117
ITALY. By DR. J. P. VAN AARTSEN, International Institute of Agriculture, Rome	191
SCANDINAVIA. By HALVARD M. LANGE, M.A., Director of the Norwegian Trade Union College	229
✓ THE U.S.S.R. By MAURICE H. DOBB, M.A., Ph.D., University Lecturer, University of Cambridge	287
AMERICA	
✓ THE U.S.A. By SELIG PERLMAN, Ph.D., Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin	319
✓ CANADA. By LEO WARSHAW, M.A., Tutor, Toronto Workers' Educational Association	405
MEXICO. By W. E. ZEUCH, Ph.D., Trustee, American Foundation for Abundance, Oklahoma City	437
AUSTRALASIA	
✓ AUSTRALIA. By LLOYD ROSS, M.A., LL.B., State Secretary, Australian Railways Union	455
ASIA	
✓ JAPAN. By IWAO F. AYUSAWA, Ph.D., formerly Secretary Tokio Office of the International Labour Office.	479
INDEX	511

INTRODUCTION

By H. A. MARQUAND

IN 1919 and 1920 organized labour, in every country in which modern industry prevails, was powerful and militant. Its importance in society was recognized in the Treaty of Versailles, especially by the establishment of the International Labour Organization. Union membership everywhere had reached unprecedented heights and seemed destined to mount still higher. In the European countries there was a growing demand for "direct action," independent of political parties, to secure "workers' control" in leading industries.

For the most part, the older leaders of the unions resisted these demands. They reconstituted the International Federation of Trade Unions, at Amsterdam in 1919, as a body independent of the Labour and Socialist International. But they rejected all proposals for co-operation or amalgamation with the Red Trade Union International (founded about the same time) on the grounds that it was dominated by the Communist International, which was committed to a theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to a policy of world revolution through violence with which they could not agree. They committed their organizations to active participation in the activities of the newly-established I.L.O., and set them upon the road to eventual, but far distant, Socialism by way of legislative reform and gradual improvement of working conditions.

Only in Italy did direct action go to the length of occupying factories. But confusion of political counsel in the environment of a peasant economy produced, instead of a victory for Socialism, the triumph of a personal dictatorship and the destruction of trade unionism. The story Dr. van Aartsen has to tell in the present volume, unlike those of the other authors who deal with Western Countries, is therefore not one of the fluctuating membership and changing policies of democratically governed unions, but of government decrees concerning organization and conditions. Writing as a resident

in Italy, he has striven to give an objective account of institutions and conditions as he has seen them, without passing judgment upon the political philosophy of Fascism. In his opinion those visitors to Italy who have written that the highest social ideals have been achieved have done no good service to Italy ; for the effect of their extravagant praise has been to make suspect any favourable statement about conditions. He is convinced that considerable progress has undoubtedly been made in many directions. At the same time, however, he considers that some of this progress is due to an economic and social *risorgimento* which, though it may have been accelerated by Fascism, began as early as the opening of the present century. He has not attempted to discuss how much weight should be attached to the inspiring influence of the dictator and the patriotic organizations he has created, nor how far expenditure upon military forces and monumental buildings may have been made at the expense of the workers' standard of living. On such questions the reader must make his own judgment—which he may be aided in forming by other chapters in the book.

In the other Western Countries the World Depression of 1920-1922 soon rendered direct action impossible. But it still retained its attractiveness for some. To them the Communists appealed to join the Red Trade Union International, later renamed the Red International of Labour Unions. In Britain with its long tradition of trade union loyalty and its notorious lack of delight in theories (or, if you prefer, principles) comparatively few union branches were won over and the reformist leaders had little difficulty in maintaining their hold. In the struggle, however, they were led to increase their control over the Labour Party. In the unfavourable atmosphere of the Coolidge era, revolutionary doctrines made even less headway in America. But in Europe a definite split in the union ranks developed in many countries. In France its effect was to hamstring the labour movement for many years. In Germany, if it did not actually cause, it certainly encouraged the rise of National Socialism, which has since destroyed trade unionism in every one of its chief strongholds in Central Europe. This conflict between Communist and Social Democrat is one of the chief features of the history of unionism in the period 1920-1937.

INTRODUCTION

xi

It is still a matter of controversy about which historical judgment is not yet possible. In the chapters on France and Germany in this book Professor Philip attributes the greatest errors to the Communists, Professor Roll to the Social Democrats. The reader must form his own opinion.

The other outstanding feature of the period is partly a consequence and partly a cause of the unions' growing concern with politics. They became increasingly dependent upon legislation as a means of improving conditions, and more and more preoccupied with the devising of plans of economic reorganization in order to secure a rising standard of living. In the U.S.A., where organized labour in the past has encountered more hostility from the law and the State than in any other country maintaining a democratic form of government, federal legislation has been the chief cause of a rapid expansion of unionism, and the traditional indifference or hostility of the unions to ameliorative reforms such as unemployment insurance has been swept aside. In France also, where the name of trade unionism (*syndicalisme*) had been synonymous with a rejection of political action and a complete reliance upon industrial strength to the exclusion of social reform, the law has encouraged a wide extension of collective bargaining and provided a definite improvement in working conditions by means of shortened work periods and paid holidays. In Britain and the Scandinavian countries legal enactment has been no less important. Participation in the work of the I.L.O. has widened the range of interest of the unions and has facilitated the exchange between the leaders of views and information upon practical questions. In the industrial countries of Europe—notably Belgium, France, Britain, Holland, Czecho-Slovakia, Switzerland, and Luxemburg—the formulation of ambitious Economic Plans for a half-way house between Capitalism and Socialism became one of the chief activities of the union centres after the World Depression, and occupied much of the attention of the International Federation of Trade Unions.*

Where a complete system of Socialist economic planning is

* There has been no space in this book to deal adequately with the work of the I.L.O. and the I.F.T.U. They require a volume in themselves. But the reader will find references to them throughout the various chapters.

in operation—in the U.S.S.R.—union membership reaches a level unknown in any other country. But here its functions are markedly different from those with which we commonly associate it. Clearly, classic trade unionism was a product of the private ownership of industry and the existence of masses of propertyless wage-earners. Where there is no private ownership of industry, and investment and production are determined by means of a central plan, there is little scope, if anarchy is to be avoided, for the struggles of organized producers for shares of the product. But there still is room for consultation and even bargaining between workers and management over conditions and methods of work and the correct relation between needs and efficiency as a determinant of earnings. The experience of unions in the U.S.S.R. perhaps throws little light upon the contemporary problems of unions elsewhere ; but it is of the utmost importance in forming conclusions upon the compatibility of Socialism with democracy.

In the totalitarian countries—Japan, Italy, and Germany—though a form of private ownership of industry still exists, trade unionism has no power, if it is not completely suppressed. Standards of living are secondary considerations, for guns are preferred to butter. The necessary adjustments of labour conditions to changing techniques—the solution of problems of fatigue, output, contentment, efficiency, and so on—are made by authoritarian decree. The extent to which these are paternal or brutal, or include any provisions for ascertaining the opinions or reactions of labour, may vary with the character of the régime. But they all have in common a denial of the right of free organization and equal collective bargaining. The extension of this system by military action has removed from the European scene the once vigorous trade unionism of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, and, before these words appear in print, may have done the same in Spain.

In the remaining nations, on the other hand, trade unionism has recently made considerable gains in numerical strength. At its formation in 1919 the International Federation of Trade Unions—including powerful centres in countries in which unionism has since been destroyed—represented 18 million workers. To-day it represents 20 million. The renewal of

INTRODUCTION

xiii

relations with organized labour in the U.S.A.—fortified by the active participation of that country in the I.L.O.—constitutes an accretion of force of great potential significance. A new ideological unity pervades the ranks, symbolized by the unanimous support of a boycott of German products. Though at the 1938 meeting it was decided not to continue negotiations with the trade unions of the U.S.S.R., these relations are not so bitter as they have been in the past. Nevertheless, the optimism which seemed not unreasonable in 1919 is not warranted to-day. Marked improvement in standards of living have been secured in many countries during recent years; but chronic unemployment has robbed many sections of the workers of the benefit of this improvement and has spread more widely a general feeling of insecurity. In every democratic nation trade unionism is operating in an industrial system more and more interpenetrated with State power, and it is everywhere lending its aid to preparations for war. No man can say whether war can be prevented or whether, if it occurs, trade unionism and other civilized institutions will survive.

INDEX

A

- Agriculture
 - in Denmark:
 - disaster for, 236-7
 - improvement in, 238
 - in Italy, 193-4
 - post-war development of, 196-7
- All-Australian Trade Union Congress, 1921, 464
- Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein*, 66
 - amalgamation of with *Sozial-demokratische Arbeiterpartei*, 67
- Allgemeiner Deutscher Beamtenbund*, 90
- Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschafts Bund*, 85-7, 88-90, 94, 95, 100
 - constitution of, 90
 - fight of against Communist influence, 95-6
 - work of, after inflation, 90-2
- Allgemeiner freier Angestelltenbund*, 90
- All-Union Central Committee of Russian Trade Union Congress, 299
- American Federation of Labour, 138, 329, 337, 338, 339, 340, 345, 358, 360, 364, 374, 375, 388
 - Canada, close connection of, with, 421
 - comparison of, with Committee of Industrial Organisation, 394
 - position of, in Labour movement, 388-90
- "American Plan" Movement, 333-4
- "Amsterdam" International, the, 90
- Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, the, 85
- Armament manufacture, nationalisation of, in France, 34
- Astbury, Mr. Justice, 156
- Australian Council of Trade Unions, 458
- Automobile Industry in U.S.A.
 - strikes by, 359, 361-2
 - troubles in labour unions of, 1934, 359
 - victories won by workers in, 361

B

- Bank of France, nationalisation of, 34
- Bebel, August, 67
- Beck, Dave, 373, 375
- Bedaux System, the, 183
- Bernstein, Edouard, 99
- Bevin, Ernest, 152, 171, 188
- Bolshevism, growing influence of, in Russia, 290-1
- Born, Stefan, *see* Buttermilch, Simon
- Bourses du Travail*, 5, 6, 8

- Bridges, Harry, 373, 374
- British Gazette*, the, 154
- Buttermilch, Simon (Stefan Born), 66

C

- Canada, influence of American capital in, 408
- Canadian Federation of Labour, 425
- Canadian National-Canadian Pacific Act, 414
- Capitalism, post-war, in U.S.A., 321-2
 - crisis in, 1929, 323-5. *See also* "Welfare Capitalism"
- Capitalist System in Great Britain, changes in, 181-2
- Carranza, President, 442-3, 444, 448
- Cardenas, President, 450
- Carta del Lavoro*, 215-6, 219, 220
- Casa del Obrero Mundial*, 441, 443, 445, 446
- Catholic Syndicates in Canada, 424-5
- Central Council of Trade Unions in Russia, 303, 304, 315
 - criticism of, 311-12
 - reconstruction of, 306
- Central Organization of Employees in Sweden, 283-4
- Central Organization of Municipal Employees in Sweden, 284
- Citrine, Sir Walter, 159, 188
- Civil Servants' Federation in France, 24-5
- Clayton Act, 1914, in U.S.A., 336
- Clynes, J. R., 152
- Coal Mines Act, 1930, 181
- Collective agreements
 - in France, 38-47, 48, 51
 - re* wages, 48
 - re* dismissals, 50
 - in Great Britain, 181-2
 - in Denmark, 239, 240
 - in Italy, 204-7, 213-4, 216, 224
 - in Norway, 255, 258, 259
 - in Russia, 301-2, 304
- Collective bargaining in U.S.A., 337, 377-8, 379-80, 382-3, 384-6
- Collective Labour Agreements Act in Canada, 433
- Collegi dei Proibiti*, 202
- Committee of Industrial Organization in U.S.A., 329, 352, 358, 361, 363, 366, 367, 374, 375, 398
 - check to, in steel industry, 370
 - formation of, 312-3

- Committee of Industrial Organization in U.S.A.
 negotiations of, with American Federation of Labour, 393-4
 rise of, 387
 Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration, 460
 Communist Party
 in Australia, 478
 in France, 13, 14
 dispute of, with Socialists, 52
 in Germany, 100
 in Great Britain, 178
 Catholics, hostility of, to, 187
 collaboration of, with Labour Party, 180-1
 rejection of, by Labour Party, 166
 rejection of, by Trade Unions, 167-8, 185-6
 strikes, part played by, in, 183
 in Norway, 257
 Company Unionism in U.S.A., 386
 attitude of N.L.B. to, 377
 increase of, under New Deal, 348-51
 purpose of, 343
 See also "Welfare Capitalism"
 Compulsory Arbitration Act in Norway, 1922, 257
Confederación General de Obreros y Campesinos de Mexico, 449
Confederación Regional de Obreros Mexicanos, 444
 decline of, 447-8
 inception of, 445
 rise of, 446-7
Confederación de Trabajadores de Mexico, 438
 creation of, 450
 dependence of labour future upon, 452-3
 struggles of, 451
Confédération Générale du Travail
 construction of, 5, 8
 demands of, post-war, 10-2
 disputes in, 13-4
 ideals of, 7, 8-9, 13
 independence of, 6-7
 recognition of, by labour movement, 51
 reorganization of, 24-9
 union of, with C.G.T.U., 31
Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire
 aggression of, 29
 creation of, 15
 disagreements in, 30
 revolutionary ambitions of, 15
 union of, with C.G.T., 31
Confederazione Generale del Lavoro, 200-1
Confederazione Italiana dei Lavoratori, 201
 Cook, Arthur J., 150, 152, 162, 166
 Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in Canada, 422
 Coronado Case, the, in U.S.A., 336, 338
 Cost of Living
 in Australia, 462-3, 466-8, 470-3, 475-7
 in Canada, 409-10, 413-7
 in Denmark, 233-8
 in France, 16-24, 54-7
 in Germany, 70-7, 77-8, 80-2, 84, 115
 in Great Britain, 122, 124, 174, 179-80
 in Italy, 199-200
 in Japan, 498-9
 in Norway, 248-53
 in Sweden, 267-71
 in U.S.A., 321-5
 Council of People's Commissaries in Russia, 304
- D
- Daily Herald*, the, 144, 188
 Dalton, Hugh, 173
 Dawes Plan, the, 72, 122, 125, 131, 132, 147
Deutsche Arbeiterverbrüderung, 66
Deutsche Gewerkevereine, 68, 85, 88
 Diaz, 439, 440
 District Trades Councils in Norway, 266-7
- E
- Economy, planned, in Japan, 486-7
 Education, compulsory, in Japan, 483-4
 Education for working classes in France, 27
 Electricity, importance of, in Japan, 484
 Emergency Powers Act in Great Britain, 137
 Employers' Federation in Norway, aggressive tactics of, 259
 Employers' Federation in Sweden, 272, 274
 Exchange Equalization Fund, 129
- F
- Factory Committees in Russia, powers of, 297-9
 Fair Wage and Hours of Labour Act in Canada, 429, 433
 Family Allowance Fund in Italy, 225-6
 Farmers in America, economic views of, 324-5
 Federation of British Industries, 163, 164, 171
 Female Minimum Wages Act in Canada, 428
 Five Year Plan in Russia (first), 303, 308, 315
 function of Trade Unions in, 305, (second) 309

Fortschrittspartei, the, 66
 Forty Hour Law in France, 34
 in Italy, 224-5
 Foster, William Z., 332
Front Populaire, the, 32, 59

G

General Federation of Labour in Japan,
 492, 493
 General Federation of Trade Unions, 138
Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften
Deutschlands, 67, 85
 General Workers' Union in Denmark,
 239, 240, 241
 German reparations burden, effect of, 70
 German territory, loss of, effect of, 70
Gesamterverband der christlichen Gewerk-
schaften, 67, 85, 87
 Gompers, Samuel, 332, 339, 340, 388,
 395
 Gotha Union, the, 98
 Government in U.S.A., revolution in
 1937, 326-7
 structure of, 325-6
 Grand Circle of Free Workers in Mexico,
 445
 Guesde, Jules, 6, 13
 Guffey Acts, the, in U.S.A., 350
 Guild Socialism, attempts at, in Great
 Britain, 142-3

H

Henderson, Arthur, 170, 172
 Hodges, Frank, 142, 150
 Holidays with pay in France, 34
 in Great Britain, 182-3
 Howat, Alex, 341
 Huerta, 442

I

Industrial Courts Act in Great Britain,
 119
 Industrial Disputes Investigation Act in
 Canada, 430
 Industrial Standards Act in Canada,
 428, 429
 Industrial Workers of the World in
 Canada (*Wobblies*), 425
 Industry, development of
 in Denmark, 232
 in Germany, 64-5, 69
 in Italy, 195-6
 in Norway, 254
 Industry, Japanese
 development, 483-7, 500-1
 expansion of, 505-6
 future of, 507-10
 Industry, migration of, in Great Britain,
 126

Industry, post-war expansion of, in
 U.S.A., 322-3
 Industry, slump of, in Great Britain,
 120-1, 124
 Insurances, *see* Social Legislation
 International Federation of Trade
 Unions, 90, 143, 149, 150, 152, 187,
 285
 International Labour Organization, 9,
 26, 188, 502, 510
 International of Labour Unions, 30, 150,
 167, 285
 "Interstate commerce" in U.S.A., 325

J

Japan, history of, 482-3
 Japanese Council of Labour Unions, 492
 Jouhaux, Leon, 7, 9

K

Kautsky, 99
 Knights of Labour in U.S.A., 337, 388,
 394-5
Koldogovov, *see* Collective Agreement in
 Russia

L

Labour Conscription Law in Germany,
 112
 Labour Councils in Australia, 458
 Labour Front, the, in Germany, 112
 Structure of, 113
 Labour Movement, the
 in Australia
 beginnings of, 459
 militant tendencies of, 462-3
 policy of, after 1921, 464
 present power of, 477-8
 strength of, 457
 success of, 459
 in Canada
 close connection of, with U.S.A.,
 407
 in Denmark
 Labour-Radical coalition, work of,
 241-2, 244
 in France
 arbitration, resort to, of, 52
 birth of, 3-4
 organization of, 4-7
 social and economic programme of,
 9
 War, effect of, on, 8
 reawakening of, after 1932, 24
 See also *Front Populaire*
 in Germany
 birth of, 66
 failure of, 98
 socialist bias of, 99

Labour Movement, the
 in Germany
 split of, into communists and social
 democrats, 100
 totalitarian regime, placing of,
 under, 109-12
 in Great Britain
 aversion to war of, 186
 antagonism between Right and
 Left groups of, 166
 defensive attitude of, 141
 demonstrations by, against Russian
 intervention, 136-7
 government by, failure of, 128-9,
 147-9
 strength, post-war, of, 132-41, 146
 sympathy of, with miners, 152-3
 in Italy
 growth of, 198
 reorganization of, by Fascism, 210-
 4, 226
 in Japan
 beginning of, as Farmer-Labour
 Party, 492
 in Mexico
 acts of, 451-2
 beginnings of, 439-41
 future of, 452-3
 national code of, 449
 extent of, 437-9
 organization of, by C.R.O.M., 446
 position of, in constitution of 1917,
 443-4
 unity, attempts at, by, 444-5
 in Norway
 government by, 276
 in Sweden
 government by, 276-7
 in U.S.A., 7
 comparison of, with Great Britain,
 387-9
 demands of, in economic crisis,
 323-4
 disunity, danger of, in 398-9
 election activity of, 396-8
 hopes of, at Progressive Political
 Conference of 1922, 338
 New Deal, part played by, in, 348
 value to, of, 396
 new status of, after 1937, 326-7
 Labour Service, the, in Germany, 114
 Labour Trustees in Germany, 110-11
 La Follette, Robert M., 338-40
 Land Help, the, in Germany, 114
 Landis, Judge K. M., 334
 Lansbury, George, 142
 Lassalle, 66, 98
 League of Nations, 26
 entry of Germany into, 123

Le Travail, 27
 Lewis, John L., 341-2, 348, 350, 360, 362,
 366, 368, 389
 Liebknecht, Karl, 99
 Liebknecht, Wilhelm, 67
 Loan Council, the, in Australia, 473-4
 Locarno Pact, the, 123
 Luxemburg, Rosa, 99

M

Macdonald, Ramsay, 146, 170, 172
 Madero, Francisco, 439, 441, 442
 Male Minimum Wage Act in Canada,
 428
 Matignon Agreement, the, 33-4, 54, 57
 Maxton, James, 166
 Mechanics Educational Society in
 U.S.A., 358
 Mehring, Franz, 99
 Melchett, Lord, 162, 166
 Miners, importance of, in history of
 American post-war Trade Union-
 ism, 340
 Mixed Enterprise, Theory of, 12
 Mond, Sir Alfred, *see* Melchett, Lord
 Morones, 447-8, 449
 Murphy, Governor Frank, 362, 363
 Mussolini, Benito, 207, 226
 Mutual Trust Councils in Germany,
 110-11

N

National Catholic Unions in Canada,
 424
 National Confederation of Employers'
 Organizations, 163, 164
 National Confederation of Trade Unions
 in Japan, 491
 National Council of Corporations in
 Italy, 211, 217, 219-20
 National Council of Labour, 173, 174,
 186, 187
 National Council of Social Service, 177-8
 National Industrial Recovery Act in
 U.S.A., 323, 346, 376
 National Labour Boards in U.S.A.,
 376-7
 failure of, 378
 National Labour Relations Act in
 U.S.A., 379-80, 381-3
 National Labour Relations Board in
 U.S.A., 378-9
 problems of, 381-7
 National Minority Movement in Great
 Britain, 167, 168
 National Recovery Administration, 346
 programme of, 347

National-Socialist Party in Germany
 birth of, 103
 economic policy of, 109
 effects on labour of regime of, 115-6
 employment, creation of, by, 107-8
 growth of, 104-5
 task of, in power, 107
 National Steel Labour Relations Board
 in U.S.A., 365
 National Trade Union Centre
 in Denmark, 238, 239, 244
 agreement of, with National Employers' Federation, 238
 decrease in numbers of, 240
 organization of, 246-8
 success of, 241
 in Norway, 254
 agreement with employers by, 259
 economic depression, effect of, on numbers of, 256
 increase in numbers of, 258-9, 261-4
 General Council of, 266
 reorganization of, 255
 Secretariat of, 265-6
 in Sweden
 birth of, 271-2
 compromise, policy of, 273
 comparison of, with Denmark and Norway, 280-1
 co-operation of, with Social Democrat party, 282-3
 construction of, 281-2
 decline of, at beginning of century, 272
 growth of, 272, 280-1
 financial arrangements of, 282
 National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement, 144, 149, 151, 167, 178
 Nationalism in Japan, 494, 501
 New Deal in U.S.A., 321, 323, 340, 349, 351
 power given to unionism by, 3
 New Economic Policy in Russia, 293, 300, 302
 Northern Union of Russian Workers, 289
 November Revolution, the, in Germany 100, 102

O

Obregon, President, 446, 449
 One Big Union, the, in Canada, 412, 420, 425
 Organization and Collective Bargaining, Act on Right of, in Sweden, 277, 284

P

Pacific Coast, workers on
 domination of, by employers, 371
 labour agreements for, 371

Pacific Coast, Workers on
 National Maritime Union among, 365-6
 Sailors' Union among, 374
 strike of, 371-3
 trouble with sawmill and lumber workers among, 375
Partito Nazionale Fascista, 211, 215, 217, 219, 227
 Peace in Industry, Conference on, in Sweden, 275
 Pelloutier, Fernand, 6
 Permanent Court of Labour
 Arbitration in Denmark, 239
 "Platform of the ten" in Russia, 293
 Plumb Plan for U.S.A. railways, 321
 Pluralism in U.S.A. labour question, 377
 Productivity, campaign for increasing in Russia, 309, 310
 Progressive Political Action, Conference for, in U.S.A., 338, 340
 Public Mediation Act in Sweden, 1916, 272-3
 Public Mediation in Labour Disputes, Act on, in Denmark, 242-3
 Public Mediator in Labour Disputes in Denmark, 239
 Pugh, Sir Arthur, 161

R

Racketeering in U.S.A., 334-5
 Railway Labour Act, 1926, in U.S.A., 340
 Railway Labour Board in U.S.A., 335-6
 Railways, private ownership of, in U.S.A., 321
 Rationalization in German industry, 73-79
 in Japanese industry, 484-6
 Road development in Italy, 195
 Roosevelt, President, 356, 362, 363, 367, 377, 378
 Rubber workers in U.S.A., labour upheaval begun by, 360-1
 Russia, co-operation of, with Swedish Miners' Union, 274
 Russian Revolution, the, 135

S

Samuel, Sir Herbert, 151
 Scandinavian countries, close co-operation between Trade Union centres in, 285
 Schweitzer, 66
Shakai Taishu To, 494
 Simon, Sir John, 155-6
 "Six Points," the, of Stalin, 306-7
 Smillie, Robert, 143, 188
 Snowden, Philip, 170, 172

- Social Democratic Party in Sweden, 282-3
- Social Honour Courts in Germany, 111
- Social conditions in Italy, 197-8
- Social legislation
- in Australia, 457, 459-60, 465-6
 - in Canada, 427-9
 - in Germany, 82-4, 92-4, 96-8, 110, 114-5
 - in Italy, 201, 203-7, 209-10, 221-4
 - in Japan, 503-4
 - in Sweden, 270-1
 - in Russia, 312-14
- Social Mass Party in Japan, 494
- South Russian Workers' Union, 289
- Soviet Control Commission, 311
- Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei*, 67
- amalgamation of, with *Arbeiterverein*, 67
- Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*, 67
- Stakhanov movement in Russia, 310
- Standard of Living, *see* Cost of Living
- Statistique Générale de la France*, 16
- Steel Industry in U.S.A.
- campaign by Amalgamated Assn. in, 364-5
 - collective bargaining in, 364, 368.
 - demands by co-unions in, 366
 - dwindling of labour union in, 365
 - Steel Workers' Organization Committee in, 366-7, 368
 - strikes in, 369
- Strikes
- in Australia, 463, 475
 - increasing number of, 477
 - in Canada, 411-2, 423
 - of automobile workers, 422-3
 - averting of, 430
 - in Denmark
 - prevention of, by act of parliament, 243 - in France, 14, 29, 32-3
 - arbitration in, 52
 - legality of, 35-6 - in Great Britain, 119, 127, 141, 142, 148, 151, 174-6
 - General Strike, 1926, 153-7
 - part played by Communists in, 183
 - in Italy, 193
 - "Fascist strike" of March, 1925, 211
 - legislation against, 215
 - prevention of, 209 - in Japan, 488, 498
 - decrease in, 500
 - number and importance of, in recent years, 499-500 - in Mexico, 440, 443, 449
 - increasing number of, 450, 451 - in Norway, 256, 257-8
- Strikes
- in Russia, 289
 - arbitration system in, 296
 - legality of, under socialist system, 295-6 - in Sweden, 273, 274, 275, 276
 - in U.S.A.
 - in automobile industry, 361-2
 - general, in San Francisco, 372
 - in Seattle and Boston, 1919, 331-2
 - of longshoremen, 371-3
 - main issues of, 328
 - part played by labour organizations in, 329
 - of railways, 1922, 336
 - in steel industry, 332-3, 369-70
 - in textiles, 353, 354, 355-7
 - vast numbers of, 327-8
- Supreme Economic Council in Russia, 303
- Syndicalism
- in France, 9, 10-11, 12
 - in Japan, 491
- Syndicalist centre in Sweden, 272, 273, 283-4
- Syndicats*, 5, 33, 35
- legal position of, 37-41
- T
- Taylor, Frederick W., 322
- Textile Industry in U.S.A.
- Code of Fair Competition for, 352-3
 - amendment of, 354
 - demands of workers in, 354-5
 - discontent in, 353
 - strikes in, 353, 354, 355-7
 - Winant Report, acceptance of, by, 357
- Textile Workers' Organization Committee, establishment of, in U.S.A., 358
- Thomas, J. H., 152, 155, 188
- Tillett, Ben, 188
- Times*, the, 161
- Trade Boards Act, 182
- Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, 158
- Trade Disputes Act in Norway, 1915, 255, 258, 260
- in Sweden, 1928, 275
- Trade Union Act, 1927, 169, 176
- in Denmark, 1929, 240-1
 - repeal of, 244
- Trade Union Movement
- in Australia
 - membership, vast, of, 457
 - low, of, in depression, 474-5
 - increasing, post-war, of, 461-2, 468
 - organization, new, of, 464-5, 468-70

Trade Union Movement

- in Australia
 - policy of, in depression, 474-5
- in Canada
 - dual unionism in, 417
 - industrial arbitration in, 430-1
 - Ladies' Auxiliaries in, 427
 - laws concerning, 432-4
 - membership, post-war increase in, 412
 - fall in, 1931-5, 426
 - percentages of, in different trades, 413-7
- in Denmark
 - Development of, on craft lines, 244
 - government subsidies to, 237
 - membership, in 1920, 239
 - increase by 1929 of, 241
 - organization of, 244-6
 - See also* National Trade Union Centre
- in France, 3
 - evolution of, 6
 - strengthening of, 9
 - weakness, post-war, of, 16-8
 - See also* Confédération Générale du Travail
- in Germany
 - development of, 66-7
 - difficulties of, with Communists, 103
 - prohibition of, by Nazis, 106
 - socialist character of, 67
 - strength of, post-war, 84
 - weakening of, gradual, 100-1
 - See also* Labour Front, and *Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*
- in Great Britain
 - amalgamations between unions in, 164-6
 - breaking-off of relations with Russian Trade Unions by, 167-8
 - Catholic influence in, 187
 - collaboration of, with Mond group, 162-4
 - Communists, movement against, by, 167-8
 - membership of, fall in, 129, 174
 - increase in, 130
 - militancy of, post-war, 134-5
 - organization of newer industries in, 183, 184
 - organization of women in, 183-4
 - Fascism, effect of, on, 186
 - policy, shifting, of, 160
 - See also* Trades Union Congress
- in Italy
 - activity of, with improving labour conditions, 224

Trade Union Movement

- in Italy
 - birth of, 200-1
 - influence of, 227-8
 - new grouping and organization of, by Fascists, 210-11, 212, 213-4, 218-9
 - weakening of powers of, by Fascists, 207-8, 226
- in Japan
 - classification of, 497-8
 - feebleness of, 489-91
 - growth of, in War, 488, 491
 - groups in, 493, 495-7
 - membership, increasing, of, 488-9
 - origins of, 487
 - unity, efforts towards, in, 493-5
 - See also* Yuai Kai
- in Mexico
 - See* Confederación General de Trabajadores, and Confederación Regional de Obreros Mexicanos
- in Norway
 - Communists as cause of trouble in 257
 - Congress of, in 1920, 255
 - "Russian" trend in, 285
 - structure of, 264-5
 - growth, gradual, of 254, 256-7
 - See also* National Trade Union Centre
- in Russia
 - Communist view of
 - function of, 292-5
 - co-operation of, with management, 305-6
 - discipline, lack of, in, 305
 - legal organization of, after revolution, 290-1
 - membership, increasing, of, 300-1
 - voluntary, of, 299-300
 - officials in, abuse of rights by, 311
 - position of, in socialist system, 291-2, 315-7
 - repression of, in 1908, 290
 - Tsarist suppression of, 289
 - unofficial growth of after 1901, 289
 - wages, control over, by, 302-3
- in Sweden
 - birth of, 271
 - changes in structure of, 277-80
 - comparison of, with those in Norway, 280
 - co-operation of, with farmers, 283
 - membership, increasing, of, 274, 275
 - See also* National Trade Union Centre
- in U.S.A.
 - co-operation of, with government in N.R.A. programme, 347-8

- Social Democratic Party in Sweden, 282-3
- Social Honour Courts in Germany, 111
- Social conditions in Italy, 197-8
- Social legislation
- in Australia, 457, 459-60, 465-6
 - in Canada, 427-9
 - in Germany, 82-4, 92-4, 96-8, 110, 114-5
 - in Italy, 201, 203-7, 209-10, 221-4
 - in Japan, 503-4
 - in Sweden, 270-1
 - in Russia, 312-14
- Social Mass Party in Japan, 494
- South Russian Workers' Union, 289
- Soviet Control Commission, 311
- Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei*, 67
- amalgamation of, with *Arbeiterverein*, 67
- Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*, 67
- Stakhanov movement in Russia, 310
- Standard of Living, *see* Cost of Living
- Statistique Générale de la France*, 16
- Steel Industry in U.S.A.
- campaign by Amalgamated Assn. in, 364-5
 - collective bargaining in, 364, 368
 - demands by co-unions in, 366
 - dwindling of labour union in, 365
 - Steel Workers' Organization Committee in, 366-7, 368
 - strikes in, 369
- Strikes
- in Australia, 463, 475
 - increasing number of, 477
 - in Canada, 411-2, 423
 - of automobile workers, 422-3
 - averting of, 430
 - in Denmark
 - prevention of, by act of parliament, 243 - in France, 14, 29, 32-3
 - arbitration in, 52
 - legality of, 35-6
 - in Great Britain, 119, 127, 141, 142, 148, 151, 174-6
 - General Strike, 1926, 153-7
 - part played by Communists in, 183
 - in Italy, 193
 - "Fascist strike" of March, 1925, 211
 - legislation against, 215
 - prevention of, 209
 - in Japan, 488, 498
 - decrease in, 500
 - number and importance of, in recent years, 499-500
 - in Mexico, 440, 443, 449
 - increasing number of, 450, 451
 - in Norway, 256, 257-8
- Strikes
- in Russia, 289
 - arbitration system in, 296
 - legality of, under socialist system, 295-6
 - in Sweden, 273, 274, 275, 276
 - in U.S.A.
 - in automobile industry, 361-2
 - general, in San Francisco, 372
 - in Seattle and Boston, 1919, 331-2
 - of longshoremen, 371-3
 - main issues of, 328
 - part played by labour organizations in, 329
 - of railways, 1922, 336
 - in steel industry, 332-3, 369-70
 - in textiles, 353, 354, 355-7
 - vast numbers of, 327-8
- Supreme Economic Council in Russia, 303
- Syndicalism
- in France, 9, 10-11, 12
 - in Japan, 491
- Syndicalist centre in Sweden, 272, 273, 283-4
- Syndicats*, 5, 33, 35
- legal position of, 37-41
- T
- Taylor, Frederick W., 322
- Textile Industry in U.S.A.
- Code of Fair Competition for, 352-3
 - amendment of, 354
 - demands of workers in, 354-5
 - discontent in, 353
 - strikes in, 353, 354, 355-7
 - Winant Report, acceptance of, by, 357
- Textile Workers' Organization Committee, establishment of, in U.S.A., 358
- Thomas, J. H., 152, 155, 188
- Tillett, Ben, 188
- Times*, the, 161
- Trade Boards Act, 182
- Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, 158
- Trade Disputes Act in Norway, 1915, 255, 258, 260
- in Sweden, 1928, 275
- Trade Union Act, 1927, 169, 176
- in Denmark, 1929, 240-1
 - repeal of, 244
- Trade Union Movement
- in Australia
 - membership, vast, of, 457
 - low, of, in depression, 474-5
 - increasing, post-war, of, 461-2, 468
 - organization, new, of, 464-5, 468-70

Trade Union Movement

- in Australia
 - policy of, in depression, 474-5
- in Canada
 - dual unionism in, 417
 - industrial arbitration in, 430-1
 - Ladies' Auxiliaries in, 427
 - laws concerning, 432-4
 - membership, post-war increase in, 412
 - fall in, 1931-5, 426
 - percentages of, in different trades, 413-7
- in Denmark
 - Development of, on craft lines, 244
 - government subsidies to, 237
 - membership, in 1920, 239
 - increase by 1929 of, 241
 - organization of, 244-6
 - See also National Trade Union Centre
- in France, 3
 - evolution of, 6
 - strengthening of, 9
 - weakness, post-war, of, 16-8
 - See also Confédération Générale du Travail
- in Germany
 - development of, 66-7
 - difficulties of, with Communists, 103
 - prohibition of, by Nazis, 106
 - socialist character of, 67
 - strength of, post-war, 84
 - weakening of, gradual, 100-1
 - See also Labour Front, and *Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*
- in Great Britain
 - amalgamations between unions in, 164-6
 - breaking-off of relations with Russian Trade Unions by, 167-8
 - Catholic influence in, 187
 - collaboration of, with Mond group, 162-4
 - Communists, movement against, by, 167-8
 - membership of, fall in, 129, 174
 - increase in, 130
 - militancy of, post-war, 134-5
 - organization of newer industries in, 183, 184
 - organization of women in, 183-4
 - Fascism, effect of, on, 186
 - policy, shifting, of, 160
 - See also Trades Union Congress
- in Italy
 - activity of, with improving labour conditions, 224

Trade Union Movement

- in Italy
 - birth of, 200-1
 - influence of, 227-8
 - new grouping and organization of, by Fascists, 210-11, 212, 213-4, 218-9
 - weakening of powers of, by Fascists, 207-8, 226
- in Japan
 - classification of, 497-8
 - feebleness of, 489-91
 - growth of, in War, 488, 491
 - groups in, 493, 495-7
 - membership, increasing, of, 488-9
 - origins of, 487
 - unity, efforts towards, in, 493-5
 - See also Yuai Kai
- in Mexico
 - See Confederación General de Trabajadores, and Confederación Regional de Obreros Mexicanos
- in Norway
 - Communists as cause of trouble in 257
 - congress of, in 1920, 255
 - "Russian" trend in, 285
 - structure of, 264-5
 - growth, gradual, of 254, 256-7
 - See also National Trade Union Centre
- in Russia
 - Communist view of
 - function of, 292-5
 - co-operation of, with management, 305-6
 - discipline, lack of, in, 305
 - legal organization of, after revolution, 290-1
 - membership, increasing, of, 300-1
 - voluntary, of, 299-300
 - officials in, abuse of rights by, 311
 - position of, in socialist system, 291-2, 315-7
 - repression of, in 1908, 290
 - Tsarist suppression of, 289
 - unofficial growth of after 1901, 289
 - wages, control over, by, 302-3
- in Sweden
 - birth of, 271
 - changes in structure of, 277-80
 - comparison of, with those in Norway, 280
 - co-operation of, with farmers, 283
 - membership, increasing, of, 274, 275
 - See also National Trade Union Centre
- in U.S.A.
 - co-operation of, with government in N.R.A. programme, 347-8

Trade Union Movement
in U.S.A.

"hold up" unionism and racketeering in, 334-5
miners, importance of, in post-war history of, 340-2
national recognition of, in War, 330
position of, in automobile industry, 352-8
with Pacific coast workers, 371-6
with steel industry, 363-71
with textile industry, 352-8
politics, importance of, in, 337-8
restlessness, post-war, of members of, 330-1

See also Welfare Capitalism and Company Unionism

Trades and Labour Congress of Canada,

407, 411, 418
comparison of, with C.I.O., 421-2
function of, 423-4
recognition of, 407-8
strength, increasing, of, 418-9
unity, desire for, with C.I.O., 421-2
Trades Union Congress, 135, 137, 143, 145, 150, 152, 183, 388
constitution, new, of, 139-41
Disputes Committee of, 144, 146
General Council of, 139-40, 143, 144, 145, 146, 148, 150-8, 159-60, 167, 172
impatience with Labour Government of, 149, 170-1
Parliamentary Committee of, 137, 138
political influence, growth of, 173
prestige and power, growth of, 187-8
non-intervention in Spain, approval of, by, 186-7
reorganization by Unions, by, 146
Transportation Act, 1920, in U.S.A., 335
Triple Alliance, the, 134, 135, 137, 141, 157, 187
end of, 142
failure of, 139

U

Ufficio nazionale per il collocamento e la dissoccupazione, 208

Unemployed Assistance Board in Great Britain, 178-9

Unemployment

in Denmark, 235, 238
in Germany, 77, 78-9, 100, 108
in Great Britain, 120, 125, 127-8, 130, 170, 176-7
in Italy, 198-9, 220-1
in Sweden, 267-8, 270, 273
Union der Hand und Kopfarbeiter, 102
United Textile Workers in U.S.A.
See Textile Industry

W

Wage-grades in Russia, 307-10
Wages, *see* Cost of Living
War Labour Board in U.S.A., 344
"Welfare Capitalism" in U.S.A., 342
continuation of, in depression years, 345-6
failure of, 346
purpose of, 343
suggestions for economy by, 344-5
Wilson, J. Havelock, 169
Wilson, President, 333
Winant Board, the, 355
Winant Report, the, 356-7
Winter Relief in Germany, 114-5
Wolman Board, the, 359
Workers' Alliance of America, 351-2
Workers' Control, Decree on, in Russia, 291
Workers' Unity League in Canada, 425-6
Working Class Conditions, *see* Cost of Living
Works Progress Administration in U.S.A., 351-2

Y

Yuai Kai, 487

Z

Zaritsky, Max, 351, 389, 393
Zenken Rodo Kumiai Sorengo, 491
Zentralverband der Angestellten, 90
Zinovieff Letter, the, 148