

T H E S I S.

"Trade Disputes in Great Britain - a brief enquiry into causes of, and an examination of methods of dealing with these, and particularly the experience and possibilities of Conciliation and Arbitration; and with a reference to Indian labour!"

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

Industrial conflict is no new thing, but the recent course of events has been deeply disconcerting - Hence much attention is being paid to this subject. Industrial disputes are due to a great variety of causes, including what is collectively known as "industrial unrest" and the time annually lost through strikes and lock-outs varies within very wide limits; for the aggregate number of days lost yearly through disputes has varied from $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions in 1904 to nearly 86 millions in 1921.

That existing relations are unsatisfactory is beyond dispute. At the same time it is becoming better realized that Industrial conflicts bring untold misery not only to the parties concerned but paralyse whole branches of commerce and industry and bring suffering to the community at large.

In these modern days Labour unrest has taken on a new form. Labour is now better informed, has a clearer understanding of its various problems and is better organised both industrially and politically. There is a feeling that the social structure under which we live should be so adjusted as to give men of all classes a fair chance of making the best of themselves, and to this end, consciously or unconsciously, there has been going on a constant struggle. Some people believe that unless the present industrial system is changed, there will be no place in industry.

We can attribute the present troubles to a certain extent to past times and conditions. Labour conditions were hopelessly wretched during the last century. Workers were unorganized/

unorganized, un-enfranchised and grossly underpaid and oppressed. Women, children and men worked side by side and were sweated. Some argue that the Industrial revolution which brought supremacy to this country has in its train brought disaster to the workers. It certainly accelerated class distinction and the personal touch between employer and employed vanished.

In the medieval system, there were no factories in the modern sense, and work was carried on in the workers' houses. Production was that of handicraft and was directed by the Master-craftsman, working as a rule with only a very few journeymen and apprentices. In the towns, where nearly all industry was carried on, the master-craftsman and his workmen belonged to the guild of their craft which imposed stringent regulations as to form, quality, etc. The fixing of the Price in accordance with the idea of "just price" was an important function of the guild which eliminated competition.

So it is pointed out that people were happier before the Industrial revolution because their requirements were more equally and impartially met out of common stock, whereas in modern society owing to selfishness there is an ever increasing tendency for one set of people to live at the expense of others and it is argued that a great part of modern evils are directly traceable to the unequal distribution of wealth.

Moreover the modern factory is predominantly a system of large scale production, where the individual skill of the worker which predominated in the middle ages and in the Domestic system is more and more subordinated to the machine and power house. One result of this is that the workers are congregated/

congregated together and large scale production has called into existence the modern wage-earning class. The great factory destroys that personal contact, which existed before the factory system and the subjection of large bodies of workers to identical conditions leads to collective bargaining - apart from this in the middle age agriculture was the general occupation and land the principal means of production. Besides, the workers were in a condition of feudal dependence and the medieval worker had a guarantee of livelihood and by cultivating the land he could maintain himself and his family. He spent the other part of his time in working for his lord. Thus there was no competition as in modern times. The modern worker has no lands and he must compete with others to get work, and his position is not guaranteed.

When the town industries developed, they were protected from outside competition by craft-guilds and the relations between the journeyman and his master were close and personal, whereas the relation between the modern worker and the capitalist is a "money relation". They belong to two different social classes and have different modes of life and outlook. Thus to-day in huge factories and combines it is difficult to return to the personal touch that existed in the middle ages. This impersonal relation is one of the causes of modern labour troubles, and the oftener attempts are made to bring the workmen into close contact with the management, the better it will be for both. Thus the Industrial Revolution, which industrialized Britain created "a new civilization with problems and a character of its own". It was a social revolution by which the working-class suffered in the beginning and became a rigid system/

system. The employers pursued a harsh and narrow policy and the only thing they cared for was their own interest. They were narrow-minded and were extremely harsh, and the new industrial system allowed men of the aggressive and enterprising type to exploit, unchecked by any regulations, the dense ignorant mass and thus reap wealth by inhuman actions. They "regarded the masses as a distinct species planted around them by a fate which had destined them to work and to ask no questions." The mill-owners began by getting children, women and a much smaller proportion of men from the work-house and through those people carried on the work in factories. Their wages were low and according to various authorities at least the majority of them worked for wages below the "subsistence level".

It is impossible to deny the fact that the worker suffered hardships after the industrial revolution, for he could no longer by working his loom compete with machinery and so become more dependent on the employer. The hours worked in the early factories were atrociously long, the normal day being twelve and a half to fourteen hours. Mr Hammond depicts the change in the following words, "No economist of the day in estimating the gain and losses, ever allowed for the strain and violence that a man suffered in his feelings when he passed from a life in which he could smoke or eat or dig or sleep as he pleased, to one in which somebody turned a key on him and for fourteen hours he had not even the right to whistle".

So the employers who were very powerful were harsh in their methods and the workers were unable to do anything in the beginning as they did not have any organization to back/

back them up. But gradually discontent was partly removed by the active intervention of the state in passing Factory Laws, Poor Laws and other social schemes. Secondly the hard treatment meted to the workers in the new industries, increased the need of combination among workers. The new industries which brought together large numbers of men, gave scope for deliberation of their common discontent and allowed them to take a common action. When the workers saw that employers were powerful with their plant and machinery unlike the old masters who had little capital and lost much if there were strikes, they began to unite. Therefore Combination grew out of the necessity of resisting the masters and did not come spontaneously but on account of changed conditions, because workers had no weapon but this to resist the employers.

However it should be noted that large scale production had not only made workers, but also employers organise and act collectively in their dealings with the workers and public. Through the combinations of workmen and the formation of Trade Unions, attempts were made to resist the employers and many an advantage was secured with the weapon of "Strike". The Industrial conflict of to-day would not be so important had it not been for the combination of workmen. The evolution of the Trade Unions is a big subject. The employers at the beginning resisted and the Government supported them by prohibiting combinations. In the past a number of strikes occurred on the question, whether a Trade Union should be recognised and whether non-unionist workers should be employed (which to-day is still one of the causes)

Without going into detail upon the growth of Trade-Unionism we shall be content to say here, that after long and bitter/

struggles the workers, step by step, gained many privileges and to-day the organization of the working class in Trade Unions is an accepted social fact. However, it should be remembered how new this is. Fifty years ago Trade Unions were still generally regarded as social dangers and employers (until the end of the nineteenth century) were generally unwilling to negotiate with Trade Union Officials. Indeed it was not until the war of 1914-1918 that trade unions were officially recognised by most of the leading British Railway companies.

The conduct of Trade Unions is at present regulated by the following statutes.

(1) The Trade Union Act 1871 (34 and 35 Vict. C. 31).

as amended by

(2) The Trade Union Act (Amendment) Act, 1876 (39 and 40 Vict. C. 22).

(3) The Trade Union Act, 1913(2 and 3. Geo. V. C.30)

(4) The Trade Union Act Amalgamation Act 1917 (7 and 8. Geo. V. C. 24).

(5) The Conspiracy and protection of property Act, 1875 (38 and 39. Vict. C. 86).

(6) The Trades disputes Act, 1906 (6. Edw. VII. C. 47).

(7) Trade disputes and Trade union act 1927.

All the above statutes gave the Trade Unions a strong position and thus attempt after attempt to cripple the Trade Union movement only had the effect of giving in the end Trade Unions a firmer legal basis. Thus, Trade Unions, step by step were recognised as a part of the Government structure of the Nation. To-day the Trade Union is an important factor in industry, which cannot be easily ignored. Until the middle of/

of the nineteenth century, the trade unions were mostly small local bodies, scarcely able to deal with the employers and even 30 years ago the Amalgamated Society of Engineers comprising only skilled craftsmen carried on negotiations not with the representative bodies of employers but with individual firms or small groups. Moreover before 1889, unskilled labour was not organized. It was after the London Dock Strike of 1889, that unions of unskilled as well as semi-skilled workers began to be formed. Slowly but steadily the Trade Union movement began to gather strength and to-day it is very powerful. Only through such organizations is labour able to fight the battle to the bitter end. In 1866 the membership was about 110,000 members and in 1873 after Trade Unionism was legalised by the Act of 1871 the membership went up to 500,000. Thus the growth of membership was gradual. Owing to the active industrial strife preceeding the war there was a very great increase of members whose numbers reached 3 millions. During the war the advance was more rapid but gradually fell in 1924 owing to Trade slump. Thus it may be noted that from 1,576,000 in the year 1892 they rose to 3,136,000 in 1911 reached the maximum of 8,334,000 in 1920 and declined to 5,531,000 in 1924.¹ It is important also to note that Trade Unions included 2/5 of the total population in 1920, when its membership reached its highest figure and only about 1/4 in 1924. If the managing classes, the professional classes and the small shopkeeper class are left out from the employed population we can safely say that Trade Unions include about 1/3 of the wage-earning industrial population.

Side by side with the increase of Trade Union membership has/

1. Graph and figures (appendix).

has gone a steady process of consolidation, through the Amalgamation of small unions, or their federation with centralised control. Apart from this the Trade Unions co-operate through Federations and the modern tendency is to combine more and more effectively for the purpose of industrial negotiation. At the present moment a determined effort is being made among the Trade Unions to create more unity with fewer unions. The most definite scheme of amalgamation is that of the fusion of the Transport and General Workers' and Workers' Union which have a combined membership of nearly half a million. If the proposal goes through it will create the largest single union in the country. However Federations are of different types ranging from bodies so closely knit as to form almost one Trade Union to others very loosely allied. A number of Trade Unions through a Federation meet the employers for negotiations on a National basis. Again there are Trade Councils which are local bodies (which look after local affairs) and of which there are now 500 in Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Lastly we have the Trade Union Congress which seeks to unify the Trade Union Movement on a national basis. Except a few unimportant unions, all, (that is, nearly 4/5ths of the whole membership organized in Trade Unions) are included in the congress and at the 58th annual meeting of the congress in 1926, 696 delegates representing about 80% of the organized workers were present. Thus the Congress may be aptly termed the "Annual parliament" of organized labour and it has become a body of considerable prestige in the Labour movement. The Trade Union Congress, appoints a general Council which meets at least monthly throughout the year to deal with current problems/

problems.

Such is the huge and elaborate organization of the Trade Union movement in this country. Labour is thus powerfully organized. The days when it was thought by the Capitalist that Trade Unions were hinderances have gone by and to-day the organization of the working-classes in Trade Unions is an accepted fact. Few can challenge the enormous benefit the Trade Unions have done to the workers. Yet thirty or forty years ago the Verdict of Economists was against Trade Unionism. Through Trade Unions help, the workers have obtained a great many advantages. They not only help in conducting strikes but a glance at the statistics of their income and expenditure shows that almost all Trade Unions help their members against the risks of Industrial life such as unemployment, sickness, unprovided old age or premature death and they spend generally more money on benefits of various kinds than on strikes. (*appendix*)

It should also be noted that one of their most important functions consists in conducting negotiations regarding wages, hours and conditions of work. For this purpose unions maintain a large staff. Moreover the state is no longer hostile to the movement and has realized its importance and usefulness in the Government of Industry. Therefore Trade Unionism, has *accepted all round as a social fact & has been* used even by the Government and has played a great part under various recent statutes, for example under the

Unemployment Insurance Act, 1920,

National Health Insurance Act 1924, and part IV of the Railway Act 1921.

Moreover the Labour Movement has grown enormously and has a strong party to uphold its case in Parliament.

When labour began to organise, Employers also organised themselves and formed Associations. These also began as local/

local or sectional associations and developed much in the same way as the workers' organizations. There was no national organization as we see it to-day fifty-five years ago. The rise of Employers' organisations was due to the agitation of the engineers for a nine hours day which was won in 1871. Some sort of organisation undoubtedly existed before, but it was merely local and was due to the necessity of counter-acting some particular movement of labour. There was originally no necessity to form a federation of employers, as they had to deal only with local unions. Moreover the law was always on their side and helped them much, whereas it was not till 1875 that the Trade Unions emerged from the grip of Criminal law. It was then that the employers clearly saw that the Trade Union organizations were agencies on behalf of Labour. Formed in the beginning to combat the Unions, but later developing as means of bargaining with them they came to adopt this method after much suffering and trouble. Then federations of employers were formed by linking-up the local associations. In 1925 there were 2403 Employers' organizations which is more than double the number of Trade Unions. The Employers' organizations act on behalf of all employers and thus negotiations are carried on between single Employers' Associations on the one side and a group of Unions.

Thus we see that the organizations of Employers of Labour are very strong in Great Britain and that at the same time labour is powerfully organized. In days gone by labour was so badly organized that Employers were able to dictate the terms under which their employees should work, but now over a great part of British industry the wages, hours and conditions of work are determined by "collective bargaining". This has led/

led in many cases to friction and much suspicion. But it should be admitted that "collective bargaining" has its own advantages, and if proper care is taken of this process Industrial peace is to a large extent secured.

In order to bring about Industrial peace it is essential to get rid of obstacles and not to thwart the progress of Trade Unions but to enlist their co-operation as much as possible. We should go back for our ideal to the Middle Ages and to a certain extent follow the principles of the Guilds. The recognition of Unions by the Government in connection with the Whitley Councils and the statement made in the first report on Joint Industrial Councils that "an essential condition of securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and employed is that there should be adequate organization on the part of both employer and workpeople". This is not only the considered opinions of the members of the Whitley committee but also of many industrialists. Co-operation of Trade-unionism should be sought and use should be made of it both for the Machinery of Conciliation and for wage adjustment. To my mind the move made by Sir Alfred Mond for Joint-deliberation last year between employers and Trade Union officials is a right move. The interim report upon this was a comprehensive document dealing with -

- (1) The setting up of a National Industrial Council
- (2) Trade Union recognition
- (3) Victimization.
- (4) Procedure for the prevention of disputes
- (5) ~~R~~ationalization.

It was unfortunately rejected by the employers. The acceptance/

acceptance of the Mond-Turner report would bring British employers and organized labour into more friendly and advantageous industrial relations. It is regrettable that the conference has failed at present, for it is only through a better understanding and the better utilization of the Trade Union movement, that the future hope of Industrial peace lies and not by putting obstacles in their way or by not recognizing Trade Unions.¹ It should be admitted that there has been a marked change in this direction and this has been done often and in the majority of cases it has achieved considerable success as for example, the Railway Companies through the negotiation with Railway Trade Union leaders were able to reduce wages all round by $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ without any conflict - without going into detail we can say that the recent meeting of Employers Federation and the Trade Union Congress shows more signs of success.

As has been said important conferences are still proceeding, and when a conference was called at the instance of the employers' organization, which had previously rejected the proposals made by the ~~Maldrett~~^{Melchett}-Turner Conference, the General Council of the Trade Union Congress accepted it. It should be admitted that credit is due to the Trade Union Congress in this matter, for without insisting upon the proposals of ~~Maldrett~~^{Melchett}-Turner proposals, they willingly accepted the invitation of ~~the~~^{the} employers and were prepared to discuss the matters of common interest.

It should be noted much good can come out of these conferences, if it is conducted in^a right spirit and sympathetically, and it will at least serve as a useful means/

1. This matter, is still being discussed and various proposals are still being discussed.

means of exploring the possibilities of co-operation without arousing antagonisms. Moreover these conferences have established direct relations between National Organisations of the employers and the Trade Unions and if this is maintained ^{it will be easy} to discuss and explore the avenues of industrial peace.

Having admitted then that the organization of employers and labour conduces to the welfare of industry and contributes much to its smooth working, we should try to develop and change it to suit modern requirements. Such organization, in order to minimize Industrial conflicts, should be content not only with collective bargaining and an eternal tug-of-war, but should try to come to a mutual understanding, in order to solve jointly the difficult problems of industry. The idea that Capital and Labour are two different camps and that their interests are opposed to one another is a fallacy. Yet in the disputes of the past, it may be seen how bitterly one side attacked the other, how mutual hostility existed even when there was no dispute in progress and how each party consolidated itself to resist the other. The general attitude of the Trade Union official to the employer was then that of a watchdog. He never cared about efficiency of production or any other essential of industry. Thus the conception of co-operation which is to-day in the foreground of industrial discussions is of comparatively recent origin and marks a revolution in traditional relations. This attitude should be strengthened and capital and labour should meet not only to discuss wage questions but also as Committees to decide what is best for mutual interests.

To this end, both the Trade Union and the employers' organizations/

organizations should aim. The Trade Unions also should modify or amend some of the rules and regulations which have served their purpose and are no longer useful. These include rules regarding restriction of members in order to keep down the supply of labour, the restriction of the number of new entrants, and all those enactments insisting that promotion should be given not according to capacity or efficiency but according to rotation and seniority and stating that the sole right to perform certain bits of work belongs to a certain union or group and cannot be undertaken by others. The insistence upon these rules, has brought about many industrial conflicts, and therefore they might with advantage be modified and changed to suit the growth and modern tendencies of industry. Some at least of these rules inevitably stand in the way of industrial growth and progress. Undoubtedly such restrictive measures, served a useful purpose for hitherto they were in the main the only effective methods by which the workers could insist on the employers considering their point of view. But now from the point of view of the workers themselves these restrictions are harmful. In order then to strengthen the position of Trade Unions, such rules must be made elastic and capable of revision and adaption and all restrictive measures should be adjusted to the possibility of finding more national and social safeguards for the real interests of labour. Much also depends on Trade Union officials, to bring about good understanding and avoid Industrial conflict. They should not only aim at obtaining better conditions and wages by collective bargaining and a peaceful settlement of disputes, but also at rectifying all those/

those matters affecting the efficiency of output, since efficiency in production leads to higher wages and improvement of conditions.

In the same way also, the Employers' federation should be content not only with Collective bargaining, but should aim at coming into closer contact with the Trade Unions. They should organise research work and should also have a well-organised system which would devote attention to all Industrial questions. That is exactly what the National Association of Manufacturers in America achieve for this organization furnishes all particulars as to costs, prices, production and even matters relating to labour conditions and the welfare of the workers. This pooling of information between various employers brings great advantages not only to the employers themselves but to the community at large.

As has been said the organization of both labour and capital, has brought many advantages. But, at the same time, it must be admitted that industrial struggles and conflicts would not have been so bitter if there had been no organizations. Till recently and in some cases even to-day, over the greater part of British industry the associations of Labour and Capital have been content to do only "Collective bargaining". There was suspicion on each side and each aimed at getting by higgling and bargaining the best terms at the cost of the other, for itself. It was through this attitude, that many conflicts were brought about. The only solution is to get rid of this hostile attitude, and by coming together, each recognizing the other and through joint consultation and mutual adjustment, avoiding all conflicts.

Most/

Most Industrial problems have too often been approached with prejudice and strong bias on one side or the other and so a rational analysis of causes has never been arrived at. Labour remembers past times and conditions and employers also are slow to change to the new conditions. Thus Industry is hampered. Extreme partisans never care to analyse the realities of situations but in order to bring harmony into industry, it is essential to replace passion by reason and common sense. If this were done and things were moulded to secure the welfare of the majority of individuals, there would be more mutual confidence and goodwill.

A social and economic struggle has been going on during the last hundred years. Strife and discontent with the economic order have during this whole period been closely allied with economic development and at present the industrial unrest is more widespread owing to the strong organizations of the two parties in the struggle. They speak with more authority and unanimity. Formerly, troubles were more limited to particular industries, but to-day owing to powerful organizations and the complexity of our industrial system they affect all industries and the community in general.

It should be emphasised here, that strikes and lock-outs are only symptoms of trouble, and there is a danger of attaching too much importance to the symptoms and too little to what lies below. There are many causes which in order to achieve harmony in Industry, should be removed. For example unemployment is only one of many troubles which industry and state has not yet been able to handle and no specific remedies are put forth to solve the problem. At the end of 1928 the total reached a million and a half and these workers with their dependents/

dependents who represent 4 or 5 million souls are condemned to hardship. Such then are the things - unemployment is only one of many troubles - which lies below the symptoms of Trade disputes.

Moreover labour is no longer docile, for owing to the spread of education, a new type of workman has been produced, who no longer accepts the old position that it is the duty of the masters to order and the workmen to obey. This new type of workman has some knowledge of economics and social history, and has a "Critical Judgment regarding pay and the values of life. The generation of unquestioning servitude and of a dull toleration of anything it may bring is dead".

They no longer submit to being mere "cogs and wheels" in the machinery of industry, and therefore it is no use to pursue old policy. They feel that they have no opportunity for self-expression and are prevented from enjoying much that life in a civilized community has to give. Popular education has made it possible for the workpeople to reflect on industrial questions. In order that they may improve their position they seek their own interest and their minds tend to become alienated from the other point of view. Thus misunderstanding and want of sympathy with all but their own case are engendered.

They also feel and resent - to put it in Professor Baillie's words - the "injustice of an industrial system which keeps so many workpeople on the margin of grim poverty; in which hard toil and reward seem to have no equitable relation to one another; where the individual is used till he is spent; and where spirit is disregarded, where the wealth apparently created by the many is seemingly enjoyed by the few; where the toiler, especially the unskilled toiler, is considered at once indispensable economically and negligible socially; and where the fate of family life is always at the mercy of the changing/

changing fortunes of industry."

Taking all things into consideration "no impartial man would contend that our industrial system has yet attained an adequate standard either of justice or of efficiency". It is true that a large proportion of the population has comfort in spite of a mass of poverty at one end, and to-day according to Professor A.L. Bowley and Sir Josiah Stamp, the mass of British people - the wage-earning classes - have improved their position since before the war at the expense of the well-to-do and propertied class. Most wage-earners now have a better income than before the war, although the Nation as a whole is worse off. It may be added however that the improvement in wages has been unequal, for after the war a municipal dustman earned more than a skilled shipwright. The same difficulty is seen in the movement of wages among the unskilled. Here, the labourer doing comparatively easy work gets more than the labourer doing much harder work. Thus speaking of riches and poverty, we must not think that inequality prevails only between class and class for it is found as much among wage-earners themselves. In spite of such facts, we can generalise by saying that wage-earners have made a small increase in real-earnings and that the well-to-do class take less than they took before the war.^{1.}

On/

1. The income of the United Kingdom in 1911 was approximately £1,988,000,000 (roughly £2,000,000,000).

In 1924 the figures had risen to £3,803,000,000. Thus the money income has increased but at the same time money does not go so far as before the war.

But according to Professor Bowley's calculation, owing to the increase of the population by 7% between 1911 and 1924 the real income fell per head by probably between 5 and 10%. In spite of the decline in real income per head the wage-earners made on the average a smaller income in real-earnings, which automatically proves that the well-to-do classes take less than they did before the war.

On the whole the poor in Great Britain are better off than they were, and the comforts of the nation as a whole, and the high standard of life of the people clearly impresses a foreigner visiting this country.

More things than wages have played their part in this result. The State has done much and by various methods taken a large part of the earnings of the well-to-do and distributed them among the needy, in the shape of pensions, insurance and grants of various sorts.

If we take the year 1925, £338,000,000 out of the funds mainly raised from the well-to-do, was distributed amongst the masses of the people, in the way of old age pensions, unemployment insurance, Health insurance, Education and Housing etc. Therefore the wholly destitute family is now an impossibility. This was not the case some thirty years ago. Now the destitute is sure of having some amount of income either by way of pension, insurance fund or unemployment benefit.

As Professor Henry Clay says "the combination of progressive taxation with the extension of social services provided by the State has had the effect of transferring a considerable portion of their income from the rich to the poor. In this transfer is to be found a part at any rate of the explanation of the improvement in the economic condition of the poor which even war has not neutralized. The check to the rise in real wages has been compensated for by the increased provision of social service by the State and by compulsory advances in wages, in the form of insurance contributions, imposed on employers. At the same time the Insurance Acts, and the Trade Boards Act promoted a re-arrangement or re-distribution of income to the points/

points at which the evil of poverty pressed hardest." ^{1.}

State intervention has done immense good and by the distribution of part of the wealth of the well-to-do among the needy has ameliorated to some extent the evils of poverty. Various measures, such as Trade Boards which have attacked low wages and the recent insurance provision for widows are all significant reforms by which the State has done good to the community in general and through which can also be seen some attempt for the better distribution of wealth. Parliament also in other ways has "interfered materially with the distribution of wealth, has done much to secure a better distribution and has done more probably in the present century to solve the problem of poverty than any previous generation or any other country has been able to do." ^{2.}

In spite of the correction of inequality, "the resentment at inequality has grown". This resentment increased especially after the war, for the war dislocated the normal life of Nations and when the time came for adjustment problems became complicated. Thus the state of tension in industry is greater than ever mainly because workers are no longer content to be mere producers of wealth through their physical efforts, nor are willing simply to obey and ask no question concerning the industry in which they toil. Therefore they demand a new constitution for industry, in which they may occupy their proper place and have a voice in shaping the conditions that govern them. In this direction attempts have been already made in various countries and experiments are still being attempted.

The first and foremost necessity for ending the present crisis is to devise new ways of handling the ever increasing demands/

1 and 2. Prof. Henry Clay.- Article "The Authoritarian Element in Distribution". The Economic Journal. No.145. Vol. XXXVII, March 1927, pages 14 and 16.

demands of the workers and to find a means by which harmony and good will be brought into industrial organization. The principle that workers should be consulted regarding conditions which affect them has been now recognised and Works Councils, District Councils and Industrial Councils have been established in this country. Thus Employers have been compelled to face changing conditions and to alter their attitude. In all this, an enlightened imagination is required to do away with all suspicion. It now seems clear that peace in industry can be obtained by admitting workers as partners in industry by giving them relevant information, and by treating all matters affecting workers sympathetically and openly. The establishment of schemes which will bring employers in close contact with workers is all to the good. Such schemes have been working in some industries, very successfully, but they should not be the exception but the general rule. Sir Alfred Mond says that "we had running for many years Works Councils which had helped to maintain unbroken friendly relationships and had been appreciated and utilized by the Workers".

Sir Eric Geddes is of the same opinion for he said, "the Factory Council movement acts on the principle that grievances can usually be settled by a friendly conference round the table. It is built on the idea that mutual confidence is always better than mutual suspicion. We at Fort Dunlop have proved that "getting together" is the great secret of good relationship with employees. He further added that during the installation of new machinery the workmen/

workmen instead of being hostile, have "through the medium of the factory council helped in a hundred ways to promote efficiency".

A sound Industrial system would be impossible unless the employers have contented and willing workers behind them. The constant paralysis of industry on account of stoppage, necessarily disorganizes industry and therefore improvement and expansion becomes an impossibility. Therefore mutual co-operation is essential for greater prosperity and this can be done only by giving earnest attention to schemes which would bring both parties in industry together for discussion of all affairs. Machinery should then be established in all works to see that justice is done to every worker and that every individual has full scope for his development as an individual. As Professor Urwick has said, the fact should be recognized that "each worker has the right to feel that he or she counts individually - that each one counts more in the organization called industry than anything mechanical. They should feel and know that the whole organization, however big, is adapted to them and not they to it."

Every precaution too should be taken to safeguard the interest of workers. Workmen run enormous risks and suffer untold misery, as can be seen from Government reports. According to the report of the Chief Inspector of Mines for 1927, the number of persons killed in the mines was 1128 and the number injured 173,442. The report further says that 11 fatal accidents through explosions occurred. The same story is told in the report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops for 1927. He also states that there were 156,946 accidents, including 973 fatal, an increase of 17,011 on the figures for 1926. The fatalities too had risen/

risen from 806 of the previous year. Indeed there are great risks, and these matters should be taken into consideration and every attempt that is made to better the conditions reacts beneficially on labour both on their character and lives, and in the long run improves their attitude to their employers and on their whole outlook.

Besides, many of the conflicts which arise on account of small causes and spread widely, could be nipped in the bud, if there is scope and machinery in each factory to have joint and free conferences between the management and employed. Thus active co-operation of the workers should be sought. The control of such matters should to a certain extent be vested in both, "for it is through comradeship, (and) not through autocracy, that the good life grows."

If the world is to recover, the first condition is a great increase in the output of industry. In order to achieve this, workers should play the game properly. They must realise that the capitalist is an essential factor in industry and that it would not be possible to work industries without him. They should also realise that prosperity in their industries means prosperity to themselves and that by fuller and mutual co-operation the greater would be that prosperity. They should also understand that if a better standard of life is to be realized, it can only be attained through more wealth. That generally means they must produce more goods.

"The conception that there is an enormous amount of income in the hands of the rich is a dangerous delusion", and "that much current argument about the masses of the people being in process of progressive degradation for the aggrandisement/

aggrandisement and enrichment of the few is not in accordance with the facts".^{1.}

Restrictive practices make worse their own conditions and the constant use of the strike weapon, in the long run has brought untold misery. A dispute is never really settled by a strike. "A strike merely brutalises industrial life, it does not humanise it". As an alternative every effort should be made to try to settle disputes and differences by conciliatory methods or by arbitration. It is a fallacy that nationalization will cure all industrial unrest. Labour can aid a good deal to restoring the industries which have suffered much on account of the great war and in so doing their own conditions would be improved.

The great war has burdened the country with heavy debts and has led to much reaction. It has brought suffering and misery to the community in general and to workpeople in particular. Therefore in order to restore the country to the old prosperity, and bring about far greater comfort and leisure, the old industrial supremacy should be restored. The first essential for this, is industrial peace. To obtain industrial peace both employers and employees should co-operate for the best interests of industry and work upon an industrial policy which will make that peace secure. The new psychology should be applied to industrial relations, and a true co-partnership in industry, both in production and in profit should be created. Indeed all the recent troubles were due to the fact that the two partners in industry - Capital and Labour - could not trust one another. It should be realized that this suspicion in industry brings no benefit to anyone; on the contrary it brings misery and suffering to all. Each lock-out/

1. The wages of Labour - Rt. Hon. William Graham (Cassell)

out or strike has the effect of stopping or slowing down industries of every kind. The effect of continual stoppages in one part or another of the country means that the entire industry of the nation is running considerably slower than it otherwise would. Industrial disputes are a constant source of wasted energy throughout the world's productive area.

So both labour and capital should face facts and learn to adjust the differences not by brute force but by peaceful methods. Such ruthless methods should cease to be used and every effort should be made to use conciliation and arbitration. Indeed the recognition of the community of interest between employers and employed is essential to the revival of industry. Trade is not warfare and if trade is to flourish it is only through mutual co-operation. It is essential to substitute reason for war and it can only be through an atmosphere free from disturbance, that industrial prosperity can come.

Therefore it is essential that both employers and employees must realize that Industrial reconstruction can be undertaken only by conjunction with and with the co-operation of both parties. They also should recognise that the common interests that bind them are more powerful than the interests which apparently separate them. Realizing that Capital and Labour are both essential to production and that they have common interests, every effort should be made to join hands and work in harmony, adjusting their differences sympathetically and by peaceful methods.

Thus Capital and Labour in industry are inter-dependent and/

and neither of them can do anything without the help of the other. Anything which affects either of them is detrimental to industry and the reward of all parties concerned can come only through full and harmonious co-operation.

TRADE DISPUTES.

Strikes and lock-outs have often been described as industrial warfare and serious students have suggested, that like war this industrial warfare is a necessary evil. Like war it affects not only the parties concerned but also the whole community and the whole organization of industry. Great Britain, being one of the greatest manufacturing countries and Capital and Labour being thoroughly organized, labour quarrels have been frequent and on a large scale. Some of them have been fought out to the bitter end, and have involved hardships, trouble and disastrous consequences.

Such labour troubles, of course, are not new things, though their causes to a certain extent, have been different at different times. Strikes are now incidents arising out of the modern relationship of free contact between employer and workman and cannot be compared in any form with the revolts of servile and semi-servile labour in ancient or mediæval times. The well known phrase "Capital and Labour" emphasises the view that there are two rival camps not only in this country but in almost all industrial countries, acting in open opposition to one another. By this, class hatred and class consciousness are strengthened and thus each party refuses to see the other party's view and aims only at getting what it thinks to be right and just.

As has been said, in Great Britain owing to strong Trade Union organization, the industrial warfare has been fought out bitterly and the Industrial discontent among large classes of working population, and the constant friction which results from it is a great obstacle and thwarts the progress of/
of/

of the country. It brings calamity not only to the particular industry in which strike exists but it effects all industries in some way or other, for modern industrial growth, has linked in some form or other all industries. Moreover it brings calamity not only to workers and employers but to the whole community. Since generally strikes affect the community as a whole, the public should interest themselves and see whether justice is meted out and should be the chief Judge and act as final arbitrator and should take an interest always in the industrial matters and not only when strikes or lock-outs occur.

A strike is defined by Mr Week, an American authority as "a suspension of work resulting from a dispute originating in some demand of the employed; a lock-out in some demand of the employer." To say that a strike is a suspension of work by the employed is a comprehensive and adequate definition, but to be more correct it may be said that "a strike is a suspension of work by the employed, having for its object the enforcement of better terms of labour or resistance of some defined change in the existing conditions of labour". "The lock-out is the action of an employer who notifies to his workpeople that on a certain date all existing contracts of service will terminate, and who lays down no definite proposal for the continuation of such contracts." In the Trade dispute Act, 1906 and in the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875, the expression "trade dispute" means "any dispute between employers and workmen or between workmen and workmen, which is connected with the employment or non-employment or the terms of employment, or with the condition/

condition of labour of any person and the expression 'workman' means all persons employed in trade or industry, whether or not in the employment of the employer with whom a trade dispute arises." Here the definition seems also to include the "sympathetic strike". It is at once obvious that to distinguish stoppages according to the above definitions as strikes and lock-outs according to the source of the original demand for a change of conditions would lead to a very arbitrary and misleading classification; for, frequently, it is not easy to say which side made the original demand that originated the dispute, and frequently a stoppage is the result of a breakdown of negotiations in the course of which demands have been made by both sides.

Moreover it matters little for the industry, community and the nation as a whole, whether it is a lock-out or a strike, for the consequences are the same. So in order to avert all such disputes remedies which should apply to lock-outs as well as strikes should be attempted.

We have seen in the last chapter some general causes of the present Industrial troubles. Let us now examine in detail some specific causes of labour disputes. Some people regard the important causes of Industrial conflict as the natural and inevitable outcome of an unjust individualist Industrial system and believe that the only way to put an end to them is to change the system completely - in other words to overthrow, the present capitalistic system altogether. However, the ordinary workman neither thinks nor cares about systems, and does not want a strike for a theory or a law; but he will strike for economic reasons. When he is hard pressed and his wages are low and he is starving and suffering/

suffering and when he finds that he is unable to better his position or when he thinks that a strike may lead to some improvement, then he goes on to seek the only weapon he has and is easily led by what others say. Justice and fairplay are all that the majority of workmen wish to obtain. Especially they aim at getting adequate wages to live without much hardship. Therefore the majority of disputes occur on wages and their adjustments. The question of remuneration and its adequate adjustment is the vital thing in almost all disputes and is one of the important problems that should be solved in order to assist in the cause of industrial peace. Workmen think that employers wish to pay them as little as possible and to exact as much as possible and this argument is supported by their vague knowledge of past sufferings and conditions. Therefore it may be said that, at least to a certain extent, the present troubles are often the result of past times and conditions. Workmen, when they see signs of prosperity in others and no corresponding or relative improvement in their own feel that others are experiencing enjoyment at their expense and hard labour and that they are entitled to higher wages. If we glance at the statistics from 1896 to 1924, we find that the total number of disputes that occurred is 21,461 and that the number of disputes on account of wages is 13,827, so the percentage of disputes on wage questions alone is 63%. Moreover if details are entered into, it will be found that though disputes have their origin in different causes, these turn out generally in the end to be questions of wages. Whatever year we take we find that a majority of industrial conflicts arose out of this question. For example, if we take/

take 1896, in that year out of 1021 total disputes that occurred 570 arose out of the question of wages or 56%. Again, say, if we take the year 1920, out of 1607 disputes 1079 were due to wage questions, and that is nearly 67%. Or if we take a period 1910-24, two-thirds of all disputes arose out of questions of wages. Therefore we note the predominant cause of all Industrial disputes is the wage question. After allowing for all other factors, which lead to disagreement, the dissatisfaction of the worker with his share of the proceeds of the industry there remains the chief cause of discontent - wages. Therefore the real question that should be faced in order to minimize Industrial conflict is to see that the worker gets a fair wage. But what is a fair wage and how to calculate it is the problem and no real economic basis exists for a wage beyond a minimum.

The wage adjustment is at present the problem and creates conflict between labour and capital not only in Great Britain but in all Industrial countries. The present rough and ready empirical method of determining wages requires examination, so that, some certain guiding principle for adjusting wages might be adopted. In general, to-day wage claims are decided in industry, by a process of collective bargaining, but without any clearly defined set of principles. Higgling and bargaining goes on, each party trying to get the utmost and pressing its proposals as far as they can go. Thus, to a certain extent, the wage settlement obtained through conciliation or forced settlements for the award does not depend on any definite set of principles but on a rough approximation and the attitude of the parties fighting.

It is surely unsatisfactory, from the point of view of industry in particular and the welfare of the community in general/

general, to have wage claims decided, not on the basis of some generally accepted principle but on the result of the bargaining capacity and a trial of strength between employers and employed. By this method friction and antagonism are increased in industry and relations between Trade Unions and the employers' organizations are embittered. Consequently co-operation, good-will and mutual agreement and understanding become impossible. This want of a definite principle for finding a "living wage" - or to put it generally to determine wage policy - has thwarted the progress of the arbitral tribunals, even when now most tribunals make an honest attempt to arrive at decisions; for they are unable to appeal to any agreed principles of adjustment. They have some ideas and data concerning the capacity of a given industry to pay a particular wage; yet such do not constitute for the tribunals a generally acknowledged standard and so if we examine some awards, they are found to be simply adjustments to avert strikes or lock-outs for the time being. It is difficult to find out basic wages, for many factors are involved, such as the price of the product, the economy and efficiency of the management, the extent and nature of competition and the productivity of the worker. It is difficult to measure them with scientific accuracy, but no method of wage adjustment is workable which does not take account of them. Thus we see that adjustment of wages scientifically is a difficult thing and this wage problem has become more acute since 1918. Before the war rates of wages were relatively stable and if there was a change it was only gradual. Therefore the work of Trade Union officials and the Employers' Federations and Associations was a comparatively easy/

easy task, and all that they were required to do was to come to an understanding for the adjustment of particular rates to particular changes, without any fundamental change in the system as a whole. But since 1918, the problem has become a difficult one owing to extensive economic changes. Thus since the war, this question has led to troubles and owing to the want of a basis on which wages could be settled, to endless disagreements. If there is no agreed principle of wage determination, there is certain to be trouble, for in the end, in that case, wages are determined not by reference to any principle, but by haggling and bargaining and, in the last resort, by strikes and lock-outs.

Experience in various industries and in various countries would seem to indicate that the determination of wages by reference to principles previously agreed to by both workers and employers is a method of promoting industrial peace and has achieved some success. The only point is that the actual framing of practical and scientific principles is a difficult technical problem. The principles even if scientific may not be acceptable and therefore the great problem is to induce both sides to accept them. For example in Australia, employers and workers accept the principles of the "living wage". This wage in terms of actual money is declared from time to time by some official commission and though their method of arriving at the amount estimated as necessary to meet the needs of the "average" family is by a very rough and ready calculation, yet both sides accept it which is the all-important point. It seems to a certain extent to be successful, for stoppages of work on account of wage questions were only 35% in Australia between the years 1913-1923.

But/

But unfortunately no such theory exists in Britain and the machinery for considering wage changes is imperfect; we may say that ~~is~~ the price index issued regularly by the Board of Trade to a certain extent in this connection is useful but does not adequately help the problem. Thus the problem of the adjustment of wages is extraordinarily difficult; neither is it susceptible to any single or simple solution, and hence much friction arises over it. If, however, some solution is found for the automatic adjustment of wages or for a basis on which wages could be settled, then many of the chief causes of industrial disputes could be eliminated.

But there is another side; for it is well known that the task of adjustment of wages is not an easy thing, and since through it many Industrial conflicts occur, both sides instead of declaring strikes and lock-outs on account of this question should make every effort to arrive at some solution peacefully by heart to heart talk and frank discussion. This emphasises again the nature of conciliation and the importance of arbitration in settling disputes and in arriving at the proper settlement of wages.

Nevertheless, Industrial conflicts, which occur on this question can be minimized if certain broad principles are followed. Generally higher wages, to a certain extent, must carry with them a greater degree of production and efficiency and that through higher wages higher living with its greater consuming power will in turn stimulate industry. It is essential that workers should receive high wages to fit them for the higher standard of intelligence required in modern factories. Such a standard of intelligence cannot be achieved/

achieved by a weak, worn-out and stunted industrial population.

In America workers receive comparatively high wages, and in the long run America is able to produce things more cheaply, though this is partly due to improved methods, labour-saving devices, better technique and various other causes. So it is not simply by raising wages that the conditions of industry could be stabilized or improved. To attempt to lower wages - the present tendency - is much worse. This is diametrically opposed to social tendencies which have been working for the past two generations in this country. So that to think of stabilizing industry by reducing wages would be a retrograde policy.

The essential step (for both employer and employed) should be to co-operate and eliminate the wasteful methods of production to economise and put out material to better use and eliminate the antiquated methods of production which thwarts the progress of industry and which makes the employer force down wages. An industry should also attempt to pay, as far as possible to the worker such rates as would enable him to live in reasonable comfort. It is indeed necessary in a sound wage system to provide wages to maintain the worker and his dependents in decency and comfort and it is now a recognised policy that some attempts should be made to pay the worker a "living wage". For this purpose, legislation has been attempted in many countries. Trade Boards in this have done immense service in this respect, but there would be a great advantage if legislation could be generally applied, for this has the great advantage, not only of raising wages in industries where payment is unduly low, but of effectively preventing the exploitation of labour and the consequent friction and conflicts.

Various/

Various criticisms on such legislation have been brought forward; but to examine these facts is outside the scope of this study. It is sufficient to say to those who fear international competition that the different minimum wage standards of countries, can be overcome by bringing pressure to bear through International Labour organizations, so as to fix minimum rates, for all workers, according to the special circumstances of the country. This would help not only the workers of Great Britain but also those of other countries, where workers are still exploited.

My argument is that Trade Boards which have done well in attacking low wages should be further extended. Leaving aside the minimum wage question, and other wage problems which are discussed in detail elsewhere, we can generally say that for an industry which is flourishing and can afford to pay, the general level of wages should be as high as possible in order that the general standard of life may be raised. The higher the wages the better the worker is stimulated to seek for better comforts and this means a healthy and happy worker who is able to produce more than a weak and starving worker. The argument for higher wages really works round in a circle; higher wages with greater production at lower cost per unit means greater purchasing power, increased purchasing power means increased consumption; increased consumption means larger home production and larger home production means the stimulation of home markets and industries, which is essential at present. If the wages are fairly high and the worker is able to meet all his requirements, he will be loath to go on strike and sacrifice his comforts. Moreover if the worker is well paid and if he is fit, there will be regularity of work; and time lost through sickness and absence will/

will be reduced and thus there will be a greater turn-over. Any reduction in the standard of living is a retrograde step in civilization. There is ample proof to show that low wages produce low efficiency and high wages good efficiency. Moreover the "economy" of high wages in many cases has induced the management to introduce improved machinery and efficient management which in turn facilitate the payment of high wages.

Moreover if we could develop, to a greater extent, the systems of profit-sharing and co-partnerships in industry, these will be of great value in minimising disputes. It is indeed necessary that there should be some other encouragement for the worker, apart from wages, to produce more. In the above schemes, he gets a reward or a share due to the prosperity of the industry to which he has contributed something. Therefore to make the worker feel that he has also benefited, if the industry prospers, some schemes of sharing the profits (which would really create interest in the industry) should be established in all industries. By such methods, the employer would be giving his workmen, over and above the ordinary wages, a share in the profits of the business. As regards a system of profit-sharing, the difficulty lies in this that, while it is impracticable to try a universally compulsory scheme, (owing to the variety of plans each of which will only suit one particular industry) still each industry might profitably attempt experiments, to suit its particular circumstances. Such a scheme, to my mind, if universally applied, would confer great benefits and would to/

to a certain extent check disputes on account of wage questions. There are undoubtedly great advantages in such schemes, for they will induce a special degree of effort, efficiency and co-operation and the employee will try to increase production, because of the knowledge that he will receive a portion of the profits.

It may be argued why give a share of the profits to the worker instead of raising his wages. The answer is that wages cannot be raised for whole industries, because few businesses are making enormous profits and also profits will be made in one year and in another year the profits may not be high and then employers would have to reduce wages, an action which would bring about unnecessary friction. On the contrary by receiving a share of the profits the workers are made to realise that the bonus they receive is due to their vigilance and efforts and this encourages them to do their best so that the business in which they are engaged may be more prosperous and so that they can get a bigger bonus. Such schemes as profit-sharing and co-partnership have very great merits and should, as far as possible, be attempted. This diffusion of ownership would lessen the attacks on the Capitalist, for, as Sir Alfred Mond says "the best answer to Socialism is to make every man a Capitalist". It would also remove much of the suspicion and distress that now prevails. Unfortunately the attitude of Trade Unions to profit-sharing schemes are usually hostile. Therefore, at present, from what I gather, it is generally successful in non-union shops and when individual output is difficult to measure. The Trade Unions/

Unions contend that by such methods the employers would buy the workers and thus the strength and power of Trade Unions would be reduced.

This attitude of Trade Unions requires a complete change and if Trade Union leaders consider the whole question from all sides, they will see that it in no way weakens their position, if proper safeguards are taken, but on the contrary, it will always to a certain extent increase the earnings of the worker.

Since the majority of disputes occur on wage questions, schemes of this nature will go a long way and have a great psychological effect, for they will make the individual do his best knowing that the fruits of such exertion in the long run would benefit him. Also schemes of this nature will surely bring better relations between employers and employees, for the worker will no longer feel that it matters little to him if the business is progressing or not, but, on the contrary, he will wish that the business should prosper so that he may get a big return. They create a feeling of common aims and encourage the worker to take an interest in the industry in which he is working. Moreover by co-partnership the worker will have a means of advancement which the raising of wages can never give and will give satisfaction and contentment to workers generally.

Thus we have seen in the foregoing pages one of the chief causes of industrial disputes and how difficult it is to find a real and scientific solution for wage adjustments as wage adjustment is not susceptible to an easy solution. It can be solved only through the joint deliberation of both workers representatives and Employers. This enhances the fact, that conciliation/

conciliation, arbitration and joint deliberation are essential for, without discussing the whole matter frankly and freely it is difficult to come to any solution. But much misunderstanding and discontent could be eliminated by introducing schemes, such as profit-sharing and co-partnership.

The next important causes of strikes are ^{1.} -

- (1) Employment of particular classes of persons.
- (2) Working arrangements rules and discipline.
- (3) Trade Unionism.
- (4) Hours of labour.

Unnecessary friction and Industrial conflicts and misunderstanding arise over questions of demarcation and the employment of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers, several kinds of restrictions by Trade Unions, might have been useful before, to safeguard the workers' position, but things have greatly changed in modern industries and it would be now unwise to follow these restrictions rigidly. Accordingly, if Trade Unions would modify or make such regulations elastic, disputes arising on account of them could be eliminated. It might have been possible, to a certain extent, in an old established industry to demarcate, but it is difficult, say in the artificial silk industry which has been recently established in this country, to make distinctions and when new processes and changes in the method of manufacture are introduced, it is even more difficult to decide to which trade they belong. Demarcation disputes (between engineering fitters and electricians and in other industries such as the Building/

1. If we take say from 1910 - 1924.
66% of disputes due to wages.
15% employment of particular classes of persons
7% Trade Unions.
6% to working arrangements rules and discipline
4% to Hours of labour.
2% due to other causes.

Building industry and shipbuilding) often occur in the electrical branch of industry, which is growing and rapidly changing. Sometimes the dispute arises over the question, which of the trades is entitled to do the new ^{work} work or use new tools. Each trade fears that by letting in others to the trade, their members will suffer and will become unemployed.

In these days of rapid advancement it is impossible to keep each craft apart, for frequently men of different crafts must co-operate or assist in doing a single job. A few disputes will illustrate this point.^{1.}

Much can be done by the Trade Unions to put an end to disputes arising on questions of demarcation and the employment of skilled, unskilled and semi-skilled workmen. Such restrictions could with apparent advantage be modified, and if possible, the various crafts should ^{amalgamate with regard to unskilled workers' work should} be secured by some such method (as suggested by Mr Cole) as that of throwing open to all workers all machines at a standard rate based on the scientific grading of the machines themselves or some agreed system of rating the various machines, so that the workers operating a particular machine may be able to get the minimum rate laid down for the class of machine concerned.

Since those restrictions curtail the freedom of the workers and sometimes bring hardships, Trade Unions should face/

1. A dispute was threatened in shipbuilding where corticine is now largely used for the surface of decks. The upholaterers claimed that corticine work belongs to them, because corticine is simply a special thick linoleum; but the shipwrights' claimed it as their work, their general secretary asserting that it is "almost a deck", or, for example, for years the Plumbers and fitters on the North-east Coast disputed concerning the fitting of certain pipes and in the end secured an award by which, Plumbers were to fit all pipes of less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ " and fitters all pipes of more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ " but unfortunately nothing was said about $2\frac{1}{2}$ " pipes themselves and so another dispute arose as to who should do the $2\frac{1}{2}$ " pipes - which lasted for years.

Examples taken from Cole's Book.

face the question. All Unions also should make it a rule not to allow their members to cease work, till the matter has been fully discussed between the leaders of different Unions involved. For this problem requires serious consideration in view that in future as machinery is improved there will be a tendency to introduce less skilled labour for work hitherto done by labour of a higher class, and also to demarcate. Trade Unions, while discussing these points should endeavour to come to an amicable settlement, for this is a question not between capital and labour but one which intimately concerns both, as it differentiates workmen.

Generally if we analyse the general discontent in the world of labour, we see that the great spring of action is the claim to a fuller share in the good things of life," i.e. the demand for higher wages and better conditions. The problem, therefore, of how industry can support higher wages, may be said to be the problem of industrial peace, when viewed from this angle. The question is can Trade Unionism as presently constituted accomplish the object? or is a new social reconstruction the only way out?

Trade Unionism, in theory as in practice, stands for the interest of labour, as producers, whether such labour be employed by capitalism, or in co-operation. It has been the means of raising the standard of life for labour by fixing certain minimum conditions. But the defect from which it is suffering to-day is its sectionalism; and unless drastic reorganisation of the machinery is made, labour will suffer, and industrial unrest ensue.

The connection this has with the problem we are discussing/

discussing will be drawn in a moment. We must point first to the new circumstances that are pressing heavily on the old machinery; the struggle for example between craft Unionism and Industrial Unionism has undermined the old order; as where the National Union of Railwaymen stand out for a new conception of Trade Union structure as well as a new policy; then there is the growing conflict between the leaders and the rank and file, as evidenced in the various rank and file movements centred in the workshops, e.g. in engineering; then there is the greater danger of sectional interests within the army of labour itself.

This is to be stressed, because any efforts towards the attainment of industrial peace, through methods of conciliation and arbitration, are bound to be sectional in nature; and harmony cannot be attained until the essential interdependence and interrelatedness of all industries is fully recognised.

Therefore, one very real part of the problem of industrial peace is to effect a reconciliation of all the conflicting sections of labour opinion; just consider that there are about eleven hundred odd Unions in existence. How can this be done?

Opinion stands divided as between the advocates of craft-Unionism and those of Industrial Unionism. Broadly speaking, the former believe that skilled and unskilled labour should be organised in separate societies, regarding Trade Unionism namely from the point of view of the skilled craftsman, who desires to protect his standard of life, not only against employer, but against unskilled worker. The latter, on the other/

other hand, looking at Trade Unionism from the point of view of the class struggle, believe that all labour should be organised in the same Union. Craft-Unionism groups in the same organisation, all workers doing the same kind of work; Industrial Unionism, all those co-operating in producing the same product.

But the danger is that industrial Unionism is threatening a new cleavage and new sectionalism, for an engineer or carpenter may leave the railway and follow his calling elsewhere. For this, no provision is made; so that the new conditions of employment will be determined by those who must employ or organise engineers and carpenters. The principle cuts from the other side too; in that the diversion of men from the Craft Unions to the Railwaymen's Union will weaken the bargaining power of the former.

We cannot presume to make any predictions on the matter; suffice it to indicate the problem that the position presents, in so far that on the final organisation of labour depends in large part the smooth co-operation between labour and capital, in which rests the ultimate solution of the problem of Industrial peace.

Again, Trade Unions with the co-operation of Employers could do much to avert disputes arising out of questions of Trade Unionism and those which spring out of working arrangements rules and discipline. It has been an accepted fact for many years that the Trade Union movement cannot be ignored and therefore a general move should be made by the employers to accept Trade Unionism. This was suggested in the recent interim report of the Mond-Turner Conference.

Apart/

Apart from this Trade Unions themselves should re-organise in order to avert disputes which frequently occur between Trade Unions themselves. As regards disputes which arise from working arrangements rules and discipline, available methods are sufficient but they should be strengthened and used more and more. These disputes chiefly arise from such simple causes, as the hard treatment of a foreman, the rigid application of rules, wrongful dismissal and various other minor causes. In order to avoid disputes of this nature, quick ventilation of grievances and of injustice to individuals or to classes of men is of the greatest importance. These minor grievances should receive immediate consideration for this has led in many cases to the spread of discontent and has led to industrial disputes of great magnitude. There is an opportunity here to settle or adjust the difference between employer and workers and moreover in the workshop committees the workers' will have a chance to share responsibility and power and be given a voice in working arrangements. The free discussion of these grievances will remove many misunderstandings and bad feeling. Moreover free discussion in the workshop Committee would establish the ordinary human touch between the management and the men and all such discussions would have a tremendous educational effect on all concerned. Besides small causes of discontent which if not redressed spread into wide Industrial disputes, can be nipped in the bud.

Lastly, a percentage of disputes occur on the question of hours of labour. It may be generally said in recent years that the reduction of hours has in many industries been made without many Industrial conflicts. Thus according to the Minister of Labour, in 1919 and 1920 reductions in hours of labour affecting about 7 million workpeople were made, the average/

average reduction in working time being about six hours per week. By the activities of the Trade Board and the power given to it by the Amending Act which became operative in October 1918, a working week of 48 hours was declared to be the normal week in most industries, with a few exceptions. In almost all industries, where the hours have been reduced, the change has been recognised by the employers' associations and Trade Unions concerned. It should be noted, that the majority of these settlements were arrived at after joint consultation and thus we see adjustments could be made without resorting to strikes and lock-outs. If this method of joint consultation were strengthened, even the small percentage of strikes that occur on account of this cause might be eliminated.

So far we have seen some specific causes, but now let us briefly examine some general causes and causes which directly or indirectly bring antagonism between labour and capital. These are collectively and commonly known as the "Industrial Unrest".

From the following table we see that during the last generation there has been a marked increase in the number of stoppages - comparing three periods, each of eight years - the period since the war, the period immediately before the war and the period before that again, we note that there is a steady increase and frequency of stoppages. It is therefore essential to find out what brought this about and then to analyse the extent and character of the unrest and work out patiently the means whereby these causes may be removed.

LABOUR DISPUTES ^{1.}

Period.	No. of Disputes.	No. of Workers involved.	Average per Annum.	No. of days lost.	Average per Annum.
1898-1905	4,371	1,345,000	168,000	34,500,000	4,300,000
1906-1913	5,561	4,546,000	568,000	89,300,000	11,100,000
1919-1926	6,553	11,084,000	1,385,000	357,000,000	44,300,000

The important cause for this marked increase in the number of stoppages is the rise of prices, which is not compensated by the rise of money wages, from 1895 onwards - Though the improvement in working-class conditions since the early seventies, in this country, has been fairly continuous and rapid. Yet during the same time the ordinary necessities and comforts for the standard of living of the worker have risen so much that he cannot get them all in spite of his increased wages. As we have seen above wages and their adjustment are the decisive factors of the whole question and have brought about many industrial disputes since the war. The Great War had a tremendous effect on the position of the worker. There was a heavy demand for manufacturing munitions and carrying on other war work, and to requite the heavy call on industry, increased wages were paid for a period of five or six years. At the end of the war the wages of unskilled men were also increased so much that they were much closer to those of the skilled men and the actual money wages of the workers were so great, that even allowing for the increased cost of living there was a substantial balance which/

1. Compiled from Ministry of Labour.

which gave them a far better position than before the war.

Then came the slump of 1921, and with it the usual disastrous consequences. Many factories were closed and employers were forced to adjust or reduce wages to meet the competitive state of the various markets in which they operated. This brought about many disputes, which were mainly the consequence of the War. Acute depression indeed has always occurred after a war - for example after the Napoleonic war. After the Great War many countries started new industries in order to become self-sufficing and the competition between Nations became severe. In Britain, especially the unsheltered industries, such as shipping, ship-building, engineering, coal-mining and cotton spinning suffered from keen foreign competition and consequently wages fell. However in the sheltered industries such as Railways and internal transport, Municipal services, building and printing, higher wages were paid. Thus conditions were reversed; for skilled men who were formerly amongst the highest paid in the country, received less than ordinary workers or nearly the same.

This difference of wages paid before the war and at the present time, is another cause of the increasing number of disputes. The workers in the unsheltered industries resent the decreased wages that have come to them and the better position enjoyed by their fellows in sheltered trades. Although numbers of disputes have occurred on account of this cause, it can be safely said, that it is not a permanent one but only a passing phase. The unsheltered trades, are, after some time, almost bound to recover and their workers will then be paid higher wages. Thus one of the causes will be gradually eliminated/

eliminated, but others feel that these industries could only regain their position by giving them protection. This is being applied in some industries under another name popularly called safeguarding of industries. To argue the benefits of these methods would lead us into that great thorny question protection * free trade, and so it is suffice to say here without discussing in details, that artificial means to stimulate particular industry is not a safe experiment and has many drawbacks and these industries could ~~be~~ easily regain its old position, if efficient and modern methods are introduced and if constant stoppage of work could be eliminated, so that those industries may progress till it regains ^{its} ~~this~~ old position.

Another great cause of Industrial unrest after the war springs, to a certain extent, from the political propoganda of extreme socialists, syndicalists, Anarchists and Communists. Some of the^{se} extremists purposely cause industrial unrest and preach class hatred. In almost all trade Unions there is a minority who are actively engaged in preaching discontent. Those men, (many of them possibly sincere to their ideals) promise workers all sorts of things, Especially they make the worker believe that all his sufferings are due to the "Capitalist system". They attribute all the Industrial difficulties to the private ownership of capital and promise a paradise to workers in speeches full of exaggerations.

They believe in eliminating private capital altogether and declare that by substituting nationalisation and the control of all economic matters by the State a more prosperous world will be created.

Such statements are however difficult to put into practice and economically unsound. But they have a great effect/

effect on the working classes, for, if they are repeated often enough they will have a great psychological effect on a large number of people and by some at least will be believed. It is a mistake without facing the facts, to preach in and out of season against all employers and make the workers believe that they are not having a square deal. Everybody will admit that there are defects in the present system and in some cases the workers are not given fair play. These evils can be remedied only by joint deliberation and co-operation and rash arguments and reckless statements will only increase the difficulties.

The State has been playing an important part in the way of protecting the workers interest by passing various legislation in spite of certain opposition; but however much one may believe in the complete abandonment of the theory of laissez faire and the constant interference of the State, yet one does not believe in the complete abolition of the capitalistic system. It can, however, be asserted without fear of contradiction that the belief that capitalism is taking an unfair share is one of the contributory causes for the present unrest. Extreme agitators stir the feelings of the masses by showing the balance-sheets and high profits of prosperous concerns in good years, and tell them that the capitalists are taking the lion's share. The other side of the question is never considered. Yet, in order to obtain a fair view, it is necessary to consider the profits of a whole industry and not of a few successful businesses; but such data are for obvious reasons never brought forward by agitators. Labour should also realise that profits rise and fall, should take into account the/
the/

the average dividend to capital and not the profits of one particular year and also the many risks which even to-day are incident in managing and conducting a big industry. The trend of thought of some labour leaders seems to be to change the whole order of society, as that was proposed by Owen and others in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Such attempts only further embitter the feeling between labour and capital and prevent them coming to a peaceful settlement.

The whole economic facts should then be faced before claims are put forth and if facts are not faced, it is no use claiming high wages in an industry which cannot afford to pay them. In every case, attempts should be made to settle the disputes peacefully and the weapon of the strike should be used only as a last resort.

It is but fair to say that only a few labour leaders advocate revolutionary methods and that a great number are opposed to extreme policies. Mr J. D. French, the president of the Typographical Association, says, "I hold the view, and have held it for years, that a strike never brought in its train success to the workers. Everyone knows the women and children suffer by a strike, and every effort ought to be made - every sane policy ought to be pursued - to avoid using the weapon of the strike". Strikes in the majority of cases have rarely brought all that the workers wanted and the best paid industries, like the boot trade, have obtained their desires by methods of conciliation and not by strikes.

Employers too could counteract the extremists propaganda by publishing their balance sheets and explaining to the workers clearly the position of the industry. This can be done only by meeting the leaders of the workers in joint-conference/



conference and treating them as equals. The facts should be placed before them and by showing figures and facts, the erroneous impression and belief that capital is taking an unfair share could be righted (Educative propaganda among the workers is also necessary so that they may understand the figures and facts put before them). For the days when employers can treat labour as they treated it in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have gone and to-day labour is better informed and organised, besides being protected by many statutory regulations, both industrially and politically. State legislation also would be useful to ensure that labour has fair play and should do its utmost to prevent the huge combinations, monopolism, and price-fixing organisations - from taking undue advantages.

Therefore if a genuine attempt is made on all sides industrial unrest can be lessened. Co-operation on all sides will bring about harmony. The committee appointed by the British Chamber of Commerce came to this conclusion in the following words, "The Committee are convinced that there is an urgent need for closer personal co-operation between the heads of industrial concerns and the workers in those concerns. They are also convinced that there is a need for a better system of informing employees in matters which relate to the progress and advancement of the particular industries in which they are concerned. Many of the troubles in industry to-day are due to misunderstanding and a lack of appreciation and tolerance of the point of view of the other side. The committee believe that these obstacles to progress could be considerably reduced if there were closer contact between the actual/

actual employer and his workpeople so that each might be better informed as to the needs and difficulties of the other".

Only through co-operation lies the hope of Industrial peace. By its means, many misunderstandings could easily be removed. However, those who wish to put an end to the disastrous conflicts between capital and labour should clearly understand that as has been pointed out there is some genuine discontent among the workers at the present day and every attempt should be made as far as possible to remove this. Nevertheless this genuine discontent is exaggerated and magnified in highly coloured pictures and presented to the workers by the agitators.

To avoid it, the problems of insecurity of tenure and unemployment should be given serious and immediate attention. At present, the majority of the workers are employed for no fixed term and can be discharged at short notice without being given any explanation. The degree of uncertainty varies from trade to trade and is very acute especially among unskilled labourers. During times of depression workmen are discharged and, owing to the slender resources of working-class families, are unable to maintain themselves and are plunged into poverty. Though unemployment Insurance has to a certain extent, lessened the evil, yet the majority of married workers ruin themselves by falling into debt.

Hardships could be minimized by giving longer notice before discharging a worker and the unemployment benefit could be so adjusted as to lessen the stress of poverty on the unemployed. Insecurity is one cause of social unrest for "there is no cause of social unrest more potent than the haunting/

haunting sense of insecurity which overhangs the mass of working people from childhood to the grave".^{1.}

The worker is continually haunted by the fear of what will happen to himself and his wife and children, if he is discharged. He blames the Capitalist system and resents the harshness of employers in dismissing him at short notice. He believes that if he follows the agitators who offer him all sorts of things, his position will be made secure.

The problem of unemployment is another cause of industrial unrest, though state legislation such as the unemployment Insurance Act (1927) which came into force in April 1928 has to a certain extent altered this unsatisfactory state of things. Yet this problem requires consideration for to put it in Mr. G. Greenwoods' words, "nothing preys quite so strongly upon the mind of the man who is normally healthy and willing, as the weary, soul-destroying task in a vain search for a job".

This problem^{as} has been said, requires serious consideration, as to my mind this is one of the chief causes of general industrial unrest. It is wrong to say that nothing has been done, for every day attempts are being made to find some remedy or other. Even at present there are two schemes (to solve the problem) before the public put forth one by the Liberal Party (we can conquer unemployment)^{2.} containing various schemes to give work and secondly the proposals put forth in Mond-Turner report. In my opinion these plans are not in any way strikingly original, but the old solution re-stated such as undertaking new works to give employment, and encouraging emigration to dominions. I agree such schemes will help to cure/

1. Professor Ramsay Muir.

2. These schemes are critically examined in a pamphlet by Prof. J.M. Keynes and H.B. Henderson. After reading them and Britain's Industrial future, we can say this much, that the programme contained in them, if put into practice will do a great deal to solve the problem.

cure unemployment, but they are not put into practice and all along such schemes are delayed.

It lies outside the scope of ^{this} study to discuss fully the causes and remedies of unemployment, but it will suffice to say here some points regarding it and also show how it effects this subject.

The problem of unemployment, envisaged as part of the greater problem of industrial peace, is best considered in the light of its causes. The following are some (a) One type of unemployment, which is responsible for so much unrest, is the type that is almost inevitable with the progress of industry, and arises from the displacement of labour, through the discovery of substitutes and innovations and changes in organisation seasonal occupations. The application of rationalistic methods then is seen to convey very real danger to the workers' immediate condition, unless as in Germany the Government provides relief work until re-absorption becomes possible. (b) Deeper still, is the defective co-ordination among producers which leads to over-production and gluts, which in turn lead to a falling off in demand and unemployment.

(c) Then, at the root of the whole problem, is the fact of alternating periods of prosperity and depression in trade, which are not confined to any one country, but which seem to be the result of complex causes in the economic structure of industry itself.

The problem is what are the causes of trade fluctuations, and how can they be met, in order to maintain the harmony in which industry should work?

The excess profit and overproduction theory, in conjunction/

conjunction with the psychological theory offer a solution which stresses the factor of credit as lying at the root of the problem. These theories explain trade fluctuations in this way. A trade cycle begins with a period of brisk trade, high wages, and low unemployment. This means rapid accumulation of capital and the consequent tendency to speculate in new concerns. Credit facilities are readily granted, so that a greater amount of purchasing medium is in circulation than actual money. Rising demand brings rising prices; and consumers anticipating further rise purchase in advance of what they require. Rising prices stimulate further productive capacity, and extra profits encourage further speculation, until the evil effects of overproduction begin to show themselves, in a check on the rise in prices. The psychological factor ~~optimism~~ begins to operate at this point ^{Optimism} gives way to pessimism. Firms depending on rising prices find themselves in difficulties, and appeal to the banks for credit; these in turn raise the rate and call in existing securities and so on. Prices fall, consumers delay purchasing, firms cut down production, and this leads to unemployment. Gradually prices begin to harden, and trade to revive, and so the cycle completes its round.

In the absence of perfect theoretical insight into the causes that are operative at the "turning point" practical common sense, points us to adopt a policy, that is so neatly expressed in the words of S. & B. Webb. "We cannot prevent the cyclical depression itself, for its causes are beyond our grasp, even beyond our certain knowledge, any more than we can stop the east wind. But because we cannot stop the east wind, there is such a thing as an overcoat".

(A)/

(A) The suggestion therefore is that there is a method of tackling the problem of industrial peace by the application of "overcoat" schemes - and the most obvious possibility would be so to control credit facilities, that overproduction could be avoided, not when the depression is imminent, but throughout the whole course. Such restriction of credit facilities, applied with discretion, would keep speculation within safe bound.

The idea is discussed fully in Keynes's "A tract on Monetary Reform", and Irvin Fisher's 'Stablising the Dollar', but we may add that the plan clearly favours the suggestion in so far that the recent amalgamations of Banks, and the concentration of power into the hands of a few large ones, makes the scheme more practicable than formerly. The Bank of England, by manipulating the Bank Rate with reference to some "Trade Barometer" would help to increase the price of credit, and so prevent credit inflation; or lower the Bank Rate to check undue deflation of credit.

On the other hand, if the Bank cannot resist the temptation of granting credit facilities in periods of boom, then the power of the state might be brought to bear upon it, by restricting the creation of credit documents by legal enactment. Or again, suggestions have been made that the State might also manage currency so as to help in regulating the level of prices; by withdrawal of currency to check rising prices, or by increasing the amount of currency to raise falling prices.

(B) Another avenue of approach towards the solution of the/

the unemployment problem, would be the control of public and private construction in all those services, that need not be provided in any year, such as telephones, roads, afforestation etc., with a view to alleviating unemployment when it was serious. No doubt there is a difficulty here of placing tradesmen at work other than they are trained for. To quote Dr. Bowley's words (themselves, a quotation in Silverman's Economics of Social Problems) "If only three or four per cent of the Government orders year by year were reserved, to be executed all together when trade began to fall off, this would counterpoise the cyclical fluctuations, so far as all industries are concerned in which cyclical depression is at present met by dismissal of hands instead of going on short time". This scheme has its own advantage, and that exactly in larger scale is put forth by the Liberal party in their pamphlet, *to cure unemployment, (till the workers are absorbed in the industries.)*

Along with such schemes we could suggest that the extension of this policy might be adopted by such large private firms as could postpone extensions that were not immediately required, and so help to even out employment. Such a scheme would certainly be of value in helping to solve the present problem.

(C) Another aspect we must deal with is the fact of a Reserve of Labour and underemployment. Until these two problems are satisfactorily solved, industrial peace cannot be realised. They constitute essentially a problem for business organisation, and can only be met by improved methods in engaging labour, by schemes of decasualisation, by/

by dovetailing of work to counteract seasonal demand for particular forms of labour. Perhaps the best solution would be to organise a labour reserve in each industrial centre, using the employment exchanges as centres for organising the fluidity of labour, and preventing casual hiring, by the method of employing only registered men.

To reset the problem of unemployment on a broader basis, we might pursue a line of thought which suggests that by increasing the volume of trade, and stimulating production can greater employment result in any industry. But since the great obstacle towards doing so is high cost of production the problem is reduced to, —How can cost of production be reduced? and thus we come again to one of the chief causes that is troubling industry. Since, again, wages form perhaps the most complicated part in cost of production, we must consider by what means it would be possible to effect this reduction in costs, which is so desirable, without resorting to a whole sale policy of wage-cutting, which, as a solution would simply intensify the unrest, which is at present a great enough obstacle in the path of industrial peace.

Re-stated, the problem might be put thus. How is it possible for industry to effect a reduction in cost of production, and, at the same time sustain a minimum, or even a standard rate of wages? To state the answer in a word, it is through rationalisation and efficiency. But this is to anticipate our line of argument, and to avoid the difficulties that beset us at every turn of the way.

Dealing with the wages problem, we have said above that firstly/

firstly it is a principle of public policy, now firmly established, that no worker ought to be paid less than a "living wage"; if industry is unable to achieve this by its own effort, then it remains for the state to undertake the task. We have also seen the difficulty of defining a "living wage"; but that difficulty has been reasonably overcome by the Trade Boards, whose activities in wage-regulations since the War have been surprisingly successful; at any rate the minimum as defined by a Trade Board is enforceable by law. In actual fact, however, the result has been that the industries affected have succeeded in adjusting themselves to the new wage-scale by increasing their efficiency, through improved methods and processes. This policy, I think, works better than the enforcement of a national minimum, which is so vehemently applauded by the Independent Labour Party propagandists, who urge that every worker should receive £4 a week from the industry in which he is engaged, or else, that the industry failing to do so, should be taken over by the State. The impracticability of such a National Minimum is evident, (a) from the consideration that such a wages-bill would swallow up more than the National income; and (b) that the State could only stand the burden of taking over all the least efficient concerns, by increasing taxation, which would press so heavily on each marginal firm, that eventually industry after industry would be forced under State control.

In the interests of industrial peace, an extension of the Trade Board system might be recommended; because, as indicated above, the problem of wage regulation is best dealt with by each industry, having regard to its own peculiar circumstances; and applying the principles of rationalisation in order to effect that/

that economy which would remove the inability to sustain a minimum wage. Systems of State grants to children, and methods of social insurance may, I think be regarded as an uneconomical way of solving the "living-wage" problem, in view of the burden upon the Exchequer in the case of the latter; and upon employers and employees in the case of the former. We might point to a system of pools, as helping us to find the way out, which include whole industries; and which we find among the recommendations made by the Coal Commission to the attention of the coal industry.

The problem of the standard wage has important bearings on industrial peace; because here the complexity of wage-regulation arises, in trying to remunerate skill and effort, as well as provide for human need; and the very difficulty of adjusting wages as between man and man in the same industry, as well as maintaining a reasonable equality as between jobs in different industries which require equal skill, is a pregnant source of discontent among workers with the whole system, and not infrequently of friction. This complexity of the situation is intensified, with all the problems that arise out of the different methods of payment, whether such payment be on a time basis, or on a piece basis, or on a profit sharing basis; or whether we are dealing with sheltered or unsheltered industries.

Here are some of the difficulties that must be solved if industrial peace is ever to be realised (a) Consider the effect of labour saving machinery on a standard rate. It may be essential to efficiency, but its immediate effect is/
is/

is to reduce the demand for the same degree of skill in the worker, and thus tends to lower the wage-rate. This difficulty must be overcome, for it lies at the root of the reluctance of organised labour to encourage improvements; and the solution must be sought along the lines of open discussion; with recognition on the part of the worker, that such improved processes ultimately work for the benefit of the consumer, through enlarged markets which may re-employ the displaced labour; as well as with the assurance that existing rate of wages is not endangered.

(b) In the next place there are manifold problems arising out of the difficulties attached to the fixing of fair time and piece rates. Piece payments, or payment by result is well established in many industries and the extension of the system to other industries might well be recommended; the difficulty is that the principle strikes right at the heart of collective bargaining, so that its adoption would only be possible through frank, public spirited negotiation. Broadly speaking, the problem of wages is the problem of finding out what a man actually produces; and in absence of any definite scientific formula to determine it, we are forced to experiment with various systems. One example of this may be called "collective piece work", where a time rate is guaranteed to a group of workers closely related as regards job, and a share of the costs saved by extra effort is promised. Here use is made of the esprit-de-corps of the group; but the difficulty of calculation is great, and requires as an essential prerequisite openness and frank negotiation. It is the function now-a-days, of management, to/

to adjudicate, fairly and impartially the claims of labour and capital.

(c) A more serious set of difficulties emerges, as has been said, from the comparison between wage-levels in sheltered and unsheltered industries. Hitherto, we have been accepting wage-levels as between industries; but the War created conditions such that, whereas there was some rough approximation to a standard level of wages for jobs requiring the same amount of skill, the sheltered industries have retained high wages, while the staple export trades have been forced down by competition. Quoting from Britain's Industrial Future, p.p.196, 197, "a labourer may earn £3 a week carrying bricks to a bricklayer, and £2 a week for carrying iron for a fitter. The question at issue is the injustice of such a discrepancy between two jobs requiring, let us say, similar effort; as well as the comparison with the wages of "a skilled engineer, who, with a wage of 57/- for a 47 hour week is struggling to maintain our export trade in machinery against the German engineer with wages of £2 for a 52 hour week, and is hampered in the struggle by high local rates and high railways freights, owing partly to the high wages of the sheltered trades, railways and municipal services".

Here then is a problem, arising out of wages, which has the utmost bearing on the problem of industrial peace. How is the position to be solved? Only by a slow process of what may be called "gradualism", for any direct action to equalise the remuneration as between bricklayer and engineers would only result in disaster. Again we must point in solution to the removal of all the obstacles to efficiency in both sheltered and/
and/

and unsheltered trades. This increased efficiency works round by lower costs of production, to larger demand and higher wage-levels.

To take one example, the railways to-day will only be able to compete with other alternative methods of transport by increased efficiency. That is the royal road out, and it leads along the path of rationalisation.

We may then summarise our conclusions with regard to wages, as a factor in cost of production; higher wages and shorter hours, usually mean increased efficiency, as well as greater satisfaction on the part of the worker: they also mean increased purchasing power; increased purchasing power means larger consumption, which in turn causes greater home production, and stimulates markets and increases the volume of trade, which is the very thing that is essential at the present day in solving the problem of industrial peace.

Further, we must try to remove other obstacles, that stand in the way of decreased cost of production; some of which are outside British control; others again within, but the cumulative effect of which is to render cost of production prohibitive to prospective foreign purchasers.

In the first place, the burden of local and national taxation weighs heavily on industries which are trying to compete in foreign markets; the cost of transport services in such heavy industries as the coal and steel, is exceedingly high. Governmental action must be invoked. The reduction of rates and taxes, different methods of assessment would certainly assist; as would the simplification and reduction of/

of Customs Tariffs, as recommended by the Economic Council of the League of Nations, with a view to eliminating disturbing factors especially harmful to industry and commerce. Then the system of unemployment Benefit and Poor Law Relief might profitably undergo drastic revision, with a view to diverting money from non-productive to productive purposes.

Along the lines of rationalisation, as well as along such lines indicated, must we endeavour to reduce the cost of production which really lies at the root of the whole subject.

It would be a suitable appendix to this discussion of unemployment and costs to make a brief reference to a scheme associated with the name of Sir A. Mond, which proposes to make partial use of the unemployment Fund to provide the unemployed with work. In his own words, "The unemployed worker would be permitted to transfer the unemployment benefit to a prospective employer, upon the condition that he provided work at full Trade Union rates and ^{under}~~ended~~ all the usual Trade Union conditions, applicable to industry, in his trade and in his district. The employer would consider whether with the assistance he would thus receive, he could increase his output and could then apply to a properly constituted committee for additional workers. For three out of every four additional workers, to whom he granted employment for a definite period, he would receive 75% of the unemployment benefit, which had hitherto been drawn by them. In other words, the employer would receive 75% of the unemployment benefit of all additional workers employed by him under the scheme"^{I.}

Of course, machinery to operate the scheme would require to be set up, but that does not concern us. Here we have a practical/

1. Sir A. Mond. Industry and Politics page 47.

practical proposal for solving the present problem of Industrial Peace, with a view to alleviating unemployment on economic lines. It is a scheme to meet a present need. The royal road towards providing work, I have shown to lie in lowering the cost of production and diminishing the margin between British producers selling price price, and foreign consumers buying price; by thus enabling competition on terms of greater equality, stimulation of the home markets and demand for labour would result. It therefore lies with Governments, public institutions, trade and industrial organisations or public opinion to promote every means whereby the ~~n~~^anationalisation of industry with this in view may proceed.

Lastly suspicion and want of knowledge of Economic conditions are causes which bring much trouble in industry. Through want of knowledge, the workers believe that they are being exploited. Labour is too often kept in the dark regarding all that they are entitled to know upon profits, market conditions and the commercial and financial position of the industry. Yet it is not a wise policy to keep the worker in ignorance, for it engenders suspicion and misunderstanding. By publishing the relevant facts and making them available to all concerned, much of the suspicion among workers would be rendered baseless. As has been pointed out above the War was one of the chief causes of industrial friction. In 1913, there were 1459 disputes, the number of workpeople affected were 664,000 and the aggregate duration in working days was 9,800,000. There was therefore much unrest in 1913, but when the war broke out, the workers and employers proclaimed an industrial truce. Although/

Although this truce only lasted until the early part of 1915, yet the number of disputes throughout the war was considerably lower than in the years preceding the war.

In 1915, the workers began to feel the growing cost of living and also noticed the high profits which many companies were making. So the "outburst in 1915 was as much a protest against such exploitation as a demand for higher wages". However during the war years the total figures regarding disputes were as follows.-

YEAR	NUMBER OF DISPUTES	NO.OF WORKPEOPLE AFFECTED BY DISPUTES.	AGGREGATE DURATION IN WORKING DAYS.
1914	972	447,000	9,880,000
1915	672	448,000	2,950,000
1916	532	276,000	2,450,000
1917	730	872,000	5,650,000

These may be compared with the figures of the three years immediately after the war, viz.- 1919-21, which are as follows.-

YEAR	NUMBER OF DISPUTES	NO.OF WORKPEOPLE AFFECTED BY DISPUTES.	AGGREGATE DURATION IN WORKING DAYS.
1918	1,165	1,116,000	5,880,000
1919	1,352	2,591,000	34,970,000
1920	1,607	1,932,000	26,570,000

The increase is due partly to the effects of the war and partly to the effects of war measures - Government passed various/

various measures during the war and especially the Munitions of War Acts which imposed considerable restraint both on employers and workers. Moreover the workers felt that some of the decisions given by the tribunals were harsh towards them and thus the irritation caused increased the possibility of friction. Moreover organised labour began to demand a share of control in industry and the fulfilment of promises that were made to them during the war. In 1919, disputes arising out of questions of hours of Labour were unusually frequent, as the movement for shorter hours was at its height and thus 10% of all the disputes of that year were due to the question of hours.

So the war increased the desire of the workers to have a better standard of life and a share in the control of industry. This was revealed by the Reports of the Commissions on Industrial Unrest in 1917. The Commissioners for Wales and Monmouthshire found that the workers were developing a strong class consciousness. "The influence of the advanced men", they said "is growing very rapidly, and there is ground for belief that under their leadership attempts of a drastic character will be made by the working classes as a whole to secure direct control by themselves of their particular industries".¹ In their report the Welsh Commissioners not only dealt with the temporary causes of unrest, but faced the whole problem and urged that some form of internal Government should be set up on the lines of the suggestions of the Whitley Report.

It is sufficient, however, to state here that experience of the emergency schemes which were introduced during the War has had great value. It was disclosed that the Government had/

1. Commission of Inquiry into Industrial unrest: Wales and Monmouthshire c.d. 8668.

had means by which they could at once come into touch with the industry, when employers and employed both had their representative bodies. Indeed at the back of the official mind in schemes for reconstruction, there was the idea that every workman should have his trade Union and every employer should have his Association, for better industrial relations. This it was held that every attempt should be made to attain the above object and at the same time, suitable machinery should be devised to bring the two organisations closer together for joint consultation. If this was done it was thought that much of the industrial unrest would cease.

Having so far considered the specific and general causes of strikes, let us now briefly consider the organisation of strikes and lock-outs. In the great majority of cases, Trade Unions organise and control strikes. According to evidence given before the Royal Commission on Labour (1891-1894) they have, to a certain extent, lessened the frequency of strikes and also restrained ill-considered partial stoppage. The Trade Unions certainly provide a channel for the expression of grievances and recognised means for negotiating with employers. Though we often hear revolutionary statements, yet comparatively few believe that Trade Union leaders are inspired by them. "I wish", says Ramsay MacDonald, "I could appeal to this Nation. I wish I could appeal to the interests of this Nation. We are threatened with strikes, lock-outs, disputes and disturbances. How childish it all is; how foolish it all is. What has happened? Why is there no mutual confidence? Surely these things can be arbitrated". Such is the wish of many labour leaders and therefore it is wrong to say that the growth of/

of Trade Unionism has always fostered and encouraged strikes. Trade Unions have on the other hand, given solidarity to the workers and hence, once a struggle is started, workers fight to a finish with their help and guidance. Trade Unions, when their resources fail and in order to get the demand satisfied collectively withdraw from work all workers. Then a certain amount is allowed to men who are on strike and consequently strike pay is the one universal form of Trade Union support. Of course, non-unionist workers may strike but the majority of strikes belong to trade Unions and strikers receive strike benefit to which usually consists of from 10 to 15 shillings per week. From the following figures taken from 100 principal Trade Unions, a considerable amount is spent for this purpose.

In 1906. . .	£212,000	
" 1912, .	£1,672,056	
" 1918, . .	£230,527	
" 1919, .	£2,064,391	
" 1921 . .	£3,130,707.	1.

It should be noted that when both employers and employed are well organised, there generally exists machinery for negotiation and workers resort to strikes only on a failure to effect a settlement by mutual agreement. A strike generally takes place, when a body of workers leave work in support of demands made on their own behalf, but there are also cases, in which men, have struck on grounds of solidarity, and in sympathy with and support of the demands of their fellow workers, although they are not personally affected. Such action is called "Sympathetic strike". Sympathetic strikes are no new thing and/

1. Figures taken from 18th Abstract of Labour Statistics of the United Kingdom - page 186.

and again and again such strikes have been attempted. There are also strikes arising out of political issues; this is "Direct Action" and was never attempted seriously in this country until recently. It is not true to say that the central committees of Trade Unions take the initiative and direct their members to cease work. In almost nine cases out of ten, strike action is first suggested by the men themselves. In many unions, before a strike is authorised, a ballot is taken of the members of the affected district. A two-third or even a greater majority is required, either of members or branches before the sanction of the central executive is granted. When a strike has been authorised by the executive, the whole matter is entrusted to a "strike Committee"; for common action is necessary, since a strike even affects to a certain extent members of other Unions. This committee has no power to draw on the funds of the Unions represented but can collect a special levy when resources are exhausted. Sometimes a special levy is also imposed on other Unions, whose members are at work, in order, to support their fellow-workers who are out on strike.

Then, during the strike the method of picketing is employed. Sometimes actual violence and intimidation although illegal are used against workmen who take or retain employment during a stoppage. Again, during the strike, trade unions publish information in printed leaflets which give the details of the disputes, ~~also~~ appeal to the workmen to avoid the works affected and ask for public sympathy and support. The trades Councils play a large part especially as "Councils of Action". Employers, too, organise themselves when a strike is in progress and especially in the course of lock-outs. Lock-outs by individual/

individual firms take place now and then, but the great lock-outs of our age have originated in the joint action of employers to counteract some real or intended movement on the part of the workpeople. Employers also issue leaflets explaining their position and often depute one or two persons to speak on their behalf or give evidence before a tribunal or commission. Employers' Associations being compact bodies are able to act with great secrecy and with less formality than it is possible for Trade Unions. Before the Trade Dispute Act of 1906, they used to take proceedings and called on the Courts to restrain bodies of workpeople from striking by injunction. But this method has now been totally abandoned, Employers' Associations also do their best to get public sympathy, for public opinion is of some importance in determining results.

So with both employers and employed well organised, in Great Britain, strikes are as a rule conducted upon every business-like principles and their management requires an executive ability of a very high order.

Therefore, it is essential especially after the strike has been declared, for each party not to be rash, or to use offensive words to the other; for this brings incalculable mischief and leads to a bitter struggle. Much is gained if good temper and sound judgment are maintained. Time and opportunity should be given for judgment of the whole matter and for friendly negotiations.

Strikes, in their duration and modes of settlement present an infinite variety. If both employers' and workers' organisations are powerful, then the strike is prolonged. This all/

all depends upon the amount of money available and so duration is generally proportioned to the motive and power of endurance. Some strikes are very long in duration, when both parties are obstinate and have powerful organisations; others are short outbursts of a few hours' or a few days' duration. The work-people can prolong the strike as long as they are given financial support. If they are supported, they can stand out for a very considerable time. Some strikes have been carried on for such a long time, that the parties have lost all desire to come to a definite conclusion and gradually the employers get other hands. The men also drift into other situations. In some cases, the workmen suffer hardship and return to work in a worse position than before the strike. (e.g. coal strike 1926)

As has been said the causes of Industrial conflicts are numerous and from the statistics available (1888-1928) we see that not a year passed off without a Trade Dispute and also that during the last generation there has been a marked increase in the number of stoppages. We note also that there has been a steady increase in the disputes except in some years. The climax was reached in the year 1913 when there were 1459 disputes affecting 664,000 workpeople. During the War, there were disputes, but their number was not very high owing to various measures prohibiting strikes, but after the War, Industrial strife again became serious. It is essential to note that the large number of disputes in 1918, 1919 and 1920 have special causes for the great War changed the position of the workers enormously and owing to the dislocation and rearrangement of business during the War, the Industrial unrest became serious. Putting aside the special conditions prevailing after the War, which/

which led to many disputes, if we look at the average figures, we find that about 704 disputes have occurred every year (from 1893 to 1927). If we calculate the number of disputes, the workpeople affected and the loss of working days, for the past 35 years, we find the figures staggering; for the total number of disputes that occurred is about 24,657 involving 21,862,000 workpeople and the aggregate duration of working days lost is about 568,000,000. This gives a yearly average of 704 disputes, and the average number of workpeople affected was 624,628. Thus we see that the economic and social loss inflicted by industrial strife is incalculable. As has been said above, the direct cause of a strike or lock-out can alone be estimated but the amount of the indirect injury is often far greater than the direct cost. Moreover, the effects of the disputes are not confined to the parties of the dispute, for the trouble may rapidly spread over the whole economic life of the community. For example, if we take the coal-mining dispute of 1926, we find according to one estimate that it cost the country not less than £500,000,000. Apart from this, in the first four months of the stoppage, the number of unemployed outside the mining industry rose by 400,000 and a large number of men were put on short time. The miners, it is estimated, sacrificed £70,000,000 in wages and other workers who were thrown out on account of the stoppage lost more than £30,000,000. Almost all trades suffered and industry was badly effected all on account of one dispute. It is estimated that the railways lost nearly £30,000,000; the shipping trade lost, £10,000,000 and the iron and steel trades nearly £40,000,000. These figures are a conservative estimate of the loss and if we/

we remember that the miners and other workers who go on strike have to live and that therefore they are the first who exhaust their savings and have to borrow, and so pile up debts which will take a long time to pay, the figures are really much higher. The workers during a strike cannot afford sometimes proper food, and so their physical efficiency is impaired and thus they easily succumb to disease. Strikes also indirectly affect the revenue of the country, for when business is not normal, the taxes and duties paid by them are less and in order to meet the deficiency the taxes have to be increased. In 1926 the workers suffered the greatest hardships and their Union funds were exhausted; the Coal dispute cost the National Union of Railwaymen £3,000,000 and the Transport Workers' Union £1,500,000 and almost all the Trade Unions were heavily in debt at the end.

In 1926, no less than 300,000,000 days were lost through unemployment which represents a loss of wages of £120,000,000 the cost of supporting the unemployed being not less than £50,000,000. It should be clearly understood that in many cases, that Industrial disputes, increase unemployment, for if there had been co-operation between workmen and employers if there had been no industrial dispute but industrial harmony, then provision could have been made for more employment. It cannot be denied that Trade disputes in no way help to solve the problem of unemployment; on the contrary they act in the opposite direction and the problem of unemployment through them becomes more acute. After almost every industrial dispute, the number of persons unemployed increases. For example, if we take the figures for the General Strike year, 1926/

1926, in almost all industries the unemployment increased. This is natural for during a prolonged strike, the employers are unable to take any new orders for they cannot guarantee the delivery of goods on account of the unsettled state of things.

Meanwhile the orders are placed in other countries and when work is started, the employers are unable to engage all men, for they have few orders in their hands.

The sad state of the coal industry to-day can be attributed to the same cause. After the prolonged coal strike of 1926, many foreign orders were lost, and British Coal-Mines are finding it difficult to recapture the old markets.

Thus the number of persons unemployed increases. This occurs in almost all industries after a great industrial dispute; for example after the dispute of 1926, the percentage of insured workpeople recorded as wholly unemployed rose from 9.1% in May to 11.9% on 19th December in the Mining Industry; in the Metal Industry it rose from 11.5% to 14.1%. It was not found possible to start work in full swing and so employers were forced to give notice to a certain number of workers. Thus we see that everybody suffers through industrial conflicts, the worst sufferers being the workers themselves. The best illustration of this fact can be seen to-day in the sad plight and condition of the Miners. They were in a far better position in 1926 than at the end of eight months' struggle - After eight months' struggle the men were driven back to work with lower wages and longer hours - Hundreds of miners were unable to find work, and many of the pits had to be closed down, some permanently. The Miners' leaders could have secured better terms, in the first week of the stoppage, if they had been tactful, and clever and had faced the economic facts/

facts. No one who knows mining intimately or has some inside knowledge of a mine will deny the terrible condition under which a Miner works. The Miners' work is most dangerous; he has one of the hardest tasks and so should be adequately paid. They are exposed to constant danger and risks. But their position can be improved by public sympathy and by enlisting the co-operation of the community. At the outset of the coal dispute in 1926 public opinion was in favour of the miners, but this was alienated to a large extent by the folly of the leaders. If the Miners had had capable and wise leaders during 1926, they would have won many advantages and the community would have been spared untold loss and inconvenience.

By studying disputes, their causes and results one can see that the workers seldom succeed in winning their full demands. A perusal of the disputes in reports show that most of the disputes end in compromise and that in almost all cases, the terms are less favourable to the men than those available at some earlier stage of the dispute. Moreover, the favourable nature of these compromises largely depends not upon any principle but upon haggling and bargaining. Moreover if the dispute is protracted until one side is exhausted, then the terms are less satisfactory to that side. Such was the case during the Coal Strikes of 189~~2~~³ and 1894, and more recently during the coal dispute of 1926 when the workers after great loss and sacrifice, were driven back to work, were prepared to accept any terms and were entirely at the mercy of the employers. By a perusal of the figures in the reports upon the results of disputes it will be noted first that the majority of the disputes ended in compromise, secondly that a large/

large number ended in favour of the employers and only one-third of the disputes ended in favour of the workpeople. If we take the figures for the 15 years (1910-1924) as a whole, about one-fourth of the disputes ended in favour of the workpeople, less than one-third in favour of the employers and nearly one-half resulted in a compromise.

Moreover employers with capital behind them can afford in many instances to close down the factories for a long time without suffering great hardship. The workers have, on the other hand, to suffer and live in starvation and face hardship. It can, of course, be argued that because the workers have no financial backing, their only weapon is to withhold their labour; otherwise, they would be forced to accept degrading conditions much worse than those which exist to-day. There is no doubt, some truth in this; but a study of the various strikes and reports concerning them clearly show that acceptance of conciliation as a method of settling industrial disputes has far greater advantages than the strike weapon. The value of conciliation in Industrial disputes is more beneficial to all sides concerned than strikes.

In the majority of disputes, the parties sometime or other come together and sometimes they come to an agreement. If this coming together, and having joint consultation could take place before a dispute they will have good results because, the real cause and demand at least can be clearly ^eannounced and understood. In the last ten years, no less than 11,000 disputes have been settled by conciliation and compromise and a very large number were cases where differences had arisen and had been settled through direct negotiations. Trade Unions have also secured in a number of cases substantial advantages without resorting to strikes, by methods of conciliation and direct negotiation. Many illustrations can/

can be given to prove the above statement. The Railwaymen's Union whose leaders (Mr J. H. Thomas and Mr C. T. Cramp) are strong believers in the superiority of negotiation were able through their efforts to establish the Railway Wages Board. By this machinery the railwaymen, in spite of the serious financial position of the Railway Companies were able to maintain a larger part of the war-time gains in wages than any other industry. The position they have been able to hold is chiefly due to the conciliation machinery which has been proved wherever it has been established to be far more successful and advantageous than any other means of getting redress of grievances. The value of conciliation and direct negotiation has been emphasized, because one cannot but come to such a conclusion after going through the cold facts of the results of Industrial disputes. For example in 1920 the dockers and waterside workers submitted their case for 16/- a day minimum wage to a court of enquiry and won it. Their case was reasonable and so it was conceded. They probably would not have obtained their claim if they had gone on strike; the result would then perhaps have been entirely different.

Disturbances in the coal fields especially in Durham and Northumberland were frequent during 1893 and 1894; but after an agreement to refer the differences to a committee of employers and workers, they to a certain extent subsided. Even in 1919, the Miners won the seven hours' day not through the weapon of the strike but by peacefully advocating their case before a Royal Commission. The value of the peaceful negotiation of differences and collective bargaining was appreciated as early as 1893 when there was trouble in the Cotton Spinning Industry/

Industry; and the outcome of this was the "Brookland Agreement" which provided for the discussion of wage difficulties or other disputes as they arose. Some such idea was adopted in 1898 between the federation of Engineering Employers and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, by which at least one great advantage was secured, namely, that spasmodic strikes were eliminated as opportunity was provided for discussion. This made strikes and lock-outs, the last, instead of the first resort, as it often has been in industrial disputes. There have been very few cases of dispute in the Iron and Steel Industry and this is due to the fact that the Iron and Steel Trades confederation believe in the superiority of conciliation over Industrial warfare. For forty years there has been no strike in this industry except the participation in the General Strike of 1926, and yet the men employed are the best paid body of workers in the country.

Secondly, a strike always leaves bitterness and the relations between the two parties become strained. This is but natural, for the party which is defeated and resumes work in a worse position than before the strike, will be always watching for an opportunity to regain its old position. Apart from this, the employers, however broadminded they may be, take the first opportunity to find some fault or other with the men who played leading parts during the strike and dismiss them. Thus grievances are nursed, and more and more relations become strained. The suffering and horror of a prolonged labour dispute falls terribly on first the workers themselves and then their wives and families, and thus sufferings are inflicted/

inflicted more on one side than on the other. Industrial strife indeed plays more havoc than war and "the present labour wars are killing more people in one year than the blood-thirsty wars do in fifty".

The workers are not well equipped to carry on a prolonged strike for they do not have the financial backing which the modern Trusts and federations of Employers have. Labour is relatively weak and so it is not advisable to rely upon strikes merely as a regular means to advance labour interests. Facts should be faced. The more one may sympathise with the hard and miserable lives and conditions of the workers, and wish that their standard of life should be improved, the more one should discourage strikes and keep the strike weapon for use in very exceptional circumstances; and full advantage should first be taken of the machinery especially of Industrial Courts and Joint Conciliation Boards. At the same time strikers should try to obtain the sympathy of the public as this is essential to success in modern industrial disputes.

We have up till now examined disputes in general. Let us now examine some particular industries. The first noteworthy fact is, that the great losses have been due mainly to a few industries and especially that trouble has repeatedly occurred in the Mining Industry. Out of the total number of disputes for 35 years, the number of disputes occurring in the Mining and Quarrying industries are 5,321 affecting more than 10,489,888 men. The working days lost through strikes during the 21 years before the war is about 186,000,000 and the Mining and Quarrying industries were the cause of 104,000,000 or 56%. Of the 357,000,000 working days lost during the eight/

eight years since the war, 253,000,000 or 62% were lost by these industries. If we take 1912, there were 834 disputes affecting 1,462,000 men and the aggregate duration of working days lost was 40,890,000. The high figures are mainly due to the Coal troubles. In 1912 there were 155 disputes affecting 1,106,736 and their aggregate duration in working days was 31,593,845. From these figures we can see that in 1912 the trouble in the Coal Mining Industry was more serious than all the other disputes of the year put together. The same can be said with regard to the magnitude of the figures from 1920 and 1921 and 1926. Some of the disputes in the coal industry were fought out with great bitterness. Statistics in the reports also show how the number, magnitude and numbers engaged in all disputes have been increased by disputes in the Mining Industry. If the stoppages in the Mining Industry could be kept down, the time lost through Industrial disputes would be negligible. It should also be noticed that there was a considerable number of disputes in the eight years (1907-1914)^{1.} but during the two succeeding years (1915-1916)^{2.} owing to governmental control the disputes were not considerable. After that, the numbers increased again. This can be better seen from the following table.-

Period /

1. & 2.	1907 -	112.	1912 -	155
	1908 -	145	1913 -	192
	1909 -	207	1914 -	176
	1910 -	224	1915 -	85
	1911 -	179	1916 -	75

PERIOD	COAL MINING	ALL INDUSTRIES	(a) as percentage of (b)
	(a)	(b)	percentage
	Number of	disputes	
1907-'13	1,099	5,082	22
1919-'25	1,271	6,239	20
	Aggregate duration in working days.		
1907-'13	46,358,000	86,346,000	54
1919-'25	105,118,000	194,305,000	54

We note from the above table from 1907-13, the aggregate duration in working days lost in Coal industry alone was 46,358,000 out of 86,346,000 lost days in other disputes. This chiefly because the strikes in the Coal industry seemed to be prolonged ones compared with those in other industries. For example the strike which occurred in the Rhondda Valley in 1910 lasted for nearly a year though it arose from a small cause. Secondly the high number of days lost during this period was due to the great Coal Strike of 1912 which involved an aggregate working time of over 30,000,000 working days. This strike arose out of a demand for a minimum wage for Miners working underground which culminated in the passing of the Coal Mines (Minimum wage) Act, 1912 by Mr Asquith's Government. Ever since 1912, the chief trouble, in this industry is due to questions such as National settlement as opposed to local settlement, Minimum wage and all centering round/

round on wage question.

For example the Coal strike of 1921, due to the insisting of the necessity of a National wage scheme, with some form of a national pool, for the industry. This problem of national settlement as opposed to local settlement, is a thorny and difficult problem. The Miners' Federation, in and out of Season demanded that all settlement of wages should be on national lines and refused to have anything to do with local arrangements. Without arguing on the merits and demerits of this proposal, we can say, that Mine Owners would be doing a great deal for Industrial Peace, if they could, as far as possible discuss this problem on a National basis with Miners' Federation of Great Britain, for they will not only be in line with all the principle industries of the country, who conduct negotiations on a National basis, but also it is a general principle which would have a great effect on the Miners.

However, coming to our subject, the great coal dispute of 1921 was terminated by the signing of an agreement between the Miners and Mine-Owners, providing for the automatic regulation of wages from one period to another on the ^{basis of the ascertained costs of production, proceeds etc.} arrangement was excellent and would have worked admirably had trade been good. Bad trade and depression in the industry made it impossible to follow the conditions outlined in the agreement (on the basis of the ascertained costs of production, proceeds etc.)

But as has been said, the wage adjustment and the problem connected with it was never at any time satisfactorily settled in this industry and at intervals the problems came up. For again/

again in 1924, the Miners' Federation gave notice to the Mining Association to terminate the agreement of 1921, and ever since various solutions were attempted culminating in the Coal Strike of 1926.

It is useless to deny the legitimacy of the grievances of the Miners from which unrest springs. They have suffered much hardship for even as late as 20 years ago there was no compensation, if a Miner contracted disease through his work, and most of their small privileges, have been won after a bitter struggle. They feel that their wages are an inadequate return for the dangerous work they do. The Miners and their leaders feel that the payment of royalties to landowners in return for no service is not justifiable. They also believe that high profits are made in the industry and to strengthen their argument they point out the large difference between the price of coal at the pit head and the price to the consumer.

The widespread discontent among the Mining population is an acknowledged fact and this can be best seen from the sad state of the industry at present. On the other hand, Mr. Evan Williams (representing the Mining Association), in his evidence before the Royal Commission declared that the dissatisfaction is not the genuine expression of the workers themselves; for he pointed out that the wages in the coal industry have been higher and employment has been more regular than in other heavy industries, and that the discontent is mainly due to the Miners' leaders who put all obstacles in the way of reconstructing the industry in order to further their political policy, which is "The Mines for the Miners". He further said that men even though they work short hours
do/

do not do their best to produce a satisfactory output.

It seems to me that though there is a certain amount of truth in this statement, yet it cannot be regarded as wholly a correct or satisfactory explanation of the widespread discontent in the industry. My submission is that the history of the industry clearly shows the trouble and hardship the Miners have undergone and if those are removed and if the Miners are placed in a comfortable position, it would not be easy for extremists to succeed with hostile propaganda. Secondly, though the output of coal in Great Britain per head of all persons employed in Mining has fallen on the whole during the last fifty years, yet the blame cannot be placed entirely on the Miners for as the Commission pointed out "the Miner is only one factor in the production of coal" and various other factors, such as the physical condition of the mines, the efficiency of management, the introduction of new appliances to suit new conditions, all those should be taken into consideration.

If any of these are not up to the standard required, naturally the output will not be very high. On the whole, to be brief, the proper solution is a difficult task and the proper remedies not easy. The present condition of the industry is deplorable, there is widespread unemployment and many pits have been closed, thus throwing the worker on the public funds and other agencies.

It should be noted here, that the Mining Industry presents a peculiar problem, especially after the war, when there was a/

1.	1879 - 83	average per head was	319	tons.
	1889 - 93	do do.	282	"
	1903 - 13	do do.	257	"
	1924	do do.	220	"
	1925	do do.	217	"

a rapid increase of production. Coal production at the beginning of the 19th century, in other countries was small compared with that of Great Britain, and even before the war the coal export trade was predominant. Now things have changed, and to-day widespread efforts are being made to increase the production of coal in those countries where there are coal deposits. Moreover after the recent strike, the orders which the Scottish, Welsh and many English coalfields used to receive have gone to foreign countries including Poland and Germany, and to regain the foreign market is a difficult task. Indeed, if the constant industrial troubles and the unstable position of the industry are not rectified, Britain will lose more and more its foreign export trade.

As has been said above the distress at present in the mining industry is very grave and in some areas in South Wales the ratio of unemployment ranges from something over 60% to something under 25% and actual starvation sometimes occurs owing to the abnormal situation. To let the present state of affairs continue means national deterioration, and apart from all future industrial prosperity, bare humanity requires that some radical steps should be taken to prevent complete disaster to over a million men, women and children. It should be noted that this is no temporary problem which can be completely solved by temporary relief; for however the Coal trade may flourish, it would not be possible again to absorb all the unemployed workers. The Report, (February 1921) by Sir Arthur Lowry and Dr Pearce on the question of distressed Miners clearly shows the sad state of affairs. They/

They investigated intensively and thoroughly the conditions existing in the coal-fields of South Wales and Monmouth on the instructions of the Minister of Health and in their report they say, "we think it our duty to represent that in the interests of the Nation as a whole, and not only of the Mining Community, steps should be taken to do away with the burden of this idleness. The situation is, we believe, without parallel in the modern history of this country. The nearest parallel is to be found in the Cotton famine of 1862-4, but it is not a close one".

Then, what is the real solution for eliminating the troubles and conflicts in this industry and improving its position? Many of the labour leaders think that the only solution lies in the Nationalisation of this industry. They point out that the industry worked to a certain extent smoothly when the Government took control during the War, and trouble again began when this system of Government control came to an end. After the War, with this idea in view, many resolutions were passed supporting nationalisation at Trade Union Congresses. Moreover it should be noted that the Shankey Commission by a majority reported for the Nationalisation of Mines, and this demand for the Nationalisation of Mines was again pressed before the Samuel Commission. Mr Tawney submitted a Memorandum in which he put forth a definite scheme advocating that the state should acquire the Mines and conduct them on its behalf, and pointed out that, under Nationalisation, the workers' position would be assured and that there would be regular work and security of wages. The Miners federation also put forth a scheme with the same aim/

aim advocating the establishment of a council which may be called a National Coal and Power Production Council with six elected executive and administrative officials. This body would look to the actual conduct of the Mining industry and the establishment of another council called the Consumers' Council who would consider questions of prices, methods of distribution and also play an important part in the determination of the Miners' wages.

The question that most concerns us is how far the troubles and Industrial strife that occurs in the Mining industry can be eliminated. A glance through statistics clearly shows that Industrial conflicts in this industry occur in almost all years, and that a trouble which arose on account of some small cause in a local area spreads gradually and affects the whole industry, then other industries and in the end the community in general. Taking all things into consideration, it is clearly seen that if stoppages in the Mining industry could be kept down, the time lost through industrial disputes would be negligible. Any trouble in the Mining industry affects the country as a whole, for without coal a man cannot get warmth and comfort in his house, nor can industries be carried on without a regular supply of coal. Therefore troubles in the Coal Mining industry affects one and all, and in the interests of the community, if State ownership would bring peace to the industry, such experiment is worth attempting. But, the difficulty is, what assurance is there that there will not be labour disputes, if the State acquires the Mines. Experiments in State ownership in Australia and New Zealand give too conclusive proof that, in spite of State ownership, labour disputes are still very frequent/

frequent.

Even apart from this, there would be much other trouble if such methods were to be adopted. First of all where is the huge capital for such a grand acquisition? Secondly, when we see Governmental bodies, both municipal and national piling debt on debt, we have grave misgivings about such a body, as that outlined in the scheme put forth by the Miners Federation, conducting the industry profitably. As the Samuel Commission says if Mining alone is nationalised and other industries remained in private hands, new difficulties would arise and secondly the State would incur a great loss by buying uneconomic mines which would have to be abandoned completely now or in the near future. There are, indeed, innumerable difficulties in embarking upon such a scheme especially in mining industry. In spite of all such difficulties, mining is an industry which cannot be neglected and, in order that Britain may regain her export trade, not only in coal, but in other commodities, and also have peace in industry it is essential that the best consideration should be given to this industry.

It is indeed difficult to find out a Universal solution, but it can be safely said that extensive research should be conducted in order to eliminate all waste, and up-to-date machinery should as far as possible be introduced in all mines where there is a reasonable expectation of facilitating increased production and so secure a proper standard of wages for the worker.

It would also be advisable (compulsorily) to close all uneconomic mines, for the employers in order to get work done till/

till the last moment and to extract the minerals, at all cost, try to reduce wages and thus friction arises. A small isolated trouble in one pit, soon spreads and becomes a national dispute. With the help of a Transference Board, attempts should be made to find work in other industries, as far as possible, and perhaps the difficulty could to a certain extent be solved by facilitating emigration to the Dominions.

A good deal also can be done both to recapture the foreign trade and also for the better working of the mines and improved production, if the industry as a whole is reorganised and the existing mines amalgamated, so that combined resources could be used to regain the previous position. But the difficulty is that, though the policy adopted by the Transference Board is a right one, it will take several years before the many thousands who must leave one area can be transferred to work elsewhere. Thus the possibility of finding occupation for those who must for the time being remain awaiting transference is a problem which requires considerable and national attention. When this is being done, steps also should be taken to restrict the recruitment from outside into the industry and this can be done by rigidly enforcing section 18 and other provisions of the Mining Industry Act of 1926.

In general, this industry requires considerable resources to pull it out of its present state. This being so, the active co-operation of the Miners and their Union is essential and, by joint-consultation and conference the whole wage question and other conditions should be again considered, in the light of present circumstances and if business improves, provisions should be made for our automatic increase of wages.

In/

In order to show that the Miners receive a fair share of profits, a profit-sharing scheme might be started, and amenities, such as Pit-head baths, better housing, welfare schemes and adequate compensation in case of accidents, will go a long way to placate the Miner and will enable him to gain confidence in the employers.

If industry reorganised, efficiently managed and through extensive research, new scientific methods which could be used for greater production, be made available, and if a well organised distribution scheme can be initiated, then gradually prosperity would be restored to the coal industry. It would be impossible for this industry to regain its position, if there is no co-operation between Trade Unions and employers for any further serious Trade disputes in this industry would be fatal. The application of scientific methods and efficient and economic administration coupled with an honest attempt by the Miners to produce as much as possible will go far to solve the problem.

(b) Secondly, the Royal Commission of 1925 reported in favour of purchase by State of Minerals and this experiment is worth trying for leading authorities believe that if nationalisation on a large scale, is to be successful in the British coal industry, the Minerals should be owned and controlled by the State. Even coal owners also are beginning to realise that this policy is the right one. Mr F. A. Syarvasy, the deputy chairman of Amalgamated Anthracite Collieries, Limited, which controls almost the whole of the anthracite production of the country, declared in a speech at the annual meeting of the company, six months ago, "that the more he considered the problems that arose in connection with colliery/

colliery amalgamations, the more convinced he was of the benefit that would accrue from the single ownership of the royalties in the hands of the State".

Even Sanky Commission was favourable for this plan and as such this experiment is worth trying and requires serious consideration.

It is in this industry, that industrial disputes oftenest occur and moreover its Industrial troubles affect all other industries and set back the prosperity of the country. Therefore, if the troubles in the coal industry could be minimised, then the time lost through industrial warfare would be far less than what it has been. Therefore, all possible reforms should be tried to remove the suspicions of the work-people. It should be noted that though particular firms show an admirable spirit of enterprise yet over the greater part of the field inefficiencies continue and grievances remain unredressed. Sir Herbert Samuel says that "at most of the Mines there is no regular authorised system of Conference between the management and the men" and suggests that nowhere are the establishment of ~~social~~ ^{Joint} works Committees more needed than at the coal pits. The Mine Owners are reluctant to try schemes such as profit-sharing. It is only through establishing such schemes as profit-sharing and by giving opportunity for presenting grievances, and removing causes of discontent, much could be accomplished, if not, troubles will be constant in future, though everything can go on quietly now owing to weakened position of Miners Union, yet once they regain and recover, the same difficulties as before will have to be faced. Therefore this is the very time, when the/

the employers by taking steps and introducing reforms "dissipate the antagonism which has for so long been rife among the Miners".

Only in this way can any appreciable improvement in the Coal-Mining industry be achieved. Taking 1928 as a whole, its export trade still makes a poor appearance as, since 1926, the foreign markets fell into the hands of Britain's competitors. Then, during the many months that the strike endured, foreign Coal Owners reaped a rich harvest and were able to force long contracts upon their customers, from which Britain has suffered practically ever since. This brought about another problem, for, owing to severe competition and drastic undercutting, the British Coal Owners were forced to make equal sacrifices and thus an intensive struggle has been going on for the past two years.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to instil prosperity into an industry when conditions are such as have prevailed in the coal-mining industry since 1926^{and} in this connection and the best efforts of Capital and Labour are apt to be frustrated by hard economic facts. Reduction of costs is one of the best expedients - not reduction of wages - but intense production by scientific methods, eliminating waste, and more economical administration and management. No doubt, the British Coal Owners have not only tried reduction of costs, but also tried regulation of output and subsidies in export trade and in few cases amalgamation. But if the last named expedient is freely followed, then by joint effort, there is a greater possibility of competing with foreign countries.

There/

There are a great many difficulties, in advocating any single solution and only through patience and great skill can new schemes be attempted. It is only through co-operation and good-will between all engaged in this industry that re-
:habitating of the industry is possible.

Next to Mining, the transport industries have suffered most from industrial disputes. About $13\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the working population are engaged in the Mining and Transport industries and they account for nearly 75% of the loss due to Industrial disputes. Fortunately, especially on the Railways, at present there are some signs that a real attempt is being made to settle all disputes amicably. Mr J. H. Thomas and Mr. C. T. Cramp, the leaders of the Railwaymen's Unions are strong believers in the superiority of negotiation and Mr.

J.H. Thomas, through his able skill has averted many strikes, but at the same time has obtained the best possible terms for the Railwaymen.

On the whole, troubles in the Transport industries are not frequent and a glance at the figures shows that the highest number of disputes occurred in 1913, '19, '20. The total number of disputes from 1893-1927 were 1,599, the number of workpeople involved in these being 2,021,726 and the aggregate duration of the disputes in working days 17,300,129. On the average 45 disputes occurred in this industry every year in the past 35 years, the average number of workpeople involved being 58,049. The highest number of disputes occurred in 1920 being 120, and the lowest in 1927. When we compare the above figures with those of the disputes in the Mining Industry, we can clearly see that they are much/

much smaller and that the troubles in the Mining and Quarrying industries have been more constant and prolonged. The dispute of 1920 was mainly due to the difficulty of coming to an agreement on the "standardisation", and the adjustment of wages. In August a settlement was made with the drivers and firemen, but the National Union of Railwaymen refused the terms offered to the rest of the Railway workers. There was much misunderstanding and the Government was blamed for deliberately attempting to reduce wages, so no settlement was possible and on the 24th September a National strike was ordered which lasted for nine days. This strike was a remarkable one for practically the whole of the Manual workers on the Railways came out, but in the end, by a compromise the strike was called off. However, the disputes since 1921, were insignificant compared with those in other industries. Happily the Railways Act, 1921 provides machinery for settling disputes and it should be mentioned that part IV of the Railway Act which deals with methods of setting up councils to deal with differences, though given statutory force, was introduced at the request of both the Railway Companies and the Unions.

Part IV of the Act concerns wages and conditions of employment and so it provides that a central wage Board be set up consisting of eight representatives of the companies and eight representatives of the Railway Trade Unions. This Board has power to deal with those questions of wages and conditions of/

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1. Total number of disputes (1893-1927) ... 4,647.
Number of workpeople involved in disputes. 2,963,791.
Aggregate duration of disputes in
working days,..... 82,042,543.
On the average 132 disputes occurred each year between
1893-1927, and the number of workpeople involved each
year was, 84,679 and the aggregate number of days lost
each year 2,344,072.
The industry suffered much in 1906,1907,1911,1912,1913,1915
onwards to 1920.

of service upon which the companies and the Trade Unions have failed to agree. In addition, it enacts that a National Wages Board is to be established and to this any questions be referred from the Central Wages Board; but this National Board differs in its constitution from the other Railway Boards, and from the Whitley Councils in other industries, since it includes besides six representatives of the railway companies and six representatives of the Railway Trade Unions, four representatives of railway users and has an independent chairman appointed by the Minister of Labour. Since the passing of the Act a complete series of Boards have been built up - at stations and depots, Local Departmental Committees have been established; above these come the sectional Railway Councils, representing various groups of grades, next the railway councils, representing all grades and finally the central wages Board and the National Wages Board. It will be observed that this machinery is closely akin to the Whitley Councils established in other industries though it differs in respect of the number of stages and the constitution of the National Wages Board. Thus we see a complete machinery existing to deal with the grievances on the spot and a number of such cases have been dealt with since the joint machinery came into existence.

The local departmental committee scheme is a new experiment and by establishing such Committees the problems concerning matters of local interest and difficulty in which no national principle is involved can be discussed then and there. Secondly, the duty of Railway Sectional Councils is/

is to see that National Agreements relating to conditions of service are properly applied locally.

Then, as we have seen comes the central wages Board which deals with matters of National importance common to all Railway Companies, and with interpretations of National agreements. We see that, by this system of joint-consultation, spasmodic strikes can be avoided. The matter can be referred to a Board where both parties are represented and their decisions can be taken and thus unnecessary stoppage may be avoided. If an agreement cannot be reached by the central wages Board, the matter is referred to the National Wages Board. Though its decisions are not binding yet, when the matter is referred to this Board, full investigation on all questions takes place. The most interesting point is that when the matter is referred by the party to this Board, no strike can be entered upon before the expiration of 28 days, and an opportunity is given to both sides to place their respective cases before the Board. Therefore, though this Board cannot prevent a strike, yet it can delay it and thus give opportunity for negotiation and amicable settlement. Thus, by this complete series of boards, strikes on the Railways are becoming fewer, and wages, hours, conditions, of service are being adjusted without launching into disastrous stoppages. Mr. C. T. Cramp, International General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, quite frankly admits the value of joint negotiations and generally sums up the system by saying "I am sure a much better spirit exists on the Railways than was the case a few years ago and much of the discontent which/

which formerly obtained has been eliminated by the methods now in force". Mr Thomas in a recent speech said that Railwaymen have fought bitterly in the past, but to-day, "They welcome the efforts of Union Officials to get on good terms with the other side, because they believe it is the best means of adjusting difficulties".

Railwaymen through peaceful methods have obtained very good terms and if this is so, one wonders why such schemes should not be introduced in other industries with modifications to suit their particular wants. It is essential that employers and employees should work harmoniously for without co-operation an industry cannot prosper. Workers should face the economic facts and contribute their mite to the success of their industry. The situation is very serious to-day and owing to severe competition, and other causes, the earnings of the Railway Companies have decreased considerably, and in the economic interest of railway workers, they should as far as possible make the railway services efficient. Realizing that employees would be the first to suffer if the financial loss of the Railway Companies becomes great, Mr Thomas in a recent speech said "We are prepared to make a contribution to try to solve the difficulties. We shall do it by facing the facts. Not by placing an unfair burden on one section or by interfering with a fair recognition of our own men's economic position, but with a desire to do what is right".

Thus it is essential for the workers to face the problems connected with their industries. It would be useless to ask for higher wages, when the industry cannot afford to pay/

pay them, It is essential, therefore, that men of great ability should be chosen as leaders of Trade Unions, so that they may not unnecessarily launch the workers into trouble, but rather by their skill and diplomacy get the highest advantages possible for the workers, they represent by peaceful methods. It should be noted that some such schemes as exist in Railways have great advantage for they give scope for quick ventilation of grievances. If we read through the reports on Strikes and Lock-outs we find that disputes which arose in a small area through some petty cause on account of the problem not being faced then and there, have spread, have become national disputes and have involved considerable loss. Apart from this, when such disputes spread, they become complicated and thus fresh demands are made which practically change the character of the dispute. Sometimes the new demands put forth were never even contemplated, or have no relation to the original demand which started the dispute. The only effective method, when a dispute arises is to ask for the opinion of the conciliation Board. This method will be especially useful when the question of the interpretation of the various agreements arises. Many disputes and much friction between employers and employed are due to questions of interpretation. These can be settled by taking the decision of the Conciliation Board, or an Arbitrator or by getting an experienced and impartial legal opinion. When some such method is not adopted, unnecessary strikes or lock-outs may take place. Such was the case in the Transport Workers' Strike of 1912. This Strike involved about 100,000 workpeople, and a duration of/

of about 2,700,000 working days. This dispute clearly illustrates the remarks made above, for it arose on account of one man, though there were other motives. A workman was employed by a lighterage company, who was not a member of the National Transport Workers' Federation, but being a member of the Amalgamated Society of Foremen Lightermen refused to join the Amalgamated Society of Watermen and Lightermen (one of the Societies affiliated to the federation). The Company refused to interfere in the matter and so the men were called out on Strike on May 16th. Meanwhile, the Association of Master Lightermen and Barge Owners undertook to do the work of the firm involved in the dispute, but the men refused to do the work and so were discharged. The men contended that this was a violation of the agreement of August 19th, 1911, and so "Under these circumstances all members working for firms under the quay trade agreement" were called upon to cease work at the expiration of the day's work on Monday 20th May.

So, according to the order 5,000 to 6,000 lightermen left work and a number of dock workers also ceased work in sympathy. Then the whole matter was taken up by the executive of the Transport Workers' Federation, who instructed all the Transport Workers to cease work because the employers had broken the agreement on the old question of non-unionism. Thus all the transport workers of the port of London and on the Medway ceased work. Thus we see a dispute which started as a local soon spread and became a National dispute. These differences can usually be easily settled by negotiation and conciliation and happily things are moving in that direction, at least to a great extent in Railways.

The/

The next great industry in which disputes frequently occur is the Metal, Engineering and Shipbuilding industry. From 1912 to 1920 disputes were fairly frequent and involved many workpeople. Especially after 1917, disputes were numerous and frequent and there was a considerable amount of unrest. There were also a number of disputes in 1919 and 1920, on the question of hours of labour, in the Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades. For example, in January 1919, workpeople to the number of 150,000 in all, came out on strike, in these industries claiming 44 and some even 40 hours. This strike continued for a period ranging from one to eight weeks, and in the end some returned unconditionally, others agreed and returned on a promise of national settlement.

The great number of disputes occurring in this industry in 1911, '12, '13 and '14, is due to demarcation questions. As was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, in many branches of this industry (especially in the electrical branches,) demarcation disputes continually arise. Another cause is the trouble that often arises through the employment of skilled and unskilled labour in the shipbuilding industry. Such troubles began to increase more and more, as new inventions were introduced. The curious thing is that one trade union fought against another, fearing that unemployment would be increased, if other men were given the work which a particular Union thought should be done by none except by its members. This is a problem which should be faced by Trade Unions either by amalgamating and forming one Union, or by some joint arrangement between different Unions, by which when a difficulty arises officials of both Unions should meet to try/

try to come to an amicable settlement. Apart from the rapid introduction of new inventions in this branch of industry there are other causes which have brought about a great number of disputes especially after the war. The Shipping, Shipbuilding and Engineering industries, all feel the full blast of foreign competition. Indeed considerable progress has been made in various countries introducing iron and steel and some European countries for example, Belgium, Italy and Spain, can supply all local wants without any importation. So many foreign markets are restricted, and the industry can only develop by exploiting other new markets and by an expansion of demand in other areas.

In the Engineering industry during the War there was considerable expansion which continued into the 'boom' period immediately after the War, and a large increase took place, but depressed conditions came not very long after and export trade also suffered enormously, so much so, that many Engineering concerns were forced to reduce their capital and adjust it to the present earning capacity of the business.^{1.}

Owing then to the trouble and depression in this industry, there was a reduction of wages and much unemployment. In consequence, the skilled men in those industries, who were formerly the highest paid in the country, found that their position was reversed, and also that the men who used to receive less formerly received more wages than themselves. So much/

1. For example - (A) Sir W. G. Armstrong, Whitworth & Co. at the end of 1927 "announced that on account of known Capital adjustments and losses, the assets would have to be written down by at least £11,000,000".
(B) Messrs Vickers, Ltd., found it expedient to reduce the book value of their assets by more than £12,000,000 in 1925.
(Committee on Industries and Trade - Survey of Metal Industries).

much was this so, that a skilled engineer now earned less than a road sweeper. Such then was the state of workers in those industries after the war and hence there was a large number of disputes.

The same thing may be said of the shipbuilding industry. After the War, there were large orders, and there was a 'boom'. In the shipbuilding industry employment was good in 1920, the percentage of insured workpeople unemployed averaging under 4% until the occurrence of the Coal Strike and in March 1921 the percentage of unemployed was 14% and since then it has risen to 30% and on several occasions as high as 40%. In 1926 it was 42%, though there was much improvement in 1927. Between 1921-1926, there was always between 75,000 and 120,000 persons unemployed in the shipbuilding industry.

Much trouble also arises on account of the "demarcation problem", in this industry. This problem is a difficult one which results in much waste of time and added cost. Attention has been drawn to this fact by the number of witnesses who appeared before the Committee on Industry and Trade. One of them said, "It is one of the greatest deterrents in British industry; it is the greatest thing you have to face in shipbuilding". It has been shown at the beginning of this chapter how disputes arise, and how the Unions lay the line of demarcation and how jealously it is maintained. Shipbuilding is becoming more and more complex, and if the Unions (or each craft) still persist in their old policy, there will still be much friction and much waste of time. This point was discussed when a joint Inquiry into foreign competition and/

and the condition of the shipbuilding industry was conducted in 1925 by the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation and various shipyard trade Unions. In the report of this inquiry it was stated that "The introduction of sub-division of labour in British shipyards and practices which have prevented interchangeability, and we believe it is possible to secure greater elasticity and interchangeability without infringement of the broad principles of craftsmanship"

Therefore in order to avoid disputes of this nature there is need of more elasticity and such elasticity we are told is found in almost all Continental Yards. If Trade Unions come to some agreement on this point frequent disputes of this nature can be eliminated. Attempts also should be made to give wider training to skilled men so that they can be easily interchangeable for various operations.

Disputes of this nature will not occur if the Trade Unions and workers recognise the uselessness of bickering and quarrelling among themselves, and of entering into strikes which would hamper the progress of the industry and at the same time lose wages and work.

This being the case, the machinery for negotiation existing in the Industries should be used to the utmost. The machinery for conciliation, which, has been agreed upon by the Iron and Steel Trades Employers' Association and the Iron and Steel Trades' Confederation provides conciliation for all disputes or differences and has power to deal with all general questions and disputes arising in a particular district or workshop. In the first place, if a dispute arises, a conference is summoned in which the works management and workmen/

workmen concerned try to come to a settlement, failing which, a neutral Committee is appointed with members from the associated works to settle the dispute. If they do not come to a settlement, the matter is referred to arbitration or to a conference of representatives of the employers and of the workpeople. There are various Conciliation and Arbitration Boards through out the industry though methods vary to a certain extent.

All such conciliation boards have rules to the effect that there should be no stoppage of work during the process of negotiation. In the Engineering industry also there is machinery for negotiations and various provisions are made for avoiding disputes. All the bodies interested in this trade have agreed to refer all the difficulties first to a local conference, and then to a central conference, and until this procedure is carried out there is to be no stoppage of work, either of a partial or general character.

Some such machinery for negotiation exists in the Electrical and Shipbuilding industries. In the shipbuilding industry, there was National Conciliation Machinery before the War and it was one of the few industries which attempted to settle disputes by this method. But during the War the normal course of settling disputes was interrupted and temporary arrangements were made to conform with the Munitions of War Act and the Industrial Courts Act.

After the War a new conciliation Machinery was set up to which with one exception all trade unions and employers are now parties. Briefly, the arrangement is that when a difference/

difference arises, the matter should be settled by the employers and workpeople, and failing a settlement the matter should be referred to a local conference. Then the matter can be referred to a Central Conference to be held between the Executive Board and the Federation and the representatives of the Union or Unions. Finally the matter can be referred to a grand conference (of the Federation and of all the Unions which are parties to the agreement) and meanwhile no stoppage of work should take place.

Thus we find that in almost all industries there is good machinery for negotiation, and disputes can be settled amicably. At present, there is much difficulty owing to severe foreign competition in the Metal, Engineering and Shipbuilding industries and, as has been pointed out above, owing to lack of orders, many of the leading companies have suffered heavy losses. In the course of a few years trade should revive and already according to the figures of 1927, such a turn is taking place. Meanwhile, much could be done by adjusting the differences and difficulties by co-operation and peacefully, unnecessary industrial disputes at the present juncture will completely set back the slow and gradual prosperity that is now coming to the industry.

This can be done by as far as possible avoiding demarcation disputes in these industries and by exploring fully every means of obtaining a settlement through such conciliatory machinery before resorting to strikes - such machinery, as has been said by the executive of one of the Trade Unions (who became parties to new conciliation machinery in shipbuilding industry) "secures more prompt consideration and settlement of/

of questions arising in the industry without recourse to stoppages of work, which have in many instances caused hardship and loss to both parties to a greater extent than the amount involved in the dispute. There is complete procedure for dealing with questions in the yard in which they arise by district or nationally, as the case demands, with provision for mutual reference to arbitration. The procedure has been greatly speeded up as compared with the old agreement". Therefore, if efforts could be made both by employers and employed to settle the disputes amicably and by the Trade Unions to stop unnecessary disputes arising on account of "demarcation", then the shipbuilding industry could be rescued from depression and its employees could soon regain their position as the highest paid wage earners in the country.

Trade disputes were frequent in the Textile industry especially between the period 1894 to 1899. Then again, there were frequent troubles in 1906, 1907, 1911 and 1912, but were most numerous in 1913. In 1920 again there were a number of disputes in this industry, but there were comparatively few in 1927. Between 1894 and 1899, there were many disputes; these mostly arose over wages, another cause being the nature of the material supplied for working. This cause is peculiar to this industry and many disputes have arisen on account of it. Generally in this industry payment by results was followed and hence when bad material or unsuitable material which hinders quick working was supplied, the men resented this and went on strike. A number of disputes on account of the supply of bad materials took place in 1913. But such disputes/

disputes are not frequent at present.

It should be noted here that under the heading Textile Trades, many industries such as Cotton, Woollen, and Worsted, Linen and Jute Trades are included. It is also interesting to note that as early as 1893, in the Cotton Spinning industry, the value of collective bargaining was recognised. The parties in this industry signed an agreement widely known as the "Brookland Agreement", which became a sort of model upon which other agreements were based. By it, means were provided for the discussion of wage difficulties or disputes as they arose; they were considered first locally, and if there was no settlement, by the representatives of the whole industry.

On perusal of the reports one can see that 80,000 people were affected in 1920, but this was largely due to a strike in the Spinning branch of the Cotton Trade at Oldham. The cause of this dispute was a rather novel one, for during the War an agreement had been made for the employment of female "creelers", instead of boy assistants, whose duty it was to carry away the finished product, and it was a part of that agreement, that the spinners should receive extra payments in compensation for the additional work thrown upon them on account of the employment of women; but an agreement was signed in September between the Master Spinners and the operative Spinners Trade Unions withdrawing in part, these extra payments. But the Spinners refused to agree to the arrangement and came out on strike. The Strike began on September 15th, the maximum number who came out on strike being 20,000 and an equal number of Cardroom workers and others were thrown out of work by the dispute. Thus this dispute accounts for the high number/

number of days lost in that year in the Textile Trade.

The Cotton industry like other industries has suffered much since the war. The Cotton industry is one of the chief industries of Great Britain, and from a comparatively obscure place among British industries has risen during the past 150 years to the foremost rank. In its contribution to the export trade it has no serious rival, for cotton yarns alone represent one-quarter of the total value of British exports. This industry is mainly concentrated in Lancashire or the adjacent parts of Cheshire and Derbyshire and 529,974 persons out of 620,564 engaged in the cotton industry are engaged in these districts. This industry is also feeling keen foreign competition, and in order to adjust itself to the new situation many changes have had to be made, by which workpeople employed in the industry are affected. This has led to much unrest.

1.
A comparison of the figures given below shows that there was a heavy fall, amounting to 30.3% in the weight of yarn produced and 32.6% in the yardage of piece goods. Thus we see that there was much depression which affected the number of workpeople engaged. A comparison of the Census returns for 1912 and 1924 shows, in the Spinning and Weaving Section a decline in the average number employed of nearly 17% viz. from 621,516 to 517,232. In 1926, there was a further drop. It should be noted that in this industry, the utmost is done, to see that men are not discharged altogether, and to meet the depression they work a shorter time in the spinning section and the number of machines per worker is reduced in the weaving section. Thus

one/

1. The actual output of yarns and piece goods.

	Yarn Million lbs.	Piece Goods Million	
1907	1,800	7,088	linear.
1912	1,976	8,044	
1924	1,376	5,426	

one cannot gauge the fullextent of depression in this industry from the unemployment returns. The depression is most felt in the American Spinning Section and so part-time working has been the rule in the American Section since 1920. Though this system of part-time working, enabled the available employment to be spread among the operatives so that fewer were wholly out of work, yet there are serious objections to this method for it does not allow Mills which have plenty of orders to relax the part-time scheme. So an effort was made by the Federation of the Master Cotton Spinners' Association to systematise the short time working, but this was abandoned, and various other schemes were examined and in the end it was decided in 1926 to form a joint Stock Company to be called the American Cotton Yarn Association to grade yarns, fix minimum prices and regulate output. However, this scheme was also abandoned owing to the severe competition of the outside Associations, in undercutting the minimum prices.

Then again, British exports of piece goods have fallen^{1.} considerably, for goods are being produced in consuming countries, and to-day the aggregate production in the world is greater than it was before the War. There is much competition between Japan and Britain and between 1913 and 1925, "the Japanese share in imports into China is estimated to^{2.} have increased from about one-fourth to three-fifths, India is one of the biggest customers in Cotton goods and India/

1. In 1910-'13 export of British piece goods represented.-
..... 70.7%
1924-'25 ... 56.6%
1926 51.4%

2. Survey of Textile Industries - page 73.

India to-day produces a good deal of the coarser and cheaper qualities of goods. Apart from this the Japanese competition with the British in India, has largely led to the falling-off of British trade in piece goods in India.

Here again the industry is undergoing depression and loss of trade. Thus the depression and slump in the cotton industry has affected many companies. A number of companies have gone into liquidation, and many companies from 1923 to 1926 did not pay any dividends. Many companies were kept going by the calling-up of uncalled capital which amounted to 11 millions from 1921 to 1927.

, Here again the industry can regain its position only through co-operation and industrial disputes in the industry will set back all the attempts that are at present being made to regain the lost trade. It is through improvements and reorganisation - what is commonly known as rationalisation and perhaps through mass-production the industry can regain its old position. Some such attempt is being made at present by the newly registered Lancashire Cotton Corporation. Attempts should be made to introduce Labour-saving devices in the shape of new mechanical appliances and equipment which have produced such good results in the United States.

Mr Arno Pears informs us that during the past two generations the mechanical process of weaving both in the cotton and woollen textile industries in this country have developed very little compared with most other industries.

Surely then, the employers in order to compete with foreign countries should introduce new and up-to-date mechanical processes in order to increase the production and/

and reduce cost. It is not by reduction of wages that they will reduce the cost of production but on the contrary bring unnecessary friction and disputes.

It is clear that any concerted effort is to be made to regain 3,000,000,000 square yards per annum which Lancashire's trade alone has lost since the war, it will have to be through mass-production and by applying new and up-to-date machinery which will facilitate improved and greater production. By such methods not only trade could be regained, but also more men could be absorbed and wages of the workers could be improved. This, instead of adopting the unwise policy of cutting wages and thus giving cause for industrial trouble and disputes, contentment on all sides could be achieved.

Such then is the present state of the Industry. In spite of depression, it was remarkable that there were not many prolonged and bitter industrial disputes. This is mainly due to the existence of effective machinery for conciliation.

We have noted, that in the Cotton trade as early as 1893, there was machinery existing for joint-negotiations. But this, the "Brooklands Agreement", terminated in 1913. However agreements now exist by which men should not go on strike without providing opportunity for the consideration of the matter in dispute by local and central joint committees of the employers and operatives' organisations. The Central Authorities negotiate directly disputed matters such as change of wages affecting the whole industry. There have been many changes in the working arrangements and in the lengthening and shortening of hours after the war in the Cotton Industry and all this has been done through negotiations. Otherwise
the/

the number of disputes would be considerably greater than has been recorded.

A considerable number of disputes are adjusted by joint deliberation and the efficiency of this machinery was attested by Mr John Smerthurst (Secretary of Manchester Spinning Federation) when he said that "it is remarkable that out of these hundreds of disputes not more than an average of two or three per year have resulted in a strike at individual Mills; that is a record which I think it would be difficult for any other industry to equal".

It should also be noted that in the Cotton industry the sphere of co-operation between employers and operators extends beyond discussing matters affecting their own interests, for they also discuss various matters of general concern concerning the whole industry and trade Unions have many times acted in conjunction with the employers to bring the industry to a stable equilibrium.

Here again we see the value of joint consultation and of meeting differences through conciliatory methods. If those resorts had not been utilised, there would have been many disputes in this industry after the war.

The next industry, we have to consider is the Building Industry where disputes are frequent. Here again there was considerable unrest between 1893 and 1901, in the years 1913, 1914 and between 1918 and 1921. This trade has a peculiar problem of its own and the majority of disputes which occurred from 1893 to 1901 were due to an advance of wages and also alterations in the working rules. There were 198 disputes in the building trade in 1913 and a number of these were due to
a/

demand for advances in wages.

Apart from this another important cause of disputes in this industry is due to the question of employment of non-unionists. Even before the War this question was one of the grievances of the workers in this industry. In 1913 and the beginning of 1914, numerous strikes had occurred against the employment of non-unionists, although most of the Trade Unions were bound by agreements which contained a stipulation that there should be no discrimination between Union and Non-union labour. Thus on this question the National Federation of Building Trade Employers resolved on a lock-out of all their employees throughout the country, but before this could be carried out, the World War began and so a compromise was reached.

But still, though the demand for houses are great, yet the trade unions insist on this question and entry into this trade is restricted and thus the industry which could absorb many unemployed is prevented from doing so.

There are a number of Boards in different parts of the country for the adjustment of all disputes and each of them has its own rules and regulations. In spite of this, it should be noted that disputes very frequently occur in this industry. After the War, there were many disputes. These were chiefly due to the fact, that a majority of men working in those industries were drawn away for the forces or for munitions works and according to a comparison of the censuses of 1911 and 1921 the building trade thus lost 103,000 workers. Thus there were after the War few workers in this industry and an abnormal rise of wages occurred. It should be noted that this industry/

industry is not affected in the least by any sort of foreign competition, as it is purely a domestic industry. However, the prevalence of restrictive practices has much hampered the building industry. Knowing that there is no foreign competition the trade unions have adopted a policy which has imposed a very great burden on the community. Entry into this trade has been narrowly restricted; and restrictions have been carried so far as to lay down rules about the amount of work a craftsman may do in a day. The amount of work the craftsman is allowed to do is far below what the average bricklayer can easily achieve. In spite of the great demand for houses, owing to those restrictive practices the amount of employment available has been reduced.

Owing to such methods, building costs have been greatly increased and there is a terrible shortage of housing accommodation. Such methods are harmful in that they restrict the mobility of labour and also increase the difficulty of finding work for the unemployed. The Unions and workers contend that their measures are a natural safeguard against a competition which might beat down wages. To a certain extent they result in making their work last as long as possible.

Another point to be noted is that this industry is greatly affected by seasonal fluctuations. Climatic conditions greatly affect the industry and generally the work is in full swing only in Spring and Summer and very little work is done in the Winter. Through seasonal fluctuations, though there may not be actual distress, yet there is a falling-off in employment.

This falling-off in employment can be avoided by working fewer/

fewer hours on the whole and by public bodies undertaking work during the slack season. However, this want of employment at certain seasons make the workers claim high wages so that it may help them in the slack season. This is especially the case with the skilled workers who are unable to find work in other trades whereas, bricklayers and other building labourers find work in such places as docks and gas works. Therefore the high wages claimed by skilled workers according to the economic point of view, are to a certain extent justified; for a trade is not self-supporting unless it pays high enough wages to keep the workers during both slack and busy periods.

The problem could be solved to a certain extent by arranging some general provisions such as an adequate scheme of insurance. This scheme of insurance should be framed in such a way that it will make the employers in the building trade encourage the organisation of a reserve and discourage the present existing method. The National Insurance Act is not adequate, for instead of a flat rate, the Insurance should be levied in such a way that it offers a direct inducement to the employers to regularise an industry. When once the worker in the building industry is assured that he will have continual employment or be provided for during the slack period, much of the ill-feeling and misunderstanding that exists at present would be removed. It would also involve much closer co-operation between labour and capital than at present exists and further, labour would forego much of its restrictive policy, if the workers know they will have continuous/

continuous earnings.

Recently there was unrest in this industry on account of the erection of steel houses, those which are commonly called Weir houses. Labour contended that the wages paid in this work were an attempt to undermine the Fair wages Resolution of the House of Commons and to break down trade union rates and conditions. The operatives opposed any system of payment by results or piecework for they said that such a system was not appropriate to the building industry.

So the Minister of Labour appointed a Court of Inquiry with Lord Banbury as chairman to report on the whole question. Messrs Weir submitted that their scheme does not impinge upon the building industry and since the work is carried on by men who do not require much skill, they are not bound to pay the building trade rates of wages. They further contended that payment by results worked admirably and by such a system the earnings of the workers were enhanced. The Court in their report said that the "action appears to us to be entirely inappropriate and illogical - - and any fear, that the adoption of such schemes will compete unduly with the recognised building industry appears to us to be groundless".

It is true that Weir houses in no way competes with the building industry for there is a considerable requirement of houses throughout the length and breadth of the land. The requirements in the matter of housing is so great, that they cannot be overtaken except over a period of many years. Therefore, if the employers and operatives in the building industry come to some agreement upon the difficulties mentioned above, there/

there is plenty of work to carry on with in spite of the erection of Weir houses, for a good many years to come.

The Building Trade, as has been above pointed out has no foreign competition and it is an industry on which the demand is very great at present. Peace in this industry could be obtained much more easily by the effective use of conciliation machinery, for there is plenty of work, no foreign competition and the only things required are adjustments on some points and working arrangements.

In the Clothing Industry on the average 42 disputes a year, have taken place since 1893. In this trade, labour organisation is not very strong, and the workers have suffered much hardship. In earlier days almost all work was carried on in the workers homes, and this practice still to some extent persists. The workers in this industry especially those who work in their own houses, are as a rule badly paid. This industry is much affected by seasonal fluctuations and is far removed from standardization. Moreover, the commodities produced are not goods of which the community has constant need; the need of goods, such as clothing is not urgent like coal or similar commodities. The necessity for a continuous flow of any commodity makes it impossible for the community to tolerate a long interruption of work in the industry which supplies it; but an interruption of work in an industry like the clothing industry passes unnoticed. There are two reasons for this; goods such as clothing are not urgently needed and if needed can be supplied from the existing stock. Thus this industry has for long suffered from public indifference.

Apart/

1.
Apart from this there is no highly developed organisation of either employers or workpeople for the discussion of matters affecting industrial relations. There are organisations in some sections especially in the large towns where employers have associations and the workpeople have fairly well organised trade Unions. But the position of the workers has changed for the better ever since the establishment of Trade Boards. Wage questions, especially, are dealt with by Trade Boards, which cover seven sections of the Clothing trades and thus the position of the workers is gradually being improved.

We have now briefly examined the position of the principal Industries and have found how numbers of disputes have occurred from time to time and the total number of disputes that occurred in the past 35 years and the number in each industry, can be seen from the following table:-

TOTAL NUMBER OF DISPUTES (1893-1927)	WORKPEOPLE INVOLVED	DURATION
24,657	21,862,000	568,000,000

The highest number of disputes occurred in Mining and Quarrying.-

5321 disputes involving 10,489,888 workpeople and the aggregate duration of working days being 363,979,973.

Rest are as follows.-

INDUSTRY/

INDUSTRY.	NO. OF DISPUTES.	NO. OF WORK-PEOPLE INVOLVED.	AGGREGATE DURATION IN WORKING DAYS.
Transport (1893-1927)	1,599	2,021,720.	17,300,129
Metal, Engineering & Shipbuilding (1893-1927)	4,647	2,963,791	82,042,543
Textile - (1893-1927)	3,144	2,809,460	50,238,676
Building - (1893-1927)	3,247	1,595,059	16,609,876
Clothing	1,500	348,286	6,337,915
Miscellaneous & Employees of Public Authorities.	122	30,911	468,106

These figures tell their own story. The number of work-people affected and the number of days lost are striking and show both the great amount of lost time and money involved. During the disputes the workmen lost their wages and became poorer, many of their organisations lost all their money and to-day some of them are bankrupt. It is estimated that during the first decade of this century trade disputes meant 120,000 years of lost hours and according to the very conservative estimate made in the Report of the Liberal Party, the loss of wages alone was about £2,000,000 a year for the period between 1898-1905, £5,500,000 a year for the period between 1906-1913 and £22,000,000 a year in the period 1919-1920. The indirect losses, such as those arising from loss of market, dislocation of trade, idle machinery, unemployed Capital and above all, the great cost to the community, would far exceed the rough estimate indicated above.

The economic effects of strikes and lock-outs to the community/

community as a whole are thus seen to be very wasteful. Time which is lost during stoppages and which utilised in work would yield wages to the workpeople and profits to the employers, is lost once for all and cannot be recovered.

In the brief survey of Industries made above, it is amply proved that at present, the industries in Britain are suffering much from foreign competition, and all is not well with them. In order that they may regain their position Capital and Labour should lay aside their feelings of animosity and work together^{1.} for the common good. The workers are the worst sufferers through Industrial disputes and when works are closed down completely for want of trade, co-operation and mutual adjustment in the long run are much better ways of settling disputes and a close study of various strikes shows that much bitter feeling is due to suspicion and the want of a proper understanding of one another's point of view. Therefore a new attitude should be introduced, whereby through co-operation, fair distribution of profits, the belief that Labour and Capital are partners and not rivals, and complete discussion of all the issues in the light of all the knowledge available, most Industrial Conflicts could be avoided.

The workers will ask, how are we to get our grievances redressed without the strike weapon. As has been said, their point of view contains some amount of truth, but facts prove conclusively that strikes have not been on the whole advantageous. On the contrary, the long history of Industrial warfare, has proved/

1. In 1926 - the year of the General Strike - the registered Trade Unions suffered a loss of membership of 300,000 and the heaviest expenditure in dispute pay ever experienced in any one year. Their funds were reduced from £12,750,000 to £8,650,000.

proved that the workers have suffered a great deal from them. The superiority of negotiation and the settling of disputes by peaceful methods have also been proved and every attempt should be made to take advantage of such means. The strike weapon indeed should be used only as a last resort.

It is vain to think, that peace can be established in Industries by Acts of Parliament, for no act of Parliament can stop the trouble in industries unless and until there is a desire on all sides for peace and to settle disputes amicably.

Not only in England but throughout the world, industrial war creates bitterness and brings misery and dislocation of trade, for it is something like civil war. In industrial war, the war is not between two nations, but with one's own kith and kin, and therefore the mental attitude of both employers and employed which is the chief stumbling block, should undergo complete change. In the interests of the well-being of any nation what is produced should be equitably distributed, so that everyone should enjoy, a decent and comfortable life. There must be common interest and human and personal sympathy and both the employers and employees should view the question broadly. The "class war" is based upon false conceptions and is fatal to industrial progress. It is a new spirit and not new paper laws and regulations, which alone can reduce industrial strife, and put into proper working order the many voluntary expedients that have devised. It is indeed essential, that such methods should be honestly applied/

applied in a proper spirit. If this is done, the various conciliatory methods which are in existence, though they could not eliminate strikes and lock-outs altogether, could gradually limit them to extreme cases.

With this in view, we will examine in the next chapter the methods available for adjusting Industrial disputes and find out how far it is possible to achieve Industrial peace by utilising such forms of machinery.

CONCILIATION, ARBITRATION AND INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

The problem of Industrial peace is perhaps the most vital problem of modern times. It is one that not only calls out for sincerity and sound judgment, but ought also to enlist our respectful and deepest consideration. For the evils which industrial conflicts create are terrible, especially when we consider the constant troubles after the war, and the enormous amount of time and money lost. The indirect loss is probably much greater, and the loss to the Nation as a whole is incalculable.

The problem of Industrial peace is the problem of securing the most harmonious relations within industry and eliminating all such causes as result in industrial conflict. In order to develop schemes for Industrial peace both employers and employed should learn how in essence their interests are common and not diverse. What is wanted is greater candour and greater mutual confidence and the old conception of labour as an impersonal commodity should give way before the new conceptions of partnership and the dignity of human labour.

However it should be noted, beyond any such machinery as conciliation and arbitration boards, which we discuss below, or anything in the nature of symptomatic treatment, there must be that all-round over-hauling or systematic treatment of industry involved in the term "rationalisation" in which principally lies the ultimate and abiding salvation of the whole Industrial system.

The present trouble is partly due to the economic dis-
:location/

dislocation due to war, and probably in due time there should be a gradual restoration to equilibrium. But we must admit that the present troubles and the slump in some industries in this country are due to a certain extent to the economic situation in Europe, to the fact of severe competition and to the starting of Industries in countries which have hitherto obtained goods from Britain. Perhaps we can attribute the trouble also to another cause, namely that arising from the fact that those countries which participated actively in the war had their plant in many industries increased for military purposes far beyond the scale of what was required in peace. With the cessation of hostilities there also came the inevitable falling-off in demand, leaving a widely inflated capacity. This explains to a certain extent, the general depression in certain main industries such as the iron and steel industries, ship-building and the chemical trades, which suffered from the artificial expansion referred to. Then, again, demand was restricted, ^{through lack of capital owing to diminished savings} and this has prevented economic development on the same scale as before the War.

Though the harmful effects have been concentrated on a few special trades, the depression has inevitably crippled the expansion that would have taken place in other directions, for by creating unemployment in the above said industries, it has to a certain extent diminished the purchasing power of a large industrial population.

Without going into detail, on those various problems, it must be noted for our purpose, that after the war, there has been disorganisation of Public finance, depreciation of currencies/

currencies, (although almost every country has by now established equilibrium) shortage of capital, (immediately after war) dislocation of international commerce, and annual charges on war debts or through funds to war pensions. All these tended to bring about complications.

All the circumstances have to be taken into consideration, as reasons for an increase of industrial conflicts after the war, and for many of the obstacles that stand in the way of Industrial peace. Some of these difficulties can be removed by concerted action as between nations and by careful National policy in matters of finance and currency.

Now we come to the more direct aspect of the matter. What are to be the industrial relations of the future, so that industrial conflicts can be eliminated? How can industry be organised in such a way that the sporadic crises, which issue in strikes and lock-outs can be stamped out? The difficulty of such questions lies in the fact that in many ways the industrial world is in the melting-pot. New tendencies are revealing themselves, in the growth and enlargement of economic units and to meet those new tendencies, reorganisation is necessary.

One thing certain is that the existing relations are unsatisfactory and the consequent loss entailed through such relations is a severe strain on the nation as a whole; for example in 1920, 30 million days were lost, when the iron moulders broke away from their fellow craftsmen by a strike, nearly paralysed the engineering, as well as other industries to which moulding is more or less a primary need, 200 million days have been thus on the whole, lost between 1918 and 1923
by/

by strikes and lock-outs. The indirect loss, due to strike stoppages, is probably much greater, but the direct loss in both money and time is sufficient to make us enquire into the causes of those things. Some regard them as the inevitable outcome of an unjust individualist industrial system, and go so far as to condemn the whole economic order. Whatever the opinion may be on the above point, consideration also must be given to this fact that the conceptions of Labour and Capital are in process of change. Labour is no longer the impersonal commodity it was a hundred years ago, nor is Capital synonymous with Capitalism. Labour has now a definite economic and moral status and if this is widely understood, it will make co-operation and partnership possible means of reaching the good of Industrial peace. On the other hand, if the employers continue the policy of self-interest and self-individualism and look upon their "hands" very much as they regard their machinery - that is as mere instruments of production, and if labour insists on fighting them then the outcome of these representative attitudes will be what has been called the "class war". This policy contributes its share in the perpetuation of evils. Each side will be fighting for all it can get whether right or wrong and assumes a permanent antagonism and the necessity of aiming at its own interests merely.

If new methods are not introduced for reconciling the interests of the two, then miserable and continuous warfare will be the only course open to employers and workmen alike.

Then the question remains, what is the best method of reaching a better condition of things. The answer is that we must obtain new conceptions of the basic positions of the/
the/

the different factors of production, - labour, Capital and management. Until it is recognised that the interests of employers and employed are not antagonistic but common, little progress will ever be made. For the atmosphere in which co-operation can exhibit its value most efficiently, is the atmosphere of good-will and not of distrust or suspicion.

Let us now briefly examine the various methods that would conduce to better relations. The time is indeed ripe for adopting new methods, towards a fuller association of labour in the sharing of responsibility ⁱⁿ ~~and~~ industry. As was pointed out in the last chapter, this can be done to a certain extent, by introducing schemes such as co-partnership and profit-sharing. It would take much space to examine the details and give illustrations of the schemes which are working successfully and it will be sufficient to say here that the application of these principles will be a great step towards the fuller association of labour in the sharing of responsibility.

Another way in which the principle of co-operation would act as a powerful agent for stimulating industry would be the further extension of a system of bonuses on reduction of costs. The distinction between ordinary profit-sharing and this being that, under the latter system, the employee receives, as an incentive to display a special degree of efficiency a bonus, which is absolutely independent of profits or losses incurred, and is strictly proportionate to extra activity and intelligence, as measured in cost of production as compared with the standard cost.

Surely such a system is better to a policy of wage-cutting in order to reduce costs. Some such method would stimulate/

stimulate industry, increase production and at the same time reduce costs. It will also not produce that friction and unrest that wage-cutting produces.

We may mention in passing that to eliminate industrial disputes, a certain amount of Trade Union reorganisation is essential, and lastly the most important thing is that a scientific system of wage regulation is essential. The above two topics we have discussed in the last chapter; therefore it is only necessary to say here that the haphazard way of fixing wages now in operation, does not conduce to peace in industry. It should be pointed out that the mere setting up of wages Boards and Industrial Courts will be of little use unless the procedure upon which they are to work is laid down and is generally applied. Therefore the getting of a scientific regulation of wages should be constantly borne in mind and to do this many factors have to be taken into consideration, before a proper solution can be obtained.

Therefore the questions of wages and conditions of labour should be determined on a new basis and by new methods. The wage question and its adjustments are the chief causes of many industrial disputes and to adjust wages peaceably, to exploit the co-operative^{or} efforts of management and labour, and to settle differences amicably, attempts should be made for the provision of machinery which would be so constituted as to command the confidence of both parties and at the same time would look to the wider interests which are involved.

We have seen in the last chapter and in this, how war has dislocated industries, and in its train brings many problems and/

and how when things are being adjusted, industrial unrest grows. This results in a number of lock-outs and strikes. We have also seen what amount of money and time is lost through Industrial disputes and how workmen themselves suffer through the loss of wages. These new problems which arose on account of the war and through foreign competition, and various other conditions, such as the combination of industry and mass-production cannot be solved by relentless persecution of the "class war". Those problems can only be faced by co-operation and goodwill, and by realising that labour and capital interests are common and that the prosperity of the industry is advantageous not only to the employers, but also to the workers and the Nation as a whole. It is only through negotiation, agreements and discussion in joint councils that industrial prosperity can be obtained and only through such adjustments and differences can the waste of industrial conflicts be eliminated.

Therefore, at this point, let us discuss methods of conciliation and arbitration, as well as joint Industrial Councils, and see how far, if right use is made of them they would tend towards Industrial peace and the reduction of industrial disputes.

In the great majority of Industrial countries, adequate machinery for conciliation and the arbitration of collective labour disputes has been established. Such machinery is an essential part of the social and administrative equipment of the modern Industrial State. It is a necessary adjunct to the modern organisation of production and the need for it arises directly on account of the modern organisation of industry/

industry where the personal bond which existed before the industrial revolution has been completely shattered.

Various experiments have been tried and are still being tried in different countries in order to promote the amicable settlement of differences between parties in industries and to minimise Industrial disputes when they do occur. Though important changes in the machinery of Conciliation and Arbitration have been made by some thirty countries in the last half-dozen years, no country yet feels that it has found a perfect system.

In spite of all efforts to settle disputes amicably, it is a notable fact that there has been a great number of disputes in all countries. This can be seen from the following table.-

COUNTRY.	AVERAGE NO.OF DAYS LOST PER ANNUM 1919-1923.	AVERAGE NO.OF DAYS LOST PER ANNUM PER 1000 OF POPULATION.
Great Britain	35,586,000	819
Sweden.	4,696,747	795
Germany	35,350,906	591
Australian)		
Commonwealth.)	2,228,314	411
New South Wales.	1,387,701	661
Victoria.	357,959	234
Queensland	168,476	223
S.Australia	133,625	270
W. Australia	153,495	461
Tasmania	25,883	121
Italy	13,657,522	352
France	10,173,415	259
Canada	1,705,835	194
New Zealand	102,601.	84

In Great Britain it is calculated that in the five years 1919-23, the number of working days lost per annum per 1,000 of the population was two-and-a-half times greater than the last/

last five pre-war years 1909-13, and something like nine times greater than during 1904-8.

Thus we see that in spite of all efforts and the various machinery existing to-day, Industrial strife has been growing and from the table above, it will be seen that this is the case not only in Great Britain but all over the world. Therefore the main problem is to find not machinery for negotiation but some effective means whereby stoppages can be prevented or at least settled early in a way which will satisfy both sides.

There exists in Britain, in many industries various machinery voluntarily maintained by the trade unions and organised employers for purposes of joint-consultation, and negotiation. Large numbers of disputes have been settled by such means. The machinery as now exists to deal with disputes that cannot be settled by such recognised methods and the general aspect of such disputes may now be examined.

A good many causes of industrial unrest leading to industrial disputes "are symptoms rather than disease itself", and therefore "no system of Conciliation and Arbitration which aims at suppressing the symptom while ignoring the disease can ever be wholly satisfactory", such measures will be of very little use for though they may be successful in their direct object, they will nevertheless, be liable to defeat their own end unless the parties concerned, and in particular the workers voluntarily accept their enforcement. Therefore, in order to have an effective means by which the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes, can be faced, care should be taken of the root causes of industrial unrest and/

and especially the psychological aspects of the question -

Men in dangerous trades and where physical strength forms an important factor, it should be noted, are hard-working and accustomed to a hard life and therefore it is in such industries that trouble most easily arises. Men in such industries, prefer methods of force to methods of negotiation. It is easy to bring round classes like clerks, shopkeepers by negotiation for such classes prefer to settle matters peacefully to attempting more violent methods, whereas, Miners, dockers and seamen will always prefer to use force and are difficult to negotiate with. Industrial disputes it has been seen, occur more in those industries than in others. Besides the psychological aspect, the economic aspect should be taken into consideration in order to have a perfect system of conciliation and arbitration.

But it should be noted, that the economic factor, presents great difficulty, for no machinery, however well devised, can adequately adjust the economic problems involved in a shortage of market and a fall of trade which in turn lead to a rise of unemployment and reduction of wages. From this it is not essential to conclude that the scope of Conciliation and Arbitration is limited, but on the contrary such problems can be faced more effectively through such machinery. The psychological aspect of the problem is more important, for the initial step towards the prevention and the settlement of labour disputes is to get the parties to meet together, for if this happens, the points at issue can be discussed and an amicable settlement can be brought about. It is this getting the parties together that is most important, and/

and if this is achieved and if there is adequate machinery, then there should be means through which economic and other problems can be discussed.

Methods of Conciliation and Arbitration may be Governmental, non-Governmental or Quasi-Governmental in their origin. In Great Britain, these three methods are in existence. In the Shipbuilding industry, the Cotton and various other trades, machinery was set up to discuss the problems in the industries and to reach an amicable settlement of disputes. Such machinery was set up not by the Government but by the parties themselves.

Secondly, Governmental measures for optional Conciliation and Arbitration and for inquiry are contained in the Conciliation Act of 1896 and the Industrial Courts Act of 1919. Two types of quasi-governmental machinery exists in Great Britain to-day, namely Trade Boards and the machinery of Conciliation and Arbitration in Railways which rests on a clause inserted in the Railways Act of 1921 at the express wish of both parties.

Now, voluntary machinery and quasi-governmental machinery have their own value for they can be changed and adjusted according to the need of the particular industry, but on the whole, from the general experience in various countries it would seem that Governmental machinery is usually the most appropriate and has greater permanence and prestige, is more efficiently organised and better respected than non-governmental machinery.

But with all this, if an industry is capable of setting/

setting up and maintaining an effective organisation of its own, such a scheme should be encouraged, since the will to co-operation is the most essential thing for good industrial relations. Quasi-Governmental forms of organisation have proved to be most successful in some industries and most appropriate to them. However, the essential thing is that some sort of machinery should be set up to bring the parties together. Accordingly, as a broad generalisation it may be said that every effort should be made to encourage voluntary machinery and also to set up appropriate machinery to help and deal with the situation, if the voluntary machinery fails.

The method of Conciliation is to set up a joint Board consisting of representatives of the employers and employed concerned. The Board tries to arrive at a settlement by the process of Conciliation, i.e. by a process of mutual concessions. Therefore voluntary agreement between the parties at issue is the essence of Conciliation. Such Boards are in existence in many industries and during the latter part of the nineteenth century there was a slow and steady increase of them in Great Britain. In trades where there is no permanent Conciliation machinery, general conciliation Boards have been tried with considerable success. There is for example the method of mediation by a person of influence. The function of the mediator is to induce the interested parties to debate points again and again if necessary, in a spirit of patience and above all to keep the parties negotiating until they hit on a working arrangement/

arrangement. Number of disputes before and after the War were settled by such methods and Mr Askwith before and during the War, through his tact and ability brought together the parties for negotiation and averted many disputes. Through his capability he also brought the parties together after the declaration of a strike for the discussion of differences and other points and he succeeded in many cases in getting the parties to agree and sign agreements.

So it is essential that ^{a person of} influence - one with a good deal of patience, who can keep the parties negotiating until they hit on a working arrangement - should be chosen. The position of a Conciliator is quite different from an Arbitrator for a Conciliator may offer suggestions, plead his own views and do anything which may be helpful to a mutual and voluntary agreement between the parties, but should not assume the position of an arbitrator in forcing his decision. He should endeavour to keep the parties together and "he must be - - - quick at getting at the real point, the real kernel of the dispute and concentrating upon that, with a view to seeing how it can be dealt with. If the parties crystallize in hopeless opposition a settlement is doubtful". So he should keep the negotiation going and "has to intervene with suggestions at the exact psychological moment - - - (and thus) in Conciliation the main point is to get the parties together and to keep them together"¹. This then is broadly the method of Conciliation and its essential principle is/

1. Industrial problems and disputes - Lord Askwith page 404, 405.

is mutual concession and voluntary agreement between the parties concerned.

There are various types of Conciliation which may be divided into two varieties such as:-

- (1) Optional Conciliation
- (2) Compulsory Conciliation.

Optional Conciliation may be sub-divided into what might be termed

- (1) "passive Conciliation".
- (2) "Active Conciliation".
- (3) "Conciliation with Coercive power".

"Passive Conciliation" consists in setting up some machinery, but the option of making known differences is left to the parties. If they decide to bring forward their differences these can be settled through or else they need not have resort to machinery at all. The whole thing is left to the will and pleasure of the parties concerned.

Whereas in the "Active Conciliation", which exists at present in many countries, the professional conciliators such as officials of the Ministry of Labour, whenever they find there is difference between the parties, go and influence them to use the conciliatory machinery existing in the industries and facilitate to the best of their ability matters towards a peaceful settlement.

"Conciliation with Coercive power" is a different thing altogether. Such a system exists in Sweden and Norway/

Norway and by it the parties are obliged to meet when a Conciliator who has power to ask for documents and other papers summons them. This compulsory meeting by two parties does not necessarily take away the essence of conciliation which is voluntary agreement. This method only compels the parties to meet and settle if possible the dispute between them.

It has therefore much to be said for it, We have found that in many industries in Great Britain there is a provision that there should not be any stoppage of work when negotiation is going on. In other industries a strike or lock-out may be launched without the parties meeting at all, though they may afterwards meet and come to some agreement. However, this involves a stoppage and the hardship accompanying it. So, in order to avoid such disputes, it would be advisable to try by compulsion to bring the parties of the dispute together, while leaving entirely to themselves the negotiations and the terms to be decided upon.

Arbitration is too often resorted to only after conciliation has proved to be a failure. Arbitration is the process of calling in a third party to decide on the rights and wrongs of a case concerning which the parties disputing cannot agree. "The essential feature of arbitration as a means of determining the conditions of employment is that the decision is not the will of either party, or the outcome of negotiation between them, but the fiat/

fiat of an Umpire or Arbitrator"^{1.} When a matter is referred to an Arbitrator it is generally due to acute differences. An Arbitrator generally sits as a Judge and after hearing the whole case issues an award. This method has its own advantages and disadvantages for the award is not obligatory on either of the parties and generally the decision of the Arbitrator is fairly certain to be displeasing to one side if not unsatisfactory to both. Even when the settlement is accepted by both sides, there is generally a tendency for either party to feel that their case was harshly treated. But an arbitration award has the advantage of avoiding a dispute for the time being and of thus giving time for the growth of a more conciliatory spirit on both sides. Again if the point in dispute is only a question of fact, the truth of which is ascertainable, then arbitration is perfectly satisfactory as for example in an industry where the principle of a sliding scale has been mutually agreed upon and only the fact of a rise in price is in dispute. Arbitration on that point by an impartial person is the best method possible. But here it should be noted that arbitration is merely subsidiary to conciliation. It is simply a means of carrying out the terms of agreements previously arrived at through mutual concession. If, however, the point in dispute consists in a desire for a new agreement, and is not one of fact but of principle, then Arbitration is an impossible substitute for conciliation as a method of satisfactory/

1. Industrial Democracy. By Sidney Webb.
Longmans. Page 222. Edition 1920.

satisfactory adjustment. In an article of the National Association of Employers of Labour, we find the case stated with perfect lucidity:-^{1.}

"The sphere of arbitration in trade disputes is strictly and absolutely limited to cases of specific contract, where the parties differ as to the terms of contract, and are willing for the sake of agreement and an honourable fulfilment of their engagements, to submit the points in dispute to competent men mutually chosen. Where there is a basis and instrument of agreement by the parties to which they wish to adhere, and on which the Arbiters have something tangible to decide upon, it is seldom difficult for impartial men to elicit an adjustment fair and equitable to both sides. Arbitration is thus constantly of use in business matters on which differences of view have arisen, and is as applicable to questions between workmen and employers where there is a specific contract to be interpreted as in any other branch of affairs. It is better than going to law, much better than running away from contract, striking, coercing and falling into civil damages or criminal penalties. But cases in which there are specific contracts absolutely define the sphere of arbitration. To apply the term "Arbitration" to the rate of wages for the future, in regard to which there is no explicit contract or engagement, and all the conditions of which are unknown to employers and employed, is the grossest misnomer that can be conceived. It is certain that neither workmen nor employers could be bound, nor would consent to be bound, even were it possible to bind/

1. Taken from Sidney Webb. Industrial Democracy.

bind them, by such arbitrary decrees; and that the law, therefore, can never give such decree even any temporary force - - -".

The reason for the unsatisfactory nature of arbitration is very simple for "each of the parties rests its case on a distinct economic assumption or even series of assumptions, not accepted by the other side, and not expressly stated" and a decision by an outsider is fairly certain to be displeasing to one side or the other and even when accepted by both sides, it is not likely to be of long duration. Further the general weakness of arbitration, it is argued, in all such cases is that it really has no definite principles to apply and it only splits the difference as far as possible between the contending parties.

In spite of all this "Arbitration" has great value in pushing the negotiations forward and it also helps in eliminating disputes which arise on account of interpretation of clauses in an agreement. There are good many disputes occur on account of differences of interpretation of clauses. Such differences could with advantage be referred to an impartial arbitrator and his decision would be of great value and help. Moreover an arbitrator can help the parties to come together and so give them an opportunity to come to some understanding.

"Conciliation" is far superior in settling industrial disputes, for the strength of agreement arrived at by conciliation/

conciliation lies in the fact that it is arrived at voluntarily on both sides and therefore there is a disposition actively existing on both sides for the fulfilment of the agreement in spirit as well as in letter.

Having thus briefly described the methods of Conciliation and Arbitration, let us now look at the specific advances they have made in Britain. Historically speaking, the first great step in the direction of arbitration and conciliation dates back to the Brooklands Agreement of 1893, when during a long stoppage on a question of wages, a meeting was arranged to effect a settlement. The settlement effected, the parties began to discuss wider issues of permanent relations to avoid further stoppage; and the agreement, which is in a sense epoch-making, was based on the central idea of imposing checks on impulsive action in order to prevent strikes and lock-outs. It is this objective of uninterrupted production that really lies at the root of all joint action, whether in the form of arbitration or conciliation of joint industrial council.

Let us then consider Arbitration first. Industrial Arbitration had a fairly long history behind it in this country, the idea being traceable in the legislation of the first half of the eighteenth century, when the function of Justices of the Peace varied from those of fixing minimum rates of wages, to exercising jurisdiction in settling disputes between employers and workpeople. However, without going into detail, we can say, progress in the application of the principle was hampered, until trade/

Trade Union organisation had developed to such an extent that it had to be recognised as a permanent factor in our industrial arrangements. Even so, such progress was not made along the lines of legal enforcement, but rather by the establishment of voluntary joint machinery with the principle of arbitration as a last resort.

Among the important trades that first adopted this voluntary form of joint arbitration machinery was the Iron trade and probably in no industry in this country has it had a more successful record. But, emphasis must be laid on the fact that in the past, questions of a general nature have been dealt with either by open conference or ad hoc committees.

This is a point that requires consideration, where future policy is concerned, for, the fact is evident, that while joint machinery for the discussion and negotiation of a voluntary character is common, arbitration has not been readily resorted to, and any proposal to make it compulsory by legislation has always been resisted, by none more strongly than those trades where arbitration as an ultimate resort has been the basis of the voluntary machinery of negotiation.

The problem is whether arbitration as a means of settling industrial disputes is likely to develop in the future and how far it can become the agent of maintaining industrial peace?

Opinion in favor of a permanent arbitration tribunal took/

took definite shape in 1917, when the Whitley Committee recommended that a standing arbitration Court should form part of the whole scheme of negotiating machinery, of which the Whitley Councils, and Joint Industrial Councils should form part. In 1919, the Industrial Courts Act of the year in addition to establishing a permanent Industrial Court for settlement of difference between employer and employed, made provision also for determining differences by a single arbitrator or by a specially chosen court, consisting of an independent chairman and a representative of both employers and workers. Parties refer differences for settlement to the Industrial Court by agreement, and the award is accepted voluntarily. Upwards of a thousand cases have been determined since the inception in 1919, and this speaks well of and justifies its inception, especially when we note its soundness of judgment and the way in which the parties have taken its decision; for only a few of its decisions have been rejected, in spite of the fact of the varied character of the disputes that have been referred to it and settled.

But it should be noted that the disputes are referred to the Industrial Court by agreement and the awards are accepted voluntarily, and there is no element of compulsion at all. But some believe, that in order to eliminate Industrial disputes completely, compulsory arbitration should be introduced by legislation. Therefore let us briefly examine the case for compulsory arbitration for settlement/

settlement of industrial disputes. The essential nature of such arbitration is the determination of the question at issue by some outside authority, irrespective of whether the parties to the dispute concur in such determination or not. Usually also some measure of compulsion, direct or indirect is available to enforce the finding of the arbitration authorities.

In a number of countries experiments have been tried in this direction. In some countries such as Italy, machinery has been established for compulsory arbitration and lock-outs and strikes are completely prohibited and State Justice is substituted for class struggle. Such a system of compulsion takes away the right of labour to strike and also the employers liberty, for the award must be accepted however displeasing it may be. Such awards as these have grave dangers and may lead to many troubles to both workers and to industry as a whole.

The chief attack is not on optional arbitration but on compulsory arbitration. In optional arbitration the award is not compulsory, and an agreement is reached only in cases where both parties come to an understanding. In compulsory arbitration the obligatory submission of disputes is usually implied and the awards are enforced by penalties or some form of prohibition of work. Thus all compulsory arbitration schemes have given rise to considerable discussion.

Now, though on account of recent great industrial troubles, the General Public, would wish to have peace
in/

in industry and to take steps to guarantee the same, such compulsory arbitration, or such coercive schemes as exist in countries like Italy, would not be advantageous and would take away the liberty of the worker. They would not be tolerated in any progressive democratic country.

Generally employers dislike compulsory arbitration because it interferes with their liberty of action and also because they think that awards can usually be enforced upon them whereas, it is difficult to enforce them upon workers. On the other hand, Trade Unions are opposed to compulsory arbitration partly because it curtails the right to strike and partly because they believe that arbitrators are generally educated men and of high position and as such they have class bias and are "class conscious". Thus they fear that their decisions will be more favourable to Capitalists than to workers.

Again it is argued that compulsory arbitration may make the preliminary conciliation proceeding less effective. The example of New Zealand is pointed out where, after the introduction of compulsory arbitration system, efforts at conciliation were very rarely made and thus the number of cases sent to the Court were considerably increased. But it is suggested that compulsory arbitration should be adopted, if conciliation fails. There is however, a great difficulty even in this method. When conciliation is being attempted, parties are reluctant to make any concessions as they feel that this would tell on their own case when the matter is referred to the Court/

Court. Apart from this, there is an inducement to the view on both sides, that it is not essential to come to a settlement, for there is the Arbitration Court, and so they postpone concessions till the last moment. Hence conciliation will not be quite successful if compulsory arbitration is in the background. Conciliation would be more effective if parties would try to adjust differences and there would be more "give and take", if the only alternative of conciliation fails is the stoppage of work.

It is also pointed out that there is no body of industrial law by which the arbitrator may be aided in giving an award. Matters are especially difficult when a new wage rate is to be fixed. In fact an Arbitrator gives his decision after weighing the whole case, according to his ideas and he has nothing to guide him to come to an exact or equitable conclusion. This is in principle wrong and would be dangerous and tend sometimes to ruin an industry if the award is compulsorily enforced. An Arbitrator in such cases unconsciously performs two functions at the same time and is both Judge and legislator. The following words of Judge Ellison forcibly brings out this point. "It is for the employers' advocate to put mens' wages as low as he can. It is for mens' advocate to put them as high as he can - and when you have done that it is for me to deal with the question as well as I can, but on what principle I have to deal with it I have not the slightest idea. There is no principle of law involved in it. There is no principle of political economy^{1.} involved in it".

1. Judge Ellison

Distinguished British Arbitrator in 1879.

The difficulty of finding a principle on which an Arbitrator can act is the real problem - Generally the Arbitration Court can "split the difference", roughly in proportion of the economic power of the disputing party. The only other way is to make an award in accordance with some self-imposed principle.

Suppose the Court follows the method of splitting the difference, then it indirectly gives encouragement to continual agitation for the more the claims are brought before the Court the more the claimants are likely to get. As was pointed out above, if the Court decides the point on some self-imposed principles, the difficulty comes in enforcing adverse judgments on the economically stronger of the parties. This problem has proved to be the greatest obstacle for compulsory arbitration. For example in New Zealand during the time when the Courts were giving awards in favour of Labour they supported compulsory arbitration, but when labour received an adverse award it was not inclined to follow the decision. Thus it is a difficult question to enforce an award on many thousands of workers. This inability to impose penalties impartially is the crux of the whole matter.

However coercive intervention is not always the same and there are different ways in which it may be applied. Broadly, compulsion may be applied at two points.

(1) In requiring investigation before a stoppage
of/

of work is permitted.

(2) In enforcing the award of the tribunals.

The first method is found in Canada and Belgium and the Australasian systems embraces both. For example, in the latter, New South Wales by the Industrial Arbitration Act (1901), introduced compulsion only after the parties have entered into an agreement.

There are other methods; for example, there is the case when both parties are firmly agreed in principle that it is better to arbitrate than to fight and are willing to put aside minor differences, so that arbitration may be largely successful. Such a system exists in the United States of America and in the cloth making centres there, an impartial chairman is appointed whose decision is taken as final. These impartial chairmen are paid by both parties and have no interest in either party. It is believed that this system has proved very successful and that the scheme works very smoothly.

This method is different from enforcing binding awards. No doubt this method of making awards binding effectively puts an end to the strike for a time. It can prevent the violent outbreak of disputes and provides a quicker way of adopting changes, but it makes the State an active party in disputes.

For indeed the State is then made to give support to one party in the labour dispute in order to enforce the award. Such a system has its own disadvantage and further the State is unable to force such awards in certain cases. Apart/

Apart from this the State becomes antagonistic to one or the other party. Moreover this system in order to work successfully should not be applied to all cases and should be applied with the necessary prudence. If it was frequently used, it would bring grave economic danger but its usefulness as a rare exception and a last resource cannot be denied. Moreover in such cases care should be taken to appoint persons of generally recognised impartiality, authority and economic and social experience, as arbitrators.

But it should be here pointed out, that if one studies various strikes, one comes to the definite conclusion, that in the end almost all strikes are settled by arriving at some decision after the meeting together of both sides, either in the middle of the dispute or as a last resort. So the meeting of parties takes place sometime or other, and therefore it would be of great advantage if some sort of expulsion is made in order to make parties come together for discussion before a strike or lock-out has been launched. There is undoubtedly great advantage in requiring an investigation before a stoppage of work is permitted; for it gives an opportunity for parties to discuss the whole situation and also the exact courses and demands can be ascertained.

Let us now briefly sum up the case for and against compulsory arbitration and the enforcement of binding awards. Opinions have been expressed by great statesmen and leaders of industries both for and against compulsion.

"The/

"The advocate of compulsory arbitration has the consolation that occasional violation of a law is no proof that it is worthless and that compulsory arbitration while aiming at eliminating the lock-out and strike has also various other objects. All these objects may be summarised under the heading of "Substitution of reason and justice for appeals to unregulated force". But the variety of the objects should not be overlooked. These include the haphazard way of collective bargaining the eliminating of sweating, the creation of a new status for employees and the protection of the fair employer from the competitive" etc.^{1.}

Moreover it is pointed out that Industrial disputes can be speedily put and to by compulsory arbitration. It is argued that the decision of arbitration courts would at first be arbitrary, but there would always be a tendency to develop more definite rules on various subjects - such as distribution of profits, etc., and once this is developed, there would be a far surer basis for the decisions of the arbitration Courts.

It is argued that just as in the ordinary courts of law previous decisions are cited and Judge-made laws are taken into consideration, so also the decisions of Industrial Courts, though they may be to a certain extent arbitrary in the beginning, may become useful and valuable in elucidating succeeding cases. Such a development, we know, occurs and has occurred in almost all legal systems of the world. Custom, Judge-made law etc., form important parts/

1. "The Judicial regulation of Industrial Conditions" by W. Jethro Broun, President of Industrial Arbitration of South Australia.

parts of the legal system of all countries. So the supporters of a compulsory system and of arbitration courts, argue, that decisions given by the Courts, may at first be ~~poorly~~ ^{faulty} but that like other courts, Industrial Courts can also develop law. Thus a new industrial code would be developed, which would be valuable for guidance. They prove their contention by decisions given by the Arbitration Courts in Norway. Here the awards generally varied according to circumstances, for sometimes, as in 1920, when industries were prosperous, they gave increases in wages and in 1922 they reduced wages considerably when there was a depression.

It is further pointed out that the community already controls and regulates the various activities and have regulated them. They have made regulations against arbitrary increases of prices etc. Why then should they not interfere and regulate industry and stop disastrous Industrial warfare which not only affects both parties but the whole country? Therefore it is argued that compulsory arbitration and conciliation should be introduced in order to protect the community and also workers from unnecessary suffering on account of Industrial disputes.

Further, it is contended, voluntary arrangements have been tried in all countries, but nothing good has come out of them and industrial disputes have increased. Therefore it is emphatically proved that it is essential for the State to interfere in labour disputes. "No quarrel should be allowed to fester if either party were willing to/

accept a settlement by the State tribunal - - - -

Industrial quarrels cannot continue without the risk of their growing to dangerous dimensions, and the State has a right in the public interest to call upon all who are protected by the laws to conform to any provision the law may establish for settling quarrels dangerous to public peace".^{1.}

Mr Reeves one of the strong believers in compulsory arbitration says that "Industrial war has its uses.

Strikes and the fear of strikes have gained for labour a multitude of just concessions. It is not tame acquiescence in hard conditions that is wanted, but another remedy. The battles of Masters and men will go on, and perhaps should go on, until some better way of regulating the conditions of industry can be found. Is there no better way? That is the question. Private Boards and Optional status have failed to find one. The high hopes they once excited are dead and buried, and so it has come about that experimental law makers in certain colonies, forced to see that voluntary arbitration by systematic private arrangements has had little success in England and none elsewhere, have turned to the State. Driven to admit that State voluntary laws, which scoring minor successes in France, and Massachusetts, have been still-born in England, in a dozen American States, in Victoria and in New South Wales, they have fallen back on compulsion"^{2.}

It is interesting to note that opponents of compulsory
Arbitration/

1. Commission of strikes set up in New South Wales in 1890.
2. State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand by the Hon. W. Pember Reeves Vol II - George Allen.

Arbitration hold diametrically opposite views and condemn the whole system. As has been pointed above, the most important objection to compulsory Arbitration, is that an Arbitration Court with its modifications regarded as a Judicial body, must necessarily be open to some arbitrary influence and at least in the beginning the Court has no guidance. The fixing of awards and conditions of work at least in the beginning for single undertaking or a whole branch of industry, will be dangerous and may bring ruin.

The most deep-seated reason for the workers' objection to compulsory arbitration is their belief that it will deprive them of their only weapon, the strike weapon and thus it will hamper them in raising their standard of life. The employers also oppose it and say that compulsory arbitration would ruin industries. The various points put forth against compulsory arbitration have already been given and besides, it is pointed out that the general use of arbitration would weaken the sense of responsibility in each side and would be a great hindrance to all voluntary machinery already existing.

Apart from this if we examine the working of the various compulsory schemes in existence, we see that these have proved a failure, though they were successful when the Act came into force.

In Australia, in spite of coercive measures, there have been numbers of strikes for in Australia - in spite of the Act - more than 32 million working days were lost in 1919 and the majority of settlements were arrived at by direct negotiation. In New Zealand also such an Act has/

has not proved successful and since 1907 the New Zealand Government too, has been laying stress on the superiority of conciliation between the parties concerned and the disadvantage of State arbitration.

In Great Britain compulsory arbitration never found favour and was never seriously attempted except during war time. It was tried during war time and a report on this subject was issued in 1920 by the Government. The report states that the existence of compulsory arbitration did not prevent strikes and that the awards of the Court were generally accepted. However, it must be admitted that the Courts in every case gave way to the workers' demands, the loss to the employers being made good by the Government. The report further concludes:- "The introduction of compulsory arbitration and the legal prohibition of strikes and lock-outs was made possible only by the abnormal conditions of the war. Its success was only partial and on the cessation of hostilities it was at once removed".

Experience in Britain shows, that except in a very few cases, both employers and labour are against compulsory arbitration. This is the considered opinion of the Whitley Council who say that "while we are opposed to any system of compulsory arbitration, we are in favour of an extension of voluntary machinery for the adjustments of disputes".

Apart from this, many leaders of industry and labour leaders have opposed time and again compulsory arbitration for they "do not believe any system of compulsory arbitration/

arbitration imposed by law is either desirable or workable, except, possibly, in the case of certain public services of special character." As applied to industry generally, compulsory arbitration would, "I am convinced, prove unworkable. The experience of other countries shows that it is not possible to force people to work against their will and that the voluntary service of willing workers is essential to the proper conduct of industry. Nor is it possible to force employers to pay wages against their will. You can prevent them from employing labour below a certain minimum wage but you cannot prevent them from closing down their works and shutting down an industry"¹.

In Britain, compulsory arbitration of any kind seems, to be very unpopular. It is condemned by all and to point^{out} even the partial working during war time proves the fact. Therefore it is safe to say that opposition to such schemes would be greater in normal times. Moreover when a law is unpopular, it is difficult to enforce it. There must be demand and popular support of the Nation is essential for the carrying out of any new legislation.

Therefore in Britain to introduce compulsory arbitration in spite of the opposition of the leaders of industry, economists and labour leaders would be impracticable and unwise. It is possible, that changes may occur in future which would necessitate the introduction of compulsory arbitration, but as Professor Pigou says "at present/

1. Extract from the speech of Mr W. L. Hichens, Chairman, Messrs Cammell Laird & Co. Ltd.,

present, whatever may be thought of its abstract merits, compulsory arbitration in the United Kingdom is not practical politics in any department of industry".^{1.}

Therefore in Great Britain, we have to rule out compulsory arbitration as a remedy for strikes and lock-outs, as applied to industry generally, at least for the present. That does not necessarily mean that compulsory arbitration should not be applied to certain industries and public services of a special character. When there is opposition to compulsory arbitration it can be ruled out so long as the parties in a dispute can look after themselves. There are, however, trades where the relations of labour and capital do not rest on an organised basis. In the first place, unless both sides are organised, the basic condition necessary for working conciliation machinery is absent, and therefore without organisation on the workers' side the definite formulation of demands is rendered difficult and there is no guarantee whatever that the terms of an agreement or an award once decided upon will be observed. Therefore if there is no strong organisation either on the employer's or employee's side, a trade is likely to be plunged into continual disputes. The problem here is not the smooth adjustment of points in dispute, but the low and sweated conditions of life and wages. In such trades, where workers are not able to organise for their own protection, there frequently prevails "sweating", which if not dealt with promptly and sympathetically/

1. The Economics of Welfare - A. C. Pigou - 1924
Edition - MacMillian.

sympathetically, is likely to prove the cause of severe labour troubles and which will cause industrial unrest and bad feeling, in much the same way as the general sweating which went on in the early days of the Industrial revolution may be held responsible to a certain extent^{for}_n some of the bad feeling that exists in industries to-day.

Although such facts as sweating are perhaps to-day less prominently before the notice of the public the danger of the disorganisation of labour and capital is really greater and more insidious than the evils of Industrial strife. Sweated trades constitute a menace to the physical and moral welfare of the State, and a heavy burden on its economic strength. They are justly called "Parasitic trades", because they do not maintain their own workers, who have to eke out a scanty subsistence by charity or poor relief, and therefore part of the so-called income they receive is deducted from the wages of other workers. Such unorganised workers should be given every help and their exploitation should be put an end to. "Sweating" indeed is an evil which cannot be tolerated in the modern world. Therefore, from these considerations, it follows that some special form of machinery should be set up to deal with such special conditions. It is obvious that in the interest of such workers and of the general public the State should introduce some organisation and should not hesitate to force compulsory awards with penalties. The State can best help these workers/

workers by insisting on a minimum rate of wages less than which it is illegal to offer and also by devising means to get employees to organise. In order to stamp out "sweating" all kinds of measures should be tried and if required compulsory measures should be available. This was the original form and reason of compulsory arbitration in Victoria, Australia and it was also the chief cause of the Trades Board Act of 1909 - Both the Victorian Boards and the British Trade Boards embody the same essential features and have done good work to poor workers, who cannot fight their own cause - Moreover, the study of Victorian Boards shows that they have raised the average wage generally and their general benefit is that they have introduced organisation and have led to the formation of Unions among the workers which enable them to bargain for themselves.

So compulsory arbitration has a sphere in sweated trades and the necessity for State intervention in sweated industries on account of the wages and conditions in those industries being a danger to the moral and physical well-being of the workers, and hence also to the State itself will be generally admitted. Therefore the intervention of the State in order to fix wages and working conditions for such industries, even by coercive measures, is on a quite different footing from fixing wages in the organised trades. In sweated trades State intervention is for the protection of the weak; in organised trades it is usually for the control of the strong. Hence there is a wide difference. Whatever may be the opinion/

opinion regarding the application of compulsory arbitration to industries in general, there cannot be two opinions with regard to sweated trades. It is in the interest of the State and the community that the State should take the question of wages of sweated workers, whether the workers demand it or not, and place them on a more adequate basis, even if it leads to the discouragement of the trade or to its complete extinction. One function of modern democracy being moral and the protection of the weak, compulsory powers should be given to such Boards and their awards should be made binding, in spite of opposition.^{1.}

Secondly disputes among public utility workers are likewise being considered in various countries as being of a special type inasmuch as the public is particularly affected and consequently has a right to intervene so that it may by every possible means minimise the stoppage of work. The main argument is that workers in these industries are in a particularly strong position because of the essentially important service which they perform, and as such it is not injustice if to a certain extent their "right to strike" is curtailed.

Therefore the Rumanian and South African disputes in industries of this type are made subject to compulsory arbitration. In Canada disputes in Mines and other public utility works may be compulsory referred to public inquiry and until such inquiry is terminated and a decision/

1. Here it is interesting to note that even the strongest opponents of compulsory arbitration in Great Britain seldom denounce Trade Boards.

decision given, no stoppage of work can take place. The workers in those industries will argue, that they are in no way in a better position than workers in other industries and therefore their "right to strike" should not be curtailed. Experiments in compulsory arbitration can be profitably tried in these industries for in all such disputes the public is directly concerned and accordingly the pressure of public opinion is likely to be so much the more effective. The dispute affects the whole community and as such there should not be any unnecessary stoppage and therefore all possible methods should be adopted to ensure a smooth working. There is indeed every justification in adopting compulsory measures in these industries by reason of their great economic importance and also, because they greatly affect public welfare.

In all industrial disputes there is a third party whose interest requires to be considered along with the disputing parties. The third party namely the public as a whole should have a voice in all discussions. Therefore the necessity of both parties submitting their differences to a board before a strike or lock-out is launched has been emphasised. It should be clearly remembered however that there should be no compulsion at the beginning. Every effort should be made to settle the dispute voluntarily, failing which, power should be given to compel inquiry. In doing so, time for negotiation can be prolonged and exhaustive inquiries can be made. If a strike is launched suddenly, the public is left in the dark/

dark and are unable to judge which side is in the right. Even the parties themselves are sometimes uncertain about the exact reason why the strike began. Sometimes various new grievances are added in the course of the dispute, thus making matters more complicated. Therefore, experience seems to strengthen the view, that power to compel inquiry would be of great advantage. It in no way infringes on the right of the worker to strike or of the employer to lock-out. Neither the awards nor decisions reached by the Board of inquiry should be made binding; for it is not in any way compulsory arbitration, that is being applied. The scheme is therefore not objectionable. Labour leaders as well as employers have again and again denounced strikes and lock-outs and have said that they bring neither side any great advantage. Therefore this method could be profitably tried in Great Britain. Only those disputes however which escape settlement through the machinery maintained in particular industries, should be brought before such courts of inquiry. This would only involve a further extension of the powers of Industrial Courts. Under part I of the Industrial Courts Act 1919, " a trade dispute may be reported to the Minister of Labour, whereupon the Minister has to take the matter into consideration, and to take such steps as seem to him expedient for promoting a settlement thereof". This action is taken only by the consent of both parties. Instead of this either the tribunal itself should have the power to initiate an inquiry/

inquiry or such action should be in the hands of the Minister of Labour as it is now, only with this difference that when parties fail to reach an agreement, then machinery should be set in motion with or without the consent of the parties of the dispute for the purpose of a full investigation of facts, and the various conditions bearing on the matters in dispute. The Court should have an adequate technical staff to help them to come to a right conclusion.

The objection that this involves "political interference" in industry can be ruled out, for it in no way takes away any right of either party or prevents either from coming to a settlement through voluntary arrangements. This method on the contrary has great advantages. It will eliminate the unnecessary disputes which occur on account of misunderstanding and give time for further negotiation. Besides the demands of the workers can be exactly defined and lastly with the aid of the report of the Court of inquiry, the public will have a definite idea of the causes and the facts and conditions bearing on the matters of the dispute before them to form a correct opinion on the whole matter. The conclusions of the report will indeed be a sound guide for future negotiations.

Finally compulsory arbitration can be profitably tried in cases of difference upon the interpretation of a collective agreement. This is quite different fundamentally from questions such as the conclusion of new wage contracts or new working conditions. Many such disputes/

disputes have occurred and when the parties differ as to the terms of the contract or the interpretation of agreements already reached, such cases can to a certain extent be forced to submit to an Arbitration Board or an Arbitrator before a dispute is begun. Thus compulsory arbitration has only a limited scope and it would perhaps be a mistake at the present time to apply compulsion to the settlement of future wages when there is no explicit contract or engagement. All the same, it would be of great value to try the experiment as outlined above without in any way infringing the popular opinion that to-day exists in Great Britain.

If compulsory arbitration is ruled out, then what is the method? The answer is that simple conciliation should be developed and every possible means should be found to settle the dispute by voluntary arrangements between employer and employed. A considerable number of disputes have been settled in different industries by voluntary conciliation machinery. It is therefore best to encourage such methods. In many industries, the parties are willing to co-operate and no industrial dislocation can take place until the whole machinery both local and National, is exhausted. We have seen in the last chapter how in Engineering, Shipbuilding and in other industries such voluntary machinery exists and how successfully it works. Experience, therefore, seems to support the old British method of voluntary conciliation and Arbitration. Therefore the prospects of peace can be substantially improved by employing permanent boards, with/

with frequent joint-meetings, to discuss all the problems connected with an industry.

Co-operation in the industry is the only possible way to secure Industrial peace. It is essential that all matters concerning industries should be discussed between employers and employees in the full light of facts. There should thus be some permanent machinery which should be used not only in times of trouble, but periodically to discuss all questions concerning industry and the welfare of workers. How then can co-operation between Employers and employed be best worked within an industry and how can differences be best settled by peaceful methods? The best method would be to strengthen, extend and improve the organisation for joint-consultation. This fact can be effectively realised by the compulsory application of the Whitley Scheme, for this scheme recommends the establishment of joint-councils, District and Shop Joint Committees and has therefore great advantages. Every effort should be then made to encourage it. The whole fabric of modern industry threatens to break down because the workers no longer accept the old idea that they are only to produce things and not to ask questions about the conditions affecting them. They are no longer willing to be "mere sellers of physical efforts". In general, the workers feel that they are merely exploited that their freedom is continually reduced, that their initiative and interest are curbed, thus/

thus accentuating their "Cog-in-the-machine" status.

Therefore the great need of the moment, is a new outlook and a new constitution for industry in which the worker may have rights similar to the employer and can give vent to self-expression. The best hopes lie in bringing workers and employers together so that they can deal jointly with the problems facing the industry. First of all, this idea of bringing together the workers and the employers should be started within the works in order to carry out the every-day work of industry. Hence the need for establishment of workshop committees or works councils. These works councils are not intended to decide principles or determine wages for that is the concern of other bodies, but the workshop committees and works councils can function on subjects less controversial and subjects that should be dealt with at the earliest possible moment. The matters which immediately concern the worker should be dealt with promptly, for though the grievance may be small, it may spread discontent and in the end result in a National dispute.

These workshop committees will bring into close contact the employer and employed, will benefit both and have a great educational value. Since the war various experiments have been tried notably in Germany, the United States and in this country. In Germany, the works council consist only of representatives of employees, has various functions to perform, exercises a great mediating influence within the works and so has

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a great practical importance. In Germany also in the event of disputes between the Works Council and the employer, an appeal can be made to the Labour Court. Mr. W. W. Guillebaud in his book, declares that the Works Council in Germany is fairly successful and of great value for smoothing the working of some industries and that it has been realised all over Germany that it is indispensable.

Industrialists also after visiting America state that "Co-operation between employers and employed especially through shop committees had brought immense benefit to American Industries. This can be seen especially in the Railway shops. In many industries in America "Co-operative Committees" have been established whose sole function is to improve production. Such improvements and increased production of course indirectly benefit the worker for ultimately by agreement the wages will also be improved.

In Great Britain also, this has been recognised, and since the Whitley Committee's Report, various schemes of workshop Committees are being tried also in Great Britain, but whole-hearted support has not been forthcoming. In order to eliminate suspicion and petty grievances, such schemes should be given a fair chance. The workshop Committees should be utilised for joint-Consultation and discussion and their work should not be limited only to welfare and recreation work.

Then/

Then the first thing to do to minimise industrial strife is to establish workshop committees and similar schemes, so that the differences that arise can at once be adjusted instead of being allowed to develop. Both employers and employed can profit by this method and understand each others' difficulties. It also gives scope to the workers for self-expression. These works committees consisting of representatives of the workers and management should, then, as far as permissible, be given power to deal with matters such as, the re-arrangement of labour, shop grievances, suspensions and dismissals, shop rules, time-keeping adjustment and the use of improved methods of machinery. Honest attempts should be made to make such schemes practicable. If they were, then would harmony and good relations in industry be achieved by the mutual consent of both sides.

The Whitley Report also suggested the establishment of National and District Councils. The main idea in such recommendations was to bring employer and employed into closer contact so that they can discuss and investigate matters. Apart from this when a dispute arises, it should be discussed and settled, if possible by the appropriate work's Committee, District or National Council, according to its nature and importance. The Councils have no power of compulsion on any members and thus they are only a body which can recommend, after considering/

considering the facts. Nevertheless these Councils will produce good results and harmony between Capital and Labour. As has been said, the time has gone when industry can be conducted without the co-operation of all the parties concerned for adjustment and the discussion of aims and methods.

As has been said, the success of the Whitley Councils depends primarily upon the goodwill of the parties concerned and therefore if both parties attempt to work the scheme, it would prove of immense benefit. The interesting point is, that the Councils under the Whitley Scheme should meet regularly to decide matters not only of urgency arising out of questions of wages and hours but to discuss general topics, such as welfare, safety, education and other matters concerning industries. Those councils were meant to bring about a mutual understanding and co-operation. The Committee when they recommended their proposals had definitely in their mind that such Councils should meet regularly for the consideration not only of wages and hours but of all questions affecting industries including "measures for securing to the work-people a greater share in and responsibility for the determination and observance of the conditions under which their work is carried on, technical education and training, industrial research and full utilization of its results (and) improvement of processes, machinery and organisation, and appropriate questions relating to management and the examination of industrial experiments".

Thus/

Thus we see that Industrial Councils have very considerable scope for dealing with Industrial questions and if such powers are used in a right spirit by the employers and employed, then through them all misunderstanding that exists can be removed, every possibility of agreement can be reached and differences can be adjusted, which will do away with the necessity for either a lock-out or a strike. On all sides however, there must be created a feeling that such machinery should be used for removing injustice and for discussing problems which would benefit the industry as a whole. They should not be made a medium for accentuating differences but, on the other hand can be so used, as to substitute reason and argument for brute force in the settlement of Industrial disputes.

We thus see that there is great hope of lessening the number of industrial disputes if such a scheme is worked wholeheartedly. When the scheme was first brought out it was hailed both by employers and employees and the Government took such a keen interest that it sent out circulars in order to encourage its support.

But unfortunately the Industrial Councils have not worked as satisfactorily as could have been expected. The interest in them which was at first shown has gradually dwindled and more than 15 Councils which were originally established have ceased functioning. The main reason is that there is complete lack of enthusiasm for them. The blame is thrown on each side by the other for lack of support/

support. The employers blame the worker and the worker the employers for the failure. The employers contend that agreements reached by Industrial Councils are not honourably kept and therefore they contend that employees are not playing the game.

The workers contend that employers are at fault and have no intention whatever of making the scheme successful. The employers, they say, refuse to give financial statistics and so they find it difficult to discuss matters without proper information. The reluctance to put the cards on the table is indeed the greatest hindrance and it must be admitted that the worker is entitled to know the relevant economic facts concerning his industry and the disclosure of these relevant facts is essential to bring a feeling of confidence into negotiations. Without true facts, it is impossible to consider the wage question or any other problem connected with industry and the purpose and spirit of the Council would depart. Moreover we are told by Alderman Dean, of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, that the moment the Councils began to decide upon wages, "there started cessessions by employers". Apart from this attitude of the employers the Government slowly lost interest in the movement and have not given adequate encouragement.

Weighing all the evidence that is available, one can decide conclusively, that the Whitley Councils have not/

not worked properly and the blame to a large extent falls on the employers' shoulders, but partly on the Government and the employees. It looks as if there is much reluctance on the part of employers to come out of the old groove and admit workers as partners of industry.

As has been said, the most important thing in connection with Industrial Co-operation and Industrial peace is to get contact made between employer and employed to discuss the problems affecting the industry. This plan of Councils suggested by the Whitley Committee is a great ideal and strives to make a Parliament for each industry, and through ^{no} ~~the~~ other machinery can Conciliation and ~~a~~ adjustment achieved so effectively as through these Councils.

Faults have been committed and the scheme is not working well, but even yet efforts could be made in real earnest to make it a success. Every member who enters those Councils should do his best to strengthen the scheme and should face the problem with an open mind. Great success has been achieved by some Industrial Councils and on many occasions in the printing industry, the intervention and conciliatory efforts of the Joint Industrial Council have resulted in settling a dispute or in preventing a local dispute becoming a National one.^{1.} Much work could be done by those Councils, and through frank discussion and cordial co-operation, a new and better spirit will prevail in industry. No doubt in order to work/

1. W. Howard Hayee.

work these Industrial Councils more effectively, defects should be remedied in the light of past experience and the Councils should be reorganised.

Some suggestions can be given for the improvement of the Industrial Councils - It has been stated that agreements reached by the Industrial Councils are often violated. So it would be advantageous if the sanction of law were to be given by Parliament, to agreements arrived at by Joint Industrial Councils when so desired. This would not be compulsory arbitration at all. The force of law would be given only when both parties so desire it. Apart from this, the matter is not thrust upon the parties, because the parties meet and discuss the pros and cons of the whole matter, and then come to a decision and ask Parliament to give it the sanction of Law. It is a voluntary agreement pure and simple, and the powers asked for would not apply to all the agreements that the Industrial Councils make, but only to those agreements which both parties desire.

The question of giving legal sanction was approved of by the originators of this scheme and it has also been favourably considered by employers and strongly supported by labour leaders. This we can see from the following resolution which was passed by the Scarborough Trades Union Congress in 1925:-

"That this Congress instructs the General Council to urge upon H.M. Government the desirability of giving to National/

National agreements voluntarily entered into and approved by Joint Industrial Councils or other similar bodies, the same validity as awards under the Trade Boards Acts 1908 and 1918, with the object of ensuring the observance of fair conditions of labour by all engaged in the industry whenever requested by the parties of the agreement".

It will be useful to adopt this kind of power; for without it the decisions of the Councils would become mere pious opinions. If Joint Industrial Councils are to be of any use, there should be no obstacles to prevent their edicts from becoming binding and effective, if the parties wish. It is the opinion of many that if such powers are granted they "would remove a great deal of the apathy at present shown and would make industry more self-governing and tend to better organisation and consequently the more efficient carrying out of collective agreements". Here again the difficulty is how to enforce it if the party refuse to follow the terms? But to my mind this would be a rare incident, because, the decision is not the fiat of a Court, or an outsider as in the case of Compulsory Arbitration. The terms, in this case, is arrived at after frank deliberation of the employers and employees and not imposed from outside, and if sanction of Law is attached, it will enhance such decisions.

Secondly the Joint Industrial Council should have machinery for adjusting wages, if this is excluded from the normal function of the Councils, much of the value of/
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of such Councils would be lost. It would be advantageous for the Councils to discuss all matters affecting the industry and in order to do this, each industry should arrange for the provision of statistics. Full information on all relevant facts should be available and with the full facts, full and free discussion would become possible and many of the misunderstandings and suspicions of the past would be removed and differences could be adjusted.

Lastly, the Government and the Minister of Labour *should* take an interest in the matter. The essential thing is to bring the parties of the industry together and to accomplish this some means or other should be adopted. The Minister of Labour, if necessary, should be given power to compel in organised industries the setting-up of Joint Industrial Councils. If the Minister finds that good results will be achieved in any industry by setting up such Councils, he should take an active interest, by sending letters to persuade employers and employed to establish such Councils.

If employers and employed earnestly strive to work this Council, it would be the best means for adjusting differences and would prove more valuable than any conciliatory machinery existing at present. Therefore the best way to bring about Industrial peace is as far as possible to encourage such voluntary conciliatory schemes. But these arrangements are not quite adequate in/
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in all circumstances to prevent strikes and lock-outs and occasionally voluntary forms of machinery may fail to bring about a settlement and then something further is required to avert industrial warfare. The best solution in that case is friendly mediation. When parties disagree, become obstinate and withdraw, the chance of meeting one another is lessened. Now the whole point is that the parties should be kept together, and should be allowed to go on discussing and apart from that, the mediator throwing out suggestions now and then at the proper time would help much to bring about a settlement. Many disputes were settled by such intervention after the passing of the Conciliation Act of 1896 and even before it. Mr Askwith intervened in a number of such disputes and brought his influence to bear in bringing about a settlement.

The function of the Mediators is simple, but has a great psychological value. It is not their business to enquire into the merit of the case, but their function is mainly to see that the representatives of both sides go on negotiating until an agreement is reached or a basis is discovered on which it is possible for them to agree. In this connection the help of ~~eminent~~ eminent outsiders would be of great value and their intervention would be of great benefit.

Failing all these methods, the matter can be profitably referred to Arbitration. The Arbitration is not compulsory/

compulsory but purely voluntary. The parties instead of fighting can settle their differences by referring the matter to a single arbitrator or an ad hoc Board of Arbitration. We have seen the special usefulness of this, when the differences are due to interpretation of agreements. It has also been suggested that compulsory arbitration may be experimented with in some cases. Arbitration should be tried as a last resort, after all methods of conciliation and negotiation fail for it is much better than a strike or lock-out. It is necessary to have a permanent court of arbitration and with this in view an Industrial Court was established in this country. This Court is very useful as it affords an opportunity for voluntary arbitration. As has been said, the aid of the Court can be secured only if both parties consent. Some weighty criticisms have been directed against the Court because it has limited powers and falls short of requirements. It is the opinion of some that the Act should be amended and amplified at least in three directions, first, by making the Court function on application from either one of the parties, secondly, by applying the awards to all those engaged in the same kind of work in the same district and by giving legal sanction to the award.

Of the three suggestions at least the first suggestion should be given serious consideration. The Court will become more useful if it is allowed to function on application/

application from either one of the parties. This would be a good improvement from the present but to give legal sanction to the awards of Court requires serious consideration, for if this is done, the Court will not be approached and there would be a tendency to settle out of Court or not to approach the Court at all. The second point also deserves consideration, for it will bring the uniform observance of Labour conditions in an industry but the opposition to this will mainly come from employers and therefore, it would be a difficult thing to bring about this change.

Unquestionably an Industrial Court with certain alterations is the most complete machinery for optional arbitration. The degree of success achieved during the comparatively short period that the Court has been in existence is amply sufficient to justify its existence and for that reason that it is well worth trying to make it a more efficient instrument for keeping peace in industry.

During the period 1920-1924, 1125 cases were submitted to arbitration under the Industrial Courts Act. Apart from this there were 589 settlements by other Governmental Conciliation agencies making a total of 1,714 disputes. During the five years the total number of stoppages were 4,283, so that, on the average, for every five stoppages of work two disputes were settled by Governmental agencies and of these settlements two-thirds were arrived at by means of the arbitration machinery of the Industrial Courts Act.

On the contrary only 685 cases were referred to the/

the Governmental agencies of Conciliation and Arbitration made available by the Conciliation Act of 1896 during the period 1897-1913, the number of stoppages of work recorded for that period being nearly 10,836. That is to say, for every 100 strikes and lock-outs, only six disputes were dealt with by Governmental agencies during 1897-1913. But during the period 1920-1924, for every 100 strikes and lock-outs, 40 disputes were dealt with by Governmental agencies, and out of these over 26 by the Arbitration machinery of the Industrial Court Act. Comparison of these figures clearly shows a considerable advance. The Industrial Court, in spite of the decline of the number of cases is slowly and steadily increasing its usefulness and if Unions and employers, made it a point to refer all differences to this Court, there will be fewer and fewer Industrial disputes and more peaceful settlements.

In general we can say that a survey of these schemes show that the common principle running through them all is to bring the disputants together in order that they may learn each others' point of view and try if possible to arrive at a settlement without stoppage of work.

Another idea found in all such schemes is that in industrial disputes there is always a third party, public opinion. Public opinion is entitled to have full details in order to come to a conclusion on the merits of the case. Thus public opinion is essential in settling all/
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all disputes and there cannot be a better or more impartial Arbitrator than public opinion. Lastly we learn that there is a greater tendency to discard militancy and brute force which is expensive and harmful, and a greater desire to settle disputes peacefully and by reason.

Still another general tendency is seen. All those plans clearly show that without the co-operation of the workers and the taking of them into confidence, there cannot be real peace and that industries cannot any longer be conducted autocratically, but only by joint bodies representative of the management and of labour. In short, almost all schemes, recognise Industrial self-government and with this ideal in mind future developments should be planned. Therefore let us briefly sum up this chapter by considering what is the best scheme for attaining the above mentioned ideal. The workers and employers in each industry should endeavour to extend and improve various schemes and respective organisations in order that the Industry may be carried out jointly.^{1.} In order to accomplish this, both sides must recognise each other's association. It is with this view, we lay emphasis for employers to recognise Trade Unions and negotiate with them in all matters. No longer can employers ignore organised labour and it is futile for them to make any such attempt.

Therefore, the first and foremost condition for industrial peace is that employers should recognise Trade/

1. The value of this has been shown in recent railway crises (26th July 1928) when the railway Trade Unions and employers after joint deliberation agreed to a reduction of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ of wages.

Trade Unions.

Secondly, in the interests of the industry and of the community every effort should be made to settle all differences within the industry and so all joint-industrial councils and voluntary forms of machinery for conciliation should be whole-heartedly worked. The employers should give the relevant facts concerning the industry to workmen's representatives and when discussing matters should lay on the table all facts pertaining to the negotiation.

Lastly, when negotiations fail, the organisation should make it a point to refer the matter to Arbitration - preferably to the Industrial Court. We have seen that compulsory arbitration has suffered in popular estimation and the opinion in this country is against such a system. We have also seen how it failed in different countries but the various arguments put forth against it do not altogether prove it a failure. The only thing that can be said, is that the time is not ripe to introduce compulsory measures and public opinion is not in favour of it and so such machinery cannot be profitably utilised for the settlement of disputes. Therefore we have to rule it out.

That does not mean that the State should not interfere at all in Industrial disputes. The State can do much, by sending down well-trained conciliators or by appointing able and impartial outsiders in times of rupture between the parties, to keep the parties discussing/

discussing. In order to achieve this, the Minister of Labour should have well-trained and able officials, who also have the confidence of the public as well as the parties in the industry. By sending down such able officers at the right moment, either at the request of the parties or at the discretion of the Minister would be of very great value. Experiment could profitably ^{be} tried by compelling the parties to refer the dispute to a Court of Inquiry before a stoppage takes place. This would be of great value especially when the differences arise on an interpretation of an agreement.

As has been pointed out, this in no way takes away any liberties of the parties, for its findings are not binding. This method allows parties to continue negotiation and gives time for exhaustive discussion. Some such method has been for some time working in Sweden very successfully. The Report of inquiry not only gives the public, the causes and demands, but also limits the demands made and gives a good basis on which to carry on further negotiation.

In concluding this part of our discussion, some new ideas that are being put forth, such as permanent National Industrial Councils should be mentioned, briefly, Before this, however, we must state the views of two competent authorities on the subject, Lord Melchett and Mr Arthur Pugh. In essence they are in agreement.

Lord Melchett urges the establishment of a League
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of Industrial Peace. "here is an opportunity" he says, "to lay the just foundation stone of a great edifice of industrial peace by applying the principle of arbitration to industrial differences and disputes". As has been said above, some may desire voluntary, others compulsory arbitration but the majority would gladly submit to the proposal outlined above, (namely for compulsory investigation into the causes and motives of industrial differences) and hence he suggests that in order to have sufficient means of bringing this about, there must be machinery which, if it cannot settle disputes, can at any rate be useful for giving an impartial settlement of their merits and demerits to the public. In other words, as has been argued, the principle as far as possible must be to check all stoppages, until full investigation is made, and public opinion thoroughly informed.

Mr Arthur Pugh, General Secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Union has the same wide vision and he makes a plea for the more scientific handling of the whole scheme of industrial arbitration and points to what he calls an Economic Council as the ideal method of settling disputes. This Council would represent organisations of the employers and workers, it would include representatives of economic science and finance, and would be equipped with a fully qualified staff for the investigation/

investigation of industrial affairs. That is exactly what Melchett-Turner conference discussions showed. This Conference was entered upon by a selected group of employers and the Trade Union representatives to explore the possibilities of co-operation. One great result of this conference is that the direct relations have been established between the National organisations of the employers and the trade Unions, and it seems possible that they would be maintained. Since the disaster of 1926 there has been a marked tendency on the part of Trade Unions, as well as employers to a certain extent, to explore the avenues of Industrial peace. Recent events show that there is a tendency to replace co-operation in principle in place of brute force and unnecessary stoppage of work and thus unnecessarily bringing industrial machinery to a standstill.

The absence of serious industrial trouble since then and the recent decision against a strike in the Cotton and Wool Textile industry are evidence that the Trade Unions recognise that the employers and themselves have common interest in industry ~~of~~ which may be secured by peaceful means. Slowly it is being recognised that joint deliberations and discussions offer better prospects than a policy of unremitting opposition.

If ~~since~~^{peace} in Industry is to be secured, this is the best time and this opportunity should be pushed ahead and steps/

steps should be taken to arrive at a sound decision on methods of industrial co-operation. It is indeed very regrettable the employers rejected the interim report of the Melchett-Turner conference. The employers' organisations took special exception to the proposal that a National Industrial Council should be formed. Its function was one of general consultation and investigation, and it was to establish a committee for the appointment of joint conciliation Boards. It would, therefore, have been a development of the Industrial Council, which was established in 1911 to inquire into matters likely to lead to Trade disputes. This body fell into abeyance in the special conditions ^{created} ~~enacted~~ by the war. The National Industrial Conference 1919 ^{ed} ~~proposal~~, though no action was taken on the proposal, that a permanent National Industrial Council should be established to advise the Government on National Industrial questions. Some such scheme was suggested in the Melchett-Turner scheme, which has no political character whatsoever, and even this the employers' association were not willing to accept. Several important industrial countries, such as France, Germany, Italy ~~and~~ Belgium have made experiments with National Industrial Councils of various kinds, and these experiments and developments to my mind are worth watching and should be given a fair trial. It is on the establishment of such National Industrial Council much good could be done to bring about Industrial Peace. ~~These~~ Councils ~~would~~ be of great/

great help to the Government, at least in giving advice, and it should consist not only of employers and representatives of Trade Unions but experts and economists. We know, that, in an industrial age like ours it would be impossible for the State to leave industry along. State and industry have come to be so intimately related and if Parliament has had to legislate on industrial matters, it is usually because industry itself, as at present organised, has proved incompetent to deal with them.

State is constantly called on to interfere and in order ^{that} the State may have proper guidance, such ^a body as National Industrial Council, would be of great help. Hence, emphasis is laid and I believe that a body such as this should be set up, in spite of all adverse criticisms. The Committee which considered the project in detail in the Spring of 1919 strongly recommended the establishing of some form of permanent representation ^{or}, National Industrial Council. Such a Council "should not supersede any of the existing agencies for dealing with industrial questions. Its object would be to supplement and co-ordinate the existing sectional machinery by bringing together ~~the~~ knowledge and experience of all sections and focussing them upon the problems that affect industrial relations as a whole". It "must be elected, not nominated, otherwise its authority will not be adequate to the proper discharge of its functions. The method of election must be determined by each side for itself, subject/

subject to two conditions: first, that the members must be representative of organisations not of individual employer or workpeople; and second, that the organisations concerned adopt such a method^h of election or appointment that their nominees can be regarded as fully representative. Further, "in order that the Council may have the necessary independent status and authority if it is to promote industrial peace, the Government should recognise it as the official consultation^{ve} authority to the Government upon industrial relations and should make it the normal channel through which the opinion and experience of industry will be sought on all questions with which industry as a whole is concerned"¹. This body would become more authoritative, by including in its deliberations, experts, economists and other authorities on Industrial matter. My submission is that such a body is absolutely necessary and that by establishing such a body, many problems which concern more than a single industry could be discussed and thus work out principles for their solution.

It is regrettable that both employers and even Balfour Committee have not given support for such a scheme. The Balfour Committee reject the idea that a National Industrial Council should evolve into an Industrial Parliament. Disregarding the possibility of such a transformation, they declare that they would welcome/

1. Report on Industrial Conference, Cmd. 139-1919.P.12.

welcome the ~~motion~~^{creation} of a suitable organism to facilitate National discussions" provided it was formed spontaneously in response to a general desire, and its functions defined by complete and mutual agreement between the accredited representatives of employers and employed". They point out, however, that the trade organisations would probably be unwilling to delegate powers of decision or even of giving advice to a National Industrial Council and some questions might be too technical for the actual members of any Industrial Council to settle. Reviewing the contemplated field of usefulness and all the circumstances, the Balfour Committee state that they are doubtful if there is sufficient ground for the immediate creation of a National Industrial Council with a definite organisation and staff and regular meeting. The employers also maintain the same view and so they cannot agree for the creation of a National Industrial Council.

Without going into detail, we can say that each of the above objections can be easily met, and taking all things into consideration, my submission is, that the time is ripe now for the establishment of such Council which would be of great help for employer; employee and State.

The idea is worth considering in relation to the problem of industrial peace, because then we would have an authoritative body, whose awards would be based on a knowledge of facts beyond the grasp of a smaller body.
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In Mr Pugh's opinion, such a council would represent a final Court of Reference when disputes arise in particular trades and industries, which require thorough knowledge of facts, and he suggests that the Court of Enquiry (which under the Industrial Courts Act, the Ministry of Labour may set up), would realise their purposes more adequately by calling into being some permanent National organisation of the character indicated.

It is along such lines, we are bound to agree, that the problem of industrial peace is to be met in so far as arbitration can solve it.

Nevertheless, voluntary conciliation, it has been seen is far superior and so is the best method of settling Industrial disputes. Thus we may say that whatever our vision of conciliation, arbitration and industrial harmony may be, the solution of the situation lies in organising industry, (as it is represented in the meetings of Trade Unions and Employers' Federations) in Conciliation schemes and in the working out of specific problems, and in solving the problems of difficulties to the fullest extent that conciliative methods can permit.

Failing this, every attempt should be made to use Industrial Courts for the Arbitration of disputes. It is only by adjusting disputes by some such methods as outlined above, that Industrial strife will be minimised and to do this all parties, should note that there is a common interest in the industry they work at and also set aside ill-will and suspicion and substitute the spirit of good-will/

good-will and co-operation. It is only by following some such methods, that the prosperity not only of the industries, but of employers, employees' and the whole Nation could be secured.

Moreover, Industrial war brings in its train many disputes and hence it is advantageous to all parties to settle disputes either by voluntary conciliation or by arbitration. Good-will, is the ultimate aim of all methods of conciliation and arbitration and good-will to be enduring can have no better foundation than that of the ideal "square deal" to all concerned in the working of the industry.

C O N C L U S I O N .

We are now in a position, having examined the problem of Industrial Peace from various angles, to recapitulate our conclusions, on the many lines along which the solution lies.

We have seen in the last chapter, the various causes that lead to Industrial disputes, and what a source of grave loss they are not only to the parties concerned but to the Nation as a whole. It was pointed out that one of the causes of unrest is the misunderstanding of the basic positions of the three great factors, vital to all industry, Capital, Management and Labour. The former two are already recognised as partners, but Labour is only in the process of becoming so. It is true we are on the way to developing a new psychology, which recognises that these three elements are not antagonistic, but this ideal has not gone far enough. So in the first place, we have emphasised the "change of heart" which is the essential pre-requisite of really effective co-operation, whether in the form of co-partnership or in profit-sharing. Without this change of heart, it is impossible to solve satisfactorily problems of conflict, in which the passions and interests of men are engaged by simply endowing the Government or any other body, with new powers of control and intervention. Emphasis has been laid on the various forms through which co-operation might be secured in industry, on schemes of co-partnership and profit-sharing, which when applied in an atmosphere of good-fellowship and good feeling, are invaluable means of improving the material/

material position of the worker. In the second place, we have also seen that most Trade disputes relate to the terms (i.e. hours, wages and conditions of employment) under which the workers will undertake employment, and how hitherto such matters are determined by the relative strength of the parties. It has been pointed out how such conflicts which result in strikes and lockouts bring in their train, waste, disorder, misery ~~or~~ malice and hence we have emphasised the importance of perfecting arbitration and conciliation machinery, to enable industrial disputes, even of the most serious magnitude to be avoided entirely or postponed while reason may prevail. With this in view it has been said that Joint Industrial Councils should be more and more used for coming to a settlement and for adjusting various differences, and if possible, such councils should be established where they do not exist. Moreover, these Councils should be used not merely to discuss differences as they arise, but to deal with matters of common interest, with the knowledge that in suitable cases these decisions can be given the force of law. Finally, we have pointed to the establishment of a more authoritative regulatory organ, in the form of a League of Industrial peace or Economic Council, which would represent the most enlightened public opinion and through which the principle of arbitration might be applied in a thorough-going fashion, to industrial differences and disputes, with the/

the accompaniment of a legal or at any rate a moral sanction to enforce acceptance of award. The third requisite of Industrial peace is the necessity of publishing facts concerning industry. For this lack of publicity is responsible for the existence and creation of suspicion, especially from the side of labour. Both sides require a trustworthy body of statistical information, on which to base their decisions, including not only facts referring to the financial condition of separate firms, but also those with regard to output, prices obtained in this country and foreign markets, cost of raw materials, amount of Capital involved, average rate of interest paid on it, and the total cost of wage in the industry. Such knowledge would greatly facilitate the amicable settlement of wage rates. If the firms object to publicity of all those facts, at least they can entrust such information to some central authority, like Economic Councils, who can use it in giving their awards.

The next requisite of Industrial peace lies in the thorough rationalisation of industry. What do we mean by this? It stands for the complete overhauling of industry, with a view to economy, and in its many forms, it includes the adjustment or organisation of means of production to probable consumption, and the consequent regulation of prices. It includes methods of technique and organisation designed to secure the minimum waste of effort and material with the maximum efficiency of Labour/

Labour.

Quoting from the final report of the World Economic Conference 1927 (page 39) we see clearly what rationalisation aims at "simplifying the distribution of goods", "At avoiding in distribution unnecessary transport, burden-some financial charges, and useless interposition of middleman", "at facilitating by a reduction in the variety of patterns (where such variety has no obvious advantage), the design, manufacture use and replacement of standardised parts".

Constant application of such principles is calculated to secure.-

"(1) To the community greater stability and a higher standard in the conditions of life.

(2) To the consumer, lower prices and goods more carefully adapted to general requirements.

(3) To the various classes of producers higher and steadier remuneration to be more equally distributed among them".

In other words, rationalisation is the ideal way of increasing output, improving conditions of labour and reducing cost of production, and these factors lie at the root of the whole industrial problem.

Further, only rationalistic methods will succeed in bringing under control, the vast productive capacity that has been brought into existence by modern science, and engineering and banking; and which if unregulated will/

will surely lead to disastrous competition, overproduction and "booms" and "slumps" of trade, which will work out in unemployment, and all the industrial unrest that such unemployment means.

Without going into any further details, such as how rationalisation of industry might ~~arise~~^{work} through the formation of combines and large associations or how it will effect the reduced cost of production, increase export trade, and reduce to a certain extent unemployment it will be sufficient here to emphasise that by this method to a great extent the solution of Industrial peace lies. It should be admitted that industrial rationalisation has its weakness. First of all, there would occur displacement of labour under Rationalisation. In Germany the Government provided State works for displaced labour until the transition period was over and the displaced workmen reabsorbed into industry. Some such scheme would solve the problem to a certain extent. This is the main ground of opposition and the opponents point out that hundreds of thousands of workers are being thrown out of work through no fault of their own by the rationalisation of industry. They argue that it is a determined worldwide effort of very powerful rival groups of wealthy industrialists who aim at getting more wealth without caring for anything else and so condemn the whole method as "irrational and self-destructive".

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No doubt, rationalisation of industry, has its strength and weakness, hence the chief aim should be to support a sound policy of rationalisation provided the poisonous element within it can be eliminated.

Industrial peace will be difficult to obtain by applying, what may be called a pathological treatment to industry; that is to say, by diagnosing and treating the weakness of industry in this or that particular direction. We must go deeper in final analysis, and discover what conditions will enable industrial organisation to function in permanent conditions of peace; and this permanent condition of industrial peace can only be realised by the rationalisation of industry, that is by the wholesale application of those methods of technique, and of organisation designed to secure the maximum efficiency with the minimum cost of production. It includes scientific organisation of labour, standardisation of products, simplification of processes and improvementment in transport and marketing. The benefits of rationalisation and scientific management can well be seen by looking at America, which is a leader in this direction. By reduced cost of production and distribution by maximum efficiency with minimum effort; avoidance of waste in raw materials and power, simplification in the distribution of goods, avoidance of unnecessary transport, burdensome financial charges, and/

~~and~~ it is possible to secure greater stability, a higher standard of life to the community; lower prices and more suitable goods to the consumer and higher and steadier remuneration to the producer.

Along some such lines then, as outlined above, lies the solution of the problem of Industrial Peace; but it should not be thought that these conditions are easy to attain, for they require thought, deliberate action, and the wider vision that has faith in the things hoped for.

The problem of industrial relations is a difficult one and as such a universal solution is not possible but this much can be said that facts, figures and history clearly prove that Industrial warfare, taking all things into consideration, brings misery and difficulties, not only to employers and employees but to the Nation as a whole and hampers its progress.

Realising all these facts, earnest attempts on all sides should be made to adjust differences and difficulties peaceably, for only in that way can the unnecessary industrial stoppages be eliminated. At the same time the way will be paved for getting back to a normal position and for the development of new and better industrial and social conditions.

The Industrial Revolution which is now in progress in India has brought along with it many other changes and difficulties. The growth of organized industries has led to the growth of the factory system and the labor question, which has recently received little attention and is the result of the industrial revolution. The growth of organized industries has led to the growth of the factory system and the labor question, which has recently received little attention and is the result of the industrial revolution.

I N D I A

It is not only in industry, but in the nation as a whole.

Recent events are very interesting indeed. There have been numerous industrial strikes throughout the country. The most serious are those in the textile industry, which is one of the important industries of India. It is pointed out that the strike in the textile industry is not only a result of the industrial revolution, but also a result of the growth of the factory system and the labor question. The present trouble in the textile industry is due to a variety of causes, including the growth of the factory system and the labor question.

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

The Industrial Revolution which is now in progress in India has brought along with it many vital social and economic changes and difficulties. The growth of organized industries has in its train brought to the forefront the labour question, which until recently received little attention was, in the recent past complicated by peculiar social and religious conditions, but the rapid growth of industries have struck at the very roots of the social structure which hitherto existed. There can be no doubt that India's material wealth is steadily increasing, and her national status is gradually rising. But while there are undoubtedly forces at work which are helping in this direction, there are also tendencies which persist in spite of change, and which have done irreparable harm. These if not checked now may develop in such a way, that there will be constant trouble not only in industry, but in the nation as a whole.

Recent events are very discouraging indeed for there have been numerous Industrial disputes accompanied by rioting, bloodshed and loss of life. Disputes are sometimes prolonged and last many months, especially in the Textile industries, bringing much misery to the workers themselves, and also retarding the progress especially of the Cotton industry, which is one of the important Industries of India. It should be again here pointed out that Strikes and Lock-outs are only symptoms of trouble, and that there is a danger of attaching too much importance to the symptoms and too little to what lies below. The present trouble in the Indian industries, can be, to a certain extent, attributed to an outburst of feeling in labour, the conditions of which can be easily compared to the state of things that existed in this country, after the

Industrial revolution.

It can be safely said that up till very recently, labour problems were not seriously considered at all, and that employers and employees were left alone to run the industries. The government of India as far as possible followed the policy of non-intervention and practically very little attention was paid to the collection of statistics in relation to Industries and labour before 1918. Various government reports were certainly published but it is only with great difficulty that one can obtain data regarding labour then, for information is scattered. The position however has been changed owing to increasing industrial unrest. Before 1918, an industrial and labour consciousness was still almost non-existent and the Industrial classes of Indian Society had no status. Though industrial disputes arose and spread they attracted no public attention. Things are now changing. At present Industrial disputes are becoming serious and in some cases, violence and force have been corollaries to strikes. The serious troubles have attracted the attention of many provincial legislatures, and some of them have set up local committees to inquire into matters, while others have established Labour commissioners to look after the interests of Labour. In spite of all this it is very difficult to obtain labour information for the whole of India, and no attempt until recently has been made by the central government of India to establish central offices for collecting Labour information.

It is now found that a policy of non-intervention is no longer possible, and so a year ago a bill was introduced for the establishment of arbitration and conciliation boards. However, since then, Trade disputes have been frequent, and the Government of India has decided, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State for India to appoint a Royal Commission and

outline the conditions obtaining generally in India and

has fortunately succeeded in obtaining the services of the Rt.Hon.H.H.Whitley, ex speaker of the House of Commons, as its chairman. This commission will begin its work in October 1929. It should also be noted that a Royal Commission, recently reported on agriculture in India and the improvement of agricultural labour. These things clearly show the present unsatisfactory state of Indian labour conditions, and how steps are being taken to better them.

As has been said many peculiar difficulties present themselves when we have to face the Indian labour question, and it should also be noted that conditions are so terrible, that they can be easily compared to the state of things that existed in this country after the Industrial revolution. Therefore the measures that have been adopted in western countries to ameliorate the conditions of the working classes, arising from rapid industrialization, should be of some use to India in helping to solve the somewhat similar problems with which it is now confronted.

As has been said Trade disputes are only symptoms. We must go far deeper in order to bring about a better understanding between labour and capital and to avoid future Industrial conflicts which are rapidly growing in dimensions. It would be of no use simply to adjust differences as disputes arise, for it is essential to go to the very roots of disturbances and so change conditions that they may bring about better feeling and understanding. If this is not done now, and if causes are not checked in time, irreparable harm will certainly be done to the Indian working population and the future of Indian industries will be thwarted. The rapid Industrial growth makes the necessity more urgent.

Therefore to understand clearly the causes of the present industrial unrest, it is essential to learn in brief outline, the conditions obtaining generally in India and

especially the conditions and environment to which workers have been accustomed and the completely different conditions in which they are now placed. Moreover to show what changes are important for the future we will in this chapter trace briefly the growth and future possibilities of Indian Industries.

Though India now ranks at the International Labour Office at Geneva as one of the greatest industrial countries of the world, yet agriculture is the principal industry and gives occupation to the vast majority of its population. The census returns of 1921 shows that 73.9% in British India are engaged or are dependents on agriculture and pastoral pursuits. In this ruralisation is to be sought the cause of Indian poverty, to which subject we will return later.

There can be no doubt that the Industrialization of India is now in progress and is gradually making great and economic and social changes. India, which is really a sub-continent is about twenty times the size of Great Britain and the total area is 1,805,332 square miles. The total population for all India according to the census of 1921 is about 318,942,480 which is about 177 persons to the square mile. The following table shows the population of India and its distribution.¹

No. of Towns	2,316
No. of Villages	685,665
Total Population	318,942,480
In Towns	32,475,276
In Villages	286,467,204
Males	163,995,554
Females	154,946,926

We see that out of a population of 318,942,480 people 286,467,204 live in villages and thus the larger population

1. Compiled from Statistical Abstract for British India 59th number cond. 2793 page 4 and 5.

of India is supported not by industry but by agriculture.

Though India is immensely rich in natural and human resources yet it is a most indigent and illiterate country. All the difficulties are due to an inability to utilize her natural and human resources and her wastage of human resources has led to a great loss of energy. The most important cause of all the difficulties is due to lack of education. Again let us examine the figures.

The number of persons who are unable to read and write is 296,431,580
persons able to read and write 22,623,651.

These figures tell their own story and show what a great task lies before India. Without hesitation one can say that the mass of ignorance existing in India is the root cause of the poverty of the people. Apart from this two-thirds of her man power is unutilized and the average active period of life of her men and women is only 30% of that in other advanced countries. The wastage of India's man power is appalling. Moreover India's man power is wasted through premature death, for the average longevity of men in India is 24.88 years and of women 24.75. A man becomes more useful to society in the later period of his life than in the earlier and since in India the average man dies a premature death, he has no chance of showing his ability and thus the loss to the country is very great.

Apart from this, the general death rate of India is appalling, the average death rate between 1915 and 1924 being between 7 to 8 million. The following table shows the appalling death rate in British India alone.

1915	7,142,412
1916	6,940,436
1917	7,803,832

1918	14,895,801
1919	8,554,178
1920	7,355,657
1921	7,385,112
1922	5,800,092
1923	6,036,931
1924	6,879,286

Thus we see the huge wastage of human beings and the most striking thing is that the death-rate reached 15 million in 1918. It has been estimated that over two million children die in India every year in infancy. This occurs mainly in Industrial towns. Infant mortality is indeed shocking and in Bombay the average infant mortality was 572 deaths per 1,000 births during the five years 1918-22 and 1921 the rate reached the high figure of 667. Dr. Sandilands, the executive Health Officer of Bombay Municipality in his Annual Report for 1921 says, "The fact has to be faced, that for a city as a whole, including as it does an unduly large population of the very poorest class, the infantile mortality cannot after every allowance has been made for various sources of fallacy, be fairly estimated at less than 500, which means that one out of every two infants born has to die before reaching the age of 12 months."

Infant mortality is very high in Bombay and other industrial centres while infant mortality for the whole of India is about 19.4% according to the 1921 census, while in England and Wales it is about 7.5%. Why this appalling death rate? It is not possible here to attempt the various causes, but let us examine a few important causes which directly concern our subject.

The first and foremost cause is the lack of education. We have seen that out of a population of 318,942,480 millions

only 22,623,651 persons are able to read and write. Therefore the first and foremost duty is to dispel the great mass of ignorance that prevails. Unless and until illiteracy is removed no adequate improvement is possible, and the present industrial troubles cannot be eliminated. The ignorant workers are apt to be easily led by others, for they do not really know what is the right step they should take to better their condition.

The chief difficulty of introducing compulsory education is due to the lack of finance. For example the amount spent annually on education by the Bengal Government amounts only to the equivalent of $5\frac{1}{2}$ d. per head of the population, and yet only 9.7% of the male and 2.1% of the female population of Bengal are literate. Thus not only in Bengal but throughout India elementary education is sadly lacking, and so if any improvements not only in the labour conditions but in the general betterment of the Indian people is to be achieved, education must be made compulsory and be adequately financed. Emphasis is laid on education because, I attribute illiteracy of the industrial workers, as one of the causes of sporadic strikes, and also for the violence and bloodshed that often follow a strike. They are not capable to reasoning and ignorantly believe that they can achieve their objects by force.

Unless and until industries are able to draw better educated workers there will be constant trouble. The majority of workers are so illiterate that they would do anything, if they are promised better wages. As we will see later, Trade Union organizations are not conducted by men of his class, but outsiders, which undoubtedly has a great disadvantage. Secondly, he is unable to realize the importance of Trade Unions, and also the value of organizing themselves and thirdly he does not realize the importance of negotiation and things that he can

achieve his aim by force. In order that all these things may be eliminated, education, to my mind will play an important part, and the violence and bloodshed which plays a prominent part now will not then be so great.

Illiteracy in rural areas, from which Industrial workers are drawn, is more prevalent than in the towns and this can be seen if one visits the villages, and even many committees, including the recently appointed committee in Madras Presidency found that the state of illiteracy is appalling in rural districts. In Madras Presidency out of 3,784,000 boys of school age, that is from 6 to 11 years of age, only 1,452,000 were attending elementary schools on the 1st April 1926, which leaves about 2,332,000 children or 62% of the children of school age, who receive no education at all and do not attend any school.

Therefore let me again point out that the first and foremost thing in order to improve the social and economic conditions of the masses of India, and in order to have literate workers in Industries who can understand things in general and particularly the difficulties of industrial questions, is the urgent need of mass education. Without this, it is impossible for people to follow elementary sanitary and hygienic principles or complicated modern industrial problems.

The second great cause of the abnormal death rate in India is due to the hopeless poverty of the masses. "The poverty of India is a grim fact," says Professor Gilbert Slater and he points out that a "reasonable estimate of money income would be, for the present day, somewhere about Rs. 100 per annum, or 4½d. per day. Taking the whole population together, rich and poor, it may be said that above two fifths of the available income must be spent merely on the grains that form the basis of the Indian dietary - rice, millets and wheat;

leaving only about 3d. per head per day for all other foods, including even such indispensable supplements as salt and pulse, for clothing, education, medical aid, housing, religious festivals and observances, all the luxurious expenditure of the relatively inconsiderable number of well-to-do families, and the conventional necessities or rare indulgences of the poor, such as tobacco and toddy. This or something like this, being the average condition, that of the poorest class can be imagined.

Madras by Doctor Gilbert Slater and the Rev.D.G.M.Leith¹ investigated poverty in Madras and in order to do that they first attempted to fix a standard by which to determine the limits of primary poverty. The main conclusion they arrived at was that 2 annas and 6 piecs is at least required to buy man's food every day i.e. Rs. 5 for a month of 30 days. Then taking an average family of four they estimated that the average earning required per month was 17 Rs. Their division was as follows:-

Man's food	Rs. 5
Wife's food	Rs. 4
Two Children @ 2 Rs. 8 annas each	Rs. 5
Rent	Rs. 1
Fuel; Clothing and Miscellaneous	<u>Rs. 1</u>
	<u><u>Rs.17</u></u>

These estimates were based on actual budgets collected from men of the working-classes. How many Madras or Indian labourers earn Rs.17 a month. Rs.17 per mensem means Rs.204 per annum, but we have seen that the average income is somewhere about Rs.100 per annum. The case of the agricultural worker is worse than these. Such figures clearly show the position of working class people in India and hence comment

1. A letter from Dr.G.Slater and the Rev.D.Leith to the Editor of "Madras Mail", January 22nd, 1927.

is needless. There are hundreds of workers who are unable to get even 17 Rs. The estimates of Dr. Gilbert Slater represent bare necessities, and to get even these is extremely difficult. In the majority of poor working class families, both husband and wife work and yet find it difficult to maintain their family and get the bare necessities. Other investigations in particular localities show a more appalling state of things. Mr. Ramachandran, Reader of Economics, in the University of Madras, made a detailed examination, family by family, of a Madras poor class settlement and showed an average income of only $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. per head per day which means that if $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. is spent on a bare sufficiency of rice only $\frac{1}{2}$ d. or $\frac{3}{4}$ d. is left for other expenses. If we examine even the agricultural labourers who form 73.3% of the population, we find their position is bad if not worse, for Dr. G. Slater says of "pallans, parayans, chermous etc."¹ on whose toil the cultivation of the ricefields in South India mainly depends, it may be said generally, that their earnings in grain and corn barely suffice for the subsistence of families large enough to maintain their numbers from one generation to another, the surplus offspring dying, that they are habitually hungry, and that it is only because they make their own huts in their spare time, collect their own fuel, need scarcely any clothing, and enjoy abundant sunshine, that they can subsist at all." Sir Winshaw Wadia puts the debt of the agriculturalists at about £330,000,000 sterling. In general, therefore we can say there is widespread poverty in India to-day, and one of the causes is the unequal distribution of wealth.

Therefore the causes of industrial unrest to a certain extent are apparent. The prices of things have risen since the war, yet the wages of Indian workers have not proportionately advanced and in the light of all available evidence and without

¹. These are castes in the Godavari Delta.

underestimating the position we can say that as a very rough average the sum of one shilling a day is the wage of an Indian worker. There is no doubt that the Indian workers are half starved, and badly clothed as well as horribly housed. Hence, if this state of things is allowed to continue, there are bound to be Industrial disputes in the future and a militant movement will be the outcome. The employing class in India seems to me ~~are~~ ^{is} slow to change their attitude to changing conditions. Accordingly the workers are slowly realizing, as they realized in this country after the industrial revolution, that they cannot get anything from employers by petitioning and hence are making desperate attempts to raise their wages. Thus there are many Industrial disputes at the present time. The wages are indeed so low that some such methods as that of establishing Trade Boards should be adopted in order to attack the low wages and stop sweating. Low wages are, to my mind, one of the chief causes of Industrial disputes in India, and hence we have advocated elsewhere the methods by which this, the chief source which leads to Industrial disputes can to a great extent be eliminated.

In spite of all this we should remember that great progress has been achieved during the past 25 years and famine is not as frequent as it was before. The famine commissions of 1880, 1898 and 1901, and irrigation commission of 1903 and the committee on co-operation in 1915 made many valuable recommendations and many good agrarian and administrative reforms were carried out, but they have reached only "a very small fraction of the total area." It is in the advancement of the rural community towards a fuller life, that the real salvation of the masses lie and with this object a number of suggestions and recommendations have been made by the Linlithgow Commission. It is essential that some of those

recommendations should be carried out at once. The first and foremost duty of all provincial governments should be the welfare and prosperity of the rural population, and in order to achieve this, every attempt should be made to raise the standard of the rural community. This rural advancement will favorably affect the industrial population, for they are chiefly drawn from the rural community. The present crude, illiterate worker who takes every opportunity to go on strike and use force to achieve his object, can be displaced by an intelligent worker who can reason and can understand arguments and the welfare of others, as well as that of himself.

It is due to the low standards of living¹ and want of sufficient nourishment that the people are unable to resist the epidemics. Thus we see in 1918, when Influenza raged, nearly 15 millions died. When it is found that men living in comforts cannot resist those deadly epidemics, how then is resistance possible for people who live "habitually hungry?" The prevalence of diseases in India is an acknowledged fact and epidemics like cholera, smallpox and influenza are always present in some part of the country or other but the most common diseases devitalising India's manhood are epidemics like malaria and tuberculosis.

Apart from the insufficient dietary of the poorer classes, there are other factors which make their life miserable. Bad housing conditions prevail so far as the working classes are concerned. The houses in villages are simple and crude consisting of mud walls with palm leaves united together to form roofs. In flood time those houses are water-logged and sometimes are completely destroyed during the monsoon season leaving hundreds homeless.

In Industrial towns too the housing is hopeless.

¹ This I submit, has a peculiar psychological effect on the temperament of the Indian worker and this want of ability to get food and the underfed condition leads them to be reckless and do desperate things at times.

Overcrowding is much more serious in the Indian cities than in the cities of the west. Of the total population of Bombay 66% live in one-room tenements as against 64% in Cawnpore, 6% in London, 5% in Edinburgh, 9% in Dundee and 13% in Glasgow. The average number of persons per room in the one room tenements is 4.03 in Bombay, 3.2 in Cawnpore, 3.25 in Glasgow and 2.5 in Edinburgh. In the worst section of Bombay, no less than 96% of the population live in one room tenements with five persons per room and in Karachi the over-crowding is worse than in Bombay. There according to the census of 1921 there were no less than 135 instances in which a single room was occupied by six families or more. Especially in Bombay the situation is very bad owing to its rapid rise in industrial importance. The population of Bombay is rapidly growing for according to the census of 1872 the population was 644,405 but it had almost doubled at the time of the census in 1921 when it was 1,175,914¹. In consequence of this Bombay is overcrowded and the parts of that city in which the factory population live are densely overcrowded, the average density in those areas being three to five hundred per acre and in some parts it rises to over 700, while the average density of Bombay town is 78.5 persons per acre.

This terrible over-crowding naturally carries in its train many evils. We noted above the high death rate and the infant mortality in Bombay. Not only do such conditions prevail in Bombay but in other industrial towns. In 1926 the Director of Public Health of Bengal in his report says 131,000 infants died in Bengal less than a month after they were born, and other 68,000 died between the age of one and six months and 51,000 between six and twelve months. In the same year 158,000 children between one year and 5 years died, thus making a total of 408,000 children between birth and five years who died in

1. Census of India 1921 Vol.VIII Bombay Presidency Report part I page 51.

a single year. The director estimated, also that from 60,000 to 70,000 mothers died either in childbirth or through conditions directly related to childbirth.

It is not only owing to bad housing that such infant mortality occurs but also to ignorance and want of sufficient maternity facilities. Apart from this married women are employed in Industries, trade and factories and they are forced to work, for the earnings of the man alone is not sufficient. The average working class woman is almost entirely ignorant of hygiene and sanitation and she is anxious to earn money in order to keep off starvation. Hence she is compelled to leave the infant under the care of others or to keep the little one asleep until she returns at mid-day and for this she resorts sometimes to drugs. Children are also deprived of food and nourishment. Poverty and hunger compels them to resort to those methods, in order to go to work and earn a bare living to keep them from starvation. Women do pretty hard labour and work underground. This practice is still going on in India, but recently, in spite of the opposition of the employers, the government issued an order prohibiting the employment of women underground after the 1st January, 1929.

There cannot be two opinions why such a state of things exists in India at present. Ignorance and poverty are at the root of the situation and poverty is by far the most important cause of improper sanitation. Added to all this there are antiquated social beliefs and crude practices which are persisted in even in the twentieth century.

Therefore in order to have material, social and moral progress some radical changes are required. The state of things described above, act very unfavourably on the minds of the workers. Though these grievances may not enter into Industrial disputes at present, they are bound to play a large

part in the future, if things are not rectified. If they are however, early rectified the great evils and many of the causes of industrial unrest will cease, and a better feeling and atmosphere will be created. This will prevent the rise of extreme leaders who ferment industrial discontent.

Most of the Industrial disputes in India to-day are due indirectly to one or more of those causes. For example in Bombay, where a large number of cotton mills are located, the workers suffer for want of housing accommodation. The overcrowded dwellings become the breeding places of disease and discontent. Some schemes for the better housing of the poor are carried on at present by the Bombay Government, but the system of one room tenements should be avoided. Apart from this the rents charged compared with the wages of the workers are very high. Here again a difficulty arises on account of the low wages that are received by the workers. Some remedies have been advocated elsewhere, and all that need be said here is that the worker is unable to pay the heavy rent charged. There are houses in Bombay which are provided by the employers and the rent charged is about 3/- a month and the monthly wages of the occupants are stated as being 18/- for men and 13/- for women. There are other classes of houses and those in which rooms differing in size are let at from 2/3d. to 6/-d. a month, the monthly wages of the occupants being 10/10d. to 19/6d. for a full working month of twenty six days. Such wages work out at an average of about 5d. to 9d. a day.

Thus we see that rents compared to wages are very high and the workman cannot afford to pay them. Hence they indirectly affect the worker, and give cause for another grievance. Better housing for Industrial workers, who generally come from rural districts, will have a great effect, and to a certain extent check his migratory character, which is, as will

be pointed out elsewhere, conduces to many difficulties.

It has been pointed out in the beginning that India is a predominantly agricultural country and the occupation of 73.9% of her population in British India depends on agriculture and pastoral pursuits. The conditions described above not only apply to industrial centres but to a certain extent the same conditions prevail in villages. There are according to the report¹ about 500,000 villages, and those villages "have not yet been touched by metal road or railways; Post Offices are many miles apart, telegraph offices are still more distant from each other." Climatic conditions restrict agricultural operations and thus they provide occupation only for a few months in the year. The lack of sufficient work for the people is a common complaint in India, and the work done by the average cultivator in the Punjab does not represent more than 150 days work in the year.² Dr. Das's investigation in the United Provinces and Bengal in 1925 also showed that the average peasant does not have work for more than 7 months in the year. The present agricultural position is considered elsewhere in detail and it need only be said here that in general "the ordinary cultivator on his tiny plot is still a man of small resources, with small needs." As the report says, "he requires all the help which science can afford, and which organization, education and training can bring within his reach."

Thus the general conditions in India and the standard of life of the people is very low. The "large majority in India are absorbed in the struggle for bare existence, living on an irreducible minimum," and living a life of distress.

It may be pointed out here, that such neglect and such a state of things were prevalent a hundred years ago in Britain and that workers gained step by step better conditions

1. Report on the Royal Commission of Agriculture 1928.

2. Census of Industry 1921. Report I 245.

through bitter struggles. The State also contributed a great deal by passing various measures. As has been said, India could learn much from the bitter experience of other countries, and eradicate some of the above mentioned evils in time and thus avoid the bitter feeling that may be generated between capital and labour. If in India the same process of obtaining small concessions is to be through struggles, strikes and lock-outs, then there is certain to be endless Trade disputes and industrial unrest. The problem is a serious one, especially, if in future, a better class of workers who are literate is recruited, who will naturally demand better conditions and will not be satisfied with the low wages that are at present received.

Secondly these problems require serious consideration since many in India believe that the cure of all the difficulties lies in rapid industrialization, for they say that there are only three possible methods to improve the position of the masses. These are emigration, extensive and intensive cultivation and industrial development.

Owing to the low standard of Indian labour and the fear of severe competition Indian labourers are not wanted in other countries and so the medium of emigration is completely closed. To improve the standard ^{and} ~~to~~ relieve the overcrowded population, emigration is impossible under present conditions and therefore only the two other courses are left for improving the conditions of the masses of India. These are extensive and intensive cultivation and industrial development.

It has been pointed out above that in India agriculture is the basic industry and in a country where large numbers of the population directly or indirectly live on agriculture, it is essential that this basic industry should be improved in order that the standard of life may be raised. But unfortunately at present there is little intensive production, for with the

production is insufficient. Low production in India

is due to various causes such as the use of bad

use of primitive implements, and inferior seed and material, no proper manure, and want of capital everything conduces to a very low yield. Hence the production of material commodities in India should be intensified and methods of production modernised.

According to the recent Agricultural Commission's report the areas under various crops are 80 million acres under rice, some 24 million acres under wheat, 33 million under greater millets, 18 million under cotton, 14 million under the principal oil seeds and 14 million under grain.

According to agricultural statistics (1923-24) the total area of British India is 667,468,000 acres classified as follows:-

	<u>Acres.</u>	<u>Per cent.</u>
Forests	85,976,000	13
Not available for Cultivation	151,841,000	23
Culturable waste other than fallow	154,602,000	23.5
Current fallow	49,600,000	7.5
Net area sown	222,490,000	33

Deducting the area covered by forests, barren uncultivable land and buildings or roads, there is a balance of 426,692,000 acres of which nearly 223,000,000 acres are cultivated, thus leaving approximately 213,699,000 not cultivated. Thus a large area available for cultivation is allowed to lie fallow and so even from the extensive point of view, the maximum return is not obtained. India is able to produce almost all she needs in the shape of food stuffs and raw material and taking the average of the five pre-war years, India exported 9% of her output of rice, 15% of her wheat, 36% of the production of oil seeds, 51% of jute and 56% of cotton.

In spite of all this, cultivation covers only 59% of the total cultivable area and the method of production is inefficient. Low production in India is due to various causes such as the use of bad

implements through want of Capital, want of scientific knowledge, want of manure and the subdivision and fragmentation of the land.

To be brief, India has a wealth of natural resources in the shape of fertile soil and plenty of water, and yet the backwardness of agriculture strikes an observer. It is essential to awaken the agriculturalist to the adoption of scientific methods and the efficient management of farms. There should be some schemes to bring under cultivation, land which can be cultivated and which at present lies fallow. The lands which belong to the government should be distributed at cheap prices so that they may be cultivated. There is a tendency to increase the area under cultivation of such crops as jute and cotton, so that they may be exported and obtain a return in money. This would not be possible if such crops as rice or wheat were cultivated instead. In order that the teeming millions of Indians should have food, Indian agriculture must be organized and intensified, primarily to meet the requirements of the country itself. It would not be possible here to go into details upon the various possible things that could be done to improve agriculture in India and to raise the standard of the cultivator who forms the major portion of the population of India. One can only refer to the Lord Linlithgow Commission which states that "the demand for a better life can, in our opinion, be stimulated only by a deliberate and concerted effort to improve the general conditions of the country side, and we have no hesitation in affirming that the responsibility for initiating the steps required to effect this improvement rests with the government," and it went on to say that in spite of the increased expenditure in recent years they feel "that its forces are inadequately appreciated by the Government of India and by local governments and that the necessity that the rural problem should be attacked as a whole, and all points simultaneously ^{is} ~~are~~ still insufficiently present in their

minds. . . . If the inertia of centuries is to be overcome, it is essential that all the resources at the disposal of the state should be brought to bear on the problem of rural uplift. What is required is an organised and sustained effort by all those departments whose activities touch the lines and the surroundings of the rural population."¹

Therefore, it is essential in order to raise the standard of life of the population of India, to promote the prosperity of the whole population and "to enhance the national income at the source," it is essential that a comprehensive policy should be followed and as the commission says it is essential that it should be undertaken immediately and the responsibility to give effect to such policy "must remain that of Government and Government alone."

Apart from the improvement of agriculture, as has been said, there is a dominant opinion in India, that the best solution, in order to raise the standard of the people is in the rapid industrialisation of India. Mr. Moreland in 1917 observes:- "It is a matter of common knowledge that the present income of the country, even if it were equitably distributed, would not suffice to provide the population with even the indispensable elements of a reasonable life. This fundamental factor of poverty is unquestionably co-related with the undue preponderance of agriculture as a means of livelihood."²

The famine commission of 1880 also pointed out "that the only remedy for the recurring disasters of famine was the rapid industrialisation of the country, providing diversified employments for the people."³

It has been repeatedly said that India will primarily remain an agricultural country, but this does not mean that there should not be any industrial development. No doubt

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1. Cmd. 3132, 1928, page 672.
 2. Quarterly Review 1917.
 3. The wealth of India by Prof. Wadia, Prof. Joshi, page 327. (MacMillian).

agriculture will continue to be the occupation of the great mass of the people but at the same time India contains extensive deposits of coal, iron ore, lead, zinc, copper as well as other valuable products out of which valuable industries can be built. It is only through building up her industries

and "providing diversified employments to the people" that she can raise the standard of her people. Already developments in this direction are proceeding rapidly, especially since the war, and these in their train have brought many difficult problems especially regarding labour. In this connection, it

is clear that India's industrial development can be continued without hindrance, if she takes lessons from other countries and tries to avoid those mistakes that have brought bitterness between Capital and Labour in other countries. By this and this alone can her industrial development be accelerated.

Let us for our present purpose briefly study the growth of Indian Industries, in order to show how they have created a large body of Industrial workers and how if industrial problems are not immediately faced, there is bound to be in the future, continuous Industrial conflict. India will through this suffer in the same way as other Industrial countries have suffered. The dominant opinion is certainly strongly in favour of the industrialization of India, and this being so, it is surely worth while that everything should be done to prevent India from committing the same faults as were committed in the past by other countries. Accordingly if definite efforts were made by governments, employers, and labour leaders India would avoid the worst forms of the Industrial disputes of the past.

As has been said, among the many forces that are now at work transforming the outlook and character of India, there is, perhaps, no important factor for the future like the

insistent demand for the development of industry. This became insistent only after the opening years of the century. To some it seems a misdirected activity for a tropical country like India, with all its rich agricultural resources, to turn from the cultivation of the soil and enter into industries. Even Mr. J. M. Keynes in reviewing a book (Economic Transition in India) says "It is an unfortunate consequence of English connection that industrialism should present itself to Indians as the royal road to prosperity and to a dignified position among nations."

But on the contrary the Royal Commission in Indian Industries (1918) and various other commissions have repeatedly advocated the development of Industries for solving the present disgraceful conditions existing in India. So whatever may be the view of the economists and others, we have accepted things as they exist. It is sufficient to say without going into detail that India was once famous for the high artistic skill of her craftsmen and it is well known to all students of Indian history that in the past the skill of Indians in producing fine muslins and the arts of cotton spinning and cotton weaving reached a very high state of proficiency and there was once a great demand for textile products in western countries. However, these industries gradually declined. Attempts are now being made to develop them again.

Thus at present both the people of India and the Government are trying to encourage the Indian industrial movement and to develop an indigenous industry. It can be safely said that the Government of India was reluctant to do anything in support of this policy up to 1916 and gave their support reluctantly even after that. The war and the Montague reforms, however, made the Government of India abandon a laissez-faire policy towards Indian industries and to take a somewhat active

interest in them.

But it should be noted that the progress towards the Industrialization of India will not be rapid but only gradual. England and other countries had and have facilities which India does not possess. So, on account of Social, Political, and Geographical conditions and the mentality of her people it is impossible for India to adapt herself quickly to the new conditions that are required for the rapid development of industry. Apart from this, the immense size of the country and the lack of means of communication and various other difficulties, make rapid development impossible. The Government has however now undertaken railway construction on a large scale and efforts are being made to exploit the mineral resources of the country.

Before the war, Indian Industries were few in number and consisted of textile factories for Cotton, Jute, Silk and Wool, Railway Workshops, Collieries, Flour and Paper Mills, Rice and Oil Mills. Iron and Steel works were started about 1912 by the Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd. Then, after the War, about 1920, the number of industries began to increase. Many huge railway workshops were started, and huge undertakings both for irrigating the land and for encouraging industries were inaugurated. The Tata Electric undertakings, and hydro-electric schemes, are now proceeding apace and the electrification of suburban trains to speed up communications; and printing presses to print stamps and promissory notes have been started. A department of Industries is also established in various provinces and Government sets the ball rolling by experimenting and when it works successfully sells it to a private concern¹. These industries are giving work to many and the problem of labour in India is taking a new turn.

1. In Madras, the Government started a pencil factory and carried on the work for some time and then sold it to V. Permahi Chetty & Co., and to-day the company is flourishing and the pencils are sold cheaper than those of foreign make.

Let us examine now, briefly, the various industries and their expansion after the war, before we discuss the conditions of labour in these industries. The most important industry in India is the cotton industry and the first mill was started as far back as 1851. Afterwards the cotton mills in the whole of the country rose steadily until there were 58 in 1878 and in March 1908 there were 224 mills with 65,741 looms and 5,764,346 spindles. The number of spindles increased steadily up to 1913 when it approached $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions and since 1918 the growth has been rapid, the number of spindles in 1927 exceeding $8\frac{1}{2}$ million - the number of looms being 154,000 in 1925. India's position as consumer and producer and her export trade in piece goods have considerably increased in recent years. For example, her exports by sea of piece goods, in thousands of linen yards, on the average in 1910-14 was 89,241 whereas in 1927 it was 197,401.

Thus we see that in the piece-goods trade there has been a substantial expansion in total exports and the yarn export trade would also have improved, if the situation in China had been normal. Another noteworthy feature is that the increase in the export trade is mainly due to the quantities sent to Mesopotamia, Persia, Ceylon, the Strait Settlements and East Africa. The markets for India are expanding and a commission is at present travelling to secure fresh markets.

In spite of all this, it should be noted that all is not well with the Cotton Industry of India. There has been continuous industrial trouble in this industry, partly owing to Japanese competition and the dumping of goods by her has brought about a serious situation. Hence the future of this industry mainly lies in reorganizing the whole industry and in efficient production. This is necessary in order to compete successfully with Japanese goods, though the Indian Cotton

Mill owners association believe that the raising of tariff walls and reducing the wages would save the industry. Hence for the past two years there have been continuous trade disputes in the industry, culminating in serious trouble in February 1929, with fierce troubles, involving the loss of more than 150 lives and necessitating the proclamation of the curfew order and the drafting of troops to Bombay City.

The second great industry in India is the Jute industry and this industry is also rapidly growing. The Jute industry is chiefly located in Bengal and in 1892 there were only 26 mills with a capital of 1.68 crores but the number rose to 44 mills with a capital of 5.41 crores in 1907. There were 90 mills at the end of 1925 with over 1 million spindles and 50 thousand looms giving employment daily on the average to 341,723 people. Practically the entire Jute crop of the world is grown in Bengal, but nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ rds. of the total Jute crop is taken by local mills and only $\frac{1}{3}$ rd. remains to be exported to Germany, Scotland, the United States and other Countries. These Jute mills are making enormous profits and have been paying very high dividends and the majority of companies since April 1921, have adopted the policy of short time working in order to limit "over-production" and keep up prices. But it should be noted here that finer qualities of Jute manufactured goods are not turned out in those mills, and they only manufacture rough sacking. Therefore Indian Jute Mills are not likely to be serious competitors with Dundee Mills. We will see other points regarding this industry in the next chapter and here it is only necessary to say that the Jute industry also has grown enormously during and since the war, but conditions and wages have not kept pace. Even in this industry there has been a considerable number of disputes and other troubles. Here, again, unfortunately, a serious clash occurred last year, in Calcutta, between workers who were on

strike and the police, necessitating the police to open fire.

As regards Woollen Mills, no very satisfactory progress has been made. To start with, there were only 5 mills in 1892 and the progress was gradual for in 1925 the number had reached a total of only 16 mills with only 2,000 looms and 90,000 spindles employing on the daily average 8,700 persons. The two large mills are situated one at Cawnpore and the other at Dhariwal. Since there is considerable demand, there is every possibility that the industry will rapidly grow and thus employ large numbers of workers. At present large quantities of woollen goods are imported, and since there is considerable demand, there is every probability that Capital and enterprise will be forthcoming and new mills will be started.

Moreover, India possesses large resources both of iron ore and coal and "is better endowed by nature than any other Asiatic country to carry on a large iron and steel industry," but the development of the Iron resources has proceeded very slowly and hence the iron and steel industry is yet in its infancy. In 1903 there was comparatively very little iron produced for the only mines reported to be producing iron were in the districts of Singhbhum (then in Bengal) and their total output was 10,925 tons and the numbers employed were only 740. In 1921 the output of iron ore was 286,190 tons, the employers numbered 3,080, but by this time additional mines had been opened in Burma and Rajaputana, though the greatest output was from the mines of Singhbhum¹.

The difficulty of this industry is, that though rich deposits of iron occur in various parts of the country, they are too far distant from coking coal to be worked economically in existing circumstances. The development of railways and other means of communication would here be of great advantage. At present the principal deposits worked are in Mysore, Behar,

1. Report of the Chief Inspector of Mines 1921, page 30, table I.

and Orissa and the Balfour Committee says, "Though India is less well supplied with good coking coal, there is a sufficiently good reserve within a reasonable distance of the ore to produce all the steel required by India for many years to come."

Apart from this there are manganese ore deposits, which form one of the principal sources of world supply, which is mainly exported to other countries. The iron and steel manufacturing industry has developed since the war, as is indicated by the following figures of output.¹

Year.	Pig Iron.	Steel Ingots & Castings.	Finished Steel.
	(Thousands of Tons).		
1914	235	60	-
1922	340	150	110
1923	614	215	161
1924	877	335	213
1925	888	449	301
1926	900	522	346
1927	1,000	530	-

This increase in production is mainly due to the Tata Iron & Steel Company which produces about $\frac{2}{3}$ rds. of the pig iron and almost all the steel made in India.

The production of pig iron is also carried on by other companies such as the Bengal Iron Company which produces daily 450 tons of Pig Iron, and the Indian Iron and Steel Co., which has a plant designed for a daily output of 600 tons. The United Steel Corporation of Asia Ltd. was registered in India, with a capital of £10,000,000 and a plant capable of producing 300,000 tons of pig iron and 200,000 tons of finished steel.

According to the Balfour report the production of pig iron is substantially in excess of the amount required for

1. Balfour Committee, page 106.

steel making or for the foundries, and enables an important export trade to be carried on. The quantity shipped, mainly to Japan and the United States, though also to the United Kingdom, rose from 82,592 tons in 1913-14 to 314,326 tons in 1924-25, 381,989 tons in 1925-26, and 309,505 tons (a slight fall) in 1926-27.

Compared to the world's production India's is very low but there are vast potentialities for the development of the iron and steel industry in India. The Geological Survey reports of India point out that India possesses vast resources which can easily supply not only the wants of India but also of all the Eastern Markets. But in order to develop the industries, transport should be improved, for foreign countries can supply to South India and other places even after including the freights from Europe, goods much cheaper than goods from Orissa, on account of the lack of proper transport facilities, and heavy internal freights.

If these developments were made the Indian iron and steel would have a great future before it and the plant of the Tata Iron and Steel Works, which have supplied war materials to Government during the Great War would be devoted to supplying the industrial needs of the country and thus would be able to compete with foreign countries. In order that a country may have industrial expansion her coal resources if any should be exploited. India, till recently depended on imported coal and the development of her own resources till recently was far from satisfactory. The first coal mine is said to have been opened in 1820 but up till 1873 the number had only increased to 25. During the next four years no less than 25 new pits were opened but the total output of coal in India in 1878 was only 1,015,210 tons, while nearly half that quantity had also to be imported. The output gradually increased and did not double itself till 1891 and there was a small export trade

only amounting to 26,000 tons. Then the production rose to 6 million tons, and the export trade rose to over 540,000 tons. In 1903 there were 295 coal mines and from that date there was rapid expansion which can be seen from the following table¹:-

Year.	Quantity (tons).	Value (Rupees).
1915	17,103,932	5,67,15,955
1916	17,254,309	5,81,78,459
1917	18,212,918	6,76,74,681
1918	20,722,498	9,02,58,224
1919	22,628,037	10,11,92,565
1920	17,091,867	9,29,78,532
1921	19,302,947	13,01,00,652
1922	19,010,986	14,63,30,142
1923	19,656,883	14,60,59,747
1924	21,176,606	14,96,60,304

In this industry too, want of proper transport facilities and the high rates of freights on Indian railways make it impossible to transport coal. Thus it is estimated that Indian coal can be undersold by a foreign country 1,500 miles away from the coalfield, because the shipping freights are much cheaper.

Here again, efficient means of production, and cheap transport facilities, would improve the position of the industry. There are coalfields in the Central Province and other places which cannot be worked because they have no railway facilities. Thus there are vast potentialities for development, and if this takes place, it will be possible to give employment to hundreds of workmen.

Apart from those mineral productions there are various other mineral resources, the production of which is steadily increasing. Almost every kind of mineral, such as salt,

¹. Compiled from page 636 and 637, 59th number of Statistical Abstract for British India (Cmd 2993) (1926). The quantity and value include both British India and Indian States.

petroleum, saltpetre, chromite, copper ore, graphite, iron ore, jade stone, manganese ore, mica, tin ore, wolfram (Tungsten ore) zinc ore, besides diamonds, rubies, silver, gold and platinum¹, are found in India and Burma, and there is the possibility of a great future to the country, if those minerals are exploited scientifically and efficiently.

New factories have been erected at Jamshedpur for tin plate works and in Madras and Bengal new labour-saving devices are being introduced in the Mica Industry. Apart from exploiting minerals, various other new industries, such as tanning and leather, cement, engineering, soap, paper-making and glass, are growing, but they are all as yet in the infant stage.

India also produces a much greater variety of oil seeds in commercial quantities than any other country in the world, and is thus the most important of the world's sources of supply of oil seeds. Those oil seeds constitute an immense source of wealth to the country, being above fifty million sterling in value per year. The exports including oil seeds, oils and oil cakes total about 18 million sterling and these figures are likely to rise in future, but it should be noted that at present, India receives but a small fraction of the huge profits made in the trade of oil seeds. The bulk of oil seeds are used for the recovery of oil or fat and are generally consumed as food or used for several small industrial purposes and since the population is increasing and since they will be used more and more in a large number of industries, the demand for oils and fats is steadily increasing, and thus there is every possibility of starting industries in connection with this raw material.

As has been said above various other industries are being started and efforts are being made to use the raw materials

1. Page 636-652 of the Statistical Abstract for British India, 59th number gives full details concerning these minerals.

in India itself to turn them into manufactured goods. The industrialization of India would have been more rapid, if machinery could be manufactured. To-day India to a great extent is obliged to import machinery, railway plant and rolling stock, but such would be comparatively cheap if she could manufacture them herself. Even in this direction great strides are being made and recently the General Motors Ltd. has intimated that they are about to start a factory in India to manufacture Motors.

There is a considerable increase in machinery also, especially in the Textile Industries and propaganda is on foot also to use machinery for agricultural purposes.

This development of industries and factories has naturally led to the growth of towns,¹ which in turn has brought about a large urban population, whose manners and customs are very different from those of the villages. The creation of Industrial Towns and the concentration of the population in one place have brought in their train many evils. Unfortunately adequate safeguards were not taken in time to cope with the new situation. Housing shortage became acute and the working class population are huddled into tenements and insanitary houses. Bombay and other towns suffer a huge infant mortality on account of these causes.

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This can be demonstrated by comparing the previous census figures with that of 1921, the latest available figures. Here it is only possible to give the figures for a few important towns.

Cities.	Population.		Percentage of Variation.	
	1921	1911-1921	1872-1921	
Calcutta and suburbs	1,327,547	+ 4.3		
Bombay	1,175,914	+ 20.1	+ 82.5	
Madras	526,911	+ 1.6	+ 32.5	
Ahmadabad	274,007	+ 17.7	+ 113.2	
Karachi	216,883	+ 42.8	+ 282.2	

But at the same time the factories which created this urban population undoubtedly have many advantages, for the villagers who come to work in the cities have to modify their caste and family life for caste barriers which can be observed in villages are not possible in industrial life and thus are slowly dying. Apart from this Indian workers do not form a part of the stable population, as the majority of them go and come from the villages and find some work or other in the factories, when they cannot find work in the villages. This is in a way an asset to the country for they learn much during their stay in towns, which are impossible to learn in villages. Men returning from towns spread new ideas and tell their kith and kin that their narrow range of ideas must be widened. This awakens new desires among their companions in the villages. Since we will discuss the sources of Labour Supply and the Labour Movement in the next chapter, it is sufficient here to say that the Industrial Revolution which is proceeding in India has brought about a general intellectual awakening and has a great effect on the general social life. Old immemorial customs are gradually giving place to new ideas.

To sum up then, we have given in the foregoing pages a brief survey of existing industries and their development since the War. Statistics have been quoted to prove that India possesses vast mineral resources. Some idea of the potentialities for future development have been given.

After a study of all the facts given above, the general impression left on the mind is that, there has been progress and that industrialization is gradually gaining strength. The question of the development of Indian industries is now taken up in right earnest and the government have also turned their serious attention to the subject. It cannot be denied that there is yet much scope for expansion and enterprise and ample openings

for capital. Whether we look at the number of mills and factories, or at the amount of capital sunk in industries, or at the number of hands employed in them from whatever point of view, we arrive at the conclusion that the industrialization of India is proceeding apace. Thus the industrial problem has become the predominant factor and in the near future India also will be faced with the difficult problem of labour.

India has the advantage of learning things from other countries and thus can avoid the various troubles and hardships other countries underwent during their industrial development. But as things stand to-day, India has not learnt or profited by the experience of other countries and is committing the same blunders as other countries have done for want of experience.

The treatment of labour and the conditions of the working class to-day seems to me to be in exactly the same position as prevailed in Britain after the Industrial Revolution. The employers seem to me, instead of doing their best for the poor working class, and facing their responsibilities are intent only on acquiring wealth.

India in order to advance both in her industry and to take a place among other nations, should avoid the dangers and difficulties that have been faced by other countries and map out schemes to avoid the class war. This, she is competent to do if she wills, for her civilization and religion can give much help; India should take the best the West can give, but her economic life should be so organized that all her ideals of life may be preserved. At the same time her material production and social organization should be so ordered as to serve the best interests of society.

FACTORY LABOUR IN INDIA.

We have seen in the last chapter how India is slowly becoming an industrial country and the gradual growth of factories in India, and how these have created a large Urban population. Hence the labour problems in India require serious consideration. If things are allowed to go on, as they exist at present, Industrial unrest will gradually spread and will culminate in many serious industrial disputes thus thwarting Industrial growth. We have said that agriculture is the predominant fact in Indian economics. In the village, land is owned either individually or collectively. Even in places where landlordism prevails, the status of the ryot or the cultivator does not materially change. He has to pay only a fixed share of his produce as rent. Moreover in villages all artisan and Industrial classes invariably enjoy economic freedom for there is rarely competition in a small village and even the menial or village servant is not much worse off than other classes, but the pursuit of agriculture does not give sufficient work or sufficient means for a livelihood. In order to supplement their earnings obtained from agriculture and to obtain capital for agricultural purposes, agriculturists go at such seasons of the year as they can leave their small farms, to Industrial towns to seek employment. Therefore Industrial workers are recruited from agriculturists and to a lesser extent from the artisan class of the villages. They do not permanently settle in the mill areas and some of them come from a distance of 1,000 miles for temporary employment and wages, to enable them to pay money lenders and landlords at home.

The emigrating characteristic of Indian Industrial workers has a great many disadvantages. In a way it leads the worker to think less seriously of strikes, for he feels that if there is no work, he can return to his village and do some work on the farm. In this country the industrial worker is mainly

dependent on the wages he earns in industry. So his whole attention is drawn to it whereas it is different in India. Some of them get detached from their home communities for a number of years and thus lose their homesteads and farmlands. Thus the modern wage-earning class have already appeared in industrial towns and this class who depend solely upon wages for their livelihood is increasing every day. In spite of all this, the majority of workers come and go and very rarely stick to the industries. Thus they are unskilled, inefficient and unenterprising.

The lack of organisation makes their position very difficult. The labour population in the chief industrial centres is fluctuating and thus introduces a factor of uncertainty and instability which is detrimental to the best interests of Indian Industry.

For example, the Bombay industries depend for their labour on outside districts such as Ratanagari and the immigrants from this district out-number the Bombay-born residents. Such workers do not settle permanently in Bombay and over one hundred thousand workers pass every summer from Ratanagari to Bombay, returning at the beginning of the rainy season to their own village, to till their fields.

Thus this condition creates a peculiar problem. For example one regularly hears it reported in the papers, whenever there is a strike, or lock-out, that thousands of workers have left the Mill area for their villages. This condition is one of the reasons why some of the strikes in India are prolonged and many months pass before a settlement can be reached. It should be remembered that this is not due in any way to Trade Unions, as the majority of them are weak, have very little finance behind them and are incapable of supporting the strikers for even a week. As has been said, the workers when they go to their villages try to get some employment or other, or do work in their

own fields. They therefore care very little what conditions they get or how the strike is settled. Thus the whole matter is left to a few Trade Union leaders and employers and thus the negotiations often become protracted.

So a large amount of industrial labour drawn from outside the city and thousands annually obtain seasonal employment as cotton operatives, dock labourers, Municipal sweepers, messengers and shopkeepers.

Bengal also draws its labour supply to a large extent from outside. According to the 1921 census Bengal draws a large percentage of skilled labour from the United Province and North and South Bihar and only 39 per cent of the skilled labour employed is local and this part belongs only to the districts where the industries are located. Seventy per cent of the unskilled labour is drawn from outside places, such as Chota, Nagpur Plateau, North and South Bihar.

Workers in the Coal Mines are also largely obtained from the cultivating tribes, living on the borders of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In order to earn some money, when they have no work on the land they come to the coal mines, which are an inducement to those agricultural people to leave their fields. They as a rule take only part time work in the mines. In a recent inquiry into output in the coal fields in the Burdwan division of Bengal, it was found that in many mines the average number of days worked in the month by a labourer was 12. This is mainly due to the fact, as has been said above, that the men returned to their homes in the vicinity of the mines to do their own agricultural work. The authors of the Indian industrial commission emphasise this fact for they say that the supply in the coal-fields "is at present insufficient and intermittent; and is liable to be seriously affected by a good harvest or by an outbreak of epidemic disease, to some forms of which the coal fields have in the past been liable. Only a small proportion of the workers

except in the case of one or two old-established concerns reside permanently at the mines. The rest are usually small cultivators or agricultural labourers, who return to their villages for the cultivation and harvesting of their crops".

About 70 to 75 per cent of the labour employed in the Jute Mills also consists of agriculturists and the Jute Mills of Calcutta draw their labour mainly from Bihar and Orissa, the United Provinces, the Northern districts of Madras and Bengal. The Mill workers are in a majority of cases recruited by and employed under a class of men known as sardars, and they live as a rule, in what are known as bustis, collections of huts in the neighbourhood of the mills, which are generally the property of the sardars. This is one of the worst means by which labour can be recruited, for the workers are practically slaves under the sardars. The sardar takes as much as he can out of his applicant and apart from the first toll these contractors of Labour receive, there is a regular monthly toll. Moreover, the ^wbustis or dwelling houses of the workers are situated amidst surroundings usually insanitary and unpleasant. The same things occur in the Central Provinces and the United Provinces, and though Madras does not draw its labour force from other provinces, yet it draws it from agricultural labour.

Thus there is a great difference between the supply of Labour in India and other industrial countries. In industrial countries such as England, industrial centres depend for their labour supply upon the population resident in the town and its suburbs. Moreover the industrial worker mainly depends on the wages he earns and has no other side work. On the contrary in India in the chief centres of industry such as Bombay, Calcutta Cawnpore, the employers entirely depend upon the fluctuating labour population, who are mainly semi-agriculturists and who come to to take work temporarily and generally for only a few months in the year, returning to their villages when they are

required for agricultural operations. This seasonal and annual variation in the supply of Labour has great disadvantages. The labour turnover is very great in almost all industries and since the workers have always at the back of their minds the purpose of returning to their own villages and resuming agricultural life, they seldom care to take any interest in their work or try to improve their position. They have no ambition to advance themselves through industrial life and do the whole work knowing it is only a temporary expedient.

Apart from this they never bring their wives and children, but leave them in the village.

Moreover these villagers have not even had primary education and when they come to industrial cities, they fall victims to many temptations. First of all out of their ignorance they pay to the contractors who engage them in block, an initial bribe for which they sometimes borrow money from moneylenders. They become a prey to those moneylenders, for in many factories wages are paid only at intervals of a month or six weeks.

Practically they do not know who are their masters and since it is the foreman who comes in immediate contact with them they implicitly obey him - even though he is a taskmaster, fearing lest they should be dismissed. In villages there is a mutual loyalty but when the villager comes to an industrial town then this relationship no longer exists and he does not know to whom he should explain his difficulties and troubles. He is left alone and is like a fish out of water.

He tries to seek as cheap a lodging as possible paying as little as he can, for he has to save as much as he can, not only in order to send a remittance to his wife and children in the village but also because he must take home sufficient for the purchase of cattle or implements for his farm. Thus from his miserably low wages he has to make many provisions. This method of living has brought about untold misery and suffering

on the working class population of India. Thus we see, in order to live cheaply, they overcrowd themselves in tenements and four to five persons live in a single room.

Their nourishment is hopelessly meagre and they spend as little as possible on their own food. They contract new habits, such as alcohol-drinking, and having spent a portion of their wages they still further cut short the money they would have spent on getting food. Thus the worker becomes degenerated and it is not possible to obtain good output from such a worker, and moreover during the time of epidemics he succumbs easily because he is weak on account of the bad nourishment he takes, and cannot resist a deadly epidemic.

Moreover the quality of the food they take is very inferior. The monthly wage payment system makes the worker purchase on credit, foodstuffs from grain merchants who after securing a hold on the worker proceed to supply him with inferior and mixed grain, adulterated "ghi" (butter) and in fact everyone takes advantage of the poverty and lack of bargaining power in the worker. Thus it sometimes so occurs, that when there is a strike or other disorder, that it is accompanied by looting. This is generally due to the fact of the oppression by the money-lenders and merchants who give credit and charge high prices. The worker is so oppressed, that, whenever there is an opportunity he tries to retaliate on these persons.

Especially single men who come to industrial towns, such as Bombay take their meals in refreshment rooms which specially cater for poor people. These places are dirty and very badly kept. In a report to the Municipal Corporation, it was stated that of 505 of these shops examined "45 were found quite unfit for the purpose of preparing articles for human consumption", and 21 were described as filthy..... in 50 instances privies were found in dangerous proximity to the room used for the manufacture of sweet meats."

¹ Report on an Enquiry into the wages and hours of labour in the Mill Industry. prepared by the labour office, Government of Bombay 1920.

Thus we see that low wages, the bad sanitary conditions of the houses in which the workers live, long hours, illiterate conditions and his migratory existence, all make it impossible to train the worker properly. Apart from these things it is often pointed out, that the attendance of the Indian worker is unsatisfactory and the Bombay Gazette states that about 15 to 20% are continually absent from work. This is partly due to his lazy habits and partly due to his habits as an agriculturist; for in the villages he works in the fields when he feels inclined, as he can do what he likes. This habit he continues when he is employed in industries. Partly also he is not very ambitious as the government report states.

The Government report says that "it is well known that in the Cotton Mill industry (as perhaps in other industries) the worker is frequently absent either through sickness or voluntarily because he has earned sufficient to keep body and soul together and lacks the will to increase his wages to the maximum that could be earned".¹

This makes the employers keep large numbers of names on the register in case of need. Moreover, owing to workers speaking different dialects or languages, it is very difficult to manage them and to make them amenable to discipline is a difficult task. Added to all these facts, the climatic condition greatly taxes the worker and men are unable to work with full vigour for any length of time. Thus when comparisons are made between the relative efficiency of Indian workers and workers in other countries, the Indian worker falls below the average efficiency of British and foreign workers. Investigations have proved that the relative efficiency of the Lancashire to the Bombay Mill hand is as $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 and relative efficiency of the Dundee Jute Mill worker to the Indian Jute Mill worker is at least as 3 to 1, and some competent authorities place those ratios very much higher.

¹ Report on an Enquiry into the Wages and hours of Labour in Cotton Mill Industry. prepared by the Labour office, Government of Bombay 1925.

As has been said such comparisons have no value, because the conditions are entirely different. The miserably low standard of living, long hours, climatic conditions and the migratory character of Indian labour, as well as the lack of technical education and training, all account for the inefficiency of the Indian worker. Given the same facilities, and a better environment than they possess today, as well as elementary education there is no reason why the efficiency of Indian workers should not increase.

This has been conclusively proved by an inquiry which was conducted a few years ago, under the auspices of the Bureau of Labour Statistics, United States Department of Labour by Dr. Rajani Das, lecturer in economics, New York University, who points out that given the same training and environmental conditions "the efficiency of the majority of the Indians is of a very high order in the different fields in which they are engaged". Indian workers who have settled in America and elsewhere on account of their receiving high wages, and better education, have proved very efficient.

There is much evidence to show clearly that given equal opportunity and training, there is no reason why Indian workers in India, should not be as efficient as their fellow workers in other countries. Therefore to my mind the comparison of the relative efficiency of workers in Bombay and Lancashire or as a matter of fact between Indian workers and workers in other foreign countries cannot be scientifically undertaken, for the conditions are entirely different under which workers in India and elsewhere work. This can be seen by comparing the low wages received by the Indian worker and the length of his working day. We have briefly seen above the insanitary condition of the houses in which they live, the inefficient nourishment they take and also the semi-agriculturist habits of the Industrial workers in India. It is often said that Indian workers are paid low wages because of their low standard of living. This is

a travesty of economic fact, for how could a worker improve the standard of living, if he is paid miserably low wages, by means of which he is even unable to get a decent meal a day.

Let us take the Jute Mills of Calcutta. Here there is no standard rate of wages and each mill-owner pays what he likes and thus the wages vary from Mill to Mill, but the following table shows the normal rates earned by large numbers of workers, and it may be taken as being pretty near the average worker's wages including 50% war bonus, general bonus and Khoraki (or food allowance granted to compensate the workers for compulsory idleness upon two days per week, due to the employers policy of restricting production.

per week of 4 days.	38 hrs. actual work.			In British money.		
	Rs.	As.	ps.	£.	s.	d
Batchers	2.	4.	0	-. 3.	4	
Preparers	2.	4.	0	-. 3.	4	
Rovers	2.	12.	-	-. 4.	-	
Spinners	4.	4.	-	-. 6.	4	
Winders	5.	-.	-	-. 7.	6	
Beamers & Dressers	4.	4.	-	-. 6.	4	
Weavers from 6 Rs. to 11.	-.	-.	-	-. 9.	-	
(very few later figures)				-. 15.	-	
Hemmers & Sewers	4.	12.	-	-. 7.	-	
Balers	5.	8.	-	-. 8.	2	
Jute Bale Carriers	6.	-.	-	-. 9.	-	
Coolies	3.	-.	-	-. 4.	6	
Gatekeepers	4.	-.	-	-. 6.	-	
Line Sardar or Trenter	8.	-.	-	-. 12.	-	
Children in Roving Department.	1.	8.	-	-. 2.	2	
Children in Spinning Department	2.	8.	-	-. 3.	2	
Twisters	3.	3.	-	-. 4.	9	
Bobbin Cleaners (old men)	1.	8.	-	-. 2.	2	

Thus we see from the above table the miserable wages that are being paid for 38 hours actual work, but there are many instances where longer hours are worked. Mr. Johnston, M.P., who personally investigated¹ the conditions prevailing in the Jute Mills at Calcutta says that "as a matter of fact the mill Machinery begins at 5.30 a.m. and goes on uninterruptedly until 7 p.m. or 13½ hours a day".

Most Mills run a complicated shift system, which renders discovery by the Factory inspector of the actual hours worked a matter of considerable difficulty. He also points out that in some mills there are four or five shifts with varying intervals of rest during the day. The Indian Factories Act of 1911 as amended by the Factory Amendment Act of 1922 prescribes that no person shall be employed in a factory for more than 60 hours in one week and the number of working hours on any day is limited to eleven. In spite of this restriction, according to the shift system employed in Jute Mills, the worker including his rest periods, is actually tied to the mills from 5.30 a.m. to 7 p.m., or 13½ hours per day. Thus the provisions of the Factory Act of 1922, which apply only to British India are violated by such methods and the long working day conduces to lower efficiency.

Besides this, the worker has to submit to deductions from his miserably low wages, for, in the beginning, he has to pay an initial bribe for permission to be employed in Mills, to the labour contractors, and then there is a fines system which is arbitrarily fixed by the Management, and by which a considerable amount of wages is deducted for bad work and for various other causes.

It would not be possible under such conditions, to compare the relative efficiency of Calcutta Jute Mill workers

¹Quoted the above figures from the report which Mr. T. Johnston M.P., and John F. Sime submitted to the Dundee Jute Trade Unions. Pages 6 and 7.

and Dundee Mill Workers,¹ for the conditions are entirely different. It is interesting to note here that though the wages are so low, the profits made by the Jute Mills are simply staggering. The following figures will give an idea of the enormous profits that are being made in these industries:-

<u>Year.</u>	<u>Looms.</u>	<u>Capital and Debenture.</u>	<u>Profits.</u>
1915	38,000	36 crores of Rupees	60 crores of Rs.
1920	40,000	42 " "	40 " "
1924	50,000	52 " "	25 " "

In 1925, according to Mr.K.C.Roy, M.L.C., of Bengal, the Reserve Funds which have come out of profits amounted to 22 crores² (£16½ million) and when the Reserve Funds and profits are added together the total gain to the share holders in the ten years (1915-1924) reached the enormous total of £300 millions sterling, or 90% per annum on the Capital. Thus the average dividends paid for all companies, over a period of 10 years is 90%.

In spite of the enormous profits made by the Jute Mills, the average wage of the worker is £12.10/- per annum. There are 300,000 to 327,000 workers employed and taking the average wage at about £12.10/- a year and the profits at £300 millions, it works out that the average annual profit is eight times the wages bill.

The employers in Jute Mills, it seems to me, are doing the same thing as employers did during the time when Britain was becoming industrialised after the Industrial Revolution. The Government is slow to interfere and thus the employers act according to their whims and fancies. The workers are unorganized

<u>Industry.</u>	<u>District.</u>	<u>Recognised hours of labour.</u>	
Jute Industry.	Dundee	1918	1925
		54	48
Overtime Rates	(ordinary 1½.		
	(Sundays 2.		
Taken from survey of Industrial Relations page 437.			

²1½ crores of rupees at the normal rate of exchange is equal to £1,000,000 sterling.

and even if organised the Millowners refuse to recognise the trade unions and prefer to recruit labour through sardars or foremen. This system of recruiting labour is the worst possible method for the sardars screw what they can out of their applicants

Not only in the Jute Mill industry, is the worker paid such low wages and undergoes enormous difficulties, but in almost all other industries. For example when we consider the position regarding wages in the Cotton Mills we find the same conditions prevailing as described above. In this industry also there are no agreed rates, the rates being fixed by individual firms and thus wages in this industry also vary from Mill to Mill and differ in different Mills of the same firm, and further, workers in the same grade of work may be employed under different conditions in the same mill.

Hence it is very difficult to give exactly the average earnings and the only authoritative Report available for the latest information is that published by the Bombay Government in 1925, in which it was stated that the approximate average daily earnings of a man in the Bombay presidency were Rs.1-5-9, of a woman annas 11 and 7 piss, of a big lad and children Annas 11.

The following table shows the daily earnings in different places:-

Centre.	AVERAGE DAILY EARNINGS. ^{1.}											
	Men.			Women.			A. Big Lads & Children.			A. All work people		
	Rs.	Ans.	Ps.	Rs.	Ans.	Ps.	Rs.	Ans.	Ps.	Rs.	Ans.	Ps.
Bombay City	1.	7.	2	-.12.	5		-.12.	3		1.	4.	2
Ahmedabad	1.	6.	2	-.12.	9		-.11.	4		1.	3.	10
Sholapur	1.	-.	-	-. 6.	4		-. 9.	1		-.12.	9	
Borada State	1.	-.	6	-.10.	10		-. 8.	-		-.15.	3	
Other Centres	1.	-.	1	-. 8.	2		-. 8.	8		-.14.	-	
Bombay Presidency	1.	5.	9	-.11.	7		-.11.	4		1.	3.	-

A. Counting two half timers as one full timer.

^{1.} Table taken from the "Report on an Enquiry into the wages and hours of labour in the Cotton Mill Industry" prepared by the Labour Office - Government of Bombay, Government of Central Press 1925 page 6.

If this is converted into English Currency the average daily earnings in the Cotton Mills of the Bombay Presidency are as follows:-

		£.	s.	d.
Men	...	-.	2.	$-\frac{1}{2}$
Women	...	-.	1.	1
Big Lads & Children		-.	1.	$-\frac{3}{4}$
All work people	...	-.	1.	$9\frac{1}{4}$

Though this is the average daily earnings, yet there are mills in which much lower wages are paid. We are told that in one fairly large Mill the daily wages were for men 9d. to $11\frac{1}{2}$ d., women $5\frac{1}{2}$ d. children $2\frac{3}{4}$ d. The average daily earnings of some of the most important cotton Mills, Bombay City are as follows:¹.

	Time.		Piece.	
	R.	Ans. Ps.	Rs.	Ans. Ps.
Jobbers	2.15.	2	4.	1. -
<u>Weavers.</u> 1 Loom	1.	9. 5		
2 "	1.11.	3		
3 "	2.	2. 3		
4 "	2.	9. 3		
<u>Spinning Dept.</u>				
Piecers	1.	4. 8	1.	8. 4
Side piecers	1.	4. 9	1.	7. 2
Spinners	1.13.	11	2.	1. -
<u>Ring Spinning Dept.</u>				
Side men & Piecers	1.	- . 4		
Gaiters	1.	- . 5		
Followers	-.	14. 4		
<u>Reelers.</u> Men.			-.	12. 4
Women	-.	11. 1	-.	12. 6
<u>Winders.</u> Men	-.	14. -	-.	13. 11
Women	-.	12. -	-.	13. 3

¹. Compiled by me from the Report, pages 12. to 22.

On the whole the wages in the Cotton Mill industry are not satisfactory and are not adequate to enable a workman to live a decent life. The average monthly earnings of a man according to the Bombay Government's Report are 36 Rupees out of which he has not only to pay high rent, buy his food and even, if possible, to remit something to his relatives in the village.

Hence in many cases women go to work along with their husbands to earn money. The life of a married woman worker with young children is a hard one for every day she has to get up before daybreak in order to prepare the food of the household before she goes to the Mill. Then again after working at the Mill the whole day, she returns home to face more household duties. She is unfortunately forced to neglect her children and hence the high infant death rate in Industrial cities especially Bombay.

Apart from this there are the fines system existing in all industries especially in the textile Mills. A number of strikes occurred and lasted a few days on account of such causes. The fines are imposed arbitrarily by Sardars or foremen, and thus sometimes a considerable amount of money from wages is deducted.

For example on account of this cause, in Mudia Mill (Bengal) in September 1925, there was a strike of 6,000 workers for four days against the heavy fines imposed upon the weavers, declared to be as high in some instances as 80 to 90% of their earnings.

The system of fining and deduction from wages or payments in respect of bad work or misdemeanours is general in the Textile industry, in government and local factories in the majority of the more organised and larger workshops. It is also associated with municipalities and establishments regularly working throughout the year. A detailed investigation was conducted by the Bombay Labour Office and the results were published in the Bombay Labour Gazette. Here it was pointed out that fines are inflicted in factories for breaches of discipline to a greater

extent than for bad or negligent work, and the power to fine is delegated to Foremen and Jobbers and Mukdans.

The author of the report also came to the conclusion that there are no rules governing the levying of fines except in Bombay; for he says that "if the result of the inquiry, as a whole, is considered, it would appear that outside the textile Mills in Bombay and the larger workshops, rules setting out the conditions of fining are the exception and not the rule, "and even where rules exists" no endeavour appears to have been made to communicate to employees, the conditions under which fines are imposed beyond posting the rules."

The offences for which fines are inflicted are generally Breaches of discipline, insubordination, disobedience, bad or negligent work, careless or negligent loss or damage to tools or machinery, and various other offences and practically no limits appear to have been prescribed with regard to the extent to which fines may be inflicted. The investigation only concerns the Bombay Presidency and the report ^{1.} gives some striking information in Bombay regarding the fining system existing in textile and other industries. An examination of the figures given in the report shows that fines for offences connected with bad and negligent work predominated both in cases of men and women operatives. The proportion of instances under this head to the total number of offences for which fines were inflicted were 89.54% in the case of men and 62.20% in the case of women.

This works out at 3 annas 10 pies for offences committed by women. In the case of children, fines were inflicted in 76.20% cases not for breaches of discipline or bad or negligent work but generally for loss of identification tokens. Thus we see that in 1926 the total number of men, women and children, in 45 factories alone, where out of an average of 90,819 persons employed daily nearly 1150 persons were fined daily.^{2.}

1. Labour Gazette Vol.VI.No.8,1st April,1927, page 754 Published monthly by the Labour Office, Government of Bombay.

2. The calculation is made as follows:- for 10 months the total number of persons fined in 45 mills is about 344,106. For 1 month nearly 34,410 & therefor taking this figure approximately we arrive at about 1,141.

As has been said above the system of fining exists not only in Textile Mills but also in other Factories. Apart from this almost all Mills hand over spoilt or damaged materials to the workers concerned and recover the cost generally at the selling price of the undamaged materials from the workers' wages. The report says that in the 46 mills which gave statistics regarding both amounts realised for such deductions and the number of instances in which they were affected, it was found that these deductions amounted to Rs.1,60,326-5-4 and were deducted in 50,981 instances. The incidence per reduction works out at Rs.3-2-4.

Thus we see that from the miserably low wages, all sorts of deductions are made and there is little left for a decent living. The employers point out, that, if the wages are low, how is it possible for the workers to send postal orders to the villages. As has been said the majority of workers in industrial areas are agriculturists who generally leave their wives and children and in order to maintain them they are forced to send remittances. Such being the case, it is wrong to prove that the workers are prosperous from the statistics giving the number of postal orders sent to the villages. It is safe to say that workers receive such low wages that they are forced to lead miserable lives and "it is undeniable that the Indian workers are half-starved and badly clothed as well as horribly housed."

As in the case of the Textile industry, there are no negotiated or agreed rates of remuneration in the mining industry, and it is very difficult here also to get the necessary information, as no complete statistics are available on the subject, except the report of the chief inspector of mines (~~see~~ appendix). Generally, low and miserable wages are paid to the workers in the mining industry. For example in Ranigazi, (a mining district in Bengal) if both husband and wife work for eight hours, they will be returning home with 16 pence. Regrettable though it is, that

1. Report of the Labour Office inquiry, Bombay.

the law permits women to go underground ¹. both husband and wife and sometimes the whole family work in the mines. In some places women work longer than men.

Owing to climatic conditions, it is indeed more trying for the worker to work in mines in India, than elsewhere. Moreover, the mines are not so scientifically conducted as in this country, and thus the hardships of the workers are increased a hundredfold. The mining occupation is thus not very attractive and the majority of workers do not take to it permanently and in the majority of cases the workers combine it with agricultural work. Coal-mining is largely looked upon as subsidiary to agriculture and thus it is found difficult to get a sufficient supply of Labour. There is every tendency for the workers to return as much as possible to their villages. This can be seen from the fact that on an average only from 30 to 50% are present at the beginning of the week, while on the average about 75% are present at the end of the week and thus operations in the Mines are conducted energetically only for about half a month on the average.

This state of things will not make possible the development of the Mineral resources of India and in order to make the worker efficient, to enable him to produce more and to compete successfully with other countries, the conditions in the Coal mines should be improved. In order that the conditions of the workers in Coal Mines may be improved and a permanent body of workers may be obtained, the peculiar habits and needs of the people require to be studied. The wages that are obtained at present are so low that the worker is forced to have some other work in order that he may have sufficient to have at least one meal a day.

Better wages than those at present given will certainly attract men into this industry and so will, to a certain extent, solve one problem. Decent houses too should be provided, so that

¹. The Government has issued an order prohibiting women to enter Mines after 1929.

workers may be induced to work permanently in the Mines. These houses should be carefully planned and should be better than those obtainable in the villages, so that he may be induced to settle permanently, and to look to the industry for his livelihood, and come to take an interest in and be efficient at his work.

Apart from this better amenities of life in the coal-fields should be provided and attempts should be made to give free medical aid to all working in this industry. At present there exists practically no amenities and hence the tendency for all to go to their native place at every possible opportunity. This, as has been pointed out, makes the worker indifferent to the industry in which he is working. Also he does not mind stopping work for any trifling cause, nor is he anxious to come to an amicable settlement.

Even on the railways, the workers are paid low wages (appendix), and in recent years there have been serious troubles all over India. It is a common occurrence on the Railways for railway servants such as porters and other low grade paid workers to work continuously for long periods extending to 28 hours and 39 hours including night duty. India has a huge Railway system and new extensions are being pushed ahead vigorously. Some of the lines are state-owned. The total route mileage open to traffic at present is nearly 38,579, and by the end of March 1932, it is the intention of the Railway Board to increase this total by 6,000 miles. As has been said some of the Railways are state-owned and the government have on the whole, had fairly good profits, which are as follows:-

1925-26	...	£6,960,000
1926-27.	...	£5,625,000

It is interesting to note that the 38,579 miles of railways already in existence, (of which 27,264 are owned by the State. 13,169 of these being worked directly by State agency and the remainder by companies on its behalf), bring handsome

profits. Yet the wages of the workers have not increased in proportion. The wages are all imposed on workers by the authorities, without taking the view of the employers themselves. It should be noted here, that in this industry a good many workers are better educated. There is evidence of much solidarity and organisation and hence for the past four years, there has been a constant demand by their workers for higher wages and better conditions. To my mind, since the Government own many railways, it could set an example, by adopting some such scheme as the Industrial Councils, for mutual discussion and the fixing of wages. The present system of different and varying rates for similar kinds of work on different railways, will tend to bring about frequent railway disputes. So attempts should be made to set up Committees to investigate the whole question of wages and fix rates of wages so that the railway system in India may have uniformity in wages rate. It is essential to have agreed rates of wages in order to avoid industrial troubles.

In recent years, workmen of one Railway Company or other have gone on strike for increase of pay, and if rates of wages are increased in one place, other places, receiving encouragement from their success, go also on strike. There-fore in order to have industrial peace on the railways, attempts should be made to fix firstly a uniform reasonable rate of wages. / Thus generally speaking, not only industrial workers, but also agricultural as well as the majority of manual workers do not receive adequate wages.

We have seen in the foregoing pages the conditions and wages of the workers in several industries. They form one of the causes which have brought about the general Industrial unrest in India. The workers now are slowly coming to an understanding of their position, especially those who permanently settle in Industrial towns and look mainly to industries for their occupation and livelihood. In this country numbers of strikes occurred in the past in order to gain better conditions, to lessen the number

of working hours, and many strikes and lockouts take place even today on wage questions and other causes.

If the conditions, as they exist at present in India, are allowed to go on, there is bound to be many Industrial disputes for the worker is naturally bound to think that only through such methods can he attain to better conditions. Therefore the problem has to be faced now. The question is whether to allow such a state to continue and thus to increase that industrial unrest and bitterness which culminates in strikes and lockouts, and after conflict to give small concessions by haggling and bargaining; or for the employers in India to take lessons from what has happened in other countries so that they may so change conditions as to give a better status and opportunity to labour and thus avoid trouble.

If the former method is adopted, industrial disputes will grow to such dimensions that for the next 20 to 30 years there will certainly be serious strikes and lockouts paralysing whole industries and thwarting the progress of the nation as a whole. Such methods would be disastrous. It is known in all industrial countries what an enormous waste and what bitter feeling and class hatred such a policy brings. Class hatred encourages bitterness and lessens the chance of settling industrial disputes peacefully and amicably.

Such class hatred has been gradually showing itself in India in recent years. The widespread strikes in Bombay Cotton Mills, the strike on the South Indian Railways in 1928 and the violent methods adopted by those strikers are clearly the symptoms of the general discontent which is widely prevalent. Moreover, trade unions are being newly formed, and generally at that stage, there is a tendency to put forth minor grievances and to exaggerate facts in order that the worker may be induced through his hardships to become discontented. This is done especially by semi-political labour leaders.

All these facts make it imperative to those concerned with industrial affairs in India, to develop a broad and statesmanlike policy by which they can avoid many industrial troubles. The State in this Country has actively interfered and passed many laws in order that the worker may be protected and have better conditions and opportunities. In the same way the government of India, could do much by passing protective legislation to safeguard the interests of the workers, and also by setting up ideal conditions in the huge government concerns and State Railways. Schemes such as Industrial councils, where the workers' leaders will be given the opportunity to discuss conditions and wages in government works will be of great benefit. If the government gives such a lead, then there is every possibility that other employers may follow.

Nothing up to the present has been done in this direction and hence things are becoming bad, but perhaps much will be done after the recommendation of the recently appointed Royal Commission whose main duty is to investigate labour conditions, have been received. This commission is bound to throw much light on Indian labour conditions because it is the first of its kind and because its recommendations will be of value especially because its chairman the Rt. Hon. H. H. Whitley has done much good in this sphere of work.

Employees in India, also can do much by pursuing a liberal policy. In doing so they will reap considerable benefit. Even the adjustment of small things will go a great way and will put an end to strikes that occur at present for trifling causes. For example, in order that things may be improved in the Jute Mills, steps should be taken to abolish the "Salamani" system that is the recruitment of labour through Sardars or foremen and through labour contractors. In order to do this, the organisation of labour should be encouraged and as far as possible pamphlets giving information as regards employment, pay and other regulations

should be printed and given both to the workmen who seek employment and be circulated in the villages where generally the employers obtain their workmen.

Apart from this there should be rules and regulations fixed regarding the levying of fines and these should be printed in the vernacular and circulated among the workers. It is not wise especially in the Indian Mills to hand over the task of fining to Jobbers, for as has been said the majority of workers are illiterate and advantage is thus taken of them and they suffer many hardships.

The worker is so ignorant that he is unable to appeal even though the fine is levied unjustly and again sometimes heavy fines are levied, if workmen refuse to give bribes to the foreman or contractors. Therefore it is essential that this task should be placed in the hands of responsible and educated officers.

Lastly deductions for articles spoilt or the forced purchase of damaged goods by the workers are on the whole unfair and unjust, especially in India for the worker is ignorant and as such he is slow to learn and apt to make mistakes. Such methods are naturally resented by the workers, especially in the Cotton and other Textile Mills, and those fines have been one of the grievances. They find that, after deductions and fines, they obtain barely enough to live upon and therefore the majority of disputes in this industry arise out of wage questions. Perhaps the employers by instituting apprentice courses and training after working hours, could do much to improve the state of things.

The employers in India, would perhaps argue that owing to the relative inefficiency of the workers, they have to engage three and sometimes four men for the same work done by one worker in the West and hence they cannot afford to pay better wages than are at present existing, if they want to compete with the products of foreign countries. This argument, to my mind, does not convince, for how can the workers in India become efficient if they are kept

in such a state of ignorance as exists today? Moreover recent investigations in the cotton industry have shown that employers are indeed very slow to instal up-to-date machinery and it has been urged very strongly that they should reorganise the industry immediately in order to compete successfully with Japan. (Apart from this, the workers and their leaders point to the huge dividends given by some industries such as Jute and others, and yet the wages of such industries are miserable.) There is no doubt, that the low wages paid in such industries, will be the chief cause of future Industrial disputes in India. The workmen are slowly realizing their condition and as has been said above, the coming in of a better class of workers will only stimulate this cause.

It is clearly useless for the employers or other people to compare the relative efficiency of Indian and other workers. Their wages, mode of life, conditions of work and hours, training and education are all quite different, but it can be safely said that given the same facilities, there is every possibility that the Indian worker would be as efficient as any other worker in the world.

After reading the foregoing pages it is clearly evident that all is not well with industrial workers in India, and that there is obvious cause for the present industrial unrest in India which has led to many industrial disputes in recent years. If the workers are left to gain small concessions through strikes, then there will inevitably be numbers of Industrial disputes before they can obtain the bare necessities for a decent life.

India need not repeat this tragedy for she has ample examples and solutions before her of what has been gained by other countries after bitter experience. If India, looks round and adopts some of the solutions which suit her, arrived at in other countries, she can avoid the unnecessary stoppages in many industries, which are at present going on, and thus progress slowly and steadily.

1. In regard to Industrial disputes.
2. In regard to regulation of Industrial conditions.
3. Public provision for wage-earner's needs in supplement of wages (Prof. Day).

What are then the Solutions? One is that the policy followed by employers in India should radically undergo change. The first thing is the necessity for the sympathetic consideration of labour in India. It is generally now recognised that there can be no permanent cure for industrial troubles, until factory conditions are "brought into line with the wishes and aspirations of workers." We have already dealt with the question of wages in India and hence it is sufficient to say here, that this being the root cause of many of the Industrial disputes in India requires serious consideration by the employers. The employers with the assistance of Trade Union leaders should investigate the matter and deal with the whole question sympathetically.

In Great Britain, employers have changed much, especially after the war, in their attitude towards the worker. Elaborate machinery such as National Councils, District Councils, Works Committees and various other schemes clearly show this changed attitude and the recognition of labour as partner and not as servant.

In India, the employers have not changed much, in spite of changing conditions and are following the old methods, which will only lead to industrial unrest culminating in Industrial disputes. If India wishes to avoid the tragic and irreparable disaster of Industrial strife, the present attitude of employers should undergo a fundamental change in their attitude towards workers and in general Industrial policy.

There are, of course, certain lines of action that can be undertaken by the State which should play its part in minimising industrial disputes in the future.

The Government of India could have done much ^{1.} and the general conditions of Industrial workers would not be in such a state as exists today, if proper protective legislation

1. By having definite policy
 1. In regard to Industrial disputes.
 2. In regard to regulation of Industrial conditions.
 3. Public provision for wage-earner's needs in supplement of wages (Prof. Clay).

had been passed long ago as in this country. It can be safely said that the government of India and the local governments adopted the same policy as was adopted by the government in Britain when the factory movement began. This policy of non-intervention was followed up till 1881 then various Factory Acts were afterwards passed; but measures to ameliorate the conditions of workers were not taken until very recently. Thus the abuses which were prevalent in England at the initiation of the Factory Movement were repeated in India such as Child labour and excessively long hours, and thus exploitation, though remedied by factory acts, still continues in various directions. We know, how well the factory workers in this country are protected by various Acts of Parliament and how effectively the supervision of these Acts are carried out. We are told by authors of Indian factory labour, in their report (1908 page 66) that factory inspection is a complete failure. They say that this is mainly due to the small number of full time inspectors who it is said, have "neither the time nor the special knowledge necessary for the work." We note for example that in the Jute industry that through the 2 or 3 shift system they openly broke the law and that excessively long hours were worked in that industry.

The factory legislation in India has only touched the fringe of the whole question. Much has yet to be done in this way to protect the workers, and if this is not done the tendency to exploitation will naturally continue and lead to unnecessary hardship, friction and disputes.

There are four Factory Acts ^{1.} to regulate the conditions in factories, but very little has been done in other directions. It should be noted that there is in India nothing like Old Age Pensions, Unemployment Insurance, or the Poor Law, and to be short, nothing approaching to the various forms of

1. (a) Indian Factories Act. 1881.
 (b) Factories Act. 1891.
 (c) Factories Act. 1911.
 (d) Factories Act. 1922.

protection which the workers in Britain obtain. Yet there are hundreds of thousands of unemployed men going about throughout the length and breadth of India.

Again, till 1923, there was no provision for accidents and the Workman's Compensation Act passed in that year seems to me in many ways defective, for in many cases the Compensation paid is inadequate. The rules are so stringent and the workmen being generally ignorant, it is difficult to get adequate Justice. Moreover the Workman's Compensation Act is limited in its applicability, for it does not include all workers. Also rigorous inspection is essential in order that the provisions of the Act may be carried out, so that the benefit the law gives to workers may be secured to them.

Thus, we can safely say, that in India factory legislation has only begun and in the near future many more Acts will necessarily have to be passed in order to remedy evils.

No doubt, there are very great difficulties in introducing such remedial measures and much opposition has to be overcome. But the same difficulties occur all over the Industrial World. Factory legislation in India is following the same process of growth and is also meeting with the same round of difficulties as formerly in Britain. The protection of workers is more needed in India, than elsewhere, owing to their extreme poverty and illiteracy. It is argued by the employers and by many others in India, that rapid industrialisation would cure extreme poverty and there^{fore} all new legislation would throw a burden on the industries and thwart the growth of factories and thus curtail industrial opportunities in a way which cannot serve the best interests of the workers. They believe that the first thing is to start Industries and encourage them at all costs and argue that the evils can be removed, when the Industries are flourishing, Such methods have brought irreparable misery, and as has been said, the present troubles in the industries are to a certain

extent the result of past conditions. It would be far better to check the evils and if possible prevent them at the beginning rather than after half a century.

The present wave of Industrial disputes in India would not be as great as it is, if certain ameliorative measures, which we have advocated, in the last chapter, existed on the Statute book today.

It is clear then that efforts should be made by employer and the State to change the present unsatisfactory conditions, namely, low wages, long hours, etc., in order to ease the feeling of Industrial unrest that exists at present and which too often culminates in Industrial disputes.

State intervention would be of great value and by passing progressive and protective legislation much of the discontent that is existing could be removed. The Government would be helping much to better the workers' position, if they contribute liberally to social service and start schemes of relief in the big undertakings that are managed by the State. Very little up till now has been done in this direction.

Almost all Industrial countries have a good many schemes to ameliorate the condition of labour and a considerable amount is spent on them. For example in Britain millions are spent on social service which expenditure has increased eightfold in the past 36 years. In 1927 about £335,678,632 was spent in England and Wales and £47,581,854 was spent in Scotland for such social service. In spite of all this labour is still not quite content, and if we look to India, nothing in this direction has been done, and now things are changing gradually and labour is asking for more and more.

In this respect also, both the employers and State could gain valuable guidance from other Industrial countries and should introduce such measures as would make it possible for India to avoid the sufferings and troubles which other countries have undergone in the process of industrialisation, and which seems unnecessary to repeat.

HISTORY OF TRADE UNIONS IN INDIA.

Trade Unionism has been accepted in this country as a necessity and corollary to modern industrial development. We have shown that even the State has accepted it and has delegated powers under various recent statutes, for example under the Unemployment Insurance Act 1920 and National Health Insurance Act 1924. Moreover few can challenge the enormous benefit the Trade Unions have done to the Workers of this country. Yet even 50 years ago Trade Unions were regarded as social dangers and employers refused to have anything to do with them.

Here again the same things are being repeated in India. First of all Trade Unions in India are still in their initial stages, and obstacles sometimes are placed to break the movement altogether. In this country owing to strong organisation, Trade Union agreements are far more extensive and thus the workers are well protected apart from the legislature. Such agreements are very rare in India, as the organisations are not so powerful as in this country. This is indeed, unfortunate, for many spasmodic strikes that occur to-day and which last for a day or two would not occur, if there were strong Unions to guide the workers. We can generally say, that except in a few industries, labour in India is for the main part unorganised and so has been incapable of making any effective demands. Moreover, owing to weak organisation, strikes are not conducted in a/

a business like way for, as recent strikes clearly show, they generally lapse into rioting and clashes frequently occur between armed police and rioters.

The difficulties in the way of forming Labour Unions are gradually being overcome, and, to my mind, if labour in India were well organised and if strong Trade Unions like those which exist in this country, were formed then at any rate many of the spasmodic strikes that occur could be eliminated. Unions in India bear only a superficial resemblance to those in this country, and no unions in India have built up funds for unemployment, sickness and similar benefits. Very few Unions give strike pay, and thus the workers after a few days, find they have nothing to live on, take to looting grain shops and in desperation attempt other violent methods. The organisation of the workers and the building-up of Trade Unions on modern lines would do away with many of the evils that accompany Industrial disputes in India and the strikes would be conducted more peaceably and in a more orderly manner and thus there would be less bloodshed and rioting.

Let us now briefly examine the history of the movement. However it should first be noted that to the instability of labour, the migratory character of the workers, and their consequent temporary interest in conditions^{*} can be ameliorated. Secondly a good many strikes that occur (for example a number of strikes occurred in 1920 and 1921 on account of employers refusing to accept the Unions) on the/

**: The illiteracy & the language difficulties, all make it very difficult to form unions. All those obstacles must be overcome before the prevailing conditions*

the question of recognition of Trade Unions, could be easily avoided, if employers realised that it is impossible and indeed inadvisable to prevent the organisation of Labour as may be seen from the experience of other Industrial countries. The widespread idea that the formation of Trade Unions would bring continuous industrial warfare is grossly unjust. On the contrary it would be easy for employers especially in India to negotiate with a recognised body and thus avoid many strikes that now arise on trifling matters, and that are entirely due to the whims and fancies of individual workers.

Trade Union development would help the workers considerably and instead of the present chaotic condition, there would emerge that order and agreement which is essential for the development of industries. Secondly, the employers will have better means of negotiating wages and conditions. So it would be wrong to think that Trade Union development in India would only accelerate Trade disputes. On the contrary much good would come to all sides by such development. According to Mr Sidney Webb's definition, a Trade Union is "a continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their working life". The definition clearly shows that Trade Unions are meant not only for negotiation with employers, but also for many other functions which all go to better the conditions of workers and indirectly improve conditions, status and efficiency.

Hence, it is of great importance, not only to avoid all spasmodic strikes and other strikes which sometimes take/

sometimes take place for some trifling grievance, but also to improve the present condition of the Industrial workers in India and to make them understand their responsibility, that Trade Union organisation should be encouraged and all obstacles to its growth be swept away.

As has been said, there has been till now no effective demand on the part of the workers themselves for better conditions. This is due, as has been pointed out, to various circumstances, such as the migratory character of the workers, the semi-agricultural nature of the labour force employed in factories, the lack of education and various other causes. All these facts are serious obstacles in the way of combination among the workers, and it is difficult to prove to them the value of unions, for it is useless to distribute pamphlets or other writings, as the mass of labour is illiterate. But in spite of this,

attempts are being made to form unions. Therefore let us briefly examine the number of workers engaged in each industry and how far attempts are being made to form unions.

The total number of operatives employed in factories in India to-day may roughly be estimated as 2,000,000 a small proportion out of these in the whole of India, 370,617, are employed in Cotton Mills, 331,326 in Jute Mills, 8,775 in woollen mills and about 170,628 in Mining at the end of 1926, and nearly 762,553 were employed on the Railways. Apart from this factory labour there are a number of persons employed in the Tea industry, the aggre-
:gate/

aggregate total is 854,800 of which 778,811 were permanently employed and 76,036 temporarily employed.

Thus we see that there is quite a large amount of factory labour apart from other workers. There are some important industrial enterprises which employ large numbers of workmen, for example, the Bengal Iron and Steel Company employ about 10,000 men and the Tata Iron and Steel Company employ about 13,000 and about 10,000 men are engaged by contractors engaged in extensions. When the extensions are finished, the numbers employed will be considerably greater.

In some cotton Mills such as the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Madras, there are about 10,000 workmen and various other Mills in Bombay, Ahmadabad also employ large numbers of workmen. In spite of large numbers of workpeople employed in factories and other big industries the development of combination among workers is very slow and hence there is a lack of demand for better conditions. Therefore the most immediate and urgent need is the organisation of workmen and the development of Trade Unions. It is of the utmost importance that workmen should combine for then only, can they gradually force their claim for better conditions. We have seen that there are many great difficulties before the effective combination of factory labour in India. The first attempt to organise Labour in India was by Mr. Narayan Meghjee Lokhandy, who began life as

1. The diagram and figures given in the appendix illustrate the relative importance of the different classes of factories in India and the number of workpeople employed in them during the year 1923. Figures taken from the Government Publication Material and Moral Progress of India, 1925-26.

2. These figures according to Industrial Commission 1918, but the works employ more people now - page 22.

as a factory labour hand and worked for the cause of Labour until his death. He organised the Bombay factory workers in the year 1884 with the object of presenting the grievances of Factory workers, to the Commission which was appointed by the Bombay Government at that time. He did not form a Trade Union, but only called a conference of the workers in order to pass resolutions which in the end were submitted as a memorial to the Commission, signed by 5,500 workers. This was the first attempt of Labour in India to unite in order to demand that their grievances should be redressed.

The second attempt was made in 1889 when the workers employed in the spinning and weaving Mills of Bombay petitioned the Governor General of India requesting him to ensure that a Sunday holiday be granted to them, and also asking for a fixed and uniform hour of attendance. "It has been said" continued the petition" that the Indian Mill operative is not as hard-working as an English workman and that a Mill operative in England does the work of three men employed in the same work in an Indian Mill. The real cause of this is the bad machinery and bad material used in Mills. It is true that three men are required to manage a machine in India Factories, but these three men it should be borne in mind, do their work for longer hours without intermission in a more enervating climate and on poorer wages. The operatives in Indian factories have to perform their tasks without any of the facilities afforded in England, calculated to lessen the burden on the workmen and to/

to preserve their constitution against breakdown. The breakage in the thread, for instance, is so continuous here on account of the bad quality of cotton, that Mill-owners are compelled to employ more men. If the cotton were of good quality, and the concessions, which were given in England were granted here, one man could manage a machine as well as an English operative".^{1.}

Lastly they also claimed compensation for accidents. Thus we note that conferences were held and petitions were submitted to the Government in order that their grievances should be redressed. In Britain the same thing occurred, for here also workers in the first instance did not have powerful organisations and therefore in order to remedy the evils under which they were suffering they petitioned Parliament, But they found that it was useless and thus combined themselves, and formed Unions, in order to get their grievances redressed.

The same thing occurred in India, First they petitioned the Governor-General. Their second step was organisation of protest meetings. One such protest-meeting was held in 1890 in Bombay when more than 10,000 persons attended and two women addressed the meeting complaining of the long hours and of working even on Sundays.

At this time (1890) Mr Lockhanday, organised an association of the Bombay Mill Workers called the "Bombay Millhands' Association" with Mr Lockhandy as its President and Mr D. C. Athaide as its Secretary. This "Bombay Millhands'

1. Great Britain Parliamentary Papers, 1890-91 Vol.59. House of Commons, 86, pages 106-107.

Millhands' Association" was the first labour organisation of India, and at the same time a paper was also started called the "Dinabandhie" or "The friend of the Poor" which was the first labour Journal in India. Again for the first time in 1890, Labour representatives sat on the commission appointed by the Government to inquire into their conditions. The chief aim of starting this association, and other labour movements at this time was to place their case before the Factory Commission which had been appointed. So after the enactment of the Factory Act of 1891, and after presenting their grievances especially the regulation of child and women labour, the first labour movement, subsided.

Then for about twenty years, there was a lull and no effective steps were taken to organise labour. The labouring class on account of widespread illiteracy was unable to produce a leader who could lead them and they were also unable to get leaders from outside their rank and file. Moreover, they did not possess the necessary courage to come out openly for their cause, fearing that their position would be jeopardised by such an action, while in other countries the labour movement was growing and labour was demanding more and more privileges, the condition of labourers in India was stagnant and they toiled hard for very low wages, without even claiming or protesting at the attitude of the employers!

Such a state of things went on till 1910, when the second organisation of Bombay factory workers was formed under/

under the name of "Kamagar-Hit-Varthak Sabha" or "Workers Welfare Association". This Association also started a weekly paper, called the "Kamagar-Samachar" or "Labour News" in which the grievances of labourers were fully discussed. Here again this association did not in any way show any approach to modern Trade Unionism as we understand it, for it was formed solely to get a particular grievance redressed. So the most important thing it did was to send a Memorial to the Government of India, pleading for the limitation of working hours for adult males to 12 hours, in any one day and also requesting that provisions should be made for compensation, in case of accidents and death etc. As has been said above, the first attempt to organise labour was in 1890 and the second attempt was after 20 years in 1910, but the result of neither can in any way be compared to modern Trade Unions. We have also seen the difficulty of forming Trade Unions. This is largely due, in many of the important centres to the fact that the labour population is floating and to labourers disliking the idea of regular contributions - and union discipline.

In spite of all those difficulties, attempts were again made in 1911 by Indians as well as by English sympathisers of Indian labour to form an organisation. Those sympathisers of Indian Labour formed an organisation in 1911 called "The Workers' Welfare League of India" with the object of bringing about "a unity of the working and living conditions of Indian and British Labourers". But unfortunately they did not receive much encouragement and the working class did not take much interest in these organisations, as they were unable to understand the great advantage such organisations/

organisations would bring them.

Thus labour organisation was not successfully effected and nothing much was done till 1918, Then the real organisation of Labour began. During the War, the Industrial situation in India, underwent a radical change. The war, affected the masses of India and with it the national movement and brought about a revolution in the Social, Political and Industrial life of India. Labour for the first time saw that only through concerted action could it gain any advantage and the labouring classes especially in Cities now aimed at better wages and conditions. Moreover, Factories began to grow rapidly at this period and to a certain extent, labour began to settle permanently in industrial cities. All this had a great effect for, at this time, there was a strong desire for organisation. The result was, that the first industrial Union was formed, on 27th April, 1918 by Mr B. P. Wadia among the textile workers at the Mills at Choolai, Madras. Mr B. P. Wadia, was outside Labour and a theosophist and had the strong support of Mrs Annie Besant. So this organisation was strongly supported by Mrs Annie Besant's paper, "New India" which was published as a daily paper in Madras and had a wide circulation. Mr Wadia was supported in his work by men like Mr C. S. Arundale and various others, who were sympathetic towards labourers, By 1919, there were 4 big unions in the presidency of Madras with a membership of 20,000. Apart from this various other unions were formed, the chief among them being those of tramway men, printers, rickshawmen, Aluminium/

Aluminium workers, motor drivers, street cleaners and metal and Iron workers. Among these, the tramwaymen were well organised and their Union can be easily classed with the Unions of this country. They were able to accomplish organisation because the majority of workers in tramways had at least school education and were not illiterate. They had their own vice-president and conducted meetings regularly and discussed all matters affecting themselves and their employment. The majority of the workers on the tramways are members of this Union and contribute regularly to its funds. After the establishment of their Union, they repeatedly went on strike for about two years to obtain better wages and conditions and succeeded in getting their demands. It may be said their working conditions are now much better than any existing in other places of India.

The success of the Tramwaymen and the advantages of Unions, spread to other parts of the country, and similar unions were formed in all industrial centres, such as Bombay, Calcutta, Ahmedabad, and by 1920 in almost all industries, there was union organisation in some form or other.

There was thus much economic restlessness and there was a growth in defiance. Labour began for the first time in India, to clamour for better conditions. During the/

the War, prices began to increase much faster than wages and this led to a spirit of revolt. Thus in the later parts of 1919, workers started strike after strike with the help of newly started Unions. Thus a series of strikes occurred at this time, which we will discuss in the next chapter, but it is interesting to note here, that the same thing occurred in Britain when the workmen first combined and organised Unions, but the labour revolt in India was not as severe and persistent as it was in this country.

At this time Mr Gandhi, took an active part in organising labour especially in Ahmedabad and in February 1920 a Spinners Union and a weavers' Union were formed and gradually other Unions followed. At the end of 1920, there were 16,450 members and the funds of the Union was Rs.54,797, but the membership gradually rose and by the middle of 1921 more than half of the Ahmedabad factory workers joined Trade Unions.¹ As has been said, the leaders and prominent officials of the Unions were outsiders and the labouring class were unable to produce capable men to lead them. Thus it was a common thing to find the same leaders interested in several Unions and these always had a tendency to form a federation of unions. Local Unions thus began to federate, as instance Madras and Bombay which had central Labour Boards. Thus labour united together for the first time to attain their objects. This the employers resented. Here the employers in India did the same thing as was done in

1. About 43% of workers were organised by the end of 1920. The membership by the middle of 1921 was 20,000 and the funds amounted to Rs.75,000.

in this country when the Trade Unions were formed. They tried to put all sorts of obstacles in their way and wanted to crush the movement.

At this time a dispute occurred between employers and employees in the Buckingham Mills at Madras and was followed both by lock-outs and strikes. Mr Wadia, with great skill kept the workers united and addressed them every day when the strike was in progress. The workers of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, had a very powerful Union in Madras, and as such every effort was made to make the strike a complete success. The employers who were generally used to the weak organisation of labour found that the workers had solidarity and wanted to break it at all costs. At this time, there were great disturbances, the police at one time being compelled to fire and shoot near the Mill area, an episode which resulted in loss of life. The Company was determined to break this powerful Union and brought a suit against Mr. B.P. Wadia and other leaders of Trade Unions in the High Courts of Madras. Their Lordships in their judgment granted an injunction prohibiting Mr. Wadia and others from addressing any meeting and also inflicted a fine of £7,000 and costs.^{1.} Then the company knew that Mr Wadia would be unable to pay such a heavy fine, and so they said to him that they would not prosecute the judgment further on condition that he would sever all connection with the Labour movement. This Mr. Wadia agreed to and thus left the Union, and after sometime left Madras itself.

This/

1. This was more or less a test case. The company pleaded that Mr. Wadia was creating a bitter feeling between them and their employees; and therefore an injunction should be granted in order to prevent him from continuing to take an active part. This the Court granted.

This case was a great blow to the Labour movement, for the employers acquired a very successful weapon in the form of this injunction for coping with Unionism. Thus as the law then stood, it was possible for any employer to bring an action against any Trade Union leader in order to prevent him from taking an active part. This was indeed regrettable, especially when Unions were just then developing. This had a great effect on the movement for a while, but the disability to a certain extent is now removed.

So the Madras Labour Union lost one of their best leaders. Yet in spite of this the labour movement went on its course. Meanwhile, the injunction against Trade Unionism was disapproved by the labour party in Great Britain, who sent a deputation to the Secretary-of-State for India, and pointed out to him "the injustice of the injunction against the young trade unionism movement", and asked for a law for the recognition of trade Unions. However, by this time the Government of India was compelled to do something in the matter and so drafted a bill and circulated it to ascertain public opinion; but the bill was not introduced into the Legislature Assembly till 1926.

However the movement that was started went on and assumed national importance in 1920, when the first All-Indian Trade Union Congress was held in Bombay. At this Congress a standing committee was appointed to manage affairs. The second all-Indian Trade Union Congress was held in December 1921, when 10,000 delegates representing 100/

100 unions and about 1,000,000 members and all the provinces attended. But not much good was derived from those congresses as the advantages derived from them were negligible. They merely showed the intention of Indian labour to unite more and more in order to claim better conditions. The position of Trade Unions at the end of 1921 is seen from the following extract:

"During the year 1921, the economic restlessness characteristic of the year 1920 continued and expressed itself most plainly in the combined action on the part of workmen. Labour Unions have come most prominently before the notice of the general public on account of the magnitude and frequency of the strikes which have taken place. Hitherto the generality of these Unions have been conducted in a fashion which makes comparison with corresponding institutions in the West very misleading. But from the remarkable growth in the number of these bodies during the year 1921 there seems little doubt that the movement has come to India to stay. In the larger towns, on the railways, and in some public utility services, such as the post office the employees have succeeded in building up organisations which are likely to be the nuclei of properly constituted trade Unions. The remainder of the Unions have still very little cohesion, and many are^{1.} virtually strike committees".

Thus we see that at the end of 1921, there were
Unions/

1. India, during the year 1921. No. 75; 171: page 203.

Unions which were well organised, but at the same time large groups of the workpeople had no organisation at all. Such a state of things continues even to-day. In some cases, the unions are only loosely organised bodies, have no definite aim and constitution and their officers work mostly in an advisory capacity. We have seen that the Jute industry, is one of the largest industries in India, and more than 331,326 workers are employed on the average every day; yet it has no strong unions and the result is that the workers' conditions are hopeless and their wages are very low, and until the Unions are developed, it would be impossible to remedy the thousands of small grievances the workpeople in India are at present suffering from. Every attempt should be made to organise the Jute workers in order to raise their status. The employers should give active sympathy and encouragement and should welcome the movement. The present attitude of the employers is to put every obstruction to the formation of an effective Union and very rarely to recognise it. Sometimes they act according to their whims and fancies without any consideration for the employees. Recently the South Indian Railway Company withdrew their recognition of the Union^{1.} after a brief strike. Not only are such things done but the masters also start their own trade unions or employees federations. Such an attempt was made two years ago by the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills Ltd. They started their/

1. There was a strike of employees of the South Indian Railway Company recently. Before the strike the employers in a way recognised the Unions, but after the strike, in order to punish the workers they withdrew the recognition.

their own Trade Union with the officers who are in the good books of the company. Thus there was an attempt to have two Unions, one trying to destroy the other.

The whole trouble in India, is that the majority of office-bearers are outsiders and generally politicians, and as such both English and Indian employers are against the movement.

There are very few cases in which intelligent workmen are leaders; this is the exception rather than the rule.

The other big Unions are also not recognised by employers and do not possess the confidence of the workers themselves. The Government was slow to take steps to encourage the formation of unions and though they circulated a Bill as early as 1921 they did not bring it into the Legislative Assembly till 1925. In the end a Trade Unions Bill was introduced in the Delhi session of 1925. This "was prepared after protracted correspondence with the interests concerned and discussion in the press and elsewhere". The Bill aimed at promoting the growth of healthy trade Unionism in India. The following are the chief provisions.

- (a) Trade Unions were to be left free to register or not as they thought fit.
- (b) The Trade Unions which registered are required to confine their expenditure to define trade union objects.
- (c) They should submit their accounts to a regular audit.
- (d) They should provide for a proportion of actual workers/

workers on their executive.

This bill was referred to a select committee where a most important change was made by inserting a clause providing for the formation of a separate fund from optional contribution to be utilised for the promotion of the civil and political interests of the members of a Trade Union. This clause was based on the British Act of 1913, but, instead of laying on the workmen, the onus of contracting out from the payment of such subscriptions it ensured that a workman would not incur any liability until he had signified his willingness to become a contributor.^{1.}

Thus we see the main privileges which were gained by Trade Unions in England after a struggle lasting a century are now open to trade Unions in India. There was no opposition to this clause, and the Bill, which is the first of its kind in India, was passed by the Indian Legislative Assembly on 8th Feb. 1926. In winding up the debate Sir Bhupandra Nath Mitra, member in charge of Industries, and the sponsor of the Bill said that "It will constitute a useful framework which we can alter, as our experience on this subject under Indian Conditions progresses. Meanwhile it will help Trade Unions to make a beginning on right lines in the direction of organising and conducting the labouring classes and for starting co-operative institutions for conferring on them benefits in various directions. It is on this organisation, and on/

1. India - during the year 1925-26.

on education and co-operation that the uplifting of the labouring classes in this country will depend more than any amount of legislation this assembly may pass.¹ Thus we see that the Trade Union movement in India is in its infancy, for any attempt to start the organisation was begun only in 1918 and the first act to regulate it was passed only three years ago. Meanwhile, the All-Indian Trade Union Congress which was in the beginning merely a debating body began to take active steps. They now hold annual conferences and prepare in different languages a great mass of literature, pamphlets and leaflets on questions of Trade Unionism, which they calculate widely.

In spite of all this, as has been said above, only a very few industries have sound trade Union organisation and the Trade Union Congress work is hampered on account of financial limitations and lack of enthusiastic workers and also on account of inability to get leaders from the working classes themselves. At present only a few big Unions especially some of the Railway Unions are well organised. These Unions have large memberships for example the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Indian Union has 25,000, Eastern Bengal Railway Employees Association has 11,000 members. But it can be said that on the whole the Trade Union movement has not spread, for out of two to three million workers, only 150,555 to 200,000 workers are members of Unions. A perusal of the statistics of Income/

1. No. 62 Speech of Sir Bhupendra Mitra, in Legislative Assembly - Delhi Session.

Income and Expenditure of these Unions clearly shows their weak position. As has been said, none of the Unions have any funds for sickness or unemployment or for strike pay and depend only on outside contributions in times of emergency.

On the whole, it is estimated that the total strength of the Trade Unions in India is about 200,000. That clearly shows how few workers out of the total are organised. The spread of Unionism is very very slow, for the following table shows the number of persons who could be organised but at present have no organisation whatever.

Organisable Groups of Workers in India.

<u>Group.</u>	<u>No. of workers in group.</u>
Cotton, Hosiery, Silk, Woollen and jute, including Cotton Ginning and Jute presses,....	955,543.
Coach making, Motor Car Repairing, electrical and general engineering, Power Stations and Metal Stamping,.....	62,657
Foundries, Iron and Steel Smelting, Kerosene Tinning and packing,.....	43,057.
Petroleum Refineries,.....	13,389
Paper making, Printing, Book-binding,.....	42,193
Chemicals, Dyes, Matches,.....	45,917
Woodworking, Glass, Building & Furnishing,.....	60,327
Ordinance, Mints, Telegraph Works, Dockyards, Tramways & Gas.	35,326
<u>Mining/</u>	

1. Figures taken from the Report of Mr Purcell and Hallisworth.

Mining - Coal Gold etc., and Quarries,...	347,349
Food and Drink Manufacture,.....	168,166
Railways, inclusive of shops and lines,..	762,553
Leather, skins, hides and clothing,.....	10,347
Seamen, Port and Dock labour,.....	250,000
Tea and Garden Workers,.....	793,176
Agriculture - Field & Farm labour,.....	21,676,107
	<hr/>
GRAND TOTAL. -	25,266,109

so there is yet a tremendous work to be done before labour in India can be organised. The first and foremost thing that should be done is to bring into existence labour organisations in every industry, for without that it is difficult to secure better conditions and concessions. Every effort should be made to train the workers to take responsible posts in the Unions and to become leaders. At present the majority of Unions in India have outsiders and especially politicians as leaders. This is a great disadvantage for a country like India which is not politically free, for both employers and the Government look with suspicion on every demand put forth by labour and think some political motive is behind it. Politicians are sometimes apt to mix up political and economic grievances and in the end labour suffers. No doubt in this country at the corresponding stage the same thing occurred, when outsiders like Robert ^W~~O~~wen, Francis Place, and later Kingsley, Ludlow and/

and Frederic Harrison played their parts. Yet the conditions are different and so, every effort should be made to get working class men as leaders, or an honest and true worker who has nothing whatever to do with politics.

This should at least be done in the beginning, so that the organisation may go on peacefully and smoothly. Only by such organisation can the Indian workman and woman be lifted "out of the filthy and ghastly conditions, socially, morally and physically, into a new stage of constantly improving wage standards, giving them hope for the immediate future and enabling them here and now to have what is the first essential to all Indian workers, namely, a firm grip on the means of life by the necessary increase of purchasing power at present kept out of their reach".^{1.}

The Unions should be organised not only to get concessions and better conditions of employment but to train them and lift them from the utter illiteracy in which they exist at present, To better conditions, greater attention should be given both to the "friendly society" activities and the welfare side. Intense propaganda should be carried on by either voluntary workers or by union officials to teach the workers the value of combination and joint action. It will conduce to bringing about better discipline if the welfare activities/

1. Mr Purcell M.P.

activities are strengthened; for much good can be done by lifting up the worker from his present state. Hence Labour organisations in Indian should pay more attention to bettering the conditions of workers by organising concerns like the co-operative stores and other ameliorative schemes which will give substantial benefit to the workers who are at present in frightful distress.

Without Trade Unions, it is impossible for workers to bargain collectively with the employers and to my mind Trade Unions if properly developed in India, would tend to decrease rather than increase strikes. Moreover the employers, like those elsewhere, will not voluntarily do anything without a demand from labour. As Prof. Wadia and Prof. Joshi say, "The employers in India believe in the Gospel of fear. He believes he can bring his workmen to reason by the constant display of his right of dismissal with loss and forfeiture of a months' wages. He thinks he can compel obedience by keeping his workmen in a constant state of fear and dread".

Indian employers have not benefited from the lessons which foreign countries offer, for, to put it in Prof. Wadia's words, "Whilst employers in the West are awakening to a sense of their social responsibilities and are being forced to recognise that the labour employed under their charge has a first claim on the product, the Indian Capitalists and employers, whether foreigners or belonging to the land, have yet to learn the value of a more humane treatment/

treatment of workers".

In order to improve the general condition of labour, to get better wages, shorter hours, and some of the amenities of social life, the workers should be organised in India. Secondly they should be organised so that their attention may be called to the value of sanitation, and so that they may become more efficient and be lifted from the ignorance in which they are at present. It is essential therefore, that every effort should be made to encourage them to organise. This is a necessary and legitimate aspiration for all the workers of the world. It is unwise to place obstacles in the way because such organisation will conduce in the end to the welfare of the whole community. It is in the interests of Indian and the whole world that the Indian workers should emerge "from the existing slavish and degenerate state", and in this work, the employers, Government and public in India should help.

The Government can encourage the movement by recognising the Trade Unions connected with Government works. Railways and many other large industries are state-owned and so the Government could show its sympathy by recognising the Unions connected with these, and if there are no Unions should endeavour to give help to organise such Unions. The Indian and English employers also should do their best to encourage and wherever possible recognise the/

the Unions and should not put obstacles in the way of this movement which is still in its infancy.

Humanity requires us to help the needy and down-trodden and thus the duty of helping the millions of workers lies on one and all. Human nature is everywhere the same, and so it is impossible to keep men for ever in their present state of poverty. Accordingly, Indian employers would be doing a great service by encouraging labour organisations and aspirations. They would thus be doing a great common social work, which in the long run will be of great advantage to all.

Moreover, the employers would have a recognised agency through which they can negotiate. The present state of unorganised labour is a menace when there is a rupture and peace has to be secured. It is almost impossible to argue with vast crowds of ignorant people, who are not organised, who have no one to guide them, and whose feelings have been stirred up by treatment which they consider unjust. Recent revolts and rioting in almost all industrial towns in India, accompanied by the police opening fire and loss of life, sometimes reaching 200, all clearly show that the workers should not be left in their present unorganised state, Such a state of things will bring only unnecessary cessation of work and thus both employer, employee and the general public will suffer. The present position is something like sitting on a volcano not knowing when the eruption will take place, a position fraught/

fraught with great danger. It will benefit both workers and employers if the present state of anarchy is removed. But in order to do that, State and employers should cooperate and encourage and not hinder the organisation of labour.

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES.

The spread of the strike epidemic in recent years is causing grave anxiety in India and has brought into prominence the necessity for finding out the best ways of securing Industrial peace. Hence not only the Government of India but various provincial Governments in India have recently been making detailed enquiries into the various ways of preventing and settling industrial disputes.

The underlying cause of the labour unrest in India is the class-consciousness which has been slowly growing up among the labouring classes, which is now brought to focus by several external and internal forces. The present wave of strike epidemics is attributable to many causes, but to my mind, the immediate cause of strikes, is economic. The wages of all classes of labourers in India are not at all adequate to obtain the bare necessities of existence. With the rise in the cost of living, the conditions of the workers have become worse and their sufferings have increased. It is the dire need to make a living that has led workers to revolt.

We have seen in the foregoing chapters the conditions of Industrial workers and their low rate of wages and also how India is tending to become an Industrial country. The present conditions of labour in India are indeed similar to that which existed in this country after the Industrial revolution. At that time in Britain we know how Capitalists used/

used the working class and how labour had to fight for its very existence. We know too how a number of disputes arose on account of the refusal of the Employers to recognise the Trade Unions, and how labour had to fight to gain even the smallest concessions. In some cases, violence and force were corollaries to strikes. A similar state of things is widely prevalent in India to-day. As has been pointed out, even 15 years ago the labour movement in India believed that their aims could be realised by petitioning and memorialising. Thus there was scarcely any chance for the development of Industrial warfare. Hence the class struggle between labour and capital was at first insignificant.

Moreover in India there were no effective Trade Unions for any industry before 1918 and hence there were no effective means for the organisation of workers for collective action. Therefore strikes and lock-outs were few, local and insignificant. Thus they attracted little attention in India. Before 1918, industrial and labour consciousness was still almost non-existent and the industrial classes in Indian Society had no status. Though Industrial disputes arose and spread, they attracted no public attention. Moreover there were scarcely any records of strikes and lock-outs before 1920. As has been said, at present, the statistics available about general labour conditions are very scanty, and therefore it is indeed very difficult to get full information regarding strikes and lock-outs in India. However in view of the increasing industrial unrest, various/

various provincial Governments are endeavouring to establish labour departments and doing their best to collect information regarding labour.

We have seen in the last chapter how the power of combination among workers is as yet exceedingly limited and thus industrial disputes in India differ to a large extent from those in this country. Therefore we can say that this lack of organisation and secondly the growth of Trade Unions themselves are two of the causes of recent Industrial disputes. We are already aware that generally with the formation of Unions in the beginning, there has been a number of strikes. We know that Trade Unions are accused of restricting the output and other activities, and even in this country Trade Unions have been recognised after a long and bitter struggle. The same thing is occurring in India for whenever the workers formed a Union, they wanted to present their case to the employers through their leaders. This is exactly what happened in 1919. New Unions were formed, and there was a growth in defiance. Labour began for the first time in India to clamour for better conditions. It should be admitted that Labour at this time had good cause for after the War, prices began to increase without a corresponding rise in wages, and this led to a spirit of revolt. Thus in 1919, workers started strike after strike with the help of the newly started Unions. Moreover they wanted to present their case through Trade Union leaders. Many employers refused to recognise Trade/

Trade Unions or to deal with labour representatives. Therefore a number of strikes took place and the employers also resorted to lock-outs to break-up Trade Unions. In several cases the employers did not want to take back the ringleaders of previous strikes. The workers had to strike again to reinstate their leaders.

The early days of a Trade Union Movement are often full of difficulty and thus there is a tendency for a large number of strikes on questions of recognition and other activities connected with it. This is more so in India, because many of the existing Trade Unions have not been properly organised. Sometimes Strike Committees are formed to conduct a particular strike and call themselves Trade Unions and demand the privileges of Trade Unions without any means to discharge the responsibilities. Sometimes an outsider unconnected with industry or any industry knowing nothing of the special difficulties involved appears and claims the right to bargain, but with no power to make the bargain respected.

Therefore strikes in India have peculiar characteristics and since there are not organisations of labour and since workers are illiterate, the problem of industrial disputes has peculiar difficulties for there is no proper means or recognised body through which differences could be adjusted. Hence trade disputes in such a floating and illiterate body, lacking any homogeneity, are exceedingly difficult.

In spite of all this, labour is slowly getting organised and labour unrest in India, at present, is widespread.

Class/

Class-consciousness has been slowly growing up, especially since the War and a feeling that they are badly treated is coming to be realised by the workers. This we can see from the fact, that since 1918, there have been frequent industrial disputes.

This lack of organisation and combination is fought with many dangers, and has led to many unnecessary disputes. There is no organisation, and no discipline, and so there is no union or authority who could formulate the grievances and thus a number of strikes occur without actually putting forth any proper demands. Secondly the problem of negotiation becomes difficult, for there is no effective organisation to formulate the claims of the operatives and no body to make settlements respected. On account of this, many sporadic and short strikes occur on trivial grounds, and sometimes extravagant claims are put forth. The workers and sometimes the leaders themselves do not know where they stand, and thus in a majority of cases the workers are unsuccessful in getting their demands. Sometimes it happens, that after the strike grievances are formulated and various other claims are put forward after the strike has begun. According to the statistics available, under the heading personal and others, more than 30% of strikes have been recorded each year since 1922. The only remedy to avert sporadic strikes and strikes due to trivial causes, is to encourage labour to organise. Without such organisation it has been found impossible elsewhere to stop such strikes. But strikes occurred when the Trade Union movement was started in India and will occur in the future/

future, if employers ignore the valuable lessons from other countries. The employers could gain much by encouraging the formation of Trade Unions and by recognising them, whenever and wherever they are formed. A number of strikes in recent years have occurred in India on account of employers stubbornly refusing to recognise Trade Unions and to negotiate with their leaders. In several cases, strikes have also occurred on account of employers refusing to take back the prominent workers who organised them and addressed meetings.

It should be admitted that there is some difficulty in employers recognising the trade unions, as the majority of the leaders of the labour movement in India are politicians. There has been a fear in India that political leaders utilise labour disputes for their own purposes. It is with this difficult point in mind, that it has been urged in the last chapter, that the leaders of the labour movement, should keep away from politics at least for the time being, if they have the real interests of labour at heart. Employers should also consider that the workers are so ignorant that it would be impossible for them to organise themselves without outside help and so they also should adjust themselves and as far as possible recognise the Unions. By doing so, they will give an opportunity for workers to train themselves and thus in the course of a few years to become leaders of their union. As soon as genuine Trade Union organisation emerges, it should be officially/

officially recognised as the channel of communication between employers and employed and so through friendly negotiation it should be able to prevent all kinds of local and spasmodic strikes.

Thus the labour organisations in India have not yet come to business methods, and the few Trade Unions that are existing to-day are badly managed and possess no clear-cut features or well-defined duties; most of them have no permanent offices or staffs; and the men themselves support half-heartedly and feel reluctant to obey Union discipline or contribute. Moreover, there are a number of small Unions existing to-day with very few members. For example in Bombay Presidency alone, apart from the few good and well-organised unions there are a number of small unions, about 74, with 50, 60 or 70 as their number of members.

The finance of all such unions is deplorable and as has been said the Unions practically give no benefit to the workers and the majority of them only act as strike Committees. They do not have any reserve to provide for the worker during strike time and entirely depend on outside help. An attempt should also be made to unite the small Unions in each industry and to form one large Union. It is only through the organisation of Indian workers, that sporadic strikes can be stopped and through this alone will the worker be able to save himself from every conceivable form of compulsion and terrorism and so improve his position. It is only through concerted action that they can/

can gain anything at all and not through local strikes (which are very common in India) for those strikes only last for one or two days and the workers generally return unconditionally. To my mind one solution for minimizing and also for eliminating strikes in India, is to encourage workers organisations and the development of Trade Unions. By such development not only for the workers benefit, but also employers who will have a means for negotiating and adjusting differences.

Industrial disputes arise in India from various other causes, such as the arbitrary dismissal of employees, and the ill-treatment of workers by foremen and managers. It has been shown in the last chapter how industrial workers in India are at the mercy of foremen. The foremen, generally an Indian or Angle-Indian takes advantage of the illiterate worker and, if he displeases him in the slightest degree, dismisses him. The worker not being conversant with rules and regulations and being illiterate, very rarely appeals, but thinking that the foreman is all-powerful and fearing dismissal, too often goes out of his way to please him. Such a system is undoubtedly open to grave abuse, and the employers should endeavour to establish work-shop committees to eradicate this evil. It is only through such committees that many minor differences could be adjusted and the foreman and others prevented from being harsh to the workers which is the common practice at present in India.

It has been said that the immediate cause of the strikes/

strikes is however economic. If we examine the causes of all the recent strikes it will be found that almost all strikes have arisen out of the demand for an increase of wages. So in India, as in this country, the majority of strikes have arisen out of wage questions and their adjustment. This has been the most important cause of all industrial disputes. We have seen that the wages of all classes of workers in India are low and especially after the war owing to the rise in the cost of living, the conditions of the workers have become worse and their sufferings have increased. Thus the workers found it impossible for them to obtain the bare necessities of life. This led them to go continually on strike, as they thought that they would better their position by such methods.

Thus, according to the statistics available, the majority of the disputes have arisen from the demand for higher wages. In Bengal, all the 48 strikes that occurred in October and November 1920, arose out of a demand for higher wages. Of the 559 strikes and lock-outs in 1921 and the first half of 1922 all over the country, 245 were due to the question of wages and 83 to a question of bonus and out of 134 disputes in 1925, 71 arose on account of wage questions. The same facts can be stated for the year 1926, when out of a total of 128 disputes 60 arose from a demand of higher wages. In 1927, 61 disputes out of 129 were due to questions of wages. So the wage question is one of the important causes of industrial disputes/

disputes in India and there are tendencies which show that many disputes will occur in the future if something is not done to regulate wages in the factories in India. There are as yet no such things as Trade Boards, or the minimum wage in India and since all wages are very low, there is a definite tendency to strike often in order to get better wages. The same tendencies, as has been seen, have occurred in almost all industrial countries and there is no doubt that they will repeat themselves in India if an adequate increase of wages to meet the bare necessities is not given. The employers in India should no longer ignore this fact and hence should change their methods and face the aspirations of labour. We have discussed this question more fully in the next chapter and hence it is sufficient to say here, that constant stoppages and friction between employers and workers is ~~to~~ bound to occur in the future if the employers try to keep the workers down by paying low wages. The employers in India besides have yet to learn the disastrous consequence of employing half-starved and weak workers who are unable to do their work efficiently.

As the Trade Unions are slowly being organised, the employees will naturally with their help demand better standards of living and hence an increase in wages. Moreover, when the workers obtain better education and the present illiterate worker is replaced by one more fully equipped mentally, this question will form the most important cause of industrial disputes in India and hence the employers should face this problem and meet the changing conditions/

conditions. Almost all recent strikes in India have been due to wage questions, for there is a considerable rise in the cost of living without a corresponding rise in wages. Hence Industrial workers find it impossible at the present low rate of wages to obtain the barest necessities for a decent livelihood. Labour in all countries is vitally interested in nothing so much as in getting a living wage, and the Indian labourers too are crying out for the same. So in India also the fixing of a minimum wage and the adjustment of wages in all industries should be immediately faced. Otherwise the present tendency clearly shows that there will be tremendous and disastrous industrial disputes. All interested in the industrial development of India should realise that constant stoppages of work on account of strikes and lock-outs will thwart progress and bring ruin to industry, and hence a comprehensive study of the whole system of wages should be made.

At present there are no negotiati^{ed}~~ve~~ or agreed rates of pay and the rates of wages are in fact all imposed upon the workers, and solely determined by the employers without any reference to the views or desires of the employees themselves, organised or unorganised. Moreover there is no uniformity in wage rates and varying rates for similar kinds of work are paid, which has led to many disputes. This is especially prevalent on the railways. As has been pointed out, if there is a strike, say on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, and a particular section gets a rise in wages, it will only give cause for further unrest. After
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a few months, workers on the Bengal Nagpur Railway seeing the success of the workers on the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, will demand the same increase in wages and if refused go on strike. Thus in recent years a number of strikes of this type have occurred and the only way to stop this difficulty is to have a negotiated or an agreed rate of pay. Since most of the Railways are state-owned, this could be easily done and thus many disputes could be averted. Hence a thorough investigation of the whole question should be made with the help of Trade Unions, to have proper agreed basis rates of pay.

Similar conditions exist in the Textile and Jute industries. Here also there are no fixed agreed rates and all rates are fixed by individual firms and thrust upon the workers. It is a common thing for workers in the same grade of work to be employed on different conditions in the same Mill. Generally wages vary from Mill to Mill and differ from one mill to another of the same firm. As has been said, this presents a very difficult problem. There is a natural tendency for workers, when others get better wages to demand the same wages for equal work and moreover such a state of things has continuously brought trouble to the Textile industry, and especially the cotton industry. The cause for such a state of things is due to the lack of strong Trade Unions who can demand a standard rate and secondly to the fact that there is no fixed rate of wages. But now things are slowly changing. The employees of the Cotton Mills, have joined together and/

and are demanding a minimum wage of 30 rupees per month and an eight hours day, which the employers refuse. This has brought about constant trouble in the industry for the past two years. The employers on the contrary contend, that they can compete successfully with Japan, only through reducing wages. The controversy over this question has been going on from 1923 and the matter is not settled properly even to-day. The employers have pointed out that only through reducing wages can they compete successfully with Japan, but this view is resisted by the workers. When this controversy started in 1923, 56 out of 61 mills were affected and about 48,000 operatives came out on strike. For similar reasons, all the operatives of the cotton mills in Bombay ceased work in 1924. The total number of operatives affected was 160,000 and the number of working days lost was nearly 8 million. In the end the strike collapsed but it did great damage to the industry for during the course of the strike many of the operatives returned to their villages and it took a long time for the Mills to be working again at full strength. However the resumption of work was only temporary for the Mill-owners seeing that the workers were unable to resist them, began to put their policy of reducing the wages seriously into operation, telling the public and the Government that they had no other alternative. This again brought about dispute after dispute in 1925, and there was one big strike in the cotton industry when nearly 125,000 men ceased work. Ever since 1925, there has been continuous trouble over wage questions in/

in this industry involving constant stoppages of work. Even to-day many Mills are not working and some of the Cotton Mills have been closed altogether.

Thus in the Cotton industry which is one of the biggest industries and employs nearly 370,617 workers, there has been constant trouble and practically since 1923 not a year has passed without a series of disputes. Very recently (March 1929) there were serious disturbances, when the workers became riotous and the police had to open fire killing nearly 150 people. What then is the solution? To my mind, an honest attempt should be made to investigate the whole wage question and with the help of the Trade Unions an agreed and standard rate of wages should be fixed. Secondly, as far as possible, a minimum wage should also be attempted. The present method of fixing wages without any reference to the views or desires of the employees themselves will not bring harmony but on the contrary, disputes will continuously occur and thus will increase the friction and create unnecessary unrest.

Besides this essentially economic cause, applicable to all the industries of the country, there are also some special causes, economic in origin, but peculiar to each industry and locality. It is a common practice in India, as has already been noted for the employers to fine their workpeople, sometimes for trivial offences, and for employers also to with-hold wages if employees leave without giving due notice, or in the event of a strike.

Further/

Further, it is a common practice in some centres, especially in Bombay, to deduct large sums from workers' wages for spoilt work. This has been resented by the workers, and has been the cause of small strikes, lasting for a day or two, but sometimes becoming wide-spread disputes. These penalties are abused and those powers are being seriously questioned by workers. Hence to avoid friction of this nature some kind of legislation should be introduced.

First of all the power to inflict fines should be limited and defined and the law should also provide that wages should be paid at the end of each week. The present system of paying wages monthly, and sometimes after 6 weeks' time, has brought untold misery to the industrial workers, the majority of whom succumb to the temptations of money-lenders.

Secondly, I advocate that legislation similar to the Truck Acts should be passed to protect the Indian workers.

Besides these immediate causes, various other causes which I have shown in the foregoing chapters have contributed to the present general industrial unrest culminating in various industrial disputes. The most important of these are the demand for better housing and for shorter working hours. At every conference held during the last few years resolutions have been passed demanding "eight hours rest after eight hours work". The Workers hours at present are regulated by the Indian Factories Amendment Act 1922, by which, "no person shall be employed in a factory for more than sixty hours in any one week" and "no person shall be/
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be employed in any one factory for more than eleven hours in any one day". But all these restrictions are openly broken and we have seen how in Jute Mills by adopting three or four shift system, it is difficult to detect the exact number of hours each worker works. The workers often complain about injustices and this has been the cause of numerous memorials and petitions to authorities who persistently ignore them. So there has been a number of disputes on account of this cause and these will increase in future if safe-guards are not adequately provided. In some cases on the railways, workers work continuously for 20 hours and in some cases workmen labour regularly for extra hours without any extra pay whatever. In this connection, it may be mentioned that there exists in India a school of thought which views with apprehension the efforts made to limit the hours of work. They contend that it would be detrimental to Indian industries to limit the hours approximately to the labour ideals of the more highly organised countries.

The employers of India, have yet to learn the uselessness of employing wearied workers and also if they pay little attention to the various experiments that have been conducted in recent years, they will note that experience has not always confirmed the view that shorter hours means diminished output. Dr. James Drever in his book - "The Psychology of industry" has shown conclusively that there is an "optimal length" of working period per day which will yield the most efficient work and greatest output, and that output and efficiency are both diminished either by working less or by working more. Moreover many experiments/

experiments conducted during the War have clearly shown how through the proper distribution of work and rest periods, the output can be increased.

It is indeed, very regrettable to say, that employers in India never take notice of all these things and only act as task masters. To put it plainly the Industrial workers in India never get one-tenth of the comforts and consideration that workers get in Britain and to my mind they are treated in some cases very much like cattle.

Therefore this question of hours of labour requires serious consideration for if things are left to continue as they are to-day, they will lead to great industrial unrest. Already the movement has started for a reduction of working hours and at present it is common among Railway employees to submit memorials and petitions and the next step will be strikes and lock-outs.

The only solution to eliminate this cause is to make future legislation with stricter provisions and also to employ full time factory inspectors in adequate numbers and enforce the laws rigidly. It should be noted here, that India, as one of the signatories of the Peace Treaty, is also one of the original members of the International Labour organisation, established by that treaty. India's ratification of the Washington decisions seems to me to be only nominal. No doubt she signed with some reservation, (for the limit is 60 hours per week) but even then, she is unable to enforce the condition strictly for the causes mentioned/

mentioned above. Therefore we have suggested, that the existing law should be rigidly enforced and as far as possible in future attempts should be made to limit the hours of work to those existing in the highly organised Western Nations. No doubt such a proposal would be strongly opposed by the employers, but my submission is that the proposal should receive careful scrutiny and the aim should be in the end to fall into conformity with the Western Nations. By following the suggestions as outlined above, the disputes arising over the question of hours of labour could be minimised.

Some of the strikes have been attributed to political causes. It has been said that agitators in order to win cheap notoriety take up the labour cause and incite workers to strike and to do violent things. Employers and the Government also think that recent Industrial disputes are due to the activities of communists who are paid agents of organisations outside India. It is with this view that the Government of India introduced a bill a year ago, by which to secure power to expel all suspected agitators from India. The bill was overthrown by the Legislative Assembly and the Government are so convinced over this matter that they have again introduced the bill in the present session of the Assembly. Apart from this, the Government recently (March 1929) arrested British as well as Indian Trade Union leaders. The Government contend that these leaders have no interest in the welfare of the workers/

workers and that their only aim is political. This much can be said, on their behalf that it is possible when India is undergoing political changes, that some political leaders may utilise labour disputes for their own purposes. In spite of all this however it should be noted, that it would be impossible to lead the workers and convince them to cease work, if they were content and happy and hence even in such cases, the fundamental cause is economic, and the politicians only accentuate the seriousness of the situation.

It should be noted, that strike epidemics in recent years are partly due to the new ideals and aspirations with which the working classes have been imbued through the labour movement of recent years. Strikes due to this cause can be seen from the demands workmen have been recently putting forward. These include an annual vacation of one month with pay, better housing and in some industries the participation of labour in the Management of those branches of industry in which workers' welfare was involved.

Lastly, there are various other contributory causes which bring about disputes, and such causes will in the future become a constant source of dispeace if adequate steps are not taken to remove them. Among the contributory causes of the disputes might be mentioned, the lack of proper compensation in any case of serious or fatal accident and secondly the summary dismissal of workers at the option of some employers. Sometimes even wages are withheld and workers are ill-treated by employers especially/

especially by foremen. In this country these things are rare for both Trade Union agreements and legislation protect the workers. Moreover, various other facilities such as workshop committees and other machinery are being attempted by which the worker can quickly ventilate his grievances. It is not so in India and unless adequate steps are taken, and unless some such schemes as exist in this country are established to give facilities to the workers to bring their grievances to the notice of employers, the unrest will continue. Rapid changes in these directions should be made in order to avert in future the strikes that occur on trivial grounds. The Indian working classes are also slowly imbibing new ideas and aspirations and therefore the necessity arises for employers also to change according to changing conditions.

We have seen in the last chapter how the power of combination among workers is as yet exceedingly limited and thus Industrial disputes in India differ to a large extent from those in this country. The following may be said to be some of the characteristics of Indian strikes.

1. The frequency of the strikes without notice.
2. The absence of clearly defined grievances before striking.
3. The multiplicity and sometimes extravagance of the claims put forward after the strike has begun.
4. The increasing solidarity of employers and employees and the capacity of the operatives to remain on strike for considerable periods despite lack of any visible organisation.

The above is the observation made by a committee

(Bombay/

(Bombay Labour Gazette April 1922 page 24) which was appointed to investigate the methods of settlement of industrial disputes and there is no doubt that they contain some truth. We have already pointed out that there is scarcely any organised body of persons of an executive capacity through which the grievances of the workers can be properly defined and formulated and hence the observations made above are the general characteristics of strikes in India. But it should be noted that grievances indeed exist and many of them, such as low wages, long hours and bad housing are known to employers. Yet steps are not taken to remedy them. To my mind, steps should be immediately taken to avoid future troubles and should not be left till demands are actually pressed.

It is also true that strikes often start for one reason, such as higher wages and generally opportunity is taken to demand the redress of other grievances, and there is no doubt, that the claims of the workers are often extravagant. I attribute this difficulty entirely to the want of properly advised Trade Union assistance and secondly, to the fact that labour organisations existing in India have not yet come down to business methods. This is owing to the want of good and steady leaders.

The most remarkable observation of the Committee is that Indian workers can "remain on strike for considerable periods despite any visible organisation". As I have shown this is partly due to the fact that workers as soon as/

as a strike begins go home to their villages and try to find employment. But recently things are changing. A permanent body of workers has arisen and hence these, when they find that they cannot get strike pay or other means to live during the strike period become desperate and try to achieve their ends by violence. That is the reason why, to my mind, almost all recent strikes are accompanied by rioting and bloodshed.

In recent years the industrial disputes in India have been constant and thus have hampered the growth of Industries, especially the Cotton industry. It is indeed impossible to measure the actual loss they impose on Society, but it can be said that if the present state of affairs is allowed to continue there is bound to be prolonged industrial warfare and the trend of things at present indicates that this may culminate in a series of riots and a serious revolt of labour. The strikes in 1882 and up to 1918, were on a small scale and were insignificant; but things have changed since 1918. As has been said, even if one goes through all the blue-books of the Indian Government, it is very difficult to get adequate information about disputes in India prior to 1921. However, perhaps the earliest strike took place at the Golam Baba Spinning and Weaving Company's Mills in 1882. This strike lasted for two days from the 13th to 15th of November. There were many other small strikes during this period but most of them lasted for a day or two and involved only a fraction/

fraction of the working people of a factory or an industry. Between 1882 and 1890 however 25 important strikes occurred in different factories of Bombay and Madras, but all those strikes passed off without attracting much public attention. Moreover, there is no authentic data for all the strikes and so one cannot accurately give the numbers involved in them, or any idea of their nature. In 1905, too, there were a number of strikes in several Mills of Bombay owing to the introduction of electricity making excessive hours possible. In 1907, some of the strikes in Bombay lasted for over a week and were mainly due to wage questions.

The first important and widespread strike took place in the Summer of 1908, and the cause of this strike was not economic but political. The mill workers of Bombay went on strike out of sympathy for Mr Tilak, one of the great political leaders of India, when he was sentenced to prison, - About four-fifths of the workers were on strike, but they returned after a day or two.

But the number of strikes gradually increased and the later war period and the years succeeding the peace settlement were years of great economic stress and strain. The same thing occurred all over the world and we have seen how in this country, there was considerable trouble in industries. In India the same causes as in this country led to strikes for, at this period, all food stuffs in India were sold at a high price and the workers were unable to meet this with their low wages, and thus a feeling of unrest was engendered. This led to the spread of a strike epidemic in India, and there were serious disturbances/

disturbances and dislocation of industry. In 1917, several strikes took place in important industrial centres, such as Ahmedabad, Madras and Bombay, and during 1918, strikes for an advance in wages were frequent and most of them were settled by the workers receiving an increase of wages. One of the largest strikes took place in Bombay in December 1918, the trouble starting in one of the Mills and workers gradually received support from other Mills until by 9th January, 1919 about 125,000 workers were out on strike. Those troubles were mainly due to the fact that the worker in India slowly began to realise his importance and began to demand higher wages and better conditions. Also on the Railways, employees on several of the great lines in India considered it necessary to suspend work on several occasions in order to obtain an increase of wages.

All through 1919 and 1920, there were numbers of strikes on account of a demand for an increase of wages, which was a direct effect of the War. The prices of commodities increased without a corresponding increase in wages and hence demand after demand was put forth for higher wages. Another cause, to my mind is perhaps due to the return of sappers and others from the war, who were mainly recruited from the labouring classes. These men returned imbued with new ideas and also after seeing other countries and having come into contact with people of other nations. They began to preach to their fellow workers and induced them to demand better/

better conditions. Hence there were numbers of strikes in 1919 and 1920, for example, the strike of Calcutta Postmen ^{and} ~~is~~ another big strike in Cawnpore involving more than 15,000 men.

Moreover, we have seen that during 1919 and 1920 a number of unions were formed and with the help of them, the workers wanted to get better conditions, and hence there were frequent strikes. During 1920, nearly 200 strikes occurred, some of them of considerable importance, but they were not protracted. Among the most important of these, were the strikes of the Mill hands in Ahmedabad and Bombay, and the latter strike was reckoned to have caused a loss in production alone of £8 millions.

There were also serious strikes at the Tata works at Jamshedpur in February and March and on the North Western Railways. There was a strike of postal employees in Bombay and strikes accompanied in some cases with disorder, occurred in most of the important centres of India, particularly Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. However, one leading characteristic of this strike epidemic has been the prevalence of short strikes, leading to the intermission of work for a few days only.

In a number of cases a slight increase of wages was given but the workers were not satisfied, for they were unable to meet their liabilities owing to a constant increase of prices, which was mainly due to the after effects of the war.

Unfortunately a number of strikes which have occurred this/

this year were followed by violence and when a strike occurred in Madras Cotton Mills, the masses became uncontrollable, so that the police were called out and repeatedly had to fire, wounding and killing a number of workers.

The same thing happened in Bengal when in the nine months, June 1920 to March 1921, there were no fewer than 29 separate strikes in the Jute Mills alone, but they were all only of a few days duration except the strike ^{at Wellington Jute Mill} at Serampore which lasted for three weeks. The strike occurred over the alleged unjust dismissal of five men, and the strikers did not resume work, till the foreman (sardar) fearing assault, had left the district.

In 1920, strikes occurred in almost all industrial towns and in Bombay more than 63 strikes were recorded, but the most disastrous thing is, that almost all the strikes during this period were accompanied by violence and disorder. The labourers were driven in "sheer desperation to strike", and since they had no strike pay, or means to maintain themselves, became impatient and showed their feelings by indulging in violence. The Government at this time never even thought of establishing any machinery for the settlement of Industrial disputes and thus found it difficult to intervene. Those strikes brought great hardships to the Mercantile community and the general public, and so in August 1920, various appeals were made, including one by Lord Chelmsford, then Governor-General/

General of India, pointing out the new aspirations of labour in India and requesting the employers to meet the situation sympathetically.

In spite of such appeals industrial troubles increased and there were no fewer than 400 strikes during the year 1921 and the majority of them were due undoubtedly to economic causes. In the first quarter there were nearly 116 disputes involving 185,251 workpeople, the days lost being 2,590,325. Out of these 116 disputes, 64 arose out of wage questions and the workpeople were completely successful only in 13 cases. About 49 disputes occurred in Bengal and 27 in Bombay. A large number of disputes also occurred in Cotton and Woollen Mills, and in the 2nd quarter of 1921, there were 64 disputes out of which 42 arose on account of wage questions and the workers were completely successful only in 11 cases. Even in the 2nd quarter the majority of the disputes occurred in cotton mills and the total number of persons involved in all the disputes for the 2nd quarter was 122,432, the days lost being 2,114,657. In the 3rd quarter there were 88 disputes and in the 4th there were 132 disputes. Thus in 1921, the largest number of strikes occurred and the majority of them arose on account of wage questions.

Year 1921	Industrial Disputes.	No. of persons involved.	Days lost.	Successful.	Partly successful
1st Quarter.	116	185,251	2,590,325	13	42
2nd "	64	122,432	2,114,657	11	12
3rd "	88	97,825	1,113,684	15	12
4th "	132	117,647	799,196	49	16
Total in 1921.	400	523,155	6,637,862	88	82

There were four important strikes involving considerable numbers of employees, and out of them the Assam Bengal Railway strike lasted for about $2\frac{1}{2}$ months and at its height some 11,000 employees were out of work and in the end some 4,500 lost their posts altogether. The cause of those strikes was as far as has been said the demand for higher wages.

Seeing that some steps had to be taken to prevent those disastrous industrial disputes, various provincial governments appointed committees, who recommended various measures for the settlement of disputes, which we have discussed elsewhere, and it is sufficient to say here that a real beginning was made at this time in organising separate Labour departments. In spite of all this the strike fever did not subside and there were nearly 280 disputes in British India in 1922, and the total number of workpeople involved was 435,434, and the number of working days lost 3,972,727. Of the strikes 127 were due to the question of pay and 32 on account of ^{questions of bonus. 18 disputes were settled in favour of the employers,} ~~the employers~~, 34 in favour of the employees and 25 were compromises.

The most important strike of the year was that on the East Indian Railway, which was followed by another one which commenced in the United Provinces in the beginning of February, spreading rapidly to Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and the Punjab. This strike lasted for 3 months and involved more than 21,000 men. There was a serious strike this year/

year also at Tata Iron and Steel works which lasted over a month and involved over 23,000 workmen.

There was a strike at Stanes Cotton Mills, Coimbatore when 400 workmen of the weaving department came out demanding full pay for the 10 days during which they had no work when the engine was under repair. The management refused to give full pay, but consented to give half pay and in the end after 9 days' strike the workers returned to work and accepted the conditions.

There was also a small strike in the British Burma Petroleum Co. when the men went out on strike demanding an increase of 25% in their pay, but the demands were refused and workers returned after a few days.

Thus we see in almost all strikes, the workers were unsuccessful in their demands, and successful strikes throughout the year 1922 were very rare. In order to stop this unnecessary wastage and dislocation, attempts for the first time were made at this time, by some employers to institute works committees and shop committees and the Government of Madras took the lead in setting up a Court of Inquiry to deal with individual disputes. In 1923, there were about 214 disputes. Almost all disputes were short-lived but some were prolonged and brought considerable dislocation. There were two disputes in Bombay and one was of the nature of a lock-out, for the management of the Assur Virgi Mill, Lower Parel put up a notice suspending work from 18th February to 25th February 1923, as changes had to be made in the machinery of the Mill, but unfortunately the/

the management put up another notice extending the time. The men grew discontented and demanded full wages for the idle days, but the management promised to pay only half-wages. After four days of strike the men returned to work and accepted the terms of the management.

There were a number of small strikes but the most important strike of the year occurred in Ahmedabad and broke out on 1st April, 1923, when the operatives of 54 cotton Mills out of a total of 61 mills went on strike and the number of operatives on strike on 1st April was slightly less than 43,000. The main reason was that employers wanted to reduce wages, stating that they were unable to compete with Japanese goods, and that the only course for them was to reduce wages. As has been pointed out, this has been the cause of a series of disputes in the cotton industry and from that time, till to-day, there has been constant trouble in this industry.

Like the mining industry in this country, the Cotton industry in India is constantly troubled with strikes and lock-outs and employers attribute this to the severe competition this industry has been exposed to, especially after the war. Then come the Railways, where, owing to the better labour organisation, strikes have been numerous and prolonged. In other industries strikes are generally short-lived and sometimes pass unnoticed.

However, we can generally say that though the number of strikes have gradually decreased since 1920 yet it cannot be said that there is no industrial unrest in India and to my mind/

mind, the workers are slowly realising that they should claim better conditions, and unless and until adequate provisions are made to cope with the new desire of the workers, there is bound to be industrial trouble in the future, and the employers will have to face the same troubles as other countries, when they were being industrialised. Perhaps the most disturbing feature of the past year in India has been the spread of Industrial unrest. Many of the Strikes that have had so crippling an effect upon industry, especially in Bombay, have been started before a definite grievance had been put forward or any serious effort made to find a solution by negotiation.

Statistics of the Industrial disputes in British India for the year 1928 show that the total number of strikes was 203, and that the total number of men involved 506,851 as compared with 129 strikes involving 134,655 men during 1927. The total number of working days lost was 31,647,404, which is greater than the total of working days lost in the five preceding years taken together.

It has been suggested, that "labour troubles in India (especially last year) were due to Soviet intrigues, and that they were financed by money from Moscow".

It is indeed very regrettable for labour leaders in India to mix up labour grievances with politics. Their aim should be to keep out of politics altogether and should aim to do the best they can to improve the conditions of vast blocks of admittedly underpaid and unorganised labour. It is a pity that/

that these leaders find it difficult to separate the demand for political power from economic advancement.

Admittedly, Indian workers conditions are miserable. They require the sympathy of State as well as employers and hence, my submission is that labour leaders in India, should aim solely to improve the conditions of workers, leaving politics to others, otherwise they will alienate the sympathy of the employers and the State. What is wanted is ~~some~~^{some} God-fearing leaders whose sole aim should be to do all they could for the economic advancement of the workers. The following table shows clearly the number of strikes that have occurred in India between 1921 to 1928.

Year.	No. of disputes.	No. of workers involved.	Working days lost.
1921	400	523,155	6,637,862
1922	280	435,434	3,972,727
1923	214	-	-
1924	132	312,462	8,730,918
1925	134	270,432	12,578,129
1926	128	186,811	1,097,478
1927.	129	131,655	2,019,970
1928	203	506,851	31,647,404

Thus on the average 202 disputes per year (between 1921-28) have occurred in the past - the majority of them being in the Cotton industry. This is mainly due to the severe competition with Japan and also to bad organisation. However there is an ample market both for foreign competitors and/

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1. For example in 1922 out of 400 disputes 135 occurred in Cotton industry.
 In 1925 out of 134 disputes 65 occurred in Cotton industry.
 In 1926 " 128 " 57 " " " "
 In 1927 " 129 " 61 " " " "

and home made goods to flourish, for it would not be possible for the Indian Mills alone to clothe 300 million people. The Mill Owners contend that it is not possible for the industry to flourish unless and until it is protected, a view the Government of India is not prepared to accept. To my mind, it is essential, for the Cotton Mills, first and foremost to reorganise the industry and to increase production, so that they can sell cheaply to the masses. Secondly, they should by giving good wages, encourage the workers to settle permanently in the cities, and to abandon their agricultural pursuits.

As has been pointed out, the present workers in Cotton Mills are semi-agriculturists, who generally leave the Mills after some time and thus there is a great deal of shifting about of workers from place to place. The new recruits are quite ignorant of the work and have to be taught from the very beginning. Thus there is a good deal of waste; besides the majority of workers are not efficient and this leads to bad and low production. Therefore the workers should be made efficient and in order to do this they should be given better pay and instruction and should be retained permanently. It is then and then only that the Cotton industry can be lifted from its present unhappy state. It is only by some such methods as outlined above that the conditions in the Cotton industry can be improved and the present tension relieved.

Moreover about 50% of the disputes arise ~~out~~ of wage questions/

1. questions. The workers in India, undoubtedly receive very low wages and thus, especially after the War strikes for advance of wages were frequent. As has been said above, 559 strikes and lock-outs in 1921 and the first half of 1922 all over the country, 245 arose out of questions of wages and 83 out of the question of a Bonus. Most of the strikes occurred on account of those causes, and in future there will be more trouble on this account, for, when the present workers are, displaced by better workers, these will naturally demand better wages and better conditions. Unless and until some solution is found to adjust and improve the present low level of wages there is bound to be industrial unrest and constant stoppage of work. Mr A.A.Purcell, M.P. who ^{with} Mr. Mr. J. Hallisworth made a tour of India on behalf of the General Council of the T.U.C. after his return said in an interview that they travelled nearly 30,000 miles in India to study the conditions of workers and are convinced that the Indian workers "are suffering to an intolerable degree-- millions of bread-winners, men, women and children are sweated; their pitiful wages are reduced almost to vanishing point; and a ghastly state of poverty, semi-starvation, ill-health and disease prevails which is almost inconceivable in the light of the country's wonderful natural resources".

So the wages of all classes of labourers in India

are/

Year.	Total No.of Strikes.	Strikes on account of wages.	Bonus
1922	400	127	32
1925	134	65	6
1926	128	60	4
1927	129	61	

are low and we have seen in the foregoing chapters, how on account of those low wages they are suffering. We have discussed in the next chapter some of the remedial measures and here it is sufficient to say that, the employers should as far as possible, try to increase wages and thus raise the standard of workers, so as to conduce to their efficiency.

Another noteworthy thing observed when describing the various strikes, was that invariably almost all big strikes are accompanied by violence and rioting. This has been very common especially in recent years. Unfortunately, the police have had to open fire and thus wound and kill many workers. Workers were shot dead during the strike in the Cotton Mills of Madras a few years ago, and last year fire was opened when there was a strike of the employees of the Burma Oil Company. Some affirm that such strikes are being directed by local Indian and British Communists known to be in communication with Moscow, and hence as has been said the Government brought in a bill (to give power to expel from India especially foreign and British Communists) which power at present has been obtained through the Viceroy issuing an Ordinance. Recent events show that there is ample evidence to that effect, but it should be noted also that various Government Reports have admitted that the majority of strikes have arisen on account of purely economic causes. The rioting and violence can be also explained. It has been pointed out that there are no/

no effective Trade Unions in India and so strikers do not receive any strike pay during strike time, and after a few days exhaust their little savings and actually starve. Moreover, the majority are ignorant and are easily led. Starvation and ignorance, make them restless and also make them believe, that by violence and threats they can achieve their objects. This state of things could be easily cured by the organisation of the workers. Therefore we strongly affirm that the fundamental necessity for the Indian workers in the Trade Union organisation with a well defined object to raise their standard by peaceful methods. These trade Unions should develop the "Friendly Society" side and the leaders should negotiate with employers to get better conditions. The employers in their turn should not put obstacles to the rise of trade Unionism, and should recognise the Unions. Otherwise, many disputes are likely to occur in the near future on account of this cause. We have shown that in British Industrial disputes workers are the worst sufferers. The same thing applies in the case of India, where workers suffer even more. Indeed, Indian workers are actually left to starve and sometimes do desperate things. In the majority of strikes in India, the workers demands were not granted and thus they were completely unsuccessful. The percentage of their successes is very low, and in the majority of strikes they returned unconditionally. From the table in the footnote/

1. No. of disputes in which workers were successful.		
Year.	Total No. of disputes.	Those successful.
1921	400	88
1922	280	34
1925	134	17
1926	128	12
1927	129	15

note we can see that the workers were successful only in a few cases. By strikes, owing to lack of solidarity, the Indian workers are forced to accept defeats and have suffered more than workers in this country. They have been forced to face starvation and misery. The workers then in India also should do their best to avoid using the strike weapon and should concentrate their attention on organising themselves. They should aim at getting public sympathy, and with the help of able leaders, should try to achieve better conditions and pay through peaceful means and negotiation. They must realise, that strikes are futile, with only their present weak organisation behind them, and that they will be, in the long run the worst sufferers.

Employers have a moral duty especially in India, towards their ^{un}organised workers. They should not take advantage of their weakness and illiteracy and should as far as possible help them to gain better conditions and wages and thus lift them to a higher standard of living. Much of the present industrial unrest could be minimised if the employers treat the demands of the workers sympathetically and try to improve their conditions.

Moreover the Government should no longer follow the old policy of non-intervention. We know in almost all industrial countries the State, in the beginning has consistently avoided interfering in the industrial matters and left capital and labour to settle things by bargaining/

bargaining. But this policy has to be abandoned and the right of Government intervention in industrial disputes and other matters is accepted as necessary now. Thus much has been done in this country by the State to protect the workers.

In India also, the State should have a definite State labour policy in regard to Industrial disputes.

(2) Regulation of industrial conditions,

(3) Public provision for wage-earners needs in supplement of wages. (Prof. Clay)

In India much could be done by passing prohibitive legislation and by fixing minimum rate of wages. The fixing of Standard rate of wages also should be faced. Attempts are being made to do this in Railways, textile and the printing industries, which appear to offer fair scope of standardisation. Unfortunately, the history of attempts to standardisation in the Textile industry is mainly the history of wage disputes, culminating in strikes. The contest has, in some quarters, been reciprocal, one side being for levelling down and the other for levelling up. Though the circumstances of these disputes perhaps indicate that a mere uniformity of wages, even if the levelling up party wins the day, will not bring complete contentment, it seems nevertheless very desirable to aim at standardisation, in order to eliminate at least one of the factors of unrest.

Closely connected with the question of standardisation is that of a minimum wage. No doubt the fixing of a minimum wage/

wage is indeed very difficult in India. Now serious attempt has been made, as far as I know to estimate the cost of living for various provinces except in one or two Industrial towns. There are no doubt hundreds of cases of workers living on wages below the minimum cost of living. There are a great many difficulties in fixing a minimum wage, but in order to eliminate much of the unrest which leads to Industrial disputes, this problem requires serious consideration.

Employers could do a great deal by supplementing ~~money~~^{money} ~~money~~ wages by giving such advantages, concessions, and amenities **as** free or cheap houses, medical aid, education, sick leave, maternity benefit and what is called "welfare work". These are, however, exceedingly ~~rare~~ at present. All these things would be of great help indirectly in lessening disputes. State could do a great deal in this matter by encouraging, assisting and supplementing the various schemes as outlined above. In this country State intervenes in the settlement of wages and has power to do so by the Trade Board Act of 1909 and 1918, the Miners' Minimum wage Act of 1912, and the Corn production and Agricultural wages Acts of 1917-24. Much could be done to attack "Sweating" by State intervention in India also.

Lastly State could do much for Industrial peace, by establishing Industrial Courts and Conciliation Boards and by offering the Services of impartial specialised and experienced officers as Conciliators.

In order to minimise Industrial disputes in India, radical/

radical reorganisation and ~~ways~~^{changes} of the present industrial system is necessary, for the stoppages is only a subordinate problem. Owing to weak organisation of the workers at present the employers can dictate to the workers but "it would not follow that industrial relations were therefore satisfactory". It should be noted as Prof. Clay says that "bad conditions, unnecessarily low wages, a smouldering discontent that finds its expression in restriction of output, arbitrary discipline and unwilling service, are results of unsatisfactory industrial relations as important as strikes and lock-outs".

The present industrial unrest in India is the outburst of labour feeling, and thus the stoppage is only a subordinate problem and in order to diagnose the real cause, we should go far deeper and the employer and State should not be content to remedy the Symptoms alone.

It is only by comprehensive policy, and by removing the various grievances that lie below, the present tension could be relieved.

Let me repeat again, if the employers do not take a lesson from what has happened in other industrial countries, and if they persist in their present attitude, then there is bound to be in the future industrial unrest and constant stoppage of work.

Industrial troubles could then be avoided in India, by planning a broad and sympathetic policy on the lines of the experience gained by various other industrial countries and/

and by avoiding the mistakes and faults committed by other countries in the past.

It is only by such means that the future progress of Indian Industries can be assured and the present industrial unrest can be prevented.

CONCLUSION.

We have seen in the first chapter, the general conditions existing in India and in particular the miserable condition of Industrial workers, and it was also shown how India is slowly becoming an Industrial country. In the third and last chapter, we discussed the low standard of life of the Industrial worker and showed how, especially after the war there were constant troubles especially over the demand for advances in wages.

It has also been shown that the majority of workers of India are illiterate and semi-agriculturist, and it was pointed out how necessary it is to dispel the mass of ignorance, ^{and} how better wages would enable them to settle permanently in industrial towns. It would be impossible to make them efficient or to increase production, ~~into~~ ^{with} the present low standard of living.

It is most important that operatives in India should start organisations on the lines of the Trade Unions of the West, not only for presenting a solid front to their employers but for the mutual relief and the common good of their own class.

The State, the employers and public-spirited citizens must come forward to assist in the amelioration of their condition. The State can best play a part by introducing compulsory education, which would solve many of the difficulties which we pointed out on account of employing illiterate/

illiterate workers in the industries.

Government, central and local should also encourage the building of decent dwelling houses for the working classes. If real efforts were made in these directions, the workers would become more efficient than they are at present. Special manual training and technical education will also act favourably on the economic development of the country.

Co-operative Societies should be encouraged so that Indian workers may get cheap and wholesome foodstuffs and the Government should gradually introduce protective measures to safe-guard the interests of the workers. Factory inspection, rigidly enforcing satisfactory sanitary conditions both in the factories, and in the localities where workers dwell should be introduced. Such ameliorative measures will react very beneficially and will tend to ease the present industrial unrest and thus indirectly minimise industrial disputes. To my mind, such small concessions will confer great benefit because the workers can be easily placated. It is much more easy to please Indian workers than workers elsewhere for by nature and upbringing generally makes him be grateful for the little he gets.

There is no doubt, that a special responsibility lies upon the employers, who must see that their workers find conditions of work reasonably congenial to them and that they are as efficient as they can be. The inefficiency of Indian labour is a serious factor which leads to many unhappy/

unhappy results. Employers should realise that efficient labour conduces to increase production and that industries will prosper better and people will be happier in proportion to the degree of the efficiency of labour. As such they should make every attempt to improve their position. The employers should make it a point to start welfare schemes and social service Leagues in every factory. On humanitarian grounds, at least, they should institute free medical aid and sick benefit funds to which the employers should subscribe liberally. There are some such schemes in many places but they should be made general rather than the exception. The employers should also introduce provident and pension funds. Every ameliorative measure should be adopted to raise the workers from their present bad state and if necessary the Government should make these obligatory.

"There is substantial agreement" say the authors of the Indian Industrial Commission" between the best-informed witnesses that the remedies for this State of affairs are a rise in the standard of comfort and an improvement in the public health. These ends can be obtained only by education, improved housing and a general policy of betterment, in which an organisation for the care of public health must play a prominent part. If the children of workers are provided with education under tolerable conditions of life, a new generation of workers will grow up, who will learn to regard mill work as their fixed occupation. Better-housing is a most urgent necessity/

necessity, especially in the large congested industrial cities. Facilities for healthy amusement, shorter hours of work (though a reduction of these may for a time decrease output) and other measures for economic betterment, such as cheap shops for the sale of articles required by the Mill hands, co-operative societies are almost equally important.

The conditions under which industrial operatives live and work in this country ought, if efficiency be aimed at, to approximate, as nearly as circumstances permit, to those of temperate climates - continuous factory work in the tropics is, at certain seasons of the year, far more trying than similar work in Northern countries. The needs of domestic sanitation in large towns are more pressing. The problem, not only on moral grounds, but also for economic reasons, must be solved with the least avoidable delay, if the existing and future industries of India are to hold their own against ever-growing competition. No industrial edifice can be permanent, which is built on such unsound foundations as those afforded by Indian labour under its present conditions.

On the other hand, the margin which the efficiency of the Indian Mill hand leaves for improvement is so great that, if the problem be successfully solved, the advantage to Indian industries should be very marked.^{1.}"

The above quotation sums up the very clearly the immediate task that lies before the Government and employers and also those who are interested in Labour questions/

1. Report of the Indian Industrial Commission (Cmd.51) page 151. Chairman Sir T.H.Holland.

questions.

India has to face her industrial problem and in doing so she should do her best to avoid all the difficulties and hardships other countries have undergone. Employers should do their best not to reapt the faults committed in other countries. If they neglect experience there is bound to be constant friction. It is for this reason that some in India wish that India should never become an Industrial Country, but we have seen how essential it is to start industries in order to give employment to the teeming millions of India who have no work at all at present. Therefore, industrial development is essential, but the development should be carried on along right lines and in such an atmosphere that everyone concerned in it may have a square deal.

At present in India, the subject of labour does not appear to have received the careful consideration its importance desires. Labour problems should be carefully studied, side by side with labour troubles and the general labour movements of Western countries and every attempt should be made to map out the industrial progress and the relation of those who are employed in them, in the light of the experience so gained.

The new social and economic changes that are coming over the country, are slowly revealing the importance of the problem. Therefore Labour problems in India require close attention and the days are gone when the workers' demands can be easily ignored.

In/

In each Presidency, the labour department should be strengthened and should collect correct statistics of industries, the workers employed in them, their wages and their working conditions. All these should be published for the use of the people of the area. Such Reports should give all the information and data supplied by industrially advanced countries. They should also collect and make available to the people information from foreign countries, likely to be of value.

Moreover the Government of India, should establish a special department of labour in the capital, which should collect all available statistics and data from all the provinces and districts and which should publish a report every four months. Such information is very valuable for those who are interested in industrial and labour questions, and it will be also very useful to people in general. The time has come, for both employers and Government to pay more careful attention to labour problems and to adopt a broad, comprehensive and statesman-like policy towards labour questions.

Purposely in the previous chapters, the very bad state of labour conditions in India, was shown at length. If these are allowed to continue, there is bound to be a large number of strikes and lock-outs in the future. Therefore radical measures should be adopted to prevent them.

We have seen also that the wages of factory workers are very low, and that their standard of living is miserable. Time and again, it has been pointed out both
by/

by Royal Commission, and by British visitors to India, that this question should receive immediate consideration. Many of the disputes after the war and in recent years are due to the demand for an increase of wages. We have suggested that a uniform rate of wages should be fixed in all State-owned railways, but something else should be done. The Government should seriously attempt to fix minimum wages; for if this is not done, advantage would be taken of the illiterate workers and thus sweating and exploitation will continue. A minimum wage-fixing machinery has been adopted in almost all the Industrial countries in one way or another, and if India wants to minimise industrial disputes, she should also adopt this policy generally.

To a recent request by the International Labour Office, the Government reply shows that they are unwilling to take any step regarding this matter. For they say it would be impossible "in most cases for the Government or the authorities which they set up to deal immediately with every trade satisfying the Criteria. In countries where wage-fixing machinery has been established, the extension of the scope of that machinery has generally been gradual and it is probable that even in the countries where legislation of the type contemplated has the longest history, minimum wages have not yet been fixed for every trade satisfying the criteria suggested". They say further that "there are trades for which, although they may/

may satisfy the Criteria, minimum wages cannot advantageously be fixed. No advantage would be gained by fixing a minimum wage at a level lower than that paid in the industry and there will be cases in which any endeavour to fix the wage at a substantially higher level would be detrimental to the interest of workers. There will also be cases in which the general enforcement of a suitable minimum will not be a practical proposition."¹

To my mind the Government of India have really taken an unfortunate view. Their decision seems to me, to be arrived at without seriously studying the whole question, or on account of powerful vested interests. No doubt as I pointed out there are many difficulties, especially in India, but time has arrived to make an attempt, and it is indeed essential, that attempts should be made to face this problem irrespective of any interests. The low standard of the workers and their miserably low wages is not only detrimental to the workers themselves, but also to the workers of other countries. If the present state of things continues, there will be a tendency for foreigners to start industries in India in order that they may get cheap labour. It is therefore essential in the interests not only of the workers of India, but also in those of the workers of other parts of the world that the remuneration and status of the Indian worker should not remain at its present low level. Thus in order to avoid future industrial disputes a determined effort should be made/

1. Views of the Government of India in reply to the questionnaire issued by the International Labour office on Minimum fixing machinery.

made to do something with regards to wages. There are no standardised rates, there is no minimum wage, and lastly we should note that there is no clear demarcation between skilled and unskilled labour, the latter tending insensibly to merge itself in the former with the growth of experience.

I have collected figures from various factories relating to the wages of different class of workers such as weavers, spinners, fitters, turners, and found that wages varies very much from factories to factories and it is difficult to understand how these wages are fixed or based.

This method of fixing wages would naturally lead to many disputes in future, if proper steps are not taken now.

Therefore it would be advisable that each provincial Government such as Bengal, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Assam should appoint a small impartial Committee to collect statistics and data and then fix a minimum wage for every trade, taking very carefully into consideration the local conditions. To my mind, it is of the utmost importance, in order to lift the workers from their present low level, that a minimum wage-fixing machinery should be established at once in all big industries and then the scope of the machinery could be gradually expanded. This is one of the most important problems the Government should face, and it should never hesitate, even if employers strongly oppose it, to force it upon them.

Apart from this, employers can also play their part by facing the wage question more sympathetically and thus avoiding as much as possible future industrial troubles. They/

They should recognise Trade Unions and should endeavour to fix wages only after joint-negotiation and joint consultation. Standardisation of wages would to a certain extent minimise Industrial disputes. We have shown that there has not yet been evolved any standard scale of wages and how different wages are paid for the same work in different places and in mills. The uncorrelated raising of wages in one factory is almost invariably seized upon as a grievance in other factories of the same class and instances of strikes caused in this way are numerous in India. Hence this subject requires careful consideration on a National basis of all employers and if an attempt is made with the help of Trade Union leaders, to standardise wages on a definite principle, strikes caused on account of the above mentioned cases can be eliminated. They should also understand that while enterprise is entitled to a fair reward, labour is entitled to a fair remuneration. Moreover we have seen that workers on account of ignorance suffer many hardships from the hands of foremen and others who even take bribes. This could be stopped by the establishment of workshop committees, to which the workers should be able to send the representatives who are elected by them to safeguard their interests. In short by adopting some such scheme as the Whitley Report suggests, employers would prevent many of the hardships the workers are suffering from to-day, which would also tend to eliminate industrial disputes in the future which occur on/

on these trivial grounds. Employers should also establish profit-sharing schemes. These would be of special value as by such schemes the workers would be induced to remain permanently at their posts. Moreover such bonus or profits need not be handed over to workers, but should be placed to his credit and be given to him when he leaves the work. Again, employers should induce workers to buy shares in their companies. Moreover, savings banks should be started in which workers should be encouraged to deposit even such a small sum as a penny.

When the workers are given all those facilities, and when his conditions are improved, and a broad policy is adopted, Industrial disputes can be minimised in India.

Besides, passing legislation, the Government through its Industrial Department, should carry on general propaganda work with regard to the treatment of industrial workers. In a country like India, which is in so many ways backward, a special duty falls on the State and it should jealously guard the interests of industrial workers and the masses. Their sole concern should be in the well-being of the majority who are at present struggling for a very bare existence. It is only by progressive and protective legislation, that India can avoid Industrial trouble. The days are gone by when labour as a factor of production was not a subject of anxiety.

If India wants to advance her industrialization smoothly
let/

let her take a lesson from Britain and other industrial countries, and avoid the present policy of keeping labour under submission. It is then and then only that there would be industrial peace.

Moreover, we know how most of the industrial countries have adopted machinery, voluntarily or compulsorily to prevent and to mitigate the evils of industrial strife. It is desirable especially that voluntary measures should not be longer delayed in India. Except in one or two cases, no serious attempt has been made till now. Employers and Trade Unions, should establish immediately voluntary machinery for peaceful negotiation wherever possible.

In a country like India, where industries are only in the initial stages and where labour is highly unstable, and is difficult to obtain whenever there is plentiful agricultural employment, it is important that industrial strife should be minimised as far as possible. Yet voluntary methods for Joint-consultation ha^{ve} not even been thought of by the employers; but such methods should be given serious consideration, as many industrial troubles could be avoided in the future, if employers would study the schemes that exist in other countries and establish similar schemes for their employees.

Here agin the Central Government have done nothing up till very recently and no legislation on questions of arbitration and conciliation exists. However, two important Committees in Ben^gal and Bombay respectively have examined/

examined these and have made certain recommendations. The Authors of the Report of the Industrial Disputes Committee of Bombay urge firstly that "as soon as a genuine Trade Union organisation emerges, it should be officially recognised as the channel of communication between employers and employed." They further state that "experience goes to show that Trade Unions soon build up their own corps of officials from within their ranks; and that as soon as they are fully constituted and recognised, the greatest enemy to their stability and progress is the strike, which is capable of prevention by reasonable and friendly negotiation."

Thus in order to avoid industrial disputes, the first thing the employers should do is as far as possible to encourage and recognise unions and to establish voluntary schemes of conciliation and arbitration. By reasonable and friendly negotiation it is much easier in India to prevent strikes, than in other country. The Authors of the Report also after carefully studying the situation in Bombay Presidency admit the superiority of voluntary negotiation, but with that they recommend other means. Thus they recommend the formation of an Industrial Court of Inquiry to be followed if necessary by an Industrial Court of Conciliation. They made the following recommendations for the constitution of the Court:-

(A-) A Chairman selected by the members of the Court from a panel maintained in the Labour Office.

(B) Three members representing the employers in the industry concerned/

concerned.

And in a case where the Government Department or Public utility is concerned in an industrial dispute, the general public should be represented in equal proportion to the parties directly concerned.

They also recommend that a Court of Inquiry should be constituted on the application of either party to an industrial dispute; but a Court of Conciliation should be constituted on the application of both parties to a dispute.¹ However the Government of Bombay have not yet taken active steps to give effect to the suggestions.

Meanwhile the Government of India took up the matter and a letter (No. L.1078) asking all local Governments to give their opinion regarding legislation for the investigation and settlement of Trade disputes. In their note of request they said, "it appears to the Government of India that the position has undergone considerable alteration since 1920. The increase of industrial unrest in the Winter 1920-21 led to the stimulation of Public interest in labour questions and the importance of the problem raised by the strikes and lock-outs received general recognition. The fact that several of the more protracted strikes occurred in public utility services strengthened the demand that some efforts should be made towards a solution of the problem. In nearly every strike and lock-out of importance which has occurred in the last three years there/

1. Report of Industrial dispute Committee
Vol. I. No. 8: B.L.G: April 1922, page 330.

there has been a fairly strong demand from a section of the public for a reference of the points at issue to arbitration. It appears to the Government of India, therefore, that the time is now ripe for undertaking legislation of some kind, designed with a view to assisting in the prevention of settlement of trade disputes. They are further of opinion that the question is¹ an all-Indian question, and that legislation should be introduced in the Central legislature".

Along with this letter they sent a draft bill which followed the principle of the Canadian Industrial dispute Investigation Act of 1907, in requiring the reference of disputes in public utility services to an impartial board before a strike or lock-out took place. This draft denoted much attention to the question of public utility services, though provisions were made for the general settlement of disputes.

Though the Government of India issued the letter on 30th August, 1924, nothing seems to have been done and this question, in spite of urgent necessity, fell into the background. Moreover since the Government of India asserted that it was an all-Indian question, the provincial Governments were unable to do anything in the matter, and so till recently there was no machinery either to investigate or to settle disputes. It is indeed a great pity that action was not taken earlier for such machinery would have been very useful in minimising the disputes that occurred/

1. Letter No. L.1078 dated the 30th August addressed to all local governments, par. 2-5.

occurred last year, and this year.

The Government however realised the folly of delay in passing or in establishing some machinery to settle disputes, especially after experiencing during these years some most turbulent and violent disputes. In their anxiety to suppress strikes they drafted a bill (which is violently opposed by labour leaders). This Trade Disputes Bill, that was introduced in the last Session of legislature Assembly and passed provides for the establishment of two different types of tribunals for the investigation and settlement of Trade disputes, namely Courts of Inquiry and Boards of Conciliation.

The object of the Courts of Inquiry, which are ordinarily to be composed of persons having no direct interest in the dispute, will be to investigate and report on such questions connected with the dispute as may be referred to them. The object of the Boards of Conciliation, which will ordinarily include representations of the parties in the dispute, will be to secure the settlement of the dispute. Both Courts of Inquiry and Boards of Conciliation will be able to enforce the attendance of witnesses and the production of documents, and their reports are to be published.

The Bill further provides that persons employed on monthly wages in public utility services will be liable to imprisonment and a fine for wilful stoppage of work without/

without a month's notice in writing. Penalties are also provided for investigators of such strikes. The full text of the Bill is not yet available, but to my mind, some of the provisions of the Bill have been drafted on right lines.

It is quite essential that some machinery or other should be at once established for the settling of industrial disputes. We have seen that strikes in India often occur without notice and the absence of any clearly defined grievances. Apart from this, owing to the illiteracy of the workmen extravagant claims are put forward after the strike has begun. In this country owing to spread of Trade Unionism and the business-like method they deal with the things, it is made possible for employers to deal with them and come to agreements.

In India, it is not so, and thus it would be a great advantage if machinery were established by Government itself.

Therefore it is essential at least at present to make a law to give powers to a court of inquiry to enforce the attendance of witnesses and the production of documents. It should be made law that no lock-out and strike should take place before the Boards Report is published.

This would indeed be of great help especially in India, for as has been said above, it can do away with those extravagant claims of workers which are generally put forward after a strike has begun. It should be clearly/

clearly borne in mind that every possible effort should be made to encourage voluntary machinery in each industry for the settlement of disputes. Thus it would be advisable for the Government of India to pass a bill for the establishment of Industrial Councils as recommended by the Whitly Report. If this is done, then there would be a greater tendency to settle disputes, and also for the rapid growth of Trade Unionism.

As has been advocated above, compulsory inquiry would naturally encourage the parties in the industry to come together, fearing they may get an adverse decision if the matter goes to the Board of Inquiry.

Apart from this, each provincial labour department should have trained conciliators, with powers to intervene and to help the parties, when a dispute is threatened. Above all this, a permanent Court, should be established in each province, and this court should be entrusted with the duty of conciliation.

1. THEREFORE, the scheme should be as follows.-

(A) The Government should pass laws to encourage Industrial Councils, which would automatically encourage voluntary machinery for conciliation and arbitration.

(b) Each Government should have trained conciliators with powers to intervene if there is any trouble in the industry and try to bring about a settlement.

(c) If A. & B. fail then the Board of Inquiry should be constituted with compulsory powers to ask the parties to appear before them and till their report is published it should be made illegal to strike or lock-out. This policy is specially to be recommended especially when one takes into consideration the extraordinary conditions existing/

existing in India. This policy should indeed be adopted till labour is strongly organised. By this method the demands of labour can be definitely known and the public will have an idea of the grievances of the workers. Many strikes occur in which no definite demands are given and everybody is left in the dark. In the end in the majority of cases strikes in India end in the workers being completely unsuccessful. They suffer many more hardships and starvation than workers elsewhere, and so it is in their interest that this method is recommended.

It should be noted that the right to strike is not taken away and workers can still strike after the inquiry is finished. As regards the Board of Conciliation, either party can approach it and then only the Board can intervene and do its best. It is certain that if such machinery for the settlement of Industrial disputes is established, it will do much to minimise strikes in India.

Some such machinery as outlined above should be at once established and such overhauling and amendment as necessary should be made according to changing conditions. Such amendments should be undertaken without hesitation, if the occasion demands it.

But, let it be clearly said, that the best way to settle Industrial disputes is for employers and employees to establish machinery for voluntary agreement. This would work far more smoothly than elsewhere, for there is a desire among the majority of labour leaders that Indian industries should develop and prosper. Moreover the conditions are such, that, if the employers do small things, it would please workers, and so they will be reluctant to go on strike.

The employers should remember the wise words uttered by Lord Chelmsford in 1920 when he pleaded the "necessity for the sympathetic consideration of labour" in India. It is generally now recognised that there can be no permanent cure for Industrial troubles, until factory conditions are "brought into line with the wishes and aspirations of the workers". Mr Seaborn Rowntree, in his article on "Labour and Capital after the War" says that Labour must be regarded "rather as a partner than as a servant" that they should co-operate with the management "practically on equal terms" and that their advice should be sought "in determining the conditions of work in any industry."

In/

In Great Britain, employers have changed a great deal, especially after the War in their attitude towards the workers. The elaborate machinery such as National Councils, District Councils, Works Committees and various other schemes all clearly show that the changed attitude and the recognition of labour as partner and not as servant.

In India, the employers have not realised this and are following the old methods of task-masters. If India wishes to avoid Industrial troubles in the future, she can only bring this about by fundamental change in the attitude of the average employer towards his worker as Lord Chelmsford said "it will be a tragic and irreparable disaster if India is forced to repeat the long history of Industrial strife in England".

Such industrial strife can be avoided by the ^{broad} Board and statesmanlike policy of both State and employers, and also by having forward aims.

Employers should endeavour to see that workers are given the best conditions and instead of thwarting their progress should endeavour to encourage them. The employers of India should not wait till the workers clamour for small benefits, but should give small concessions without waiting to be asked. In doing this, they will avoid stoppage of work and bring peace to industry. They should look round and observe the Labour/

Labour movements in other countries and should realise that, human nature being the same everywhere, similar things will occur in India. The employers should, therefore, recognise workers as partners and should not treat them as slaves. As Lady Chatterjee says the employers in India have yet to do a good deal "in bringing about the betterment of conditions of industry and unless they are willing to give a sympathetic hearing to the wishes of their workers, it will be impossible to establish satisfactory relations or to achieve permanent results".

There are, of course, certain lines of action, which, affecting as they do the lives of the community generally, can be undertaken by the State which should play its part in order to minimise industrial disputes in the future. It should gradually introduce legislation and as far as possible encourage voluntary machinery for conciliation. For this, they should introduce legislation on the model of the Whitley scheme. Apart from this, Health Insurance Schemes, and old age pensions should be introduced. All these will go to a great extent to minimise Industrial disputes.

In short, what India needs is a radical change in her economic ideals, and a reorganisation of the present system under which industrial work is carried on. The present status of Indian workmen should be changed or else/

else there is bound to be discontent, which would be exploited by the extremists and thus industrial troubles in the future will increase. India should learn lessons from the West and should whenever suitable adopt Western machinery and methods of production, but should also reap all benefits by avoiding the obvious ailments of Western industrialism. If the employer and the capitalist in India possess any imaginative insight, their vision should seize upon the essentials of the economic situation, in order to "link labour by ties of love rather than by the slender ties of wages and bargains". India may by such ideals escape to a considerable extent, if not altogether, the serious complications that industrialism has brought with it in the west. If the capitalist is not prepared nor enlightened enough to seize the opportunity and profit from what Western Countries have gone through, then he has to face the same dreary and prolonged industrial unrest.

Therefore, what is wanted is a sane and sympathetic policy towards labour and also attempts to bring Capital and labour together. In co-operation and not in conflict, can Indian industry alone prosper and there also lies the well-being of the Industrial India of the future.

It is only by adopting methods to ameliorate labour conditions, and by accepting Labour as partner that Indian Industries will work smoothly.

This/

This infusion of a new spirit in Industry is essential for orderly progress and the solution rests jointly with labour, Employers and the State.

Appendix.

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES.

We have seen that it is a psychological as well as an economic problem. The causes of Industrial disputes are numerous and we pointed out at length both general and specific causes. According to Government returns, nearly three-quarters of the disputes are on account of wages, but we noted that there are various other important causes which operate indirectly and do not receive ^a proper share of attention.

Generally the disputes are classified under following (in Government returns.) Causes.-

1. wages.
2. Hours of Labour.
3. Employment of particular classes or persons.
4. Other working arrangements, rules and discipline.
5. Trade Unionism.
6. Miscellaneous.

When we take this classification we see by far the largest number of disputes arose on question of wages. Next comes the diputes respecting the employment of particular class or persons. Then comes disputes arising on questions of Trade Unionism. Lastly disputes arising from questions respecting hours of labour.

These can be more clearly seen from the following figures and graphs.

Disputes/

Explanation.

The graph shows the disputes arising on question of wages.

The total number of disputes between 1896-1924 = 21,461

No. of disputes on account of wages = 13,827

Percentage (year) = 63

The highest number of disputes on account of this cause occurred in the year 1920 the number being 1079.

And the highest percentage was in the year 1916 = 75%
lowest in 1896 and 1923 = 56%

Disputes on account of this cause has been considerable from 1911.

Disputes arising on question of Wages.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of dis- putes beginn- ing in year.</u>	<u>No. of dis- putes on ac- count of wages.</u>	<u>Per- centage.</u>	<u>Remarks.</u>
1896	1,021	570	56	
1897	864	532	62	
1898	711	449	63	
1899	719	460	64	
1900	648	438	68	
1901	642	402	63	
1902	442	267	60	
1903	387	2 32	60	
1904	354	233	65	
1905	358	235	66	
1906	486	332	68	
1907	601	384	64	
1908	399	249	62	
+ 1909	436	256	59	
1910	521	296	57	
1911	872	557	64	
1912	834	528	63	
1913	1,459	956	65	
1914	972	603	62	
1915	672	489	73	
1916	532	398	75	
1917	730	521	73	
1918	1,165	770	66	

Disputes arising on question of Wages.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of dis- putes beginn- ing in year.</u>	<u>No. of dis- putes on ac- count of wages.</u>	<u>Per- centage.</u>	<u>Remarks.</u>
1919	1,352	857	63	
1920	1,607	1,079	67	
1921	763	560	73	
1922	576	385	69	
1923	628	353	56	
1924	710	436	61	
	<u>21,461</u>	<u>13,827</u>	<u>64</u>	

Explanation.

Disputes arising out of question on employment of particular class or persons.

Total no. of disputes between (1897-1924)	=	204,401
On account of above question	=	2,767
Percentage (year)	=	12
Highest no. of disputes that occurred on account of this cause was in the year 1920	=	259
Lowest in the year 1903 and 1906	=	13
After war disputes were frequent on account of this cause		
	1917	- 116
	1918	- 200
	1919	- 196
	1920	- 259

Disputes arising out of question on Employment of particular classes of persons.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of dis- putes at beginning in year.</u>	<u>Employment of parti- cular classes or persons.</u>	<u>Percent- age.</u>	<u>Remarks.</u>
1897	864	121	14	
1898	711	87	12	
1899	719	102	14	
1900	648	93	14	
1901	642	84	15	
1902	442	58	13	
1903	387	54	14	
1904	354	13	4	
1905	358	14	4	
1906	486	13	3	
1907	601	16	3	
1908	399	14	4	
1909	436	27	6	
1910	521	79	15	
1911	872	139	16	
1912	834	143	17	
1913	1,459	231	16	
1914	972	180	19	
1915	672	82	12	
1916	532	70	13	
1917	730	116	16	
1918	1,165	200	18	
1919	1,352	196	14	

Disputes arising out of question of Employment of particular classes or persons.

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of dis- putes be- ginning in year.</u>	<u>Employment of parti- cular classes or persons</u>	<u>Percen- tage.</u>	<u>Remarks.</u>
1920	1,607	259	15	
1921	763	91	12	
1922	576	77	13	
1923	628	87	12	
1924	710	121	17	
	<u>20,440</u>	<u>2,767</u>	<u>345</u>	

Explanation.

The Graph and figures shows disputes arising on question of Trade Unionism.

Total number of disputes (1897-1924)	=	20,440
On account of Trade Unionism question	=	1,377
Percentage about	=	7.1
The highest number of such disputes occur-		
red in the year 1913	=	129
Lowest 1904	=	15

The graph and figures show that 4 or 5 disputes occur of this nature every year.

Disputes arising on question of Trade Unionism.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of dis- putes be- ginning in year.</u>	<u>Trade Union- ism.</u>	<u>Per- cen- tage.</u>	<u>Remarks.</u>
1897	864	49	6	
1898	711	51	7	
1899	719	46	6	
1900	648	45	7	
1901	642	38	6	
1902	442	29	7	
1903	387	25	7	
1904	354	15	4	
1905	358	21	6	
1906	486	32	7	
1907	601	50	8	
1908	399	29	7	
1909	436	31	7	
1910	521	39	7	
1911	872	72	8	
1912	834	66	8	
1913	1,459	129	9	
1914	972	82	8	
1915	672	55	8	
1916	532	17	3	
1917	730	35	5	
1918	1,165	78	6	
1919	1,352	51	4	

Disputes arising on question of Trade Unionism.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of dis- putes be- ginning in year.</u>	<u>Trade Union- ism.</u>	<u>Per- cen- tage.</u>	<u>Remarks.</u>
1920	1,607	89	5	
1921	763	24	3	
1922	576	31	5	
1923	628	91	14	
1924	710	57	8	
<hr/>				
	<u>20,440</u>	<u>1,377</u>	<u>186</u>	

Explanation.

Disputes arising on question of other working arrangements, rules and discipline.

Total number of disputes (1897-1924) = 20,440

On account of above question = 1667

Percentage (year) = 9

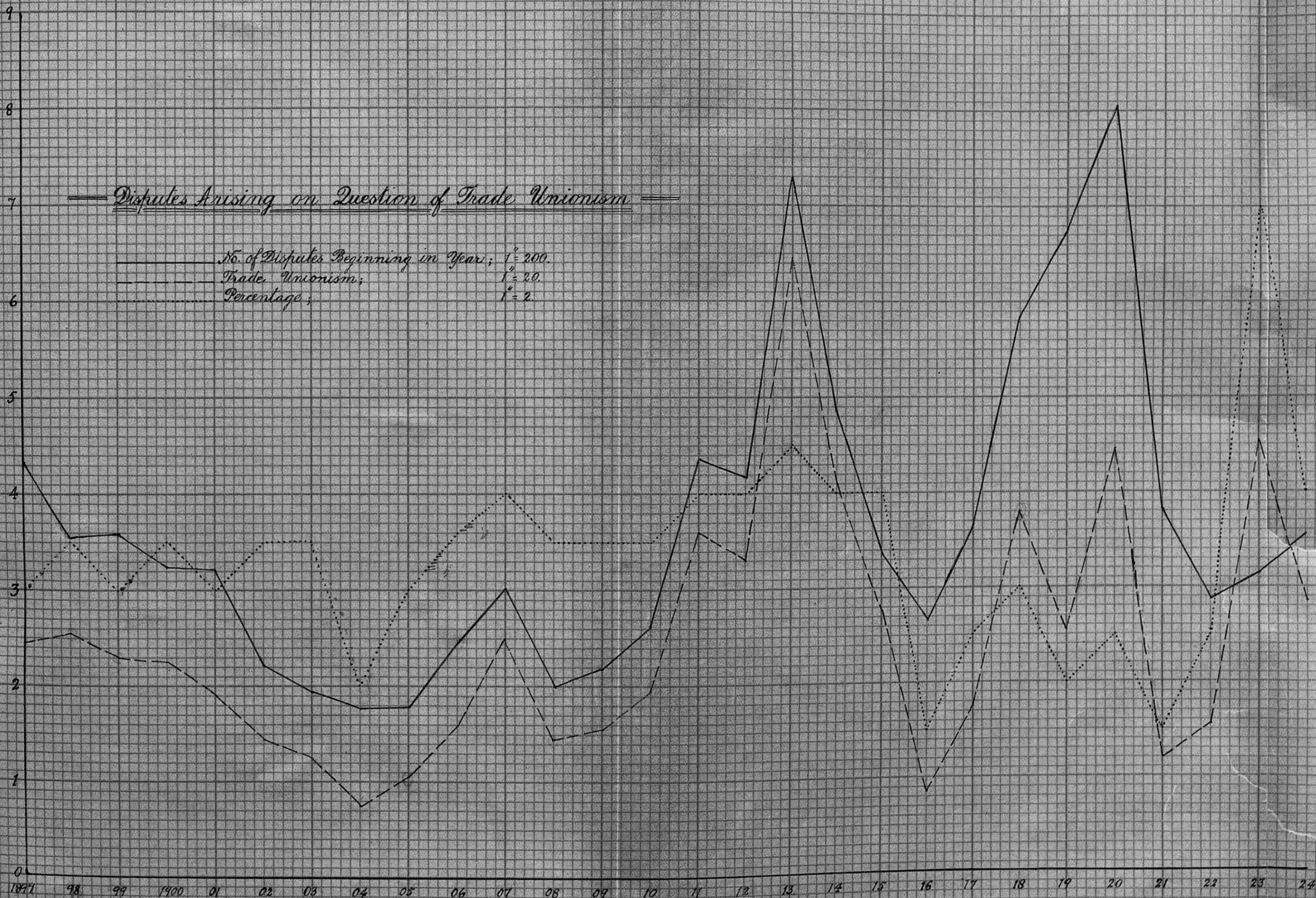
The highest number of such disputes occurred

in 1897 - 119

and 1920 - 93

Lowest

in 1915 - 18



Disputes arising on question of other working arrangements, Rules and Discipline.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of disputes beginning in year.</u>	<u>Other working arrangements rules and discipline.</u>	<u>Percentage.</u>	<u>Remarks.</u>
1897	864	119	14	
1898	711	94	13	
1899	719	68	9	
1900	648	57	9	
1901	642	79	11	
1902	442	64	14	
1903	387	56	12	
1904	354	47	13	
1905	358	37	10	
1906	486	52	11	
1907	601	57	9	
1908	399	43	10	
1909	436	44	10	
1910	521	74	14	
1911	872	66	8	
1912	834	50	6	
1913	1,459	72	5	
1914	972	56	6	
1915	672	18	3	
1916	532	22	4	
1917	730	42	6	
1918	1,165	73	6	
1919	1,352	82	6	

Disputes arising on question of other working arrangements, rules and discipline.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of disputes beginning in year.</u>	<u>Other working arrangements rules & discipline.</u>	<u>Percentage.</u>	<u>Remarks.</u>
1920	1,607	93	6	
1921	763	40	5	
1922	576	52	9	
1923	628	52	8	
1924	710	58	8	
	<u>20,440</u>	<u>1,667</u>	<u>245</u>	

Explanation.

Disputes arising on question of hours of labour.

Total No. of Disputes (1896-1924) = 21,461

On account of the above cause = 722

Percentage = 3

The highest number occurred in 1919 = 137

The percentage being = 10

In 1924, there was only 13 such disputes being

2.1 of the total disputes.

Disputes arising on question of Hours of Labour.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of dis- putes be- ginning in year.</u>	<u>No of disputes on account of hours of labour.</u>	<u>Per- cent- age.</u>	<u>Remarks.</u>
1896	1,021	26	3	
1897	864	20	2	
1898	711	19	3	
1899	719	17	2	
1900	648	6	1	
1901	642	29	4	
1902	442	20	5	
1903	387	17	4	
1904	354	13	4	
1905	358	14	4	
1906	486	13	3	
1907	601	16	3	
1908	399	14	3	
1909	436	27	6	
1910	521	22	4	
1911	872	30	3	
1912	834	26	3	
1913	1,459	47	3	
1914	972	28	3	
1915	672	17	3	
1916	532	16	3	
1917	730	4	-	
1918	1,165	25	2	
1919	1,352	137	10	

Disputes arising on question of Hours of Labour.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of dis- putes be- ginning in year.</u>	<u>No. of disputes on account of hours of labour.</u>	<u>Per- cent- age.</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
1920	1,607	41	2	
1921	763	31	4	
1922	576	18	3	
1923	628	16	3	
1924	710	13	2	
<hr/>				
	21,461	722	95	

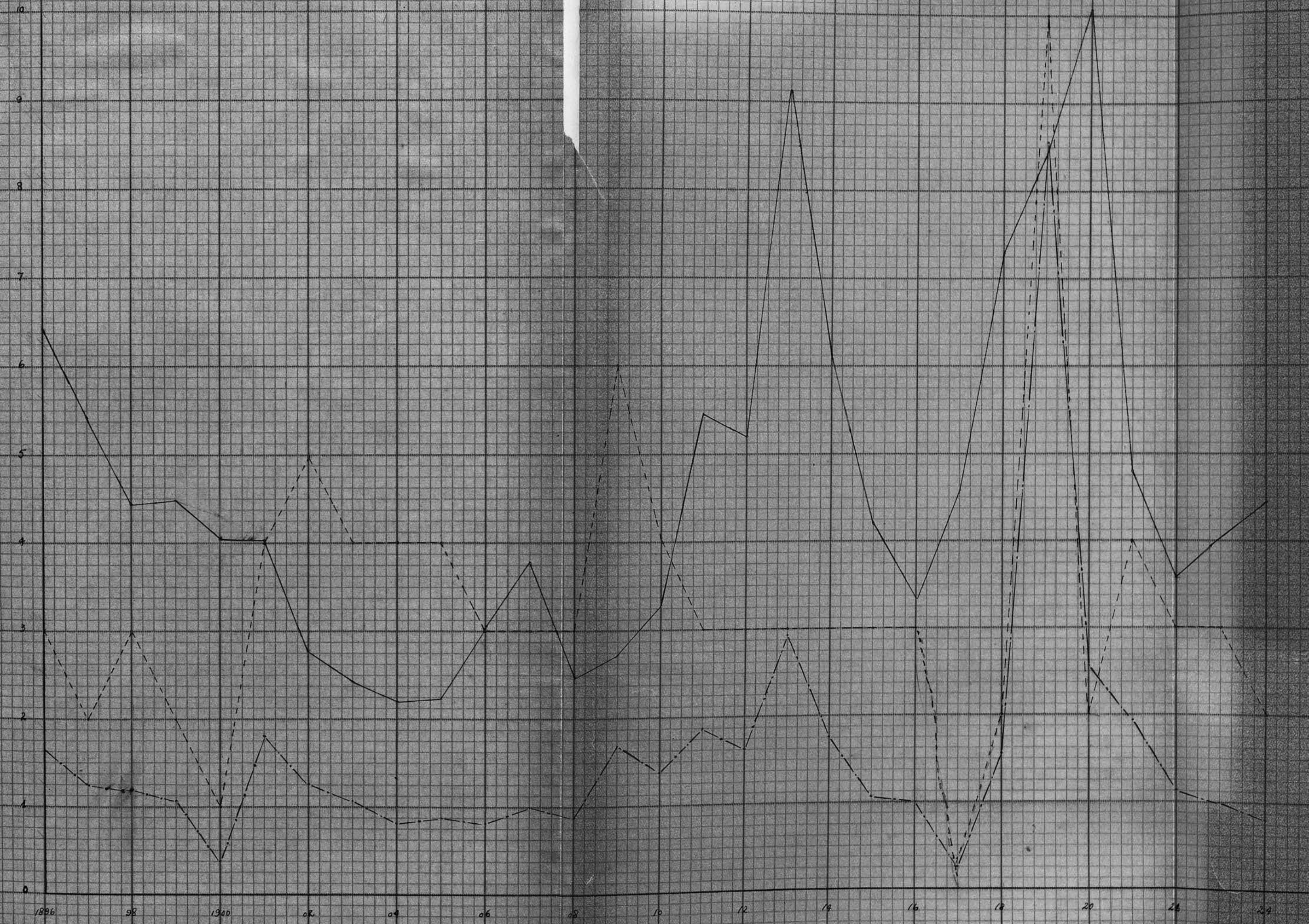
Disputes arising on question of Hours of Labour.

————— No Disputes beginning in Year. (1"=160 units)

— . — . — . No Disputes on account of hours of Labour. (1"=16 units)

N

----- Percentage. (1"=1 unit)



Disputes in each Industry.

The first noteworthy fact, we notice when we study reports on strikes and lock-outs is, (that the great loss through Industrial dispute) due namely to few industries and especially that troubles has often and often occurred in mining industry. Out of the total disputes for 35 years the number of disputes occurring in the Mining and Quarrying industries are 5,321 affecting more than 10,489,888 people. The working days lost during the 21 years before the war is about 186,000,000 and the Mining and quarrying industries were the cause of 104,000,000 or 56%. Of the 357,000,000 working days lost during the eight years since the war, 253,000,000 or 62%, were lost by these industries. If we take 1912, there were 834 disputes affecting 1,462,000 and the aggregate duration of working days lost was 40,890,000. The high figures are mainly due to troubles in coal industry. In 1912, there were 155 disputes affecting 1,106,736 and the aggregate duration of the disputes in working days was 31,593,845. From these figures we can see that in 1912 the trouble in the coal mining industry was more serious than all the disputes of the year put together. The same can be said as regards the magnitude of the figures for 1920, 1921 and 1926. Apart from the magnitude, one can see when he reads the reports that in coal industry, the disputes were prolonged and fought out with much bitterness/

bitterness. The graph clearly shows how at repeated intervals there has been a large number of disputes. A contrast of the graphs gives a clear idea of the magnitude of disputes and the great number of people affected in Mining Industry which industry is more affected than any other industry. If the stoppages in the Mining Industry could be kept down, the time lost through Industrial disputes would be negligible. It should also be noticed that there was a considerable number of disputes in eight years (1907-1914) but during the two succeeding years (1915-1916) owing to Governmental control the disputes were not considerable. After that the number increased again. This could be better seen from the following table.-

PERIOD.	Coal Mining (a)	All Industries (b)	(a) As percentage of (b) percentage.
NUMBER OF DISPUTES			
1907-'13	1,099	5,082	22
1919-'25	1,271	6,239	20

1907-'13	46,358,000	86,346,000	54
1919-'25	105,118,000	194,305,000	54

So if the trouble in this industry could be eliminated, the time lost through industrial disputes would be negligible. At present there are at least ~~still~~ 250,000 workmen unemployed who/

who formerly earned their living and that of their dependents in or about the Mines. The vast majority of these will not be again absorbed in spite of the slight temporary improvement in trade and it should be noted that in some cases, the weekly earnings of those who are employed in the production of coal are so low as to preclude them from being able to live in a decency and comfort of living wage. This can be seen from the fact that in thousands of cases earnings are no greater than the amounts received by those in receipt of unemployed benefit. Sankey Commission, and Samuel Commission have submitted various recommendations and only through ^{enforcing} at least some proposals, the position could be improved. Intense use of scientific methods, eliminating all waste amalgamation of Miners and closing down of all uneconomic mines would solve the difficulties to a certain extent. It is only through improved organisation (in the industry) that the industry could regain his old position. The evidence before the Royal Commission proved conclusively that unless the circumstances are exceptional, mining can be conducted far more economically by large undertakings than by small, unless and until this industry modernises its own structure, it cannot successfully compete with foreign countries. The amalgamation of mines have taken place but it is being done very slowly and these changes have affected only one-sixth of the whole industry. British coalmining with an output of 250 million tons a year is still carried on by many hundreds of separate undertakings/

undertakings, but in other countries such as Westphalia, which produces a hundred million tons, there are only seventy and in the coal field of Northern France, which produces twenty million tons, there are only sixteen.

Thus it is only through amalgamation, introducing scientific methods, eliminating waste and closing down of uneconomic Mines, the future of this industry, lie.

Next to mining, the transport industries have suffered most from Industrial disputes. About 13-1/2% of the working population are engaged in the mining and transport industries and they account for nearly 75% of the loss due to industrial disputes.

Fortunately, especially on the Railways, at present there are signs that a real attempt is being made to settle all disputes amicably.

On the whole, the trouble, in the Transport industries are not frequent, and a glance at the graph and figures shows the highest number of disputes occurred in 1913, 1919 and 1920, but disputes since 1921, were insignificant compared with those in other industries. Happily the Railways Act, 1921 provides a machinery for settling disputes and it should be noted that part IV of the Railway Act which deals with setting up Councils to deal with differences, through given statutory force, was introduced at the request of both the Railway Companies and the Unions.

The next great industry in which disputes frequently occur is in the Metal, Engineering and Shipbuilding Industry. From 1912 to 1920 disputes were fairly frequent and involved many workpeople. Especially after 1917, there was a considerable amount of unrest. The great number/

number of disputes occurring in this industry in 1911, 1912, 1913 and 1914 is due to demarcation questions, especially in the electrical branches, demarcation disputes continually arises. Another cause is the trouble that often arises through the employment of skilled and unskilled labour in Shipbuilding industry. Naturally if Unions still persist in this, disputes will arise and will increase more and more, as new inventions are introduced. The difficulty here is that one Trade Union fight and oppose against another and this problem can only be faced by Trade Unions alone and by proper adjustment between different Unions and by amicable settlement of these questions, much of the hardship and disputes could be eliminated.

Trade disputes were frequent in the Textile industry especially between the period 1894-1899. Then again there were frequent troubles in 1906, 1907, 1911 and 1912 and in 1913 there were 243 disputes.

All is not well with this industry and at present is threatened with strikes and lock-outs. The Cotton industry like other industries have suffered much since the war, and this industry is also feeling keen foreign competition. Here also, much has been done to get over the difficulties. ^{not} and it is [^] only through mass production, ^{but} and ~~in order to succeed~~ it is ~~necessary~~ a good deal of adjustment is required to meet the changing conditions. ^{in order to regain its} In ^{old} position order to compete successfully with foreign countries, it is/

is almost necessary to scrap the old and obsolete machineries and such new methods and organisation should be introduced "capable of adjustment if required to meet changed and changing conditions" and should be maintained "at the highest pitch of efficiency".

The next industry, is the Building Industry. The subject is fully discussed in the next. It is suffice to note here that after the war, we can see from the figures and graphs that there were many disputes. These were chiefly due to the fact that the majority of men working in these industries were drawn away for Muniton works or forces, and thus there were few workers, after the war in this industry and an abnormal rise of wages occurred. Moreover, the chief difficulty and the causes of disputes is due to the prevalence of restrictive practises and on the question of employment of non-unionists

Another cause for the trouble in this industry is due to Seasonal fluctuations. The assurance of continual employment, the relaxation of some of the restrictive practices adopted by the Trade Unions, would go a long way in minimising disputes in this industry.

From the following figures and graphs, we can see clearly the disputes in each industry, the number of people affected, and the working days lost for each year.

Disputes involving stoppages during 1928 in Great Britain and Northern Ireland numbered 302, slightly fewer than the year before, and the smallest total in any year during the whole period for which statistics are available/

available. The total number of workpeople involved was about 124,4000, and the aggregate time lost, 1,388,000 working days.

The fact that there were only 302 stoppages of work during 1928 from Trade disputes, the lowest for many years, may be taken as indicative of the new spirit of Conciliation, but some may argue that this is due to the weak position of Trade Unions (whose position is weakened after general strike of 1926, owing to slender finance). In any case there has been a welcome diminution of trade stoppages since 1926. If definite spirit of conciliation in industry is admitted and if machinery set up for this purpose is faithfully used, and if differences are explored in the beginning and not as a last resource, most of the stoppages that occur at present could be eliminated.

Explanation.

The total number of Trade Disputes (1893-1927) - 24,657
Total number of workpeople affected by these
disputes - 21,862,000
Total aggregate duration in working days - 568,000,000
Which works out on the average for the past
35 years as follows:-
Disputes - 704
No. of workpeople affected - 624,628
Aggregate duration in
working days - 16228571
Highest number of disputes occurred in these 35
years in 1913 - 1459
In 1920 the number of disputes was 1607 but this is
mainly due to depression after the 'boon'.
And the lowest in 1927 - 303
The disputes were considerable in 1918, 1919, 1920
and 1921, and this is mainly due to the abnormal
conditions after the war.

Trade disputes

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of dis- putes be- ginning in year.</u>	<u>No. of work- people af- fected by dis- putes.</u>	<u>Aggregate duration in working days.</u>
1893	599	634,000	30,440,000
1894	903	322,000	9,510,000
1895	728	259,000	5,700,000
1896	906	192,000	3,560,000
1897	848	229,000	10,330,000
1898	695	252,000	15,260,000
1899	710	179,000	2,500,000
1900	633	185,000	3,090,000
1901	631	179,000	4,130,000
1902	432	255,000	3,440,000
1903	380	116,000	2,320,000
1904	346	87,000	1,460,000
1905	349	92,000	2,370,000
1906	479	218,000	3,020,000
1907	585	146,000	2,150,000
1908	389	293,000	10,790,000
1909	422	297,000	2,690,000
1910	521	514,000	9,870,000
1911	872	952,000	10,160,000
1912	834	1,462,000	40,890,000
1913	1,459	564,000	9,800,000
1914	972	447,000	9,880,000
1915	672	448,000	2,950,000

Trade Disputes.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of dis- putes be- ginning in year.</u>	<u>No. of work- people af- fected by dis- putes.</u>	<u>Aggregate duration in working days.</u>
1916	532	276,000	2,450,000
1917	730	872,000	5,650,000
1918	1,165	1,116,000	5,880,000
1919	1,352	2,591,000	34,970,000
1920	1,607	1,932,000	26,570,000
1921	763	1,801,000	85,870,000
1922	576	552,000	19,850,000
1923	628	405,000	10,670,000
1924	710	613,000	8,420,000
1925	603	441,000	7,950,000
1926	323	2,734,000	162,230,000
1927	303	107,000	1,180,000
<hr/>			
	<u>24,657</u>	<u>21,862,000</u>	<u>568,000,000</u>

Explanation.

Results of dispute (1899-1924).

Total disputes that occurred during the period	18,966
In favour of workpeople	4,883
In favour of Employers	6,286
Compromise	7,676

So in the majority of cases the disputes ended by both parties giving in some points. Very rarely workpeople have succeeded completely in getting their demands and only 4,883 cases were settled in favour of them out of 18,966. The figures clearly prove that in large number of cases either it ended in favour of employers or by compromise. The workers in the end loose good deal by strikes for they not only loose wages during strike period but also very rarely get their demands fully. This clearly proves the superiority of negotiation, through which they not only get better concessions but also avoid the trouble and hardship that industrial warfare brings.

The employers also benefit by peaceful negotiation and should give the necessary concessions and demands put forth by the workers in the beginning instead of giving it at a later stage. It is only then, the industry will work smoothly.

Strikes and lock-outs in the end benefit no one.

Results of disputes.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>In favour of work- people.</u>	<u>In favour of em- ployers.</u>	<u>Comprom- ised.</u>	<u>Total.</u>
1899	230	250	236	719
1900	202	219	223	648
1901	163	284	193	642
1902	108	206	125	442
1903	90	185	111	387
1904	62	180	112	355
1905	70	168	119	358
1906	153	180	151	486
1907	193	247	161	601
1908	79	171	144	399
1909	79	202	155	436
1910	134	189	198	521
- 1911	221	273	378	872
1912	230	248	356	834
1913	425	371	663	1,459
1914	240	325	407	972
1915	157	248	267	672
1916	122	140	270	532

.) Figures taken from report on Strikes and Lock-
outs 1893 - 1909.

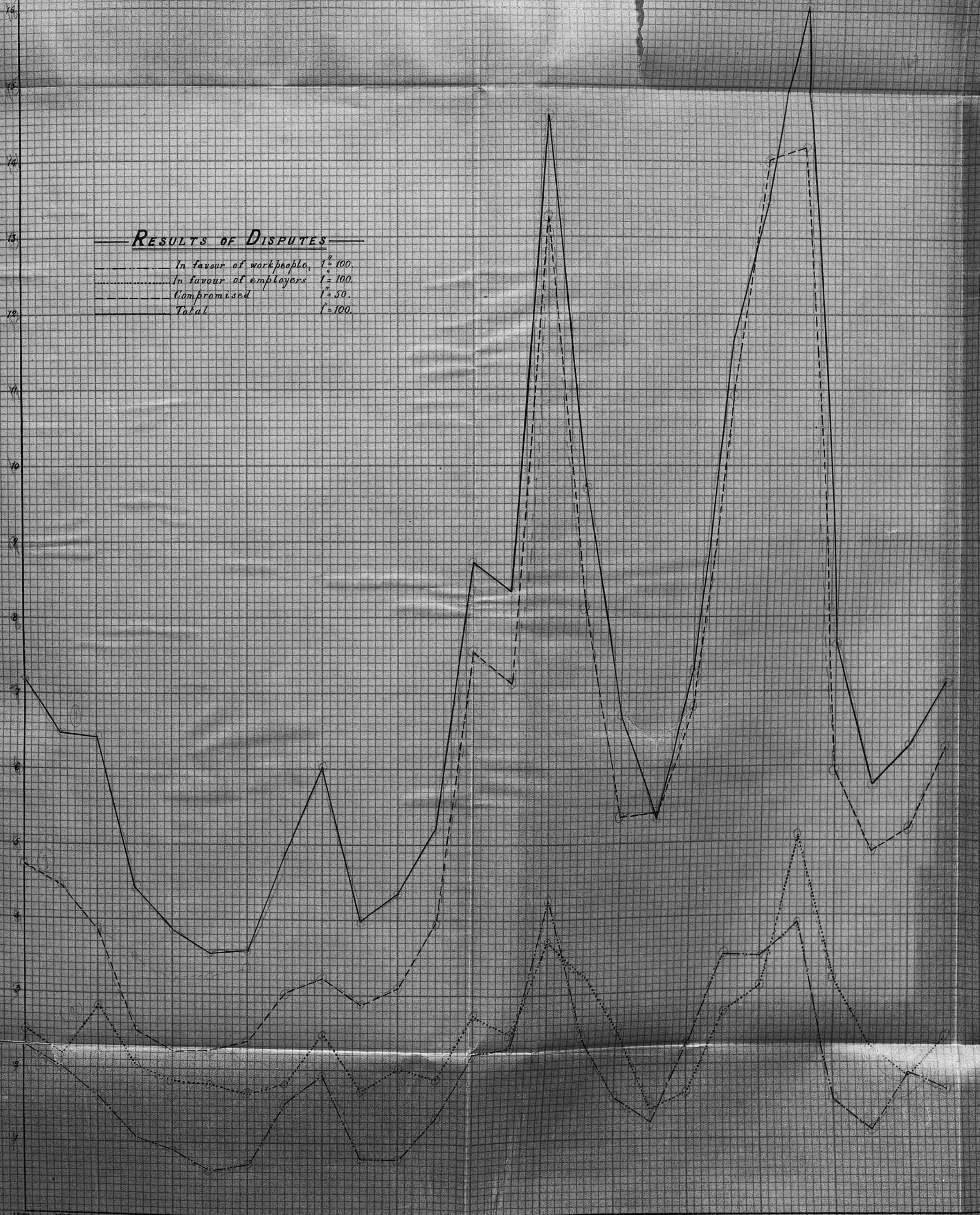
) Figures taken from report on Survey of Indus-
trial Relations.

Results of Disputes.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>In favour of work- people.</u>	<u>In favour of em- ployers.</u>	<u>Comprom- ised.</u>	<u>Total.</u>
1917	229	161	340	730
1918	348	270	547	1,165
1919	345	306	701	1,352
1920	390	507	710	1,607
1921	152	315	296	763
1922	111	222	243	576
1923	187	183	258	628
1924	163	235	312	710
	<u>4,883</u>	<u>6,286</u>	<u>7,676</u>	<u>18,966</u>

RESULTS OF DISPUTES

In favour of workpeople, $\frac{1}{2} = 100.$
 In favour of employers $\frac{1}{2} = 100.$
 Compromised $\frac{1}{2} = 50.$
 Total $\frac{1}{2} = 100.$



Explanation.

Mining and Quarrying.

Total number of Trade Disputes (1893-1927)	- 24,657
Total number of disputes that occurred in Mining and Quarrying	- 5,321
No. of workpeople involved in disputes	- 10,489,888
Aggregate duration of disputes in working days-	363,979,973
Total number of workpeople by all trade disputes between 1893-1927	- 21,862,000
Mining industry above was responsible for above	10,489,888
Same if we take the aggregate duration of disputes in working days.	
For all Trade disputes (1893-1927)	- 568,000,000
For Mining and Quarrying	- 363,973,973

Thus we see more than half the number of working days was lost through the disputes in mining and quarrying industry. On the average 152 disputes occurred in each year and the number of people affected each year being 299,711. No. of workpeople affected on the average in all disputes for the period being 624,628.

Thus in whatever way we compare the figures we come to the conclusion that troubles in the mining and quarrying has been constant and prolonged.

Mining and Quarrying.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of disputes.</u>	<u>No. of work- people involved in disputes.</u>	<u>Aggregate dur- ation of dis- putes in working days.</u>
1893	127	505,497	24,408,303
1894	232	218,087	6,638,507
1895	187	83,957	1,086,157
1896	171	67,197	1,011,668
1897	127	49,392	1,445,843
1898	129	177,029	12,876,334
1899	109	46,831	504,428
1900	136	74,364	552,932
1901	210	112,981	2,086,113
1902	168	208,526	2,550,047
1903	125	63,578	1,397,898
1904	113	46,287	657,285
1905	106	44,791	1,255,514
1906	96	83,833	922,102
1907	112	52,567	569,061
1908	145	87,022	1,351,429
1909	207	272,754	2,229,487
1910	224	296,573	5,524,160
1911	179	140,808	4,101,276
1912	155	1,106,736	31,593,845
1913	192	214,078	1,655,584
1914	176	273,000	3,777,000
1915	85	298,000	1,657,000

Mining and Quarrying.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of disputes.</u>	<u>No. of work-people invol-ved in dis-putes.</u>	<u>Aggregate dur-ation of dis-putes in working days.</u>
1916	75	64,000	326,000
1917	148	281,000	1,183,000
1918	173	383,000	1,263,000
1919	250	925,000	7,713,000
1920	248	1,411,000	17,508,000
1921	170	1,256,000	72,961,000
1922	169	124,000	1,387,000
1923	196	189,000	1,200,000
1924	204	137,000	1,628,000
1925	176	136,000	3,754,000
1926	1	1,050,000	145,200,000
1927	0	0	0
<hr/>			
<u>5,321</u>	<u>10,489,882</u>	<u>363,979,973</u>	

1)

SIGNIFICANT FIGURES RELATING TO COAL INDUSTRY.

Figures must be read as approximate only.

Numbers of persons employed above and below ground:-

<u>Year.</u>	<u>Persons.</u>			
1907	922,097	including	4,000	Females.
1910	1,027,339	"	5,500	"
1915	939,604	"	4,000	"
1920	1,337,297	"	9,000	"
1921	1,131,587	"	6,000	"
1922	1,226,885	"	8,000	"
1923	1,203,290	"	7,000	"
1924	1,260,350	"	8,000	"

Amount of Coal raised per annum with average Values:-

<u>Year.</u>	<u>Amount.</u>	<u>Value at Pit Head.</u>	<u>Average per Ton.</u>
1907	267,700,000	£ 127,000,000	9/-
1910	264,400,000	£ 107,000,000	8/2
1915	253,200,000	£ 158,300,000	12/6
1920	229,532,081	£ 396,872,423	34/7
1921	163,251,181	£ 213,746,044	26/2 (National
1922	234,150,621	£ 203,850,718	17/5 (Strike).
1923	283,970,000	£ 259,734,307	18/9
1924	267,400,000	£247,000,000	19/2
1925	244,420,000	£ 212,832,000	17/5 (Without
			Subventin

Analysis of Costs:-

<u>Year.</u>	<u>Av. Value at Pit Head per Ton.</u>	<u>Wages.</u>	<u>Materials.</u>	<u>Administ-ration.</u>	<u>Roy-alty.</u>	<u>Interest & Profits</u>
1913	10/1.5	6/4 (62.55%)	1/8 (16.45%)	8½d. (7.00%)	6½d. (5.35%)	10½d. (8.65%)
1922	17/5	10/2 (57.5%)	2/4 (13.3%)	3/- (17.2%)	7d. (4.80%)	1/4 (7.20%)
1924	19/2	13/8½	2/1¼	2/11	6¼	¾d
1925	17/5	12/5½	1/11½	2/7	6¼	¾dlos

Particulars regarding available supplies in millions of Tons:-

<u>Area.</u>	<u>Estimated Available Supply 1870.</u>	<u>Total Output in 34 Years 1870-1903.</u>	<u>Estimated Available Supply 1903-1909.</u>	<u>Total Output in 6 yrs. 1904-1909.</u>
Scotland	9,843		15,681	228
Northumberland				
Durham and				
Cumberland	10,442		13,963	326
Yorkshire				
Derbyshire				
and Notts.	18,243		49,499	359

1) From Prof.'s Notes.

Lancs. Cheshire North Wales and Ireland	7,712	9,428	172
South Wales & Monmouth	32,456	26,854	284
Warwick, N. & S. Stafford, Leicest- er Gloucester & Somerset.	<u>11,511</u>	<u>26,212</u>	B <u>145</u>
	<u>90,207</u>	<u>5,695</u>	<u>141,637</u>
		<u>1,514</u>	

Estimate in 1912:- 178,727.

" " 1915:- 197,000.

" " 1925:- 194,355.

Recent progress in use of Coal Cutting Machines:-

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. in use.</u>	<u>Tonnage cut.</u>	<u>% of Total Output.</u>
1907	1,600	12,877,244	4.8
1910	2,100	15,747,558	6.0
1915	3,200	24,087,684	9.9
1920	5,100	30,194,306	13.2
1921	5,300	23,039,699	14.1 (National
1922	5,500	35,200,000	15.2 Strike).
1923	6,159	47,526,439	17.0

Average yearly output per persons employed for 5 Year Periods:-

<u>Period.</u>	<u>Per person Underground.</u>	<u>Per Total employed.</u>
1894-1898	367	286
1899-1903	372	288
1904-1908	363	283
1909-1913	328	254
1914-1919	316	247
1922	252	217
(1921 omitted owing to National Strike)		
1923		229
1924	276	220
1925		217

Ditto in Germany:-

for 1902	-	242
" 1912	-	269
1914-1918	-	286
1919-1923	-	163 (Occupation of Ruhr)
1924	-	209
1925	-	234

Ditto in America:-

for -1902	-	539
" 1912	-	660
1914-1918	-	710
1919-1923	-	623
1924	-	655

Statement showing the Death Rate from all causes in and about Mines:-

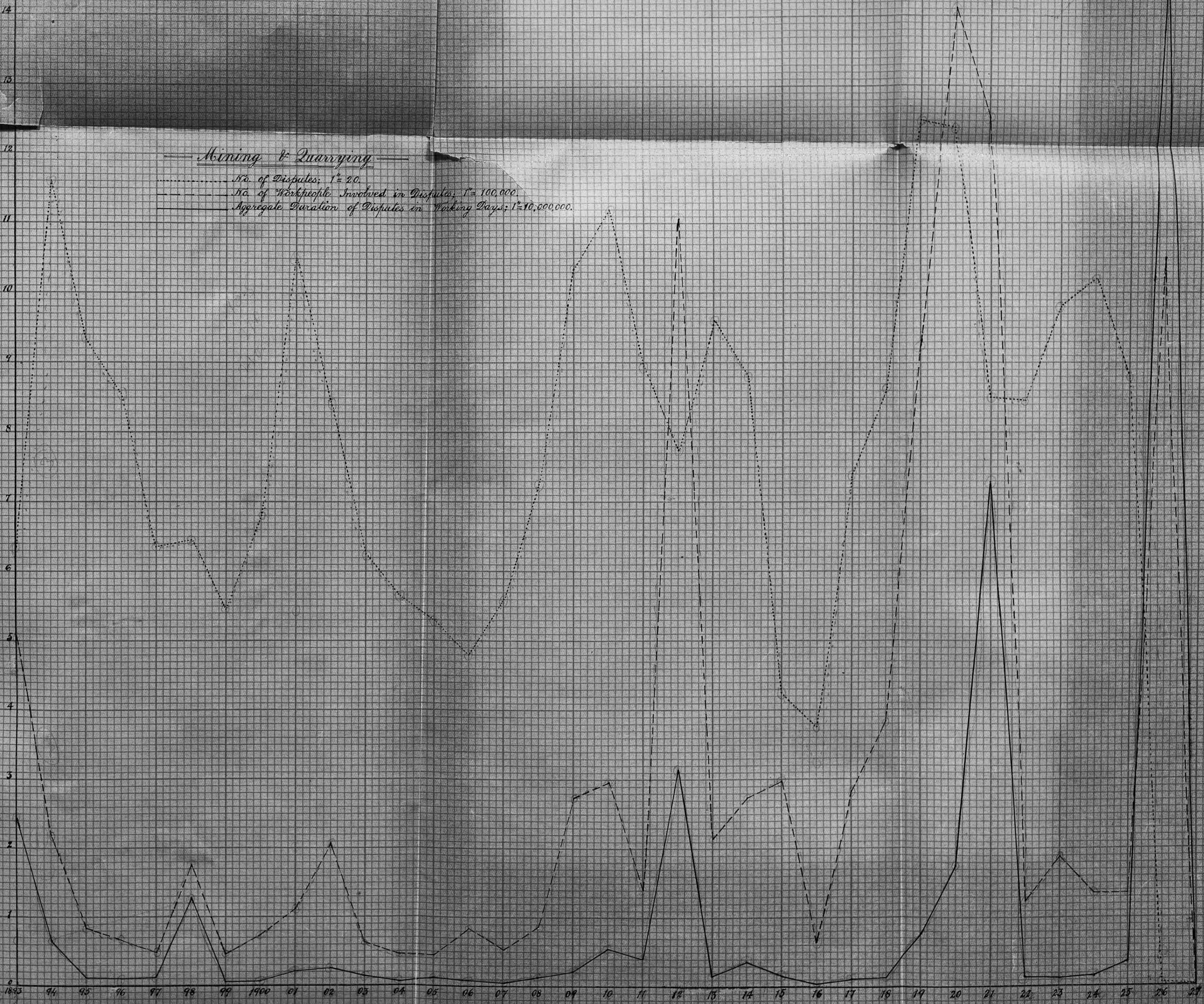
<u>Year.</u>	<u>Per 1,000 Persons employed.</u>	<u>Per Million Tons raised.</u>
1882	2.24	7.42
1892	1.81	5.65
1902	1.39	4.70
1912	1.33	4.76
1915	1.36	4.90
1918	1.39	5.86
1921	.66	4.49
1922	.94	
1923	1.05	
1924-1925	1.13	

Mining & Quarrying

No. of Disputes; 1" = 20.

No. of Workpeople Involved in Disputes; 1" = 100,000.

Aggregate Duration of Disputes in Working Days; 1" = 10,000,000.



Explanation.

Transport.

Total number of disputes (1893-1927)	1,599
No. of workpeople involved in dispute	2,021,720
Aggregate duration of disputes in working days	17,300,129

On the average 45 disputes occurred in this industry every year in the past 35 years and the average number of workpeople involved in such disputes 58,049

Highest number of disputes occurred in 1920	129
and the lowest	1927 16

There is a tendency to settle all disputes by peaceful methods since 1921.

Transport.

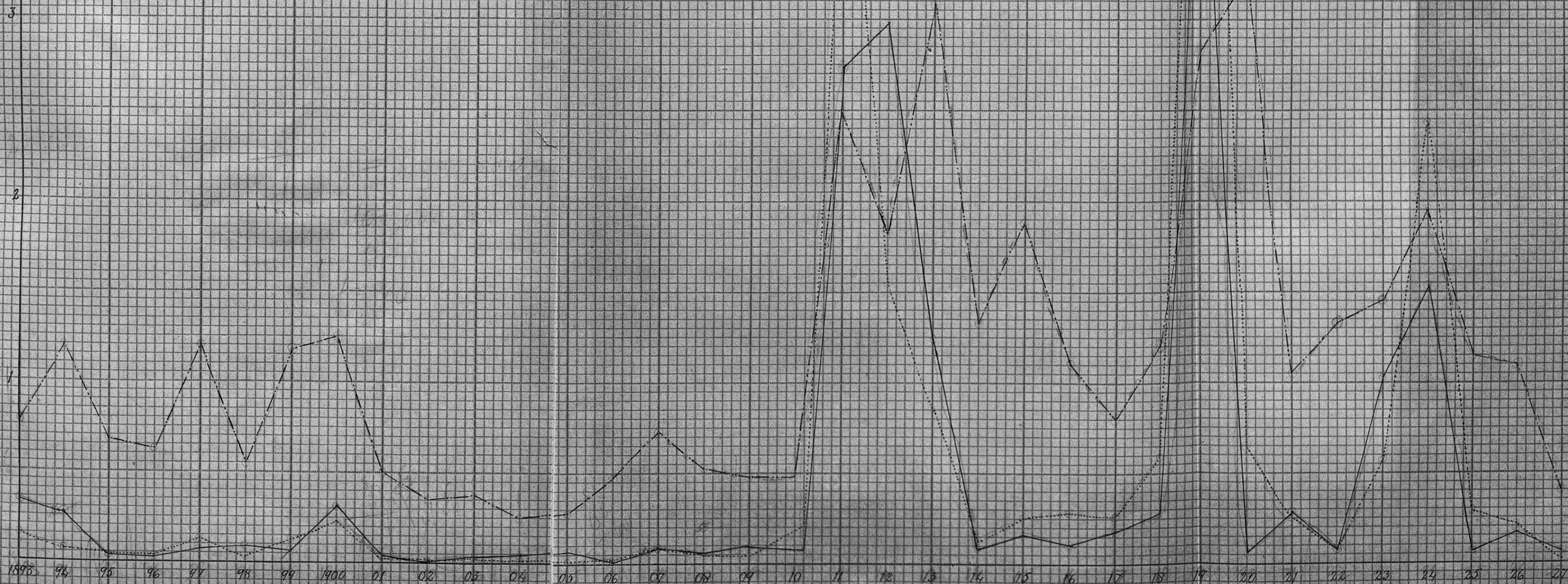
<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of disputes.</u>	<u>No. of work-people in- volved in dis- putes.</u>	<u>Aggregation duration of disputes in working days.</u>
1893	31	15,464	334,524
1894	48	11,507	266,825
1895	27	4,256	35,143
1896	25	3,312	23,043
1897	48	12,523	76,497
1898	22	3,478	46,771
1899	47	12,611	62,450
1900	50	23,026	303,780
1901	20	2,682	38,312
1902	14	1,590	10,027
1903	15	2,172	26,779
1904	10	1,759	42,343
1905	11	2,112	67,089
1906	19	1,888	10,021
1907	29	8,708	85,471
1908	21	4,894	51,634
1909	19	4,874	94,697
1910	19	20,321	70,833
1911	99	448,618	2,729,633
1912	73	155,300	2,985,165
1913	123	86,225	1,245,092
1914	53	13,000	87,000

Transport.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of disputes.</u>	<u>No. of work- people in- volved in disputes.</u>	<u>Aggregation duration of disputes in working days.</u>
1915	75	25,000	152,000
1916	44	28,000	103,000
1917	32	26,000	184,000
1918	48	59,000	277,000
1919	113	571,000	4,200,000
1920	129	65,000	509,000
1921	42	25,000	291,000
1922	53	8,000	80,000
1923	58	58,000	1,031,000
1924	78	244,000	1,539,000
1925	46	29,000	68,000
1926	42	21,300	167,000
1927	16	2,100	6,000
<hr/>			
1,599	2,021,720	17,300,129	

Transport

Aggregate Duration of Disputes in Working Days (in millions)
Number of Work People involved in Disputes (in hundreds of thousands)
Number of Disputes (in fifties)



Explanation.

Total number of disputes (1893-1927)	-	4,647
No. of workpeople involved in disputes	-	2,963,791
Aggregate duration of disputes in working days.		-82,042,543

On the average 132 disputes occurred each year between 1893 - 1927 and the number of workpeople involved each year 84,679 and the aggregate number of days lost each year being 2,344,072.

The Industry suffered good deal in 1906, 1907, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1915 onwards to 1920. (Vide graph).

Metal, Engineering and Shipbuilding.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of disputes.</u>	<u>No. of work-people in- volved in disputes.</u>	<u>Aggregation duration of disputes in working days.</u>
1893	117	29,691	701,171
1894	161	28,040	1,274,219
1895	160	46,328	1,369,259
1896	266	48,137	862,760
1897	229	97,189	7,141,289
1898	152	21,432	1,370,764
1899	140	21,119	420,660
1900	111	19,810	349,130
1901	103	22,489	601,553
1902	771	15,914	420,362
1903	87	32,380	481,016
1904	75	12,130	185,429
1905	70	12,753	467,571
1906	125	42,049	1,118,282
1907	134	19,576	467,633
1908	62	58,338	3,835,661
1909	62	9,724	179,689
1910	97	55,436	3,147,157
1911	255	93,783	1,321,915
1912	234	82,885	1,369,328
1913	392	152,689	2,987,695

Metal, Engineering, and Shipbuilding.

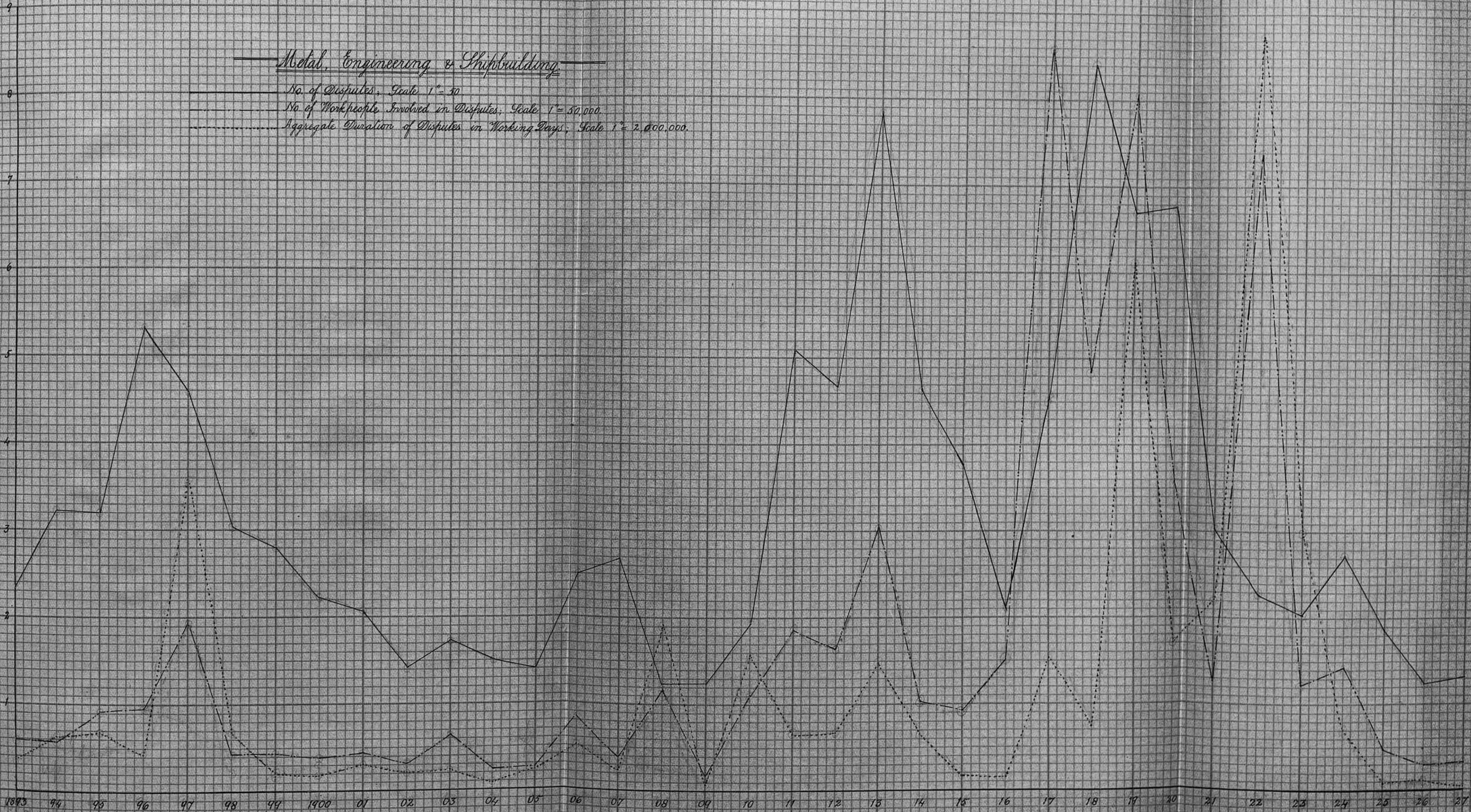
<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of disputes</u>	<u>No. of work-people in- volved in disputes.</u>	<u>Aggregate duration of disputes in working days.</u>
1914	232	51,000	1,308,000
1915	189	46,000	357,000
1916	105	75,000	305,000
1917	225	429,000	3,063,000
1918	420	242,000	1,499,000
1919	335	403,000	12,248,000
1920	339	179,000	3,402,000
1921	151	63,000	4,420,000
1922	114	369,000	17,484,000
1923	102	61,000	5,995,000
1924	136	71,000	1,400,000
1925	93	24,000	183,000
1926	62	14,400	221,000
1927	66	15,500	80,000
<hr/>			
<u>4,647</u>	<u>2,963,791</u>	<u>82,042,543.</u>	

Metal, Engineering & Shipbuilding

No. of Disputes; Scale 1" = 50

No. of Workpeople Involved in Disputes; Scale 1" = 50,000

Aggregate Duration of Disputes in Working Days; Scale 1" = 2,000,000



Explanation.

Textile.

Total no. of disputes (1893-1927)	-	3,144
No. of workpeople involved in disputes		2,809,460
Aggregate duration of disputes in working days	-	50,238,676
Average being	-	90
		80,270
		1,435,391

1911, 1912, 1913, there was considerable trouble in this industry.

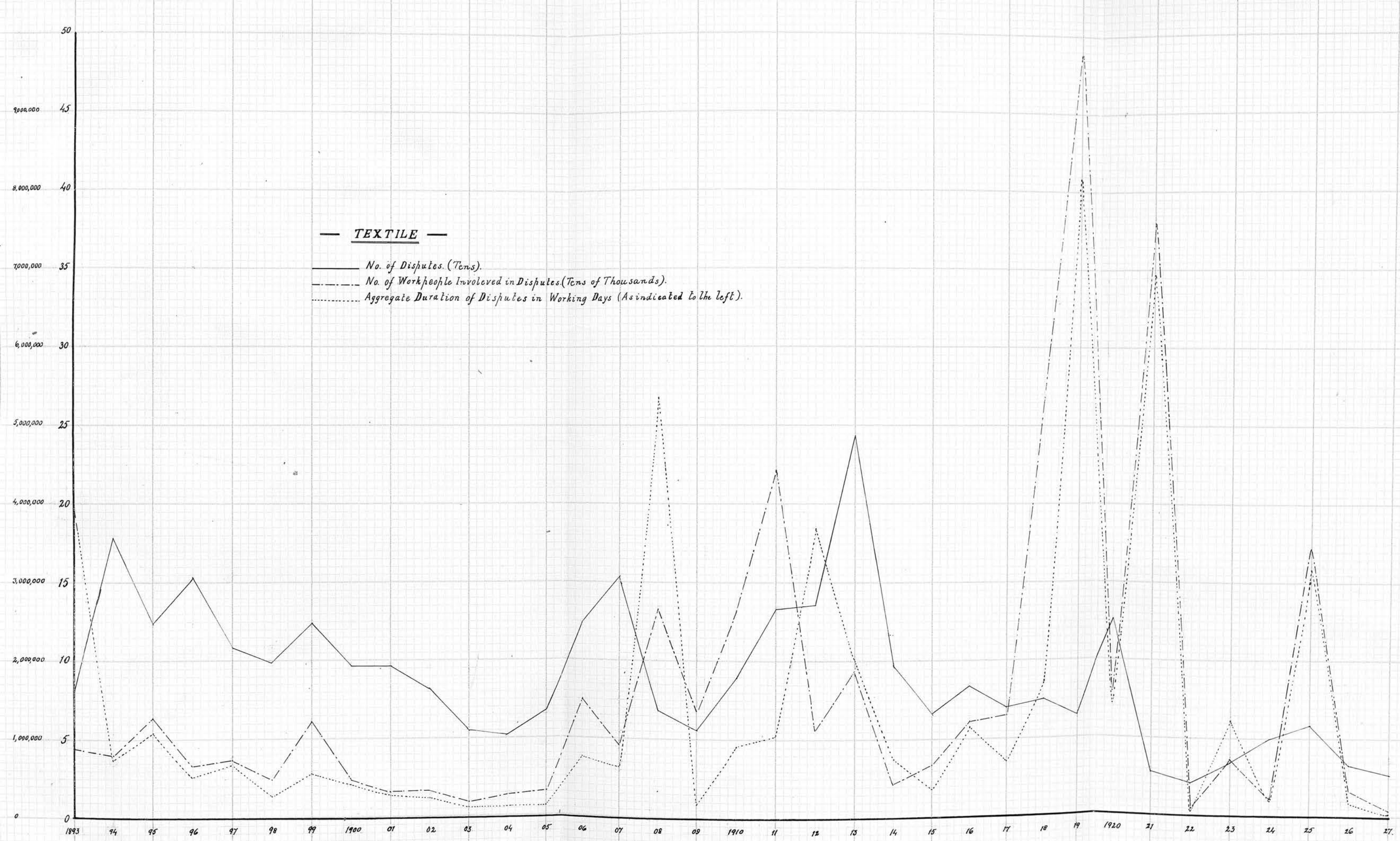
And again there was considerable trouble in 1920 but ever since that time disputes have considerably decreased and there is a tendency to settle disputes amicably.

Textile.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of disputes.</u>	<u>No. of work-people in- volved in disputes.</u>	<u>Aggregation duration of disputes in working days.</u>
1893	79	44,875	3,918,074
1894	178	40,004	748,173
1895	124	64,129	1,076,993
1896	153	33,656	519,917
1897	108	37,001	677,615
1898	99	24,978	273,564
1899	124	61,499	552,485
1900	96	24,143	411,368
1901	96	16,609	276,363
1902	82	16,706	238,380
1903	55	9,458	117,038
1904	52	13,048	121,554
1905	67	15,786	126,483
1906	124	75,114	762,999
1907	153	47,429	642,460
1908	69	132,803	5,365,096
1909	56	6,795	177,912
1910	90	132,276	917,558
1911	133	221,433	1,434,068
1912	136	56,208	3,698,376
1913	243	93,510	2,028,200
1914	97	22,000	765,000
1915	67	33,000	369,000

Textile.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of disputes.</u>	<u>No. of work-people in- volved in disputes.</u>	<u>Aggregation duration of disputes in working days.</u>
1916	74	61,000	1,161,000
1917	70	65,000	710,000
1918	75	268,000	1,704,000
1919	65	488,000	8,160,000
1920	126	80,000	1,443,000
1921	28	380,000	6,939,000
1922	21	5,000	68,000
1923	35	36,000	1,228,000
1924	50	11,000	200,000
1925	59	172,000	3,173,000
1926	33	16,500	188,000
1927	27	4,500	36,000
<hr/>			
Totals:	3,144	2,809,460	50,238,676
<hr/>			
Averages:	90	80,270	1,435,391
<hr/>			



Explanation.

Building.

Total number of disputes (1893-1927)	-	3,247
No. of workpeople involved in disputes	-	1,595,059
Aggregate duration of disputes in working days	-	16,609,876
Average	-	93
		4,559
		474,282

Highest number of disputes occurred before war in 1913 (198) and after the war there were considerable trouble and disputes were frequent in 1918, 1919, 1920 and 1921 (~~Vide graph~~).

Building.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of disputes.</u>	<u>No. of work- people in- volved in disputes.</u>	<u>Aggregate duration of disputes in working days.</u>
1893	131	15,334	468,573
1894	162	13,632	377,987
1895	146	9,438	382,911
1896	171	33,312	1,060,227
1897	193	15,047	353,348
1898	183	16,684	379,170
1899	180	30,524	854,207
1900	146	19,178	726,626
1901	104	9,797	574,848
1902	39	5,356	115,860
1903	44	3,663	114,371
1904	37	8,697	345,513
1905	31	6,637	412,633
1906	19	1,441	56,201
1907	22	1,230	23,128
1908	19	2,892	73,919
1909	15	1,592	19,360
1910	17	880	35,475
1911	27	2,789	74,962
1912	58	5,634	106,638
1913	198	40,002	823,829
1914	177	38,000	3,184,000
1915	63	16,000	130,000

Building.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of disputes.</u>	<u>No. of work- people in- volved in disputes.</u>	<u>Aggregate duration of disputes in working days.</u>
1916	73	6,000	103,000
1917	51	7,000	68,000
1918	107	36,000	186,000
1919	134	22,000	391,000
1920	242	42,000	696,000
1921	153	26,000	538,000
1922	62	8,000	169,000
1923	54	20,000	386,000
1924	58	114,000	3,134,000
1925	54	5,000	79,000
1926	43	3,500	39,000
1927	34	7,800	127,000
Totals:	<u>3,247</u>	<u>1,595,059</u>	<u>16,609,876</u>
Averages:	<u>93</u>	<u>4,559</u>	<u>474,282</u>

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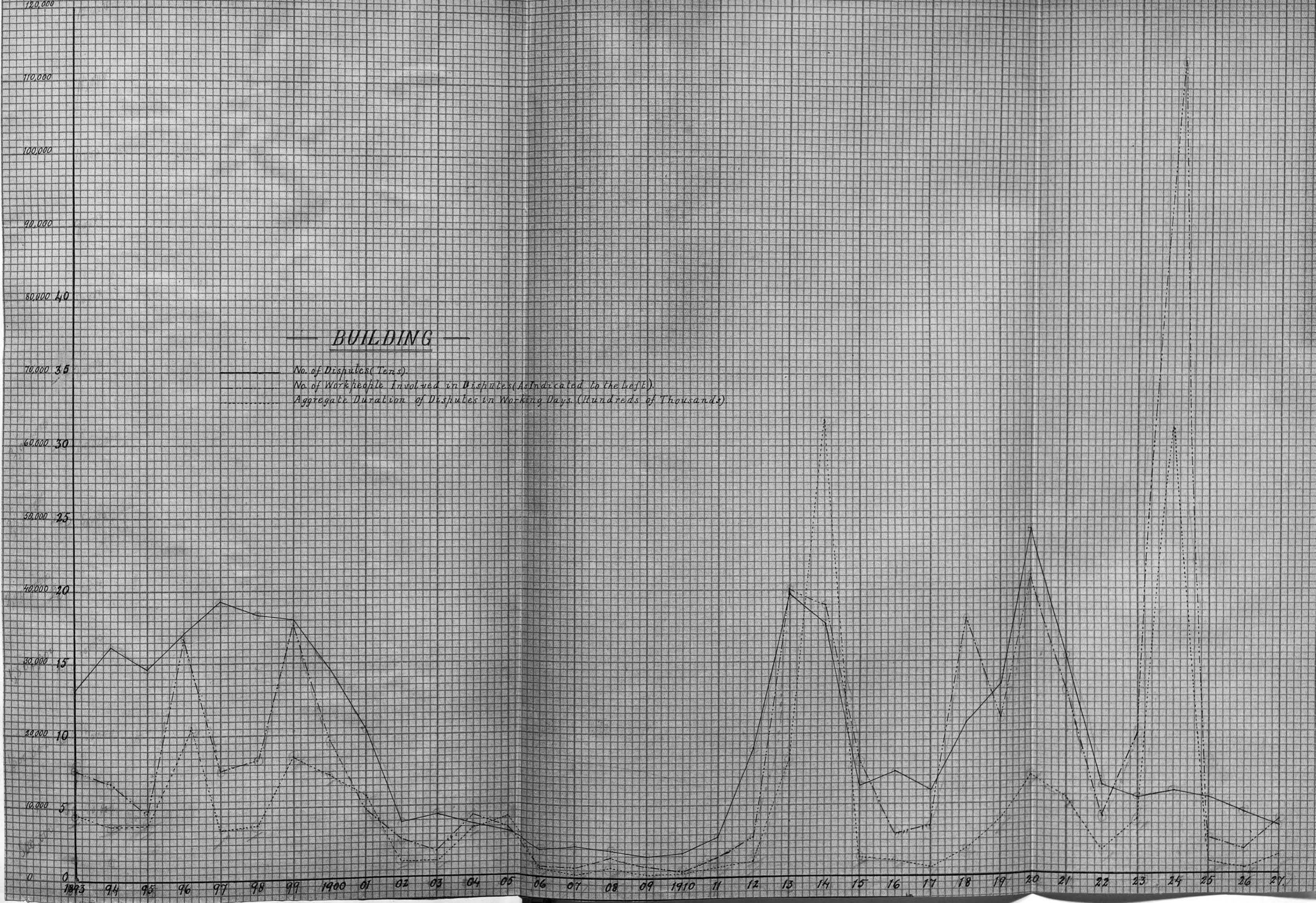
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BUILDING

— No. of Disputes (Tens)
 - - - No. of Workpeople Involved in Disputes (As Indicated to the Left)
 ····· Aggregate Duration of Disputes in Working Days (Hundreds of Thousands)

1923 94 95 96 97 98 99 1900 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 1910 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27



Explanation.

Clothing.

Total number of disputes that occurred between
(1893-1927) were

- 1,500

No. of workpeople involved in disputes

348,286

Aggregate duration of disputes in working days

6,337,915

Average

43

9,951

181,083

Highest no. of disputes occurred in 1919

Lowest

in 1927.

Clothing.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of disputes.</u>	<u>No. of work-people in- volved in disputes.</u>	<u>Aggregation duration of disputes in working days.</u>
1893	65	10,827	185,190
1894	65	5,609	100,362
1895	39	50,040	1,616,562
1896	48	3,969	98,734
1897	56	7,016	301,082
1898	53	3,561	69,900
1899	37	2,258	42,154
1900	38	2,154	60,121
1901	39	4,135	87,384
1902	23	2,790	54,044
1903	25	2,476	136,182
1904	26	1,448	13,202
1905	29	3,540	71,435
1906	42	8,912	92,139
1907	64	11,643	277,949
1908	32	4,662	69,341
1909	29	2,578	19,473
1910	40	4,462	58,866
1911	46	9,810	94,447
1912	68	31,069	601,438
1913	75	15,227	173,910
1914	50	7,000	79,000
1915	40	6,000	28,000

Clothing.

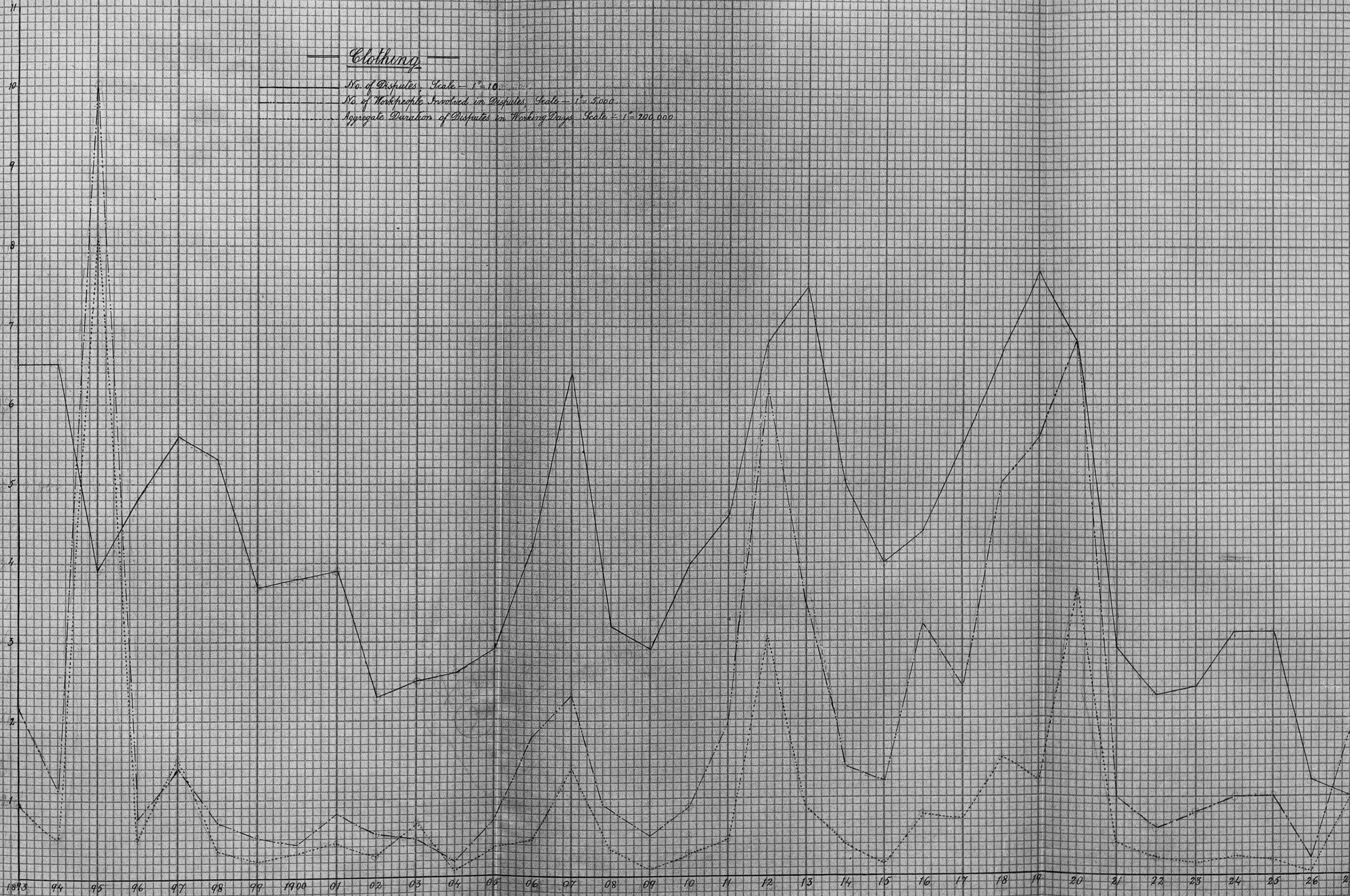
<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of disputes.</u>	<u>No. of work-people in- volved in disputes.</u>	<u>Aggregation duration of disputes in working days.</u>
1916	44	16,000	156,000
1917	55	12,000	142,000
1918	67	25,000	298,000
1919	77	28,000	239,000
1920	68	34,000	727,000
1921	29	5,000	81,000
1922	23	3,000	46,000
1923	24	4,000	28,000
1924	31	5,000	45,000
1925	31	5,000	38,000
1926	12	1,000	8,000
1927	10	9,100	199,000
<hr/>			
<u>1,500</u>	<u>348,286</u>	<u>6,337,915</u>	

Clothing

No. of Disputes, Scale = 1" = 10

No. of Workpeople Involved in Disputes, Scale = 1" = 5,000

Aggregate Duration of Disputes in Working Days, Scale = 1" = 200,000



Explanation.

From the figures in the next page, we see considerable number of miscellaneous disputes have occurred. The table includes the disputes in which employees of public authorities have gone on strike.

Total number of disputes	4,142
Number of workpeople involved in disputes	1,020,059
Aggregate duration of disputes in working days	15,447,492
Averages	122
	30,911
	468,106

Miscellaneous and Employees of Public Authorities.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of disputes</u>	<u>No. of work-people in- volved in disputes.</u>	<u>Aggregation duration of disputes in working days.</u>
1893	65	12,613	451,930
1894	83	8,369	122,937
1895	62	4,975	157,645
1896	92	8,607	170,019
1897	103	12,099	349,849
1898	73	6,745	272,975
1899	82	5,375	80,032
1900	71	25,863	748,737
1901	70	10,853	477,714
1902	45	5,785	90,535
1903	36	3,174	65,384
1904	42	3,839	118,894
1905	44	7,884	69,464
1906	61	4,536	67,072
1907	87	6,345	96,449
1908	51	4,896	87,109
1909	48	2,502	53,368
1910	44	5,217	140,782
1911	164	44,739	563,290
1912	133	25,449	559,885
1913	273	67,194	1,016,422
1914	187	43,000	678,000
1915	153	24,000	260,000

1914-1926 figures taken from 18th Abstract of
Labour Statistics (of United Kingdom).

Miscellaneous and Employees of Public Authority.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of disputes.</u>	<u>No. of work-people in- volved in disputes.</u>	<u>Aggregation duration of disputes in working days.</u>
1916	117	26,000	292,000
1917	149	52,000	297,000
1918	275	103,000	648,000
1919	378	154,000	2,018,000
1920	455	121,000	2,283,000
1921	208	46,000	642,000
1922	134	35,000	616,000
1923	159	37,000	804,000
1924	153	31,000	478,000
1925	145	71,000	671,000
<hr/>			
Totals:	4,142	1,020,059	15,447,492
Averages:	122	30,911	468,106

Explanation.

The graph and figures show the number of disputes occurred in each year and the number of cases settled with the assistance of the Board of Trade and the Ministry of Labour from 1896 - 1927.

Eleven cases were settled with the help of the Board of Trade ^{in 1896}. Ever since then cases settled with out-side help, compared with the number of disputes that occurred, is small.

During the War number of disputes were settled with the assistance of the Board of Trade and in some years the cases settled were greater than the number of disputes that occurred. They were as follows:-

Year.	No. of Disputes.	Cases settled
1915	672	397
1916	532	1412
1917	230	2474
1918	1165	3583
1919	1352	1323

This is mainly due to War measures.

But the graph shows the number of cases settled after 1918, is considerably greater than any period before the War, and the number of cases settled in each year is far greater than before the War. This is due to the establishment of Industrial Court and also due to the tendency that is growing to refer the matter to a third party in order to have a peaceful settlement. The Industrial Court has issued number of awards and was accepted both by employer and employees.

The number of cases settled with the assistance of the Board of Trade and the Ministry of Labour from 1896 - 1927.

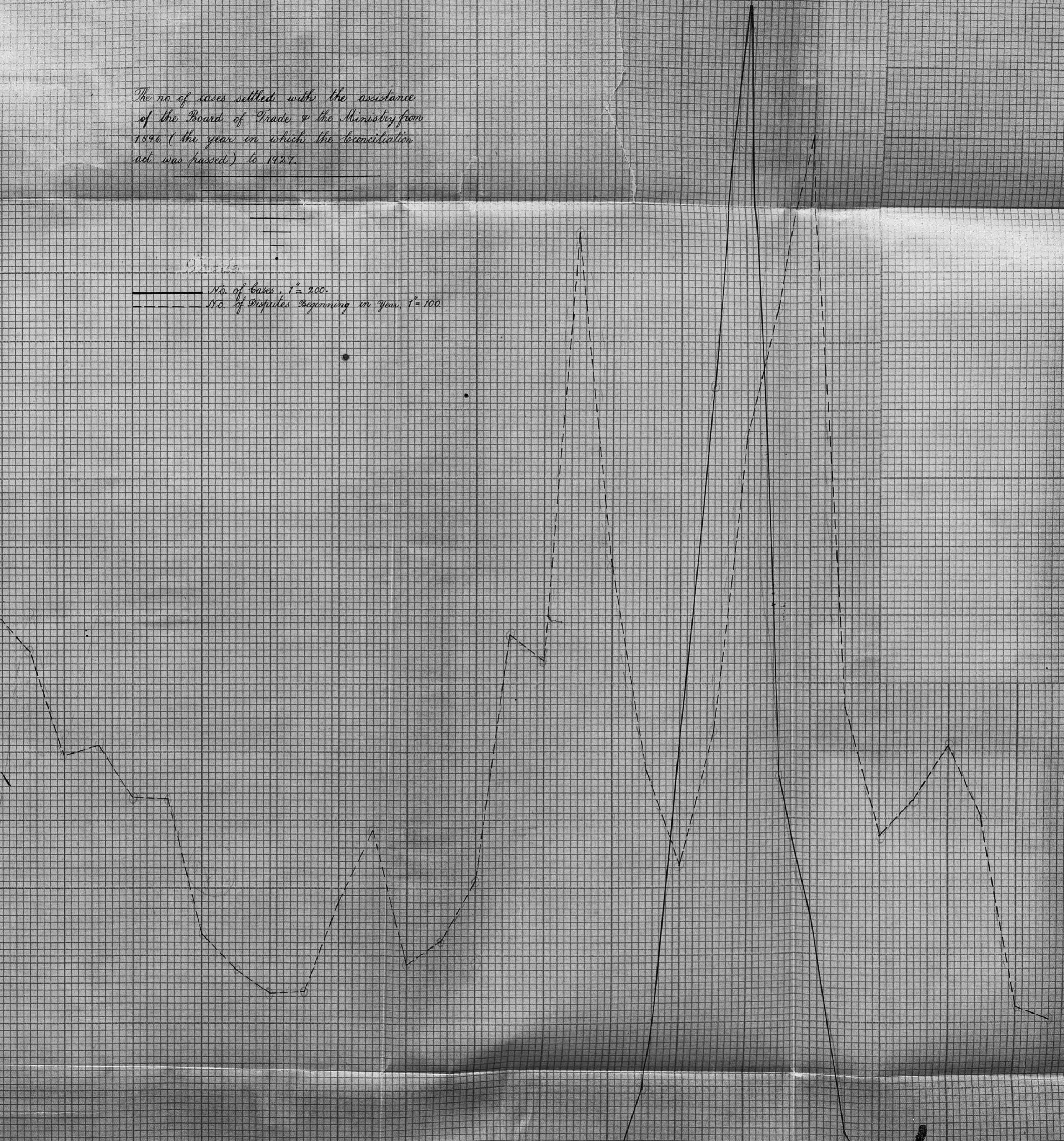
Year.	Number of disputes	No. of Cases.
1896	1,021	11
1897	864	37
1898	711	12
1899	719	11
1900	648	21
1901	642	33
1902	442	21
1903	387	17
1904	354	12
1905	358	14
1906	486	20
1907	601	39
1908	399	60
1909	436	57
1910	521	67
1911	872	92
1912	834	73
1913	1,459	99
1914	972	81
1915	672	397
1916	532	1,412
1917	730	2,474
1918	1,165	3,583
1919	1,352	1,323
1920	1,607	920

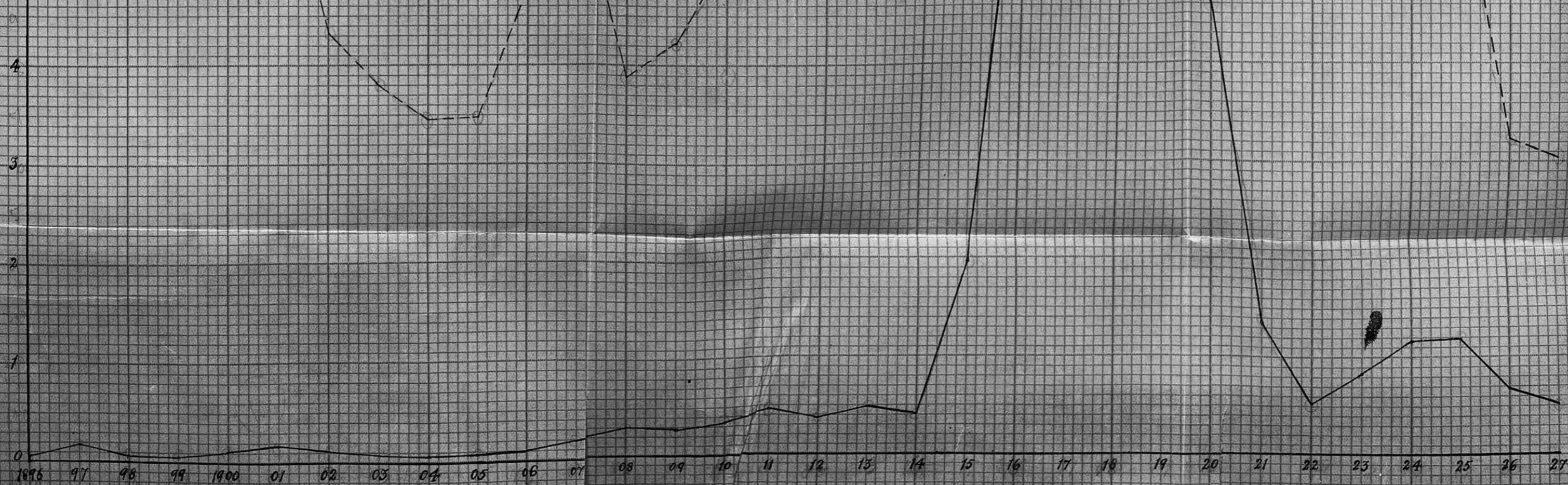
Year.	No. of disputes.	No. of Cases.
1921	763	272
1922	576	103
1923	628	167
1924	710	252
1925	603	257
1926	323	137
1927	303	103.

The no of cases settled with the assistance
of the Board of Trade & the Ministry from
1896 (the year in which the Conciliation
act was passed) to 1927.

— No. of Cases, 1" = 200.
- - - No. of Disputes Beginning in Year, 1" = 100.

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Miscellaneous Disputes.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of dis- putes beginn- ing in year.</u>	<u>Miscel- laneous.</u>	<u>Percen- tage.</u>	<u>Remarks.</u>
1897	864	3		
1898	711	3		
1899	719	2		
1900	648	4		
1901	642	4		
1902	442	3		
1903	387	3		
1904	354	-		
1905	358	2		
1906	486	2		
1907	601	3		
1908	399	3		
1909	436	7	2	
1910	521	11	2	
1911	872	8	-	
1912	834	21	2	
1913	1,459	24	2	
1914	972	23	2	
1915	672	11	2	
1916	532	9	2	
1917	730	12	2	
1918	1,165	19	2	
1919	1,352	29	2	

Miscellaneous Disputes.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. of dis- putes beginn- ing in year.</u>	<u>Miscel- laneous.</u>	<u>Percen- tage.</u>	<u>Remarks.</u>
1920	1,607	46	3	
1921	763	17	2	
1922	576	13	2	
1923	628	29	5	
1924	710	25	4	
<hr/>				
	<u>20,440</u>	<u>331</u>	<u>36</u>	

Number of disputes involving stoppages of work, beginning in year, arising on question of -

Year.	Wages.	Hours of Labour.	Employment of particular classes or persons	Other work-ing arrange-ments, rules & discip.	Trade Un-ions.	Miscel-lan-eous.	Total.
1910	296	22	79	74	39	11	521
1911	557	30	139	66	72	8	872
1912	528	26	143	50	66	21	834
1913	956	47	231	72	129	24	1,459
1914	603	28	180	56	82	23	972
1915	489	17	82	18	55	11	672
1916	398	16	70	22	17	9	532
1917	521	4	116	42	35	12	730
1918	770	25	200	73	78	19	1,165
1919	857	137	196	82	51	29	1,352
1920	1,079	41	259	93	89	46	1,607
1921	560	31	91	40	24	17	763
1922	385	18	77	52	31	13	576
1923	353	16	87	52	91	29	628
1924	436	13	121	58	57	25	710
Average	586	31	138	57	61	20	893
Percentage	66	4	15	6	7	2	100

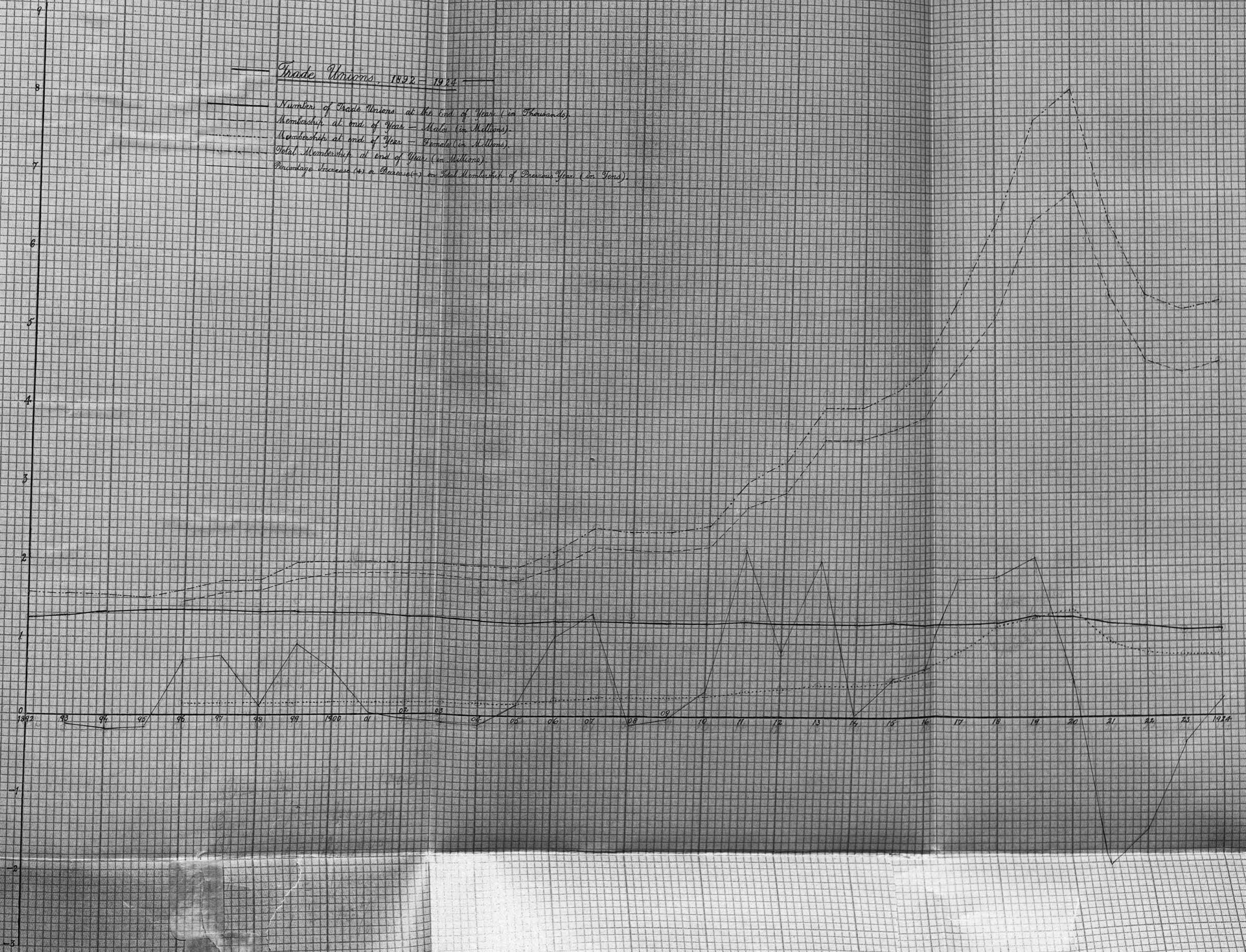
From the table we see that out of the yearly average of 893 disputes which have occurred between 1910-1924.

Year.	No. of T. Unions at end of year.	Membership at the end of year.			Total thousands	Percentage Inc. (-) or Dec. (+) on Total membership of previous year. Per cent.
		Males thousands	Females thousands	Total thousands		
1892	1,233			1,576		
1893	1,279			1,559	- 1.1	
1894	1,314	Not available.			1,530	- 1.9
1895	1,340			1,504	- 1.7	
1896	1,358	1,466	142	1,608	+ 7.0	
1897	1,353	1,584	147	1,731	+ 7.6	
1898	1,326	1,608	144	1,752	+ 1.2	
1899	1,325	1,761	150	1,911	+ 9.1	
1900	1,323	1,868	154	2,022	+ 5.8	
1901	1,322	1,873	152	2,025	+ 0.1	
1902	1,297	1,857	156	2,013	- 0.6	
1903	1,285	1,838	156	1,994	- 1.0	
1904	1,256	1,802	165	1,967	- 1.3	
1905	1,244	1,817	180	1,997	+ 1.6	
1906	1,282	1,999	211	2,210	+10.7	
1907	1,283	2,263	250	2,513	+13.7	
1908	1,268	2,230	255	2,485	- 1.1	
1909	1,260	2,214	263	2,477	- 0.3	
1910	1,269	2,287	278	2,565	+ 3.5	
1911	1,290	2,804	335	3,139	+22.4	
1912	1,252	3,026	390	3,416	+ 8.8	
1913	1,269	3,702	433	4,135	+21.0	
1914	1,260	3,708	437	4,145	+ 0.3	

Year.	No. of T. Unions at end of Year.	Membership at the end of year.			Percentage Inc. (-) or Dec. (+) on Total member- ship of prev- ious year. Per cent.
		Males thou- sands.	Females thou- sands.	Total thou- sands.	
1915	1,229	3,868	491	4,359	+ 5.2
1916	1,225	4,018	626	4,644	+ 6.5
1917	1,241	4,621	878	5,499	+18.4
1918	1,264	5,324	1,209	6,533	+18.8
1919	1,360	6,600	1,326	7,926	+21.3
1920	1,364	6,994	1,340	8,334	+ 5.1
1921	1,251	5,618	1,004	6,622	-20.5
1922	1,203	4,744	870	5,614	-15.2
1923	1,161	4,597	813	5,410	- 3.6
1924	1,155	4,720	811	5,531	+ 2.2

Trade Unions, 1892-1924

Number of Trade Unions at the End of Year (in Thousands)
 Membership at end of Year - Males (in Millions)
 Membership at end of Year - Females (in Millions)
 Total Membership at end of Year (in Millions)
 Percentage Increase (+) or Decrease (-) on Total Membership of Previous Year (in Tens)



100 Principal Trade Unions : Membership, Income, Expenditure and Funds.

Year end year.	No. Member-ship at end year.	From		From Ministry of Labour. £	From other sources. £	Total Amount. £	Amount per member.			Total Amount per member at end year. £
		Members. £	From Ministry of Labour. £				£	s.	d.	
1911	2,210,464	3,044,241	-	341,749	3,385,990	1 : 13 : 11½	5,671,984	£2 : 11 : 1½		
1912	2,428,988	3,230,782	-	304,269	3,535,051	1 : 10 : 5	4,853,015	1 : 19 : 11½		
1913	3,022,687	3,758,865	94,520	278,645	4,132,030	1 : 10 : 3½	5,700,132	1 : 17 : 8½		
1914	3,022,804	3,936,642	257,461	300,118	4,494,221	1 : 9 : 8½	6,145,709	22 : 0 : 8		
1915	3,232,523	3,965,824	154,261	282,867	4,402,952	1 : 8 : 1½	7,546,244	2 : 6 : 8¼		
1916	3,476,828	4,172,138	33,554	325,932	4,531,624	1 : 7 : 0¼	9,248,264	2 : 13 : 2½		
1917	4,174,238	4,728,947	21,214	460,405	5,210,566	1 : 7 : 3	11,200,082	2 : 13 : 8		
1918	4,999,553	5,693,608	13,697	596,670	6,303,975	1 : 7 : 5½	13,375,915	2 : 13 : 6		
1919	6,045,812	7,732,447	21,736	963,761	8,717,944	1 : 11 : 6½	14,102,832	2 : 6 : 7½		
1920	6,333,471	10,384,589	329,361	868,541	11,582,491	1 : 17 : 5	14,606,228	2 : 6 : 1½		
1921	4,922,091	10,336,720	7,822,431	1,191,289	19,350,440	3 : 8 : 9¼	9,415,085	1 : 18 : 3		
1922	4,102,865	8,059,028	5,040,828	742,249	13,842,105	3 : 1 : 4¼	8,438,198	2 : 1 : 1½		
1923	3,945,232	7,345,428	2,427,842	541,578	10,314,848	2 : 11 : 3¼	9,348,749	2 : 7 : 4½		
1924	4,073,111	7,581,123	1,913,248	530,735	10,025,106	2 : 10 : 0¼	9,967,507	2 : 8 : 11¼		

Expenditure.

Year.	Unemploy- ment Benefit.	Dispute Benefit.	Sick and Accident Benefit.	Supperannu- ation Bene- fit.	Funeral and other Benefits.	Payments to Federations and other Socie- ties, etc.	Management and other expen- ses.	Payment from Pol- itical Fund.	Total ex- pendi- ture.
1911	447,680	590,499	423,997	406,132	162,206	238,619	732,937	814	3,004,284
1912	591,104	1,672,056	431,072	420,518	202,500	165,578	870,723	469	4,354,020
1913	490,220	372,804	576,550	421,286	201,428	204,373	1,011,589	6,663	3,284,913
1914	992,976	588,225	538,305	425,339	233,155	196,341	1,054,511	19,792	4,048,644
1915	382,007	90,519	481,742	420,995	279,757	178,688	1,137,594	31,115	3,002,417
1916	151,432	113,041	459,196	418,050	294,543	186,188	1,181,136	26,018	2,829,604
1917	250,458	132,169	447,854	452,335	332,787	214,174	1,392,808	36,163	3,258,748
1918	224,112	230,527	548,424	451,774	421,620	249,553	1,879,066	123,066	4,128,142
1919	1,080,632	2,064,391	566,513	475,407	437,433	662,802	2,604,654	99,195	7,991,029
1920	1,835,292	2,791,883	633,992	525,558	555,071	772,539	3,799,523	165,237	11,079,995
1921	14,925,017	3,130,707	832,850	578,413	500,065	589,057	3,830,597	154,877	24,541,583
1922	7,701,179	1,409,400	729,038	645,431	478,146	376,351	3,221,627	257,820	14,818,992
1923	3,506,651	675,521	628,597	736,733	421,016	403,801	2,787,858	244,120	9,404,297
1924	2,927,000	1,149,162	662,797	809,904	423,412	365,978	2,828,055	240,040	9,406,348

No. of Employers' Associations, concerned with Labour Matters -

Industries.	No. of Associations.		Industries.	No. of Associations.	
	1914	1925		1914	1925
National Confederation.	-	1	Paper Printing, etc.	6	22
Fishing	7	12	{ Paper, Stationary, Newspapers etc.	4	26
Agriculture, Horticulture	3	8	{ Other printing (book-binding etc.	106	25
Mining and Quarrying	24	27			
{ Coal Mining					
{ other mining and quarrying	14	49			
Total	38	76	Total	116	73
Treatment of Non-Metalliferous mine and quarry products	-	10	Building	224	370
Bricks	9	48	Decorating	11	17
Pottery	7	7	Contracting etc.	24	33
Glass etc.	9	16	{ Building	15	25
{ Brick, pipe			{ General masonry & brick-laying, Carpentry and joinery slating and tiling	16	21
{ Pottery, glazed tile, glass			{ painting and decorating, plastering		
			{ plumbing, gas-fitting, etc.	83	99
			{ Public Works		
			{ Contracting etc.		6
Total	25	71	Total	468	586
Chemicals, Explosives,	2	23	Other manufacturing industries, Gas, water and Electricity supply.	5	35
Paints, oils etc. Metals	12	20	Transport and Communication	1	11
Machines				1	3
Implements	1	1		40	70
Conveyances	56	66			
Jewellery					
Watches, etc.	4	10			

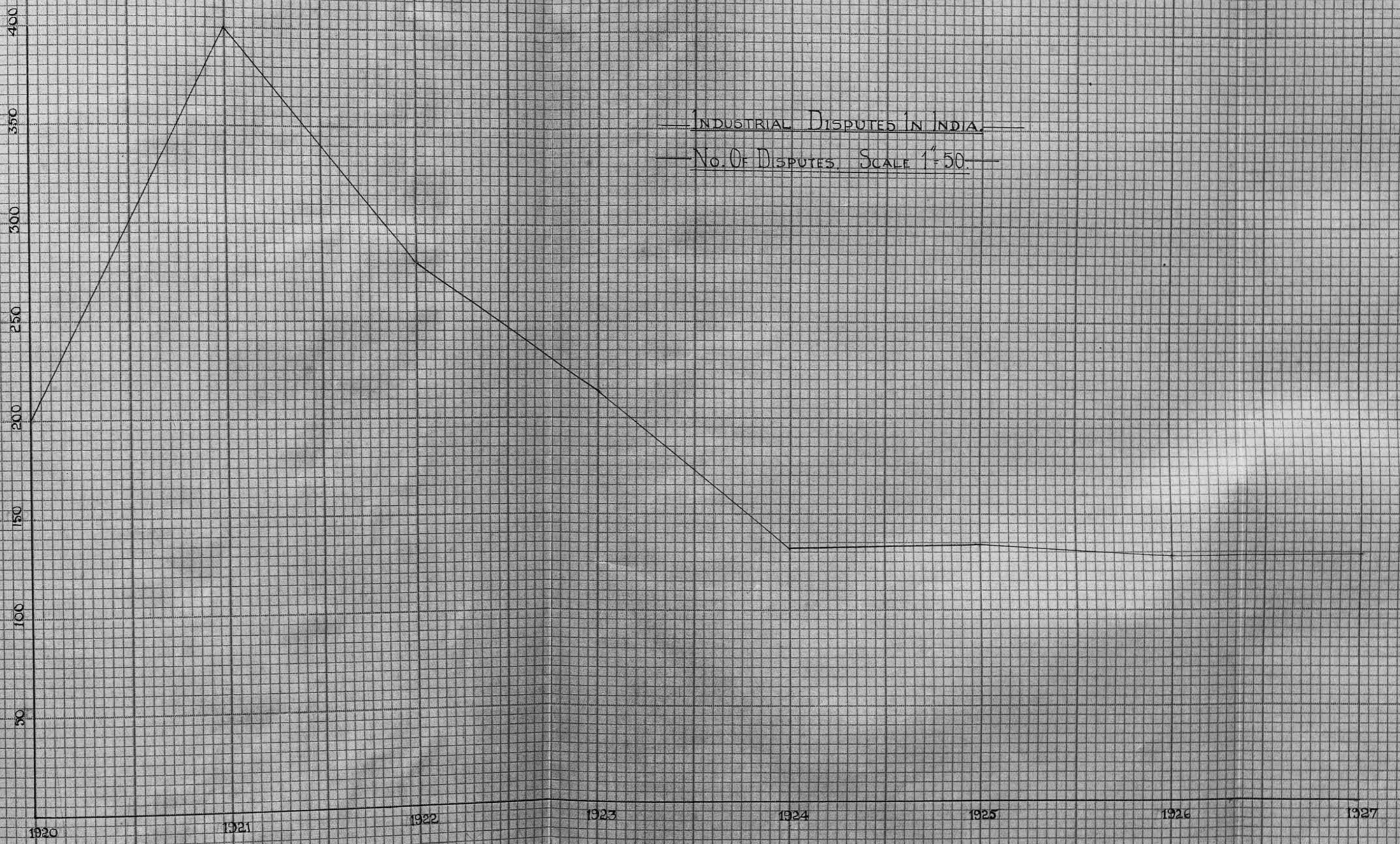
Industries.	No. of Associations.		Industries	No. of Associations.	
	1914	1925		1914	1925
Fur, skins, and leather	1	26	Public Administration (Non- (Trading) services	-	10
Clothing (Tailoring)	54	45	Entertainments & sport	-	10
(Boots & shoes)	23	32	Personal Service.	-	13
(Other clothing)	7	43	(Hotels, Restaurants etc. (Laundering (Job dyeing etc. (Hairdressing (undertaking etc.	29	10
				2	14
Total	84	120	Total	31	37
Food, drink & Tobacco			Other industries and services	-	4
(Grain milling)	-	20	Associations and Federations covering various Industries	4	5
(Baking & Confectionery)	161	202			
(Other food)	2	13			
(Beer mineral waters etc. & Tobacco.)	3	43			
Total	166	278	Grand total	1,487	2,403
Wood-working and Furnishing					
(Sawmill Proprietors)	14	32			
(Timber merchants etc.)	10	38			
(Other woodwork- ing Furnishing)	28	44			
Total.	52	114			

I N D I A.

Industrial Disputes in India.

Year.	No. of Disputes.
1920	200
1921	400
1922	280
1923	214
1924	132
1925	134
1926	128
1927	129

DISPUTES



YEARS

Number of Births and Deaths registered in British
India (1915-1924).

Year.	Death Rate.
1915	7,142,412
1916	6,940,436
1917	7,803,832
1918	14,895,801
1919	8,554,178
1920	7,355,657
1921	7,385,112
1922	5,800,092
1923	6,036,931
1924	6,879,286

Year.	Number of births.
1915	9,021,825
1916	8,856,283
1917	9,379,349
1918	8,430,560
1919	7,212,415
1920	7,864,232
1921	7,774,776
1922	7,688,959
1923	8,466,085
1924	8,317,403

(Compiled from Statistical Abstract for British India:
Cmd.2,793: pages 340, 341.)

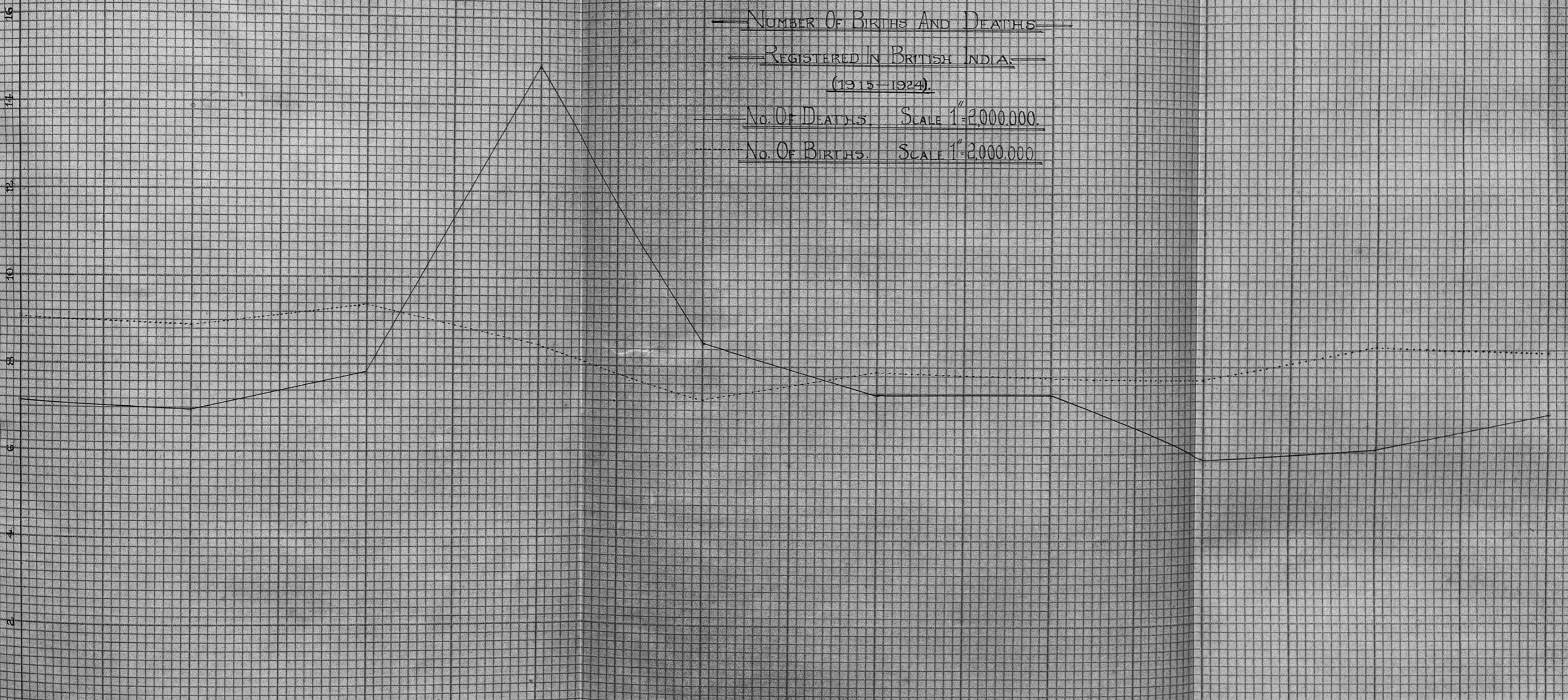
18
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2

NUMBER OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS
REGISTERED IN BRITISH INDIA
(1915-1924)
No. OF DEATHS. SCALE 1"=2,000,000.
No. OF BIRTHS. SCALE 1"=2,000,000.

1915 1916 1917 1918 1919 1920 1921 1922 1923 1924

YEARS

Compiled from Statistical Abstract for British India.



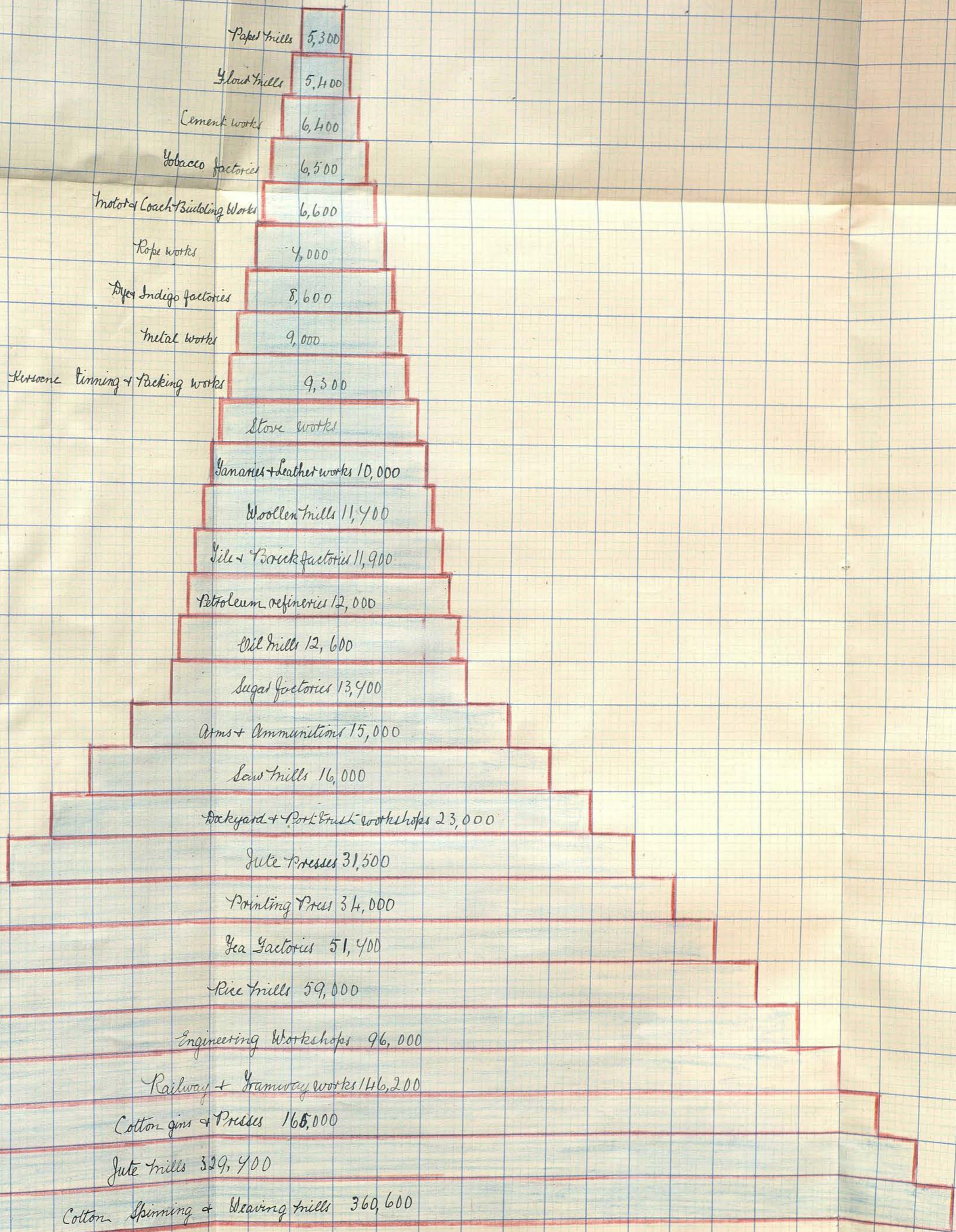


Diagram showing relative importance of the different class of factories in India during 1923

Hours worked and daily wages paid at a large representative mine in each important mine-field in British India, in the year 1926.

	Underground.			Open Workings.			Surface.			
	Males Wage s. d	Hour	Females Wage d.	Males Wage s. d	Hour	Females Wage d.	Males Wage s. d	Hour	Females. Hour	
Jharia	1 5	37	8	-	-	-	- 9	50	8	54
Raniganj	0 10	54	6	-	-	-	- 8½	54	5	54
Giridik	1 6	48	6	0 8½	48	5¼	- 10½	48	6½	48
Assam	1 11½	54	-	-	-	-	1 3	54	9½	54
Punjab	1 8½	52	-	-	-	-	1 1½	58	-	-
Baluchistan	1 6	35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Punch Valley	1 11½	36	8½	0	-	-	- 4½	54	3¼	54
Madras Mica	- 6¾	54	3¼	- 5½	54	3¼	- 11¼	54	3¼	54
1) Mangan- ese C.P.	- 11½	48	6¾	- 8¾	48	5½	- 6¾	48	5¼	48
2) Mangan- ese M	-	-	-	- 7	54	3¼	- 6¼	54	3½	54
Burma Ruby	-	-	-	1 1½	54	-	1 2½	54	-	-
Madras Gold	1 9¼	48	-	-	-	-	- 8¾	48	4½	48
(3) B & O Iron	-	-	-	- 9¾	44	6½	- 6¾	44	5½	38
Burma Lead	2 9	52	-	1 10½	52	-	1 7	54	-	-
Burma Tin	3 -	44	-	-	-	-	1 5	44	-	-

Railway Shop.

Daily rates of wages.

Trade.	Minimum.		Maximum.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
Boilermaker	1	1½	4	3¾
Brass finisher	1	1½	3	9
Carpenter	1	1½	4	3¾
Coach Maker	1	1½	4	3¾
Cabinet "	1	9¼	4	3¾
Coach finisher	1	9¼	4	3¾
Core Maker		10¼	2	3
Crane man	1	1½	2	0½
Cleaner		9		10¼
Coolie (i.e. labourer) Male		8		9¼
Coolie (" ") Female		5		8
Draughtsman	3	9	5	3
Crane Driver	1	1½	3	0
Hammer Driver		11¼	1	5
Pump Driver	1	1½	1	6
Die Sinker	1	1½	4	3¾
Erector	1	1½	4	3¾
Engine Fitter	1	1½	4	3¾
Carriage & Wagon Fitter	1	1½	3	9
Fettler	1	1½	1	8¼
Fireman	1	1½	1	10½
Forgeman	1	1½	4	3¼
Furnace Man	1	1½	2	3
Gringer		11¼	3	0

Trade	Minimum	Maximum.
Machinist	s. d. 1 1½	s. d. 3 9
Wood Machinist	11¼	3 4½
Mason	1 1½	2 7½
Moulder	1 1½	4 3¾
Acetylene Operator	1 1½	4 3¾
Pattern Maker	1 1½	4 3¾
Painter	0 11¼	3 0
Polisher	0 11¼	3 0
Pointsman	0 11¼	1 1½
Riveter	1 1½	2 9¾
Rigger	0 11¼	3 0
Striker	1 1½	1 3¾
Scaler	0 6¾	1 6
Sawyer	0 11¼	3 4½
Storeman	1 10½	3 0
Blacksmith	1 1½	4 3¾
Angle Iron Smith	1 9¾	4 3¾
Copper Smith	1 1½	4 3¾
Tin Smith	0 11¼	3 4½
Sping Smith	1 1½	3 9
Wood Turner	11¼	3 4½
Metal Turner	1 1½	4 3¾
Trimmer	1 1½	3 9
Brass Turner	1 1½	3 9
Tailor	11¼	2 7½
Sign Writer	1 9¼	4 3¾
Shop Boy	0 5½	0 11¼

European & Anglo-Indian (yearly)			Designation.			Indian. (yearly)		
Minimum	Increment	Maximum				Minimum	Increment	Maximum
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.				£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
26 5 0	1 17 6	50 0 0	Chief Train Examiner			12 0 0	1 2 6	14 18 0
12 0 0	1 2 6	14 18 6	Train Examiner			15 0 0	1 10 0	16 10 0
15 0 0	1 10 0	22 10 0						
5 5 0	0 7 6	7 10 0				7 11 6	0 15 0	10 10 0
7 11 6	0 15 0	10 10 0	Assistant Train Examiner			3 7 6	0 6 0	5 5 0
3 15 0	0 7 6	4 10 0	Probationary Assist Train Examiner.			5 6 6	0 7 6	6 0 0
						2 2 0	0 4 6	3 3 0

Loco Department.

Monthly Pay.

	From			To			
	£	s	d	£	s	d.	
Foremen	33	15	0	45	0	0	Europeans
Shop Foremen	33	15	0	60	0	0	"
Boiler Inspectors	37	10	0	45	0	0	"
Mechanics	6	15	0	30	0	0	"
Boilermakers	27	0	0	30	0	0	"
Apprentices	3	7	6	25	12	6	"
Drivers	12	0	0	24	0	0	Europeans and Anglo-Indians
Drivers	3	7	6	6	7	6	Indians
Shunters	10	10	0	11	5	0	Anglo-Indians
Shunters	1	13	0	3	0	0	Indians
Firemen	7	10	0	9	0	0	Anglo-Indians
Firemen	1	5	6	1	11	6	Indians
Cleaners	0	12)	0	16	6	Indians

Traffic Department.

Grade	From			To			Class
	£	s	d	£	s	d	
Signal men (Cabin)	2	5	0	-	-	-	Indians
" " (Others)	0	18	0	1	2	6	"
Guards	7	17	6	15	15	0	Anglo-Indians
Guards	3	7	6	7	10	0	Indians
Ticket Collectors & Checkers							
B Grade	1	7	0	3	0	0	"
Ticket Collectors & Checkers							
A Grade							
Section 1.	2	5	0	4	10	0	"
" 2	4	10	0	6	15	0	"
" 3	6	15	0	8	5	0	Mostly Europeans & Anglo-Indians.

Grade	Clerks.						Monthly Pay. Class	
	From			To				
	£	s.	d	£	s	d		
Head & Divisional Offices	(1	12	0	0	15	0	0	Indians
	(2	9	9	0	11	5	0	Indians
	(3	7	17	0	9	0	0	
	(4	6	6	0	7	10	0	
	(5	2	2	0	5	5	0	
Sub Office Offices		2	2	0	5	5	0	Indians
Tally Clerks		1	10	0	Minimum		Indians	

Station Masters

Monthly Pay.

Grade	From		To		Class
	£	s. d	£	s. d	
Station Masters - Scale 1.	15	0 0	37	10 0	Only 15% Indians, Rest
" " - Scale 2	3	18 0	12	15 0	Europeans & Anglo-Indians
Assistant S. " - Scale 1	21	0 0	24	15 0	" " "
Assistant Station Masters 2	3	0 0	9	0 0	Indians
Station Superintendents	37	10 0	45	0 0	Europeans & Anglo-Indians
Yard Masters	26	5 0	37	10 0	" " "
Assistant Yard Masters	21	0 0	24	15 0	" " "
Transshipment and Wagon Ferry Inspectors	16	10 0	26	5 0	" " "
Goods Supervisors	22	10 0	37	10 0	" " "
Transshipment Foreman	30	0 0	37	10 0	" " "
Traffic & Transportation Inspectors	22	10 0	37	10 0	Only 9% Indians rest Europeans & Anglo-Indians
Yard Foreman Class A	5	5 0	7	10 0	22% Indians, rest Europeans & Anglo-Indians
" " Class B	8	5 0	17	5 0	Only Anglo-Indians.

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Workmen's Compensation Act. (Indian) Act No. VIII of 1923.

Apart from the books and reports mentioned above and in the footnotes throughout the thesis, various other Government publications were consulted and also publications of the International Labour Office especially the following:

International Labour Review (monthly).
 Official Bulletin.
 Legislative Series.