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M I S C E L L A N E O U S S E R I E S

**POSTWAR
LABOR CONDITIONS
IN GERMANY**

By **R. R. KUCZYNSKI**



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INTRODUCTION

Before the war a person who went to Germany to study labor conditions generally was at first struck by the apparent impossibility of securing adequate information. After a while, however, he was puzzled by the great number of sources he could use with advantage. While no general census of production had ever been taken, no general investigation of housing had ever been made, and no general study of wages had ever been attempted, the statistical publications of some States, of a large number of municipalities, and of many trade-unions, as well as the annual reports of factory inspectors, housing inspectors, chambers of commerce, employers' associations, etc., contained so much data on labor conditions that it was possible after all to get a pretty clear insight into a large number of labor subjects. The lack of adequate central statistical service, however, made it impossible to cover the whole ground.

The difficulties which the student of postwar labor conditions now encounters in Germany are still greater, but the extent to which such difficulties have increased is not generally known. No census of occupations, of manufactures, of agriculture, of mines, of transportation, etc., has been taken since 1907. Municipal statistical offices which, before the war, made a special feature of the study of labor conditions either have been closed or have suspended publication of their studies. State statistical offices, factory inspectors, housing inspectors, chambers of commerce, employers' associations, and trade-unions have considerably curtailed their investigations, and some of them now issue no reports. The number of labor subjects on which it is still possible to secure adequate information is therefore much smaller than before the war and it is utterly impossible to give anything like a complete report on postwar labor conditions in Germany. All that can be done in the following chapters is to point out developments along certain lines.¹

¹ The author is indebted for assistance rendered to him in preparing this report to Theodor Cassau, Irmgard Feig, and Arthur Krause.

Chapter I.—GENERAL SURVEY

POPULATION

At the outbreak of the World War Germany had an area of 209,000 square miles, with a population of 67,900,000. As a consequence of the treaty of Versailles she lost 27,000 square miles and retained an area of 182,000 square miles, which at the outbreak of the war had a population of about 61,000,000, at the census of October 8, 1919, 59,900,000, and at the end of 1923 about 63,500,000. At the end of 1923, the male population was almost 3,000,000 less than it was at the outbreak of the war, while the female population had decreased almost 1,500,000. The decrease among both sexes was greatest among children under 15 years of age; indeed the decrease among females was confined to this single group. The group from 15 to 20 years among both males and females remained about the same. While there was a considerable decrease among males from 20 to 45 years, among females of the same age there was a slight increase. Both males and females from 45 to 65 years are much more numerous now than before the war. The group of persons over 65 years of age among both sexes held its own. The proportion of females to 100 males has increased from 102 to 108. Before the war the excess was practically confined to persons over 45 years of age. There were then about as many males as females in the group from 20 to 45 years, while there is now an excess of females amounting to one-sixth, and in the group from 25 to 30 years the excess reaches two-sevenths. The most conspicuous results of this development are: 1. The decrease in the number of children (under 15 years) to be supported by the breadwinner—before the war they constituted 33 per cent and now they constitute 28 per cent of the total population; 2. The increase of the proportion of females in the most productive age of life—before the war they constituted 50 per cent and now they constitute 54 per cent of the total population between 20 and 45 years of age.

OCCUPATION

The trend toward the cities, which before the war resulted in a continuous decrease in the proportion of the population engaged in agricultural pursuits, does not seem to have been operative after the war. The dread of starvation and the certainty of being better fed in a rural than in an urban district prevented young men who otherwise might have drifted to the cities from leaving their homes. Moreover, the compulsory military service, a cause which before the war had led young agricultural laborers to the towns and had occasionally induced them to stay there once they had experienced the better opportunities and pleasures of city life, has disappeared. Also girls from the rural districts do not so frequently go as servant girls to the cities, as the demand for domestic servants decreased with the increasing impoverishment of the middle classes. On the other

hand, some agricultural laborers who before the war had gone to live in the cities, but who still had relatives in the country, returned home because of the scarcity of food in the cities. There is reason to assume that the agricultural breadwinners in the restricted territory are now almost as numerous as those in the larger pre-war territory of Germany. This, however, does not mean that there is everywhere a sufficient supply of agricultural workers. There was a scarcity before the war, the gaps at that time being filled by foreign migratory laborers from the East who came regularly for a few months each year and then returned home. These foreign laborers do not now come to Germany, since they can earn a better living at home. This explains the lack of help in the culture of sugar beets, for instance, because, before the war, this work was performed to a very large extent by foreign labor.

The number of persons employed in mines was considerably larger after the war than before in spite of the fact that Germany lost a considerable part of her mineral resources through the treaty of Versailles. The increase was especially conspicuous in the lignite mines, where 144,752 workers were employed in 1921 as against 58,958 in 1913. Workers in the lignite briquet plants also increased from 20,069 in 1913 to 38,989 in 1920; workers in the coal mines from 654,017 in 1913 to 812,804 in 1921; workers in the salt mines, from 43,232 in 1913 to 52,273 in 1921. There was, on the other hand, a decrease in the number of workers employed in iron-ore mines, from 42,296 in 1913 to 29,478 in 1921, as well as in most of the other mines; smelters and iron and steel works, too, showed in general a slight decrease. Altogether the number of workers employed in mines, smelters, and iron and steel works has increased from 1,290,000 in 1913 to 1,530,000 in 1920-21, or almost one-fifth. The number of persons employed in the different kinds of mines, smelters, and iron and steel works is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1.—NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED IN MINES, SMELTERS, AND IRON AND STEEL WORKS IN GERMANY, 1913 TO 1921

Industry	1913	1917	1919	1920	1921
Coal mines.....	654, 017	568, 040	661, 581	713, 199	812, 804
Lignite mines.....	58, 958	53, 583	103, 614	136, 484	144, 752
Iron mines.....	42, 296	36, 660	28, 058	29, 101	29, 478
Lead, silver, and zinc mines.....	21, 282	18, 223	17, 047	18, 018	19, 336
Arsenic and copper mines.....	13, 292	15, 122	12, 196	10, 849	11, 435
Other ore mines.....	1, 554	3, 743	3, 473	3, 271	2, 673
Salt mines.....	43, 232	27, 371	46, 238	59, 692	52, 273
Petroleum production.....	964	1, 430	1, 207	1, 524	1, 918
Coke plants.....	31, 919	29, 256	38, 083	37, 864	-----
Coal-briquet plants.....	3, 094	2, 688	3, 072	2, 927	-----
Lignite-briquet plants.....	20, 069	20, 586	32, 933	38, 989	-----
Lignite, slate, and peat distilleries.....	1, 022	1, 043	1, 497	1, 853	-----
Blast furnaces.....	41, 908	35, 724	33, 879	36, 745	-----
Iron and steel foundries.....	154, 300	139, 195	134, 660	149, 052	-----
Weld-iron works.....	2, 698	1, 279	1, 087	973	-----
Ingot iron and ingot steel works.....	42, 118	51, 168	43, 229	47, 186	-----
Rolling mills.....	128, 785	142, 849	107, 212	119, 617	-----
Lead, silver, and iron works.....	9, 446	9, 265	10, 605	11, 767	-----
Zinc works.....	13, 003	10, 358	9, 273	8, 690	-----
Other metal works.....	1, 775	3, 053	3, 048	3, 157	-----
Sulphuric acid factories.....	6, 785	6, 237	4, 723	5, 732	-----

The increase in the number of workers employed was probably still larger in the chemical industry, while there was a considerable decrease in the building industry where only about 1,000,000 workers

were employed after the war as compared with 1,750,000 before the war. Altogether there seems to have been a slight increase in the number of men employed in mines and manufactures, and certainly there was a large increase in the number of females employed. Although statistics of the plants subject to mine and factory inspection can not convey a true picture of the development of the country at large, it may be incidentally mentioned that from 1913 to 1922 the number of males employed in such plants increased from 5,794,037 to 6,196,433, and the number of females from 1,592,138 to 2,019,189.

There are no data available to show the increase in the number of persons employed in commerce, but there is not the least doubt that this increase was enormous. This is especially true of the banks, which in 1923 probably employed ten times as many employees as before the war.

A strong increase of personnel likewise took place in transportation. The average number of officials and workmen employed by the State railways (excluding Alsace-Lorraine) in 1913-14 was 741,000; in 1919-20—in spite of the reduction of railway mileage, due to the treaty of Versailles—1,122,000, or 51 per cent more. In 1920-21 the number was 1,090,000; in 1921-22, 1,051,000; and in 1922-23, 1,028,000. The exact figures for the separate years are as follows:

1913-14-----	740, 504	1918-19-----	913, 396
1914-15-----	719, 452	1919-20-----	1, 121, 745
1915-16-----	692, 996	1920-21-----	1, 089, 839
1916-17-----	714, 609	1921-22-----	1, 050, 898
1917-18-----	768, 775	1922-23-----	1, 027, 522

In the report submitted in January, 1924, to the committee of experts of the Reparations Commission (Dawes committee), the German Government estimated the average railway personnel for 1923-24 (April 1, 1923, to March 31, 1924) at 975,000, an increase of 32 per cent as compared with 1913. In the meantime officials and especially workers have been discharged on a very large scale, but it is doubtful whether the railway service can be permanently maintained at its full efficiency with the reduced force.

In the postal department the postwar increase of personnel was still greater. The average number of officials and workers in 1913-14 was 266,404; in 1921-22, 427,109; and in 1922-23, 408,492. The Government's estimate for 1923-24 was 374,871. The reduction in the last few months has not been so sharp as that in the railway service.

It may seem surprising that the number of breadwinners in agriculture, mines, manufactures, commerce, transportation, and government service should have either remained the same or increased as compared with pre-war times while the population as a whole has decreased. There are four main reasons for this: 1. The decrease of the population was to a large extent due to a decrease in the number of children under breadwinning age; 2. The number of women who have to earn their own living has considerably increased; moreover, the decrease in the demand for domestic servants induced some hundreds of thousands of women (who ordinarily would have gone to other households) to follow other pursuits; 3. Men who had retired from business were obliged to return to work when the revenues on which they had theretofore lived dwindled with the

depreciation of the currency; 4. The reduction of the army from 800,000 to 100,000 automatically increased the number of men looking for employment.

It may also seem astonishing that the number of breadwinners increased at a time when production in agriculture and manufacture decreased, and transportation, bank transactions, exports and imports, etc., were considerably reduced. There are three principal reasons for this: 1. The reduction of the working hours; 2. The increase in unproductive work; 3. The diminished efficiency of the employees.

1. The hours worked by the total number of employees was reduced by the introduction of the eight-hour day and by the extension of vacations. (Both facts are fully discussed in Chapter V.)

2. The main cause of the increase in unproductive work was the depreciation of the currency. It affected wages, prices, taxes, and investments and led to a large increase in clerks and officials.

Prior to 1918 some employers, such as mining companies and the railway administration, paid their workers once a month. With the depreciation of the money it became necessary to pay wages weekly. In the case of the railways this change resulted in the employment of 3,548 more clerks. When the depreciation continued, it became unavoidable to pay wages twice a week, and even oftener. At the same time, changes of wages became, of course, more and more frequent (see Chapter VI). As early as 1921, 4,000 clerks in the railway administration did nothing all year round but compute the (nominal) rises in salaries and wages due to the fall of the mark.

The depreciation of the money necessitated a constant change of prices, which actually changed much more frequently than salaries and wages. In the department stores, as elsewhere, all prices had to be adapted each day to the exchange rate of the dollar. Bills for electric light and gas, which in former times were paid monthly, had to be collected every week. Payments by check became unacceptable to the creditor, and so all bills had to be paid in cash at once. Estimates of costs had to be made again and again. All this necessarily absorbed the time of a large number of clerks.

With the changes in wages and prices, taxes had to be continually changed. This caused a large increase in the number of revenue officials, but it also meant a heavy burden for industry. It may suffice to mention in this connection the deduction by the employer of the income tax from wages (see Chapter II). This tax, which was introduced in 1920, would under any circumstances have necessitated the appointment of a large number of additional clerks. Indeed, from the very beginning the railway administration employed 1,706 clerks on the deduction of this tax exclusively, and this task became the more cumbersome the oftener the wages changed. The same was true as to the deductions from wages for compulsory social insurance, etc.

The depreciation of the currency made it impracticable to keep money in cash or to deposit it at a savings or commercial bank. As the purchase of foreign exchange, which would have been the safest way of preserving the value of one's earnings, was forbidden to the general public, the only possibility of diminishing the risk of depreciation of money was to invest it in shares of stock. This was done

by millions of people who never before had thought of buying such shares. They could not, however, keep such securities for any length of time, but had to resell them after some days or weeks, perhaps buying new shares the next month. This was the main cause of the enormous increase in the number of bank clerks and explains why the banks, which had lost a large part of their overseas connections and which in view of the lack of deposits could do very little to finance industries, employed as many hundreds of thousands of employees in 1923 as they had employed tens of thousands in 1913.

While the depreciation of the money was the main cause of the increase of unproductive work, it was not the only one. Another cause, whose importance has been in general overrated, was that after the creation of works councils some of the council members devoted their time exclusively to works council affairs and did no productive work, but yet were paid by the employer. The Ministry of Railways estimated that at the end of 1920 the duties of works councils absorbed 2,212 railway officials and workingmen.

The influence of the increase of unproductive work upon the number of employees was, of course, very different in the various industries and varied greatly between establishments in the same industry. One of the largest German electrical plants, located in Berlin, which from 1914 to 1923 increased the number of its workers by 29 per cent and the number of its clerks by 71 per cent, experienced the following "inflation" of clerks in "unproductive" departments:

NUMBER OF CLERKS IN SPECIFIED DEPARTMENTS OF A LARGE GERMAN ELECTRICAL PLANT, 1914 AND 1923, AND PER CENT OF INCREASE

Department	Clerks, 1914	Clerks, 1923	Per cent of increase
Wages.....	180	520	189
Personnel.....	46	229	397
Sickness insurance.....	20	67	235
Study of economic situation.....	13	95	631
Accounting.....	32	131	309

While the additional work after the war was in general unproductive work, there were cases where additional work was absolutely necessary for the sake of production. For the railways all the items heretofore mentioned cut very little figure as compared with the considerable increase in the amount of work to be done in the rehabilitation of the railway equipment. Even if the war had terminated with a peace more favorable to Germany, the German railways would have come out of the war in a bad state. Practically all the locomotives needed to be repaired, and the same was true of most of the cars. The lack of copper and other materials not produced in Germany and which could not be imported during the war had led to the use of substitutes, which had greatly impaired the condition of the locomotives especially. The obligation to surrender after the armistice 5,000 locomotives, 20,000 passenger cars, and 150,000 freight cars made necessary their replacement, resulting in the employment of tens of thousands of additional workers. While before the war the Prussian-Hessian railways employed 70,000 men in their repair shops, the number of such workers on November 1, 1918, was

108,000; on January 1, 1919, 143,000; and in July, 1919, 166,300. The decrease of traffic did not always make it possible to dispense with a corresponding number of employees. A good many operations in railway work require just as many men whether they are repeated often or seldom during a day. Just as many switchmen must be employed whether 8 or 12 trains pass. As to the train personnel, where one would first expect a diminution, the reduced efficiency of the railways has partly resulted in the employment of even more men. The reduction of the speed of the trains, for example, which was necessary immediately after the war on account of the bad condition of the road and the lack of coal, has caused the employment of more persons.

3. The efficiency of labor was reduced through the moral effect of the war upon the workers, through the insufficient feeding of the workers, through the abolition of piecework, through bad management of the plants, and through legal provisions which compelled employers to appoint incompetent employees and prevented them from dismissing inefficient employees. (These items are discussed in Chapters II and VI.)

UNEMPLOYMENT

While on the whole there was, then, a strong demand for workers and especially for clerks, at certain times—for example, immediately after the war and again at the end of 1923 when the Government ceased to print paper money—there was a good deal of unemployment. Measures were therefore taken to assist the unemployed and to increase the public employment offices. (The amount of unemployment and the provisions as to unemployment relief and employment agencies are fully discussed in Chapter VII.)

STANDARD OF LIVING AND WAGES

In spite of the generally favorable situation of the labor market and in spite of all efforts to reduce the hardship connected with unemployment, the general standard of living was very low. Food, fuel, and clothes were very scarce immediately after the war, and when the blockade ceased and imports might have filled the gaps, the low level of real wages prevented much improvement in the standard of living. For many years after the war the majority of German workers did not earn the minimum cost of subsistence of a family, and no noticeable improvement took place until after the stabilization of the mark. (The standard and cost of living and the trend of real wages are fully discussed in Chapters II and VI.)

LABOR MOVEMENT

The situation of the German working class after the war was, however, not due to a lack of organization on their part. As a consequence of the political revolution, trade-unions became very strong and succeeded in enlisting practically all workers in mines, manufactures, and transportation, as well as many farm laborers, salaried employees, and officials. Their strength manifested itself especially in the conclusion of collective agreements which are now protected by law. The wage terms agreed upon were, however, most of the time

very unfavorable. Moreover, the power of the unions dwindled with increasing inflation and their situation became most precarious, with their financial breakdown in the fall of 1923. They became so weak that they were unable to prevent the suspension of the 8-hour day. With the stabilization of the mark they have recovered to a certain extent. The cooperative movement, in general, did not make any considerable progress after the war. The consumers' societies were hampered by the scarcity of food and by the reduced purchasing power of their members, and the building societies by the lack of building material and the high cost of building. The only noticeable exception has been the building guilds, which in the few years of their existence have attained considerable success. (The trade-union movement is discussed in Chapter IV, collective agreements in Chapter III, and the cooperative movement in Chapter VIII.)

Chapter II.—STANDARD AND COST OF LIVING

FOOD

The best general information on the fluctuations in the cost of food can be derived from the food-cost index computed since February, 1920, by the German Federal Statistical Office. The articles comprised in this index are as follows: 47,000 grams of rye bread; 4,000 grams of flour; 11,000 grams of noodles, oat flakes, barley groats, beans, peas, rice, etc.; 70,000 grams of potatoes; 15,000 grams of vegetables; 3,000 grams of meat; 1,500 grams of haddock; 1,500 grams of bacon; 4,500 grams of fats; 1,000 grams of salt herring; 3,000 grams of dried fruits (cheapest kind); 3,500 grams of sugar; 10 eggs; 28 liters of milk; and 1,750 grams of skim-milk cheese.

Table 2 compares the total price (weighted average price for all cities included in index) of these quantities in 1913-14 with that in each month from February, 1920, to December, 1924. It will be seen that the total price was 1,512 billion times as high in December, 1923, as in 1913-14. From and after January, 1924, the index is based on rentenmarks, one rentenmark being equal to one trillion paper marks.

TABLE 2.—INDEX NUMBERS OF THE COST OF FOOD IN GERMANY, 1920 TO 1924, BY MONTHS

[1913-14=1]

Month	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
January.....		14. 23	24. 63	1366	¹ 1. 27
February.....	9. 48	13. 62	30. 20	3183	¹ 1. 17
March.....	11. 01	13. 52	36. 02	3315	¹ 1. 20
April.....	12. 29	13. 34	43. 56	3500	¹ 1. 23
May.....	13. 22	13. 20	46. 80	4620	¹ 1. 26
June.....	12. 80	13. 70	51. 19	9347	¹ 1. 20
July.....	12. 76	14. 91	68. 36	46510	¹ 1. 26
August.....	11. 70	15. 89	97. 46	670485	¹ 1. 22
September.....	11. 66	16. 14	154. 17	² 17. 3	¹ 1. 25
October.....	12. 69	17. 57	266. 23	² 4301	¹ 1. 34
November.....	13. 43	21. 89	549. 82	² 862	¹ 1. 35
December.....	14. 27	23. 57	807. 02	² 1512	¹ 1. 35

¹ Based on rentenmarks.

² Millions.

³ Billions.

Table 3 gives similar figures for each date on which prices were ascertained from the time of the stabilization of the mark on the basis of \$1 equals 4.2 trillion paper marks, which equals 4.2 rentenmarks, i. e., from and after November 26, 1923.

TABLE 3.—INDEX NUMBERS OF THE COST OF FOOD IN GERMANY ON SPECIFIED DATES, NOVEMBER 26, 1923, TO DECEMBER 30, 1924

[1913-14=1]

Date	Index number	Date	Index number
Nov. 26, 1923.....	2.05	June 18, 1924.....	1.21
Dec. 3, 1923.....	1.64	June 25, 1924.....	1.19
Dec. 10, 1923.....	1.64	July 2, 1924.....	1.27
Dec. 17, 1923.....	1.88	July 9, 1924.....	1.31
Dec. 22, 1923.....	1.86	July 16, 1924.....	1.25
Dec. 29, 1923.....	1.36	July 23, 1924.....	1.26
Jan. 7, 1924.....	1.33	July 30, 1924.....	1.23
Jan. 14, 1924.....	1.29	Aug. 6, 1924.....	1.22
Jan. 21, 1924.....	1.25	Aug. 13, 1924.....	1.22
Jan. 28, 1924.....	1.21	Aug. 20, 1924.....	1.22
Feb. 4, 1924.....	1.17	Aug. 27, 1924.....	1.23
Feb. 11, 1924.....	1.16	Sept. 3, 1924.....	1.24
Feb. 18, 1924.....	1.17	Sept. 10, 1924.....	1.25
Feb. 25, 1924.....	1.18	Sept. 17, 1924.....	1.26
Mar. 3, 1924.....	1.19	Sept. 24, 1924.....	1.28
Mar. 10, 1924.....	1.20	Oct. 1, 1924.....	1.30
Mar. 17, 1924.....	1.20	Oct. 8, 1924.....	1.34
Mar. 24, 1924.....	1.20	Oct. 15, 1924.....	1.36
Mar. 31, 1924.....	1.21	Oct. 22, 1924.....	1.36
Apr. 9, 1924.....	1.21	Oct. 29, 1924.....	1.37
Apr. 16, 1924.....	1.23	Nov. 5, 1924.....	1.37
Apr. 23, 1924.....	1.24	Nov. 12, 1924.....	1.36
Apr. 30, 1924.....	1.25	Nov. 19, 1924.....	1.35
May 7, 1924.....	1.27	Nov. 26, 1924.....	1.35
May 14, 1924.....	1.25	Dec. 3, 1924.....	1.34
May 21, 1924.....	1.25	Dec. 10, 1924.....	1.35
May 28, 1924.....	1.22	Dec. 17, 1924.....	1.35
June 4, 1924.....	1.22	Dec. 24, 1924.....	1.36
June 11, 1924.....	1.21	Dec. 30, 1924.....	1.36

Table 4 shows how many times as high as in 1913-14 the dollar exchange rate of German marks at Berlin was in each month from January, 1920, to December, 1924. From and after December, 1923, the index is based on rentenmarks.

TABLE 4.—INDEX NUMBERS OF DOLLAR EXCHANGE RATE OF GERMAN MARKS IN BERLIN, 1920 TO 1924, BY MONTHS

[1913-14=1]

Month	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
January.....	15.44	15.46	45.69	4281	1 1.00
February.....	23.61	14.60	49.51	6650	1 1.00
March.....	19.98	14.88	67.70	5048	1 1.00
April.....	14.21	15.13	69.32	5826	1 1.00
May.....	11.07	14.84	69.11	11355	1 1.00
June.....	9.32	16.52	75.62	26202	1 1.00
July.....	9.40	18.27	117.49	64186	1 1.00
August.....	11.37	20.08	270.26	1100632	1 1.00
September.....	13.81	24.99	349.18	2 23.5	1 1.00
October.....	16.24	35.78	757.73	2 6017.2	1 1.00
November.....	18.40	62.64	1711.08	3 522.3	1 1.00
December.....	17.39	45.72	1807.83	1	1 1.00

1 Based on rentenmarks.

2 Millions.

3 Billions.

Table 5 shows the fluctuations of the general food-cost index from month to month, beginning with February, 1920, on the basis of the average dollar exchange value:

TABLE 5.—INDEX NUMBERS OF THE COST OF FOOD IN GERMANY, 1920 TO 1924, ON BASIS OF DOLLAR EXCHANGE RATE, BY MONTHS
[1913-14=1]

Month	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
January.....		0.92	0.54	0.32	1.27
February.....	0.40	.93	.61	.48	1.17
March.....	.55	.91	.53	.66	1.20
April.....	.86	.88	.63	.60	1.23
May.....	1.19	.89	.68	.41	1.26
June.....	1.37	.83	.68	.36	1.20
July.....	1.35	.82	.58	.55	1.26
August.....	1.03	.79	.36	.61	1.22
September.....	.84	.65	.44	.73	1.25
October.....	.78	.49	.35	.71	1.34
November.....	.73	.35	.32	1.65	1.35
December.....	.82	.52	.45	1.51	1.35

This table shows very clearly the irregular course of the cost of food in Germany when measured by the dollar. In February, 1920, food cost in Germany only 40 per cent of what it cost before the war, while in the United States it cost 200 per cent.¹ By June, 1920, the German food cost, measured by the dollar, had climbed to 137 per cent of the pre-war cost (the highest point reached from the beginning of 1920 until November, 1923), while the American food cost in the same month was 219 per cent¹ (a maximum never reached before or after that month). From September, 1920, to October, 1923, the food cost in Germany was in each month "below par," but it went up to 165 per cent in November, 1923 (when in the United States it was only 151 per cent),² and it was as high as 205 per cent on November 26; i. e., more than six times as high as in January, 1923. It then dropped to 116 per cent on February 11, 1924, but again somewhat increased, on December 30 being 136 per cent.

The food-cost index calculated by the Federal Statistical Office comprises a large number of cities and is therefore necessarily inelastic, i. e., it hardly takes into consideration the market situation prevailing at different times in the different places. There has therefore been computed for January, 1920, to December, 1924, the minimum cost in Greater Berlin of the weekly food requirements of a child (11,200 calories), a woman (16,800 calories), and a man (21,000 calories). In case the quantities of food rationed in 1920 and 1921 did not contain a weekly average of 11,200 calories, these rationed quantities were supplemented by foodstuffs having sufficient nutritive value to bring the total to 11,200 calories. A woman would have to buy 5,600 calories more than the amount allowed for a child and a man a further additional quantity of 4,200 calories. The computation was limited as far as possible to the cheapest foodstuffs; i. e., if the supply of the cheapest foodstuff was practically unlimited, each person was supposed to eat as much thereof as could reasonably be demanded, then as much as possible of the next cheapest, and so on. But if the supply of the cheapest foodstuff was limited, each person was supposed to eat thereof in proportion to the supply, and then to proceed to the next cheapest. The figure shown for January, 1920, 41.34 marks means, then, that, taking into consideration the prices, the supply, and the physiological and psychological necessity of a certain variety of food, a man could not buy foodstuffs having a nutritive value of 21,000 calories for less than 41.34 marks. Table 6 shows the results of this computation for each month from January, 1920, to December, 1924.

¹ Monthly Labor Review, August, 1920, p. 53.

² Idem, January, 1924, p. 41.

TABLE 6.—MINIMUM WEEKLY FOOD REQUIREMENTS OF CHILD, WOMAN, AND MAN, AND COST THEREOF, IN GREATER BERLIN, JANUARY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924

JANUARY TO JUNE, 1920

Article	January		February		March		April		May		June	
	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost
CHILD												
Rationed:	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>
Rye bread	2,430	2.68	2,113	2.67	2,000	2.74	1,900	2.65	1,900	4.04	1,900	4.50
Flour, cereals, etc	255	.72	269	.75	456	1.27	190	.52	172	.47	178	.52
Noodles, etc	130	.31	131	.32	25	.06			31	.12		
Beans, peas	100	.70	125	.50	50	.20	280	1.60	475	3.29	112	.85
Potatoes	1,900	.88	2,000	1.00	2,000	1.20	1,900	1.37	2,125	1.70	3,750	2.65
Dried vegetables			31	.14								
Meat	250	2.41	250	2.76	250	4.33	250	5.36	250	5.48	250	4.57
Butter	20	.50	20	.55	20	.68	20	.71	20	.75	20	.75
Margarine, coco fat	56	.82	105	2.00	67	1.28	59	1.12	125	4.41	187	5.93
Lard, tallow	82	2.01	45	1.52	123	4.13	150	5.69	125	5.00	50	2.00
Sugar	175	.36	175	.49	175	.49	175	.49	175	.70	269	1.06
Jam, honey substitute			62	.37	125	.92	100	.74	125	1.13	187	1.92
Total		11.39		13.07		17.30		20.25		27.09		24.75
In open market and by illicit trade:												
Vegetables			500	.22			1,500	2.25				
Total, child		11.39		13.29		17.30		22.50		25.19		22.28
WOMAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)												
Flour, cereals, etc	750	3.40	750	4.30	750	4.50	750	5.10	750	5.25	750	3.40
Noodles, etc							250	2.55	250	1.90		
Beans, peas	250	2.25	375	3.40	250	2.70	250	2.25			250	1.75
Potatoes											1,500	1.05
Vegetables	4,500	1.80	3,500	1.54	4,500	2.70	2,000	3.00	1,500	3.00	500	1.20
Jam	500	3.50	500	3.70	500	4.00	500	7.00	500	6.50		
Total, woman		22.34		26.23		31.20		42.40		43.74		32.15
MAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)												
Noodles, etc											250	2.00
Rice	250	3.75	250	4.50	250	6.00	250	6.00	125	2.50	250	4.00
Beans, peas	250	2.25	125	1.15	250	2.70	250	2.25	250	2.25	250	1.75
Vegetables							1,000	1.50	3,000	6.00		
Apples					500	2.50						

Salt herring.....	500	2.50	500	2.80	500	5.25	500	5.75				
Margarine.....	250	9.00	250	9.50	250	11.25	250	12.00			250	11.00
Lard.....									250	14.00		
Skim-milk cheese.....	250	1.50	500	3.00								
Total, man.....		41.34		47.18		58.90		69.90		68.49		50.90

JULY TO NOVEMBER, 1920

Article	July		August		September		October		November	
	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost
CHILD										
Rationed:	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>
Rye bread.....	2,050	4.86	1,900	4.50	1,900	4.50	1,900	4.50	1,900	4.50
Flour, cereals, etc.....	390	2.70	340	2.61	120	.97	88	.52		
Rice.....	25	.29								
Beans, peas.....			31	.22					37	.27
Potatoes.....	1,300	1.06	3,250	2.81	1,900	1.33				
Meat.....	250	5.11	250	4.67	250	4.61	250	3.81	250	4.53
Butter.....	20	.75	20	.75	20	.75	12	.47	20	.80
Margarine, coco fat.....	92	2.59					32	1.16		
Lard, tallow.....	111	4.06	187	6.60	150	5.10			87	3.85
Sugar.....	175	.70	269	2.13	175	.70	250	3.75	175	1.33
Jam, honey substitute.....	100	.90	125	1.47	50	.73	62	.91	62	.90
Total.....		23.02		25.76		18.69		15.06		16.18
In open market and by illicit trade:										
Flour, cereals, etc.....					250	1.25	500	2.75	500	2.75
Beans, peas.....	250	1.25								
Potatoes.....					1,500	1.05	3,000	2.40	3,000	3.00
Vegetables.....							2,000	2.00	1,000	1.00
Total, child.....		24.27		¹ 24.21		20.99		22.21		22.93
WOMAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)										
Flour, cereals, etc.....	750	3.00	750	3.00	500	2.50	250	2.00	500	3.40
Noodles, etc.....	125	.80								
Beans, peas.....	250	1.25	500	2.70	500	2.40	500	3.00	500	3.00
Potatoes.....	1,500	3.00	1,000	.90	1,000	.70	1,500	1.20	1,500	1.50
Vegetables.....			1,500	1.50			1,500	1.50	2,000	2.00
Margarine.....	125	2.90			250	6.25	250	7.15	125	3.60
Total, woman.....		35.22		33.86		32.84		37.06		36.43

¹ 7 per cent deduction for requirements inferior to the ration.² 10 per cent deduction for requirements inferior to the ration.³ 6 per cent deduction for requirements inferior to the ration.

TABLE 6.—MINIMUM WEEKLY FOOD REQUIREMENTS OF CHILD, WOMAN, AND MAN, AND COST THEREOF, IN GREATER BERLIN, JANUARY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924—Continued**JULY TO NOVEMBER, 1920—Concluded**

Article	July		August		September		October		November	
	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost
MAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)										
Noodles, etc.....	Grams 125	Marks 0.80	Grams 500	Marks 6.45	Grams 500	Marks 5.75	Grams 500	Marks 6.50	Grams 500	Marks 6.50
Rice.....	500	6.00	500	6.45	500	5.75	250	1.75	250	1.90
Beans, peas.....									2,000	2.20
Vegetables.....	4,500	6.30	2,500	2.50	5,000	5.00	1,500	4.05	1,000	3.10
Apples.....									125	3.60
Margarine.....	125	2.90	250	5.65						
Lard.....							125	6.90		
Jam.....					500	4.75				
Total, man.....		51.22		48.46		48.34		56.26		53.53

DECEMBER, 1920, TO APRIL, 1921

Article	December		January		February		March		April	
	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost
CHILD										
Rationed:	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>
Rye bread.....	1,900	4.50	1,900	4.50	1,900	4.50	1,900	4.50	2,200	5.38
Flour, cereals, etc.....	180	1.80	150	1.27	150	1.43	285	2.52	200	1.45
Noodles, etc.....	50	.80			31	.50	100	1.26		
Meat, bacon.....	250	4.69	250	5.50	250	5.80				
Butter.....	16	.64	23	.90			30	1.50	31	1.60
Sugar.....	275	2.09	175	1.33	175	1.33	275	2.09	175	1.33
Total.....		14.52		13.50		13.56		11.87		9.76
In open market and by illicit trade:										
Oat flakes.....	250	1.90	250	2.20	250	1.80				
Barley groats.....			250	1.45	250	1.40				
Beans.....							125	.56	250	1.10
Potatoes.....	3,000	3.30	3,000	3.09	3,000	3.30	3,000	3.30	3,000	3.30
Vegetables.....	750	.90								

Canned meat.....							250	4.45	250	4.00
Margarine.....	125	3.60	125	3.25	125	2.88	125	2.70	125	2.40
Total, child.....		24.22		23.49		22.94		22.88		20.56
WOMAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)										
Rye flour.....			250	2.60	250	2.13				
Oat flakes.....	375	2.85	250	2.20	250	1.80	250	1.67	250	1.50
Barley groats.....							250	1.40	250	1.40
Beans.....	500	3.25	500	2.85	500	2.50	250	1.13	125	.55
Peas.....							250	1.25	250	1.25
Potatoes.....	1,500	1.65	1,500	1.55	1,500	1.65	1,500	1.65	1,500	1.65
Vegetables.....	3,500	4.20	2,000	2.80	1,250	1.88	1,250	2.00	1,250	2.50
Salt herring.....									500	2.15
Margarine.....	125	3.60	125	3.25	125	2.88	125	2.70	125	2.40
Jam.....					125	1.13	125	.95		
Total, woman.....		39.77		38.74		36.91		35.63		32.96
MAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)										
Rice.....	500	6.50	500	5.00	500	4.25	500	3.60	500	3.70
Peas.....	250	1.90	250	1.75	250	1.50	250	1.25	250	1.25
Vegetables.....	1,500	1.80	2,500	3.50	2,500	3.75				
Bacon.....							125	3.00	125	3.00
Margarine.....	125	3.60	125	3.25	125	2.88	125	2.70	125	2.40
Jam.....	250	2.50	125	1.13	125	1.13	125	.95	125	1.20
Total, man.....		56.07		53.37		50.42		47.13		45.51

MAY TO AUGUST, 1921

Article	May		June		July		August	
	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost
CHILD								
Rationed:	Grams	Marks	Grams	Marks	Grams	Marks	Grams	Marks
Rye bread.....	1,900	5.00	1,900	5.00	1,900	5.00	1,900	5.98
Flour, cereals, etc.....	294	1.96	105	.48	212	1.53		
Sugar.....	234	1.87	375	3.00	175	1.40	287	2.30
Total.....		8.83		8.48		7.93		8.28
In open market and by illicit trade:								
Rye flour.....			250	2.00	125	1.00	250	1.70
Oat flakes.....			250	1.45	375	2.29	250	1.91
Barley groats.....	125	.70					250	1.86

TABLE 6.—MINIMUM WEEKLY FOOD REQUIREMENTS OF CHILD, WOMAN, AND MAN, AND COST THEREOF, IN GREATER BERLIN, JANUARY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924—Continued

MAY TO AUGUST, 1921—Concluded

Article	May		June		July		August	
	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost
CHILD—concluded								
In open market and by illicit trade—Concluded.	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>
Beans.....	250	1.05	125	0.54	125	0.56	2,000	3.50
Potatoes.....	3,000	3.30	1,750	2.80	2,000	4.36	2,000	3.50
Vegetables.....					1,000	2.00		
Canned meat.....	250	3.90						
Margarine.....	125	2.44	125	2.60	125	2.60	125	3.00
Milk.....			(¹)	4.00	(¹)	3.54	(¹)	3.75
Total, child.....		20.22		21.87		24.28		24.00
WOMAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)								
Rye bread.....							500	2.50
Oat flakes.....	250	1.40						
Barley groats.....	125	.70	250	1.60	250	1.62		
Beans.....	125	.53	125	.54	125	.56	250	1.25
Peas.....	250	1.25	250	1.28	250	1.29		
Potatoes.....	1,500	1.65			1,000	2.18	1,000	1.75
Vegetables.....	2,500	5.00	1,250	3.00	750	1.50	1,500	3.00
Canned meat.....			250	3.90	250	4.00	250	4.75
Bacon.....			125	4.25	125	4.63	125	5.00
Salt herring.....	500	1.60	500	1.75	500	2.00	250	2.25
Margarine.....	125	2.44	125	2.60	125	2.60	125	3.00
Jam.....			250	2.25				
Total, woman.....		34.79		43.04		44.66		46.50
MAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)								
Rice.....	500	3.25	500	3.60	500	3.60	500	4.25
Beans.....			250	1.08	250	1.12		
Peas.....	250	1.25					250	1.50
Bacon.....	125	4.25	125	4.25	125	4.63	125	5.00
Salt herring.....	250	.80	250	.88	250	1.00	250	1.25
Margarine.....	125	2.44	125	2.60	125	2.60	125	3.00
Total, man.....		46.78		55.45		57.61		61.50

SEPTEMBER TO DECEMBER, 1921

Article	September		October		November		December	
	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost
CHILD								
Rationed:	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>
Rye bread	1,900	6.95	2,025	7.53	2,050	7.65	2,150	8.25
Flour, cereals, etc.	160	1.16	269	1.81	325	2.00	160	1.16
Sugar	370	3.25	125	1.00				
Total		11.36		10.34		9.65		9.41
In open market and by illicit trade:								
Oat flakes					250	2.60	250	3.10
Barley groats	250	1.96	250	2.11				
Potatoes	3,000	3.84	2,750	4.54	2,500	5.65	3,000	7.44
Margarine	125	3.42	125	4.06	125	6.65	125	6.90
Sugar			125	1.20	250	2.60	250	2.90
Milk	(⁴)	3.80	(⁴)	4.40	(⁴)	5.00	(⁴)	6.20
Total, child		24.38		26.65		32.15		35.95
WOMAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)								
Rye bread	500	2.50	250	1.28	250	1.60	250	1.92
Rye flour							125	1.15
Oat flakes	125	1.09	125	1.07				
Semolina					125	1.30	125	1.63
Beans	250	1.84	250	1.86	250	2.45	250	2.75
Potatoes	1,000	1.28	1,750	2.89	1,750	3.95	1,000	2.48
Vegetables	1,250	2.75	1,500	3.00	1,500	3.45	1,500	3.75
Canned meat	250	5.50	250	5.63	250	7.55	250	10.00
Bacon	125	5.50	125	5.88	125	7.50	125	8.25
Margarine	125	3.42	125	4.06	125	6.65	125	6.90
Total, woman		48.26		52.32		66.60		74.78
MAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)								
Rice	500	4.60	500	4.75	500	6.40	500	7.90
Peas	250	1.95	250	2.02	250	2.60	250	3.05
Bacon	125	5.50	125	5.88	125	7.50	125	8.25
Salt herring	250	1.25	250	1.31	250	1.50	250	1.75
Margarine	125	3.42	125	4.06	125	6.65	125	6.90
Total, man		64.98		70.34		91.25		102.63

⁴ 1 liter.

TABLE 6.—MINIMUM WEEKLY FOOD REQUIREMENTS OF CHILD, WOMAN, AND MAN, AND COST THEREOF, IN GREATER BERLIN, JANUARY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924—Continued

JANUARY TO JUNE, 1922

Article	January		February		March		April		May		June	
	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost
CHILD	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>
Rye bread ^s	2,050	8.00	2,550	11.94	2,300	15.48	2,012	14.85	2,000	15.36	2,000	15.97
Wheat flour ^s			200	1.45			50	.36				
Rye flour.....	250	2.30			250	3.40	250	3.80	250	4.35	250	4.50
Oat flakes.....	250	3.05	250	3.05	250	3.50	250	4.45				
Barley groats.....			125	1.80		2.05	125	2.30	250	5.00	250	5.25
Potatoes.....	2,500	6.60			1,000	4.40	2,000	12.40	3,000	16.20	3,000	12.60
Vegetables.....	1,000	2.80	1,250	6.75	1,000	5.30						
Margarine.....	125	5.85	125	6.60	125	7.40	125	8.50	125	8.75	125	9.50
Jam.....			125	1.80	250	4.50	250	5.40	250	6.00	250	7.00
Sugar.....	250	3.30	250	3.70	125	2.35	125	2.50	125	3.50	125	4.50
Milk.....	(⁴)	6.10	(⁴)	6.15	(⁴)	6.59	(⁴)	8.75	(⁴)	8.85	(⁴)	10.00
Total, child.....		38.00		43.24		54.97		63.31		68.01		69.32
WOMAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)												
Rye bread.....	250	2.00	500	4.30	500	5.50	500	6.20	500	6.35	500	6.55
Oat flakes.....									250	5.05	250	5.50
Barley groats.....	250	3.35	125	1.80	125	2.05	125	2.30				
Beans.....	250	3.00	250	3.15					250	4.60	250	4.75
Peas.....					250	3.75	250	4.30				
Potatoes.....	1,000	2.65			1,000	4.40	1,000	6.20	500	2.70	500	2.10
Vegetables.....	1,500	2.40	1,750	9.45								
Canned meat.....	250	9.75	250	10.00	250	11.70	250	15.00	250	16.00	250	18.00
Bacon.....	125	8.20	125	8.25	125	9.80	125	14.00	125	14.80	125	17.00
Salt herring.....			250	2.45	250	3.45	250	4.00	250	5.00	250	6.00
Margarine.....	125	5.85	125	6.60	125	7.40	125	8.50	125	8.75	125	9.50
Jam.....			125	1.80								
Total, woman.....		77.00		91.04		103.02		123.81		131.26		138.72
MAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)												
Rice.....	500	7.75	500	9.40	500	10.15	500	11.60	500	12.45	500	13.00
Beans.....					250	4.05	250	4.30				
Peas.....	250	3.15	250	3.40					250	4.70	250	4.90
Bacon.....	125	8.20	125	8.25	125	9.80	125	14.00	125	14.80	125	17.00
Salt herring.....	250	1.75	250	2.45	250	3.45	250	4.00	250	5.00	250	6.00
Margarine.....	125	5.85	125	6.60	125	7.40	125	8.50	125	8.75	125	9.50
Total, man.....		103.70		121.14		137.87		166.21		176.96		189.12

JULY TO NOVEMBER, 1922

Article	July		August		September		October		November	
	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost
CHILD	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>
Rye bread ¹	2,000	17.15	1,940	25.95	1,900	36.05	1,900	46.00	1,900	107.85
Rye flour.....	250	5.50	250	10.45	250	19.30	250	35.00	250	85.00
Oat flakes.....	125	8.75	125	12.10	250	21.75	250	33.75	250	87.50
Barley groats.....	250	6.50	250	25.60	3,000	24.00	3,000	40.50	3,000	46.20
Potatoes.....	1,250	14.00	3,250	25.60	1,000	11.00	1,000	20.00	1,000	25.50
Vegetables.....	1,000	12.00	125	28.15	125	48.60	125	78.75	125	207.50
Margarine.....	250	8.00	250	24.30	250	34.40	250	42.00	250	48.00
Jam.....	250	11.90	250	19.10	(*)	37.60	(*)	60.85	(*)	134.25
Sugar.....	250	11.70	(*)	19.10	(*)	37.60	(*)	60.85	(*)	134.25
Milk.....	(*)	11.70	(*)	19.10	(*)	37.60	(*)	60.85	(*)	134.25
Total, child.....		103.50		145.65		232.70		356.85		741.80
WOMAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)										
Rye bread.....	500	9.35	500	17.40	500	29.40	500	63.60	500	148.15
Semolina.....					250	25.75	250	39.25	250	92.50
Oat flakes.....	125	3.75	250	14.60						
Beans.....	250	6.25	250	13.50	250	22.25	250	37.50		
Peas.....										
Potatoes.....	1,000	11.20	500	3.95	500	4.00	500	6.75	1,000	15.40
Vegetables.....					1,000	11.00	1,000	20.00	2,000	51.00
Canned meat.....	250	28.00	250	53.00	250	75.50	250	135.00	250	280.00
Bacon.....	125	28.00	125	45.00	125	70.00	125	126.25	125	266.25
Salt herring.....	250	7.00	250	11.60						
Margarine.....	125	13.00	125	28.15	125	48.60	125	78.75	125	207.50
Total, woman.....		210.05		332.85		519.20		863.95		1,802.60
MAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)										
Rice.....	500	18.50	500	34.20	500	55.60	500	94.00	500	200.00
Beans.....									250	85.00
Peas.....	250	6.75	250	14.70	250	27.10	250	40.00		
Bacon.....	125	28.00	125	45.00	125	70.00	125	126.25	125	266.25
Salt herring.....	250	7.00	250	11.60	250	21.10	250	39.00	250	86.00
Margarine.....	125	13.00	125	28.15	125	48.60	125	78.75	125	207.50
Total, man.....		283.30		466.50		741.60		1,241.95		2,647.35

¹ 1 liter.

* Rationed.

TABLE 6.—MINIMUM WEEKLY FOOD REQUIREMENTS OF CHILD, WOMAN, AND MAN, AND COST THEREOF, IN GREATER BERLIN, JANUARY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924—Continued

DECEMBER, 1922, TO MAY, 1923

Article	December		January		February		March		April		May	
	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost
CHILD												
Rye bread ¹	1,900	275.35	1,900	458.75	1,900	708.45	1,900	871.60	1,900	900.00	1,900	917.74
Rye flour.....	250	102.50	250	140.00	250	412.50	250	332.50	250	357.50	250	475.00
Barley groats.....	250	112.50	250	170.00	250	437.50	250	452.50	250	437.50	250	520.00
Potatoes.....	3,000	48.90	3,000	87.00	3,000	363.00	3,000	330.00	3,000	228.00	3,000	366.00
Vegetables.....	1,000	35.00	1,000	65.50	1,000	117.50	1,000	227.50	1,000	232.50	1,000	370.00
Margarine.....	125	246.25	125	367.50	125	1,050.00	125	800.00	125	725.00	125	1,325.00
Sugar.....	250	90.00	250	140.00	250	252.50	250	415.00	250	557.50	250	562.50
Milk.....	(¹)	185.80	(¹)	255.25	(¹)	616.85	(¹)	715.35	(¹)	917.35	(¹)	956.13
Total, child.....		1,096.30		1,684.00		3,958.30		4,144.45		4,355.35		5,492.37
WOMAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)												
Rye bread.....	500	180.20	500	270.90	500	756.60	500	681.00	500	681.55	500	934.16
Semolina.....	250	117.50										
Oat flakes.....			250	186.00	250	497.50	250	487.50	250	440.00	250	587.50
Potatoes.....	1,000	16.30	1,000	29.00	1,000	121.00	1,000	110.00	1,000	76.00	1,000	122.00
Vegetables.....	2,000	70.00	2,000	131.00	2,000	235.00	2,000	455.00	2,000	465.00	2,000	740.00
Canned meat.....	250	365.00	250	600.00	250	1,650.00	250	1,550.00	250	1,550.00	250	2,800.00
Bacon.....	125	337.50	125	662.50	125	1,537.50	125	1,452.50	125	1,387.50	125	2,075.00
Margarine.....	125	246.25	125	367.50	125	1,050.00	125	800.00	125	725.00	125	1,325.00
Total, woman.....		2,429.05		3,930.90		9,805.90		9,680.45		9,680.40		14,076.03
MAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)												
Rice.....	500	265.00	500	416.00	500	1,160.00	500	990.00	500	975.00	500	1,400.00
Beans.....	250	115.00	250	182.50	250	475.00	250	465.00	250	451.25	250	625.00
Bacon.....	125	337.50	125	662.50	125	1,537.50	125	1,452.50	125	1,387.50	125	2,075.00
Salt herring.....	250	140.00	250	240.00	250	625.00	250	600.00	250	587.50	250	750.00
Margarine.....	125	246.25	125	367.50	125	1,050.00	125	800.00	125	725.00	125	1,325.00
Total, man.....		3,532.80		5,799.40		14,653.40		13,987.95		13,806.65		20,251.03

JUNE TO NOVEMBER, 1923

Article	June		July		August		September		October		November	
	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost
CHILD	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Million marks</i>	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Billion marks</i>
Rye bread ⁶	1,900	2,523	1,900	6,203	1,900	98,967	1,900	2,703,000	1,900	3,077.6	1,800	378
Rye flour.....	250	1,100	250	4,250	250	60,000	250	1,850,000	250	467.5	250	75.5
Oat flakes.....			250	5,400								
Barley groats.....	250	1,200	250	5,000	250	82,500	250	2,350,000	250	515.5	250	86.3
Beans.....			125	2,725								
Peas.....	125	606										
Potatoes.....	3,000	1,575	2,000	17,200	3,000	138,000	3,000	2,070,000	3,000	885	3,000	117
Vegetables.....					1,000	77,500	1,000	945,000	1,000	227	1,500	76.5
Margarine.....	125	2,975	125	7,500	125	162,500	125	4,062,500	125	912.5	125	133.7
Sugar.....	250	750	250	1,650	250	56,000	250	2,070,000	250	762.5	250	143
Milk.....	(⁴)	1,663	(⁴)	4,734	(⁴)	75,097	(⁴)	3,152,533	(⁴)	756.5	(⁴)	132.5
Total, child.....		12,392		54,662		750,564		19,203,033		7,604.1		1,142.5
WOMAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)-												
Rye bread.....	500	1,993	750	12,779	500	99,140	500	2,800,617	500	822	500	105
Oat flakes.....	250	1,275			250	95,000	250	2,575,000	250	531.3	250	92.3
Rice.....			250	5,625								
Beans.....			250	5,450								
Peas.....	250	1,212										
Potatoes.....	1,000	525			1,000	46,000	1,000	690,000	1,000	295	1,000	39
Vegetables.....					2,000	155,000	2,000	1,890,000	2,000	454	2,000	102
Canned meat.....	250	5,350	250	17,500	250	325,000	250	9,500,000	250	2,065		
Frozen meat.....											250	500
Bacon.....	125	4,375	125	15,750	125	325,000	125	9,250,000	125	2,542.5	125	756.2
Margarine.....	125	2,975	125	7,500	125	162,500	125	4,062,500	125	912.5	125	133.7
Total, woman.....		30,097		119,266		1,958,204		49,971,150		15,226.4		2,870.7
MAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)												
Rice.....	500	3,400	500	11,250	500	210,000	500	5,200,000	500	1,162.5	500	135.5
Beans.....	250	1,250									250	100.5
Peas.....			250	5,500	250	100,000	250	2,875,000	250	708.8		
Bacon.....	125	4,375	125	15,750	125	325,000	125	9,250,000	125	2,542.5	125	756.3
Salt herring.....	250	1,600	250	3,600	250	92,500	250	2,500,000	250	574	250	152
Margarine.....	125	2,975	125	7,500	125	162,500	125	4,062,500	125	912.5	125	133.7
Total, man.....		43,697		162,866		2,848,204		73,858,650		21,126.7		4,198.7

⁴ 1 liter.

⁶ Rationed.

⁶ Rationed, June to September.

TABLE 6.—MINIMUM WEEKLY FOOD REQUIREMENTS OF CHILD, WOMAN, AND MAN, AND COST THEREOF, IN GREATER BERLIN, JANUARY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924—Concluded

DECEMBER, 1923, TO APRIL, 1924

Article	December		January		February		March		April	
	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost
CHILD										
Rye bread.....	Grams 1,800	Pfennigs 69	Grams 1,800	Pfennigs 59	Grams 1,800	Pfennigs 50	Grams 1,800	Pfennigs 50	Grams 1,800	Pfennigs 50
Rye flour.....	250	12	250	9	250	8	250	8	250	8
Oat flakes.....										
Barley groats.....	250	15	250	12	250	10	250	10	250	10
Potatoes.....	3,000	25	3,000	27	3,000	23	3,000	24	3,000	27
Vegetables.....	1,500	16	1,500	21	1,500	18	1,500	20	1,500	26
Margarine.....	125	20	125	17	125	16	125	15	125	15
Sugar.....	250	24	250	22	250	20	250	21	250	21
Milk.....	(¹)	32	(¹)	32	(¹)	32	(¹)	32	(¹)	29
Total, child.....		213		199		177		180		186
WOMAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)										
Rye bread.....	500	20	500	16	500	14	500	14	500	14
Oat flakes.....			250	12	250	10	250	10		
Barley groats.....									250	10
Rice.....	250	16								
Potatoes.....	1,000	8	1,000	9	1,000	8	1,000	8	1,000	9
Vegetables.....	2,000	21	2,000	28	2,000	24	2,000	26	2,000	24
Frozen meat.....	250	40	250	33	250	28	250	29	250	30
Bacon.....	125	80	125	47	125	36	125	38	125	34
Margarine.....	125	20	125	17	125	16	125	15	125	15
Total, woman.....		418		361		313		320		332
MAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)										
Rice.....	250	16	500	27	500	25	500	24	500	23
Semolina.....	250	16								
Beans.....	250	20	250	17	250	14	250	13	250	13
Bacon.....	125	80	125	47	125	36	125	38	125	34
Salt herring.....	250	25	250	19	250	18	250	17	250	18
Margarine.....	125	20	125	17	125	16	125	15	125	15
Total, man.....		595		488		422		427		435

MAY TO DECEMBER, 1924¹

Article	Quantity	Cost							
		May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
CHILD	<i>Grams</i>	<i>Pfennigs</i>	<i>Pfennigs</i>	<i>Pfennigs</i>	<i>Pfennigs</i>	<i>Pfennigs</i>	<i>Pfennigs</i>	<i>Pfennigs</i>	<i>Pfennigs</i>
Rye bread.....	1,800	50	50	50	50	61	67	67	67
Rye flour.....	250	8	8	7	8	9	10	11	11
Oat flakes.....	250	10		10	10				
Barley groats.....	250		10	5		10	11	11	12
Peas.....	125			5					
Potatoes.....	3,000	37	25	* 31	27	21	24	24	24
Vegetables.....	1,500	27	36	33	30	24	24	24	21
Margarine.....	125	16	16	16	17	18	19	19	19
Sugar.....	250	21	19	18	20	20	20	17	16
Milk.....	(¹)	30	26	29	31	33	35	33	34
Total, child.....		199	190	204	193	196	210	206	204
WOMAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)									
Rye bread.....	500	14	14	¹⁰ 28	14	18	19	19	19
Oat flakes.....	250		10			11	12	12	13
Barley groats.....	250	10		* 5	10				8
Potatoes.....	1,000	12	8		9	7	8	8	
Vegetables.....	2,000	36	48	44	40	32	32	32	28
Frozen meat.....	250	29	28	26	29	32	32	32	35
Bacon.....	125	32	30	30	33	40	45	45	45
Margarine.....	125	16	16	16	17	18	19	19	19
Total, woman.....		348	344	353	345	352	377	373	371
MAN (ADDITIONAL QUANTITIES)									
Rice.....	500	23	22	23	24	27	28	30	30
Peas.....	250	13	13	11	11	12	13	13	14
Bacon.....	125	32	30	30	33	40	45	45	45
Salt herring.....	250	16	18	16	16	17	16	16	16
Margarine.....	125	16	16	16	17	18	19	19	19
Total, man.....		448	443	449	446	466	498	496	495

¹ 1 liter.

² Prices based on rentenmarks.

* 125 grams.

* 2,000 grams.

¹⁰ 1,000 grams

While, as previously mentioned, the physiological and psychological necessity of a certain change of food (or the necessity of a certain minimum of protein) was not disregarded, the monotony in the diet chosen for the calculation of the minimum cost of subsistence doubtless characterizes it as a true minimum; yet this minimum, as will be shown in the chapter on wages (pp. 125 to 134) could not be attained by the great majority of married workers having children. It will be interesting, then, to note how such families lived before the war. The following six families may serve as examples:

Family No. 1.—Bricklayer with wife and three children of 15, 14, and 13 years of age. Total expense for food in April and May, 1913, 253.35 marks.

Family No. 2.—Unskilled laborer with wife and three children of 7, 5, and 3 years. Total expense for food in April and May, 1913, 200.59 marks.

Family No. 3.—City employee, laborer, with wife and two children of 14 and 12 years. Total expense for food in April and May, 1913, 231.74 marks.

Family No. 4.—City employee, gardener, with wife and two children of 8 and 5 years. Total expense for food in April and May, 1913, 186.16 marks.

Family No. 5.—Machinist with wife and one child of 19 years. Total expense for food in April and May, 1913, 259.58 marks.

Family No. 6.—Printer, with wife but no children. Total expense for food in April and May, 1913, 149.95 marks.

The average food expense per capita per day was 91 pfennigs, equivalent to 22 cents.

Table 7 sets forth with all necessary detail the quantities of food consumed by each of these six families in April and May, 1913, and the total amount spent therefor.

TABLE 7.—FOOD CONSUMPTION OF SIX WORKERS' FAMILIES IN GREATER BERLIN IN APRIL AND MAY, 1913, AND TOTAL COST THEREOF

MEAT

Article	Unit	Quantity consumed by—						Total	
		Family No. 1	Family No. 2	Family No. 3	Family No. 4	Family No. 5	Family No. 6	Quantity	Cost
Beef:									<i>Marks</i>
Round of beef, top part of sirloin steak.	Kilo	2.250	0.625	3.075	1.000	0.625	0.500	8.075	16.95
Boiling beef	do	1.500	.375		.750	1.125		3.750	7.75
Soup meat (brisket)	do	3.625	2.750	3.375	2.750	3.559	1.250	17.309	29.95
Liver	do	1.500		.625	1.250	1.000		4.375	10.60
Heart	do						.750	.750	.90
Kidney	do								.20
Udder	Kilo						.750	.750	.60
Canned meat	do		.750					.750	1.80
Minced meat, best quality.	do	.375	.155		.875	1.375	.625	3.405	7.75
Minced meat, mixed with fat.	do			.500	.250			.750	1.25
Beef and pork:									
Minced beef and pork, mixed.	do	.625	.813		.500	.875	1.875	4.688	7.95
Stewing (goulash)	do	1.000	.750	.750	.500		.375	3.375	6.85
Pork:									
Small steaks from best part of leg.	do						.375	.375	.90
Chops, lower end of loin.	do	2.825	1.750	2.500	1.750	5.875	1.500	16.200	33.70
Thin end of shoulder (<i>Schulft</i>).	do	1.750			1.375	.500		3.625	6.70
Flank	do			1.875		.375	.750	3.000	5.10

TABLE 7.—FOOD CONSUMPTION OF SIX WORKERS' FAMILIES IN GREATER BERLIN IN APRIL AND MAY, 1913, AND TOTAL COST THEREOF—Continued

MEAT—Concluded

Article	Unit	Quantity consumed by—						Total	
		Family No. 1	Family No. 2	Family No. 3	Family No. 4	Family No. 5	Family No. 6	Quantity	Cost
Pork—Concluded.									
Loin.....	Kilo					1.875		1.875	Marks 3.75
Pigs' knuckles and pigs' feet.....	do	1.000	1.500	3.500		1.000		7.000	5.60
Ears.....	do		.750					.750	.55
Tripe.....	do					1.000		1.000	.70
Minced pork, seasoned and unseasoned.....	do			.125			1.750	1.875	4.25
Smoked best end of loin.....	do	1.375	.500	2.000	1.000	2.000	.500	7.375	14.90
Salt lower end of loin.....	do			.375			.250	.625	1.25
Ham, rolled ham.....	do	2.437	1.400	1.375			.625	5.837	20.20
Lean bacon.....	do					.125		.125	.35
Fat bacon.....	do	.625	.435	2.250	.650	.500	1.175	5.635	11.85
Mutton:									
Leg.....	do		.500				1.296	1.796	3.95
Kidney.....	do		.250	.750			.250	1.250	2.45
Thin end of flank.....	do	.375			.500	.875	.750	2.500	4.45
Liver.....	do	.375	.250				.500	1.125	2.80
Not specified.....	do				.500	1.875		2.375	4.60
Veal:									
Leg.....	do			1.500			.250	1.750	3.85
Kidney.....	do					1.000		1.000	2.00
Lower end of loin.....	do	1.000	.500					1.500	2.50
Breast.....	do	1.250	.500	.250		5.675	.250	7.925	15.30
Knuckle.....	do					1.250		1.250	2.20
Not specified.....	do	2.750						2.750	5.50
Miscellaneous:									
Bones.....									.80
Skin.....	Kilo				1.000			1.000	.40
Chicken.....	Each		1.000			1.000		2.000	4.45
Sliced cold meat and sausage.....	Kilo	5.813	7.933	6.313	9.750	7.375	5.314	42.498	104.55
Thick sausages (bockwurst).....	Each	4.000						4.000	.55
Small sausages.....	Pair	11.000	5.000	30.000		3.000	6.000	55.000	4.80

FISH

Lemon sole.....	Kilo		0.500			1.000		1.500	1.30
Plaice.....	do			2.500				2.500	1.90
Flounders and mackerel.....	do					2.500		2.500	1.00
Pike.....	do						1.000	1.000	.90
Haddock (fresh) and cod.....	do		1.643	2.000			1.250	4.893	3.70
Roach.....	do	1.500						1.500	1.80
Herring.....	Each	15.000	53.000	15.000				83.000	2.00
Salt herring.....	do	8.000		4.000		6.000	13.000	31.000	3.10
Bricklinge (kind of bloater).....	do			3.000		9.000	6.000	18.000	1.55
Kiel spratts (smoked).....	Kilo				0.125		.125	.250	.55
Smoked "salmon" herring (coarse, large variety).....	Each			2.000		1.000	3.000	6.000	1.10
Lumpfish.....	Kilo		.250					.250	.35
Smoked salmon.....	do		.233				.125	.361	.95
Anchovies, Mediterranean (sardelle).....	do		.125				.045	.170	.55
Sardines in oil.....	Can		1.000					1.000	.45
Herring and eel in jelly.....	do								1.00
Pickled herring.....	Each		2.000					2.000	.25
Pickled herring rolled up with cucumber (Rollmops).....	do				4.000		2.000	6.000	.30
Anchovie butter.....	Tube			1.000				1.000	.30

FATS

Butter.....	Kilo	11.250	6.860	7.000	4.250	7.875	2.500	39.735	109.09
Margarine.....	do			1.125	1.875	4.250	2.695	9.945	18.34
Palmine (vegetable fat).....	do		.250					.250	.35
Lard.....	do	3.000	1.250	1.750	.125	.375	4.188	10.683	15.98
Lard, purest.....	do	3.500		2.500	3.175	1.500		10.675	16.30
Suet.....	do			.500			.600	1.100	1.10
Calve's fat.....	do			.050				.050	.10

TABLE 7.—FOOD CONSUMPTION OF SIX WORKERS' FAMILIES IN GREATER BERLIN IN APRIL AND MAY, 1913, AND TOTAL COST THEREOF—Continued

CHEESE AND EGGS

Article	Unit	Quantity consumed by—						Total	
		Family No. 1	Family No. 2	Family No. 3	Family No. 4	Family No. 5	Family No. 6	Quantity	Cost
Roquefort cheese.....	Kilo..						0.313	0.313	<i>Marks</i> 1.18
Romadour cheese.....	do..		0.840					.840	1.35
Limburg cheese.....	do..	0.500	.750					1.250	1.90
Gruyère cheese.....	do..		.125	1.938		0.125	.500	2.688	6.35
Tilsit cheese.....	do..	1.375		1.250	0.125	.500	.125	3.375	6.59
Edam cheese.....	do..						.250	.250	.50
Fromage de Brie.....	do..	.125						.125	.25
Breakfast cheese.....	Each		9.000					9.000	1.00
Cream cheese.....	do..					6.000	1.000	7.000	2.15
Cheese de Soldin.....	do..		5.000					5.000	.62
Cheese from the Harz Mountains.....	do..		8.000	42.000	6.000		2.000	58.000	2.55
Caraway cheese.....	do..				6.000			6.000	.55
Block cheese (from skimmed milk).....	do..				1.000		1.000	2.000	.50
York cheese (<i>Quark</i>) mostly from skimmed milk.....	do..	3.000	8.000	11.000			8.000	30.000	3.25
Cheese, not specified.....	do..				6.000	1.000		7.000	.75
Eggs.....	do..	245.000	108.000	223.000	184.000	182.000	118.000	1,060.000	65.42

POTATOES AND VEGETABLES

Potatoes.....	Kilo..	145.000	41.500	84.000	42.500	67.500	64.500	445.000	33.46
Savoy cabbage.....	Each		2.000	1.000	2.000			5.000	.90
Red cabbage.....	do..					1.000		1.000	.35
Ordinary cabbage.....	do..	1.000				1.000		2.000	.75
Cauliflower.....	do..	2.000			1.000	1.000	1.000	5.000	1.00
Cabbage turnips.....	do..		1.000	2.000			1.000	4.000	.55
Carrots.....	Kilo..		.500	1.500	3.500	1.000	1.000	7.500	1.50
French beans.....	do..	1.250			.250		.500	2.000	1.70
Asparagus.....	do..	1.500	.500	.250	1.250	1.125	1.000	5.625	6.70
Spinach.....	do..	1.000	2.500	4.500		3.500	8.000	19.500	2.33
Lettuce, round.....	Each	51.000	8.000	2.000	14.000	2.000	6.000	83.000	6.00
Radishes.....	Bunch	11.000		12.000	8.000	18.000	16.000	65.000	1.75
Cucumbers.....	Each	3.000				13.000		16.000	4.15
Tomatoes.....	do..						1.000	1.000	.10
Onions.....	Kilo..			1.000	1.250	1.000	3.300	6.500	.98
Soup greens.....	do..							6.500	2.30
Canned vegetables:									
French beans.....	Kilo..	1.500		1.500	.500	2.500	5.000	11.000	4.81
Peas.....	do..					1.000	.500	1.500	.30
Mixed vegetables.....	do..		.500		1.000		3.000	4.500	2.88
Beets.....	do..		1.000		.500	.500		2.000	.80
Salt cucumbers.....	Each	14.000	3.000	5.000	4.000	7.000	7.000	40.000	3.25
Pickled cucumbers.....	do..								.25
Sauer kraut.....	Kilo..	.500	2.000	3.500		2.000	.500	8.500	1.39

CONDIMENTS

Salt.....	Kilo..	3.000	0.300	2.000	2.700	2.000	0.700	10.700	2.45
Pepper.....	do..								.45
Spice, bay leaves.....	do..								.20
Bovril cubes.....	Each	4.000	8.000		4.000		10.000	26.000	1.22
Vanilla, cinnamon.....	do..								.10
Capers.....	do..								.15
Mustard, prepared.....	Kilo..	.400	.200	.200	.100	.300		1.200	.60
Vinegar.....	Liter	.500	.750	2.000		1.000	.500	4.750	1.27
Oil.....	do..								.30

SUGAR AND SWEETS

Sugar.....	Kilo..	12.500	7.500	3.625	11.250	8.500	2.750	46.125	21.40
Honey.....	do..						.125	.125	.35
Sweets.....	do..	.500						.500	.55

TABLE 7.—FOOD CONSUMPTION OF SIX WORKERS' FAMILIES IN GREATER BERLIN IN APRIL AND MAY, 1913, AND TOTAL COST THEREOF—Continued**FLOUR AND FARINACEOUS PRODUCTS**

Article	Unit	Quantity consumed by—						Total	
		Family No. 1	Family No. 2	Family No. 3	Family No. 4	Family No. 5	Family No. 6	Quantity	Cost
Flour.....	Kilo...	3.000	3.050	4.750	2.000	6.875	2.750	22.425	<i>Marks</i> 10.67
Semolina.....	do....	.250	.400	.875	2.000	1.000	-----	4.525	2.58
Rice.....	do....	.250	-----	-----	-----	.500	.375	1.125	.70
Sago.....	do....	-----	.150	-----	-----	-----	-----	.150	.09
Oats and oat flakes.....	do....	-----	.350	-----	-----	-----	.250	.600	.28
Barley groats.....	do....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	.250	.250	.15
Potato flour.....	do....	-----	-----	1.000	.125	.500	-----	1.625	.70
Corn meal.....	do....	-----	-----	.250	-----	-----	-----	.250	.35
Corn meal (prepared with fruit juice).....	do....	-----	-----	.187	.313	-----	-----	.500	.69
Noodles (vermicelli).....	do....	-----	.400	.500	1.250	.250	-----	2.400	1.95
Macaroni.....	do....	-----	-----	-----	-----	.250	1.250	1.500	1.50
Yeast.....	do....	-----	-----	.250	-----	.250	-----	.500	.80
Soup cubes, split peas soup bags.....	Each..	-----	3.000	-----	-----	-----	2.000	5.000	.55

LEGUMES

Peas.....	Kilo...	-----	0.500	2.000	0.500	-----	1.000	4.000	1.94
White beans.....	do....	-----	-----	2.000	.750	-----	-----	2.750	1.45
Lentils.....	do....	-----	.500	2.000	-----	0.500	1.000	4.000	2.12

FRUITS, PRESERVES, AND FRUIT SIRUPS

Apples.....	Kilo...	6.500	1.000	3.000	0.500	1.000	-----	12.000	3.40
Cherries.....	do....	.250	-----	-----	.500	-----	-----	.750	.60
Oranges.....	Each..	45.000	78.000	36.000	16.000	46.000	-----	221.000	10.05
Bananas.....	do....	11.000	6.000	15.000	3.000	-----	4.000	39.000	2.50
Lemons.....	do....	-----	2.000	2.000	-----	9.000	-----	13.000	.65
Rhubarb.....	Bunch	7.000	14.000	7.000	19.000	25.000	3.000	75.000	5.00
Fruit, dried, mixed.....	Kilo...	.500	1.250	.250	.500	-----	-----	2.500	3.00
Sultanas, currants.....	do....	-----	-----	.250	-----	.500	-----	.750	1.00
Almonds.....	do....	-----	-----	.030	-----	-----	-----	.030	.10
Jams and marmalade.....	do....	-----	2.750	1.500	.250	-----	-----	4.500	3.55
Preserves.....	do....	-----	.375	-----	.125	1.000	-----	1.500	1.50
Raspberry sirup.....	Liter..	-----	-----	1.500	-----	2.000	-----	3.500	5.00

BREAD, ROLLS, AND PASTRY

Bread.....	Kilo...	81.600	45.900	68.000	33.500	38.875	21.000	288.875	72.11
Rolls.....	Each..	810.000	600.000	550.000	501.000	604.000	270.000	3,335.000	81.65
Rusks.....	do....	-----	-----	-----	-----	9.000	-----	9.000	.15
Pumpnickel.....	do....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	.20
Cake and pastry.....	do....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	29.90
Biscuits.....	Kilo...	-----	-----	-----	.750	-----	-----	.750	.90
Grated rolls.....	do....	-----	-----	-----	.250	-----	-----	-----	.30
Baking charge.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1.00

COFFEE, TEA, COCOA, CHOCOLATE

Coffee.....	Kilo...	1.438	0.900	1.625	1.750	2.500	1.185	9.398	29.20
Malt coffee and coffee substitute (chicory).....	do....	1.875	.650	3.500	.125	2.000	.475	8.625	4.92
Tea.....	do....	-----	.300	-----	-----	-----	-----	.300	1.68
Cocoa.....	do....	.625	-----	-----	1.000	1.000	.250	2.875	8.75
Chocolate.....	do....	.500	.188	-----	.500	.500	-----	1.688	3.55
Chocolate bonbons.....	do....	-----	-----	-----	.125	-----	.250	.375	1.20

TABLE 7.—FOOD CONSUMPTION OF SIX WORKERS' FAMILIES IN GREATER BERLIN IN APRIL AND MAY, 1913, AND TOTAL COST THEREOF—Concluded

MILK

Article	Unit	Quantity consumed by—						Total	
		Family No. 1	Family No. 2	Family No. 3	Family No. 4	Family No. 5	Family No. 6	Quantity	Cost
Milk.....	Liter..	62.80	63.50	65.75	55.20	64.00	7.00	318.25	Marks 76.27
Buttermilk.....	do....	12.00	-----	23.50	1.00	-----	2.50	39.00	3.93
Cream (sweet and sour).....	do....	.35	-----	-----	.10	.40	.20	1.05	1.05

BEVERAGES

Beer, in barrels.....	Liter..	17.00	20.00	-----	-----	21.00	20.00	78.00	8.60
Beer, in bottles.....	do....	36.80	47.20	59.30	46.20	83.30	32.80	305.60	104.20
Coffee.....	Cup....	28.00	-----	-----	10.00	-----	2.00	40.00	5.35
Beef tea.....	do....	1.00	-----	-----	13.00	-----	-----	14.00	1.45
Nonalcoholic drinks.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	6.20
Cider.....	Bottle	-----	-----	-----	-----	1.00	-----	1.00	.35
Rum.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	5.98
Brandy, gin.....	Glass..	-----	7.00	-----	-----	-----	-----	7.00	.80

MISCELLANEOUS

Restaurant expenses (excluding drinks):	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Sandwiches.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1.10
Meals.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	11.25
Tips.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	2.50

The great variety in the diet of the average Berlin worker before the war can be seen from the preceding table. It is not necessary to emphasize the beneficial effect of such food upon the mentality and efficiency of the workers. After 1915 such a diet was, of course, practically out of the question for the entire city population of Germany. Conditions were at their worst in 1917 and 1918, and improvement was very slow thereafter. It may be interesting to compare conditions in April and May, 1920, with those of April and May, 1913, as conditions in the spring of 1920 represent average conditions in the quinquennial period following the war.

In the spring of 1920, not even 5 per cent of the population of Greater Berlin could have the variety of food enjoyed by the average worker seven years before. Part of the foodstuffs formerly consumed in great quantities could not be had at all. In order to compute how much the pre-war nourishment of these six families would have cost in April and May, 1920, it is necessary to group certain articles of food. It would, indeed, be a mere juggling with figures if one were to try to compute how large the expenses of a family with a total meat consumption of 175.56 kilograms would have been in April and May, 1920, if it had insisted on eating specified quantities of mutton, of ham, etc. It will be necessary, therefore, to make the following assumptions: The 23 persons covered by this investigation ate in April and May, 1913, 175.56 kilograms of meat, for which they spent 363 marks. In April and May, 1920, 23 persons of corresponding ages were entitled to 46.84 kilograms of rationed meat at 1,038 marks. If they bought the balance, 128.72 kilograms, from illicit traders, they

had, by always taking the kind of meat most abundant, to pay an average of 37 marks per kilogram or 4,763 marks for the 128.72 kilograms. Their meat consumption, if reckoned on the basis of the quantities consumed in April and May, 1913, cost, then, 1,038 marks plus 4,763 marks, or 5,801 marks. The same method was applied to all other items of food, all legumes being combined in one group, all flours in another, all pastes, vermicelli and the like, in another, etc. Table 8 contains the results of the investigation, showing the consumption of the six families in April and May, 1913, how much a similar diet would have cost in April and May, 1920, and the quantity and cost of those foods which were rationed:

TABLE 8.—FOOD CONSUMPTION OF SIX WORKERS' FAMILIES IN GREATER BERLIN IN APRIL AND MAY, 1913, AND COST THEREOF IN 1913 AND 1920

Article	Unit	Quantity	Cost, 1913	1920		
				Cost	Rationed food	
					Quantity	Cost
			Marks	Marks		Marks
Meat, sausages, etc.....	Kilogram..	175.560	363.05	5,800.61	46.839	1,037.93
Poultry.....	Each.....	2	4.45	60.00	-----	-----
Fish, fresh.....	Kilogram..	13.900	10.60	117.20	-----	-----
Herring.....	Each.....	114	5.10	111.80	-----	-----
Smoked and dried fish.....	-----	-----	4.50	92.00	-----	-----
Fish preserves, etc.....	-----	-----	2.85	32.00	-----	-----
Butter.....	Kilogram..	39.735	109.09	2,718.22	4.009	145.95
Margarine, palmine (vegetable fat).....	do.....	10.200	18.69	303.32	10.200	303.32
Animal fats.....	do.....	22.500	33.48	871.56	22.500	871.56
Cheese.....	-----	-----	29.49	460.40	-----	-----
Eggs.....	Each.....	1,060	65.42	1,696.00	-----	-----
Potatoes.....	Kilogram..	445	33.46	375.38	400.857	304.75
Vegetables, fresh and canned, etc.....	-----	-----	44.74	532.33	-----	-----
Condiments.....	-----	-----	6.74	44.29	-----	-----
Sugar.....	Kilogram..	46.125	21.40	486.90	36.000	122.40
Honey, sweets.....	do.....	.625	.90	11.25	-----	-----
Flour.....	do.....	24.050	11.37	127.34	14.950	36.34
Rice.....	do.....	1.125	.70	24.75	-----	-----
Groats, etc.....	do.....	6.275	4.14	9.81	6.275	9.81
Noodles, vermicelli, macaroni.....	do.....	3.900	3.45	22.75	2.875	11.50
Yeast.....	do.....	.500	.80	8.00	-----	-----
Soup cubes, split peas soup bags.....	Each.....	5	.55	3.00	-----	-----
Legumes.....	Kilogram..	10.750	5.51	42.99	10.750	42.99
Apples, cherries.....	do.....	12.750	4.00	88.50	-----	-----
Subtropical fruits.....	Each.....	273	13.20	501.80	-----	-----
Rhubarb.....	Bunch.....	75	5.00	45.00	-----	-----
Mixed dried fruit.....	Kilogram..	2.500	3.00	37.50	-----	-----
Sultanas, currants, almonds.....	do.....	.780	1.10	33.50	-----	-----
Marmalade and jams.....	do.....	4.500	3.55	37.15	4.500	37.15
Fruit preserves.....	do.....	1.500	1.50	7.50	-----	-----
Raspberry sirup.....	Liter.....	3.500	5.00	98.00	-----	-----
Bread.....	Kilogram..	288.875	72.11	500.21	288.875	500.21
Rolls.....	do.....	166.750	81.65	1,400.50	60.129	121.05
Cake, biscuits, etc.....	-----	-----	32.45	458.00	1.875	9.75
Coffee.....	Kilogram..	9.400	29.20	639.20	-----	-----
Coffee substitute.....	do.....	8.625	4.92	104.00	-----	-----
Tea.....	do.....	.300	1.68	18.00	-----	-----
Cocoa.....	do.....	2.875	8.75	178.25	.125	1.75
Chocolate, chocolate bonbons.....	do.....	2.063	4.75	123.78	-----	-----
Milk, buttermilk.....	Liter.....	357.250	80.20	1,138.50	106.25	212.50
Cream.....	do.....	1.050	1.05	25.20	-----	-----
Beer.....	do.....	383.600	112.80	1,175.50	-----	-----
Nonalcoholic drinks.....	-----	-----	6.20	40.00	-----	-----
Cider, rum, gin.....	-----	-----	7.13	178.25	-----	-----
Restaurant expenses (excluding drinks).....	-----	-----	21.65	216.50	-----	-----
Total.....	-----	-----	1,281.37	20,996.74	-----	3,788.96

In reading Table 8, one must always bear in mind that, on account of the combinations previously mentioned, the cost in 1920 appears lower than it actually was. One example may serve: The six families consumed in April and May, 1913, 4 kilograms of peas for 1.94 marks, $2\frac{3}{4}$ kilograms of beans for 1.45 marks, 4 kilograms of lentils for 2.12 marks, or a total of $10\frac{3}{4}$ kilograms of legumes for 5.51 marks. The 4 kilograms of lentils alone would have cost in April and May, 1920, not less than 60 marks. Nevertheless, the $10\frac{3}{4}$ kilograms of legumes for April and May, 1920, appear in the table as costing only 42.99 marks because $10\frac{3}{4}$ kilograms of legumes (including, it is true, no lentils) could be bought for this amount from the municipal food administration.

Allowing, then, for a smaller variety of food, the total food expense of the six families would have increased from 1,281 marks in April and May, 1913, to 20,997 marks in April and May, 1920. A family wishing a diet similar, though by no means as manifold and as savory, to the one of seven years before would have had to spend 16 times as much. It is interesting to note in this connection that the wages of bricklayers in April and May, 1920, were only 6.2 times as high as before the war and those of printers 5.4 times as high. The average weekly food expense of these six families in April and May, 1913, was 24.51 marks, while before the war the weekly union wage of bricklayers was 41.82 marks and that of printers 34.38 marks. The average weekly food expense, with a similar diet, in April and May, 1920, would have been 401.50 marks, while the weekly union wage of bricklayers was 259 marks, that of married printers 185.50 marks, and that of married bank employees with two children from 243 to 282 marks.

It has just been shown how much a diet similar to the pre-war diet would have cost seven years later. It is likewise possible to state what the postwar diet would have cost seven years before. With this object in view, there has been first ascertained the rationed quantities which were distributed in April and May, 1920, to six families of the above age classification, what these quantities actually cost, and what they would have cost in April and May, 1913. We find that the same quantities which in April and May, 1920, cost 4,951 marks would have cost 406 marks in April and May, 1913. These rationed quantities were, of course, not sufficient to satisfy the food requirements of the six families, as their nutritive value amounted to only 2,337,000 calories while such families needed 3,294,000 calories, and in fact consumed in 1913 foodstuffs with a nutritive value of 3,450,000 calories. In order to cover the balance, 957,000 calories, the same method has been applied as in computing the minimum cost of subsistence. The results are shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9.—FOOD CONSUMPTION OF SIX WORKERS' FAMILIES IN GREATER BERLIN IN APRIL AND MAY, 1920, AND COST THEREOF IN 1913 AND 1920

Article	Unit	Quantity	Cost	
			1920	1913
Rationed:			<i>Marks</i>	<i>Marks</i>
Meat, all kinds.....	Kilogram.	46.839	1,037.93	88.99
Butter.....	do.	4.009	145.95	10.82
Margarine.....	do.	17.464	519.34	27.94
Lard.....	do.	11.500	450.00	17.25
Suet.....	do.	17.250	653.66	24.06
Potatoes.....	do.	400.857	304.75	28.06
Sugar.....	do.	36.009	122.40	17.28
Wheat flour.....	do.	5.750	8.74	2.04
Potato flour.....	do.	9.200	27.60	3.78
Semolina.....	do.	375	69	19
Oats and oat flakes.....	do.	12.875	31.68	6.44
Barley groats.....	do.	1.438	2.07	.57
Barley, prepared grain.....	do.	4.313	6.56	2.16
Sago.....	do.	2.300	8.05	1.38
Corn meal prepared with fruit juice.....	do.	1.438	13.80	2.87
Gravy substitute.....	do.	.180	2.76	.60
Noodles, macaroni.....	do.	2.875	11.50	2.30
Malt extract.....	do.	2.000	10.40	3.00
Legumes—				
Beans.....	do.	43.850	306.36	15.79
Peas.....	do.	17.250	124.20	6.90
Not specified.....	do.	11.829	47.31	6.15
Bean flour.....	do.	2.875	11.50	1.44
Jams.....	do.	21.367	176.41	12.82
Bread.....	do.	380.814	658.79	95.20
Rusks.....	do.	1.875	9.75	2.25
Cocoa.....	do.	.125	1.75	.40
Mixture of oatmeal and cocoa (50 per cent cocoa).....	do.	.750	34.80	1.80
Milk.....	Liter	106.25	212.50	23.37
Total.....			4,951.25	405.94
In open market and by illicit trade:				
Potatoes.....	Kilogram	300.000	480.00	21.00
Vegetables.....	do.	700.000	1,050.00	105.00
Rye flour.....	do.	25.000	225.00	7.00
Semolina.....	do.	35.000	280.00	17.50
Oat flakes.....	do.	70.000	472.50	35.00
Beans.....	do.	20.000	180.00	7.20
Peas.....	do.	20.000	190.00	8.00
Total.....			2,877.50	200.70
Grand total.....			7,828.75	606.64

The supplementary foodstuffs, with a nutritive value of 957,000 calories, cost 2,878 marks in April and May, 1920; they would have cost 201 marks in April and May, 1913. The six families which, with a similar diet to that in April and May, 1913, would have spent 20,997 marks had, then, to spend 7,829 marks in order to satisfy in the cheapest possible way their minimum food requirements. This same modest diet would have cost 607 marks in April and May, 1913, i. e., one-thirteenth of what it cost in April and May, 1920. But before the war, when there was an unlimited supply of cheap bread, cheap lard, cheap potatoes, and cheap sugar, it would have been possible for these six families to secure a much more manifold and savory diet for less than 607 marks, in fact for about 520 marks, i. e., for one-fifteenth of the price of April and May, 1920.

The most striking changes in the diet of the German workingmen are the smaller variety of food, the poorer quality, and the reduced consumption of meat, dairy products, and practically all imported foodstuffs. The lack of variety in food during the war was due to the blockade, and after the war to the difficulties in the way of increasing

imports caused by the money depreciation, and to the low level of real wages. The lowering of the quality was the necessary consequence of the scarcity of food, which prevented competition among producers and also among retailers. While there are, of course, no statistics available as to the quality of the food, a few data can be given as to the consumption of some articles.

According to calculations made by the Prussian Statistical Office, the consumption of meat in Prussia dropped from 49.02 kilograms per capita in 1913, to 31.85 kilograms in 1921 and to 29.67 kilograms in 1922. As to the inhabitants of the rural districts, who had to a large extent been practically vegetarians before the war but who had acquired the habit of eating meat in the army, it is safe to assume that their meat consumption was at least as high after the war as before. The decrease in meat consumption was more conspicuous in the cities, where the working class probably at no time after the war until 1924 consumed more than 30 or 40 per cent of the quantity it had eaten prior to the war.

The shortage of milk was especially detrimental to the physical condition of the workers' children. Recently conditions have somewhat improved, but they are still far from satisfactory. The average daily consumption in Greater Berlin, which had been 1,200,000 liters before the war, was in 1924 as follows:

	Liters
January.....	398, 000
February.....	489, 000
March.....	629, 000
April.....	694, 000
May.....	751, 000
June.....	904, 000
July.....	821, 000
August.....	740, 000
September.....	673, 000
October.....	640, 000
November.....	672, 000
December.....	758, 000

Butter is still a luxury which the average workingman can not afford to buy, as his daily wages generally do not exceed the price of 2 pounds, and eggs have completely disappeared from his table. The production of eggs has considerably decreased, and the imports, which before the war furnished three-eighths of the total consumption and which in 1913 amounted to 3,300,000,000, totaled 29,000,000 in 1920, 24,000,000 in 1921, and 2,300,000 in 1922.

The per capita consumption of other articles of food was as follows:

TABLE 10.—ANNUAL PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF SPECIFIED ARTICLES OF FOOD, 1913, 1920, AND 1922

Article	Unit	1913	1920	1922
Sugar.....	Kilogram.....	19. 2	13. 6	20. 7
Salt herring.....	do.....	3. 66	6. 81	1. 97
Rice.....	do.....	2. 49	2. 07	1. 64
Green coffee.....	do.....	2. 44	. 66	. 59
Tea.....	do.....	. 06	. 03	. 05
Cocoa.....	do.....	. 77	1. 24	1. 36
Subtropical fruits.....	do.....	4. 44	1. 30	. 85
Imported spices.....	do.....	. 16	. 09	. 11
Beer.....	Liter.....	102. 1	37. 8	-----
Brandy.....	do.....	5. 4	2. 0	4. 1

It must always be borne in mind, however, that the per capita consumption does not tell the whole truth about the deterioration of the diet of the working class in the cities, as both the rural population and the well-to-do in the urban districts have suffered much slighter changes in their diet than the industrial workers.

HOUSING

STANDARD AND SUPPLY BEFORE THE WAR

Standard of housing.—Up to the first part of the nineteenth century, it was usual in Germany for every family to live in a house by itself—what we now call a one-family house—and this manner of living still prevails in the rural districts. In the cities and towns, however, large houses rented out in flats or single apartments—so-called apartment houses—have more and more taken the place of the one-family house. In 1910 there were 580,114 dwellings in Berlin. Of these, 410,237, or 71 per cent, were in houses containing more than 20 apartments. In some parts of the city the percentage of families living in such apartment houses exceeded 90. In Neukölln, a suburb inhabited mostly by workers, the proportion was 73 per cent. But Berlin with its suburbs was by no means the only city in which such conditions prevailed. In Stettin approximately one-half, in Breslau two-fifths, and in Posen fully one-third of all the families lived in apartment houses containing more than 20 apartments. In western Germany on the other hand, the apartment house had hardly come into use at all. In Dusseldorf the percentage of families living in this kind of house was 0.8, in Cologne 0.4, in Essen 0.3.

With the growing frequency of the apartment house type, the average number of stories in a house have increased. No doubt apartments in the fourth and fifth stories, at least those in houses recently built and which are situated in the front part of the house, have been rendered easily accessible by elevators, in which case they are frequently preferred by tenants because of the greater distance from the noise of the street traffic and because they receive more light. In spite of these exceptional cases—which concern only the well-to-do, as the houses in the districts inhabited by workers have no elevators—the apartments in the fourth and higher stories are considered less desirable, which is indicated by the fact that with very few exceptions the upper stories contain mainly small apartments designed for the working class and that in general the rent of an apartment is lower the higher up in the house it is situated. Formerly, the proportion of apartments situated in fourth and fifth stories, was, even in the largest towns, very small. Sixty years ago the proportion (including all the attics) in Berlin (1861) was only 3.6 per cent, and in Königsberg it was not more than 0.3 per cent. Before there was a modern water system in the towns, which supplied the houses with running water, it was simply impossible to live so far above the pump in the street. It is these modern improvements that have allowed apartments so unfavorably situated to be generally used for living purposes. In 1910 the proportion of apartments in fourth and fifth stories in Berlin and Breslau amounted to 20 per cent, in Dresden to 13 per cent, in Hamburg, Kiel, and Leipzig to 10 per cent. In Cologne, Dusseldorf, Essen, and Lubeck, on the other hand, it was below 1 per cent.

Another type of hygienically undesirable apartments had happily decreased in importance before the war. Experience showing that cellars are unfit to serve permanently as human habitations had led more and more frequently to building regulations forbidding the establishment of underground apartments in newly constructed houses. Thus underground apartments have been forbidden in Berlin since 1887, those still existing there having been built and fitted up before that time. The proportion of underground apartments in Berlin decreased from 11 per cent in 1871 to 3 per cent in 1910, in Altona from 9 per cent in 1890 to 4 per cent in 1910, in Kiel from 8 per cent in 1890 to 2 per cent in 1910, in Breslau from 5 per cent in 1875 to 2 per cent in 1910. Hamburg had a comparatively high proportion of underground apartments (5 per cent in 1910). In the suburbs of Berlin, the greater part of which was laid out in the decades before the war, the proportion of underground apartments is less than 1 per cent. The same was true of the greater part of the large German towns before the war.

One of the bad features of the apartment house is that as a rule it contains only a few larger apartments—those in the front part of the house facing the street—and that the side wings and rear contain innumerable comparatively small apartments that receive air and light, and frequently not too much of either, only from a narrow court. In consequence of this, the number of rear apartments that have no windows on the street has increased with the growing frequency of the apartment house. For instance, the proportion of such apartments in Berlin increased from 28 per cent in 1861 to 48 per cent in 1910. The percentage is probably lower everywhere else, though in 1910 it amounted to 33 per cent in Magdeburg and to 21 per cent in Cologne. The proportion is still more unfavorable in the case of the very small apartments. Of 100 apartments of not more than two living rooms, in Berlin 70 are rear apartments, in the suburb of Schöneberg, 79, in Magdeburg, 61, and in Cologne, 39. In the case of large apartments of seven and more living rooms, the proportion of rear apartments does not exceed 2 per cent in any of these cities.

The drawbacks of the apartment house are aggravated immeasurably by the cramped accommodations. If we classify dwellings according to the number of living rooms—the term “living room” in this case including the kitchen and habitable closets—we find that in those cities in which the apartment house is the prevailing type, apartments with not more than three living rooms are the most frequent. Whereas the increase in the number of stories and of rear apartments are drawbacks inseparable from the apartment house, the inadequacy of the accommodation is not unavoidable. Diminutive houses and apartments are to be found in the rural districts and there are very large apartments in the apartment houses in large towns and cities. In fact, in the course of the twentieth century, the proportion of apartments of not more than three living rooms has decreased in the cities where the apartment house prevails as well as elsewhere. From 1900 to 1910 the percentage of this type of apartments in Berlin fell from 76 to 74 per cent, in Breslau from 75 to 63 per cent, in Cologne from 60 to 53 per cent, and in Munich from 56 to 52 per cent. The percentage of small apartments exceeded 75 in Lichtenberg and Neukölln, suburbs of

Berlin; it was between 50 to 75 in Berlin, Dortmund, Königsberg, Posen, Stettin, Aix la Chapelle, Breslau, Düsseldorf, Essen, Charlottenburg, Cologne, Magdeburg, Munich, and Berlin-Schöneberg; it was between 25 and 50 in Chemnitz, Halle, Kiel, Dresden, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Altona, Lubeck, Hamburg. In Nuremberg it was 25, in Leipzig 19, and in Hanover only 11.

Even a very small apartment can make a comfortable home if there are not too many occupants. An apartment consisting of one room and a kitchen is after all sufficient for a couple with one or two children and if a further habitable room (or closet) is added, accommodation can be found for two more children without much inconvenience. But a larger number of persons could not be accommodated in an apartment of that size without overcrowding. In general an apartment may be considered as overcrowded which contains more than two persons per habitable room; that is, if in an apartment of one room and kitchen more than four persons, or in an apartment of one room, kitchen, and a second small room or closet more than six persons, have to be accommodated. The number of apartments that are overcrowded according to this standard is very large in the German towns and cities. Before the war considerable progress had, however, been made in this respect, the percentage of persons living in overcrowded small dwellings having decreased everywhere, even in the large cities. From 1900 to 1910, for instance, the percentage fell in Essen from 47 to 37 and in Berlin from 32 to 22. In Posen (a city now belonging to Poland) it was still very high in 1910, 53 per cent of the occupants of small dwellings being thus crowded together; in Dortmund the percentage was 41, in Düsseldorf 38, in Aachen and Essen 37, in Breslau 33, in Munich 29, and in Cologne 27. The proportion was comparatively low in Lubeck (15 per cent), in Hamburg (14 per cent), in Dresden (13 per cent), in Leipzig (9 per cent), and in Hanover (7 per cent).

There were various reasons for this decrease in the number of overcrowded small apartments, which was the most satisfactory development as regards living conditions of the workers. One of these was the decrease in the number of children; another was the decrease in the number of lodgers living with families. These lodgers were chiefly of three kinds: Men who lived with their employers, lodgers in furnished rooms, and night lodgers (who rented a bed and were not entitled to stay in the room in the daytime). The number of households in German towns that lodged journeymen employed by the head of the family was formerly extraordinarily high, and even 50 years ago it was not inconsiderable. Since then, however, the proportion of households with this kind of lodgers has diminished everywhere, e. g., from 1871 to 1910 in Berlin from 4.2 to 1.4 per cent, in Breslau from 6 to 2 per cent, in Frankfurt on the Main from 9 to 2.7 per cent, and in Leipzig from 8.6 to 2.5 per cent. The taking in of lodgers in furnished rooms and of night lodgers was not extensively practiced in former times but became more and more frequent up to the beginning of the 20th century. It was only in the last ten years before the war that a certain improvement took place. Of all the cities in Germany, Munich and Stuttgart had the highest percentage (26) of households with lodgers. In Berlin the proportion was 18 per cent, and in Cologne 11 per cent. Crefeld had the lowest percentage (only 5). The average percentage in the German

cities was 16 and in the rest of Germany only 6. It is remarkable that the night lodgers were generally to be found in the most indifferent apartments. But even where conditions in this respect were most unsatisfactory in 1910, they had been considerably worse some time before.

The same applies to the equipment of the dwellings. The worst feature in this respect is the sanitary arrangements. Hardly anywhere has the standard, so eminently desirable from a hygienic as well as a moral point of view, that every household should have its own water-closet been even approximately realized. In 1910 only 65 per cent of the apartments in Breslau and Kiel were provided with separate water-closets, in Halle 61 per cent, in Posen and Stettin 59 per cent, in Berlin 47 per cent, in Essen 46 per cent, in Cologne 44 per cent, in Hanover 43 per cent, in Strassburg (Alsace) 38 per cent, in Lubeck 29 per cent, in Leipzig 28 per cent, in Nuremberg 26 per cent, in Dresden, Königsberg, and Plauen 23 per cent, in Karlsruhe 21 per cent, and in Altona 15 per cent. Among the small apartments the proportion without a separate water-closet was especially high. In Breslau the percentage amounted to 85, in Halle to 83, and in Posen and Stettin to 80. Even in Cologne 67 per cent, and in Berlin 58 per cent of all small apartments had no separate water-closet. Yet the sanitary arrangements were better than in former times. The town of Essen may be pointed out as an example of improvement in this respect. In 1900 only 22 per cent of the small apartments had separate water-closets, while in 1910 the proportion had increased to 38 per cent.

The number of bathrooms in apartments has greatly increased. From 1890 to 1910 the percentage of dwellings provided with these hygienically important accommodations increased in Berlin from 6 to 14, in Breslau from 4 to 15, in Halle from 5 to 13, and in Altona from 3 to 8. In 1910 less than 5 per cent of the dwellings in Düsseldorf had bathrooms, and a bathroom in a small apartment was rare. In Cologne out of 62,480 small dwellings only 137, that is two per thousand, had a bathroom. Almost nowhere did the working class have such accommodations.

The greatest progress has, of course, been made in the more modern improvements, in the equipment of dwellings with gas and electric lighting. As late as 1910, however, the majority of the dwellings had neither gas nor electric lighting. In Essen, the proportion of dwellings provided with this convenience was 53 per cent, in Berlin and Chemnitz 54 per cent, in Nuremberg 57 per cent, in Hanover 65 per cent, in Königsberg 70 per cent, in Altona and Düsseldorf 71 per cent, in Breslau 74 per cent, in Kiel 75 per cent, in Cologne 76 per cent, in Posen 83 per cent, and in Stettin 87 per cent. Small dwellings provided with gas and electric lighting were still rare exceptions in many large towns. In Königsberg in 1910 such apartments formed 7 per cent, in Breslau 6 per cent, and in Cologne 2 per cent of the total number.

Thus the standard of dwellings in large cities had in some respects declined in the decades before the war. The proportion of apartments situated in fourth and fifth stories and in the rear had increased. On the other hand, a certain improvement had taken place. The number of underground apartments, of small and overcrowded apartments, and of apartments with insufficient sanitary equipment

had decreased. If we balance the favorable and unfavorable points of development we find a small but undoubted improvement.

Housing supply.—The ratio of the vacant dwellings to the existing dwellings is usually taken as the standard for gauging the state of the market, in the same way that the ratio of the unemployed to the total number of workmen in employment plus the unemployed is used as a standard to gauge the state of the labor market. The landlord considers the state of the market to be favorable when the percentage of vacant apartments is low; in the opinion of the tenant, on the contrary, the state of the market is favorable when the percentage of vacant apartments is high. In the public interest it is preferable that the supply of apartments be neither too abundant nor too small. This desirable state of things prevailed for the last time in 1910. At that time people looking for an apartment could not complain of lack of supply from which to choose and, on the other hand, the loss to the landlords through apartments remaining vacant was by no means excessive. In the following years, however, building activity was on the whole low, and it sank to an unusually low level just before the outbreak of the war.

In the four years from 1910 to 1913 the net increase in the number of dwellings—that is, the surplus of newly built apartments over those pulled down—amounted in Hamburg to 15,478, 10,670, 10,387, and 7,402, respectively, and in Nuremberg 3,078, 3,105, 3,120, and 1,260, respectively. In the 47 German towns for which we have comparable data the number of dwellings in newly erected houses fell from 68,022 in 1912 to 50,169 in 1913. The increase in the number of dwellings was no longer in relation to that in the number of households, and consequently the number of vacant dwellings decreased. From the winter of 1910-11 to the winter of 1913-14 it fell in Cologne from 5,298 to 3,006, in Breslau from 4,308 to 2,348, in Stettin from 2,502 to 535, in Bremen from 1,636 to 412, in Essen from 1,509 to 674, and in Lubeck from 941 to 142. In the 49 municipalities for which we have comparable data, it fell from 111,177 to 90,785, a result which is the more remarkable as the total number of available dwellings was added to in the period in question by the erection of new houses and by the incorporation of neighboring communities.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the state of the market for dwellings shortly before the war differed altogether from the quite satisfactory aspect which it had offered in 1910-11. The statistics for the period from October, 1913, to July, 1914, show nothing like the percentages (6 to 10) which prevailed in Greater Berlin and Hamburg in the winter 1910-11. In only 8 of the 69 municipalities for which we have data for the period preceding the outbreak of the war was the proportion of vacant dwellings higher than 3 per cent, and in only 33 was it higher than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In only a very few cities was the supply abundant, in one-half it was decidedly short, and in many there was an actual dearth of apartments.

The supply of small apartments is of special importance, as touching the greatest number of people and especially the working class. For while well-to-do persons can, after all, if large apartments are scarce, make shift with a smaller one or take two adjacent small apartments, the workers have no way out of the difficulty. They can not rent a large dwelling if a small one is not to be found. It was in small

apartments that the scarcity was most severe before the outbreak of the war, as private building enterprise had failed altogether in this respect. The outbreak of the war relieved the situation.

HOUSING CONDITIONS DURING THE WAR

At the beginning of the war a large number of apartments were left vacant. Unmarried men and widowers who had had apartments of their own and were obliged to enter the army gave them up. Many wives of soldiers did the same, going to live with their parents or renting part of the apartments of other tenants, either furnished or unfurnished, or moving into the country, etc. Bridal couples who, before the outbreak of the war, had rented apartments to be occupied in the autumn, gave up setting up separate households. From the last census (taken on different dates between October, 1913, and June, 1914) before the war to the autumn of 1914 the number of vacant apartments increased in Berlin from 27,831 to 39,728, in Breslau from 2,348 to 3,838, in Leipzig from 1,634 to 3,224, in Dresden from 1,432 to 2,817, in Essen from 674 to 1,278, and in Dortmund from 124 to 747. Only in Kiel, where immigration was from the first very active, did the number decrease (from 1,538 to 1,060). In the 32 towns for which we possess data for the period before and after the outbreak of the war the number of vacant dwellings increased from 72,276 to 100,743, but even then the proportion of vacant apartments reached 3 per cent in 11 towns only, while in 7 it did not exceed $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Thus, though the number of vacant dwellings was far larger than in the year before the war, with its painful scarcity of accommodation, yet it did not materially exceed the normal average in time of peace. In comparing the proportion of vacant apartments in the winter of 1910-11 with that in the winter of 1914-15 we find an increase in 15 cities and a decrease in 11 cities.

While a large number of apartments connected with business premises and other large and medium-sized apartments became vacant, the supply of small apartments suitable for workers, though it was nearly everywhere larger than in the year preceding the war, did not in general exceed the normal supply in time of peace.

If the outbreak of the war and its consequences altered the conditions regulating the supply of dwellings in an unusual manner, the longer the war went on the more the state of the market continued to develop on lines diverging from those of normal times. The number of existing dwellings continued to increase by the erection of new houses and the partitioning of large dwellings, and to be reduced by fires, by the pulling down of houses, by the appropriation of dwellings to business purposes, and by the throwing of two or more apartments into one, but the erection and the pulling down of houses became rarer and rarer occurrences, till at last building ceased almost completely. (According to statistics of the Federal Statistical Office for 37 German towns the number of apartments in newly erected houses in the period from 1912 to 1917 amounted to 61,335 in 1912, 45,220 in 1913, 32,330 in 1914, 13,171 in 1915, 4,685 in 1916, and 1,712 in 1917.) The partitioning of dwellings was a comparatively frequent occurrence and consolidation of apartments was rare, there being little demand for large apartments. The diverting of apartments to business purposes ceased almost entirely, owing to the abundant

supply of workshops and business premises on the market. The only place where it was resorted to, to some extent, was in Berlin where many apartments were hired by corporations organized to meet the exigencies of the war. On the other hand, hardly anywhere were offices converted into living apartments to any appreciable extent, and the same may be said of the release of apartments that had formerly been declared unfit for use. The result was that the number of available dwellings did not increase much in the course of the war.

The longer the war continued the more did the establishments set up exceed those that were broken up, in spite of the continual calls to the front. Disabled soldiers and other men unfit for active service set up households of their own. Women who had married during the war and whose husbands were still at the front took apartments of their own either before or after the birth of children. The result was that in the end the proportion of occupied dwellings increased considerably, and so the proportion of vacant dwellings was again reduced. In 33 of 41 cities there were fewer vacant dwellings in the winter of 1916-17 than in that of 1915-16, the total number of vacant apartments having decreased from 97,329 to 86,602. In 1916 the proportion of vacant apartments was higher than at the last census before the war in 57 of 75 cities; in 17 it had decreased below the pre-war figure. In 31 cities the proportion was higher than in 1910-11 and in 25 it was lower. Although very many large and medium-sized dwellings and dwellings connected with business premises were still vacant, the total supply was about normal. Small apartments for the working class, not connected with business premises, were very scarce in many places. In 1917 accommodations were as scarce as before the war, and at the close of the war there were scarcely any vacant dwellings fit for use available anywhere in Germany.

The standard of housing accommodations in the large cities became worse and worse during the war. The old inferior apartments deteriorated more and more and even the apartments built on the eve of the war became prematurely old and the worse for wear. In peace time inferior apartments were eliminated, not only by pulling down the houses, but by their being declared unfit for use by the authorities. During the war these authorities kept their eyes shut. Where immigration was lively, and this was the case in many towns, they even permitted underground dwellings, whose use had been prohibited, to be reoccupied. Overcrowding was no longer prevented. The demand for lodgings made it necessary to lower the standard as to apartments.

SITUATION SINCE THE WAR

An insufficient supply of dwellings would have been unavoidable in any case at the close of the war, for then the unmarried men and widowers who had had apartments of their own before the war, but had given them up on entering the army, returned from the front and looked for new apartments. The same is true of a great number of soldiers' wives who, in the absence of their husbands, had lived with their parents or with others. As might have been expected, a large number of new households were set up. The situation was

still further aggravated by circumstances connected with the issue of the war. After the conclusion of the armistice, a large number of fugitives and returning emigrants flowed into the country and increased the numbers of those looking for accommodation. These people included Germans from abroad, inhabitants of the ceded territories, and fugitives of foreign nationality from the neighboring countries in the East. The increase in the number of households due to this immigration was at least 250,000. In the occupied territory the scarcity of accommodation was intensified by the necessity of placing a large number of dwellings at the disposition of the occupying troops.

The building of new houses met with the greatest difficulties. In the course of the war the production of building materials had been reduced to a minimum. Of about 18,000 brick kilns 8,000 stopped work immediately on the outbreak of the war. In 1915 another 5,500 and in 1916 another 900 followed their example. At the close of the war only 700 kilns were at work. In the years 1919 and 1920 the number increased slowly to about 1,200 or 1,300. The prices of building materials, however, rose enormously.

At the same time a serious lack of workers was experienced in the building trades. Many had been killed in the war or had returned with injuries impairing their working power or preventing them from carrying on their trades. A considerable number had changed their occupations during the war and had gone into the mines or into the war industries where they could earn higher wages. Only a few of these men returned to their old trades after the war. In the building trades it was almost impossible to secure a fresh supply of young men, because they preferred to enter other trades where prospects were less uncertain. Thus the number of workers in the building trade fell from about one and three-fourths millions in 1914 to about one million in 1920. The individual workman, moreover, did less work than before the war, because inadequate nourishment reduced his physical ability to work and political excitement interfered with his application to his work.

Under these circumstances the Government, to remedy as far as possible the most serious grievances connected with the scarcity of accommodation, took measures (1) to regulate the relations between landlord and tenant; (2) to control the disposition of existing housing facilities; and (3) to stimulate building enterprise.

1. The legislative measures for the protection of the tenant materially restrict the landlord's right of giving notice and limit the amount of the rent. The basis for the calculation of the rent is that paid on July 1, 1914, and the increases permitted were for a long time very moderate, e. g., in Berlin, at the end of 1920, 30 per cent and early in 1922, 70 per cent, whereas the minimum cost of subsistence at the end of 1920 was 11 times as high as before the war, and in January, 1922, 19 times as high.

2. The legislative measures relating to the control of the existing housing accommodations authorize the communes to forbid the pulling down of buildings and the appropriation to other purposes of rooms that up to October 1, 1918, had been used as living rooms. The communes may also allot vacant rooms that are fit to live in to persons in search of apartments, and cause unused offices or business premises to be fitted up as living rooms. Finally, they are

authorized to seize occupied offices or business premises and part of occupied apartments. Apartments owned by industrial or agricultural concerns, which were built for the accommodation of their salaried employees or workers, and newly erected houses are not subject to seizure, these exemptions being intended to stimulate building enterprise. Some communes waived their right of seizing part of unnecessarily large apartments in case the owner agreed to pay a sum sufficient to provide an equal number of new rooms.

3. It was evident at the outset, however, that all legislative measures for the appropriation of existing house room for living purposes could not bring about a material improvement in the supply of apartments, and that the only way to achieve this would be to encourage by all possible means the building of new houses. Yet, private builders could not be expected to engage extensively in building operations so long as a satisfactory return on the invested capital could not be guaranteed.

The situation in 1918 may be described as follows: The cost of erecting an apartment had increased on an average about 200 to 300 per cent as compared with pre-war time, but rents had not risen in proportion. They were in general just sufficient to cover the expense of keeping existing apartments in repair, but not sufficient to insure an adequate return on the capital required to erect new apartments. But even the raising of rents could hardly induce private capital to engage in building, because of the uncertainty as to the future trend of the cost of building. In 1917 and 1918 it was supposed that the rise in the cost of building then experienced would be transitory, and that when the immediate consequences of the war were over it would fall again, though not to the level of pre-war prices. If, after rents had first been raised, a retrograde movement of prices had set in, the cost of building in the following years would have been reduced and rents might have been expected to fall also. In that case rents fixed for newly built houses on the basis of the actual price of building at the time could hardly be maintained. Even if the increased rents had at first insured a satisfactory return on the capital invested in new houses they could not continue to do so. It was the uncertainty regarding the trend of prices and not the control of the disposition of the existing accommodations (as has often been asserted) that prevented private capital from engaging in building to any extent. If, therefore, private building enterprise was to be revived, the only way was to secure out of public funds an adequate return on the capital invested in building operations, public subsidies being paid to cover that part of the cost of building the interest on which the prospective rent of the house would not cover.

Such subsidies have been granted to a large extent for the building of dwelling houses in general, as well as for miners' houses. The Commonwealth, the States, and the communes have also granted subsidies toward the unremunerative part of the cost of building houses for officials, salaried employees, and workers employed in Government establishments and in public-service enterprises. A part of these funds was raised by a building tax on the old houses. All these and numerous other measures, however, did not stimulate building enterprise greatly. Whereas during the war 250,000 apartments were erected, in the period from 1919 to 1921 only about the same number were built.

Table 11 shows the net increase in dwellings in German cities of over 100,000 inhabitants for each year from 1913 to 1923.

TABLE 11.—NET INCREASE IN DWELLINGS IN GERMAN CITIES OVER 100,000 INHABITANTS, 1913 TO 1923, BY YEARS

City	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923
Aix la Chapelle.....	298	237	170	18	28	11	9	71	182	97	536
Altona.....	938	587	250	15	16	19	195	534	152	200	123
Augsburg.....	565	709	188	54	13	138	409	256	341	539	447
Barmen.....	635	442	177	14		111		232	33	263	447
Berlin ¹	3,096			20	123	9	316	294		3,057	3,863
Bochum.....	311	172	64			13	28	56	445	490	520
Bremen.....	1,053	1,328	521	189	77	304	1,028	730	1,205	920	626
Breslau.....		445	445	161	20	42	756	1,196	950	882	1,259
Brunswick.....				145	26	9	309	87	217	169	85
Cassel.....	321	314	377	75	65	150	169	787	410	492	636
Chemnitz.....	3,745	1,885	412	127	13	6	23	272	188	276	432
Cologne.....	2,442	1,813	1,366	544	100	96	393	978	2,750	2,531	2,663
Crefeld.....	637	259	73	3	4		1	60	196	330	554
Dortmund.....	1,341			265	45	33	235	294	1,158	594	845
Dresden.....	2,376	2,162	627	321	114	82	183	807	944	715	702
Duisburg.....	1,001		289		5		49	392	536	577	1,355
Düsseldorf.....	3,576	1,518	1,068	121	65		6	345	615	869	856
Elberfeld.....	305	275	98	63		17	3	97	371	367	176
Erfurt.....	546	288	106	199	3	145	578	628	415	251	170
Essen.....	1,013	999	869	874	603	558	196	511	1,404	1,318	1,695
Frankfurt on the Main.....	2,563	1,946	979	270	146	27	229	1,171	864	457	1,013
Gelsenkirchen.....	335	390	217	14	18	4	47	308	469	196	691
Halle.....	507	323	51	100	67	5	80	280	202	341	501
Hamborn.....		448	358	53	1	1	1	160	270	313	741
Hamburg.....	7,402	3,050	1,459	391	8	65	452	1,416	2,187	2,630	3,065
Hanover.....	1,631	1,311	534	64	13	15	193	674	295	445	311
Karlsruhe.....	677	510	350	47	19	18	202	339	399	509	517
Kiel.....	241	180	42	11	66	125	140	181	272	267	258
Königsberg.....	1,726	769	472	177	88	58	136	283	396	539	483
Leipzig.....	2,788	2,467	1,147	134	33	39	298	565	518	1,174	882
Lübeck.....	254	313	75	11	7	169	439	934	616	485	370
Magdeburg.....	1,081		292	95	32	154	78	196	195	284	284
Mainz.....	93	110	26	129		167		230	266	416	294
Mannheim.....	1,582	1,084	485	141	119	15	223	684	191	679	744
Mülheim.....	656	420	116	35	29	15	31	436	98	388	450
Munich.....	3,445	1,624	577	63	18	222	607	1,469	748	1,441	958
München-Gladbach.....		118	2	1						244	110
Münster.....	363	245	56	5						306	268
Nuremberg.....	1,260	1,084	262	79	16	123	919	939	690	1,061	821
Planen.....	754						11	122	102	143	182
Stettin.....	332	389	182	26	16	13	114	539	656	275	547
Stuttgart.....	2,104	1,649	645	66	46	37	378	913	352	939	687

¹ Decrease.

² 1913 to 1920, Berlin without suburbs; 1922 and 1923, Greater Berlin.

Table 12 shows the cost-of-building index for each month from January, 1921, to June, 1923, covering the prices of materials and the cost of building, and showing also index numbers of the dollar exchange rate of marks. Building materials are divided into three groups: Raw materials (brick, lime, gypsum, cement), lumber, and miscellaneous (rod iron, shaped iron, window glass, linoleum). The cost of building is for two factory buildings (one simple factory building and one factory building with office rooms) and for dwelling houses (from January, 1921, to October, 1922, one small one-family house, one tenement house, one fine apartment house; from November, 1922, to June, 1923, one small one-family house and one tenement house).

TABLE 12.—INDEX NUMBERS OF COST OF BUILDING IN GERMANY, JANUARY, 1921, TO JUNE, 1923, BY MONTHS

[July, 1914=1]

Year and month	Building materials				Building cost per cubic foot			Dollar exchange rate of marks (1913-14 =1)
	Raw materials	Lumber	Miscellaneous	Total	Factories	Dwelling houses	Total	
1921								
January.....	14.71	12.07	22.35	14.68	11.78	11.79	11.79	15.46
February.....	14.89	12.10	23.11	14.87	12.40	13.31	13.09	14.60
March.....	14.93	12.60	22.01	14.94	13.54	14.14	13.99	14.88
April.....	15.56	13.24	21.05	15.40	13.54	14.53	14.28	15.13
May.....	15.40	13.73	20.26	15.39	13.23	14.53	14.20	14.84
June.....	15.41	14.49	19.58	15.57	15.63	15.40	15.46	16.52
July.....	15.62	15.45	19.73	16.02	17.09	16.93	16.97	18.27
August.....	15.47	16.66	21.24	16.51	18.54	18.85	18.78	20.08
September.....	15.52	17.49	24.23	17.15	20.42	19.89	20.02	24.99
October.....	16.49	18.83	25.73	18.30	24.38	25.32	25.09	35.78
November.....	22.48	22.48	32.35	23.58	26.04	26.13	26.11	62.64
December.....	28.92	27.30	36.93	29.27	27.09	27.17	27.15	45.72
1922								
January.....	32.43	29.85	37.65	32.15	32.19	29.70	30.33	45.69
February.....	42.27	33.10	44.85	39.50	37.19	34.20	34.95	49.51
March.....	52.65	37.70	61.99	48.70	45.32	41.39	42.37	67.70
April.....	65.42	56.63	82.15	64.35	60.00	54.32	55.74	69.32
May.....	88.72	73.69	85.39	83.34	78.48	69.33	71.62	69.11
June.....	105.73	88.59	95.36	98.87	104.30	94.09	96.64	75.62
July.....	126.51	112.13	117.25	120.69	135.94	145.16	142.86	117.49
August.....	155.88	179.53	214.69	170.30	178.13	207.89	200.45	270.26
September.....	280.04	405.53	351.07	329.76	321.36	344.94	339.04	349.18
October.....	452.13	640.78	560.92	527.10	541.2	610.9	593.5	757.73
November.....	944.50	948.97	1351.08	991.16	994.8	960.4	969.	1711.08
December.....	1594.26	2937.53	2182.82	2107.42	1833.3	2017.5	1971.5	1807.83
1923								
January.....	2625.6	3394.1	3146.5	2939.6	2802.1	2796.5	2797.9	4281
February.....	6649.1	6117.1	8902.0	6722.1	4416.7	4190.2	4246.8	6650
March.....	8570.1	6270.4	9007.6	7852.2	5182.3	5365.9	5320	5048
April.....	7755	5278	8412	7002	5703	5688	5692	5826
May.....	8102	7560	10659	8205	7109	6991	7021	11355
June.....	14697	16256	25311	16396	14063	14363	14288	26202

Table 13 shows the cost-of-building index for each month from July, 1923, to November, 1924. These figures are not exactly comparable with those of the preceding table as the group of raw materials includes iron and roofing board, the base for the lumber-price indexes has been changed, and "miscellaneous" comprises materials for the inside of the building such as pipes, window glass, etc. The cost of building is computed for an apartment of four living rooms, having a total of 1,200 net square feet, on an upper floor of an apartment house.

TABLE 13.—INDEX NUMBERS OF COST OF BUILDING IN GERMANY, JULY, 1923, TO NOVEMBER, 1924, BY MONTHS

[1913=1]

Year and month	Building materials				Building cost	Dollar exchange rate of marks (1913-14 =1)
	Raw materials	Lumber	Miscellaneous	Total		
1923						
July.....	54369	86937	96625	67385	64813	84186
August.....	1235760	1108035	1243043	1207506	1268512	1100632
September.....	23994822	28131781	38348326	26931814	24358021	123.5
October.....	1 9183	1 9895	1 13125	1 9899	1 9031	1 6017
November.....	1 790.8	1 891.9	1 1140.8	1 862.6	1 778.6	1 522.3
December.....	1 1.56	1 1.66	1 2.33	1 1.69	1 1.49	1
1924						
January.....	1 1.41	1 1.56	1 1.76	1 1.49	1 1.34	1 1
February.....	1 1.25	1 1.47	1 1.45	1 1.33	1 1.27	1 1
March.....	1 1.21	1 1.41	1 1.45	1 1.29	1 1.24	1 1
April.....	1 1.20	1 1.51	1 1.51	1 1.32	1 1.27	1 1
May.....	1 1.20	1 1.65	1 1.50	1 1.34	1 1.32	1 1
June.....	1 1.18	1 1.54	1 1.50	1 1.30	1 1.33	1 1
July.....	1 1.14	1 1.33	1 1.49	1 1.23	1 1.25	1 1
August.....	1 1.14	1 1.28	1 1.46	1 1.22	1 1.27	1 1
September.....	1 1.20	1 1.49	1 1.45	1 1.30	1 1.47	1 1
October.....	1 1.20	1 1.48	1 1.41	1 1.29	1 1.49	1 1
November.....	1 1.32	1 1.50	1 1.44	1 1.38	1 1.60	1 1

1 Millions.

2 Billions.

3 Based on rentenmarks.

Table 14 shows the building cost for 10,600 cubic feet (net) of living room in an apartment house and for a one-family house of 12,400 cubic feet (gross), containing three living rooms, closets, cellar, and garret in specified months, 1914 to 1923.

TABLE 14.—BUILDING COST FOR ONE-FAMILY HOUSES AND APARTMENTS IN GERMANY, JULY, 1914, OCTOBER, 1921, AND JANUARY, 1922, TO JUNE, 1923, BY MONTHS

Month	Apartment (10,600 cubic feet)	One- family house (12,400 cubic feet)	Month	Apartment (10,600 cubic feet)	One- family house (12,400 cubic feet)
1914			1922		
July.....	Marks 5,700	Marks 6,125	July.....	Marks 810,000	Marks 823,000
1921			August.....	1,275,000	1,225,000
October.....	144,000	158,000	September.....	2,055,000	2,065,000
1922			October.....	3,675,000	3,518,000
January.....	165,000	182,000	November.....	6,000,000	5,600,000
February.....	195,000	210,000	December.....	11,700,000	12,250,000
March.....	240,000	252,000	1923		
April.....	315,000	340,000	February.....	24,800,000	25,200,000
May.....	410,000	403,000	March.....	31,500,000	32,400,000
June.....	536,000	582,000	April.....	33,750,000	34,125,000
			June.....	79,500,000	89,300,000

The continuous increase in the cost of building, which on the whole exceeded the increase in the cost of living, was an impediment to building, not only because people could not afford the expense, but also because it rendered anything like a reliable estimate of cost impossible. A building whose cost had been estimated at 3,000,000 marks might, when completed, have cost 60,000,000 marks or more, and thus meant ruin to its owner. Many buildings were therefore left unfinished and in this condition sold to persons whose means enabled them to finish the buildings. To prevent the consequences of this uncertain state of affairs, great efforts were made to provide some

guaranty that the actual cost of erection of a building would not exceed the estimate. This was possible, at least as regards part of the items, if the necessary materials and fittings were bought as soon as the resolution to build was definitely taken. But so uncertain was the state of the building industry that even this precaution did not protect the builder against loss, unless he took actual possession of the materials and articles purchased and warehoused them himself. When this was not done, it often happened that purchased goods which had been kept in stock by the dealer were not forthcoming when called for. This, of course, led to further difficulties and litigation, and in the end the owner had generally to bear the loss. The wages always remained a variable item, and such variations involved a risk to the builder that could in no way be avoided. As only about one-half of the estimated cost of a building can be definitely fixed—by the purchase of materials, etc.—the other half will always constitute a considerable risk to the builder. It was the varying item of wages that caused the chief difficulties in agreements between owners and contractors. A complete system of scientific calculations was necessary to ascertain, for instance, what part of the cost of erecting a cubic foot of masonry was chargeable to materials, to transportation, to wages, to superintendence, to workers' insurance, to general expenses, to the profit of the contractor, etc., and which of these items were to be considered as fixed and which as varying. The trouble caused the supervising architect by these various calculations was enormous. The arrangement aimed at in most cases was that only the wages should be considered as variable, and that as regards his profits, the general expenses, and various other items the contractor should agree to a liberal settlement with the owner. The negotiations on these points were difficult and took a great deal of time; the results differed, depending greatly on the good will of the contractor. In any case the risk run by both contractor and owner was very great.

Generally speaking, only people who were engaged in business, and whose income therefore increased more or less in proportion to the depreciation of the money value, could build in the time of inflation. For this class of people the high prices did not make much difference, though almost every business undertaking in Germany was on the decline in spite of the nominally high figures of sales and profits. The formerly well-to-do classes who had lived on the returns of their capital were hopelessly pauperized. As far as building was concerned, this class of the population was out of the running altogether. On the whole, therefore, only the business men, the manufacturers, the landed proprietors, and foreigners from countries having a sound currency could engage in house building. The buildings erected in Germany were, therefore, chiefly office buildings, factories, and agricultural establishments, but included also a considerable number of dwelling houses for the above-mentioned classes.

As regards the supply of dwellings for the mass of the people the erection of residences for a few newly rich persons meant nothing. The erection of dwelling houses proper in Germany has virtually ceased. Very few apartment houses have been erected in German cities since the war, as the rents were kept so ridiculously low by the law restricting house rents that there was no prospect whatever of

making a profit on a house built under prevailing conditions. Houses built since the war are not, it is true, subject to the restrictions on rents. But this exemption did not help the owners of new houses, as, if rents of old houses were, say, about 10 times as high as they were in pre-war time and the cost of building 1,000 times as high, it would be impossible to expect tenants to pay a rent for new houses 100 times higher than that for old houses. Under such circumstances it would have been foolish to build houses for rent. Not only was the possibility of erecting new dwelling houses for rent destroyed by the restriction on rents, but practically all the houses for rent in German cities got out of repair, because the rent was insufficient to pay for the most trifling repairs. The renewal of a single kitchen sink required a whole year's rent of a large Berlin apartment house. This is the reason also that large areas of bare wall from which the plaster has fallen are to be seen on buildings on all streets and that all German towns and cities are beginning to show a neglected appearance. All this would have been tolerable if the working class had actually profited by the low rents, but this was not the case. In fixing wages, the low rent was fully taken into account, and the main effect of the rent restriction law in the long run was that the German employer had the benefit of having his employees lodged for practically nothing.

Conditions in rural districts were on the whole not much better. In the first year after the war the erection of small dwelling houses in the country was carried on actively, being encouraged by considerable grants from the Government. But here, too, the influence of the depreciation of the currency very soon made itself felt. Even before projected building operations were completed, the means granted by the Government proved to be totally inadequate in consequence of the continuous advance of prices. The situation was further aggravated by the fact that societies formed on cooperative principles for carrying out such projects had only very limited means at their disposal. In consequence, most of the housing projects failed before they were half carried out. Almost all the extensive, carefully prepared, and architecturally promising projects for settling the surplus town population in the country thus came to naught. Only workmen's settlements of the more important industrial works could be carried on. In the last three years the owners of industrial works have received strong encouragement and material aid from the Government toward providing houses for their workmen. The owner of an industrial establishment employing more than 20 workmen may escape the special tax which may be imposed on such establishments by building houses for his workmen, and the law also allows him to deduct the building cost from his taxable income. Besides settlements built by private industrial establishments, a certain number of dwelling houses have been built by a few progressive municipalities. Dwellings for Government employees have also been erected by the Ministry of Labor. But even when all these are considered there still remains an almost absurd discrepancy between the urgent demand for apartments and house room and the number of new houses built. According to the estimates of various experts, one and one-half million apartments are now needed in Germany.

The worst feature of this scarcity of available apartments is that there is no possibility of employing the only effectual means of relief—

that is, building a sufficient number of new houses. This was not possible when the rent restriction laws kept the rents (calculated in dollars) down to one-tenth in 1921, to one-fiftieth in 1922, and to one one-hundredth or less in 1923, but neither is it possible now when the rents are three-fourths of what they were in pre-war times. Table 15 shows index numbers of rent for two rooms and a kitchen from January, 1922, to December, 1924, by months:

TABLE 15.—INDEX NUMBERS OF COST OF RENT IN GERMANY, 1922 TO 1924, BY MONTHS
[1913-14=1]

Month	1922	1923	1924	On basis of dollar exchange rate of marks		
				1922	1923	1924
January.....	2.36	38	0.29	0.05	0.009	0.29
February.....	2.40	58	.34	.05	.009	.34
March.....	2.50	113	.38	.04	.022	.38
April.....	2.87	181	.53	.04	.031	.53
May.....	3.00	216	.55	.04	.019	.55
June.....	3.13	301	.57	.04	.011	.57
July.....	3.43	714	.68	.03	.008	.68
August.....	4.03	4932	.70	.015	.004	.70
September.....	4.17	* 3	.70	.012	.013	.70
October.....	7.95	* 54	.73	.010	.009	.73
November.....	11.33	* 22	.74	.007	.04	.74
December.....	16.62	* 218	.74	.009	.22	.74

* Based on rentenmarks in this year.

* Million.

* Billion.

The reasons why the low rents preclude much building are as follows: 1. As one-third of the rent has to be paid as a special rent tax, the proprietor of the house gets not three-fourths, but only one-half of the pre-war rent; 2. The cost of building is 60 per cent higher than before the war; 3. The general rate of interest has increased so much that houses can not be built on a sound business basis unless the rents are much higher in proportion to the cost of building than before the war.

FUEL AND LIGHT

From 1916 to 1921 the coal supply in most German cities was so scarce that, in general, workmen found it impossible to get sufficient fuel adequately to heat their dwellings, and this condition did not materially improve when coal became more plentiful, as its price was then prohibitive. For the same reason they were obliged to be as economical as possible as regards lighting. It became quite customary for workers' families to go to bed early in winter in order to escape freezing in their unheated quarters, and in summer to walk in the streets after dark as they could not afford light in their dwellings.

Table 16 shows all changes in the price of Ruhr coal from April 1, 1914, to December 31, 1924, both in paper marks and in gold marks (calculated on the basis of the exchange rate of the mark in Amsterdam up to the end of 1919 and of the dollar exchange rate of marks in Berlin from and after 1920). Up to September, 1923, the gold-mark prices calculated on the exchange rate of the paper mark were sometimes higher and sometimes lower than before the war. From and after September 17, 1923, gold prices were introduced, which were at all times considerably higher than those before the war.

TABLE 16.—PIT PRICE PER TON OF RUHR COAL, APRIL 1, 1914, TO DECEMBER 31, 1924

Period	Paper marks	Gold marks		
		Lowest	Highest	Average
Apr. 1 to July 31, 1914.....	11.25	11.25	11.25	11.25
Aug. 1, 1914, to Mar. 31, 1915.....	11.25	9.69	10.79	10.21
Apr. 1 to Aug. 31, 1915.....	13.25	11.25	11.68	11.44
Sept. 1, 1915, to Dec. 31, 1916.....	14.25	9.35	12.29	10.59
Jan. 1 to Apr. 30, 1917.....	16.25	10.13	11.39	10.92
May 1, to July 31, 1917.....	18.25	9.89	11.59	10.84
Aug. 1 to Sept. 30, 1917.....	21.90	11.73	12.56	12.29
Oct. 1, 1917, to Aug. 31, 1918.....	24.30	12.53	19.50	15.64
Sept. 1 to Dec. 31, 1918.....	26.85	11.96	18.01	14.53
Jan. 1 to Apr. 30, 1919.....	41.30	12.30	20.98	17.12
May 1 to June 15, 1919.....	61.30	16.76	24.51	19.58
June 16 to Sept. 30, 1919.....	67.40	9.95	24.05	16.44
Oct. 1 to Nov. 30, 1919.....	77.90	7.66	14.39	10.81
Dec. 1 to Dec. 31, 1919.....	86.90	7.41	8.83	8.05
Jan. 1 to Jan. 31, 1920.....	106.90	4.53	9.23	6.92
Feb. 1 to Feb. 29, 1920.....	149.70	6.06	6.90	6.34
Mar. 1 to Mar. 31, 1920.....	168.00	7.05	10.22	8.41
Apr. 1 to Apr. 30, 1920.....	192.40	12.06	15.09	13.54
May 1 1920, to Mar. 31, 1921.....	198.40	9.49	25.05	14.37
Apr. 1 to Aug. 31, 1921.....	227.40	10.49	16.41	13.40
Sept. 1 to Nov. 30, 1921.....	253.90	3.44	12.46	6.17
Dec. 1, 1921, to Jan. 31, 1922.....	405.10	7.21	10.28	8.86
Feb. 1 to Feb. 28, 1922.....	468.10	8.60	10.05	9.46
Mar. 1 to Mar. 31, 1922.....	601.70	7.45	10.98	8.97
Apr. 1 to Apr. 19, 1922.....	713.20	9.18	10.66	9.88
Apr. 20 to June 30, 1922.....	907.50	10.19	15.12	12.60
July 1 to July 31, 1922.....	1,208.00	7.57	12.61	10.28
Aug. 1 to Aug. 31, 1922.....	1,513.00	3.22	9.86	5.60
Sept. 1 to Sept. 30, 1922.....	4,105.00	10.34	13.78	11.76
Oct. 1 to Oct. 31, 1922.....	5,055.00	4.72	11.69	6.67
Nov. 1 to Nov. 15, 1922.....	8,114.00	3.72	7.49	4.81
Nov. 16 to Nov. 30, 1922.....	14,011.00	6.70	9.52	8.07
Dec. 1, 1922, to Jan. 11, 1923.....	22,763.00	9.15	15.66	12.02
Jan. 12 to Jan. 31, 1923.....	38,044.00	3.26	16.43	7.01
Feb. 1 to Feb. 8, 1923.....	68,411.00	6.80	8.57	7.48
Feb. 9 to Mar. 31, 1923.....	123,356.00	16.65	27.40	23.36
Apr. 1 to May 15, 1923.....	114,117.00	10.41	22.73	16.39
May 16 to May 31, 1923.....	143,510.00	8.67	13.28	10.79
June 1 to June 14, 1923.....	221,200.00	8.60	14.86	11.34
June 15 to June 24, 1923.....	336,200.00	9.53	13.11	11.01
June 25 to July 8, 1923.....	528,000.00	12.60	19.40	14.37
July 9 to July 16, 1923.....	835,000.00	17.88	19.47	18.72
July 17 to July 26, 1923.....	1,361,000.00	7.52	26.21	15.28
July 27 to Aug. 1, 1923.....	2,083,000.00	7.95	11.61	8.61
Aug. 2 to Aug. 8, 1923.....	5,158,000.00	4.46	19.68	7.94
Aug. 9 to Aug. 19, 1923.....	23,267,000.00	20.10	36.17	28.42
Aug. 20 to Aug. 26, 1923.....	37,984,000.00	28.99	37.97	32.17
Aug. 27 to Sept. 2, 1923.....	70,707,000.00	26.98	52.25	36.37
Sept. 3 to Sept. 9, 1923.....	91,913,000.00	7.28	39.78	14.97
Sept. 10 to Sept. 16, 1923.....	168,700,000.00	7.38	13.97	8.95
Sept. 17 to Sept. 23, 1923.....	.....	28.08	28.08	28.08
Sept. 24 to Oct. 14, 1923.....	.....	38.46	38.46	38.46
Oct. 15 to Dec. 18, 1923.....	.....	24.92	24.92	24.92
Dec. 19, 1923, to June 30, 1924.....	.....	20.60	20.60	20.60
July 1 to Sept. 30, 1924.....	.....	16.50	16.50	16.50
Oct. 1 to Dec. 31, 1924.....	.....	15.00	15.00	15.00

Table 17 shows the average price of lignite briquets in Greater Berlin each month from January, 1920, to December, 1924. The average price in 1913-14 was 1.15 marks per 110 pounds.

TABLE 17.—AVERAGE PRICE OF 110 POUNDS OF LIGNITE BRIQUETS IN GREATER BERLIN, JANUARY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924, BY MONTHS

Month	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
	Marks	Marks	Marks	Marks	Rentenmarks
January.....	7.90	15.20	27.80	2,267	1.76
February.....	8.70	16.10	32.40	5,807	1.09
March.....	13.50	16.25	40.80	7,225	1.65
April.....	15.80	16.90	51.10	6,446	1.65
May.....	16.10	17.60	60.25	6,918	1.65
June.....	16.10	17.60	64.90	15,087	1.58
July.....	16.10	17.60	82.30	49,329	1.53
August.....	14.90	17.60	106.10	1,169,955	1.49
September.....	14.90	18.35	245.80	1,314	1.47
October.....	14.90	19.05	340.50	1,7354.2	1.45
November.....	15.20	21.55	728.15	1,030.8	1.53
December.....	15.20	27.35	1,496.25	1.88	1.53

¹ Millions.² Billions.³ Rentenmarks.

Table 18 shows the average price of gas in Greater Berlin each month from January, 1920, to December, 1924. The average price in 1913-14 was 0.12 mark per cubic meter.

TABLE 18.—AVERAGE PRICE OF 1 CUBIC METER¹ OF GAS IN GREATER BERLIN, JANUARY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924, BY MONTHS

Month	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Renten-</i> <i>marks</i>
January.....	0.75	1.10	2.50	200	0.21
February.....	.75	1.10	3.20	310	.21
March.....	1	1.10	3.50	700	.21
April.....	1	1.10	3.80	650	.20
May.....	1	1.25	4.30	650	.19
June.....	1	1.25	5.20	1,200	.19
July.....	1	1.25	5.20	6,000	.19
August.....	1	1.25	8	100,968	.19
September.....	1.10	1.35	22.30	3	.19
October.....	1.10	1.35	31.65	3 414	.19
November.....	1.10	1.60	58.50	3 103.3	.19
December.....	1.10	2.30	98	4.21	.19

¹ 1 cubic meter=35.314 cubic feet.

² Millions.

³ Billions.

⁴ Rentenmark.

Table 19 shows index numbers of the cost of fuel and light in Germany for each month from January, 1922, to December, 1924. These index numbers were computed from reports of cities to the Federal Statistical Office on the prices of fuel and light of the kind most commonly used by its inhabitants; viz, as to fuel, the price either of 3 centners ³ of coal, of 5 centners of lignite, of 4 centners of lignite briquets, of 3 centners of gas coke, of 6 centners of peat, of 6 centners of firewood, or of 40 cubic meters ⁴ of cooking gas, and as to light, the price either of 15 cubic meters of illuminating gas or of 5 kilowatt hours of electricity.

TABLE 19.—INDEX NUMBERS OF COST OF FUEL AND LIGHT IN GERMANY, JANUARY, 1922, TO DECEMBER, 1924, BY MONTHS

[1913-14=1]

Month	1922	1923	1 1924	On basis of dollar exchange rate of marks		
				1922	1923	1924
January.....	20.94	1612	1.63	0.46	0.38	1.63
February.....	23.85	4071	1.55	.48	.61	1.55
March.....	29.65	5529	1.51	.44	1.09	1.51
April.....	34.97	5514	1.48	.50	.95	1.48
May.....	44.11	5785	1.47	.64	.51	1.47
June.....	48.22	10378	1.46	.64	.40	1.46
July.....	59.39	36904	1.43	.51	.44	1.43
August.....	77.16	890539	1.41	.29	.81	1.41
September.....	161.12	3 23.34	1.40	.46	.99	1.40
October.....	251.72	3 5715	1.36	.33	.95	1.36
November.....	508.30	3 834	1.35	.30	1.60	1.35
December.....	1038.91	4 1.765	1.35	.57	1.77	1.35

¹ Based on rentenmarks in this year.

² Millions.

³ Billions.

⁴ Based on rentenmarks.

The German fuel and light cost index, calculated on the basis of the dollar exchange rate, was generally below 1 until October, 1923. After the mark was stabilized in November, 1923, this index rose to 2 on December 3; it then fell again but still stands at 1.35.

³ 1 centner=110.23 pounds.

⁴ 1 cubic meter=35.314 cubic feet.

CLOTHING

Since Germany produces only a small proportion of the raw materials (wool, cotton, hides) needed for the manufacture of clothing, the blockade during the war and the monetary depreciation after the war affected the supply of clothes and shoes perhaps more than that of any other necessity of life. Moreover, the necessity of spending the greatest part of their wages on food and fuel made it impossible for most workingmen to get adequate clothing for themselves and especially for their families. The clothing-cost index is, therefore, less than any other index a gauge to measure what workingmen actually spent; it merely shows what workingmen would have spent if they had satisfied their needs.

Table 20 shows index numbers of the cost of clothing for each month from January, 1922, to December, 1924, based on reports of cities to the Federal Statistical Office on the price of 1 man's suit, 1 boy's suit, 1 girl's dress, 2 ladies' skirts, 2 waists, 6 men's shirts, 6 ladies' shirts, 6 pairs of men's socks, 6 pairs of ladies' stockings, 1 pair of men's shoes, 1 pair of ladies' shoes, 2 pairs of children's shoes, and 8 pairs of soles and heels for men's shoes.

TABLE 20.—INDEX NUMBERS OF COST OF CLOTHING IN GERMANY, JANUARY, 1922 TO DECEMBER, 1924, BY MONTHS

[1913-14=1]

Month	1922	1923	1924	On basis of dollar exchange rate of marks		
				1922	1923	1924
January.....	30.75	16.82	1.51	0.67	0.39	1.51
February.....	37.21	41.64	1.47	.75	.63	1.47
March.....	44.47	43.23	1.49	.66	.86	1.49
April.....	48.29	41.82	1.54	.70	.72	1.54
May.....	56.88	57.24	1.58	.82	.50	1.58
June.....	65.19	119.95	1.55	.86	.46	1.55
July.....	80.16	664.88	1.45	.68	.79	1.45
August.....	125.71	10895.71	1.42	.47	.99	1.42
September.....	260.00	² 26.5	1.44	.74	1.13	1.44
October.....	386.64	² 6160.00	1.46	.51	1.02	1.46
November.....	741.62	² 816.00	1.48	.43	1.56	1.48
December.....	1161.13	¹ 1.66	1.49	.64	1.66	1.49

¹ Based on rentenmarks in this year.

² Millions.

³ Billions.

⁴ Based on rentenmarks.

The Federal Statistical Office has not published a clothing-cost index for 1920 and 1921, but gives an index for the cost of food, housing, fuel, and light, and one for the cost of food, housing, fuel, light, and clothing. The first index is computed by adding the prices of the food comprised in the food-cost index (see p. 9), the monthly rent of two rooms and kitchen, 3 centners of coal or the corresponding quantity of other fuel, and 15 cubic meters of illuminating gas or 5 kilowatt hours of electricity. The second index includes also one-thirteenth of the total price of the clothing comprised in the clothing-cost index (see above). Table 21 shows both indexes for each month from February, 1920, to December, 1924. In each month the second index was higher than the first. This proves that the price of clothing was always comparatively higher than the price of the other necessities of life taken together.

TABLE 21.—INDEX NUMBERS OF COST OF LIVING IN GERMANY, FEBRUARY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924, BY MONTHS

[1913-14=1]

Index numbers			Index numbers		
Month	Food, housing, fuel, and light	Food, housing, fuel, light, and clothing	Month	Food, housing, fuel, and light	Food, housing, fuel, light, and clothing
1920			1922		
February.....	7.00	8.47	August.....	70.29	77.65
March.....	8.17	9.56	September.....	113.76	133.19
April.....	9.16	10.42	October.....	195.04	220.66
May.....	9.75	11.02	November.....	400.47	446.10
June.....	9.53	10.83	December.....	611.56	685.06
July.....	9.35	10.65	1923		
August.....	8.87	10.23	January.....	1034	1120
September.....	8.81	10.15	February.....	2408	2643
October.....	9.45	10.71	March.....	2627	2854
November.....	9.99	11.13	April.....	2764	2954
December.....	10.47	11.58	May.....	3521	3816
1921			June.....	6979	7650
January.....	10.70	11.79	July.....	33300	37651
February.....	10.33	11.47	August.....	508631	586045
March.....	10.28	11.38	September.....	1 13.2	1 15.01
April.....	10.22	11.27	October.....	1 3265	1 3657
May.....	10.14	11.20	November.....	2 633	2 657
June.....	10.48	11.67	December.....	3 1.18	3 1.25
July.....	11.24	12.50	1924		
August.....	11.92	13.33	January.....	1.04	1.10
September.....	12.12	13.74	February.....	.98	1.04
October.....	13.08	15.04	March.....	1.00	1.07
November.....	15.94	17.75	April.....	1.06	1.12
December.....	17.46	19.28	May.....	1.08	1.15
1922			June.....	1.05	1.12
January.....	18.25	20.41	July.....	1.12	1.16
February.....	22.09	24.49	August.....	1.09	1.14
March.....	26.39	28.97	September.....	1.12	1.16
April.....	31.75	34.36	October.....	1.13	1.22
May.....	34.62	38.03	November.....	1.19	1.23
June.....	37.79	41.47	December.....	1.19	1.23
July.....	49.90	53.92			

1 Millions.

2 Billions.

3 Based on rentenmarks.

4 Based on rentenmarks in this year.

Table 22 shows the second cost-of-living index for each month from February, 1920, to December, 1924, computed on the basis of the dollar exchange rate of marks.

TABLE 22.—INDEX NUMBERS OF COST OF LIVING IN GERMANY, FEBRUARY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924, ON BASIS OF DOLLAR EXCHANGE RATE OF MARKS, BY MONTHS

[1913-14=1]

Month	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
January.....		0.76	0.45	0.26	1.10
February.....	0.36	.79	.49	.40	1.04
March.....	.48	.76	.43	.55	1.07
April.....	.73	.74	.50	.51	1.12
May.....	1.00	.75	.55	.34	1.15
June.....	1.16	.71	.55	.29	1.12
July.....	1.13	.68	.46	.45	1.16
August.....	.90	.66	.29	.53	1.14
September.....	.74	.55	.38	.64	1.16
October.....	.66	.42	.29	.61	1.22
November.....	.61	.28	.26	1.26	1.23
December.....	.66	.42	.38	1.25	1.23

TRANSPORTATION

The question of transportation of the German worker from his dwelling to the place where he is employed is in many respects different now from what it used to be before the war. In practically all cities street-car operation has been considerably reduced. There are even large towns in which no street cars are now running. This is true, for instance, of Wurzburg, a Bavarian town of about 90,000 inhabitants, in which the operation of street cars has been stopped since April, 1920. Moreover, the street-car fares are so high that, with the exception of a few large cities, the use of the street car has become a luxury which workmen generally can not afford.

Table 23 shows the price of a single street-car ride in Berlin, January 1, 1901, to December 31, 1924:

TABLE 23.—PRICE OF A SINGLE STREET-CAR FARE IN BERLIN, JANUARY 1, 1901, TO DECEMBER 31, 1924

Period beginning—	Fare	Period beginning—	Fare
	Marks		Marks
Jan. 1 1901	0.10	Mar. 1 1923	250
		Apr. 1	300
May 1 1918	.15	May 25	400
		June 11	600
Jan. 21 1919	.20	June 25	1,000
Sept. 1	.20	July 2	1,500
		July 16	3,000
Jan. 1 1920	.30	July 25	6,000
Apr. 1	.50	Aug. 1	10,000
May 21	.70	Aug. 10	20,000
Dec. 1	.80	Aug. 13	50,000
		Aug. 20	100,000
Mar. 3 1921	1	Sept. 1	150,000
Dec. 1	1.50	Sept. 10	350,000
		Sept. 14	600,000
Feb. 4 1922	2	Sept. 18	2,000,000
Apr. 13	3	Sept. 22	3,000,000
June 22	4	Sept. 28	4,500,000
July 28	5	Oct. 10	10,000,000
Aug. 28	8	Oct. 13	20,000,000
Sept. 23	10	Oct. 17	50,000,000
Oct. 17	20	Oct. 20	100,000,000
Nov. 10	30	Oct. 23	200,000,000
Dec. 1	50	Oct. 25	800,000,000
		Oct. 27	1,500,000,000
Jan. 2 1923	70	Nov. 1	2,000,000,000
Jan. 17	100	Nov. 3	4,000,000,000
Jan. 30	150	Nov. 5	10,000,000,000
Feb. 12	200	Nov. 8	15,000,000,000
		Nov. 12	20,000,000,000
		Nov. 14	30,000,000,000
		Nov. 16	50,000,000,000
		Nov. 17	70,000,000,000
		Nov. 20	90,000,000,000
		Nov. 22	1.15

¹ Rentenmark.

The fare is now 50 per cent higher than before the war. Moreover, on September 10, 1923, commutation tickets, which were 10 times as high as the price for a single fare but entitled the owner to 12 rides during a week, were abolished. As a consequence, street-car riding for workmen from their dwellings to their places of employment costs them now 80 per cent more than before the war (1.8 marks a week instead of 1 mark), and they do their utmost to avoid street-car riding.

On the other hand, many employees who, because of lack of employment in their places of residence, work at some other place, but on account of the housing shortage have not been able to secure

dwelling in that place, travel each day long distances to and from their places of employment. Thus, while street-car travel of workmen has considerably decreased, railway travel has materially increased.

In general, ordinary trains in Germany carry second, third, and fourth class cars and express trains first, second, and third class cars. Workmen use the fourth class in ordinary trains and the third class in express trains. Table 24 shows the price for 1 kilometer⁵ in the fourth class of ordinary trains and in the third class of express trains, both in paper and in gold (on the basis of the exchange rate of the mark in Amsterdam up to the end of 1919 and of the dollar exchange rate of marks in Berlin from and after the beginning of 1920). The supplementary fare charged on express trains being the same for all distances traveled beyond 150 kilometers, it was necessary, in order to compute the price of 1 kilometer, to choose a definite distance, and therefore a trip of 300 kilometers was taken as the basis of the calculation.

TABLE 24.—RAILWAY FARE PER KILOMETER ON ORDINARY TRAINS, FOURTH CLASS, AND EXPRESS TRAINS, THIRD CLASS, IN GERMANY, MAY 1, 1907, TO DECEMBER 31, 1924.

Period beginning—	Ordinary trains, fourth class	Express trains, third class	Period beginning—	Ordinary trains, fourth class	Express trains, third class
	Paper currency			Gold	
1907	<i>Pfennigs</i>	<i>Pfennigs</i>	1907	<i>Pfennigs</i>	<i>Pfennigs</i>
May 1.....	2	3.4	May 1.....	2	3.4
1918			1914		
Apr. 1.....	2.4	6.2	Aug. 1.....	1-1.9	1.8-3.3
1919			1918		
Apr. 1.....	3	5.81	Apr. 1.....	.9 -1.7	2.3-4.4
Oct. 1.....	4.5	8.72	1919		
1920			Apr. 1.....	.4 -1.2	.9 -2.3
Mar. 1.....	9	17.43	Oct. 1.....	.2 - .8	.4 -1.6
1921			1920		
June 1.....	13	23.5	Mar. 1.....	.4 -1.1	.7 -2.2
Dec. 1.....	16.9	30.35	1921		
1922			June 1.....	.2 - .9	.3 -1.6
Feb. 1.....	29.58	52.04	Dec. 1.....	.3 - .4	.5 - .8
Oct. 1.....	45	82.5	1922		
Nov. 1.....	90	165	Feb. 1.....	.06- .6	.11-1.1
Dec. 1.....	180	330	Oct. 1.....	.04- .10	.08- .2
1923	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Marks</i>	Nov. 1.....	.04- .08	.08- .2
Jan. 1.....	4	7	Dec. 1.....	.09- .12	.16- .2
Feb. 1.....	8	14	1923		
Mar. 1.....	16	28	Jan. 1.....	.03- .2	.06- .4
June 1.....	33	60	Feb. 1.....	.08- .2	.14- .3
July 1.....	100	180	Mar. 1.....	.10- .3	.17- .6
Aug. 1.....	330	600	June 1.....	.09- .2	.16- .4
Aug. 20.....	3,300	6,000	July 1.....	.04- .3	.07- .5
Sept. 1.....	13,200	22,800	Aug. 1.....	.03- .13	.05- .2
Sept. 11.....	33,000	57,000	Aug. 20.....	.13- .3	.2 - .6
Sept. 18.....	198,000	342,000	Sept. 1.....	.10- .6	.13-1.0
Sept. 25.....	440,000	760,000	Sept. 11.....	.10- .2	.13- .4
Oct. 2.....	660,000	1,140,000	Sept. 18.....	.5 - .8	.8-1.3
Oct. 10.....	1,320,000	2,280,000	Sept. 25.....	.8-1.5	1.3-2.6
Oct. 13.....	2,640,000	4,560,000	Oct. 2.....	.2 - .9	.4 -1.5
Oct. 18.....	13,200,000	22,800,000	Oct. 10.....	.11- .19	.19- .3
Oct. 25.....	33,000,000	57,000,000	Oct. 13.....	.2 - .3	.3 - .5
Oct. 29.....	132,000,000	228,000,000	Oct. 18.....	.09- .7	.15-1.2
			Oct. 25.....	.2	.4
			Oct. 29.....	.8 - .9	1.3-1.5
			Nov. 1.....	2.2	3.8
			1924		
			Mar. 1.....	3.0	5

⁵ Kilometer=.62137 mile.

Table 25 shows the average railway fare (in gold) for all classes of cars on both ordinary and express trains.

TABLE 25.—AVERAGE RAILWAY FARE PER KILOMETER ON ORDINARY TRAINS AND EXPRESS TRAINS, ALL CLASSES, MAY 1, 1907, TO DECEMBER 31, 1924, IN GOLD PFENNIGS

Period beginning—	Ordinary trains			Express trains		
	Second class	Third class	Fourth class	First class	Second class	Third class
May 1.-----1907	4.77	3.07	2.0	8.47	5.43	3.4
Aug. 1.-----1914	3.56	2.29	1.50	6.33	4.06	2.54
Apr. 1.-----1918	3.13	2.03	1.32	8.62	5.49	3.41
Apr. 1.-----1919	2.21	1.33	.83	5.55	2.77	1.61
Oct. 1.-----	.92	.56	.35	2.32	1.16	.67
Mar. 1.-----1920	1.66	1.00	.62	4.17	2.08	1.21
June 1.-----1921	1.09	.66	.44	2.24	1.36	.79
Dec. 1.-----	.92	.55	.37	1.88	1.14	.66
Feb. 1.-----1922	.55	.33	.22	1.11	.67	.39
Oct. 1.-----	.15	.09	.06	.51	.19	.11
Nov. 1.-----	.13	.08	.05	.29	.17	.10
Dec. 1.-----	.25	.15	.10	.55	.32	.18
Jan. 1.-----1923	.28	.14	.09	.65	.33	.16
Feb. 1.-----	.36	.18	.12	.84	.42	.21
Mar. 1.-----	.65	.32	.22	1.51	.76	.38
June 1.-----	.38	.19	.13	.92	.46	.23
July 1.-----	.48	.18	.12	1.14	.57	.21
Aug. 1.-----	.22	.07	.05	.53	.27	.08
Aug. 20.-----	1.03	.32	.21	2.43	1.23	.38
Sept. 1.-----	.83	.28	.19	1.92	.96	.32
Sept. 11.-----	.65	.22	.15	1.50	.75	.25
Sept. 18.-----	2.43	.81	.54	5.59	2.79	.93
Sept. 25.-----	5.25	1.75	1.17	12.09	6.05	2.02
Oct. 2.-----	1.89	.63	.42	4.36	2.18	.73
Oct. 10.-----	.62	.21	.14	1.43	.72	.24
Oct. 13.-----	1.12	.37	.25	2.58	1.29	.43
Oct. 18.-----	.70	.23	.15	1.60	.80	.27
Oct. 25.-----	.97	.32	.21	2.21	1.10	.37
Oct. 29.-----	3.69	1.23	.82	8.51	4.25	1.42
Nov. 1.-----	9.9	3.3	2.2	22.8	11.4	3.8
Dec. 1.-----	6.6	3.3	2.2	15.2	7.6	3.8
Mar. 1.-----1924	6.6	4.5	3.0	11.1	7.6	5.0

The passenger rates established on May 1, 1907, remained unchanged until the end of March, 1918. It was only when the transport tax went into effect on April 1, 1918, that the passenger rates (in paper marks) were raised. A second change of rates took place on April 1, 1919, and other changes followed on October 1, 1919, March 1, 1920, June 1, and December 1, 1921, February 1 and October 1, 1922, each month November 1, 1922, to March 1, 1923, June 1, July 1, August 1 and 20, September 1, 11, 18, and 25, October 2, 10, 13, 18, 25, and 29, November 1, and December 1, 1923, and March 1, 1924.

Between November, 1918, and November, 1923, the rates, calculated in gold, for the third and fourth classes were lower than before the war, while the rates for the second class were higher only in the last week of September, 1923, and for the first class only in the last week of September, 1923, and on October 2, 29, and 30, 1923. From and after November 1, 1923—the date when gold prices were introduced—rates in all classes were higher than before the war.

In former times third-class tickets on ordinary trains were about 50 per cent higher than fourth-class tickets and second-class tickets about 50 per cent higher than third-class tickets; the ratio was about the same between first, second, and third class tickets on express trains. The differentiation between the classes was considerably intensified after the war and especially during 1923. In the fall of 1923 third-class tickets in ordinary trains still cost 50 per cent more than fourth-class tickets, but second-class tickets cost three times as much as third-class tickets; in express trains second-class tickets cost three times as much as third-class tickets and first-class tickets twice as much as second-class tickets. While in November, 1923, third and fourth class rates were 10 per cent higher than before the war, second-class rates were more than twice as high and first-class rates almost three times as high. But on December 1 first and second class rates were reduced by one-third, and on March 1 first-class rates were again reduced by more than one-fourth, while on March 1 third and fourth class rates were raised by about one-third. As a consequence thereof, the ratio between the third and fourth classes is still about the same as before the war, while that between the second and third and especially the first and second classes is lower. Third and fourth class rates at present are about 50 per cent higher than before the war, second-class rates about 40 per cent higher, and first-class rates about 30 per cent higher. The recent passenger-rate policy of the railway constitutes, then, a discrimination against the working class.

TAXES

Until 1920 direct taxes, in general, were levied only by the States and the municipalities, but not by the Federal Government. Income tax rates were very low for small incomes and the large majority of workers was exempt from the income tax. After the war, when it became apparent that the obligations of the Federal Government could not be met by indirect taxation alone, a complete change took place. The National Assembly which was elected early in 1919 for the purpose of drafting a constitution for the Republic conferred on the Federal Government unrestricted control over all forms of taxation and enacted among other fiscal laws the States tax law (*Landessteuergesetz*) of March 30, 1920, which forbade the States and municipalities to levy taxes similar to those levied by the Federal Government. As a Federal income tax law had been enacted on March 29, 1920, the States and municipalities were thus prevented from imposing income taxes.

Under the new law the following exemptions were allowed: 1,500 marks for the taxpayer; 500 marks for each person belonging to the household of the taxpayer (wife and minor children), this exemption being raised to 700 marks for the second and each additional person under 16 years of age, unless the net income of the taxpayer exceeded 10,000 marks.

In computing net income, deductions were allowed for expenses incurred in acquiring and maintaining the income (*Werbungskosten*).

The total exemption for a married taxpayer with two children who had an income of 9,000 marks and who spent 500 marks in acquiring this income thus amounted to $1,500 + 500 + 700 + 700 + 500 = 3,900$ marks, and his taxable net income was 5,100 marks.

The tax rate was 10 per cent of the amount of the net taxable income up to 1,000 marks; 11 per cent of the amount over 1,000 marks and not exceeding 2,000 marks; 12 per cent of the amount over 2,000 marks and not exceeding 3,000 marks; the rate rising progressively to 60 per cent of the amount of the net taxable income exceeding 500,000 marks.

The above taxpayer with a total income of 9,000 marks and a net taxable income of 5,100 marks had, then, to pay an income tax of $100 + 110 + 120 + 130 + 140 + 15 = 615$ marks, or 6.83 per cent of his total income.

The income tax was, in general, assessed at the beginning of each year on the income of the preceding year. An important exception, however, was made as to salaries and wages, which were taxed at the source. The employer was required to deduct 10 per cent from all payments of salaries and wages, buying tax stamps equal in value to the amount deducted and pasting such stamps on the tax card of the employee. The assessment of the employee by the fiscal authorities took place later on. In case the value of the stamps on the employee's tax card exceeded the tax finally assessed according to the normal income tax rates, the tax office refunded him the surplus.

If the taxpayer noted above with a total wage income of 9,000 marks had had 900 marks deducted from his wages on pay days for the income tax, he should, as he had to pay only 615 marks, have gotten back 285 marks after his final assessment. But if the currency had depreciated in the meantime (and this was often the case) the 285 marks which were returned to him would not be worth as much at the time of the return as at the time they were deducted from his wages.

The provision as to the deduction of the income tax from salaries and wages went into effect on June 25, 1920. It meant a great hardship for the workers as compared with other taxpayers and involved greater disadvantages for those with the smaller incomes than for the higher-salaried employees. A new law, intended to remedy these abuses, was therefore enacted July 21, 1920, and went into effect August 1. It introduced the allowance of the following exemptions in computing the amount to be deducted from salaries and wages: (a) Five marks per day in case of daily wages; (b) 30 marks per week in case of weekly wages; (c) 125 marks per month in case of monthly wages.

This exemption was raised 1.5 marks in the case of daily wages, 10 marks in the case of weekly wages, and 40 marks in the case of monthly wages, for each person belonging to the household of the employee.

On the other hand, the deduction was to be increased beyond 10 per cent in case the taxable wages (total wages minus the exemptions just mentioned) exceeded 15,000 marks per year. The amount to be deducted on pay days was: Fifteen per cent of the amount of the taxable wages over 15,000 marks and not exceeding 30,000 marks; 20 per cent of the amount over 30,000 marks and not exceeding 50,000 marks; the rate rising progressively to 55 per cent of the amount over 1,000,000 marks.

This progression was to insure greater returns to the treasury from the higher employees before their final assessments, while the exemptions mentioned were to relieve the situation of the workingmen. A

great drawback of the new law was that it involved considerable work for the employer. While under the former law a simple deduction of 10 per cent was made from each and every salary, under the new law the deduction had to be computed for each employee individually. For the workers, however, the new law provided great relief.

The total yearly exemption for a married employee with two children amounted to $1,500 + 480 + 480 + 480 = 2,940$ marks. The taxpayer with an income of 9,000 marks had his yearly income reduced by deductions on pay days amounting to 10 per cent of 6,060 marks, or 606 marks. As his final assessment amounted to 615 marks, he had to pay an additional 9 marks after his final assessment, while under the original law he advanced to the treasury 285 marks which he got back after his final assessment, possibly in much depreciated money.

The law of July 21, 1920, also introduced differential deductions for married and for single employees and allowed special exemptions for children. But the exemptions for wife and children were so small that the married employees and especially those with children practically had to pay on pay days the whole tax or had even to "advance" something to the treasury, while the single employees might pay part of their tax after the final assessment in depreciated money. A single worker who earned 9,000 marks paid 750 marks through deductions of the tax from his wages on pay days while (if he spent 500 marks in acquiring his income) he was finally assessed $100 + 110 + 120 + 130 + 140 + 150 + 160 = 910$ marks. This defect of the law of July 21, 1920, was remedied by the law of March 24, 1921, which went into effect April 1, 1921. Under the latter law the following exemptions were allowed in computing the amount to be deducted from salaries and wages: (a) Four marks for the taxpayer, 4 marks for his wife, and 6 marks for each minor child, in case of wages paid daily; (b) 24 marks for the taxpayer, 24 marks for his wife, and 36 marks for each minor child, in case of wages paid weekly; (c) 100 marks for the taxpayer, 100 marks for his wife, and 150 marks for each minor child, in case of wages paid monthly.

The exemption for the taxpayer was thus reduced by 20 per cent, while that for his wife and especially those for his children were considerably raised. At the same time the progression introduced by the law of July 21, 1920, was abolished, the rate of deduction being again uniformly 10 per cent.

The rates of the general income tax (which were still to be applied in the final assessment of the employees) were: Ten per cent of the amount of the net taxable income up to 24,000 marks; 20 per cent of the amount over 24,000 marks and not exceeding 30,000 marks; the rate rising progressively to 60 per cent of the amount over 400,000 marks.

The exemptions from the general income tax, which theretofore had been the same for all incomes, were now restricted to small incomes. The tax was to be reduced (a) in case the taxable income did not exceed 24,000 marks, by 120 marks for the taxpayer, by 180 marks for each minor child, and by 120 marks for each other person belonging to the household of the taxpayer; (b) in case the taxable income was over 24,000 marks but did not exceed 60,000 marks, by 120 marks for the taxpayer and each person belonging to his household; (c) in case the taxable income was over 60,000 marks but did not exceed 100,000 marks, by 60 marks for the taxpayer and each person belonging to his household.

A married taxpayer with two children, who had an income of 9,000 marks and who had spent 500 marks in acquiring this income, had thus to pay $850 - 120 - 120 - 180 - 180 = 250$ marks. The total yearly exemption for a married employee with two children amounted to $1,200 + 1,200 + 1,800 + 1,800 = 6,000$ marks. The taxpayer with an income of 9,000 marks had his yearly income reduced by deductions on pay days by 10 per cent of 3,000 marks, or 300 marks. As he was finally assessed 250 marks, he got back 50 marks.

The fact that the income tax from salaries and wages had to be assessed twice—provisionally by the employer and finally by the fiscal authorities—became in the long run so cumbersome that a simplification was necessary. A new law was therefore enacted on July 11, 1921, which provided that in case the taxable yearly income did not exceed 24,000 marks and was exclusively a wage income or did not include another income of over 600 marks, the tax should be definitely settled through deductions from the wages by the employer. The exemptions were to be deducted from the amount of the tax and not from the amount of the taxable income, but since the exemptions were reduced to one-tenth of what they had theretofore been, this meant only a formal change. It became, however, necessary to introduce an exemption for expenses in acquiring the income, since these expenses had theretofore been taken into account only at the final assessment. This exemption was to be the same as for each minor child, viz., in case of daily wages, 0.6 mark per day; in case of weekly wages, 3.6 marks per week; and in case of monthly wages 15 marks per month. While the other provisions of the law went into effect on January 1, 1922, the provisions referring to the exemption for "acquiring expenses" were retroactive to April 1, 1921.

The income tax of a married employee with two children, who had a yearly income of 9,000 marks, was thus $900 - 120 - 120 - 180 - 180 - 180 = 120$ marks.

The law of July 11, 1921, remained practically in force until the beginning of 1924. The only changes which took place during that time referred to the amount of the exemptions, the limit below which no final assessment was to be made, and the groups of income to which the general tax rates applied. These changes occurred the more frequently as the depreciation of the money became greater. The most important provisions of the various laws, so far as they refer to the wage tax, can best be seen from Table 26.

TABLE 26.—EXEMPTIONS UNDER WAGE-TAX LAWS ENACTED FROM AND AFTER DECEMBER 20, 1921

Date of enactment of law	Date law went into force	Exemption for—					
		Taxpayer and wife, each		Child		Expenses in acquiring income	
		Weekly	Monthly	Weekly	Monthly	Weekly	Monthly
		Marks	Marks	Marks	Marks	Marks	Marks
Dec. 20, 1921	Jan. 1, 1922	4.80	20	7.20	30	10.80	45
July 20, 1922	Aug. 1, 1922	9.60	40	19.20	80	21.60	90
Dec. 23, 1922	Jan. 1, 1923	48	200	240	1,000	240	1,000
Feb. 15, 1923	Mar. 1, 1923	192	800	960	4,000	960	4,000
May 12, 1923	June 1, 1923	288	1,200	1,920	8,000	2,400	10,000
June 21, 1923	July 1, 1923	1,440	6,000	9,600	40,000	12,000	50,000
July 24, 1923	Aug. 1, 1923	5,760	24,000	38,400	160,000	48,000	200,000
Aug. 23, 1923	Sept. 1, 1923	86,400	360,000	576,000	2,400,000	720,000	3,000,000
Sept. 13, 1923	Sept. 16, 1923	172,800	720,000	1,152,000	4,800,000	1,440,000	6,000,000

¹ According to the law of February 15, 1923, no deduction was to be made from the wages for the last six working days of February, 1923.

The table reads like this: According to the law enacted December 20, 1921, which went into force on January 1, 1922, a married employee with two children, who earned 500 marks per week, had his wages reduced on pay days through the wage tax (10 per cent) by $50 - 4.80 - 4.80 - 7.20 - 7.20 - 10.80 = 15.20$ marks.

The necessity of rapid changes to adapt the exemptions to the depreciation of the currency induced the Government and the Reichstag to insert a clause in the law of December 23, 1922, authorizing the Minister of Finance, with the consent of the Federal Council (*Reichsrat*) and a committee of the Reichstag, to change the exemptions without consulting the Reichstag itself. But finally it was impossible to follow even this informal method and it became necessary to find some way of automatically adapting the exemptions to the depreciation of the currency. The act of September 17, 1923, therefore provided that the exemptions should change each week in proportion to the change in the index of the cost of living as determined by the Federal Statistical Office the preceding week. This law was modified by the laws of October 17 and 24, which, however, kept the principle of changing the exemptions in the same ratio as the index of the cost of living changed. It is not necessary to state the details of these laws; it will suffice to state that the exemptions fixed by the law of September 17, 1923, which were in force from September 16 to September 30, 1923, were to be multiplied for the week October 1 to 6, by 6; October 7 to 13, by 8; October 14 to 20, by 32; October 21 to 27, by 210; October 28 to November 3, by 6,000; November 4 to 10, by 20,000; November 11 to 17, by 300,000; November 18 to 24, by 300,000; November 25 to December 1, by 700,000; December 2 to 8, by 850,000; December 9 to 15, by 850,000; December 16 to 22, by 650,000; December 23 to 31, by 600,000.

In the last week of 1923, the following exemptions were allowed in computing the amount to be deducted from salaries and wages: 103,680,000,000 marks for both the taxpayer and his wife; 691,200,000,000 marks for each child, and 864,000,000,000 marks for "acquiring expenses." A married worker with two children, who earned 27,000,000,000,000 marks (27 gold marks) a week, therefore had his earnings reduced on pay day by $2,700,000,000,000 - 103,680,000,000 - 103,680,000,000 - 691,200,000,000 - 691,200,000,000 - 864,000,000,000 = 246,240,000,000$ marks (0.246 gold marks).

With the stabilization of the mark at the end of 1923, the method of computing the wage tax was put on an entirely new basis. The "second emergency tax act" (*Zweite Steuernotverordnung*) of December 19, 1923, provided that from and after January 1, 1924, the following exemptions were to be allowed in computing the amount to be deducted from salaries and wages: (a) For the taxpayer, in case of weekly wages, 12 gold marks; in case of monthly wages, 50 gold marks; (b) for each person belonging to the household of the taxpayer, 1 per cent of his taxable wages. No exemption was allowed for "acquiring expenses."

A single worker who earned 27 gold marks a week thus had these earnings reduced on pay days by 10 per cent of 15 marks or 1.50 marks. A married worker with two children, who earned the same wages, lost 7 per cent of 15 marks or 1.05 marks.

From and after December, 1924, the exemptions are as follows: (a) For the taxpayer, in case of weekly wages, 15 gold marks; in case of monthly wages, 60 gold marks; (b) for each person belonging to the household of the taxpayer 1 per cent of his taxable wages.

Table 27 shows for a married Berlin printer with two children, who earned the wages fixed by collective agreement, his weekly wages and deductions from wages for income tax from the introduction of the tax up to December, 1924:

TABLE 27.—WEEKLY WAGES AND DEDUCTIONS FROM WAGES FOR INCOME TAX OF MARRIED PRINTER WITH TWO CHILDREN, IN BERLIN, AT SPECIFIED TIMES, JULY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924

Period	Weekly wages	Deduction from wages for income tax	
		Amount	Per cent of wages
	Marks	Marks	
July, 1920.....	248.83	24.88	10
August to October, 1920.....	250.50	19.05	7.6
November, 1920, to January, 1921.....	270.50	21.05	7.8
February to March, 1921.....	285.50	22.55	7.9
April to July, 1921.....	285.50	12.95	4.5
August, 1921.....	295.88	13.99	4.7
September, 1921.....	321.26	16.53	5.1
October, 1921.....	393.88	23.79	6
November, 1921.....	418	26.20	6.3
December, 1921.....	533.56	37.76	7.1
January, 1922.....	553	20.50	3.7
February, 1922.....	613	26.50	4.3
March, 1922.....	642.63	29.46	4.6
April, 1922.....	773	42.50	5.5
May, 1922.....	933	58.50	6.3
June, 1922.....	1,093	74.50	6.8
July, 1922.....	1,393	104.50	7.5
August, 1922.....	1,638.19	84.62	5.2
September, 1922.....	2,622.23	183.02	7
October, 1922.....	4,345.31	355.33	8.2
November, 1922.....	7,337.24	654.52	8.9
December, 1922.....	12,773	1,198.10	9.4
January, 1923.....	20,769	1,260.90	6.1
February, 1923.....	43,125	2,622.40	6.1
March, 1923.....	69,606	3,696.60	5.3
April, 1923.....	72,141	3,950.10	5.5
May, 1923.....	86,350	5,371	6.2
June, 1923.....	199,690	13,153	6.6
July 1 to 15, 1923.....	441,000	10,020	2.3
July 16 to 31, 1923.....	925,714	58,491	6.3
August 1 to 15, 1923.....	6,534,615	517,141	7.9
August 16 to 31, 1923.....	39,784,143	3,842,094	9.7
September 1 to 15, 1923.....	1,100.2	7,975,200	8.0
September 16 to 30, 1923.....	1,675	63,410,400	9.4
October 1 to 6, 1923.....	11,500	125,462,400	8.4
October 7 to 13, 1923.....	14,500	417,283,200	9.3
October 14 to 20, 1923.....	130	12,869	9.6
October 21 to 27, 1923.....	1260	125,141	9.7
October 28 to November 3, 1923.....	1700	145,462	6.5
November 4 to 10, 1923.....	13,500	1268,208	7.7
November 11 to 17, 1923.....	18,333		
November 18 to 24, 1923.....	22,680	1,041,120	4.6
November 25 to December 15, 1923.....	27		
December 16 to 22, 1923.....	27	1.04	.2
December 23 to 31, 1923.....	27	1.25	.9
January and February, 1924.....	27	1.05	3.9
March, 1924.....	27.23	1.07	3.9
April, 1924.....	30	1.26	4.2
May, 1924.....	31.47	1.36	4.3
June to October, 1924.....	33.60	1.51	4.5
November, 1924.....	40	1.96	4.9
December, 1924.....	40	1.75	4.4

1 Million.

2 Billion.

3 Gold marks.

The final assessment of the same printer (if he had spent 500 marks a year for "acquiring expenses") would have amounted for July, 1920, to 1,260 marks a year or 9.7 per cent of his income; for August to October, 1920, to 1,279 marks a year, or 9.8 per cent; for November, 1920, to January, 1921, to 1,490 marks a year, or 10.6 per cent; for February to March, 1921, to 1,630 marks, or 10.9 per cent. For April to November, 1921, the final assessment was equal to the deduction from the wages (if in both cases the "acquiring expenses" are placed at the rates fixed by the law of July 11, 1921). For December, 1921, the final assessment would again have been greater than the provisional deduction, since the yearly income exceeded 24,000 marks—it would have been 2,120 marks a year, or 7.6 per cent. From and after January, 1922, the income tax of the printer was practically always settled by the deduction by the employer. For some months a final assessment, it is true, ought to have taken place, but such assessments were generally dispensed with in view of the depreciation of the currency.

The wage tax was thus pretty heavy most all the time. This did not in itself constitute an injustice, but it proved to be unjust because all other taxpayers were benefited by the depreciation of the money. In so far as the income tax was levied upon salaries and wages before they were paid to the employees, it followed the trend of salaries and wages; but in so far as it was levied on other sources than salaries and wages it was levied in proportion, not to the present income, but to the income of one or two years before. In such cases the taxpayer got the benefit of the depreciation of the mark. Take, for instance, the case of a bank clerk in Berlin earning (on the basis of his income early in 1923), say, \$20 a month or \$240 a year. The income tax deducted immediately from his salary and paid at once into the treasury totaled, say, \$20 a year. Suppose in 1921 his employer earned 50 times as much, and that he so reported to the fiscal authorities. His income, then, in 1921 was \$12,000, or 1,000,000 marks. His annual income tax amounted to 380,000 marks, and one-fourth of this amount, or 95,000 marks, was still to be paid in the first quarter of 1923. This 95,000 marks in the first quarter of 1923 was equal to \$4, as against \$5 which his clerk had to pay in this same first quarter of 1923 when he earned one-fiftieth of what his employer had earned. The law which made the employer pay 38 per cent of his income of \$12,000 and the employee 8 per cent of his income of \$240 was all right, but it worked in an entirely unexpected and unjust way when the mark lost value. The consequences for the treasury, of course, were disastrous. Under the assessments of 1921, not more than 18.6 per cent of the total income tax was expected from deductions from salaries and wages, and 81.4 per cent from all other sources. Instead of 81 per cent, the "other sources" yielded in September, 1922, 42 per cent; in October, 28 per cent; in November, 24 per cent; in December, 16 per cent; in January, 1923, 12 per cent; in February, 6.4 per cent; and in March, 5.1 per cent. The income tax on salaries and wages yielded all that could be expected—for instance, in the first quarter of 1923 almost \$17,000,000—but the income tax from other sources, which ought to have yielded more than \$70,000,000, brought only \$1,300,000.

Official returns for the wage tax and for the other income tax from and after February, 1923, published by the treasury, are as follows:

TABLE 28.—AMOUNT RECEIVED FROM THE WAGE AND OTHER INCOME TAXES, FEBRUARY, 1923, TO DECEMBER, 1924

Year and month	Wage tax	Other income tax	Per cent wage tax was of total income tax
1923			
February.....	<i>Marks</i> 97,218,980,405	<i>Marks</i> 6,606,951,488	94
March.....	179,079,338,667	9,543,700,771	95
April.....	219,199,048,073	58,674,820,498	79
May.....	257,185,168,995	223,799,648,278	54
June.....	421,683,817,594	89,977,682,316	82
July.....	1,186,384,283,923	99,984,320,640	92
August.....	14,619,097,064,946	11,850,114,400,475	55
September.....	244,231,813,384,000	28,483,787,132,000	90
October.....	¹ 16,924,404,670	¹ 3,215,587,524	86
November.....	¹ 5,422,660,521,266	¹ 509,136,146,919	92
December.....	¹ 37,351,769,340,959	¹ 3,129,263,688,019	92
1924			
January.....	<i>Rentenmarks</i> 74,716,895	<i>Rentenmarks</i> 90,079,724	45
February.....	63,869,282	66,491,363	49
March.....	71,230,524	88,471,746	45
April.....	79,494,327	70,639,738	53
May.....	87,889,821	73,482,462	54
June.....	96,081,429	54,995,273	64
July.....	108,468,694	83,344,878	57
August.....	107,049,658	66,808,828	62
September.....	113,465,799	55,481,060	67
October.....	114,873,053	97,849,698	54
November.....	119,751,490	74,467,146	62
December.....	126,319,607	59,316,204	68

¹ Million.

During the period shown in the table the wage earners contributed between 45 and 95 per cent of the income tax. As a result of the depreciation of the mark, the income tax was not really progressive—as one might conclude from the progressive tax rates—but degressive; the workers paid more in proportion to their income than the wealthy people. Since this anomaly was not compensated by any heavy tax on property, and since the workers had to bear their share of almost all the indirect taxes, it is safe to say that—in contrast to pre-war times—the German wage earners were more heavily taxed after the war than the propertied classes.

MINIMUM COST OF SUBSISTENCE

The cost-of-living index calculated by the Federal Statistical Office includes only food, rent, fuel, light, and clothing (see pp. 50 and 51). These expenses, according to an investigation made by that office in 1907–08, constituted at that time 73.4 per cent of the total expenses of an average worker's family. It would, therefore, have been necessary to add $\frac{26.6}{73.4}$ or 36.4 per cent to the total of the items mentioned in order to find the total cost of living. But some items not included in the cost-of-living index of the Federal Statistical Office are not such imperative needs as some that are, for example, food and housing. The minimum cost of subsistence for Greater

Berlin, has therefore been computed, by adding to the price of the minimum requirements of food, housing, fuel, light, and clothing 20 per cent and also the income tax deducted from wages.

Table 29 shows for Greater Berlin the minimum weekly cost of subsistence of a single man, a married couple, and a married couple with two children from 6 to 10 years of age for each month from January, 1920, to December, 1924.

The food requirements considered as absolutely necessary have been described before (see p. 11); the amount for rent refers to one room and kitchen; for fuel and light 110 pounds of briquets and 6 cubic meters of gas have been considered as the weekly minimum; the minimum weekly expense for clothing (including mending) for a man was considered as equivalent to the price of one-thirtieth of a man's suit plus one-thirtieth of a pair of men's shoes, while for a woman two-thirds of this price and for each child one-third of this price was considered as the minimum expense. In computing the income tax the wages were assumed to be equal to the minimum cost of subsistence.

TABLE 29.—MINIMUM WEEKLY COST OF SUBSISTENCE IN GREATER BERLIN, JANUARY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924, BY MONTHS

SINGLE MAN

Period	Food	Housing	Fuel and light	Clothing	Miscellaneous	Total
August, 1913, to July, 1914.....	Marks 3.5	Marks 5.5	Marks 1.9	Marks 2.5	Marks 2.4	Marks 16.8
1920						
January.....	41	8	12	30	23	114
February.....	47	8	13	35	26	129
March.....	59	8	20	45	33	165
April.....	70	9	22	48	37	186
May.....	68	9	22	42	36	177
June.....	51	9	22	36	29	147
July.....	51	9	22	33	39	154
August.....	48	9	21	30	36	144
September.....	48	9	22	30	36	145
October.....	56	9	22	30	39	156
November.....	54	9	22	30	38	163
December.....	56	9	22	30	39	166
1921						
January.....	53	9	22	30	38	152
February.....	50	9	23	30	37	149
March.....	47	9	23	27	35	141
April.....	46	9	23	27	32	137
May.....	47	9	25	27	32	140
June.....	55	9	25	27	36	152
July.....	58	10	25	27	36	156
August.....	62	10	25	30	38	165
September.....	65	10	26	30	40	171
October.....	70	10	27	36	44	187
November.....	91	10	31	55	57	244
December.....	103	10	41	55	62	271
1922						
January.....	104	11	43	55	53	266
February.....	121	11	52	60	61	305
March.....	138	11	62	85	80	376
April.....	166	14	74	90	96	440
May.....	177	14	86	100	106	483
June.....	189	14	96	150	130	579
July.....	283	14	114	222	196	829
August.....	467	16	154	435	321	1,393
September.....	742	16	380	633	548	2,319
October.....	1,242	32	530	988	894	3,686
November.....	2,647	72	1,079	2,207	1,982	7,987
December.....	3,533	193	2,084	3,583	3,100	12,493
1923						
January.....	5,799	300	3,467	5,025	4,377	18,968
February.....	14,653	300	7,667	9,633	9,354	41,607
March.....	13,988	660	11,425	6,475	8,788	41,336
April.....	13,807	660	10,346	6,717	8,512	40,042
May.....	20,251	1,010	10,818	16,017	13,948	62,044
June.....	43,697	1,045	22,287	31,667	28,622	127,318
July.....	162,866	2,400	85,329	111,750	101,457	463,802
August.....	2,848,204	9,800	1,775,761	2,050,000	2,138,805	8,822,570
September.....	¹ 73.9	360,000	¹ 49.2	¹ 47.4	¹ 55.5	¹ 226.4
October.....	¹ 21,126.7	¹ 24.6	¹ 9,838.4	¹ 19,116.7	¹ 15,031.9	¹ 65,138.3
November.....	² 4,198.7	² 38.3	² 1,650.9	² 1,150.0	² 2,009.5	² 10,047.4
December.....	³ 5.95	³ 1.10	³ 3.14	³ 2.60	³ 3.20	³ 15.99
1924	Rentenmarks	Rentenmarks	Rentenmarks	Rentenmarks	Rentenmarks	Rentenmarks
January.....	4.88	1.10	3.02	2.40	2.85	14.25
February.....	4.22	1.60	2.95	2.45	2.81	14.03
March.....	4.27	1.70	2.91	2.50	2.85	14.23
April.....	4.35	2.70	2.85	2.50	3.10	15.50
May.....	4.48	2.85	2.79	2.50	3.15	15.77
June.....	4.43	2.85	2.72	2.35	3.09	15.44
July.....	4.49	3.50	2.67	2.20	3.22	16.08
August.....	4.46	3.50	2.63	2.20	3.20	15.96
September.....	4.66	3.50	2.61	2.40	3.29	16.46
October.....	4.98	3.70	2.59	2.40	3.55	17.22
November.....	4.96	3.70	2.67	2.40	3.57	17.30
December.....	4.95	3.70	2.67	2.40	3.57	17.29

¹ Millions.² Billions.³ Rentenmarks.

TABLE 29.—MINIMUM WEEKLY COST OF SUBSISTENCE IN GREATER BERLIN, JANUARY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924, BY MONTHS—Continued

MARRIED COUPLE

Period	Food	Housing	Fuel and light	Clothing	Miscellaneous	Total
August, 1913, to July, 1914.....	Marks 6.3	Marks 5.5	Marks 1.9	Marks 4.2	Marks 4.5	Marks 22.3
1920						
January.....	64	8	12	50	33	167
February.....	73	8	13	53	38	190
March.....	90	8	20	75	48	241
April.....	112	9	22	80	56	279
May.....	112	9	22	70	54	267
June.....	83	9	22	60	43	217
July.....	86	9	22	55	58	230
August.....	82	9	21	50	54	216
September.....	81	9	22	50	54	216
October.....	93	9	22	50	58	232
November.....	90	9	22	50	57	228
December.....	96	9	22	50	59	236
1921						
January.....	92	9	22	50	58	231
February.....	87	9	23	50	56	225
March.....	83	9	23	45	53	213
April.....	79	9	23	45	48	204
May.....	82	9	25	45	48	209
June.....	98	9	25	45	54	231
July.....	102	10	25	45	55	237
August.....	108	10	25	50	58	251
September.....	113	10	26	50	61	260
October.....	123	10	27	60	66	286
November.....	158	10	31	92	87	378
December.....	177	10	41	92	97	417
1922						
January.....	181	11	43	92	81	408
February.....	212	11	52	100	93	468
March.....	241	11	62	142	123	579
April.....	290	14	74	150	148	676
May.....	308	14	86	167	161	736
June.....	328	14	96	250	199	887
July.....	493	14	114	370	307	1,298
August.....	799	16	154	725	509	2,203
September.....	1,261	16	380	1,055	840	3,552
October.....	2,106	32	530	1,647	1,381	5,696
November.....	4,450	72	1,079	3,678	3,062	12,341
December.....	5,962	193	2,084	5,972	4,690	18,901
1923						
January.....	9,730	300	3,467	8,375	6,562	28,434
February.....	24,459	300	7,667	16,056	14,060	62,542
March.....	23,668	660	11,425	10,792	12,567	59,112
April.....	23,487	660	10,346	11,194	12,336	58,023
May.....	34,327	1,010	10,818	26,694	21,127	93,976
June.....	73,795	1,045	22,287	52,778	43,472	193,377
July.....	282,133	2,400	85,329	186,250	155,711	711,823
August.....	4,806,409	9,800	1,775,761	3,416,667	3,202,764	13,211,401
September.....	123.8	360,000	149.2	179.1	182.0	1334.5
October.....	136,353.1	124.6	19,838.4	131,861.1	123,423.2	1104,500.4
November.....	7,069.4	38.3	1,650.9	3,583.3	3,085.5	15,427.4
December.....	10.13	1.10	3.14	4.30	4.67	23.34
1924	Renten- marks	Renten- marks	Renten- marks	Renten- marks	Renten- marks	Renten- marks
January.....	8.49	1.10	3.02	4.00	4.15	20.76
February.....	7.35	1.60	2.95	4.10	4.00	20.00
March.....	7.47	1.70	2.91	4.15	4.06	20.29
April.....	7.67	2.79	2.85	4.15	4.34	21.71
May.....	7.96	2.85	2.79	4.15	4.44	22.19
June.....	7.87	2.85	2.72	3.90	4.34	21.68
July.....	8.02	3.50	2.67	3.65	4.46	22.30
August.....	7.91	3.50	2.63	3.65	4.42	22.11
September.....	8.18	3.50	2.61	4.00	4.57	22.86
October.....	8.75	3.70	2.59	4.00	4.95	23.99
November.....	8.69	3.70	2.67	4.00	4.96	24.02
December.....	8.66	3.70	2.67	4.00	4.95	23.98

1 Millions.

2 Billions.

3 Rentenmarks.

TABLE 29.—MINIMUM WEEKLY COST OF SUBSISTENCE IN GREATER BERLIN, JANUARY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924, BY MONTHS—Concluded

MARRIED COUPLE WITH TWO CHILDREN

Period	Food	Housing	Fuel and light	Clothing	Miscellaneous	Total	
						Amount	Index numbers (1913-14=1)
August, 1913, to July, 1914.....	Marks 9.8	Marks 5.5	Marks 1.9	Marks 5.9	Marks 5.8	Marks 28.8	1
1920							
January.....	86	8	12	70	44	220	7.7
February.....	100	8	13	82	51	254	8.8
March.....	125	8	20	105	64	322	11.2
April.....	157	9	22	112	75	375	13.0
May.....	163	9	22	98	73	365	12.7
June.....	128	9	22	84	61	304	10.6
July.....	135	9	22	77	81	324	11.3
August.....	131	9	21	70	77	308	10.7
September.....	123	9	22	70	75	299	10.4
October.....	138	9	22	70	79	318	11.0
November.....	136	9	22	70	79	316	11.0
December.....	144	9	22	70	82	327	11.3
1921							
January.....	139	9	22	70	80	320	11.1
February.....	133	9	23	70	78	313	10.9
March.....	129	9	23	63	74	298	10.3
April.....	121	9	23	63	65	281	9.8
May.....	122	9	25	63	66	285	9.9
June.....	142	9	25	63	72	311	10.8
July.....	151	10	25	63	75	324	11.2
August.....	156	10	25	70	78	339	11.8
September.....	162	10	26	70	81	349	12.1
October.....	176	10	27	84	89	386	13.4
November.....	222	10	31	128	118	509	17.7
December.....	249	10	41	128	129	557	19.3
1922							
January.....	257	11	43	128	109	548	19.0
February.....	299	11	52	140	125	627	21.8
March.....	351	11	62	198	167	789	27.4
April.....	417	14	74	210	200	915	31.8
May.....	444	14	86	233	218	995	34.5
June.....	466	14	96	250	269	1,195	41.5
July.....	700	14	114	518	417	1,763	61.2
August.....	1,091	16	154	1,015	682	2,958	102.7
September.....	1,726	16	380	1,477	1,115	4,714	163.7
October.....	2,820	32	530	2,306	1,820	7,508	260.7
November.....	5,934	72	1,079	5,149	4,037	16,271	565.0
December.....	8,154	193	2,084	8,361	6,202	24,994	867.9
1923							
January.....	13,098	300	3,467	11,725	8,577	37,167	1,290.5
February.....	32,376	300	7,667	22,478	18,218	81,039	2,813.8
March.....	31,957	660	11,425	15,108	15,971	75,121	2,608.4
April.....	32,198	660	10,346	15,672	15,896	74,772	2,596.3
May.....	45,312	1,010	10,818	37,372	27,409	121,921	4,233.4
June.....	98,579	1,045	22,287	73,889	56,782	252,532	8,770.2
July.....	391,458	2,400	85,329	260,750	207,182	947,119	32,886.1
August.....	6,307,539	9,800	1,775,761	4,783,353	4,120,453	16,996,890	590,170
September.....	1,182.2	360,000	49.2	110.7	1104.8	1,427.3	14.8
October.....	151,561.3	24.6	19,838.4	149,605.6	133,309.0	144,338.9	5,011.8
November.....	19,354.3	38.3	1,650.9	5,016.7	4,015.0	20,075.2	697.1
December.....	14.39	1.10	3.14	6.05	6.17	30.85	1.07
1924	Renten-marks	Renten-marks	Renten-marks	Renten-marks	Renten-marks	Renten-marks	
January.....	12.47	1.10	3.02	5.60	5.55	27.74	4.96
February.....	10.89	1.60	2.95	5.80	5.31	26.55	4.92
March.....	11.07	1.70	2.91	5.85	5.38	26.91	4.93
April.....	11.39	2.70	2.85	5.85	5.70	28.49	4.99
May.....	11.94	2.85	2.79	5.85	5.86	29.29	4.102
June.....	11.67	2.85	2.72	5.50	5.69	28.43	4.99
July.....	12.10	3.50	2.67	5.15	5.86	29.28	4.102
August.....	11.77	3.50	2.63	5.15	5.76	28.81	4.100
September.....	12.10	3.50	2.61	5.60	5.95	29.76	4.103
October.....	12.95	3.70	2.59	5.60	6.46	31.30	4.109
November.....	12.81	3.70	2.60	5.60	6.42	31.22	4.108
December.....	12.74	3.70	2.67	5.60	6.42	31.13	4.108

1 Millions.

2 Billions.

3 Rentenmarks.

4 Based on rentenmarks.

In Table 30 the minimum cost of subsistence of a married couple with two children from 6 to 10 years of age in Greater Berlin is shown in dollars (calculated on the exchange rate of marks in Berlin) and index numbers thereof, with the price in 1913-14 (\$6.86) taken as the base. According to this standard the fluctuations were enormous. In January, 1920, the minimum cost of subsistence was one-half of what it was before the war; it dropped to three-eighths in February and increased to one and one-fifth in July. From August, 1920, to October, 1923, it was always below the pre-war cost. The minimum was reached in November, 1921, when it was only two-sevenths of what it was before the war. In November, 1923, it was one-third higher than 10 years before, but when the mark was stabilized the minimum cost of subsistence in Greater Berlin dropped again, and since the second half of December, 1923, it has been about the same as before the war.

TABLE 30.—MINIMUM WEEKLY COST OF SUBSISTENCE, IN DOLLARS, FOR A MARRIED COUPLE WITH TWO CHILDREN IN GREATER BERLIN, AND INDEX NUMBERS THEREOF, JANUARY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924

Month	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
January.....	\$3.40	\$4.93	\$2.86	\$2.07	\$6.61
February.....	2.56	5.11	3.02	2.90	6.32
March.....	3.84	4.77	2.78	3.55	6.41
April.....	6.29	4.42	3.14	3.06	6.79
May.....	7.85	4.58	3.43	2.56	6.97
June.....	7.77	4.48	3.76	2.30	6.77
July.....	8.21	4.23	3.57	2.68	6.97
August.....	6.45	4.02	2.61	3.68	6.86
September.....	5.16	3.33	3.22	4.32	7.09
October.....	4.66	2.57	2.36	5.71	7.45
November.....	4.09	1.94	2.27	9.15	7.43
December.....	4.48	3.01	3.29	7.35	7.41
Index numbers (1913-14=1)					
January.....	0.50	0.72	0.42	0.30	0.96
February.....	.37	.75	.44	.42	.92
March.....	.56	.69	.41	.52	.93
April.....	.91	.65	.46	.45	.99
May.....	1.15	.67	.50	.37	1.02
June.....	1.14	.65	.55	.33	.99
July.....	1.20	.61	.52	.39	1.02
August.....	.94	.59	.38	.54	1.00
September.....	.75	.48	.47	.63	1.03
October.....	.68	.37	.34	.83	1.09
November.....	.60	.28	.33	1.33	1.08
December.....	.65	.42	.48	1.07	1.08

Chapter III.—COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS

LEGISLATION

Before the World War collective agreements concluded between employers or organizations of employers on the one hand, and organizations of workers or of salaried employees on the other hand, with the object of regulating working conditions and wages, had become of great importance in German economic life. According to statistics of the Federal Statistical Office there were on December 31, 1913, 10,885 collective agreements, covering 143,088 establishments and 1,398,597 employees (workers and salaried employees). Yet there was no special law regulating such agreements, the relations between the two parties being regulated by the general principles of the civil law as to contracts. Political parties in Parliament had repeatedly demanded legal regulation of collective agreements, but the Government had never yielded to such requests, as it was afraid that legal regulation would hamper the natural and sound development of collective agreements, and employers and employees did not insist. During the war, when the preservation of economic peace was vital, some military authorities tried to guarantee, by military decrees, the strict observance of collective agreements. A comprehensive regulation of collective agreements by law took place, however, only after the war.

A few days after the revolution, on November 15, 1918, the large employers' associations stipulated in an agreement with the trade-unions¹ that "the working conditions of all male and female workers are to be determined, in accordance with conditions in the trade in question, through collective agreements with the workers' trade organizations. Negotiations relating thereto shall be initiated immediately and concluded as soon as possible." On December 23, 1918, the Council of People's Commissioners issued a "decree regulating collective agreements, workers' and salaried employees' committees, and arbitration of labor disputes."² The main object of the decree was to insure stability of economic life by creating equality in working conditions as far as possible. The provisions relating to collective agreements (articles 1 to 6 of the decree) have not since been materially changed or enlarged. While they do not involve a complete regulation of collective agreements, these provisions (1) establish the principle of the obligation of the parties to live up to the agreement (principle of nondeviation); (2) determine the parties who are entitled to conclude a collective agreement; and (3) authorize the Minister of Labor, under certain conditions, to declare a collective agreement generally binding beyond the domain of the contracting parties.

¹ See Monthly Labor Review, April, 1919, pp. 158-160.

² *Idem*, pp. 160-167.

ACTUAL DEVELOPMENT

As a consequence of the agreement of November 15, 1918, and the decree of December 23, 1918, as well as the enormous increase in the membership of employers' associations and trade-unions, collective agreements became almost universal. Their number, it is true, did not increase—being 10,885 on December 31, 1913, and 10,768 nine years later—but the number of firms and the number of employees covered by them were much greater. The number of collective agreements, with the number of establishments and employees covered, on December 31 of each year from 1912 to 1922 is shown in Table 31.

TABLE 31.—NUMBER OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS AND NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS AND EMPLOYEES COVERED, 1912 TO 1922

Date	Col- lective agree- ments	Estab- lish- ments covered	Empley- ees covered	Date	Col- lective agree- ments	Estab- lish- ments covered	Empley- ees covered
December 31—				December 31—			
1912.....	10, 739	159, 930	1, 574, 285	1918.....	7, 819	107, 503	1, 127, 690
1913.....	10, 885	143, 088	1, 398, 597	1919.....	11, 009	272, 251	5, 986, 475
1914.....	10, 840	143, 650	1, 395, 723	1920.....	11, 624	434, 504	9, 561, 323
1915.....	10, 171	121, 697	943, 442	1921.....	11, 488	697, 476	12, 882, 874
1916.....	9, 435	104, 179	740, 074	1922.....	10, 768	890, 237	14, 261, 106
1917.....	8, 854	91, 313	905, 670				

The number of establishments bound by collective agreements, which had decreased from 143,088 at the end of 1913 to 91,313 at the end of 1917, increased to 890,237 at the end of 1922, while the number of employees affected by the agreements, which had dropped from 1,398,597 in 1913 to 905,670 in 1917, increased to 14,261,106 in 1922. As a consequence thereof, the average number of establishments covered by a collective agreement increased from 13 in 1913 to 83 in 1922, and the average number of employees affected by a collective agreement from 128 to 1,324.

The working conditions of salaried employees are not generally regulated by the same collective agreements as those of the workers, only 52 agreements in 1921 having been found covering both groups of employees. The total number of agreements covering salaried employees (included, of course, in the figures of Table 31) was 1,272 at the end of 1920, 1,481 at the end of 1921, and 1,464 at the end of 1922; the number of establishments was 70,958, 145,487, and 172,280, respectively; the number of salaried employees bound by such agreements, 931,357, 1,811,300, and 1,970,754, respectively. It must be borne in mind, however, that all the figures mentioned in this chapter refer only to such agreements as were reported to the Federal Statistical Office or to the Ministry of Labor. In the course of time the reporting of collective agreements, particularly those covering salaried employees, became more complete, which accounts, to a certain extent, for the apparently large increase in collective agreements for salaried employees in 1921.³

³ On the other hand, the apparent decrease of establishments and employees covered by collective agreements in 1913 and 1914 as compared with 1912 is due to the fact that in those two years many local collective agreements were concluded in the building trades which were not recognized by the central unions and therefore were not reported to the Federal Statistical Office.

The increase in female employees covered by these agreements was especially conspicuous, being from 1,665,115 at the end of 1920 to 2,729,788 at the end of 1921, and to 3,161,268 at the end of 1922; the per cent increased from 17 to 21 and then to 22.

The industries in which collective agreements existed at the end of 1922 and the number and per cent of establishments and employees covered are shown in Table 32:

TABLE 32.—NUMBER AND PER CENT OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS AND ESTABLISHMENTS AND EMPLOYEES COVERED, DECEMBER 31, 1922, BY INDUSTRIES

Industry	Number				Per cent			
	Agreements	Establishments covered	Employees covered		Agreements	Establishments covered	Employees covered	
			Total	Female			Total	Female
Agriculture, gardening, and forestry.....	448	307,178	1,996,917	634,146	4.2	34.5	14.0	20.1
Mines, smelting works, and salt works.....	177	3,688	1,589,992	40,905	1.6	.4	11.2	1.3
Stone, clay, and glass products.....	695	10,359	410,854	72,571	6.4	1.2	2.9	2.3
Metal working and machinery.....	1,326	50,819	2,924,979	346,335	12.3	5.7	20.5	11.0
Chemicals.....	92	11,188	396,757	67,670	.9	1.3	2.8	2.1
Forest by-products, soap and fats.....	111	614	29,918	7,614	1.0	.1	.2	.2
Textiles.....	530	19,858	1,038,330	633,784	4.9	2.2	7.3	20.1
Paper.....	115	9,204	221,585	95,848	1.1	1.0	1.6	3.0
Leather.....	229	6,749	122,717	29,049	2.1	.8	.9	.9
Lumber.....	406	28,677	413,504	50,869	3.8	3.2	2.9	1.6
Food, liquors, and tobacco.....	1,556	75,731	462,355	193,466	14.4	8.5	3.2	6.1
Clothing.....	843	64,017	488,570	289,962	7.8	7.2	3.4	9.2
Cleaning.....	228	16,282	32,076	17,002	2.1	1.8	.2	.5
Building.....	986	68,780	809,592	2,654	9.2	7.7	5.7	.1
Printing.....	46	25,891	186,862	48,879	.4	2.9	1.3	1.6
Art industries.....	8	656	2,923	72	.1	.1	(1)	(1)
Commerce.....	1,090	68,417	616,475	225,716	10.1	7.7	4.3	7.1
Insurance.....	6	302	70,215	15,068	.1	.0	.5	.5
Transportation.....	625	22,462	1,095,115	36,326	5.8	2.5	7.7	1.2
Hotels and restaurants.....	115	16,682	102,777	48,459	1.1	1.9	.7	1.5
Musical, theatrical, etc., shows.....	168	2,925	46,209	16,171	1.6	.3	.3	.5
Miscellaneous.....	968	79,758	1,202,384	288,702	9.0	9.0	8.4	9.1
Total.....	10,768	890,237	14,261,106	3,161,268	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

The largest number of employees bound by collective agreements in any industry on December 31, 1922, was 2,924,979, in the metal working and machinery industry, followed by agriculture, etc., with 1,996,917, mines, etc., with 1,589,992, transportation with 1,095,115 (among which were 593,698 employed by the State railways), textiles with 1,038,330, and building with 809,592. The building industry, which before the war employed more persons covered by collective agreements than any other industry, thus occupied only sixth rank in 1922. The largest number of women covered by collective agreements was to be found in agriculture, etc., and the next largest number in the textile industry.

Before the war only a small proportion of the collective agreements were entered into by employers' associations or by guilds, the large majority being by individual firms. After the war, the proportion of agreements concluded by firms decreased from year to year, until from 1920 on the majority of the collective agreements were entered into by employers' associations or guilds. Table 33 shows the per cent of collective agreements concluded by firms and by organizations from 1912 to 1922.

TABLE 33.—PER CENT OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED BY FIRMS AND BY ORGANIZATIONS,¹ 1912 TO 1922

Date	Organizations						Guilds			Firms		
	On both sides			Only on employees' side								
	Agree-ments	Estab-lish-ments cov-ered	Per-sons cov-ered	Agree-ments	Estab-lish-ments cov-ered	Per-sons cov-ered	Agree-ments	Estab-lish-ments cov-ered	Per-sons cov-ered	Agree-ments	Estab-lish-ments cov-ered	Per-sons cov-ered
December 31—												
1912-----	22.6	63.2	65.4	72.8	33.8	31.5	5.7	22.0	6.8	73.6	25.8	33.4
1913-----	18.5	58.8	60.8	77.2	38.4	35.9	5.7	24.9	9.0	78.2	29.6	37.5
1914-----	20.9	60.5	63.7	75.2	37.1	33.9	5.5	23.5	8.4	76.1	28.6	34.6
1915-----	22.3	60.0	62.3	74.0	37.6	35.3	5.6	21.5	5.6	74.8	30.8	38.4
1916-----	24.0	60.6	56.0	72.6	37.0	41.3	6.1	24.1	6.8	72.8	28.9	45.2
1917-----	26.5	60.4	62.5	70.5	37.2	35.5	6.3	24.0	5.7	72.2	34.0	41.2
1918-----	29.1	61.3	64.3	68.4	36.9	34.6	6.7	25.9	5.7	69.4	28.5	36.4
1919-----	39.9	73.8	81.0	59.8	25.9	19.0	8.7	22.0	3.1	54.0	12.3	18.6
1920-----	44.0	79.2	75.3	57.7	20.6	24.7	8.9	16.9	1.7	48.7	8.4	24.4
1921-----	48.7	82.7	82.2	51.1	17.3	17.7	9.2	13.4	1.5	43.7	6.1	17.3
1922-----	49.5	86.1	83.9	50.0	13.9	16.0	9.2	11.0	1.1	42.4	4.9	15.7

¹ In some cases agreements were concluded on the employers' side both by an employers' organization and by firms not belonging to the organization.

The increasing number of collective agreements concluded by employers' organizations accounts in part for the increasing "concentration" of agreements, which resulted, as has been shown above, in an ever-increasing average number of establishments covered by one agreement. This increase in the average number of establishments and in the average number of employees per agreement was further promoted by an increase in the collective agreements concluded for the entire country, for a district, or for a locality, instead of for an individual firm, as shown in Table 34.

TABLE 34.—PER CENT OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS COVERING SPECIFIED TERRITORY, 1912 TO 1922

Date	Individual firm ¹			Locality			District			Entire country		
	Agree-ments	Estab-lish-ments cov-ered	Em-ploy-ees cov-ered	Agree-ments	Estab-lish-ments cov-ered	Em-ploy-ees cov-ered	Agree-ments	Estab-lish-ments cov-ered	Em-ploy-ees cov-ered	Agree-ments	Estab-lish-ments cov-ered	Em-ploy-ees cov-ered
December 31—												
1912.....	72.7	18.8	26.6	12.9	29.1	18.0	14.3	46.3	50.2	0.1	5.8	5.2
1913.....	77.0	21.8	30.4	11.9	27.1	17.9	11.0	44.6	46.1	.1	6.5	5.6
1914.....	74.8	21.0	28.0	12.2	26.0	17.3	12.9	46.6	49.2	.1	6.4	5.5
1915.....	73.4	21.8	28.0	12.7	25.2	14.3	13.8	44.8	46.9	.1	8.2	10.8
1916.....	71.3	22.3	36.5	14.1	28.6	19.5	14.5	43.5	34.9	.1	5.6	9.1
1917.....	68.8	22.3	31.8	15.7	30.0	18.0	15.3	40.1	39.0	.2	7.6	11.2
1918.....	65.8	14.9	27.2	17.1	29.7	20.6	16.9	37.8	26.8	.2	17.6	25.4
1919.....	52.6	7.9	16.5	23.3	26.1	12.0	23.7	56.5	63.7	.7	9.5	7.8
1920.....	47.7	4.8	12.2	26.7	25.6	9.7	24.9	51.5	56.5	.7	18.1	21.6
1921.....	42.7	4.1	9.4	29.0	18.1	7.5	27.6	64.8	66.8	.7	13.0	16.3
1922.....	41.6	1.4	5.9	26.9	16.3	7.8	30.7	75.0	71.9	.8	7.3	14.4

Before the war collective agreements were generally made for comparatively long periods. In 1912 and 1913, more than half of the workers covered by collective agreements had their working conditions regulated by agreements running for more than two years, while the proportion of such workers at the end of 1922 was only 0.9 per cent. The main reason for this change was the monetary depreciation, which necessitated a constant change in wages and salaries.

When, however, the fall of the mark became more and more rapid, the terms of collective agreements were adapted to such unusual conditions and it again became customary to make collective agreements for longer periods but to provide for changes of wages and salaries within the period covered by the agreement.

Of the total agreements concluded in 1920, 1921, and 1922, the following proportions were for fixed periods: In 1920, 58.4 per cent, covering 72 per cent of the establishments and 75.5 per cent of the employees; in 1921, 57.8 per cent, covering 79.7 per cent of the establishments and 78.1 per cent of the employees; and in 1922, 53.2 per cent, covering 80.3 per cent of the establishments and 78.7 per cent of the employees. Of these agreements for fixed periods, the proportion concluded for certain fixed periods and the proportion of the establishments and employees working under the agreements for such periods, are shown in Table 35.

TABLE 35.—PER CENT OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED FOR SPECIFIED PERIODS AND OF ESTABLISHMENTS AND EMPLOYEES WORKING UNDER COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED FOR SUCH PERIODS, 1920 TO 1922

Period covered by agreement	Dec. 31, 1920			Dec. 31, 1921			Dec. 31, 1922		
	Agree- ments	Estab- lish- ments cov- ered	Em- ploy- ees cov- ered	Agree- ments	Estab- lish- ments cov- ered	Em- ploy- ees cov- ered	Agree- ments	Estab- lish- ments cov- ered	Em- ploy- ees cov- ered
Fixed period.....	58.4	72.0	75.5	57.8	79.7	78.1	53.2	80.3	78.7
3 months or less.....	22.9	12.8	17.0	22.5	10.0	12.5	23.1	6.4	9.1
Over 3 to 6 months.....	24.6	13.5	25.2	18.6	8.4	12.5	16.3	4.6	7.8
Over 6 months to 1 year.....	33.7	41.6	41.3	37.8	53.1	50.7	44.7	66.7	54.9
Over 1 year to 2 years.....	16.2	21.5	14.1	19.9	24.1	23.2	14.9	20.8	27.3
Over 2 years.....	2.6	10.6	2.4	1.2	4.4	1.1	1.0	1.5	.9

The proportion of employees affected by agreements concluded for more than six months thus increased during 1921 from 57.8 to 75 per cent, and during 1922 to 83.1 per cent. At the same time, the proportion of employees bound by collective agreements providing for changes of wages or salaries within the period covered by the agreement increased from 38.6 to 51.5 per cent in the course of 1921 and to 53.2 per cent in 1922.

Before the war collective agreements regulated mainly hours of work, wages, terms of notice to quit, conditions of apprenticeship, and means of conciliation and arbitration. Provisions as to vacations of employees were to be found in only a few collective agreements. Nowadays collective agreements which do not regulate vacations are an exception. Provisions relating to the use of specified employment agencies are somewhat more frequent than before the war but still are not usual.

The number of collective agreements which are generally binding was 1,297 on December 31, 1924.

LEGAL REGULATION

The legislation on collective agreements has defined the term "collective agreement," the meaning of which had theretofore been strongly contested. It has declared the principle of nondeviation from the collective agreement, under which individual labor contracts

between the interested parties shall be ineffective in so far as they do not conform to such agreement. It has also strengthened the idea that in case no other arrangement is made the collective agreement is to be considered as recognized, by expressly stating that collective agreements that have become of predominant importance in the development of working conditions in an occupation within the territory covered by the agreement may be declared generally binding. The procedure for declaring an agreement generally binding has been regulated in detail, and during the period of inflation simplified. Finally, copies of all collective agreements, including those not declared generally binding, are to be filed with the Ministry of Labor-

DEFINITION

A collective agreement, according to article 1 of the decree of December 23, 1918, is an agreement in writing which regulates the conditions under which labor contracts between organizations of employees and individual employers or organizations of employers may be concluded.

1. It must be an agreement, i. e., a voluntary arrangement between several contracting parties. The collective-agreement legislation thus recognizes the principle of freedom of contract, and therefore it is not possible to compel an employer or an employee to enter into a collective agreement. The agreement must be made in writing. Verbal agreements or agreements signed by one party only are not considered collective agreements within the meaning of the decree. A collective agreement can be made verbally, but such agreement does not enjoy the legal protection granted to written agreements, is not impressed with the principle of nondeviation, and can not be declared generally binding.

Awards made by official arbitration boards or arbitrators in general disputes, i. e., disputes between one or several employers on the one hand and the employees or a part of the employees of an establishment or a trade on the other hand, are also considered collective agreements, in so far as these awards regulate conditions for making labor contracts. They are so considered, however, only where both parties, i. e., employers and employees, have accepted them or where they have been declared generally binding by an arbitrator under article 6 of the decree of October 30, 1923, relating to the adjustment of labor disputes. In the latter case, the declaration making them generally binding takes the place of the acceptance of the award by the parties.

2. The parties to the collective agreement must be entitled to enter into such an agreement if it is to be legally effective within the meaning of the decree. On the employers' side the agreement may be made by individual employers or by one or several organizations of employers; on the employees' side it must always be made by one or several organizations of employees.

The term "organization of employers or employees," as used in the decree regulating collective agreements and also in practically all labor laws, has never been legally defined. In consequence thereof many disputes have sprung up with reference to the definition of "organization of employees." Theory and practice, however, have at last developed a definite conception of organizations of employees entitled to conclude collective agreements. The organization must

be founded as a permanent one. If, then, the employees of an establishment create an organization for the purpose of concluding a collective agreement, such organization is not one entitled to sign a collective agreement within the meaning of the decree.⁴ Nor can a works council make a legally effective collective agreement with its employer, since its task is not to make agreements but to carry out existing agreements. Moreover, the objects of the organization, which must be shown in its by-laws, must be along economic lines. Finally, the membership of the organization must be composed entirely either of employers or of employees. Organizations of employees, in particular, must receive their financial support exclusively from contributions of their members and not wholly or in part from employers or their representatives.

So far as trade-unions are concerned, the free (Social Democratic), the Christian, and the Hirsch-Duncker (liberal) unions have been recognized as organizations entitled to make collective agreements. Only such organizations of employees, indeed, as are willing and able independently to safeguard their interests can make collective agreements. This could not be true of organizations including both employers and employees, as the employers would naturally consider their own interests. The same is true of organizations such as "yellow unions," which in general are influenced by employers and subsidized by them in one way or another.

3. The collective agreement regulates the conditions under which labor contracts may be concluded. It is not itself a labor contract, but states only the main provisions of future labor contracts. It does not necessarily regulate all provisions of future labor contracts, but may confine itself to some of them. As a matter of principle, however, the parties can regulate through a collective agreement anything that can lawfully be included in the individual labor contract. Provisions which would conflict with any law, or which are immoral, are of course ineffective.

Generally, collective agreements also contain provisions outside the domain of individual labor contracts, such as provisions relating to the restriction of apprenticeship, the use of specified employment agencies, the means of conciliation and arbitration, etc.

4. Collective agreements also contain provisions as to the occupations, territory, and period covered. Such provisions must be particularly accurate because of the principle of nondeviation involved. In respect to territory, the agreement may cover either the whole of Germany, or a district, a locality, or an establishment. Agreements covering the whole of Germany or a district, i. e., a State, a Province, etc., contain as a rule only general provisions; they are basic agreements and are supplemented by local collective agreements. Such local agreements are, however, frequently concluded independently. The agreements for individual establishments are as a rule not restricted to one occupation but cover all the employees of the concern. It may happen, therefore, that an employer is bound by several collective agreements which are contradictory. In such cases the agreement which is the most favorable to the employees is to govern the working conditions.

As the decree makes no provision as to the period for which a collective agreement is to run, the parties are free to determine the dura-

⁴ The same is true of all organizations whose membership is confined to employees of an individual establishment.

tion of the agreement; in doubtful cases the civil law rules. As the fate of individual labor contracts in case a collective agreement is changed or terminated is not specified in the decree, the civil law again prevails, and when a collective agreement terminates, individual labor contracts remain in force until explicitly changed.

POLICY OF NONDEVIATION

The provisions of a collective agreement can not be deviated from, i. e., they are binding on the contracting parties. Article 1 of the decree of December 23, 1918, provides that "labor contracts between the interested parties shall be ineffective in so far as they do not conform" to the regulations of the collective agreement. The favorable conditions of a collective agreement can not therefore be waived by the employees.

The principle of nondeviation applies, however, only to those provisions of a collective agreement which may be contained in an individual labor contract, such as provisions referring to wages, hours of work, vacations, and form and terms of notice to quit, while provisions binding only the contracting parties, such as those referring to the duration of the agreement, the use of certain employment agencies, and the prohibition as to employing persons not covered by the agreement at lower wages than those fixed in the agreement, are not subject to this principle. In case an employer or an employee violates such a provision, the contracting parties are entitled to protest to the organization of which that employer or employee is a member, but no direct pressure can be brought upon the individual employer or employee.

The decree allows two exceptions from the principle of nondeviation:

(a) Nonconforming contracts shall be effective in so far as the collective agreement permits their conclusion. Collective agreements regulate, for example, the wages of efficient workers, but at the same time may specify that special arrangements may be made as to wages of those physically disabled.

(b) Nonconforming contracts shall be effective in so far as they provide for working conditions more favorable to the worker and not explicitly excluded by the collective agreement. The working conditions fixed by collective agreements are thus, in general, only minimum conditions for individual labor contracts.

The principle of nondeviation, however, applies only to a labor contract between the "interested parties." Interested parties, within the meaning of the decree, are "employers and employees who are parties to the collective agreement or members of the signatory organizations, or who on the conclusion of the labor contract are members of those organizations, or who have concluded a labor contract which refers to the collective agreement." Individual labor contracts between a party not bound by a collective agreement and a party bound by such agreement are, therefore, not subject to the principle of nondeviation unless the parties in the contract have explicitly referred to the collective agreement.

AGREEMENTS DECLARED GENERALLY BINDING

While the principle of nondeviation applies only to those individual labor contracts which are concluded by the "interested parties," a collective agreement can be extended to include outsiders

by declaring such agreement generally binding. The object of such a declaration is to equalize working conditions in a certain occupation in a certain district. The declaration can be made only upon request and only in the case of a collective agreement which has "become of predominant importance in the development of working conditions in an occupation within the territory covered by the agreement" (article 2). In practice, the condition as to predominant importance is considered to have been met if the working conditions of the majority of the persons in the occupation covered by the agreement correspond to the provisions of the agreement, whether or not this majority actually belongs to the signatory organizations.

Under the decree of December 23, 1918, the Department of Labor (*Reichsarbeitsamt*) was authorized to declare collective agreements binding. When this department, in 1919, was made a ministry (*Reichsarbeitsministerium*), this ministry made such declarations. In June, 1922, the authority to make such declarations was transferred to the Federal Labor Office (*Reichsarbeitsverwaltung*), which is under the supervision of the Ministry of Labor. The Labor Office is not obliged to declare an agreement generally binding, even if all the conditions are fulfilled but is free to decide as it sees fit. It can reject the request for such a declaration; it can comply with it in full; it can reduce the territory for which it has been asked to issue the declaration; or it can exclude certain provisions of the agreement from the declaration. The decision of the Labor Office is final and can not be appealed from.

On such a declaration the collective agreement in question, within the territory in which it is binding, becomes also binding on employers or employees or both who are not interested parties to the agreement; they are also bound by the principle of nondeviation as applied to working conditions fixed by the agreement. In so far as existing labor contracts are in conflict with the provisions of a collective agreement which has been declared generally binding, such labor contracts become ineffective and are automatically replaced by the provisions of the collective agreement.

Just as the principle of nondeviation applies only to those provisions of collective agreements which may be contained in an individual labor contract, so only such provisions can be affected by the declaration that the agreement is generally binding. Likewise, only those provisions can be affected which do not violate a law or which are not immoral. In practice, the latter provisions are always explicitly excluded from the declaration.

The declaration affects only such individual labor contracts as have been concluded within the territory for which the collective agreement is declared generally binding. In case there exist within the territory several generally binding collective agreements and a labor contract comes under such several agreements, that agreement shall be considered as governing whose provisions cover the largest number of labor contracts in force in the establishment or the subdivision of the establishment—without prejudice, however, to a contrary decision by the Labor Office.

The beginning of the period for which the agreement is generally binding is fixed by the Labor Office in its declaration, and the period lasts until the Labor Office cancels the declaration. The right of cancellation is not specified in the decree, but since the Labor Office

is authorized to declare an agreement generally binding, it is also entitled to cancel such declaration either because conditions which led to the declaration have materially changed or because the agreement declared generally binding has expired.

The signatory parties to a collective agreement may change a collective agreement which has been declared generally binding, but only to the advantage of the employees. Such change, however, affects only the labor contracts of the "interested parties." Before the change can affect labor contracts of those not parties to the agreement it must first be declared generally binding.

Under the law on employment offices, the public and the private noncommercial employment offices, in case there is a collective agreement, are to fill vacancies in establishments covered by such agreement only in accordance with conditions corresponding to the agreement.⁵ They therefore need to be acquainted with such agreements. Factory inspectors, who take part in the inquiry as to the predominant importance of an agreement, and other authorities are in a similar position. The "interested" employers and organizations of employers and employees are therefore required, within two weeks of the conclusion of the agreement, to supply free of charge to the following authorities copies or reprints of the agreement, as well as all changes and supplements agreed upon:

1. The Federal Labor Office (*Reichsarbeitsverwaltung*), which files the agreements.

2. The district employment offices (*Landesämter für Arbeitsvermittlung*) in the territory in which the agreement is valid. On payment of costs, they can demand further copies of the agreements for the use of the public employment offices of their district.

3. The central authority of the district (*Landeszentralbehörde*).

4. The factory inspectors in whose districts establishments covered by the agreement are situated.

The Federal Labor Office and the district employment offices are likewise to be informed of the expiration of a collective agreement.

In case of noncompliance with these requirements penalties may be imposed.

The Federal Labor Office not only files the collective agreements but also is charged with the publication of information relative thereto. The matter collected and disseminated furnishes the basis for future legislation and for the work of conciliators and arbitrators, and enables the public and especially the representatives of employers and employees engaged in collective bargaining to keep constantly in touch with the development of collective bargaining, both in general and particular trades. Such publication consists of articles on the provisions of collective agreements, of reports on collective bargaining, and of statistics of collective agreements, printed in the *Reichsarbeitsblatt* and its supplements.

The great influence of collective agreements upon the development of labor legislation can best be seen from the fact that the law on works councils is based to a great extent on the provisions of collective agreements, some of the provisions of the law having been taken literally from collective agreements.

⁵ See Chapter VII, "Unemployment" (pp. 146 to 189).

Chapter IV.—TRADE-UNIONS

The first German trade-unions were founded in 1848, but in the early fifties they were prohibited. A new union movement arose in the sixties but it was confined to a few trades and closely connected with some of the political parties. In 1878 most of these organizations were prohibited by the law against the "dangerous tendencies of socialism," the only trade-unions surviving this period being the liberal trade-unions, which were rather weak. New unions organized in the middle of the eighties suffered considerably under the law of 1878.

When, in 1890, the interdiction of 1878 was withdrawn, the economic crisis then prevailing hindered quick development of the trade-union movement. From 1891 to 1895 the unions comprised in the General Commission of Trade-Unions (*Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften*), now the General Federation of German Trade-Unions (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*), had about 250,000 members. In 1896, its membership began to increase rapidly and steadily so that there were almost 700,000 members at the close of the nineteenth century. The membership exceeded one million in 1904, two millions in 1910, and was two and one-half millions at the outbreak of the war.

While the members of these unions belonged largely to the Social-Democratic Party, there was another equally old group of unions called the Hirsch-Duncker Federation of German Trade-Unions (*Verband der Deutschen Hirsch-Dunckerschen Gewerkvereine*), which had been founded in 1868 by some liberal politicians, and whose leaders always belonged to the Liberal Party. As this party did not gain much sympathy from the working class, the Hirsch-Duncker trade-union movement remained weak. These unions had 110,000 members in 1903, which was also their membership at the outbreak of the war.

A third group of unions, the Christian trade-unions, composed mainly of Catholic workers belonging to the Center Party, showed much stronger vitality than the liberal unions. The first unions of this kind were founded in the nineties, and their first general congress was held in 1899. At the beginning of this century, they formed the General Federation of Christian Trade-Unions (*Gesamtverband der Christlichen Gewerkschaften*). At the beginning of the war their membership exceeded 340,000 members. This figure may appear small when compared with the membership of the Social-Democratic unions, but the Christian unions can develop only in Catholic districts. Only in one district, Rhineland-Westphalia, have they developed to any extent.

Apart from these three federations there was a number of independent trade-unions, having altogether 300,000 members. The only important ones were the Polish Trade Association (*Polnische*

Berufsvereinigung), which comprised about 75,000 workers in Silesia and Rhineland-Westphalia, and the unions of hotel and restaurant employees. More than one-third of the 300,000 members belonging to independent unions were railway men and telegraphers in Government service, but it is doubtful whether their unions before the war could be considered genuine trade-unions.

The same is true of the salaried employees' unions, which to a very small extent only were imbued with the trade-union spirit. The unions of commercial employees comprised more than half a million employees and the unions of technical employees 140,000.

During the war most trade-unions experienced heavy losses of membership as many of their members enrolled in the army. But as their expenses decreased at the same time, their financial status was not much weakened, and quite unexpectedly their political strength improved. On the outbreak of the war the Government did its best to incorporate the unions into the economic war machinery. The trade-unions and the employers' associations at once stopped all labor disputes. On the part of the trade-unions this was necessary as there was a tremendous amount of unemployment during the first three months of the war. But as more and more men entered the army and the war industries employed greater and greater numbers of men, the labor market developed in favor of the trade-unions, and with the increasing cost of living the trade-unions saw again the possibility and even the necessity of starting movements for wage increases. Wage disputes were at this time largely settled before the State conciliation boards, which was a great help for the weak unions and especially the salaried employees' unions, which were now able to make collective agreements before such boards.

This strengthening of the position of the trade-unions during the war took place in spite of the heavy reduction in the number of officials, especially in those unions having a considerable number of young members, such as unions of building laborers, or barbers, etc. According to the annual statistics of the unions comprised in the General Commission of Trade-Unions, the number of local officials decreased in the same proportion as the number of members, while the number of national officials was much less reduced. In Table 36 the membership and number of officials of Social-Democratic (free) trade-unions for each year from 1913 to 1918 are given:

TABLE 36.—MEMBERSHIP AND NUMBER OF OFFICIALS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC (FREE) TRADE-UNIONS, DECEMBER 31, 1913 TO 1918

Year	Local unions	Member-ship	National officials		District officials	Local officials	Total officials
			Presi- dents, etc.	Editors			
1913	11, 707	2, 498, 959	417	75	428	1, 956	2, 876
1914	10, 980	1, 485, 428	366	69	370	1, 482	2, 287
1915	9, 869	982, 863	297	57	290	860	1, 504
1916	9, 308	934, 784	245	54	269	694	1, 262
1917	9, 309	1, 264, 714	262	51	303	750	1, 366
1918	10, 044	2, 858, 053	368	63	369	1, 532	2, 332

Everywhere work had to be restricted or postponed, this being most conspicuous, perhaps, in regard to the trade-union press. The number of editors fell from 75 to 51; the number of weekly papers decreased from 35 to 30 and their size was generally reduced one-third or even one-half.

MEMBERSHIP

The German trade-union movement after the war was characterized by the influx of great masses of unorganized workers into the unions. The membership of the Social-Democratic (free) unions, which had decreased from two and one-half millions at the outbreak of the war to one million at the end of 1915, and which in October, 1918, was not more than one and one-half millions, was almost three millions at the end of 1918, exceeded four millions in April, 1919, five millions in June, six millions in August, and seven millions at the end of 1919. It rose to eight millions in the second quarter of 1920 and maintained this height until the end of 1922, but as a consequence of the unrest caused by inflation dropped with increasing rapidity in the course of 1923, at the end of which year it was not more than five and three-fourths millions. Table 37 shows the average membership of all Social-Democratic unions from 1891 to 1923.

TABLE 37.—AVERAGE MEMBERSHIP OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC TRADE-UNIONS, 1891 TO 1923

Year	Members	Year	Members	Year	Members	Year	Members
1891.....	277,659	1900.....	680,427	1909.....	1,832,667	1918.....	1,664,991
1892.....	237,094	1901.....	677,510	1910.....	2,017,298	1919.....	5,479,073
1893.....	223,530	1902.....	733,206	1911.....	2,339,785	1920.....	7,890,102
1894.....	246,494	1903.....	887,698	1912.....	2,553,162	1921 ¹	7,567,978
1895.....	259,175	1904.....	1,052,108	1913.....	2,573,718	1922.....	7,895,065
1896.....	329,230	1905.....	1,344,803	1914.....	2,075,759	1923.....	7,063,158
1897.....	412,359	1906.....	1,689,709	1915.....	1,159,497		
1898.....	493,742	1907.....	1,865,506	1916.....	966,705		
1899.....	580,473	1908.....	1,831,731	1917.....	1,106,657		

¹ The decrease from 1920 to 1921 is due to the secession of the union of salaried employees from the General Federation of German Trade-Unions.

Table 38 shows the total and female membership of the various unions belonging to the General Federation of German Trade-Unions in 1913, 1920, and 1923:

TABLE 38.—MEMBERSHIP OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC (FREE) TRADE-UNIONS, DECEMBER 31, 1913, 1920, AND 1923, BY KIND OF TRADE-UNION

Kind of trade-union	Total membership			Female members		
	1913	1920	1923	1913	1920	1923
Salaried employees.....	24, 809	363, 521	-----	13, 550	167, 219	-----
Salaried employees, offices.....	8, 414	-----	-----	416	-----	-----
Asphalt pavers.....	1, 275	2, 149	710	-----	-----	-----
Bakers and confectioners.....	28, 754	65, 077	55, 121	4, 656	24, 808	25, 141
Building trades workers.....	310, 444	465, 744	430, 904	-----	-----	1, 194
Clothing workers.....	48, 712	129, 621	108, 807	8, 857	76, 713	67, 447
Miners.....	101, 986	467, 339	299, 811	-----	2, 524	972
Coopers.....	8, 632	12, 938	10, 155	-----	555	157
Brewery and flour-mill workers.....	51, 317	73, 428	69, 459	1, 436	5, 336	4, 717
Bookbinders.....	33, 377	79, 549	57, 500	16, 596	55, 241	39, 500
Printers.....	68, 915	73, 002	67, 477	-----	-----	-----
Chorus singers.....	-----	4, 727	3, 835	-----	2, 783	2, 213
Roofers.....	8, 505	10, 454	9, 984	-----	-----	-----
Railroad workers.....	-----	544, 277	287, 879	-----	3, 266	2, 711
Factory workers.....	208, 314	644, 910	522, 294	26, 680	175, 496	138, 331
Film and moving-picture industry employees.....	-----	7, 400	-----	-----	3, 400	-----
Butchers.....	6, 557	24, 473	15, 720	397	1, 583	1, 607
Barbers and hairdressers.....	2, 491	10, 076	4, 444	3	1, 497	774
Gardeners.....	7, 224	23, 147	13, 258	30	4, 249	2, 848
Hotel, restaurant, and café employees.....	16, 025	63, 379	37, 175	1, 046	26, 911	16, 210
Municipal and Government workers.....	53, 925	299, 891	211, 465	1, 547	62, 821	38, 383
Glass workers.....	18, 251	55, 656	30, 116	945	11, 514	3, 209
Glaziers.....	4, 280	4, 185	-----	-----	40	-----
Printing industry auxiliary workers.....	15, 934	39, 993	32, 744	8, 572	26, 557	21, 816
Domestic servants.....	5, 816	19, 214	-----	5, 792	18, 880	-----
Woodworkers.....	193, 075	370, 840	377, 025	7, 470	37, 400	38, 555
Sculptors.....	3, 716	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Hatters.....	11, 927	23, 206	24, 630	6, 016	15, 395	17, 516
Coppersmiths.....	5, 337	6, 971	7, 445	-----	-----	-----
Furriers.....	3, 952	9, 977	6, 460	1, 316	5, 953	3, 490
Agricultural workers.....	20, 267	680, 174	101, 503	884	170, 043	26, 723
Leather workers.....	16, 481	35, 441	46, 634	2, 085	6, 217	10, 194
Lithographers.....	16, 533	18, 952	19, 520	-----	465	124
Music engravers.....	441	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Wood engravers.....	422	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Painters.....	44, 842	54, 181	47, 413	20	372	414
Engineers.....	26, 267	88, 818	64, 995	-----	116	175
Metal workers.....	544, 934	1, 608, 932	1, 291, 761	27, 373	202, 791	136, 326
Musicians.....	2, 086	46, 199	18, 004	-----	1, 245	690
Construction work, foremen.....	-----	10, 200	-----	-----	-----	-----
Porcelain workers.....	16, 972	56, 201	72, 464	3, 679	25, 424	33, 321
Saddlers, upholsterers, leather-bag makers.....	14, 855	38, 153	37, 500	1, 029	6, 115	7, 592
Upholsterers.....	10, 164	-----	-----	182	-----	-----
Shipwrights.....	3, 555	4, 966	-----	-----	-----	-----
Chimney sweepers.....	-----	3, 380	2, 923	-----	-----	-----
Shoemakers.....	44, 363	90, 008	100, 983	8, 665	36, 376	43, 907
Milkers.....	-----	10, 338	11, 200	-----	260	180
Stoneworkers.....	30, 516	45, 476	47, 123	260	778	515
Stone pavers.....	11, 164	11, 194	9, 519	-----	-----	-----
Tobacco workers.....	31, 713	113, 267	81, 934	15, 449	88, 918	64, 639
Textile workers.....	138, 079	537, 909	608, 158	54, 113	350, 443	405, 961
Potters.....	10, 166	11, 368	-----	-----	604	-----
Transport workers.....	229, 427	578, 357	408, 240	9, 201	77, 631	43, 838
Carpenters.....	59, 831	87, 024	93, 336	-----	-----	-----
Firemen.....	-----	2, 135	-----	-----	-----	-----

The Christian unions likewise experienced an enormous increase in their membership immediately after the armistice. While their number had dropped from 340,000 at the outbreak of the war to 160,000 at the end of 1915, it exceeded 500,000 in December, 1918, and amounted to 1,000,000 at the end of 1919 and to 1,100,000 at the end of 1920, but also was considerably reduced with the rapid fall of the mark.

The Hirsch-Duncker (liberal) unions did not make as great headway as the free and the Christian unions. During the war they, like the other unions, lost about one-half of their membership, but while the membership of the free and the Christian unions was larger at the end of 1918 than before the war, the Hirsch-Duncker unions had at that time only regained their old position (about 110,000 members) and two years later, when other unions had more than three times as many members as before the war, the Hirsch-Duncker unions had only doubled their membership.

While the Hirsch-Duncker group, which has never been very important and which was pushed altogether into the background by the expansion of the free unions in the two decades preceding the war, has not succeeded in gaining any real ground since the war, the communist and the syndicalist unions have of late had increasing success. The Communist Party, it is true, was not in favor of special communist unions but wanted the communists to stay in the Social-Democratic (free) unions and conquer them. But when communist members were excluded from the Social-Democratic unions those members created a few unions of their own, and these new organizations founded the Federation of Manual and Nonmanual German Workers (*Union der Hand- und Kopfarbeiter Deutschlands*), numbering about 160,000 members. Unlike the Communist Party, the Communist Labor Party is in favor of special communist unions and backs the General Federation of German workers (*Allgemeine Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands*), which so far, however, has not many adherents. The syndicalist unions, which existed before the war and which in 1919 created the Federation of Free German Workers (*Freie Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands*), have now about 100,000 members.

The independent unions (Polish Trade Association, General Railwaymen's Union, etc.) have never exceeded the membership they had before the war (300,000).

There are still other organizations which call themselves trade-unions although they are not based on trade-union principles—the yellow (nonmilitant) unions. They were founded and subsidized by employers and had almost 300,000 members before the war. After the revolution the employers' associations pledged themselves not to support or subsidize the yellow unions and in consequence their membership at the end of 1918 was only about 45,000. These unions were no longer considered by the leading manufacturers' associations as representatives of the workers and were not allowed representation in the National Economic Council and similar bodies. Nevertheless they survived and now have about 250,000 members.

While the unions of salaried employees, as has been mentioned, were not very strong before the war, they did have a rather large membership. They had about one million members then, lost half their members during the war and now have about one and two-thirds millions. While before the war, unlike the organizations of

workers, the unions of salaried employees were not combined into federations, after the war these employees and also the civil-service employees (who before the war had no trade-union whatsoever) organized such federations. The Social-Democratic unions of salaried employees formed the General Federation of Free Employees (*Allgemeiner Freier Angestelltenbund*), which has now two-thirds of a million members and on April 12, 1921, concluded a working agreement with the General Federation of German Trade-Unions. Immediately after the revolution the civil-service employees founded the German Federation of Civil-Service Employees (*Deutscher Beamtenbund*), which split in May, 1921, the old federation retaining one million members, while the unions of the left wing, led by the National Trade-Union of German Railway Employees, founded the General German Federation of Civil-Service Employees (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Beamtenbund*), which has about 350,000 members. In March, 1923, this federation concluded a working agreement with the General Federation of German Trade-Unions.

While the Social-Democratic trade-unions of workers are rather loosely affiliated with the Social-Democratic unions of salaried employees and civil-service employees, the Christian and liberal labor unions are much more closely associated with the unions of salaried employees and civil-service employees sharing their political views. The Christian unions organized the Federation of German Trade-Unions (*Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*), composed of the General Federation of Christian Trade-Unions (*Gesamtverband der Christlichen Gewerkschaften*), the General Federation of German Unions of Salaried Employees (*Gesamtverband Deutscher Angestellten-gewerkschaften*), with 460,000 members, and the General Federation of German Unions of Civil-Service Employees (*Gesamtverband Deutscher Beamten- und Staatsangestellten-gewerkschaften*), with 400,000 members. The liberal unions formed the Federation of German Unions of Workers, Salaried Employees, and Civil-Service Employees (*Gewerkschaftsring Deutscher Arbeiter-, Angestellten- und Beamtenverbände*), which consists of the Federation of German Trade-Unions (*Verband der Deutschen Gewerkvereine*), the Federation of Unions of Salaried Employees (*Gewerkschaftsbund der Angestellten*), having 300,000 members, and two federations of civil-service employees—the Association of German Unions of Civil-Service Employees (*Ring Deutscher Beamtenverbände*), with 65,000 members, and the General Federation of Railwaymen, with 82,000 members.

There are also some yellow unions of salaried employees, with 56,000 members, which with a yellow union of civil-service employees having 6,000 members and the yellow labor unions have founded the National Federation of German Professional Unions (*Nationalverband Deutscher Berufsverbände*).

A most conspicuous feature in the postwar development of the membership of the German trade-unions is the great increase of female members. In the Social-Democratic labor unions, for example, while not more than 9 per cent of the members in 1913 were women, since 1919 the proportion has exceeded 20 per cent. Women constitute the majority of the members in the unions of clothing workers, of bookbinders, of chorus singers, of auxiliary workers in the printing industry, of domestic servants, of hatters, of furriers, of

tobacco workers, and of textile workers. The percentage of women in the Christian labor unions is 25, in the liberal labor unions 10, in the unions of salaried employees 21, and in the unions of civil-service employees 5.

FINANCES

The sudden influx of new members in 1919 unavoidably weakened the financial strength of the trade-unions, since the reserves had to serve a much larger number of members. Moreover, it was not until the beginning of 1923 that the unions learned to protect their funds against the depreciation in currency. At the end of 1918 their funds (in paper marks) were about the same as at the outbreak of the war, but their real value had, of course, declined. They increased about one-half in 1919, while the membership and cost of living doubled or trebled, and they doubled in 1920 and again in 1921, but their real value dwindled from year to year. While before the war the per capita funds of most Social-Democratic unions varied between the equivalent of 50 and 80 hours' wages and in the case of some unions (for example, printers and carpenters) even exceeded 100 hours' wages, at the end of 1922 no union possessed more than the equivalent of 4 hours' wages per capita and many did not own the equivalent of even 2 hours' wages per member. At the end of 1923 the total funds of the Social-Democratic unions were not more than 2,738,712 rentenmarks (\$651,813) as compared with 88,110,855 marks (\$20,970,383) at the end of 1913.

At the same time the revenues of the unions did not rise in proportion to their needs. In 1919 they were (in paper marks) only about three times as high as before the war and consequently only about 50 per cent higher per member than in 1913. In 1920 they were about three times as high as in 1919, or about three times as high per member as in 1913. In 1921 they were about five times as high as in 1919, or about five times as high per member as in 1913. There were several reasons for this state of affairs: 1. Real wages were so low that it was impossible to demand high dues; 2. For technical reasons it was not possible to increase the dues as quickly as wages increased; 3. The loyalty of the membership, which to a large extent was composed of recent additions, was not very strong, many members not paying their dues at all or postponing payment and paying them later in depreciated money; 4. The collectors and cashiers of the local unions frequently postponed the delivery of the dues. The time elapsing from the payment of the dues by the individual member to the receipt thereof by the federation treasury was very long. When the shop steward or collector collected the dues in the shop or in the home of the worker on Saturday, he did not, as a rule, settle accounts with the cashier of the local union before the following Friday. (He may have immediately spent the dues, which were, say, three times as high as his weekly salary, and six days later, when his weekly salary equaled that, delivered the amount of the dues to the local cashier, thus profiting by the transaction.) The local cashier himself may not have been anxious to forward dues to the treasurer of the union federation, but waited perhaps one or two weeks and in the meantime speculated with the union's money. The collector and the cashier frequently did not realize that they cheated the unions through such delays, and they

often had the excuse that the union would suffer a loss anyway by the deterioration of the currency since its funds often lay idle for weeks without protection against inflation. With regard to dues the unions were in a position similar to that of the State which received taxes in depreciated currency; for example, one union which before the war had monthly revenues of 150,000 marks received in September, 1923, only 11,000 gold marks and in October, 1923, only 2,000 gold marks.

During 1923 the decline in the real value of their funds and of their current revenues became so rapid that all unions had to discharge a large proportion of their employees because of insufficient means. All other expenses had also to be curtailed greatly. More and more the unions had to give up paying strike benefits; other benefits, such as sick and death and unemployment benefits, had to be reduced. Many unions were no longer able to continue publication of their trade papers. These journals, which, almost without exception, were distributed free to members and which in some cases had a larger circulation than any daily paper (the journal of the metal workers reaching a circulation of one and three-fourths million copies) had been reduced in size during the war, and after the war, because of the prohibitive paper prices, were not enlarged to their old size. With increasing inflation their size was still further reduced, in the summer of 1923 being only one-fourth or one-sixth of what it had been in pre-war times, and they were not distributed to every member, one copy being assigned to two, three, or even more members. Since January, 1924 (with the stabilization of the mark) conditions have somewhat improved, but the union journals, which in former times were a most important means of educating the union members, are still far from what they used to be.

INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

The first trade-unions in Germany included men of a single occupation. This trade-union type, which still predominates in Anglo-Saxon countries, has almost completely disappeared in Germany, there being in the General Federation of German Trade-Unions only one union comprising a single occupation—the carpenters' union. All other unions include either several skilled occupations, or several unskilled occupations (e. g., the factory laborers' union), or both skilled and unskilled workers (e. g., the building workers' union), or all the workers of specified concerns (such as the union of State and municipal workers and the railwaymen's union). This consolidation had made great progress before the war but since then the movement has been accentuated. At the Leipzig Trade-Union Congress of June, 1922, where there was much discussion of the question, 12 of the 49 trade-unions there represented comprised five-sixths of the combined membership, and these stronger unions are very anxious to absorb the smaller ones. While in pre-war times it was mainly simplification and economy in administration and in propaganda which induced separate unions to combine, after the war it was, above all, the difficulty in quickly adapting wage conditions to changes in cost of living and the high development of collective bargaining which made it desirable to reduce the number of unions.

At present the organization of practically all German trade-unions is as follows: The elementary unit of the union is always the work-shop, or, in case of a large establishment, the section. The male and female workers of this unit who belong to the trade-union elect a shop steward, who guards their interests against both the employer and the governing board of the union. The shop stewards, in general, are members of the works council and as such enjoy the protection granted by the works council law. In former times this shop steward also collected the union dues in the shop, in case they were not collected at the home of the member, but nowadays the shop steward has so many other duties that the collection of dues is often intrusted to special employees. The next unit is generally the local union, though in some large cities between the shop and the local union are committees for boroughs (covering all occupations in the union) or for special occupations (covering the entire territory of the local union). The local union, almost without exception, covers the city and its suburbs, i. e., the entire territory depending economically upon the city. The local union enjoys considerable independence, especially in financial matters, and not only can use for its own purposes (within the limits of the by-laws) a certain percentage of the dues but also can collect special dues for local needs.

The whole management, it is true, is closely supervised by the national federation, and in case of strikes it must act in accord with the national board. The administrative bodies of the local union are the presiding board and the general assembly. In case the local union has more than 1,000 members, the management is generally intrusted to members who are relieved from their work for that purpose. The next unit above the local union is that of the district. With a few exceptions it has practically no importance as a self-governing body. The management of these districts lies in the hands of salaried district presidents, who safeguard the interests of the union as a whole against the special interests of the local unions and at the same time represent the interests of their respective districts before the national federation. They were originally established mainly for propaganda work and before the war had ample time to devote themselves to educating the unionists and to enrolling new members. After the war their work soon became restricted to wage movements. They always had and still have to report to the national board on impending wage movements, and to see that the instructions of this board are followed. If necessary, they conduct negotiations with the employers' organizations. They are not generally charged with examination of the accounts or funds but are bound to be constantly informed on the management of the local unions within their respective districts. At the head of each union is the national board, the majority of whose members actually work at their trades. The main work, however, is done by salaried members, who, like all other trade-union officials, are members of the union in question. The national board is charged with the management of the entire union. It has to secure the necessary revenues—if necessary, by levying special assessments—to confine expenditures within fair limits, to audit the accounts of local unions, and above all to direct the wage policy of the union. Just as wage controversies have superseded all other activities in the districts, the wage policy, in consequence of the money depreciation, has become the paramount task of the

national boards. While before the war, when collective agreements were generally concluded for several years, the national boards had only to direct wage movements and struggles for new agreements or for the inclusion in agreements of localities and establishments not theretofore covered by an agreement, in such a manner that no one region should be much behind in its wages nor the funds of the unions be too much depleted, after the war they had continuously to conduct wage movements and to adapt their strike policy to their more limited funds. At the time of the final collapse of the mark, in the fall of 1923, the unions' finances were so impaired that strikes became impossible. This, of course, considerably weakened the position of the national boards of the unions. With the stabilization of the mark, however, they have regained their former decisive influence.

INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES

The general attitude of the German trade-unions in the period succeeding the revolution is characterized by three changes in their position produced by that event: First, a considerable enhancement of their moral influence; second, as a consequence of their larger membership, an increase in their actual power, which, however, diminished again when the currency depreciated; and third, the necessity of assimilating large numbers of new members who were politically untrained and ignorant of trade-union principles and at the same time of combating communistic tendencies among them. The loss of power and the impossibility of keeping wages at pre-war levels rendered it especially difficult for the unions to combat radical tendencies among their members.

The "free" trade-unions, with the exception of a few organizations, such as that of the printers, have always been intimately connected with the Socialist Party. After the split in the party in the spring of 1917 because of the diverging attitudes of its members with reference to the war, the greater part of the trade-union leaders remained in the old party (so-called majority socialists). On the outbreak of the revolution, the "independent socialists" (the left wing of the old party), being no longer restricted in their political activity, immediately endeavored to gain control of the trade-unions by the help of the radical working classes. In all places where they were numerous enough they proceeded to attack those in power and wherever they succeeded in obtaining a majority they ousted the adherents of the right wing of the Socialist Party not only from the leading positions but even from the lower clerical places, though up to that time officers of trade-unions could not be removed except in cases of flagrant neglect of duty. This struggle was naturally restricted to the free trade-unions but at the same time another conflict was going on which involved the entire workers' and salaried employees' movement. At the outbreak of the revolution, workers' committees patterned after the Russian model—so-called "workers' councils"—were elected. There being no doubt about the moderate political attitude of the trade-unions, the radical elements endeavored to push aside the trade-unions by the help of the workers' councils. They were aided by two circumstances. In the first place the members of workers' councils, a number of whom in the large establishments were exempted from their usual work at the expense of the employer, showed a strong tendency to independence, especially when they had had little voice

in the trade-unions before the revolutionary wave carried them to the top. On the other hand, the solidarity among all classes of workmen was so great that the rigid organization of the trade-unions was not always necessary for the successful prosecution of movements for higher wages, loose associations formed by a few workers' councils being as a rule quite sufficient for that purpose.

Because of their great experience the trade-unions soon mastered both these difficulties. After the enactment of the works councils act they gave the works councils a place within their own organization, assigning to them special functions. The Independent Socialist Party—although the leaders of the shoemakers' and textile workers' trade-unions were among its members—with the exception of local successes in Berlin, Leipzig, Bremen, and a few smaller places, gained only one really important victory—the conquest of the metal workers' union.

The communist propaganda was a far more serious danger to the trade-unions. The low level of real wages paid in the period of the great depreciation of the currency, when the rate of wages agreed to by the trade-unions never reached the level of the index representing the actual cost of living, made many workmen discontented and dissatisfied with the management of the unions and led to unauthorized strikes. This unauthorized striking and disregard of the authority of the union leaders were encouraged both by the easily-won success of indifferently organized and wild or unauthorized strikes and by the fact that one-half or two-thirds of the members of many of the unions were recent additions and therefore not trained in loyalty to the union. The communists took advantage of this state of affairs. While immediately after the revolution their idea had been simply to break up the trade-unions, they had later become convinced that the German trade-unions were too strong to allow of this and therefore restricted their plans to warfare within the trade-unions. While the form and the nature of the weapons used have changed considerably, in essentials this warfare has remained the same. The masses were incited to wild strikes not upheld by the leaders and mass movements were inaugurated whenever a local conflict showed the weakness of the trade-unions.

The success of the communists was, however, comparatively trifling. While in a few places they captured the local administration, they have not been able to gain control of the general management of any union. On the other hand, it can not be denied that their attacks have considerably weakened the free trade-unions. The unauthorized strikes of workmen in public services (gas, water, and electric works) in several cases led to such strikes being prohibited by the President of the Republic. Frequent strikes in the Berlin municipal services caused the Government, even before the creation of the Reichswehr, to organize an engineering service in the army to give assistance in such cases. This service was afterwards taken over by the Minister of the Interior as an emergency engineering corps (*Technische Nothilfe*) and further developed. The trade-unions, being in the nature of things obliged to resist scabbing to the utmost, could not possibly agree to the organization by the Government of a corps of professional strike breakers. On the other hand, as they were not able to provide the necessary workers to keep the public services going, they could not oppose the emergency service and later saw it called into action by Socialist ministers.

The communists within the trade-unions soon united in separate organizations with the object of furthering their political views. The trade-unions did not treat this organized opposition in an altogether uniform manner. The view generally taken was that it would not be advisable to exclude members on the score of their political ideas and also that it was extremely improbable that the communists would be able to extend their influence within the union to any extent. For these reasons the unions refrained from rigorous measures and excluded only those members who violated the rules and regulations of the unions. Moreover, the importance of the communist movement depends on the amount of employment and the relations of wages to the cost of living. The worse the condition of the workmen the stronger will be the response to communist propaganda. While some unions were especially liberal in their treatment of the communists, and endeavored as far as possible to avoid conflicts between members of closely associated parties, others acted more harshly. Considerable numbers of communist railway men and building workers were excluded from the unions or resigned of their own accord. At first the unions conducted their campaign against the communists rather energetically in their journals but since the beginning of 1924 they seem to have decided on a campaign by means of agreements. It had become usual for the national boards to require officials who were known as communists or members who were leaders of the opposition to sign agreements binding them to regulate their conduct exclusively by the decisions of the union and to take no directions concerning their activity within the union from any outside person. Agreements of this tenor are now quite generally demanded, not only by the national boards, but also by local boards. Thus the Berlin local board has refused to act in cooperation with delegates who are also members of the Red Trade-Unions' Association (the local board of the communist trade-unions) and has bound local administrations to require their delegates to sign written agreements that they will be governed by the principles and conform to the by-laws of the General Federation of German Trade-Unions and the International Federation of Trade-Unions and that they do not intend to join the Red Trade-Unions' Association. Delegates refusing to sign such agreements are not admitted to the meetings of the board. The national board is to proceed against local boards which decline to demand agreements of this tenor from their delegates. It is probable that, in one form or another, such agreements are in use in all unions. Although they are mentioned only occasionally in reports of meetings in the papers, they are evidently demanded much more frequently than is publicly known. In the case of appointed officials a clause is frequently added to the effect that they may be dismissed without notice in case of violation. The object of this procedure seems to be to keep the organized opposition out of the boards or committees of the union and to limit its activity to the general meetings. In case opposition members interrupt the meetings they are to be excluded. These measures do not appear to have been dictated by any fear of an increase of communist opposition. The consideration influencing the leaders seems rather to have been that of preventing the opposition from embarrassing the management of future strikes by the national board and of obliging it to form separate organizations.

As rival organizations formed by secessions of this kind have never had much vitality, this would probably be the shortest way of paralyzing the opposition.

In contrast to the Christian trade-unions, which also had to assimilate large numbers of new members and which, moreover, were to a large extent under the influence of the free trade-unions because of their members being in close contact in the workshops and factories, the Hirsch-Duncker trade-unions have been comparatively little affected by the agitation produced by the revolution. Originally the three groups of trade-unions were exceedingly hostile and tried to ignore each other in the struggle for higher wages. The disadvantages accruing to all parties from this attitude had even before the war induced these groups to combine in movements for higher wages and to conclude collective agreements jointly. Notwithstanding the very close cooperation often arising therefrom, this did not lead to an understanding definitely limiting the sphere of each group. Each organization had to be continually prepared for sharp struggles with its rivals. In later years the three national organizations have often proceeded jointly in negotiations with the Government on economic and social matters, but on other occasions the three organizations have not been able to come to an understanding or at the outset have given up joint action as impossible. The only lasting result of this limited joint action of the three associations is an agreement binding each of them not to bring economic pressure to bear on members of the rival organizations in order to enlist them on its own side. In the extraordinarily violent struggles of 1923 remarkably little stress was laid on the common cause of the trade-unions against the employers' organizations. This may be due to a resolution passed by a bishops' conference in Fulda in 1923 limiting rather strictly the conditions under which Catholics might belong to the free trade-unions and in consequence thereof the influence of the clergy on Catholic workmen to resign from the free trade-unions. The relations of the Christian to the free trade-unions have evidently suffered in these last years because of the knowledge by the free trade-unions that in a crisis the Christian trade-unions count on being able to attract many of the members who have entered the free trade-unions since the war.

With the exception of the engineers' association, none of the organizations of salaried employees and civil service employees acquired any great importance or power before the war, and while they have since changed greatly in numbers as well as in character, they still feel the lack of training and union tradition on the part of their members and are therefore more or less in the development stage.

ECONOMIC POLICY

At the outset, German trade-unions confined themselves to the amelioration of wage and working conditions through negotiations with employers and strikes. The courts prevented them from extending their activity to political or sociopolitical questions. Those unions which could improve the conditions of their members only by working for protective labor laws did so cautiously through public meetings or congresses. In so far as measures covering the working class as a whole were involved, discussion by unions was also hampered by the fact that such questions were considered to

be within the domain of the political parties and that many union leaders did not consider it fair for the unions to compete with Parliament. Later, however, the unions became convinced that as they had a better knowledge of the actual needs of the workers than the politicians did, it was their duty to fight for an extension of labor legislation, but they still refrained from taking any deeper interest in general economic questions. Their economic policy consisted mainly of studying the condition of the labor market. Before the war the textile workers' union was the only German trade-union which had an economic department, its duty being to study the economic situation of the textile industry.

During the war conditions changed because of two reasons: 1. Trade-union leaders, as representatives of the consumers, were called into the offices and committees charged with the food distribution. This protection of the interests of consumers was quite along the lines of the pre-war work, but at the same time it gave union leaders a close insight into price calculation of which they had known very little. 2. The distribution of raw materials and industrial production were controlled by the State. While the unions did not participate in this supervision, they did take part in the State regulation of economic life during the period of demobilization. When in November, 1918, the Imperial Government collapsed, and the newly elected soldiers' and workers' councils proved unable to create a new order, the trade-unions represented the stable portion of the working class and the hope of those who were anxious to keep out bolshevism. They thus suddenly gained not only considerable political importance, but also an important place in the reconstruction of the economic life of the nation. Even those employers who had formerly declined all negotiations with the workers and had never recognized the trade-unions as legitimate representatives of labor now associated themselves with the union leaders to replace the planned bureaucratic demobilization by self-government of those engaged in industry, employees and employers being granted equal rights. Twenty-one of the largest employers' associations and all important federations of trade-unions entered into a joint declaration of principles to govern future industrial relations. This declaration provided for the immediate reinstatement of workmen returning from military service in the situations occupied by them before the war, for a joint regulation and equipartisan administration of employment offices, for the conclusion of collective agreements, for the appointment of workers' committees in establishments employing at least 50 workers, for the establishment of conciliation and arbitration boards composed of an equal number of employers' and workers' representatives, for the introduction of the eight-hour day, and for the establishment of a joint central committee on an equipartisan basis and representing the various trades. This committee was to determine upon further measures necessary during demobilization to maintain economic life. It was also originally planned to have a similar committee for each district, and if this plan had been carried out, the trade-unions would have had a chance to influence greatly the economic policy of the country. But as the old chambers of commerce and craftsmen's chambers in which the employees were not represented were maintained the employers did not care to establish new equipartisan district organ-

izations. The joint central committee therefore became more and more a debating body. The main product of the joint declaration of the employers' associations and the trade-unions was the conclusion of collective agreements, which soon covered almost the entire country. This by no means diminished the wage controversies, but the percentage of controversies resulting in strikes or lockouts was considerably reduced. The number of members of the Social-Democratic unions affected by wage, etc., controversies was 1,200,000 in 1913, 7,400,000 in 1919, 13,000,000 in 1920, 17,700,000 in 1921, 60,100,000 in 1922, and 11,700,000 in 1923;¹ the number of members participating in strikes or lockouts was, in the same years, 249,000, 764,000, 940,000, 1,159,000, 1,159,000, and 1,093,000, respectively.

The actual number of controversies, strikes, and lockouts affecting the Social-Democratic trade-unions in each year from 1913 to 1923 are shown in Table 39.

TABLE 39.—CONTROVERSIES, STRIKES, AND LOCKOUTS AFFECTING SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC TRADE-UNIONS, 1913 TO 1923

Year	Controversies terminating without stoppage of work *				Controversies resulting in strikes or lockouts				Total controversies	
	Controversies		Workers participating		Controversies		Workers participating		Number	Workers participating
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent		
1913.....	7,372	73.9	965,537	79.5	2,600	26.1	248,986	20.5	9,972	1,214,523
1914.....	3,457	71.0	286,359	73.4	1,409	29.0	96,681	26.6	4,866	363,040
1915.....	3,683	98.2	816,246	99.7	66	1.8	2,221	.3	3,749	818,467
1916.....	6,849	98.0	1,450,194	99.0	142	2.0	14,639	1.0	6,991	1,464,833
1917.....	10,336	98.2	2,732,341	97.6	193	1.8	66,634	2.4	10,529	2,798,975
1918.....	10,696	98.5	2,417,924	99.1	163	1.5	21,733	.9	10,859	2,439,657
1919.....	22,769	86.1	6,671,249	89.7	3,664	13.9	764,460	10.3	26,433	7,435,709
1920.....	33,001	85.6	12,103,847	92.8	5,546	14.4	940,081	7.2	38,547	13,043,928
1921.....	49,498	89.7	16,446,157	93.0	5,707	10.3	1,159,191	6.6	55,205	17,687,229
1922.....	126,025	96.2	58,805,711	97.8	4,930	3.8	1,158,906	1.9	130,955	60,149,466
1923.....	153,147	98.2	10,601,117	90.7	2,766	1.8	1,093,174	9.3	155,913	11,694,291

* In addition 81,881 persons in 1921 and 184,849 persons in 1922 participated in controversies resulting in stoppage of work but their demands were granted before quitting work themselves.

There were two other organizations besides the joint central committee which might have enhanced the influence of the trade-unions on the economic policy of the country—the National Economic Council and the export control boards. The National Economic Council was to be the head of a body of district economic councils, but the employers took no interest in fostering this development. The district councils were never created and the National Economic Council became more and more a debating club. The export control boards gave the trade-union leaders a somewhat better chance. They were founded early in 1920 for the purpose of preventing the export of German goods in too great quantities and at too low prices; they served also to secure to the Reichsbank part of the foreign currency realized through exports. The union leaders had here an opportunity to get a certain insight into the conditions of industry, although all establishments did their utmost to disclose as little as

¹ These figures include, of course, duplications, the same trade-union members sometimes being parties to more than one wage controversy.

possible of their so-called business secrets. These boards, however, were suspended in the fall of 1923.

The economic importance of the trade-unions, which immediately after the revolution seemed to become very great, was therefore, really very slight. The unions were not prepared to exercise a strong influence along economic lines, being too much absorbed in their struggles for higher wages. It is necessary to emphasize this point because the rôle which the trade-unions played—for example, at the time of the Kapp revolt—gave the illusion that they really had a strong economic influence. After overthrowing the Kapp government by a general strike they made a number of definite economic demands which were granted by the government they had restored. Although these promises were never fulfilled they led to the catch phrase "the cogovernment of the trade-unions." Similar demands were made at other times by the different federations of trade-unions, which also repeatedly protested against the economic and financial policy of the various governments. But these demands and protests never had any practical result, and the power of the unions in matters of economic policy became negligible when the depreciation of the mark deprived them of their financial means.

The trade-unions are organizations of the sellers of labor. They can exercise power only in so far as they are able to keep labor from the market until the buyers of labor are compelled to accept their conditions. This requires great financial reserves and strong organizations. Before the war such reserves existed, but strong organizations were to be found only in a few occupations and in some parts of the country. After the war the influx of large unorganized masses into the unions strengthened the organizations in spite of certain deficiencies of the new members (lack of discipline, etc.), but the monetary depreciation demoralized the financial status of the unions and paralyzed their activity. The practical loss of the eight-hour day at the end of 1923 is the clearest proof of the collapse of the unions. Their organizations, however, still exist, and their membership is still two and a half times as large as before the war. The stabilization of the mark enabled them to recover financially, and the day may not be far distant when they will possess the two things necessary for permanent success—a strong organization and adequate financial reserves.

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Chapter V.—HOURS OF LABOR

SITUATION BEFORE DECEMBER, 1923

LEGISLATION

Efforts to introduce a general maximum workday in Germany date far back. As early as 1869, when the Industrial Code was under discussion, motions were made for a legal general limitation of the daily hours of labor, but in the Industrial Code as passed a limitation of the hours of labor was fixed only for children, for young persons, and for female workers, the hours of children being limited to 6 per day and those of women and young persons to 10, with certain limits which insured continuous rest periods of at least 10 or 11 hours. Up to 1918 there were no legal general restrictions for adult males, provision being made only for the so-called "hygienic" maximum working-day in specified industries in which the health of the workers was particularly endangered by excessive working hours.

The revolution of 1918 led to a complete change in the law as to hours of labor. Three days after the breakdown of the Imperial Government, the Council of People's Commissioners in a manifesto to the population declared: "The maximum eight-hour workday will go into effect not later than on January 1, 1919." Three days later, on November 15, 1918, the joint declaration of the associations of employers and the trade-unions as to principles to govern future industrial relations stipulated: "The maximum regular daily hours of labor shall be fixed for all establishments at eight hours. Reductions of earnings shall not take place because of the shortening of the hours of labor." As early as November 23, 1918, the National Office for Economic Demobilization issued an order regulating the hours of labor of industrial workers. This order was amended in some minor details by an order of December 17. As it is generally, though wrongly, believed that these orders established a schematic and inelastic eight-hour day, the main provisions of the order of November 23, as amended by the order of December 17, are here reproduced:

ARTICLE 1. This regulation applies to industrial workers in all industrial establishments, inclusive of mining, in Federal, State, communal and communal union establishments, even if they are not operated with a view to profit, and in agricultural subsidiary establishments of an industrial nature.

ART. 2. The regular daily hours of labor, exclusive of rest periods, must not exceed eight. If by agreement the working hours are curtailed on the afternoons preceding Sundays and holidays, the time thus lost may be made up on other working-days.

ART. 3. In the case of general exceptions to the foregoing regulations made necessary in industries connected with transportation and communication, including the railways and post and telegraph service, and called for by existing conditions, agreements must be arrived at between those in charge of the establishments and the workers' organizations. Should such agreements not be concluded within two weeks, the right to issue further orders is reserved.

ART. 4. In order to introduce a regular weekly change of shifts in establishments whose nature does not admit of any interruption of operation, or in which at the present time continuous Sunday labor is necessary in the public interest, male workers over 16 years of age may once within three weeks work a maximum

of 16 hours, inclusive of rest periods, provided that during these three weeks they are twice granted an uninterrupted rest of 24 hours at a time.

ART. 5. Notwithstanding the general regulations of the Industrial Code, female workers over 16 years of age in establishments with two or more shifts may be employed up to 10 p. m., provided that, after quitting work, they are given a rest lasting at least 16 hours. In such cases, in place of a noon rest of one hour, there may be a rest period of half an hour or two rest periods of a quarter of an hour which are to be counted as working time. * * *

ART. 6. The foregoing regulations shall not be applicable to temporary emergency work, which has to proceed without delay.

ART. 7. If, in establishments whose nature does not admit of any interruption, or in which unrestricted operation is necessary in the public interest, the required number of suitable workers is not available, a regulation deviating from the foregoing may be approved provisionally by the competent factory inspection official, or, in the case of mines, by the district mining inspector. This must be preceded by a request on the part of the employer, and should no agreement have been concluded between the employers' and workers' organizations, a declaration of consent on the part of the workers' committee, or, should no such committee exist, on the part of the workers in the establishment. Should more comprehensive agreements between employers' and workers' organizations with respect to exceptions to the limitations of employment of industrial workers be arrived at in establishments designated in this article, the officials of the factory or mine inspection service are authorized to permit further provisional exceptions from the protective labor regulations. Immediately after giving their approval the said officials shall call the attention of the proper employment offices to the shortage of labor in the establishments in question. The competent commissioner of demobilization must also be informed of the permits granted and he is authorized to call upon the officials to revoke such permits.

The commissioners of demobilization are authorized, after having heard the opinion of the factory or mining inspectors, to grant more comprehensive provisional exceptions to the limitations of employment of industrial workers, if such exceptions become urgently necessary in the public interest, particularly for the sake of an orderly demobilization, to avoid unemployment or to insure sufficient food for the population. Copies of the permits granted shall be submitted within two days to the Demobilization Office.

ART. 8. The commencement and termination of the daily hours of labor and rest periods are, so far as they have not been regulated by collective agreement, to be fixed in accordance with the foregoing regulations by the employer in agreement with the workers' committee, or should no such committee exist, with the workers in the establishment, and to be published by posting in the establishment.

ART. 9. The officials of the factory and mine inspection service are charged with the enforcement of the foregoing regulations. For this purpose they are authorized to negotiate with the workers' committees in the presence of the employer, or with either party alone and to summon the workers' committee.

This regulation provided for a general improvement of working conditions, but in one respect it resulted in lowering the standard as to the employment of women. Under the Industrial Code female workers were not to be employed between 8 p. m. and 6 a. m., and on Saturdays and days preceding holidays not after 5 p. m. Under the new regulation they could be employed up to 10 p. m. in establishments having two or more shifts.

On March 18, 1919, this order relating to industrial workers was supplemented by an order regulating in a similar manner the hours of labor of salaried employees. This new legislation on the hours of labor thus established as a matter of principle the maximum eight-hour workday for all employees without regard to sex or age and fixed fines and imprisonment for violations of this limitation. In cases of violation the employer was punished even if the employee worked more than the eight hours of his own free will, while the employee always went scot-free. In order to avoid economic friction, however, which would have been unavoidable in case of a sudden and rigid enforcement of the eight-hour day, factory and

mine inspectors, as well as the demobilization commissioner, were authorized to permit exceptions in the case of industrial workers and salaried employees when the public interest demanded it.

Aside from the two general orders relating to industrial workers and salaried employees, special orders and laws regulated the hours of labor of certain trades; e. g., (1) bakeries, (2) agriculture, and (3) mines.

1. On November 23, 1918, the day on which the order regulating the hours of labor of industrial workers was made, the National Office for Economic Demobilization issued an order regulating hours of labor in bakeries and confectioneries. Up to that time, the hours of labor in these establishments were regulated by the provisions of the Industrial Code as to trades injurious to the health of the workers, but by the new order, which is still in force, these provisions were nullified as to workers employed in bakeries and confectioneries.

The order applies to male and female workers (journeymen, helpers, apprentices) in bakeries and confectioneries proper, as well as to workers employed in the manufacture of bakery or confectionery goods in all other establishments (hotels, restaurants, cafés, boarding houses, hospitals, department stores, flour mills, etc.), but it does not apply to the salaried employees.

The regular workday of such workers shall not exceed eight hours, but the following exemptions are provided for:

(a) Workers may be employed more than eight hours a day if such employment is necessary to prevent the decay of raw materials, or the spoiling of products, in so far as this work can not be done or completed within the regular working time.

(b) Upon request the factory inspectors may permit, subject to revocation, exceptions from the foregoing regulation in two cases. They may allow an extension of the maximum workday for not more than 20 days a year if urgent necessity has been proved, and they may permit the employment of workers more than eight hours during fairs and public festivals, in both of which cases, before the granting of the request, the workers' committee, or if no such committee exists the workers of the establishment, must be given an opportunity to present their views. A copy of the decision, which must be made in writing, is to be posted in the establishment at a place easily accessible to the workers.

The commencement and termination of the daily hours of labor and rest periods are regulated in a more comprehensive manner for workers in bakeries and confectioneries and establishments manufacturing biscuits, crackers, gingerbread, waffles, and matzoth than for industrial workers in general. In such establishments all work between 10 p. m. and 6 a. m. is forbidden (as was the case during the war). This applies also to other establishments (hotels, etc.) having work connected with the manufacture of bakery and confectionery goods. There are, however, two exceptions to this rule: 1. Upon request the competent authority may allow, subject to revocation, in its district or parts thereof the eight-hour night rest to begin at 9 or 11 p. m. instead of at 10 p. m. 2. Workers may be employed during the night rest period if on emergency work or if the public interest is involved, and also for keeping watch of the establishment and for repair work which can not be done during regular working hours without considerable inconvenience to the operation of the establishment.

The rest periods within the regular working hours are regulated only for apprentices and female workers.

Work on Sundays and holidays is forbidden in bakeries, confectioneries, and in all bakery and confectionery work of other establishments, such as hotels, etc., the only exemptions granted being of a most limited scope.

2. When the Council of People's Commissioners in their manifesto of November 12, 1918, declared that all laws (mainly restrictive) governing the rights of agricultural laborers were suspended, the meager provisions which had protected agricultural laborers automatically disappeared. At that time farmers' and agricultural laborers' councils were created in the individual communes, and these local councils combined in a national farmers' and agricultural laborers' council, representatives of which and of the Federal Department of Labor and the Prussian Ministry of Agriculture drew up a bill which on January 24, 1919, received legal force through a provisional order regulating agricultural labor. This order, which is still in force, contains provisions as to labor contracts and hours of labor in agriculture.

This provisional regulation covers workers and salaried employees in agricultural and forestal establishments, including subsidiary establishments. Because of the peculiar needs of agriculture, no uniform maximum workday is fixed for the year. The order merely provides that for four months the maximum workday shall average 8 hours, for four months 10 hours, and for four months 11 hours. The four months with equal working time need not be continuous; e. g., the four months with an average of 10 hours may be spread over the year.

In computing hours of labor, the time from the farmhouse to the place of work and back is to be included, but not the rest periods nor the time occupied in feeding draft animals. During the six summer months rest periods of at least two hours per day must be granted. Female workers with households of their own must be released from work early enough to arrive at their homes one hour before the main meal. They are to be excused from work on the day preceding Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.

Overtime work is allowed, but in order to restrict overtime work, the employer must pay the employee for each hour of overtime at least one-tenth of the customary local daily wages plus 50 per cent. Some States have stipulated that the worker who works overtime is entitled to a corresponding reduction of his hours of labor in the dull season of the year.

On Sundays and holidays only such work as is by its nature necessary—as for example, feeding and attending the animals—shall be performed. If other work is done, and only urgent work is permitted, at least double the customary local wages shall be paid.

3. In the years immediately following the revolution the working time of miners was regulated by the general order of November 23, 1918, regulating the hours of labor of industrial workers. A special law relating to the hours of labor in underground mines, enacted July 17, 1922, brought about no essential change. It stipulated that the length of the shifts as fixed in the collective agreements in force on October 1, 1921, was to constitute the regular daily hours of labor, the shift, within the meaning of this law, beginning for under-

ground miners with the time of their descent into the mine and ending with their completed ascent from the mine. In establishments in which the hours of labor were not regulated by a collective agreement on October 1, 1921, the daily hours of labor were to be those usual on that day in these establishments. Overtime work could be agreed upon by means of a generally binding collective agreement. For mines in which the temperature is in excess of 82° F. collective agreements should provide for shorter hours than the regular hours of labor, and if a collective agreement failed to make such provision, shorter hours were to be fixed by the competent mining authorities after a hearing of the employers' and workers' organizations interested.

This law was suspended when the decree of December 21, 1923, provisionally regulating the hours of labor of industrial workers, went into effect.

ACTUAL DEVELOPMENT

Pre-war time.—Statistics on collective agreements for December 31, 1913, compiled by the Imperial Statistical Office, give the percentage of workers working specified hours in summer time as follows:

TABLE 40.—PER CENT OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS COVERED BY COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS WORKING EACH CLASSIFIED NUMBER OF HOURS IN SUMMER, DECEMBER 31, 1913.

Daily hours of labor	Per cent of workers	Weekly hours of labor	Per cent of workers
Under 8.....	0.3	Under 48.....	0.5
8.....	2.5	48 to 50.....	3.2
Over 8 to 8½.....	3.2	Over 50 to 52.....	6.6
Over 8½ to 9.....	35.4	Over 52 to 54.....	33.3
Over 9 to 9½.....	20.4	Over 54 to 56.....	11.7
Over 9½ to 10.....	34.5	Over 56 to 58.....	12.2
Over 10 to 10½.....	1.1	Over 58 to 60.....	23.8
Over 10½ to 11.....	1.2	Over 60 to 62.....	.4
Over 11.....	1.4	Over 62 to 64.....	.8
		Over 64.....	2.5

Three-sevenths (43.6 per cent) of the workers covered by collective agreements had regular hours of labor not exceeding 54 a week. In studying these figures, however, one must bear in mind that in pre-war times only a small fraction of the workers—those who were strongly organized and had comparatively favorable working conditions—were covered by collective agreements. The agricultural laborers and the other employees working 10 hours or more a day were, in general, not in a position to conclude collective agreements. The same is true of the miners, who on the whole had shorter hours of labor than the average workers. In the Ruhr they worked 8½ hours "bank to bank," and as generally 1½ hours were consumed in descent and ascent, their actual working time was about 7 hours. In other mining districts hours of labor were much longer; e. g., in Upper Silesia, where the miners worked 10 hours "bank to bank," with an actual working time of about 8½ hours. In the heavy industries (metal works, etc.), where collective agreements were also unknown, the hours of labor, almost without exception, were very long—from 10 to 12 hours a day. The shortest hours were those of the woodworkers, who were strongly organized while their employers were comparatively weak, and who laid special stress upon a short workday. The cabinet makers, for example, had the following weekly hours of labor:

TABLE 41.—PER CENT OF CABINET MAKERS WORKING EACH CLASSIFIED NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK, 1885, 1893, 1902, and 1911.

Weekly hours of labor	1885	1893	1902	1911
51 and under.....		0.5	2.6	16.6
Over 51 to 54.....		3.8	28.0	31.1
Over 54 to 57.....	0.6	12.0	14.4	26.4
Over 57 to 60.....	25.7	47.6	44.0	22.6
Over 60 to 63.....	22.8	12.4	4.3	.9
Over 63 to 66.....	39.8	20.6	6.1	2.3
Over 66 to 69.....	6.1	1.6	.3	.0
Over 69.....	5.0	1.5	.3	.1
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In 1911 almost one-half of the cabinet makers worked no longer than 9 hours a day. In contrast may be mentioned the hours of labor of bricklayers and hod carriers, of whom in 1910 72 per cent worked 10 hours or more:

	Per cent
8 hours.....	0.64
8½ hours.....	.63
8¾ hours.....	.02
9 hours.....	17.10
9½ hours.....	8.87
9¾ hours.....	.63
10 hours.....	65.25
10½ hours.....	1.85
11 hours.....	4.96
11½ hours.....	.02
12 hours.....	.03
Total.....	100.00

War time.—Efforts of the workers to reduce their hours of labor, which had been rather successful in the 15 years preceding the war, ended when the munition industry absorbed all the unemployed and overtime became customary in all establishments. According to data of investigations of the Federal Statistical Office covering the last two weeks of March and of September, 1914 to 1918, and including about 200,000 workers, a workday of 10 hours or more was in effect during the entire period in flour mills (in which even more than 11 hours were worked from 1915 to 1917) and in the paper industry (with the exception of September, 1914), in stone quarries in September, 1916, 1917, and 1918, and in the iron and metal industries in March, 1916. On the other hand, the industries which suffered from a shortage of raw materials had very short hours of labor. A workday of less than 7 hours was in force in the lingerie and clothing industry in September, 1916; in cotton mills in September, 1916; in hosiery mills in September, 1916; and in the passementerie industry in September, 1914. A workday of over 7 and under 8 hours was in effect in September, 1914, in iron and metal works, in the precious metals industry, in the lingerie and clothing industry, in shoe factories, in the manufacture of artificial flowers, and in printing establishments; in March, 1915, in the precious metals industry; in September, 1915, in cotton mills; in March, 1916, in cotton mills and hosiery mills; in September, 1916, in linen mills and shoe factories; and from March, 1917, on, in chocolate and

candy factories and in the lingerie and clothing industry (with the exception of September, 1917). It will hardly be necessary to show in detail how the industries with reduced hours of labor also reduced their personnel, who flocked into the industries with long hours of labor. The establishments in the metal industry covered by the investigation, for instance, increased their personnel 74 per cent between March, 1914, and September, 1918, while in the same period those of the clothing industry reduced their personnel 54 per cent.

Perhaps the worst feature of the extension of hours of labor in war time was the reckless exploitation of children. The war emergency law of August 4, 1914, authorized factory inspectors to suspend during the war, in individual cases, the legal restrictions on child labor, etc., and this was done in numerous cases. Children under 14, for whom the law prescribed a 6-hour day, were frequently allowed to work up to 10 hours daily. The working-day of children between 14 and 16, normally 10 hours, was often extended to 11 and 12 hours. Employment of children under 16 on Sunday, prohibited by law, was permitted in a number of districts. While in normal times children under 16 could not be employed between 8 p. m. and 6 a. m., during the war many of them were permitted to work until late in the evening or in the early morning, and a very large number were employed on the regular night shifts, which often lasted 12 hours including rest periods. While all these exemptions were explicitly permitted, there were many more cases in which employers simply ignored the legal restrictions on the employment of children, not even attempting to secure permission for such employment. Two examples taken from the factory inspectors' reports may serve as illustrations: In the district of Dusseldorf 15-year-old boys were employed around blast furnaces in loading iron and in other transportation processes not only on Sunday and at night, but also on 24-hour shifts. In two brickyards in Königsberg, children under 14 years, who under the law could not be employed for more than three hours on school days and four hours on other days, were working up to 11 hours daily. Throughout Germany children 8 and 9 years old were employed in peddling in the early morning and late evening hours.

Postwar time.—With the introduction of the maximum 8-hour day in November, 1918, the regular weekly hours of labor became 48 for the majority of the workers and salaried employees. According to statistics on collective agreements compiled by the Federal Statistical Office, more than four-fifths of the agreements in force on December 31 of the years 1919 to 1922 provided for a week of 48 hours, as will be seen in Table 42. They covered from two-thirds to five-sixths of the establishments and almost two-thirds of the persons whose working conditions were regulated by such agreements.

TABLE 42.—WEEKLY HOURS OF LABOR UNDER COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS IN FORCE DECEMBER 31, 1919 TO 1922

Weekly hours of labor	1919	1920	1921	1922
Collective agreements				
	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Up to 42.....	0.5	0.8	0.5	0.6
Over 42 to 45.....	4.4	3.5	3.5	3.0
Over 45 to 46.....	7.0	9.0	8.1	9.3
Over 46 to 47.....	3.6	3.4	3.2	3.0
Over 47 and under 48.....	.7	.5	.3	.3
48.....	81.3	80.8	82.1	80.6
Over 48.....	2.5	2.0	2.3	3.2
Establishments covered				
Up to 42.....	0.5	0.2	0.7	0.2
Over 42 to 45.....	6.7	5.5	4.1	2.2
Over 45 to 46.....	11.9	15.3	8.9	7.2
Over 46 to 47.....	4.6	3.1	2.7	2.7
Over 47 and under 48.....	.7	.4	.4	.1
48.....	73.3	75.2	82.3	66.1
Over 48.....	2.3	.3	.9	21.5
Employees covered				
Up to 42.....	0.1	8.4	6.9	5.1
Over 42 to 45.....	8.0	6.2	7.5	6.4
Over 45 to 46.....	21.2	15.8	15.6	13.5
Over 46 to 47.....	6.8	3.2	4.7	3.0
Over 47 and under 48.....	.7	.3	.3	.1
48.....	62.1	65.8	64.7	65.7
Over 48.....	1.1	.3	.3	6.2
Female employees covered				
Up to 42.....	-----	0.3	0.2	0.2
Over 42 to 45.....	-----	5.1	5.8	3.9
Over 45 to 46.....	-----	35.1	31.9	29.9
Over 46 to 47.....	-----	4.9	6.7	3.8
Over 47 and under 48.....	-----	.0	.1	.0
48.....	-----	54.1	54.9	53.2
Over 48.....	-----	.5	.4	9.0

Longer hours of labor than 48 were agreed upon mainly in agriculture, where it is customary to limit the hours per year and not per week. This limitation in general is uniform for Provinces and even States. In 1923 the yearly hours agreed upon were: 2,900 in Bavaria, Wurttemberg, Baden, and parts of Pomerania; 2,840 in Eastern Prussia and Silesia; 2,800 in Mecklenburg, Thuringia, Hesse-Nassau, Rhineland, and Waldeck; 2,750 in Hesse, Hanover, and parts of Anhalt; 2,725 in Schleswig-Holstein; 2,700 in Brandenburg; 2,675 in parts of Anhalt; and 2,625 in Brunswick.

The workday is generally fixed at 10 to 11 hours per day in the summer and harvest months, and at 7, 8, and 9 hours in the other months. Some collective agreements (e. g., in Brandenburg, Eastern Prussia, and Mecklenburg) provide that in the busiest months there shall be a certain number of "emergency" or "obligatory" overtime hours.

Agreements for nonagricultural workers and salaried employees which provide for more than 48 hours of labor are rare. An analysis made of the collective agreements in force in Saxony at the end of October, 1921, shows the following:

Aside from agriculture, where the workday has been fixed at 8 hours for $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 months, at 9 hours for 2 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ months, and at 10 hours for 4 to 6 months, more than 48 hours per week have been fixed for the following occupations: Gardening, only three out of nine collective agreements providing for an 8-hour day, the year round and one for a 9-hour day for four months and five for eight months; engineers and firemen in the textile industry of eastern Saxony who had to work up to 54 hours; barbers and hair dressers, only two collective agreements providing for 48 hours, while one provided for 50, one for 52, and two for 54; cab drivers in Dresden, with a maximum workday of 10 hours; hotels, restaurants, and cafés, two agreements providing for 8 hours, one for 9, one for 10 per day, and one for 60 hours per week; domestic service, where the employees under the agreement of Plauen had a workday of 10 hours and those under the agreement of Dresden, "on call" time (presence on duty) of 12 hours; and service in institutions, the municipal hospital of Riesa having agreed upon 10 hours per day and the school for invalid children in Kleinmensdorf upon 60 hours per week for the teachers.

In most cases more than 48 hours per week have been agreed upon for work which is not continuous, so that the hours of labor did not actually refer to working time but to time of presence on duty.

The 46-hour week prevailed in Saxony in the metal industry and the textile industry. Practically all over Germany the textile industry had the 46-hour week, which explains the fact that the percentage of women covered by collective agreements providing for less than 48 hours is larger than that for men. In the metal industry the employers in many cases succeeded in 1922 in extending the hours of labor to 48. The percentage of German metal workers covered by collective agreements providing for less than 48 hours decreased from 40 on December 31, 1921, to 25 on December 31, 1922.

Shorter hours than 46 were found only in certain trades. The only cases in Saxony in October, 1921, were in the following occupations and industries:

<i>Industrial workers</i>	<i>Hours per day</i>
Coal mining, underground.....	7
Potash industry, underground.....	$7\frac{1}{2}$
Building and construction work:	
November 15 to December 15.....	$7\frac{1}{2}$
December 16 to January 15.....	7
January 16 to February 8.....	$7\frac{1}{2}$
Stove setting (Nov. 1 to Feb. 28).....	7

	Hours per week
Sheet-glass manufacture—glass makers (journeymen)-----	42
Bottle manufacture:	
Bottle makers-----	45
Wicker-bottle plaiters-----	39
Ball makers-----	33
Asbestos works (Dresden-Leuben)-----	45
Tallow and grease products (Leipzig)-----	36
Slaughtering at home-----	36
Cigarette industry-----	45
Paving (Leipzig)-----	45

Commercial and technical employees and foremen

Metal industry (district of Chemnitz, Leipzig)-----	45
Breweries (Dresden)-----	45
Building industry-----	45
Architects-----	{ ¹ 45 42
Construction work-----	45
Insurance-----	45
Private schools (Dresden)—teachers-----	32

There are two trades which call for special discussion—(1) mines and (2) railways.

1. Immediately after the revolution, the hours of labor for miners all over the country were reduced to 8 per day "bank to bank." This meant for the Ruhr Basin a reduction of only half an hour as compared with pre-war times, and the miners of this district, who were accustomed to work shorter hours than other workmen, were not satisfied. They demanded a six-hour shift, went on strike, and succeeded in obtaining (April, 1919) a shift of 7 hours "bank to bank" (5½ hours of actual work). They insisted, however, on a further reduction of the hours and the Minister of Labor, under the decree of June 18, 1919, appointed a commission to study means of introducing on February 1, 1920, the 6-hour shift "bank to bank." The commission, composed of representatives of the organizations of mine owners, miners, and salaried employees, while unanimous that a shorter shift would be advantageous from the point of view of health, came to the conclusion that the introduction of the 6-hour shift was feasible only through an international convention.

It was probably not so much the dislike of long working hours that induced the Ruhr miners to cling to the principle of the 6-hour shift as the desire to have their claim to shorter working hours recognized by the mine owners. In any case, whenever they became convinced that an increase of production was necessary in the public interest, they were willing to do overtime work. Thus on March 8, 1920, they concluded a collective agreement with the mine owners under which, beginning with March 15, 1920, all miners, in addition to their regular shifts of 7 hours each, were to work an extra half shift twice a week at double the regular wages. They were thus to work 49 hours for 56 hours' pay. The Kapp revolt, which broke out on March 13, 1920, and the ensuing conflicts in the Ruhr District somewhat delayed the actual introduction of the extra half shifts, but they were finally put into effect and were worked for about a year. But when the hopes of the miners for socialization of

¹ Inclusive of midday rest.

the mines failed, the extra shifts were suspended. They were again inaugurated under an agreement effective September 1, 1922, and expiring the middle of December. Because of the dissatisfaction of the miners, who felt the strain of the extra shifts considerably, extra shifts were suspended for four weeks. In the meantime, the French entered the Ruhr Basin, and when passive resistance was decided upon, extra shifts were, of course, out of question.

In Lower Silesia the situation was similar to that in the Ruhr Basin. In Upper Silesia, where the length of the shift had been reduced by the collective agreement of January 31, 1920, from 8 to 7½ hours, extra shifts were the exception. The same is true of Saxony where the opposition of the miners doomed from the outset any attempt to introduce extra shifts.

2. The introduction of the eight-hour day caused probably more inconvenience in railway operation than in any other industry, since men employed on trains can not, of course, quit their "place of work" at a certain minute, and since working hours, hours of presence on duty, and hours of rest are here particularly difficult to separate. Indeed, the States, after introducing the eight-hour work-day immediately after the revolution, soon recognized that to adhere strictly to the maximum workday would hamper efficient operation of the railways. An agreement was therefore reached under which weekly working hours (48) and monthly working hours (208) were fixed. The daily hours might exceed 8 hours in a particular case, provided the weekly or monthly maximum was not exceeded. When on April 1, 1920, the State railways were taken over by the Federal Government, the latter wished to introduce a law providing special working hours for the railways, but owing to the opposition of the railway employees such a law was not enacted. The railway administration then entered into negotiations with the employees which resulted in an understanding that only part of the hours on duty should be considered hours of work. This understanding was embodied in the decree of August 5, 1922, which also fixed the days of rest at 52, consisting of not less than 32 consecutive hours each, or, as an alternative, 26 days of not less than 32 hours each and 3 days of at least 24 hours each in place of each 2 of the remaining 26.

OPPOSITION TO 8-HOUR DAY

The first year after the introduction of the 8-hour day it met with practically no opposition at all. The first noteworthy signs of antagonism to this reduction of hours appeared in the summer of 1920, when the dollar exchange rate dropped from 100 marks in February to 33 marks in June. Some groups of employers, seeing their exports hampered, became anxious to reduce the cost of production by extending the working hours. But the matter became serious only when the first bill for a law regulating hours of labor was published in August, 1921. Up to that time the 8-hour day had been regulated only by the provisional orders heretofore mentioned, which were extended from time to time. The employers, who at first wanted only the opportunity of extending the hours of labor for certain periods by collective agreement, were now eager to abolish the 8-hour day through legislation restoring their pre-war liberty of action as to paid but unlimited overtime work, but the

power of the trade-unions was still too strong, and the employers contented themselves for the time being by fighting a reduction of hours on Saturday. In the spring of 1922 two sharp controversies took place. Both in the metal industry and in the textile industry the employers attempted to replace the 46-hour week by a 48-hour week, being rather successful in the metal industry, but not in the textile industry.

When inflation increased and in consequence thereof trade-unions became absorbed in wage disputes, at the same time being financially weakened, the fight against the 8-hour day became more intense. When finally the unions broke down financially, the "conviction" that the 8-hour day was unbearable became universal among employers and the public in general.

Arguments of adversaries.—The strongest attack against the 8-hour day was made by Hugo Stinnes, who, in a speech in the National Economic Council, November 9, 1922, declared it absolutely necessary to have for 10 or 15 years two hours additional work a day without compensation if Germany was to recover economically. Others advocated the suspension of the 8-hour day for five years. In general, however, up to the fall of 1923, the employers did not go so far. They desired merely the legal fixation of many exceptions to the 8-hour day, arguing as follows: The introduction of the 8-hour day was necessary for political reasons and for the physical recovery of the workers from their overexertion during the war. It should also be legally maintained as a matter of principle. But it must be adapted to the needs of the industry, it must not reduce the productivity of Germany, and it should be enforced only after industry has been put on a sound basis and production intensified to such a degree that the maximum output can be secured within 8 hours. They further demanded the exclusion of hours of presence on duty in computing working time, the extension of hours of labor for light work, and liberty to require overtime work. Mr. von Siemens, president of the Siemens concern, and member of the Reichstag and of the National Economic Council, particularly emphasized that the decrease in German production was even more considerable than the reduction of working hours warranted, since a strict application of the 8-hour working-day made it impossible, he said, to make good the fluctuations and disturbances of every-day occurrence in manufacturing. If even the smallest loss of time could not be made up, it resulted in a loss in output. The arguments most generally advanced were that the extension of the hours of labor was the quickest means of increasing production and that, with the burdens resulting from the war, it was impossible to expect shorter instead of longer hours of labor. Special arguments advanced by one or the other groups of employers were as follows:

1. Intensification of production is a matter of education of workers and employers and calls for a material change in the operation of the business. It is therefore not possible suddenly to reduce hours without hampering production. Such a reduction can take place only as production becomes more intense. Moreover, such education of the workers takes a long time, and there are numerous workers who are not able or not willing to work intensively and who prefer an unhurried 10-hour workday to an intensive 8-hour workday. Besides, putting industry on a sound business basis can be done only

through increased production, since additional capital can not easily be obtained. This is the more necessary as the equipment of the factories deteriorated during the war and has not been renewed.

2. The output per man and per hour has dropped, or at least has not increased sufficiently to make up for the reduced working time.

3. In the many cases where the intensity of production depends upon the machine and not upon the worker, the output per day has, of course, decreased in proportion to the reduction of the working time. A good deal of so-called work consists merely of hours of presence on duty. It is unjust to value light work as highly as hard work, and differentiation of the hours of labor between light and hard work is urgent.

4. Economically, Germany lives upon her substance, consuming more than she produces. She has an adverse balance of trade, and an increase of exports, which is necessary in order to stabilize the currency, can be obtained only by an extension of the hours of labor.

5. The 8-hour day was introduced under the assumption that the other countries would follow the example of Germany, but this has not resulted.

6. The 8-hour day has always been advocated as a means for the better intellectual development of the working class. But the number of those who are thus benefited is small and the sudden reduction of hours of labor is a detriment to those who do not seek to improve themselves intellectually, but loaf, or work for other employers in their spare time, or do agricultural work in addition to their main occupation, and in consequence are tired when they go to work in the factory.

An extension of the hours of labor was especially demanded for the coal mines, the metal works, the building industry, and the small shops in rural districts. The three-shift system of 8 hours each was denounced as harmful, and, because of the necessary repair work and the time lost in changing shifts, it was declared preferable to return to the pre-war two-shift system of 10 hours.

On the whole, the movement against the eight-hour day, which originated within the heavy industries, found there the strongest and most united support. More than all other employers, these industrial magnates hoped to be able to crush the trade-unions by an extension of the hours of labor. The manufacturers of finished products were not quite so unanimous. Where the workers were employed on automatic machinery, their employers were in favor of abolishing the 8-hour day, but where the output depended on the efficiency of the worker, a good many manufacturers with modern equipment were not anxious to extend hours of labor. But they too found it inconvenient always to negotiate with their employees if they wished overtime work done and they suffered from the enforcement of the 8-hour day particularly in repair work, cleaning, transport work, etc. It was, then, more the desire for greater elasticity in the working time which made such employers join the ranks of the fighters against the 8-hour day and not the conviction that they would materially increase their output or lower their cost of production by extending hours of labor.

The advocates of the 8-hour day declared that overexertion of the workers was detrimental to the general welfare, and argued in favor of the 8-hour day from the standpoint of the worker. Specific arguments advanced by them were as follows:

1. When work becomes slack, turnover of capital becomes slower and the equipment of the plant is utilized as fully as with intense production. Overhead expenses are comparatively smaller with a three-shift system of 8 hours than with a two-shift system of 10 hours.

2. The 8-hour day means in the long run increased output. The 8-hour day was not granted in 1918 as a political concession but for economic reasons. The employers then demanded only that other countries follow the example of Germany; this has resulted.

3. Before the war hours had already been reduced, and 10 years ago the 9-hour and even a shorter workday prevailed in many German establishments.

4. The necessity of adapting the maximum workday to the needs of agriculture and of distinguishing between hours of work and hours of presence on duty in railway service were recognized by the workers immediately after the introduction of the 8-hour day and all justifiable claims of the employers in this respect have been met.

5. The German workers are morally bound to maintain the 8-hour day, since the German trade-unions for decenniums have led the international trade-union movement.

6. For psychological reasons, an extension of the hours of labor, which would be unavoidably accompanied by strong sociopolitical friction, would not result in an increase, but perhaps even in a reduction, of output.

The workers demanded a legal 8-hour day, exceptions to be admissible only if arranged by collective agreement. The employers, on the other hand, demanded a fixing of the exemptions in the law itself. This struggle as to the impending 8-hour law was thus, perhaps without a full knowledge of this fact by the interested parties, a struggle as to the basis of future labor contracts—should they be based on the law, as they had 30 years before, or should the employers, in order to deviate from the 8-hour day, be compelled to conclude collective agreements?

SITUATION SINCE DECEMBER, 1923

DECREE OF DECEMBER 21, 1923

The orders establishing the 8-hour day were extended from time to time, the last occasion being on October 29, 1923, when they were extended to November 17. No further extension being made, the legal 8-hour day for German workers (except miners) and salaried employees ceased to be operative. At first this was of no practical consequence because of the fact that working conditions were generally regulated by collective agreement. The Government, however, seeing no possibility of the enactment of a law regulating working hours and realizing the necessity of some regulation, resorted to the emergency law of December 8, 1923, authorizing it to take such measures as it might consider necessary and urgent, and on December 21, 1923, issued a decree relating to working time, which went into force January 1, 1924.

This new decree explicitly reestablishes the legal force of the orders of November 23 and December 17, 1918, regulating the hours of labor of industrial workers, and of March 18, 1919, regulating the hours of labor of salaried employees, in so far as those orders are not amended by the new decree; e. g., since the new decree does not

regulate the commencement and the end of the working time and the periods of rest and Sunday work, the provisions of the orders of 1918 and 1919 relating thereto are still in force. The purpose of the new decree, as announced by the Government, was to increase production by abolishing impediments to the free exercise of the will to work. It permitted exceptions from the rigid 8-hour day (1) by collective agreements and (2) by permit of the authorities. At the same time the decree "maintained the principle of the 8-hour day and refused to abolish all limitations and to deliver the workers to the free play of economic forces. This could not be justified in a period of general distress when the economic organizations of employees were perhaps not always strong enough successfully to resist unreasonable demands on the employers' side."

The decree regulated its own scope, the hours of labor, and the means for its enforcement.

SCOPE OF DECREE

The decree of December 21, 1923, applies to persons who are economically dependent upon their work for an employer, and does not, therefore, cover public officials, nor such workers as prisoners and inmates of workhouses, nor persons whose occupation is not their principal means of living, such as convalescents who work as an aid to their recovery. The order applies to industrial workers and to salaried employees.

The decree applies, first, to industrial workers in all industrial establishments, including mining, in Federal, State, communal, and communal union establishments, even if not operated for profit, and in agricultural subsidiary establishments of an industrial nature. The definition of "industrial worker" thus takes into consideration (1) the kind of work and (2) the nature of the establishment in which employed.

1. Industrial workers are all persons who through a labor contract are employed as journeymen, helpers, apprentices, supervisory officials, foremen, engineers, or factory hands, or in similar positions.

2. In order to be an industrial worker within the meaning of the decree, the worker must be employed either in an industrial establishment or a public-service enterprise. Mines are considered to be industrial establishments, and the law of July 17, 1922, relating to the hours of labor in mines has, therefore, been explicitly abrogated by the new decree. The following are not to be considered industrial establishments: Fisheries, drug stores, schools, lawyers' offices, insurance companies and the like, railways, and ocean ships. Domestic service is not included, and therefore the hours of labor of domestic servants are not regulated by the decree. It does not apply to bakeries and confectioneries, the hours of labor of which are still regulated by the special order of November 23, 1918. Federal, State, and communal enterprises are covered by the new decree even if not operated for profit, e. g., State mines, municipal gas works, etc., but not the national railways.

The regulation applies also to salaried employees engaged in commercial work, and to those engaged in technical work whose hours of labor differ from those of the industrial workers. Supervisory officials, foremen, and engineers whose work time, for practical reasons, must coincide with that of the industrial workers are not con-

sidered salaried employees within the meaning of this decree. On the other hand, office employees and apprentices learning the work of a salaried employee are regarded as salaried employees.

The regulation does not apply to higher employees such as managers with general or limited power of attorney (*Prokuristen*) who are entered in the commercial register, nor to supervisory employees who direct at least 20 salaried employees or 50 workers, or workers and salaried employees whose yearly income exceeds 4,000 gold marks (\$952). Salaried employees in agriculture and forestry, including subsidiary establishments, and journeymen and apprentices in drug stores are also excluded, but not those in the other establishments excepted in the case of industrial workers. The scope of the regulation is thus much broader as to salaried employees than as to industrial workers.

LENGTH OF WORKING-DAY

As a matter of principle, the normal workday, i. e., the regular daily working time, consists of 8 hours for the above-mentioned persons. The decree, however, allows many exceptions to this rule and, moreover, the regular daily working time can be extended beyond 8 hours by collective agreement or by order of the competent authorities. If no regulation of the working time has been made by collective agreement or by official order, the regular daily working time is that fixed in the law. As a matter of principle, regulation by collective agreement ranks above the official order, except as otherwise provided in the decree. Overtime work by order of the employer alone is permitted under certain conditions but in other cases an official permit is needed for such work. Because of the numerous deviations from the 8-hour day permitted, a maximum workday of 10 hours is fixed, but there are also exceptions, as employment beyond 10 hours is permitted if urgently required in the interests of the public welfare or in case of temporary emergency.

Aside from this general regulation of the hours of labor, several special regulations are still in force, e. g., the regulations applying to establishments involving special danger to health and to underground mining. These special regulations are akin to the provisions in the Industrial Code as to the hygienic maximum workday. Special regulations as to hours of labor also appear in many articles of the decree of December 21, 1923.

Normal workday.—The regular daily working time, including the hours of presence on duty, but excluding rest periods, are not to exceed 8 hours. The decree provides not only for the 8-hour day but also for the 48-hour week and the 96-hour fortnight. In case less than 8 hours has been worked in an establishment or in a subdivision thereof on individual days, this loss of time may be made up, after a hearing of the legal representatives of the employees, by overtime work on other days of the same or the subsequent week. In this manner greater freedom is granted with regard to the distribution of the hours of labor over the individual workdays. The employer may thus reduce the regular working time in his establishment or in a part thereof (but not for individual workers), for example, by two hours on Saturday, and these lost hours may be made up in the course of the next week. No maximum workday within the 48-hour week or the 96-hour fortnight is fixed for male workers over 16 years nor

for salaried employees in general, but for juvenile workers between 14 and 16 years of age and for female workers in establishments employing as a rule at least 10 workers, the maximum workday of 10 hours fixed by the Industrial Code still obtains, as does also the maximum workday of 8 hours for females on days preceding Sundays and holidays.

Since in transportation and communication the regular 8-hour day causes special inconvenience, the decree provides that for both workers and salaried employees in transportation and communication, including railways and post and telegraph service, general exceptions from the legal regulation of the working time may be agreed upon between the management and the employees' organizations.

The hours of presence on duty may be regulated by special arrangement. The 8-hour day may be exceeded in branches of industry (or for groups of employees) which regularly and to a considerable extent require mere presence on duty on the part of the employees. In such cases the hours of labor per day, per week, or per fortnight may be regulated by collective agreement, or, in the absence of such agreement, by the Federal Minister of Labor after a hearing of the interested organizations of employers and employees. This provision applies to such groups as doorkeepers, drivers, office boys, etc.

The time by which the 8-hour day may be exceeded in such cases is not limited in the decree, but for juvenile and female employees the limitations of the Industrial Code hold good. In case a collective agreement provides for an unreasonable extension of the working time (including presence on duty) the competent authorities may interpose and themselves regulate the hours of labor.

Exceptions to normal workday.—The normal workday may be deviated from in two ways: 1. The regular hours of labor may be extended; 2. Under certain conditions overtime work is permissible.

1. The regular workday may be extended by collective agreement, in which case the provisions of the agreement shall be binding upon workers covered by the agreement. If such an agreement contains provisions as to hours of labor which are considered harmful by the competent authorities, such authorities may object, and if the objectionable provisions are not altered within the time limit fixed by the authorities, they may themselves fix the hours of labor. On the other hand, on the going into effect of the decree collective agreements which fix shorter hours of labor than those provided in the decree may be abrogated on 30 days' notice.

Collective agreements must not provide for a regular workday in excess of 10 hours, nor, of course, for one not in accordance with the Industrial Code. But in those cases where an employer is for certain reasons allowed to lengthen temporarily the regular workday, he shall not be restricted to the hours of labor provided for in a collective agreement.

The regular workday may also be extended by order of the competent authorities. In establishments in which the hours of labor are not regulated by collective agreement, a deviation from the normal 8-hour day may, on application of the employer, be permitted, after a hearing of the legal representatives of the employees and subject to revocation by the factory or mine inspector, if considered necessary for technical reasons, because of interruption of operation due to force majeure, accident, or other unavoidable cause, or for

general economic reasons. An appeal from such decision to the higher authority may be taken at any time, but such appeal does not postpone the enforcement of the decision. In granting an extension of the regular workday, the authorities must observe the maximum 10-hour workday.

The extension of the regular workday by the authorities shall take place only if no collective agreement exists. If after a decision of the authorities the hours of labor are regulated by collective agreement, such regulation shall at once supersede the decision of the authorities.

2. A temporary extension of the regular workday through overtime work by order of the employer alone is, under certain conditions, permissible; in other cases overtime work requires the approval of the authorities.

Overtime work by order of the employer alone is permissible (a) on 30 days during one year, (b) for the sake of a regular and full operation of the entire plant, (c) for emergency work, or (d) in case of establishments with continuous operation.

(a) Employers may, after a hearing of the representatives of their employees, have the employees of their establishment or of a subdivision thereof work overtime not to exceed two hours per day on 30 days, to be chosen by the employers, during one year. This provision gives the employer a certain freedom of action in cases where a sudden temporary need for longer hours of labor arises, but he is not allowed to have individual employees work overtime, nor can he have all his employees work one hour of overtime on 60 days.

(b) After a hearing of the works council, female and juvenile employees may be required to work one hour overtime daily and male employees over 16 years of age two hours overtime daily if employed: 1. In guarding the establishment or in cleaning or in maintenance work necessary for the regular operation of the employer's or another establishment; 2. In work necessary for the resumption of full operation; 3. In the loading or unloading of vessels in port or of railroad cars, and in the switching of such cars, provided that such overtime work is necessary to prevent traffic jams or to observe loading-time limits; 4. In supervising the work mentioned under 1, 2, and 3. This provision, then, refers mainly to work performed outside of the regular working time to make possible the full use of the regular working time of the entire plant.

(c) The employer may require overtime work in emergencies or to prevent deterioration of raw materials or spoiling of products. In such cases the hours of labor fixed by collective agreement or by official instruction do not apply. There is no limit to the amount of such work other than the restrictions for juvenile and female employees and as to the hygienic maximum workday provided for in the Industrial Code.

(d) In establishments whose nature necessitates continuous operation, like blast furnaces and gas works, or in which continuous Sunday labor is necessary in the public interest, e. g., certain food industries, male workers over 16 years of age, if requested by the employer, may each three weeks on the weekly change of shifts work a maximum of 16 hours inclusive of rest periods, provided that during the three weeks they are twice granted an uninterrupted rest of 24 hours. This exception shall, however, apply only to employees necessary for the maintenance of continuous operation.

Overtime work may also be authorized by the competent authorities, if urgently necessary in the public interest—in particular to prevent unemployment or to insure a supply of food to the population.

Maximum workday.—To prevent unreasonable overtime, a maximum workday of 10 hours is established. The employer may, however, without special permission, demand work beyond the maximum workday in emergencies, provided he does not violate the provisions of the Industrial Code as to the hours of labor of juvenile or female employees and as to the hygienic maximum workday. He may also exceed the maximum workday if urgently necessary for the public welfare. Such reasons must actually prevail, however, or the employer will be liable to punishment.

Special regulations.—Further limitations on the hours of labor are provided by the decree (a) for establishments involving special dangers, (b) for various unhealthful trades, and (c) for juvenile and female employees in conformity to the Industrial Code.

(a) The order of December 21, 1923, limits the hours of labor in branches of industry or in occupations involving special danger to life or health of the workers, such as underground coal mining, or in which the workers are more than extraordinarily exposed to the effects of heat, poisonous substances, dust, and the like, or to the danger of explosives. The Minister of Labor is to decide to what branches of industry and to what occupations these limitations (which apply to workers only and not to salaried employees) are to apply. Under these limitations an extension of the 8-hour day or 48-hour week or 96-hour fortnight by collective agreement or official order shall be permitted only if urgently required in the public interest or if shown by long experience that it is not harmful and if it does not exceed half an hour per day. In no case is an extension of the maximum 10-hour day permitted in such branches of industry or occupations.

In underground mines, in shafts with a temperature of over 82° F., shorter hours of labor are to be fixed by collective agreement or by the mine inspection service, after a hearing of the interested economic organizations of employers and of employees, if no agreement is reached.

In coal mines the shift, beginning with the time of descent into the mine and ending with the completed ascent from the mine, shall be considered the regular workday. The law of July 17, 1922, is explicitly suspended by the new decree.

(b) A hygienic maximum workday, differing for different industries, had been introduced for certain industries, e. g., flour mills (April 26, 1899); hotels and restaurants (January 23, 1902); lead works (June 16, 1905); stone quarries and stone cutting (May 31, 1909, and November 20, 1911); compressed-air work (June 28, 1920); paint work on vessels (February 2, 1921). These limitations are not affected by the new decree and can not be altered by collective agreement nor by official order.

(c) The limitations on the hours of labor of juvenile and female workers provided by the Industrial Code are explicitly adopted by the new decree. In addition it provides that female workers who are pregnant or who nurse children shall, if possible, upon request, be exempt from working more than 8 hours a day.

ENFORCEMENT OF DECREE

The enforcement of the provisions of the decree referring to hours of labor of workers and salaried employees is intrusted to the factory and mine inspectors, who are authorized to discuss the hours of labor with committees of the workers and of the salaried employees in the presence of the employer or with either party alone. In case of violation of the new decree, the old orders of 1918 and 1919 (again in force), or the Industrial Code, it is not the employee but the employer exclusively who is punished.

Under the new decree the employer who violates its provisions is to be punished by a fine. For a second offense, if the violation is premeditated, the penalty shall be imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or a fine, or both. Under the old orders the employer was punished regardless of whether or not the employee had worked the unlawful overtime voluntarily; but under the new decree the employer is not to be punished for allowing male workers to work excessive overtime if they work voluntarily, if the overtime is required because of special circumstances and is temporary, if the employer does not exploit the necessity or inexperience of the employee, and if such overtime does not manifestly injure the employee.

HOURS OF LABOR IN HOSPITALS

An investigation in 1910 as to the daily hours of labor, periods of rest, vacations, and old-age provision for employees in hospitals disclosed great abuses in working conditions. Before the war unsuccessful attempts were made to regulate such conditions, especially the hours of labor, by law, and during the war of course no progress was made along these lines. When, after the revolution, the working time of industrial workers was regulated, opinions differed as to whether nurses in hospitals were covered by such provisions. The employees themselves were in favor of an 8-hour day, but both private and public employers, physicians, and the majority of the experts consulted declared that the enforcement of the 8-hour day and the introduction of a three-shift system would be detrimental to the interests of the sick and so the matter was left in abeyance. In October, 1920, however, a national collective agreement was concluded for female nurses, which established the 8-hour day, to be extended only in emergencies. A day of rest was to be granted each week, twice a month on a Sunday if possible. In general a sufficient rest period was to intervene when night service followed day service or vice versa. The nurses did not enjoy these satisfactory conditions very long, however, as the decree of February 13, 1924, deprived them of the advantages they had gained.

Under the new decree the weekly hours of labor, including Sundays and holidays, are 60, exclusive of rest periods. No maximum work-day is provided, but the daily hours of labor shall not as a rule exceed 10. The distribution of the hours of work over the week shall be fixed by the management of the hospital, after a hearing of the supervising physicians and representatives of the employees. Overtime work beyond the 60 hours per week shall be done only in emergencies and as a temporary measure.

ACTUAL DEVELOPMENT

It is not yet possible to judge the ultimate effect of the decree of December, 1923, upon the hours of labor. The tendency of the trade-unions in negotiations with employers' associations was, of course, to maintain the 8-hour day, while the latter aimed at an extension of the hours of labor. The attitude of the employers was not, however, uniform. The employers in the india rubber industry, for example, declared in favor of the 8-hour day, stating that before the war the 8-hour day and the 10-hour day had existed simultaneously, and that the unbroken 8-hour day had yielded a better economic result than the 10-hour day broken by a midday rest; that after the revolution the men had done quite as much, and in some cases even more, work in 8 hours with good management than in the 10-hour day of pre-war time; that for uninterrupted operation, which, however, could not be considered in the rubber industry except in periods of especially brisk business or in seasonal work, the 8-hour day alone allowed of making the best possible use of the plant and its equipment. It was taken for granted that, in spite of the shorter hours, the present output in the rubber industry exceeds that of pre-war time.

In other cases, the employers attempted to obtain an extension of working hours but afterward agreed to the 8-hour day. The employers' association in the cigarette industry abrogated their basic agreement stipulating for a 48-hour week, and called on their workmen to enter into negotiations for a new agreement. The application of the employers' association to the Minister of Labor to establish a 56-hour week from and after February 1, 1924, did not, however, meet with approval, and an agreement was concluded between the parties under which the national collective agreement and the district collective agreements were to remain in force provisionally.

The employers in the printing trade, in spite of great numbers of unemployed workers, did not show as conciliatory a spirit. Negotiations for a new basic agreement to supersede the agreement which was to expire on December 23 began on December 12, and were conducted with rather vehement disputes, produced mainly by the following proposals of the German printers' association (employers):

The working time is 57 hours per week exclusive of rest periods. Whether the working time be continuous or interrupted by rest periods, the workman must begin and leave his work punctually. The employer has the right of checking the coming and going of the workmen, e. g., by time clocks. The daily working hours may be between 6 a. m. and 10 p. m., according to the requirements of the business if there is but one shift. They may vary, that is, be reduced or extended, on individual days in each establishment or department. Notice of changes of this kind will be given to the workmen within a specified time before their going into effect. Notice of the introduction or abolition of shifts need not be given beforehand. The workmen will be assigned to the shifts by the management of the establishment.

These proposals were rejected. On January 10, negotiations were renewed at the instance of the Minister of Labor, and an agreement arrived at establishing the 48-hour week as the normal working time, while 5 hours of overtime—3 hours in the case of linotype, etc., operators—are to be worked at the regular rate. With the alterations agreed upon, the basic agreement of January 1, 1922, was extended to May 31, 1924. Lithographers and music engravers have concluded a similar agreement, while photo-engravers, copper engravers, and wood engravers, under an agreement effective until December 31, 1924, are to receive 25 per cent additional for overtime

previously announced, 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent additional for overtime notice of which is not given in advance, and 100 per cent additional for Sunday work.

In some trades the demands of the employers have been even more excessive. In the chemical industries, they have given notice that they will no longer be bound by the national basic agreement, demanding the 10-hour day and in establishments with continuous operation a week of 70 hours and for presence on duty a week of 84 hours.

In many cases collective agreements could not be concluded, and official arbitrators stepped in, who in their awards generally extended the working time. In case such awards were declared generally binding, the trade-unions had to yield, but many times difficulties arose in the practical enforcement of such awards which led to strikes and lockouts.

In examining the collective agreements and awards made under the new decree, it is noticeable how greatly the working time varies from one agreement to another. The effect the new decree has already had on collective agreements can be seen in the provisions of such collective agreements on the following points: Maximum working week of over 48 hours; maximum working-day of 8 hours, or over; week of 46 or 48 hours, or 48 hours with provisions for maximum; hours of presence on duty of employees whose regular work consists to a considerable extent in readiness to work; pay for extended hours of labor or overtime work; regulation of hours of labor in trades injurious to health; assent of representatives of employees required in extending hours of labor; shorter working time on Saturday; dismissal of employees in consequence of extension of hours of labor. Table 43 shows the agreements containing such provisions:

TABLE 43.—PROVISIONS OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS AND ARBITRATION AWARDS MADE UNDER DECREE OF DECEMBER 21, 1923, AS TO SPECIFIED POINTS

Maximum working week of over 48 hours

Industry or occupation	Collective agreement or arbitration award	Hours per week	Remarks
Banking.....	Award, Dec. 29, 1923.....	54	Beginning Jan. 2, 1924.
Clothing—Bielefeld.....	Agreement, Feb. 7, 1924.....	54	
Commercial clerks—Eastern Prussia.....	Agreement.....	54	Do.
Hats and millinery (wholesale).....	Agreement, Jan. 11, 1924.....	1 54	From Jan. 14 to Mar. 14.
Iron and steel—Ruhr district: Blast furnaces.....	.....	1 59	6-day week: Exclusive of rest periods—day shift, 58 hours; night shift, 60 hours.
Other departments.....	.....	57 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Metals: Lower Silesia.....	Award.....	54	May be extended to 60.
Württemberg and Hohenzollern.....	General agreement, Jan. 28, 1924.....	54	For whole or part of establishment, at order of employer.
Mining, Ruhr district, work above ground: Mines with 1 hoisting shaft.....	Agreement.....	59	6-day week: Exclusive of rest periods—night shift, 58 hours; Saturday morning shift every other week, 8 hours.
Mines with 2 hoisting shafts.....	.....do.....	58	6-day week: Night shift, 58 hours; Saturday morning shift, 8 hours.
Textiles—Lausatia: Machinists and firemen.....	.....do.....	55	

¹ Net time.

² Average.

TABLE 43.—PROVISIONS OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS AND ARBITRATION AWARDS MADE UNDER DECREE OF DECEMBER 21, 1923, AS TO SPECIFIED POINTS—Contd.

Maximum working day of 8 hours or over

Industry or occupation	Collective agreement or arbitration award	Hours per week	Remarks
Coal mining—Underground miners: District of Ibbenbüren.....	Agreement, Dec. 11, 1923.....	8	Length of shift, from beginning of descent into mine to beginning of ascent therefrom.
All other districts except Bavaria.....	Agreement.....	8	Do.
Bavaria.....	do.....	8½	Do.
Lignite mines— Central Germany—Underground workers.....	Award, Dec. 22, 1923.....	8	Closed working; open working, 8½ hours, exclusive of time of descent and ascent and rest periods.
Central Germany—Workers above ground.....	do.....	10	Exclusive of rest periods.
Rhineland.....	.....	10	
Saxony— Salaried employees.....	.....	9	Technical employees same hours as miners under their orders, with same rest periods.
Office employees.....	.....	9	7 hours on Saturday.
Iron and steel— Iron works of Upper Silesia.....	.....	10	No change where plants worked less than 10 hours before or during war. Exclusive of rest periods, beginning Jan. 1, 1924.
Leather industry.....	Award.....	10	After notice to workmen.
Metals: District of Dresden—Metal Manufacturers Association plants.....	Agreement.....	8½	
District of Bautzen.....	.....	8½	
Potash salts mining: Underground workers.....	.....	8	From beginning of descent into mine to beginning of ascent therefrom.
Workers above ground.....	.....	10	Workers on hoisting work same hours as underground workers.

TABLE 43.—PROVISIONS OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS AND ARBITRATION AWARDS MADE UNDER DECREE OF DECEMBER 21, 1923, AS TO SPECIFIED POINTS—Contd.*Week of 46 or 48 hours, or 48 hours with provision for maximum*

Industry or occupation	Collective agreement or arbitration award	Hours per week		Remarks
		Regu- lar	Maxi- mum	
Breweries.....	Agreement.....	48	54	100 hours overtime per year obligatory.
Corrugated cardboard.....	Agreement Jan. 15, 1924.....	48	54	
Corset making—Wurttemberg.....	Agreement Jan. 21, 1924.....	46	48	
Electric works—Saxony.....	Agreement.....	46	-----	
Engraving and chasing and related occupations.....	National agreement Dec. 12, 1923.....	48	54	Maximum hours for type-setting-machine operators, 51.
Jute—Weida and Triebes.....	Agreement.....	46	52	
Metals—Dresden and Bautzen.....	-----	48	-----	
Porcelain and related industries.....	Award Jan. 26, 1924.....	48	54	
Printing and bookbinding.....	Agreement Jan. 10, 1924.....	48	53	
Sawmills.....	Agreement.....	48	54	Same in other agreements for textile industry.
Salaried employees:				
Commercial and technical employees—				
Hirschberg (Silesia).....	-----	48	54	
Magdeburg.....	Agreement Jan. 1, 1924.....	48	-----	
Osnabruck.....	Agreement Feb. 7, 1924.....	48	-----	
Commercial clerks—Halberstadt, Oschersleben, Seehausen, Nienhagen and Crottorf.....	Agreement Jan. 1, 1924.....	48	-----	
Commercial employees—Wurttemberg.....	Award Jan. 28, 1924.....	48	54	
Commercial establishments and transport trade—Halle and vicinity.....	Agreement Jan. 4, 1924.....	48	-----	
Steel works—Rhineland and Westphalia.....	Agreement Dec. 1923.....	48	54	
Textiles:				While hours may be extended if necessary for increased production or better use of equipment, etc., award denied such necessity then existed.
Dresden and Plauen.....	Award Jan. 18, 1924.....	48	54	
Bielefeld.....	Agreement Jan. 23, 1924.....	48	54	
Tobacco (chewing) manufacture—Thuringia.....	Agreement Jan. 10, 1924.....	48	54	
Wine trade and allied industries—Treves.....	Award Jan. 21, 1924.....	48	-----	

Hours of presence on duty of employees whose regular work consists to a considerable extent in readiness for work

Industry or occupation	Collective agreement or arbitration award	Hours per day	Remarks
Hotels:			
Berlin.....	-----	* 57	Hours of work proper, 10.
Dresden.....	-----	13	
Hanover.....	-----	10	Hours of work proper, 9.
Munich.....	-----	11	
Stettin and vicinity.....	Agreement.....	* 60	Uninterrupted weekly rest of 36 hours; employees not to take work in 2 establishments at same time.
Metals:			
Lower Silesia—Guards, doorkeepers, etc.....	Award.....	12	Considered as equivalent of 10 hours' work.
Wurttemberg and Hohenzollern—Doorkeepers, servants, errand boys, etc.....	Agreement.....	* 60	
Mining—Saxony: Salaried employees.....	-----	12	

* Per week.

TABLE 43.—PROVISIONS OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS AND ARBITRATION AWARDS MADE UNDER DECREE OF DECEMBER 21, 1923, AS TO SPECIFIED POINTS—Contd.

Pay for extended hours of labor or overtime work

Industry or occupation	Collective agreement or arbitration award	Time for which paid	Increase over regular rate	Remarks
Coal mining:			P. ct.	
District of Ibbenbüren—Underground work.		8th hour	(1)	Of gold value of stipulated wages.
Lower and Upper Silesia, Saxony, and Upper Saxony.		Extended time		No extra pay.
Lignite mines—Central Germany.		do.		Regular pay (including cost-of-living bonus) increased in proportion to extension of time.
Corrugated cardboard—Hanover.		11th hour		Overtime rate; 9th and 10th hours regular rate.
Flour mills—Breslau	Agreement	9th hour	10	Over 9 hours to be worked only if workers agree.
		10th hour	20	
		After 10th hour	25	
Government hospitals.	Agreement, Jan. 1, 1924.	Extended time		No extra pay.
Hats and millinery—Berlin		do.		Do.
Hotels—Stettin	Agreement	After 60 hours		Overtime rate.
Iron works—Upper Silesia		Extended time		Regular rate.
Marble works and stone mason's trade—North Germany.	Agreement, Jan. 1, 1924.	do.		1st hour after regular hours not overtime.
Metals:				
District of Berg.	Agreement, Jan. 28, 1924.	After 48 hours		Regular rate.
Berlin	Agreement	After limit fixed in decree.		Overtime rate.
Dresden		Extended time		No extra pay.
Mining—Ruhr district:				
Underground work		do.		Do.
Work above ground	Agreement	Extra work	(2)	Do.
Porcelain—Berlin		Extended time		Regular pay (including cost-of-living bonus) increased in proportion to extension of time.
Potash salts mining.		do.		
Salaried employees:				
Halle and vicinity—Commercial establishments and transport trade.		do.		No extra pay.
Hirschberg—Commercial and technical employees.	Agreement	55th hour		Overtime rate; one two-hundredth of monthly salary for 49th to 54th hours.
Magdeburg		Extended time		No extra pay.
Textiles:				
East Saxony	Award, Feb. 1, 1924.			Monday to Friday, 1 extra hour obligatory, wages increased 5 per cent; 3 additional hours, with workers' consent, wages increased 15 per cent.
Saxony	Award	Extended time		Weekly wages increased in proportion to extension of time.
Württemberg and Bielefeld.		do.		No extra pay.
Tobacco:				
Cigars	Agreement	After 54 hours	25	6 extra hours per week worked for normal wages.
Chewing—Thuringia		Extended time		No extra pay.
Transport:				
Mannheim—Coal transport and industrial establishments.	Agreement, Jan. 28, 1924	11th hour		Overtime rate; 9th and 10th hours regular rate.
Sondershausen and vicinity (German Transport Assn.)		After 60 hours	25	Sunday and night work 50 per cent extra
Treves	Agreement	9th and 10th hours.		No extra pay.
Woolen—Nuremberg		After 48 hours	3	

* Per week.

* One-seventh.

* One-sixth.

* Additional pay for each hour.

TABLE 43.—PROVISIONS OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS AND ARBITRATION AWARDS MADE UNDER DECREE OF DECEMBER 21, 1923, AS TO SPECIFIED POINTS—Contd.*Regulation of hours of labor in trades injurious to health*

Industry or occupation	Collective agreement or arbitration award	Provision
Iron and steel: Ruhr district.....	Agreement.....	Workmen not to work regularly more than 54 hours in 6 days (exclusive of rest periods and time of presence on duty), classes of workers affected to be determined without delay.
Iron works—Upper Silesia.....	Agreement.....	Do.
Mining.....	Agreement.....	Conforms exactly to provisions of decree.

Assent of representatives of employees required in extending hours of labor

Industry or occupation	Collective agreement or arbitration award	Extra hours per week	Body whose assent is necessary	Remarks
Metals:				
District of Berg.....	Agreement, Jan. 28, 1924.	After 48th	Workers' representatives.	8 hours per week.
Lower Silesia.....	Award.....	54th to 60th	Works council.	
Saxony.....	.....	After 9th ¹	do.....	
Wurttemberg and Hohenzollern.	.....	After 54th	do.....	
Salaried employees:				
Association of German National Commercial Clerks.	Agreement.....	After 48th	Employees' representatives.	1 hour daily except Saturday.
Magdeburg.....	do.....	do.....	do.....	Do.
Osnabruck and vicinity.....	Agreement, Jan. 7, 1924.	do.....	do.....	In redistribution of hours over week.
Rhineland, Westphalia, Lower Silesia and Hirschberg—Iron and steel works.	.....	48th to 54th	Salaried employees' councils.	
Saxony—Electric works.....	Agreement, May 24, 1922	.....	Employees' representatives.	Do.
Textiles:				
Bielefeld.....	Agreement, Jan. 23, 1924.	.....	Workers' representatives.	Do.
Eastern Saxony.....	Award.....	After 54th	do.....	For 3 hours.

Shorter working time on Saturday

Industry or occupation	Collective agreement or arbitration award	Time Saturday work to end	Remarks
Banking.....	Award.....	<i>p. m.</i>	Not more than 7 hours on Saturday.
Hats and millinery—Berlin.....	.....	3	
Iron and steel works—Northwest Germany.....	Agreement.....	.....	Saturday half holiday recommended.
Lignite coal mines—Central Germany.....	Award.....	4	For Saturday day shift in continuous-operation concerns with 2 shifts.
Metals—Wurttemberg and Hohenzollern.....	Agreement.....	.....	Saturday half holiday.
Textiles:			
Bielefeld.....	Agreement.....	.....	6 hours' work on Saturday.
Wurttemberg.....	do.....	1	
Tobacco (chewing)—Thuringia.....	.....	2	

¹ In day.

TABLE 43.—PROVISIONS OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS AND ARBITRATION AWARDS MADE UNDER DECREE OF DECEMBER 21, 1923, AS TO SPECIFIED POINTS—Conold.

Dismissal of employees in consequence of extension of hours of labor

Industry	Collective agreement or arbitration award	Provision
Leather.....	Award.....	Such discharges forbidden. Only unavoidable discharges. In case of such discharge age, size of family, and fixed residence to be considered and early notice given to employee; discharges to be distributed between Jan. 2 and 1st of February and notice given to public employment exchanges.
Lignite mining.....	do.....	
Ore mining—Mansfeld Joint Stock Co.	do.....	Do. Same provision as for lignite mines; also, discharged workmen to be reengaged as soon as possible.
Potash salts mining.....	do.....	

SPARE-TIME WORK

Spare-time work became very widespread in Germany after the introduction of the 8-hour day, but, of course, it played an important rôle only when overtime work was not abundant. Before the war German workers in general were not opposed to overtime work and even many trade-union members were ready at any time to increase their earnings by overtime work. Opposition to overtime work emanated mainly from the most educated workers. In normal times German employers were not anxious for overtime work, because of the extra pay and the inferior quality of the work performed, but in very busy seasons these drawbacks did not count.

After the war, when the demand for goods was very great, while the hours of labor and efficiency of the workers were considerably reduced, the desire of employers for overtime work was very keen. Real wages were so low that the extra pay for overtime did not cut any figure, and extension of the plants was difficult because of the scarcity of building materials and of machinery. The workers had become accustomed to long hours of labor during the war and as they had obtained the 8-hour day suddenly, and more by political accident than through an earnest struggle, those workers who had not previously been organized often did not mind working overtime. Single workers living near their place of work often yielded because at first they did not know what to do with their spare time and married men often yielded because they were anxious to increase their low earnings. The union leaders were, of course, opposed to overtime work and gradually the opposition to overtime work gained ground. Employers found it more and more difficult to induce their employees to work overtime, and this was the main reason, at least in the manufacture of finished products, why employers were anxious to obtain an alteration of the regulation of the hours of labor.

Statistics of overtime work are not to be had. A most conspicuous example of the decrease of overtime work, which, however, can not be considered as typical, is furnished by a big electrical machinery concern in Berlin. The management claims that the overtime hours worked in addition to each 100 regular hours were as follows:

	Plant A	Plant B
1913-----	6.0	10.0
1914-----	11.0	9.0
1915-----	16.3	20.2
1916-----	16.7	18.0
1917-----	15.2	17.0
1918-----	7.1	13.8
1919-----	.1	.1
1920-----	.1	.2
1921-----	.3	.4
1922-----	.4	.7

Wherever there was no overtime work many workers did spare-time work, either in their own trade or in some other, partly for themselves and partly for some other employer. While spare-time work was done before the war, it was then confined mainly to occupations in which work was done immediately for the consumer and with simple tools. After the war, when hours of labor were reduced and real wages dropped, and the consumer, impoverished by inflation, was anxious to save every cent, spare-time work increased greatly. The craft guilds did their utmost to fight it, systematically persecuting spare-time workers and mercilessly denouncing them to the income tax officials, but with little effect. The union of building workers, for example, repeatedly and bitterly complained about the competition of railway men, who not only helped their friends to build cottages but also worked systematically four or five hours a day for small contractors.

Another form of spare-time work was that performed in order to obtain directly better and more ample food. Millions of workers in the cities rented small bits of land and raised vegetables, potatoes, etc., in their spare time. In the small towns, agricultural work was carried on by industrial workers on a much larger scale, the employers often directly favoring this spare-time work in order that the efficiency of their employees might be improved through better food.

VACATIONS

Before the revolution, vacations (annual leave) were not usual for workers and few collective agreements contained a clause regulating this matter. But from 1919 on vacations became quite customary. The progress made since 1913 may perhaps best be gathered from the results of an investigation covering the German metal industry, made by the German Metal Workers' Union. The number of agreements regulating vacations and the number of establishments and employees affected was as follows:

TABLE 44.—NUMBER OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS IN THE GERMAN METAL INDUSTRY REGULATING VACATIONS, 1913 TO 1922

Year	Agreements	Establishments covered	Employees covered
1913-----	77	306	8,319
1914-----	81	357	7,727
1915-----	79	328	7,725
1916-----	73	249	10,959
1919-----	573	15,372	1,251,200
1920-----	958	24,985	1,602,976
1921-----	1,065	28,474	1,856,337
1922-----	1,079	46,272	2,768,814

The Federal Statistical Office, in its analysis of collective agreements in force on December 31, 1920, found that about two-thirds of the agreements regulated vacations. By December 31, 1922, the proportion had increased to four-fifths, and as regulation of vacations was more frequent in agreements covering a large territory than in those concluded for a single establishment, the proportion of employees entitled to vacations through collective agreements was even larger than the proportion of agreements containing such provisions. By December 31, 1922, 92.7 per cent of the workers and 93.3 per cent of the salaried employees covered by collective agreements were entitled to vacations. The minimum duration of the vacations agreed upon was generally less than 3 workdays for workers and between 3 and 6 workdays for salaried employees; the maximum was generally less than 12 workdays for workers and more than 12 workdays for salaried employees. Vacations, as a rule, were somewhat longer for women than for the employees as a whole. Table 45 shows the per cent of agreements regulating vacations and the per cent providing for minimum and maximum vacations of a specified number of days, both for workers and salaried employees, December 31, 1922:

TABLE 45.—PER CENT OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS REGULATING VACATIONS AND PER CENT GRANTING MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM VACATIONS OF SPECIFIED LENGTH AND OF ESTABLISHMENTS AND EMPLOYEES COVERED THEREBY, DECEMBER 31, 1922

Length of minimum and maximum vacations	Workers' agreements				Salaried employees' agreements			
	Agreements	Establishments covered	Workers covered		Agreements	Establishments covered	Employees covered	
			Total	Female			Total	Female
Agreements regulating vacations.....	80.1	90.4	92.7	93.4	89.9	97.5	93.3	95.5
Minimum vacation:								
3 days and under.....	54.5	54.3	53.8	49.5	1.7	0.9	0.7	0.6
Over 3 to 6 days.....	38.0	37.7	38.6	40.1	76.2	82.6	72.9	74.3
Over 6 days.....	7.5	8.0	7.6	10.4	22.1	16.5	26.4	25.1
Maximum vacation:								
6 days and under.....	31.9	41.3	29.1	40.7	2.1	4.6	1.1	.1
Over 6 to 12 days.....	42.0	31.1	44.2	35.3	11.8	3.1	3.5	2.4
Over 12 to 18 days.....	20.1	20.9	13.3	13.9	64.1	65.4	53.0	48.4
Over 18 days.....	6.0	6.7	13.4	10.1	22.0	26.9	42.4	49.1

The granting of vacations is conditioned as a rule on a minimum length of service in the establishment and the vacation is often graded according to the length of this service. In some cases the employee must also have reached a definite age (mostly 17 years). Agreements often contain the provision that, in order to avoid inconvenience to the employer, no vacations shall be taken in certain periods of the year. Sometimes, as for example in the collective agreements for the coal mines of Upper Silesia, it is stipulated that not more than 5 per cent of those entitled to vacations shall take them at the same time.

A special regulation of vacations is found in the building trades (including stone paving). The requirement of a minimum length of service in the shop, prevailing in the other branches of industry, would in these trades mean too great a hardship for the employee,

who because of the nature of the industry must often change employers through no fault of his own. On the other hand, it constitutes a burden on the employer to grant paid vacations to employees whom he has perhaps employed for only a short while. To overcome these difficulties, "vacation funds" have been created for separate districts, into which each employer of the trade in question pays a contribution. These funds then provide the money for the vacations granted to the workers of that trade, and also sometimes assist the workers in case of unemployment in winter, of sickness, and of leave of absence from an unusual cause. As examples of these vacation funds may be quoted the benefits granted by the following funds of the stone-paving trade:

Dusseldorf-Bochum agreement of March 7, 1921

1. Six days' vacation.
2. Indemnity equivalent to one day's earnings for working time lost through births and deaths within the family (parents, consort, children, and parents-in-law, who belong to the household of the employee).
3. Indemnity in case of sickness of the employee exceeding one week.

Hamburg agreement of February 10, 1922

1. Assistance in winter time.
 2. Payment for vacation.
- The employee can choose either of these two forms of assistance, but can not receive both the same year.

Brunswick-Goslar agreement of January 28, 1922

1. Six days' vacation.
2. If the worker is unable to work for personal reasons, without his fault, or because of a birth, death, or sickness within his family, he receives indemnity not exceeding one day's wages for the lost working time.

Leipzig agreement of June 1, 1921

1. In case of sickness, the worker gets an indemnity for the days (waiting period) for which he is not indemnified by the national sick insurance fund.
2. In case of a birth or a death within his immediate family, the worker receives an indemnity not exceeding one day's wages.
3. In case of unemployment in winter the worker receives a supplement to his unemployment allowance for eight weeks.
4. Six days' vacation, which, however, is granted only in case the worker does not claim assistance under clause 1, 2, or 3.

Special provision is made in the case of an employee who leaves the district covered by a vacation fund without having enjoyed its benefits. The by-laws of the vacation funds of the stone-paving trade of Bielefeld, Dusseldorf-Bochum, Hamburg, Lubeck, Bonn, Coblenz, Brunswick-Goslar, and Leipzig stipulate that if an employee leaves the district without having taken his vacation, the unexpended sum shall be transferred to the fund of the district where he finds employment. The by-laws of some funds, moreover, provide that if an employee quits his trade (e. g., on account of complete disability) without having drawn on the fund, he may receive an indemnity equal to a specified per cent of the benefits to which he was entitled.

Statistics as to the effect of the granting of vacations upon the yearly working time of employees are not available. Two statements, both from employers, may be mentioned for what they are worth.

At the end of 1920 the German Railway Ministry estimated that on account of the extension of vacations as compared with pre-war times, it had to employ an additional force of 26,517 (with a total force of about 1,000,000). The average yearly days of work per employee in the railway repair shops are stated to have been reduced from 300 to 280 on account of the extension of vacations. The ministry also complained of the increase in sick leave due to the fact that at that time employees, if absent for more than three days, were obliged only to present a physician's certificate.

A large electrical machinery concern in 1907 granted a vacation of six days a year to male workers over 30 years old who had been employed more than eight years in the establishment, and to female workers over 25 years who had over five years' service. The average number of vacation days per worker was then 0.86 for male workers, 0.14 for female workers, and 0.63 for all workers. The progressive extension of vacations by collective agreement after the war resulted in average vacation days per worker in 1920 of 3.9 and in 1922 of 5.2. The days of sick leave per male employee rose from 8.97 in 1913 to 11.57 in 1921 and such days per female employee from 16.64 to 31.31.

Chapter VI.—WAGES AND EFFICIENCY OF LABOR

GENERAL TREND OF REAL WAGES

Before the war there was no country in continental Europe that had higher nominal or real wages than Germany, only British, American, and Australian workers enjoying a better living than German workers. Immediately after the outbreak of the war nominal wages of many workers, and especially female workers, in Germany decreased, although cost of living increased—a consequence of the great unemployment which then prevailed. This was the case for workers employed in mines, stone quarries, and the electric, chemical, textile, leather, clothing, and printing industries, while workers employed in metal working, woodworking, and the machinery, paper, and food industries at once received higher wages than in peace times. In the course of the war nominal wages increased in all industries, but real wages probably increased only in the war industries proper. There doubtless occurred a decrease of real wages for miners, stonecutters, textile workers, leather workers, printers, and in the food industries, this decrease being on the whole larger for men than for women. It was especially large for Government and municipal employees, whose nominal wages were not raised before 1918 and very little then. It is impossible to give statistics on real wages, as statistics on the cost of living before 1919 are not available.

Table 46 shows for Greater Berlin the nominal weekly wages of bricklayers and of printers as fixed by collective agreement, and the weekly minimum cost of subsistence for a married couple with two children from 6 to 10 years of age, for 1913–14, and for each month from January, 1920, to December, 1924. From July to December, 1923, when, on account of the depreciation of the currency, wages changed very often, figures are shown for each fortnight. The bricklayers receive no family allowance, but the printers receive an allowance if they are married.

TABLE 46.—WEEKLY WAGES OF BRICKLAYERS AND OF PRINTERS IN BERLIN AND MINIMUM COST OF SUBSISTENCE, AND INDEX NUMBERS THEREOF, JANUARY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924

[1913-14=1]

Month	Wages of bricklayers		Wages of printers		Minimum cost of subsistence of married couple with two children	
	Amount	Index numbers	Amount	Index numbers	Amount	Index numbers
1913-14.....	Marks 41.82	1	Marks 34.38	1	Marks 28.80	1
1920						
January.....	157.96	3.8	160.50	4.7	220	7.7
February.....	185.09	4.4	160.50	4.7	254	8.8
March.....	204.70	4.9	160.50	4.7	322	11.2
April.....	253.35	6.1	160.50	4.7	375	13.0
May.....	265.03	6.3	210.50	6.1	365	12.7
June.....	299	7.1	235.50	6.8	304	10.6
July.....	312.80	7.5	248.83	7.2	324	11.3
August.....	312.80	7.5	250.50	7.3	308	10.7
September.....	312.80	7.5	250.50	7.3	299	10.4
October.....	312.80	7.5	250.50	7.3	318	11.0
November.....	312.80	7.5	270.50	7.9	316	11.0
December.....	312.80	7.5	270.50	7.9	327	11.3

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TABLE 46.—WEEKLY WAGES OF BRICKLAYERS AND OF PRINTERS IN BERLIN AND MINIMUM COST OF SUBSISTENCE, AND INDEX NUMBERS THEREOF, JANUARY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924—Concluded

Month	Wages of bricklayers		Wages of printers		Minimum cost of subsistence of married couple with two children	
	Amount	Index numbers	Amount	Index numbers	Amount	Index numbers
1921						
	<i>Marks</i>		<i>Marks</i>		<i>Marks</i>	
January.....	312.80	7.5	279.50	7.9	320	11.1
February.....	322.86	7.7	285.50	8.3	313	10.9
March.....	324.30	7.7	285.50	8.3	298	10.3
April.....	324.30	7.7	285.50	8.3	281	9.8
May.....	324.30	7.7	285.50	8.3	285	9.9
June.....	324.30	7.7	285.50	8.3	311	10.8
July.....	332.79	8.0	285.50	8.3	324	11.2
August.....	356.24	8.5	295.88	8.6	339	11.8
September.....	377.38	9.0	321.26	9.3	349	12.1
October.....	427.80	10.2	393.88	11.5	386	13.4
November.....	458.14	11.0	418	12.2	509	17.7
December.....	547.31	13.1	533.56	15.5	557	19.3
1922						
January.....	586.06	14.0	553	16.1	548	19.0
February.....	621	14.8	613	17.8	627	21.8
March.....	715.56	17.1	642.63	18.7	789	27.4
April.....	966	23.1	773	22.5	915	31.8
May.....	1,196	28.6	933	27.1	995	34.5
June.....	1,472	35.2	1,093	31.8	1,195	41.5
July.....	1,692	40.5	1,393	40.5	1,763	61.2
August.....	2,008.67	48.0	1,638.19	47.6	2,958	102.7
September.....	3,552.62	85.0	2,622.23	76.3	4,714	163.7
October.....	5,052.92	120.8	4,345.31	126.4	7,508	260.7
November.....	7,985.60	191.0	7,337.24	213.4	16,271	565.0
December.....	14,950	357.5	12,773	371.5	24,994	867.9
1923						
January.....	22,572	537.7	20,769	604.1	37,167	1290.5
February.....	48,300	1154.9	43,125	1254.4	81,039	2813.8
March.....	69,283	1656.7	69,606	2024.6	71,121	2608.4
April.....	78,660	1880.9	72,141	2098.3	74,772	2596.3
May.....	89,634	2143.3	86,350	2511.6	121,921	4233.4
June.....	185,344	4431.9	199,690	5808.3	252,582	8770.2
July 1-15.....	536,443	12829.8	441,000	12827.2	688,589	23909.4
Aug. 1-15.....	1,077,852	25773.6	925,714	26926	1,201,751	41727.5
Sept. 1-15.....	6,203,813	148346	6,534,615	190070	9,245,689	321031
Oct. 1-31.....	12,569,207	1017915	39,784,143	1157189	24,622,120	854935
Nov. 1-15.....	131.8	3151129	1100.2	2913143	1170.6	5924323
Dec. 1-15.....	198.2	1675	119.6	1083.3	123.7	123.7
Jan. 1-31.....	1,804.4	1192.2	1,726.2	1211.4	1,710.9	1246.7
Feb. 1-31.....	1,334,213.7	17991.7	1,320,000	19307.8	1,266,556	19255.4
Mar. 1-31.....	1,578.6	1138.4	1,415.4	1128.4	1,498.8	1156.2
Apr. 1-31.....	1,28,116	1672.3	1,24,200	1703.9	1,35,651.6	1237.9
May 1-15.....	132.44	4.78	127	4.79	133.04	115
Jun. 1-31.....	132.44	4.78	127	4.79	128.73	110
1924						
	<i>Rentenmarks</i>		<i>Rentenmarks</i>		<i>Rentenmarks</i>	
January.....	29.20	4.70	27	4.79	27.74	4.96
February.....	29.20	4.70	27	4.79	26.55	4.92
March.....	29.64	4.71	27.23	4.79	26.91	4.93
April.....	37.19	4.89	30.00	4.87	28.49	4.99
May.....	39.39	4.94	31.47	4.92	29.29	4.102
June.....	39.39	4.94	33.60	4.98	28.43	4.99
July.....	39.39	4.94	33.60	4.98	29.28	4.102
August.....	39.39	4.94	33.60	4.98	28.61	4.100
September.....	39.39	4.94	33.60	4.98	29.76	4.103
October.....	44.49	4.106	33.60	4.98	31.30	4.109
November.....	44.49	4.106	40.00	4.116	31.22	4.108
December.....	44.49	4.106	40.00	4.116	31.13	4.108

¹ Millions.² Billions.³ Rentenmarks.⁴ Based on rentenmarks.

The weekly wages of the Berlin bricklayers—which have been calculated by taking into account the working time fixed by agreement for the various periods of the year and by multiplying the hourly wages of pre-war time by 51 and those paid after the war by

46—amounted before the war to \$9.96 (41.82 marks). In January, 1920, at the exchange rate they were but \$2.44 (157.96 marks), and in February not more than \$1.87 (185.09 marks). They then rose to \$7.92 in July, but dropped again to \$4.05 in November and amounted to \$4.29 in December. In 1921 they varied between \$1.74 in November and \$5.27 in February, in 1922 between \$1.11 in November and \$4.63 in June, and in the first seven months of 1923 between \$1.26 in January and \$3.22 in April. From August to November wages and dollar quotations changed so often that no comparison seems possible. From November 21, 1923 (after the stabilization of the mark), to January 1, 1924, wages amounted to \$7.73; from January 2 to March 25, 1924, to \$6.95; from March 26 to April 8 to \$7.50; from April 9 to September 30 to \$9.38; and since October 1, to \$10.59. Calculated in dollars, wages in 1920 were from 19 to 80 per cent of what they had been in pre-war times; in 1921 from 18 to 53 per cent; in 1922 from 11 to 47 per cent; in the first seven months of 1923, from 13 to 32 per cent; in December, 1923, 78 per cent; in January and February, 1924, 70 per cent; in March, 1924, 71 per cent; in April, 1924, 89 per cent; from May to September, 1924, 94 per cent; and since October, 1924, 106 per cent.

Before the war the weekly wages of bricklayers were 45 per cent higher than the minimum cost of subsistence of a family of 4 persons. In the year 1920 they were 13 per cent lower than the minimum; in 1921, 4 per cent higher; in the first half of 1922, 10 per cent higher; in the third quarter, 23 per cent lower; in the fourth quarter, 43 per cent lower; in the first quarter of 1923, 26 per cent lower; and in the second quarter, 21 per cent lower. In the following months fluctuations were so phantastic that a computation of averages would be misleading. In the first half of August, for example, wages were 33 per cent lower and in the second half of August, 73 per cent higher than the minimum cost of subsistence; in the first half of September they were 23 per cent lower and in the second half 46 per cent higher. A clear relation between wages and the minimum cost of subsistence prevailed only toward the end of the year, after the stabilization of the mark. In December, 1923, and in January, 1924, wages were 5 per cent higher than the minimum cost of subsistence, in February and March they were 10 per cent higher, in the second and third quarters 35 per cent higher, and in the fourth quarter 43 per cent higher.

The weekly wages of married printers over 24 years old—since 1919 the printers receive an allowance for the wife, but no children's allowance—at the exchange rate amounted before the war (with a working time of 53 hours) to \$8.19 (34.38 marks), and in January, 1920 (with a working time of 48 hours) to only \$2.48 (160.5 marks). Their wages decreased further to \$1.62 in February, increased to \$6.30 in July, dropped to \$3.50 in November, and amounted to \$3.71 in December. In 1921 they varied between \$1.59 in November and \$4.66 in February; in 1922, between \$1.02 in November and \$3.44 in June; in the first seven months of 1923, between \$1.16 in January and \$3.28 in March. From August to November a computation of wages in dollars is impossible. From November 21, 1923, to March 28, 1924, the weekly wages amounted to \$6.43; from March 29 to May 2, to \$7.14; from May 3 to 30, to \$7.50; from May 31 to October 31, to \$8, and from November 1 on to \$9.52. Calculated in dollars, wages

in 1920 were from 20 to 77 per cent of what they had been in pre-war times; in 1921 from 19 to 57 per cent; in 1922 from 12 to 42 per cent; in the first seven months of 1923 from 14 to 40 per cent; from December, 1923, to March, 1924, 79 per cent; in April, 1924, 87 per cent; in May, 1924, 92 per cent; from June to October, 1924, 98 per cent; in November and December, 1924, 116 per cent.

Before the war the weekly wages of printers were 19 per cent higher than the minimum cost of subsistence. In the year 1920 they were 30 per cent lower than that minimum; in the year 1921, 8 per cent lower; in the first half of 1922, 9 per cent lower; in the third quarter, 40 per cent lower; in the fourth quarter, 50 per cent lower; in the first quarter of 1923, 31 per cent lower; in the second quarter, 20 per cent lower. In the following months the same topsy-turvy conditions prevailed as with the bricklayers. In the first half of August, for example, wages were 29 per cent lower than the minimum cost of subsistence, while in the second half they were 62 per cent higher. In December, 1923, wages were 12 per cent lower than the minimum cost of subsistence; in the first quarter of 1924, they were just as high as the minimum cost of subsistence; in the second quarter, 10 per cent higher; in the third quarter, 15 per cent higher; and in the fourth quarter, 21 per cent higher.

The wages of bricklayers, which before the war had been 45 per cent higher than the minimum cost of subsistence, were lower than that minimum in 28 of the 60 months under consideration (January, 1920, to December, 1924). The wages of printers, which before the war exceeded the minimum cost of subsistence by 19 per cent, did not reach it in 43 months; they exceeded it only in April, May, and October, 1921, January, 1922, August and October, 1923, and February to December, 1924. The real wages of bricklayers were not even half as high as before the war in January, March, April, and May, 1920, in August, 1922, and from October, 1922, to February, 1923; they were more than three-fourths as high only in April, May, and October, 1921, in May and June, 1922, in August, September, and October, 1923, and from February to December, 1924. The real wages of printers, which 10 years ago were much lower than those of bricklayers, were not even half as high as before the war in March, April, and May, 1920, and from August, 1922, to February, 1923; they were more than three-fourths as high from February to June, in September, October, and December, 1921, in January, February, and May, 1922, in April, August, and October, 1923, and since January, 1924. In no month from January, 1920, to October, 1924, were real wages of bricklayers or printers higher than in pre-war times.

As a matter of comparison may be quoted the real weekly wages for Germany computed by the Federal Statistical Office, weighted averages of the wages of miners, building workers, woodworkers, metal workers, textile workers, and factory workers in the chemical and paper industries, printers, and Government workers being divided by the cost-of-living index. It must, of course, be borne in mind that such weighted averages are only approximately correct, and that the official cost-of-living index includes only cost of food, housing, fuel, light, and clothing.

TABLE 47.—REAL WEEKLY WAGES OF SKILLED AND UNSKILLED WORKERS IN THE PRINCIPAL GERMAN INDUSTRIES, APRIL, 1922, TO SEPTEMBER, 1924, BY MONTHS

[1913=100]

Year and month	Skilled workers		Unskilled workers	
	Amount	Index numbers	Amount	Index numbers
	<i>Marks</i>		<i>Marks</i>	
1913.....	35.02	100.0	24.31	100.0
1922—April.....	25.17	71.9	22.71	93.4
July.....	25.03	71.5	22.79	93.8
October.....	19.20	54.8	17.19	70.7
1923—January.....	17.05	48.7	15.45	63.6
February.....	22.23	63.5	19.98	82.2
March.....	27.57	78.7	24.79	102.0
April.....	25.96	74.1	23.34	96.0
May.....	22.80	65.1	20.46	84.2
June.....	22.79	65.1	20.42	84.0
July.....	16.80	48.0	15.06	62.0
August.....	23.52	67.2	21.00	86.4
September.....	21.42	61.2	19.02	78.2
October.....	18.22	52.0	15.74	64.8
November.....	18.66	53.3	16.04	66.0
December.....	24.53	70.1	20.66	85.0
1924—January.....	25.34	73.8	21.22	88.4
February.....	26.89	78.3	22.07	92.0
March.....	27.17	79.1	21.65	90.2
April.....	27.93	81.3	21.64	90.2
May.....	29.52	85.9	22.88	95.3
June.....	31.26	91.0	23.90	99.6
July.....	30.86	89.8	23.59	98.3
August.....	31.29	91.1	23.93	99.7
September.....	30.52	88.9	23.32	97.2

Table 48 shows for Greater Berlin the nominal yearly salaries of bank helpers (Group 1), bank clerks doing simple work (Group 2), and bank clerks doing responsible work (Group 3), as fixed by collective agreement, and the minimum cost of subsistence for a married couple with two children from 6 to 10 years, for 1913–14, and for each month from February, 1920, to December, 1924. As no collective agreement was in force before August 1, 1920, the figures for 1913 represent average actual earnings, and those from February to July, 1920, the salaries uniformly fixed by the banks. The salaries of the bank employees are graded according to years of service. They receive allowances for wife and each child, and a bonus at Christmas. The table gives the salaries (including bonuses) in each group for married bank employees in their tenth year of service, with two children of 6 to 10 years.

TABLE 48—YEARLY SALARIES OF MARRIED BANK EMPLOYEES IN BERLIN, WITH TWO CHILDREN, AND MINIMUM COST OF SUBSISTENCE, AND INDEX NUMBERS THEREOF, JANUARY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924

[1913-14=1]

Month	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3		Minimum cost of subsistence	
	Amount	Index numbers	Amount	Index numbers	Amount	Index numbers	Amount	Index numbers
1913-14	Marks 2, 165	1	Marks 3, 210	1	Marks 3, 525	1	Marks 1, 502	1
1920								
January							11, 500	7. 7
February	12, 500	5. 8	14, 000	4. 4	14, 500	4. 1	13, 250	8. 8
March	12, 500	5. 8	14, 000	4. 4	14, 500	4. 1	16, 750	11. 2
April	12, 700	5. 9	14, 200	4. 4	14, 700	4. 2	19, 550	13. 0
May	12, 700	5. 9	14, 200	4. 4	14, 700	4. 2	19, 000	12. 7
June	12, 700	5. 9	14, 200	4. 4	14, 700	4. 2	15, 850	10. 6
July	12, 700	5. 9	14, 200	4. 4	14, 700	4. 2	16, 900	11. 3
August	16, 200	7. 5	18, 120	5. 6	18, 620	5. 3	16, 050	10. 7
September	16, 200	7. 5	18, 120	5. 6	18, 620	5. 3	15, 550	10. 4
October	16, 200	7. 5	18, 120	5. 6	18, 620	5. 3	16, 550	11. 0
November	16, 200	7. 5	18, 120	5. 6	18, 620	5. 3	16, 450	11. 0
December	16, 200	7. 5	18, 120	5. 6	18, 620	5. 3	17, 050	11. 3
1921								
January	19, 944	9. 2	22, 248	6. 9	22, 848	6. 5	16, 700	11. 1
February	19, 944	9. 2	22, 248	6. 9	22, 848	6. 5	16, 350	10. 9
March	19, 944	9. 2	22, 248	6. 9	22, 848	6. 5	15, 550	10. 3
April	19, 944	9. 2	22, 248	6. 9	22, 848	6. 5	14, 650	9. 8
May	19, 944	9. 2	22, 248	6. 9	22, 848	6. 5	14, 850	9. 9
June	19, 944	9. 2	22, 248	6. 9	22, 848	6. 5	16, 250	10. 8
July	27, 704	12. 8	30, 008	9. 3	30, 608	8. 7	16, 900	11. 2
August	27, 704	12. 8	30, 008	9. 3	30, 608	8. 7	17, 700	11. 8
September	27, 704	12. 8	30, 008	9. 3	30, 608	8. 7	18, 200	12. 1
October	27, 704	12. 8	30, 008	9. 3	30, 608	8. 7	20, 150	13. 4
November	27, 704	12. 8	30, 008	9. 3	30, 608	8. 7	26, 550	17. 7
December	27, 704	12. 8	30, 008	9. 3	30, 608	8. 7	29, 050	19. 3
1922								
January	39, 184	18. 1	41, 488	12. 9	42, 088	11. 9	28, 600	19. 0
February	43, 384	20. 0	45, 688	14. 2	46, 288	13. 1	32, 700	21. 8
March	46, 984	21. 7	49, 288	15. 4	49, 888	14. 2	41, 200	27. 4
April	58, 804	27. 2	61, 757	19. 2	62, 522	17. 7	47, 700	31. 8
May	58, 804	27. 2	61, 757	19. 2	62, 522	17. 7	51, 900	34. 5
June	64, 358	29. 7	67, 691	21. 1	68, 554	19. 4	62, 350	41. 5
July	90, 577	41. 8	94, 997	29. 6	96, 137	27. 3	91, 950	61. 2
August	176, 373	81. 5	185, 121	57. 7	187, 389	53. 2	154, 350	102. 7
September	217, 236	100. 3	230, 312	71. 1	233, 695	66. 3	245, 850	163. 7
October	370, 993	171. 4	394, 295	122. 8	400, 321	113. 6	391, 650	260. 7
November	612, 528	282. 9	649, 296	202. 3	658, 822	186. 9	848, 800	565. 0
December	1, 039, 081	479. 9	1, 093, 474	340. 6	1, 107, 549	314. 2	1, 303, 900	867. 9
1923								
January	1, 653, 060	763. 5	1, 750, 992	545. 5	1, 874, 640	531. 8	1, 938, 900	1290. 5
February	3, 833, 721	1770. 8	4, 064, 820	1266. 3	4, 358, 424	1236. 4	4, 227, 600	2813. 8
March	4, 607, 444	2128. 1	4, 874, 062	1518. 4	5, 212, 770	1478. 8	3, 918, 850	2608. 4
April	4, 745, 919	2192. 1	5, 019, 856	1563. 8	5, 370, 434	1523. 5	3, 900, 600	2596. 3
May	7, 808, 718	3606. 8	8, 362, 052	2605. 0	9, 048, 184	2566. 9	6, 360, 200	4233. 4
June	18, 346, 114	8474. 0	19, 689, 920	6133. 9	21, 356, 271	6058. 5	13, 176, 350	8770. 2
July	115. 4	53284. 5	124. 4	38745. 3	135. 5	38450. 4	49, 408, 050	32886. 1
August	1930. 4	429740	11, 003. 0	312468	11, 093. 1	310097	1886. 7	590170
September	138, 391. 6	117. 8	146, 552. 3	114. 5	154, 935. 8	115. 6	122, 291. 4	114. 8
October	14, 930. 5	12272. 8	16, 058. 4	11887. 3	17, 190. 3	12039. 8	17, 529. 7	15011. 8
November	1966, 777	2460. 4	1, 224, 823	381. 6	1, 453, 666	2412. 4	1, 047, 256	2697. 1
December	1, 969	4. 82	2, 484	4. 71	2, 600	4. 74	1, 609	4. 107
1924	Renten- marks		Renten- marks		Renten- marks		Renten- marks	
January	2, 011	4. 93	2, 448	4. 76	2, 906	4. 82	1, 447	4. 96
February	2, 011	4. 93	2, 448	4. 76	2, 906	4. 82	1, 385	4. 92
March	2, 362	4. 109	2, 799	4. 87	3, 257	4. 92	1, 404	4. 93
April	2, 449	4. 113	2, 900	4. 90	3, 409	4. 97	1, 486	4. 99
May	2, 449	4. 113	2, 900	4. 90	3, 409	4. 97	1, 528	4. 102
June	2, 426	4. 112	2, 873	4. 89	3, 377	4. 96	1, 483	4. 99
July	2, 592	4. 120	3, 084	4. 96	3, 639	4. 103	1, 527	4. 102
August	2, 592	4. 120	3, 084	4. 96	3, 639	4. 103	1, 503	4. 100
September	2, 592	4. 120	3, 084	4. 96	3, 639	4. 103	1, 552	4. 103
October	2, 592	4. 120	3, 084	4. 96	3, 639	4. 103	1, 633	4. 109
November	2, 592	4. 120	3, 084	4. 96	3, 639	4. 103	1, 629	4. 108
December	2, 703	4. 125	3, 224	4. 100	3, 812	4. 108	1, 624	4. 108

1 Millions.

2 Billions.

3 Rentenmarks.

4 Based on rentenmarks.

The average yearly salary of Berlin bank helpers (in their tenth year of service) amounted, before the war, to \$516 (2,165 marks). According to the rates fixed by the banks from February, 1920, on, the yearly salary of such helpers (including allowances for wife and two children) at the dollar exchange rate was only \$126 in February (\$10.50 per month). It rose to \$325 in June and was \$322 in July. At that time the employees succeeded in obtaining a collective agreement by which their yearly nominal wages, which had been 12,500 marks in February and March, and 12,700 marks from April to July, were increased to 16,200 marks for the last five months of the year. But as the dollar exchange had already risen considerably in August and rose still more in the following months, the yearly salary of bank helpers, calculated in dollars, was not more than \$339 in August, dropping in November to \$210. In 1921, the yearly salary varied between \$105 in November and \$361 in July; in 1922 between \$85 in November and \$209 in February; in 1923 between \$92 in January and \$469 in December. It was \$479 in January and February, 1924, \$562 in March, \$583 in April and May, \$578 in June, \$617 from July to November, and \$644 in December. Salaries, calculated in dollars, were thus in 1920 from 24 to 66 per cent of what they had been in pre-war times; in 1921 from 20 to 70 per cent; in 1922 from 16 to 41 per cent; in 1923 from 18 to 91 per cent; in January and February, 1924, 93 per cent; in March, 109 per cent; in April and May, 113 per cent; in June, 112 per cent; from July to November, 120 per cent; and in December, 125 per cent.

Before the war the average yearly salary of bank helpers was 44 per cent higher than the minimum cost of subsistence of a family of four persons (i. e., their salary was equal to the wages of bricklayers, but they had the advantage of being, as a rule, employed all the year round). In the year 1920 (February to December), their salary was 19 per cent lower than that minimum; in 1921, 28 per cent higher; in the first half of 1922, 18 per cent higher; in the third quarter, 2 per cent lower; in the fourth quarter, 21 per cent lower; in the first quarter of 1923, as high as the minimum cost of subsistence; in the second quarter, 32 per cent higher; in July, 1923, 133 per cent higher; in August, 1923, 5 per cent higher; in September, 1923, 72 per cent higher; in October, 1923, 35 per cent lower; in November, 1923, 5 per cent lower. From December, 1923, on, it always exceeded that minimum—in December, by 22 per cent, in January, 1924, by 39, in February by 45, in March by 68, in the second quarter of 1924 by 63 per cent, in the third quarter by 70 per cent, and in the fourth quarter by 61 per cent.

The average yearly salary of the Berlin bank clerks (in their tenth year of service) doing responsible work (those doing simple work, of course, have a smaller income) amounted before the war to \$839 (3,525 marks). According to the rates fixed by the banks from February, 1920, on, the yearly salary of such clerks (including allowances for wife and two children) at the exchange rate was only \$146 in February (\$12.20 per month). It rose to \$376 in June and was \$372 in July. The collective agreement which went into force on August 1 did not help these clerks much, as the dollar exchange rate rose at the same time; in November their salary dropped to \$241. In 1921 their yearly salary varied between \$116 in November and \$399 in July; in 1922, between \$92 in November and \$223 in Febru-

ary; in 1923, between \$104 in January and \$663 in November. It amounted to \$619 in December, 1923, \$692 in January and February, 1924, \$776 in March, \$812 in April and May, \$807 in June, \$886 from July to November, and \$908 in December. Salaries calculated in dollars were thus in 1920 from 17 to 45 per cent of what they had been in pre-war times; in 1921 from 14 to 48 per cent; in 1922 from 11 to 27 per cent; in 1923 from 12 to 79 per cent; in January and February, 1924, 82 per cent; in March, 92 per cent; and in April and May, 97 per cent; in June, 96 per cent, from July to November, 103 per cent; and in December, 108 per cent.

Before the war the average yearly salary of bank clerks doing responsible work was 135 per cent higher than the minimum cost of subsistence for a family of four persons. In 1920, which was one of the most prosperous years German banks ever had, the salary of bank clerks doing responsible work did not quite reach the minimum cost of subsistence for a family of four persons, but lagged about 1 per cent behind. In 1921 their salary was 44 per cent higher than that minimum; in the first half of 1922 it was 25 per cent higher; in the third quarter 5 per cent higher; in the fourth quarter, in spite of a great boom in banking business, it was 15 per cent lower. In the first quarter of 1923 it was 13 per cent higher; in the second quarter 53 per cent higher; in July, 1924, 174 per cent higher; in August, 24 per cent higher; in September, 146 per cent higher; in October, 5 per cent lower; in November, 39 per cent higher; in December, 62 per cent higher. In the twelve months of 1924, salaries exceeded the minimum cost of subsistence by 101, 110, 132, 129, 123, 128, 138, 142, 134, 123, 123, and 134 per cent, successively.

The salary of bank helpers, which before the war had been 44 per cent higher than the minimum cost of subsistence, was lower than that minimum in 18 of the 59 months under consideration (February, 1920 to December, 1924). The salary of bank clerks doing responsible work, which before the war exceeded the minimum cost of subsistence by 135 per cent, did not even reach this minimum in 10 months (March to July, 1920, September, November, and December 1922, January and October, 1923). The real salary of bank helpers was less than half as high as before the war in April and May, 1920, and in October, 1923; it was higher than before the war in July, August, and September, 1921, in July and September, 1923, and from and after February, 1924. The real salary of bank clerks doing responsible work was less than half as high as before the war from February to August, 1920 (in April and May less than one-third as high), from October to December, 1920, in December, 1921, in June and July, 1922, from September, 1922, to February, 1923 (in November, 1922, less than one-third as high), and in October, 1923; it was higher than before the war in July and September, 1923, and from July, 1924 on.

In considering these figures it must always be borne in mind that a computation of real wages in times of rapid inflation can never lead to exact results. When a concern for some reason had no cash on hand on a certain day with which to pay wages—and this happened very often since the Reichsbank was unable to print the necessary notes (whose nominal value always rose) quickly enough—the workers who got their wages a day later than their colleagues in a neighboring concern received real wages perhaps 20 per cent less. Moreover,

monthly, fortnightly, and even weekly indexes of cost of living cover far too long periods when cost of living doubles or trebles within a week. Real wages therefore changed much more than might be concluded from Tables 46 and 48. Some light on actual conditions will be thrown by Table 49, which shows the nominal wages and the trend of real wages of skilled and unskilled workers in the Berlin chemical industry from October 1 to November 15, 1923, each pay day (that observed by most of the large establishments) being considered separately and the cost-of-living index, ascertained by the Federal Statistical Office on Mondays, being assumed to increase each day within the week by the same percentage. It will be seen that the skilled worker, who before the war received 38.88 marks per week, got on October 1, 1923, 500,000,000 marks and on October 5, 861,000,000 marks. He then had to live on those 500,000,000 marks four days. As the cost-of-living index for those four days was 49228909, the real value of those 500,000,000 marks was then 10.16 marks. As in pre-war times he earned 38.88 marks per week and thus had 22.22 marks to spend in four days, his real wages from October 1 to October 4, 1924, were 45.7 per cent of what they were in pre-war times. In the following three days, from October 5 to October 7, he made 861,000,000 marks, which constituted 61 per cent of his real wages before the war. At other times his real wages were much lower. The billion marks which he received on October 13 and which had to last him three days were worth only 9.2 per cent of his real wages in pre-war times. It is interesting to note that unskilled workers who before the war received 27 marks per week received on pay days when a lump sum was disbursed to the skilled workers (500,000,000, 1,000,000,000, 100,000,000,000, and 500,000,000,000 marks) just as much as those skilled workers, while on other pay days they, of course, got less. This also shows the arbitrary state of wage conditions and the difficulty of reducing them to statistical form.

TABLE 49.—NOMINAL WAGES AND INDEX NUMBERS OF REAL WAGES OF CHEMICAL WORKERS IN BERLIN, OCTOBER 1 TO NOVEMBER 15, 1923

Pay day	Nominal wages		Cost-of-living index (1913-14=1)	Index numbers of real wages (1914= 100)	
	Skilled workers	Unskilled workers		Skilled workers	Unskilled workers
	<i>Million marks</i>	<i>Million marks</i>			
1923					
Oct. 1.....	500	500	49228909	45.7	65.8
Oct. 5.....	861	739	84703840	61.0	75.4
Oct. 8.....	500	500	142958303	31.6	45.5
Oct. 10.....	1,662	1,470	290167223	34.4	43.8
Oct. 13.....	1,000	1,000	654973940	9.2	13.2
Oct. 16.....	5,178	4,630	1237091762	25.1	32.4
Oct. 19.....	7,236	7,128	2905184024	11.2	15.9
Oct. 23.....	23,000	23,000	6139164472	22.5	32.4
Oct. 26.....	112,620	109,500	12028502200	42.1	59.0
Oct. 30.....	100,000	100,000	31790818300	18.9	27.2
Nov. 2.....	219,800	191,800	79196610100	16.7	20.9
Nov. 5.....	500,000	500,000	136568449000	22.0	31.6
Nov. 8.....	1,744,640	1,582,400	193598867000	32.4	42.4
Nov. 13.....	500,000	500,000	320064868000	14.1	20.3
Nov. 15.....	3,426,800	3,038,000	587171153000	26.3	33.5

Since the stabilization of the mark real wages have, of course, also become more stable, and as the cost of living in 1924 has been

about as high as in pre-war times, even nominal wages give quite a good idea of the trend of wages. Table 50 shows for a number of trades which have not been considered in Tables 46 and 48 the nominal weekly wages for a married worker with one child. It will be seen that in these trades there was, in general, an increase of nominal (and real) wages from January to April, 1924, and that wages in most trades are lower, in some very much lower, than in pre-war times, while in a few others workers enjoy higher wages than they did 10 years ago.

TABLE 50.—WEEKLY WAGES IN SPECIFIED INDUSTRIES AND OCCUPATIONS IN BERLIN, JANUARY TO APRIL, 1924

Industry and occupation	Spring, 1914	Jan., 1924	Feb., 1924	Mar., 1924	Apr., 1924	Per cent of spring, 1914, wages			
						Jan., 1924	Feb., 1924	Mar., 1924	Apr., 1924
Chemical factories:	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Marks</i>				
Skilled workers.....	38.88	24.56	24.95	27.00	31.26	63.2	64.2	69.4	80.4
Unskilled workers.....	27.00	22.40	22.40	22.40	23.97	83.0	83.0	83.0	88.8
Painting:									
Painters.....	38.69	31.68	30.72	30.72	33.73	81.9	79.4	79.4	87.2
Whitewashers.....	36.04	29.28	28.32	28.32	31.33	81.2	78.6	78.6	86.9
Meats:									
Sausage factories—journeymen.....	42.00	29.76	29.76	29.76	36.72	70.9	70.9	70.9	87.4
Small abattoirs—journeymen.....	35.35	40.78	40.30	40.30	40.30	115.4	114.0	114.0	114.0
Butcher shops—journeymen.....	37.35	46.80	43.13	43.13	43.13	125.3	115.5	115.5	115.5
Bakeries:									
Large establishments—journeymen.....	38.00	34.00	31.24	31.81	34.00	89.5	82.2	83.7	89.5
Small establishments—journeymen.....	36.50	33.00	30.24	30.81	33.00	90.4	82.8	84.4	90.4
Men's tailoring:									
Custom-made clothing—									
Tailors.....	42.00	26.40	27.07	32.97	38.40	62.9	64.4	78.5	91.4
Bushelers.....	37.80	26.40	27.07	32.97	33.40	69.8	71.6	87.2	101.6
Repair workers.....	33.00	26.40	26.69	30.68	35.04	80.0	80.9	92.9	106.1
Ready-made clothing—									
Cutters.....	48.00	37.13	39.42	42.50	42.50	77.3	82.1	88.5	88.5
Pressers.....	41.00	31.97	30.14	30.14	30.14	78.0	73.5	73.5	73.5
Tailors.....	38.00	29.65	27.96	27.96	27.96	78.0	73.7	73.7	73.7
Chimney sweeping—journeymen.....	35.00	38.09	34.00	34.00	36.22	108.8	97.1	97.1	103.5
Leather factories:									
Skilled workers.....	30.51	27.40	27.40	29.80	31.00	89.8	89.8	97.7	101.6
Unskilled laborers.....	24.30	25.00	25.00	26.92	27.88	102.9	102.9	110.8	114.7
Shoe factories—skilled workers.....	32.40	19.20	19.20	21.60	21.60	59.3	59.3	66.7	66.7
Machine and electrical industry:									
Skilled workers.....	42.12	29.71	29.71	29.71	31.44	70.5	70.5	70.5	74.6
Semiskilled workers.....	39.96	24.96	24.96	24.96	28.06	62.5	62.5	62.5	65.2
Unskilled laborers.....	30.78	21.84	21.84	21.84	21.84	71.0	71.0	71.0	71.0

PIECEWORK

After the revolution workmen frequently refused to continue to do piecework. Much notice has been given to this refusal, which is hardly merited by its intrinsic importance. The following survey, comprising all the trades in which piecework is done to any considerable extent except mining, where the pay system is different from that of the general piecework system, shows that piecework has been only temporarily abandoned and that with a short break in 1919 the trend is essentially the same as before the war, even being accelerated. The aversion of the German workmen to piecework, first expressed in a resolution passed by the Socialist congress at Brussels in 1891, appears perfectly intelligible when one considers the practical consequences of the piecework system at that time—the sweating to which it gave rise, the unfairness, and the precariousness of the workmen's income therefrom, especially if we remember that it was only in the second half of the nineties that trade-unions began to exercise a serious influence on wage rates and

conditions of labor and to mitigate the abuses of the piecework system. The increase of power of the trade-unions brought about a total change. The workman was no longer a defenseless individual, powerless in the grasp of the employer, but could apply to his organization concerning even the daily differences of opinion on the calculations of piecework wage rates. Of still greater importance was the development of collective bargaining, which was inaugurated by the trade-unions about 1900. The establishment by mutual agreement of principles for the calculation of piecework and frequently also of the wage rates for piecework totally changed the character of the piecework system and at the same time the attitude of the workmen toward it, which had never been uniformly antagonistic.

Piecework was regulated in three ways: 1. The rates for piecework which had theretofore been fixed by the employer alone were established by agreement and were not to be changed except by mutual consent; 2. Such changes were to be based on a more or less definitely limited standard hourly wage; 3. For new kinds of piecework, especially in industries in which the types of the work change often, minimum earnings were frequently guaranteed. In addition rules were made for the distribution of wages for gang work. It was these gang-work contracts that had, far more than the contracts of single workmen, caused the aversion of the workmen to piecework generally, because in a gang the strongest and most skillful workman was encouraged for his own interest to set the pace for the rest of the gang. Overtime, Sunday work, and payment for lost time were also regulated.

During the war piecework in the war industries was on the whole highly paid and the discussion of the question of piecework versus time work ceased altogether.

On the outbreak of the revolution large numbers of workmen untrained in trade-union principles joined the trade-unions and under their influence, aided by the general decline in working capacity due to inadequate nourishment during the war, aversion to piecework again became pronounced. But even at that time it was not possible to abolish piecework altogether, such abolition being prevented not only by the employers but by the workmen themselves, because such an attempt would have ended in dissolution of the trade-unions. When stability was restored the workmen soon resumed the attitude toward the piecework system which had been prevalent in the ten years preceding the war. Let us now consider single trades.

The shoemaking trade has two branches—custom shoemaking and the manufacture of shoes on a large scale. In both branches of the trade piecework has always prevailed, and until the union succeeded in concluding collective agreements in the custom branch it was opposed to piecework and desired its abolition. These agreements provided only for negotiating and fixing piece rates, being silent as to abolition of piecework. Before the war collective agreements had seldom been concluded for shoe factories, but during the war a national collective agreement covering all shoe factories which supplied shoes for the army was concluded through the intervention of the military authorities, and this collective agreement became the pattern for another national collective agreement covering all other boot and shoe factories. In both these agreements piecework was

regulated, and by fixing minimum wages the employers were prevented from taking advantage of the piecework system to the prejudice of the workmen. After the war the workers endeavored to conclude a national collective agreement containing a stipulation that repairs should be paid for by the hour and that minimum wages should be fixed for a normal output in piecework. While there was no general opposition to piecework in 1919, 17 towns abolished piecework and in others the workmen succeeded in getting repairs paid for by the hour. At the 1920 meeting of the union a resolution "to refuse piecework under any circumstances as long as the capitalistic system prevails" was passed. At the same time, however, the prohibition of piecework which had been in the by-laws since 1894 was revoked. The opposition to piecework soon subsided, and though the union still demands payment by the hour on principle, the work of its members has never been permanently influenced thereby.

The clothing trades include a number of trades having little or nothing in common—the making of custom clothes, the manufacture of ready-made clothing, of soldiers' uniforms, and of women's ready-made dresses, dressmaking, the making of white goods and lingerie, etc. One peculiarity of all these trades, with the exception of dressmaking, is that home work prevails and therefore payment by the piece. As the result of the extreme distress among the workers in a large part of these trades for decades, the workers in these trades wished to do away with home and piece work and to replace it everywhere by workshop or factory work and payment by the hour, but when the trade-unions became strong enough to force the conclusion of collective agreements the practice was different. The establishment of workshops was of course promoted, but the fixing of fair terms for piecework was always regarded as the most urgent task. With the exception of dressmaking, collective agreements in all these trades were concluded on the basis of payment by the piece. It is significant that at the meeting of the union in 1912 a motion to declare in the by-laws "the prohibition of piecework" as an aim of the trade-union was rejected. In spite of the practice of piecework, payment by the hour was not altogether abandoned. After the revolution this system gained in importance in connection with the 8-hour day. When, in the negotiations for the conclusion of a collective agreement in the men's custom-clothing trade in December, 1918, payment by the hour was demanded, the employers refused positively, but finally a national collective agreement was concluded in which a standard working time was stipulated for the making of each article of clothes and for each quality, which was to be paid for at the local rate of wages per hour. Before the war a national collective agreement was concluded for the workers in the manufacture of soldiers' uniforms. Workers who worked on custom uniforms were included under the national collective agreement of the men's custom-clothing trade. For contract tailoring a corresponding agreement was not concluded until 1920. In the ready-made-clothing trades collective agreements were made at an early date, but they were not observed. Strikes started about 1900 with the object of abolishing piecework had to be given up without result. In the last ten years before the war, therefore, the trade-unions concentrated on the regulation of piecework by collective agreement, and as far back

as 1912 admitted that the question of piecework must be decided in each case according to local and business requirements. The regulation of piecework by agreement was somewhat slower in the women's ready-made-dress trade than in the men's ready-made-clothing trade, because the workers in that trade were not so well organized. In a meeting of the white goods and lingerie trade in November, 1919, it was stated that not only did piecework prevail in the trade but that the workers applied eagerly for it. The skilled workers in this trade have proceeded along the same line as the workers in other trades, by regulation of piecework rather than prohibition thereof. For a long time the unskilled workers desired prohibition of piecework, but as their organization was not strong they were unable to effect such a change and had to be content with regulation of piecework by mutual agreement.

In the potters' trade, the stoneware industry, the stove-making trade, and in stove fitting piecework has always prevailed, and to such a degree that the workers' organizations were unable to collect statistics of hourly rates of wages, because nowhere were they regarded as important. In the nineties, the question of piecework or timework was indeed discussed, but in practice only the regulation of piecework by collective agreement was attempted. At first efforts were made to fix maximum weekly wages for single workmen, but as such stipulations could not be carried out this rough method was abandoned. In the 15 years before the war there was no sign of any movement against piecework, but the war brought about a complete change. Owing to the almost complete cessation of building activity, almost all the available work for stove fitters and makers consisted of repairs, which had always been paid for by the hour. Thus payment by the hour came to be adopted more and more and the idea of introducing it generally cropped up again and spread more and more in the time of the revolution. The subject was discussed vehemently in the trade journal and in meetings and formed the principal topic of the debates in the first general assembly after the war, in July, 1919. The fact that the trade-union had succeeded in introducing payment by the hour in 1918 in Hamburg, and in 1919 in Lubeck and Schleswig was a further inducement to continue the struggle against the piecework system. At a meeting of the union a motion that the union declare itself for the prohibition of piecework and the introduction of payment by the hour was carried unanimously, and a resolution that a two-thirds vote of the members should decide the system of payment to be adopted was passed. In January, 1920, the required majority voted for payment by the hour in the case of the stove makers, stove fitters, and stoneware potters, but in the case of the crockery makers the required majority was not secured. As in former years, however, it proved to be impossible in practice to abolish piecework, because of the resistance of the employers, who would not even grant the minimum wage which had been demanded for a long time, and also because of the lack of unanimity among the potters themselves. The result was that the piecework system remained in force with the stove makers and wheel potters or throwers, while part of the stove fitters were paid by the hour.

In the painters' trade we must distinguish between house painters proper or decorators, who belong to the building trade, and the varnishers and other painters employed in the wood and metal

industries. With the house painters the piecework system has never played an important part. In some large towns it was introduced for work on large tenement houses, in the form of gang contracts for special work, such as windows, doors, floors, and ceilings, but beyond this it has not been used to any extent. Curiously enough there were in this trade signs of a tendency, not only among the employers but also among the workers, to extend the use of the piecework system after the revolution. On the whole, however, the postwar period has not brought any changes of importance in this respect. With the painters in factories, furniture making, coach building, railway-car works, and machine factories the situation is quite different. In these industries piecework had always prevailed to such an extent (more than half of the total number of workmen working by the piece) that the abolition of the system was out of the question. In regulating piecework in these trades, however, the painters met with some difficulties, because they were generally in the minority in the factories and therefore not strong enough to carry through radical changes. With the revolution, collective agreements were concluded in these trades and piecework was regulated in this manner.

The piecework system has caused a good deal of conflict in the bricklayers' trade, which, however, has not been of any great importance in itself. The workers have always declined to do piecework on account of the increase of danger to accident, especially in the jerry work frequently connected with it, and while the employers have tried repeatedly to have the principle of the piecework system acknowledged in the collective agreements they have not put it into practice even within the established limits. Some special trades, such as plasterers, stuccoers, and flag or tile layers, have always done piecework to a large extent.

In the printers' trade piecework has never played any considerable part except with compositors, but even in their case it has been in a great measure abandoned. After the revolution the journeymen demanded the abandonment of the piecework system without success, but the employers did not succeed in introducing the piecework system generally, and the postwar period has not brought any change of importance. In the bookbinding trades piecework has increased in the degree that the craftsman has been replaced by the manufacturing concern. The bookbinders' union soon perceived that the abuses of the piecework system, which were extending, could be combated only by collective agreements. Whereas in the earlier periods only traces of aversion against piecework are to be found, a typical reaction set in after the revolution. In the towns in which collective agreements were in force resolutions prohibiting piecework were passed by general vote of the members of the union, but attempts to put them into effect were for the most part without success. At the meeting of the union in 1919, it was decided after much debate, to continue the previous policy of regulation by collective agreement, and the principle of the piecework system was thus accepted.

In the textile industries the piecework system has always prevailed and has been extended continuously since the introduction of the collective-agreement system. Owing to the weakness of their trade-union the workers were on principle averse to piecework, but the

number of those favoring the piecework system was growing even before its regulation by collective agreement. While collective agreements were not concluded to any considerable extent before the war, it had become evident even in 1914 that the piecework system could not be abolished very soon, and that the real question was as to how far it could be regulated by collective agreement. After the war this opinion persisted and the demand for prohibition of the piecework system was struck out of the by-laws in 1919, probably because conditions of work and rates of wages in this industry were, as a result of the revolution, regulated to a great extent by collective agreements and a stable rate of wages as well as a minimum wage thus secured.

In the woodworking industry piecework has played an important part and has increased continually up to the war. The workers demanded the abandonment of the piecework system as long as they had no voice in the management of the concerns. As soon, however, as they were given the opportunity of concluding agreements regulation of piecework began. A minimum rate of wages and, above all, impartial investigation of new rates for piecework were the characteristic stipulations of such agreements. The war brought an increase of piecework in some branches of the woodworking industry and a decrease in others. In work for the army, supplying it with certain uniform articles on an enormous scale, piecework played an important part. In regular factory work, however, piecework had frequently to be abandoned, as the indifferent quality of the materials (wood, glue, French polish) hampered the workmen too much and caused interruptions and loss of time. The opposition to piecework which set in after the revolution was, in the woodworking industry, felt only here and there, being strongest among the woodworkers employed in the metal industries, but even here it soon declined. In 1920 a national collective agreement for the woodworking industry was concluded, which was renewed in 1921. Like many previous local agreements, this agreement provided that 115 per cent of the wages agreed upon for work by the hour was to be paid as the minimum wage for piecework. By this agreement the piecework system was formally recognized.

The metal industries comprise a large number of different trades, and the employers also belong to widely different classes, ranging from the small handicraftsman, locksmith, or fitter to the general works manager of a large concern in the Rhineland or Westphalia industrial district. It can hardly be said, therefore, that in this industry the piecework system has developed uniformly, although there is no doubt that on the whole it has gained ground. Regulation by collective agreements was effective only in the small concerns and with individual tradesmen, as the large works positively declined to enter into collective agreements.

During the war the most powerful agent in extending the piecework system was the extensive use of the industry for army supplies. As all articles for the army are required to be produced on a large scale, no other branch of industry could be more suitable for piecework, even though the indifferent quality of the materials was to a certain degree an obstacle.

Before the war the employers in the metal industry who were opposed to the trade-unions had tried to prevent the training and

education of the workers in trade-union policies and management, first by prohibiting their employees from joining the unions and, second, by promoting the so-called "yellow" organizations. The consequences of this policy became perceptible after the revolution, when the members of the "yellows" joined the struggle against the piecework system. The struggle, however, did not last long. At the meeting of the union in 1919 motions for the abolition of piecework were rejected. According to statistics of the union for 1920, piecework was prohibited in only six agreements, covering 128 establishments and 283 persons. In only one agreement was piecework excluded altogether, and that was an agreement concluded by a corporation of smiths, where piecework was never customary. In the other five agreements piecework was prohibited for only a part of the workers engaged or for certain kinds of work.

With the change of political conditions collective agreements could be concluded on a different basis than theretofore. As trade-unions had been universally recognized, the large manufacturing concerns were obliged to acknowledge the right of their workers to participate on a footing of equality in negotiations as to conditions of labor and rates of wages. As a consequence of this not only did the movement for collective agreements spread enormously, but the proportion of agreements concluded between single firms and their workers and of joint collective agreements was reversed. Whereas in 1917 two-thirds of all agreements were concluded by single firms, in 1920 this proportion had decreased to less than one-third. The negotiations between organizations carried on since the revolution have given a different basis to the system of collective bargaining. By 1918 extensive joint collective agreements and basic agreements for whole districts had been concluded, in which uniform standards in all matters of principle, including the matter of piecework, were established. Local agreements for single towns and for related trades provided for local and trade requirements. This movement has extended, while national agreements on wages have been concluded only in a few cases.

In the standard regulations for piecework issued by the German Metal Workers' Union in 1904 the aims of these regulations are defined as follows: Fixing of terms for piecework in cooperation with the workers before the work is entered upon; establishment of a minimum wage according to the average working capacity; guaranty of an hourly wage and a list of rates for piecework protected by agreement. These stipulations have been amplified to suit the requirements of single trades, e. g., by regulations for molders in case of failures in casting, additional pay for pipe layers working outside of the city, gang work of smiths, fitters, and smelters, prohibition of overtime, and the middleman or sweater system. They were finally completed by protective measures against reduction of rates—piecework rates to be altered only in case working methods are improved or the types of wholesale articles are changed, and the fundamental requirement that a fair rate of hourly wages shall be guaranteed. To this day the standard stipulations of 1904 contain all that the metal worker considers essential to fair conditions for piecework. These standards are still a matter of discussion, for the ultimate aim is to regulate conditions of labor and rates of wages of metal workers satisfactorily all over Germany.

The German trade-unions are not unanimous in their position with regard to piecework. On the whole, they have allowed their attitude to be influenced by the circumstances in each case. The above survey shows, however, that the tide of opinion which set against the piecework system after the revolution has left no lasting impression, and that although a large part of the workers are not particularly enthusiastic as to piecework the system has probably gained ground since the war and prevails in all places and establishments where there are no serious objections due to the peculiarities of the trade in question.

EFFICIENCY OF LABOR

Complaints as to inefficiency of workers in Germany were rather frequent even in pre-war times and many examples were shown to prove that the output per hour of the average worker was lower in Germany than in other countries, especially in the United States. Part of this was due to bad management, old-fashioned machinery, long working hours, or piecework systems with maximum wage per week, which indirectly induced the worker to restrict his output. Complaints were much more frequent in small shops than in large establishments with efficient management, up-to-date machinery, short working time, and modern wage systems. Yet there is no doubt that, in general, even in establishments with equally good management and machinery, with equal working time, and equal wage systems with modern American establishments, the average hourly output per worker was smaller than that in the United States. The difference, however, was practically always smaller, and often much smaller, than the difference in real wages, and the cost of production per unit in such plants was generally lower than that in America.

After the war complaints as to decrease of efficiency of labor were universal in Germany, both in small shops and in the best managed and best equipped establishments. This, however, in no way crippled the competitive power of German goods in the world's market, since for the same reasons cost of production increased likewise in other countries, although the political unrest and the low standard of living reduced output in Germany after the war probably more than in any other country. Moreover, complaints of a too low hourly output per worker have been raised less and less of late. As early as October 27, 1921, the Minister of Railways declared with regard to the railway workshops (and the railway workers were accused even more than others of being inefficient): "The output per man is in general on pre-war level"; and the railway official in charge of the workshop department wrote only a few months later: "According to the standard of output in the main and the subsidiary workshops, the output of the individual man in most of the repair shops has reached the pre-war level and in some shops exceeds it."

A representative of a big electric concern, in an article entitled "Dearer production—lower production," bitterly complained of the reduction of the yearly output per employee through the increase of unproductive work, the shortening of the regular working time, the refusal of overtime work, the increase of sickness and of vacations and the frequency of strikes, but explicitly said: "It must be admitted that the pieceworker engaged in productive work is in general, as to

the output per hour, no longer behind the pre-war output and even partly exceeds it." The decrease of efficiency of labor is, then, now only of historical interest, but in itself this should be no reason for eliminating it from a study of postwar labor conditions in Germany, for it shows that even those who were most outspoken in former years now generally admit that severe reduction of output took place only in the first two years after the revolution. An ascertainment of the actual facts is difficult, as no unbiased investigation of efficiency of labor has been made in postwar times. Such an investigation would have shown that even in cases of very low efficiency of labor the wages per unit were ridiculously low in comparison with the selling price of the product.

Aside from political unrest, the main reason mentioned for the reduction of labor efficiency (hourly output) in the first years after the war was that the employers were prevented from paying their employees according to their efficiency, because of: 1. The abolition of piecework; 2. The leveling of wages—almost the same wages being fixed for skilled workers as for unskilled workers; 3. The introduction of family allowances.

1. The attitude of the workers of different trades toward piecework is discussed on pages 134 to 141. It may suffice to supplement that discussion at this place by a description of the experience of the German railways.

Before the war piecework was quite the rule in the repair shops of the German railways; during the war it became less important, and in the last months before the revolution at least as much timework was performed as piecework. With the outbreak of the revolution piecework was completely abolished. The number of days worked on timework and on piecework in the Prussian-Hessian railway shops is shown in Table 51:

TABLE 51.—NUMBER OF DAYS OF TIMEWORK AND PIECEWORK WORKED IN THE PRUSSIAN-HESSIAN RAILWAY SHOPS, 1913 TO 1919

Fiscal year beginning—	Timework	Piecework	Fiscal year beginning—	Timework	Piecework
	<i>Days</i>	<i>Days</i>		<i>Days</i>	<i>Days</i>
April 1, 1913.....	6, 499, 603	15, 999, 383	April 1, 1917.....	14, 183, 025	15, 958, 273
April 1, 1914.....	6, 763, 697	14, 290, 204	April 1, 1918.....	28, 575, 790	8, 553, 441
April 1, 1915.....	7, 053, 735	13, 347, 510	April 1, 1919.....	51, 025, 654	338, 239
April 1, 1916.....	9, 473, 747	13, 639, 908			

The hatred of piecework by the workers in the railway shops which induced them immediately to suspend piecework after the outbreak of the revolution was due to a large extent to mistakes committed by the old administration. The former piecework system in the workshops made it possible for the foremen to handle things as they pleased and to pay the workers not according to their efficiency and industry but according to political or similar consideration. The sudden abolition of piecework resulted in a great reduction in the amount of work done. To quote only one example: In September, 1918, with a staff of 107,000 workers, 870 locomotives were repaired weekly; in September, 1919, only 747 locomotives were repaired within a week, while 164,000 men were employed, and this in spite of the fact that in 1918 many women and war prisoners had been employed, who by 1919 had been replaced by skilled workmen.

All attempts to reintroduce piecework by mutual agreement proved unsuccessful. At last, in February, 1920, certain shops were closed for some days, the unnecessary workers were dismissed, and the work taken up with a reduced personnel on the basis of a reasonable piecework wage system. By December, 1920, 70 per cent of the workshops were operated on a piecework system. The output per man increased and in the course of 1921 regained the pre-war level.

2. Before the war there had been in Germany quite a difference between the wages of skilled and of unskilled workers, a skilled worker receiving, in general, from 20 to 50 per cent more than an unskilled worker. With the outbreak of the revolution the self-consciousness of the unskilled laborers was, of course, considerably intensified and the tendency to level wages became very strong. Before the war the trade-unions had to a great extent included within the same union both skilled and unskilled workers in their trade, resulting in a tendency to reduce the difference between their wages, and with the influx of great numbers of laborers into the union after the revolution the union leaders often had to yield to the ambition of the unskilled workers to get the same wages as the skilled workers. On the other hand, real wages of skilled workers remained so low that it was hardly possible to pay the unskilled workers much less than the skilled workers. But whatever may have been the decisive factor in an individual trade the leveling of wages had the effect of reducing the industry of the skilled workers and temporarily of reducing the number of apprentices. But this condition did not last very long. When political unrest subsided, and in consequence thereof the general level of efficiency of labor rose, the scarcity of unskilled labor, which had been augmented by the reduction of the movement from the rural districts to the cities and by the disappearance of alien laborers, was no longer felt so strongly, and the importance and greater worth of skilled workers was once more recognized, the differentiation of salaries and wages increased, and in some cases became what it had been in pre-war times.

A few examples will serve to illustrate this development:

The wages of German building laborers in 1913 were about 78 per cent of those of the bricklayers; in 1922 the percentage was about 95 or 96; in the first three quarters of 1923, 94 or 95; it then dropped to about 90 in November, 1923, and to 84 in December, 1924.

The wages of metal workers' helpers in 1913 were about 68 per cent of those of skilled metal workers; in 1922 the percentage was about 94; in the first three quarters of 1923 it was about 93 or 92; it then dropped to about 85 by the end of the year and to 70 in December, 1924.

The wages of woodworkers' helpers in 1913 were about 72 per cent of those of skilled woodworkers. The leveling here was not so great as in most other trades. In 1922 helpers earned about 10 or 11 per cent less than skilled workers, and in December, 1924, 17 per cent less.

In individual cases the relation between the wages of skilled and of unskilled workers changed because the difference in wages in marks remained unchanged. Thus the weekly wages of laborers in chemical factories in Berlin were less by 21.6 marks than those of skilled workers from the beginning of 1920 to October, 1921. But

as the wages of skilled workers rose from 148.8 marks in January, 1920, to 391.2 marks in October, 1921, laborers who before the war had earned 69 per cent of the wages of skilled workers, received in January, 1920, 85 per cent, and in October, 1921, 94 per cent.

A similar situation existed for several years with bank clerks. As will be seen from Table 48, bank clerks doing responsible work who in 1913 had earned 315 gold marks (\$75) more per year than the bank clerks doing simple work, had their yearly salary fixed in February, 1920, at only 500 marks (\$5) more than that of clerks doing simple work. This difference of 500 marks prevailed all the year 1920, being raised to 600 marks in January, 1921, and to 765 marks in April, 1922. In the meantime the wages of clerks doing simple work had increased from 14,000 to 61,757 marks. The difference between the wages of these two classes of employees, which in 1913 amounted to 10 per cent, was then in February, 1920, 3.6 per cent and only 1.2 per cent in April, 1922. The difference became much greater during the course of 1923, amounting to about 18 per cent in September, 1923, and has remained about as great up to the present time. In this exceptional case, the difference between the earnings of trained and of untrained employees, which for some time had practically disappeared, is now much greater than in pre-war times (588 marks, or \$140).

Government employees also for several years after the war experienced a considerable leveling of their income. A comparison of four typical grades of employees (excluding the highest and the lowest) shows the following:

TABLE 52.—INDEX NUMBERS OF MONTHLY WAGES OF SPECIFIED GRADES OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES ON SPECIFIED DATES

[Wages of Grade III=100]

Grade ¹	1913	April, 1920	August, 1921	October, 1921	April, 1924
Grade III.....	100	100	100	100	100
Grade VIII.....	234	138	130	145	183
Grade XI.....	387	179	174	214	270
Grade XIII.....	620	239	230	347	362

¹ Grade III includes, for example, railway conductors; Grade VIII, post and telegraph clerks; Grade XI, directors of large post and telegraph offices; Grade XIII, chiefs of divisions in Government departments.

The leveling of the salaries of these grades was greatest in August, 1921, when the highest grade under consideration drew only 2.3 times as much as the lowest grade (as compared with 6.2 times in 1913). Two months later a new scale went into force which raised the proportion to 3.5. In the following years there was a noticeable increase of the salaries of the employees in middle grades, while those in the higher grade continued to draw about 3.5 times as much as those in the lower grade. But in the last week of May, 1924, a radical change took place; the pre-war relation of the various grades was completely reestablished, all single employees drawing from and after June 1, 1924, 80 per cent of the 1913 salaries. Since the revolution employees with families also receive allowances for wife and children.

3. Family allowances, which of course are an infringement upon the principle of paying employees according to their efficiency, were introduced on a large scale after the revolution, for workers as well as

for salaried employees and for officials. Employees generally were at first rather suspicious with regard to this reform, being afraid that discrimination against workers with many children would result. But real wages were so low that employers were always ready to hire married men having children, especially as such men were supposed to be more steady and less inclined to political agitation. Moreover, family allowance funds were created which spread the expenses for family allowances over an entire employers' association, thus decreasing the risk of the individual employer. If these funds have not become of great importance, this is perhaps due partly to the fact that it is almost impossible for the association to prevent frauds. Thus in times of scarcity of labor, when the employers' associations bound their members not to pay higher wages than those fixed by collective agreements, it frequently happened that the employees of a concern were given to understand that no strict examination would be made by the management of the data submitted as to the number of children, and in such cases unduly high family allowances were granted to many workers at the expense of the fund.

Chapter VII.—UNEMPLOYMENT

NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED WORKERS

Immediately before the war unemployment was normal. On the outbreak of war it became enormous, but began to decrease after a few weeks and in the early spring of 1915 was again normal. From the fall of 1916, when the so-called "Hindenburg munition program" was put into effect, until the armistice there was practically no unemployment in Germany. The sudden return of the soldiers from the front and stoppage of war industries necessarily made adjustment of supply and demand on the labor market very difficult, and in the winter of 1918-19 the rate of unemployment was rather high, but from then until the beginning of 1923 there was no very long period when unemployment was really serious. Conditions took a bad turn, however, when the French entered the Ruhr and passive resistance was inaugurated, and became still worse when passive resistance broke down and inflation reached its peak. In the winter of 1923-24 unemployment in Germany was greater than it has ever been.

Table 53 shows the per cent of trade-union members unemployed on the last day of each month from January, 1913, to December, 1924:

TABLE 53.—PER CENT OF TRADE-UNION MEMBERS UNEMPLOYED, JANUARY, 1913, TO DECEMBER, 1924, BY MONTHS

Month	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
<i>Males</i>												
January.....	3.4	5.0	5.3	1.4	0.9	0.5	6.2	3.3	4.7	3.8	3.9	29.4
February.....	3.1	3.9	4.5	1.5	.8	.5	5.5	2.7	4.9	3.1	4.8	28.6
March.....	2.4	2.9	2.6	1.0	.6	.4	3.6	1.9	3.7	1.2	5.1	19.0
April.....	2.3	2.9	1.9	1.0	.4	.3	4.8	1.9	3.8	.9	6.6	11.7
May.....	2.5	2.8	1.7	.9	.3	.3	3.5	2.4	3.5	.6	5.9	9.4
June.....	2.7	2.5	1.4	.9	.3	.2	2.1	3.5	2.9	.5	3.6	11.1
July.....	2.9	2.9	1.4	.9	.3	.2	2.8	5.0	2.5	.5	3.1	12.9
August.....	2.8	21.2	1.4	.7	.3	.2	2.6	5.2	2.2	.5	5.7	12.7
September.....	2.7	14.5	1.2	.7	.3	.2	1.7	4.1	1.4	.6	9.6	10.7
October.....	2.9	9.9	1.0	.6	.2	.2	2.3	4.0	1.1	1.1	19.3	8.6
November.....	3.2	7.4	1.4	.6	.3	1.5	2.7	3.9	1.4	1.6	24.4	7.6
December.....	4.9	6.4	1.5	.7	.5	5.1	2.8	4.3	1.7	2.4	30.8	8.8
<i>Females</i>												
January.....	1.5	2.4	11.1	8.2	4.7	2.0	7.9	3.6	3.7	1.7	5.3	17.1
February.....	1.5	2.1	9.4	8.8	4.7	1.9	8.0	3.6	4.1	1.7	6.4	13.3
March.....	1.4	1.9	8.3	8.1	3.9	2.1	4.8	2.1	3.7	.9	7.2	7.9
April.....	1.5	1.7	9.1	8.4	3.3	2.5	6.8	2.2	4.4	.8	8.5	6.0
May.....	2.4	2.6	10.0	9.7	3.3	2.5	5.0	3.8	4.4	.8	7.3	5.6
June.....	2.5	2.6	9.1	9.5	2.8	2.4	3.8	5.9	3.4	1.0	5.3	8.1
July.....	2.9	3.4	9.7	9.5	2.7	2.2	4.2	10.0	2.8	.8	4.7	11.3
August.....	2.8	32.4	9.9	9.5	2.5	2.2	4.8	8.7	2.3	1.1	7.9	11.5
September.....	2.4	24.3	10.0	8.1	2.2	2.2	4.1	5.9	1.4	1.4	10.8	9.8
October.....	2.4	18.5	10.0	7.3	2.2	2.1	3.9	4.9	1.4	2.4	18.4	7.5
November.....	2.4	14.3	8.5	6.3	1.8	2.8	3.8	3.8	1.2	3.4	20.1	5.9
December.....	3.9	12.9	7.8	5.0	2.1	5.2	3.6	3.4	1.3	4.3	19.6	5.5
<i>Total</i>												
January.....	3.2	4.7	6.5	2.6	1.7	0.9	6.6	3.4	4.5	3.3	4.2	26.5
February.....	2.9	3.7	5.1	2.8	1.6	.8	6.0	2.9	4.7	2.7	5.2	25.1
March.....	2.3	2.8	3.3	2.2	1.3	.9	3.9	1.9	3.7	1.1	5.6	16.6
April.....	2.3	2.8	2.9	2.3	1.0	.8	5.2	1.9	3.9	.9	7.0	10.4
May.....	2.5	2.8	2.9	2.5	1.0	.8	3.8	2.7	3.7	.7	6.2	8.6
June.....	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.5	.9	.8	2.5	4.0	3.0	.6	4.1	10.5
July.....	2.9	2.9	2.7	2.4	.8	.7	3.1	6.0	2.6	.6	3.5	12.5
August.....	2.8	22.4	2.6	2.2	.8	.7	3.1	5.9	2.2	.7	6.3	12.4
September.....	2.7	15.7	2.6	2.1	.8	.8	2.2	4.5	1.4	.8	9.9	10.5
October.....	2.8	10.9	2.5	2.0	.7	.7	2.6	4.2	1.2	1.4	19.1	8.4
November.....	3.1	8.2	2.5	1.7	.7	1.8	2.9	3.9	1.4	2.0	23.4	7.3
December.....	4.8	7.2	2.6	1.6	.9	5.1	2.9	4.1	1.6	2.8	28.2	8.1

The postwar statistics of unemployment, however, do not convey an exact idea of the condition of the labor market, as many workers who had a regular job were employed on short time. This was due mainly to the fact that under the decree of January 4, 1919, an employer who wished to reduce his personnel could not, as in pre-war times, simply dismiss a number of employees but first had to resort to short-time work. Only when he had reduced the working week to less than 30 hours (under the decree of March 20, 1919, to less than 24 hours) was he allowed to dismiss workers.

Table 54 shows the per cent of trade-union members working short time at the end of each month from January, 1921, to December, 1924.

TABLE 54.—PER CENT OF TRADE-UNION MEMBERS WORKING SHORT TIME, JANUARY, 1921, TO DECEMBER, 1924, BY MONTHS

Month	Males				Females				Total			
	1921	1922	1923	1924	1921	1922	1923	1924	1921	1922	1923	1924
January.....	6.3	1.1	7.6	24.3	8.7	3.3	25.6	21.1	7.0	1.8	12.6	23.4
February.....	6.2	1.1	9.9	18.6	12.1	3.5	27.7	12.9	7.9	1.9	14.9	17.1
March.....	7.3	.8	19.1	10.6	14.9	2.3	35.6	7.7	9.5	1.3	23.6	9.9
April.....	7.4	.5	25.4	6.3	12.7	1.2	37.0	4.2	8.9	.7	28.5	5.8
May.....	6.8	.4	19.0	8.6	11.7	.9	28.6	7.2	8.1	.5	21.7	8.2
June.....	6.1	.4	13.1	17.6	10.0	1.3	20.9	24.6	7.2	.6	15.3	19.4
July.....	4.7	.6	12.4	25.7	6.5	1.4	19.8	35.2	5.2	.8	14.5	28.2
August.....	2.9	.6	22.4	26.0	3.8	1.9	35.4	31.8	3.2	.9	26.0	27.5
September.....	2.4	1.4	36.6	16.5	4.2	5.8	47.5	20.4	2.9	2.6	39.7	17.5
October.....	1.5	2.8	45.5	11.4	4.8	9.8	51.8	14.5	2.5	4.7	47.3	12.2
November.....	.8	4.3	46.1	6.7	2.0	15.8	50.4	10.0	1.1	7.5	47.3	7.5
December.....	1.0	5.1	42.6	5.4	2.6	18.6	40.2	9.5	1.5	8.7	42.0	6.5

Short-time work, of course, varies greatly as to length. According to the report of the Ministry of Labor for the end of April, 1924, 33 per cent of those working short time worked from 1 to 8 hours less than the usual hours; 18 per cent worked from 9 to 16 hours less; 26 per cent, from 17 to 24 hours less; and 23 per cent, more than 24 hours less. When business is very slack and unemployment and short-time work especially widespread, the reduction of hours of labor is naturally also very great. In October, 1923, for example, only 10 per cent of short-time workers worked from 1 to 8 hours less than the normal hours; 20 per cent worked 9 to 16 hours less; 47 per cent 17 to 24 hours less; and 23 per cent more than 24 hours less.

The distribution of short-time work over the week, of course, also varies greatly. At first, as employers generally hope that short-time work will be only temporary and are loath to change the organization of their establishments, they reduce work daily. When they begin to realize that short-time work will be necessary for some weeks, they attempt a definite arrangement. The employees, especially if they live at a distance from their working place, prefer to work full time on some days and to remain away altogether on the other days. The employers are anxious to save overhead charges (heating cost, etc.) and so in some cases yield to the wishes of their employees and suspend work altogether on certain days; e. g., from Friday evening until Tuesday morning. In establishments operated continuously, however, employers sometimes prefer to shut down part of the establishment and to reduce the length of each shift.

While, up to the end of 1923, especially in times of slack business, the number of employees working short time was generally larger than the number of totally unemployed, short-time work in the winter of 1923-24 decreased much more than full unemployment. This was due to the fact that the decree of October 13, 1923, authorizes the employer to dismiss workers if he intends to shut down his establishment or part thereof.

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

LEGISLATION IN 1918

Immediately after the conclusion of the armistice the Federal Office for Economic Demobilization (*Reichsamt für wirtschaftliche Demobilmachung*) was created for guiding German economic life into peace channels. Its first legislative act was an order regulating unemployment relief. The most important provisions of this order were as follows:

ARTICLE 1. The Federal Government grants assistance to communes or communal unions (*Gemeinden oder Gemeindeverbände*) giving relief to unemployed.

ART. 2. The communes are required to institute unemployment relief, which from a legal point of view is not to be regarded as poor relief.

ART. 4. Of the total expenses of the commune or communal union for unemployment relief one-half shall be borne by the Federal Government and one-third by the State. The Federal Government * * * may increase its share in the case of poorer communes or for certain districts. * * *

ART. 5. The unemployment relief is to be granted by the place of residence of the unemployed. Demobilized soldiers * * * are to receive relief in the place where they lived before enlisting.

Persons who during the war moved to another place to take up work there shall return, if possible, to their former place of residence, where they are to receive relief. Expenses of the journey to the former place of residence are to be paid by the last place of residence out of the funds of the unemployment relief.

ART. 6. Relief is to be paid only to persons over 14 years of age who are able and willing to work but who owing to unemployment in consequence of the war are indigent. Indigence is presumed * * * only when, as a result of total or partial unemployment, the income of the person, together with the income of the members of his family living with him, has been so reduced that he is no longer able to meet his necessary living expenses.

ART. 7. Women are to receive relief only if they are dependent on their own exertions for a living.

Persons whose former supporters return home able to work are not to receive unemployment relief.

ART. 8. Unemployed persons are bound to accept any suitable work assigned to them, even if outside their own trade and place of residence, especially in the locality where they were formerly employed and where they lived before the war, and even if the hours are shorter, provided they are offered the customary wages in the locality for the work assigned them, that the work is not injurious to their health, that their lodging is morally unobjectionable, and, in the case of married men, that the maintenance of their family is not impossible. Expenses of the journey to the place of employment are to be paid by the last place of residence out of the funds for unemployment relief.

ART. 9. The nature and amount of relief, the fixing of a waiting period not longer than one week for unemployed persons (with the exception of ex-soldiers) and the further payment of their sickness insurance premiums are to be left to the judgment of the commune or communal union. These must, however, see that the relief granted is sufficient and that it at least equals the local wage fixed under the Workmen's Insurance Code, which, for the supporter of a family, is to be suitably increased according to the size of the family. In place of money grants, relief in kind may be given (granting of food, partial payment of rent, and the like). * * *

Should workers, because of a temporary shutdown or a limitation of their work, fail to work the number of hours per week usual in their establishments without overtime, they are to receive unemployment relief for the hours missed,

provided that 70 per cent of their regular earnings is not equal to twice the sum given as relief for total unemployment. * * *

ART. 10. The communes or communal unions may make unemployment relief, especially in the case of juvenile workers, dependent on further considerations (attendance at schools, training courses, workshops, etc.). They may determine causes for the exclusion of persons from the benefits of unemployment relief (misuse of benefits, failure to conform with the regulations, etc.).

ART. 11. No regard shall be paid to small amounts of property (small savings, household goods) in defining necessitous cases.

ART. 12. Relief which the unemployed may receive through his own providence or that of others, such as a pension, may be taken into account in the relief granted by the commune or communal union only when the unemployment relief, other relief, and the pension taken together are four times the amount of the local wages. Interest on savings is likewise to be taken into account.

ART. 13. For the administration of unemployment relief, relief committees are to be established, to which representatives of the employers and of the employees are to be appointed in equal numbers.

The relief committees are to decide as to unemployment relief. * * *

ART. 14. Upon the demand of a labor organization, the payment of unemployment relief and the control of the unemployed are to be transferred to such organization, (1) if it grants, according to its by-laws, unemployment relief to its members; (2) if it offers sufficient guaranty that the payment of the relief and the control of the unemployed will be orderly done.

ART. 18. This order goes into force on the day of its promulgation [November 13, 1918] and is to remain in force for at least one year.

Further orders were issued on December 3 and 21, each containing one or two important provisions. The order of December 3 provided:

The relief may be regulated by the commissioner of demobilization so that the unemployed will get food and lodging from his former employer in the same way he got them while he was employed. In that case the commune or communal union is to grant to the employer compensation, to be fixed in advance. * * *

According to the order of December 21, paragraph 2 of article 9 of the original act was thereafter to read as follows:

Should workers because of a temporary shutdown or a limitation of their work fail to work the number of hours per week usual in their establishments without overtime and should their wages be reduced on that account, they are to receive unemployment relief for the wages not received, provided that 70 per cent of the weekly earnings remaining to them is not equal to the sum given as relief for total unemployment; but they shall not receive more in wages and relief taken together than the amount of their regular full-time earnings.

The same order extended the payment of unemployment relief to unemployed persons during the time of sickness, as follows:

ART. 12a. In case an unemployed person is entitled under the Workmen's Insurance Code to a continuation or maintenance of insurance against sickness with a sick fund * * *, the commune is to attend to his further insurance in the same class or wage group in which he was insured. It is to * * * pay the full fees for the unemployed person.

ART. 12b. Unemployed persons who receive unemployment relief and do not fall under article 12a are also to receive the full unemployment relief in case of sickness.

AMOUNT OF UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

The order of November 13, 1918, did not fix the amount of the unemployment relief, each municipality fixing the allowances as it saw fit. In Berlin, for example, the daily benefit in case of total unemployment was fixed for males over 17 years of age at 4 marks, for males between 14 and 17 years and for females over 17 years at 3 marks, and for females between 14 and 17 years at 2.5 marks. In addition, each unemployed worker was to receive 1 mark a day for his wife, for each child under 14 years of age, and for each other

member of his household who was unable to earn a living and whom he was legally obligated to support.

These rates are rather moderate. A single worker received probably less than one-third of his regular wages and a married worker with two children hardly more than half his ordinary wages. Rates in other towns were at first also rather modest. But the unemployed soon became dissatisfied with this state of affairs and succeeded now and then in forcing up the allowances to such a level that there was great inducement to abandon work and draw the increased benefits. Moreover, the workers began to flock into those cities which paid the highest benefits and those staying there refused to leave.

To counteract such abuses the National Office for Economic Demobilization on January 15, 1919, issued a new order. Article 5, paragraph 2, of the order of November 13, 1918, was supplemented by a new provision, as follows:

Persons who during the war moved to another place to take up work there may, however, receive assistance in the district to which they moved for not longer than four weeks in all, even if it has not been possible to assign them suitable work. * * *

Under article 8, the terms of which were made stricter, the local authorities were required to refuse or withdraw assistance if the unemployed person declined to accept work assigned to him.

But more important than the change in the regulations was the fact that the new order fixed maximum benefits by adding the following provision to article 9:

The relief may be granted by the communes and communal unions only for the six week days and may not exceed, exclusive of the family allowances, one and one-half times the amount of the local wage nor the maximum rates prescribed for the various localities according to their grouping in the locality classes.

Notwithstanding the provisions in paragraph 1, sentence 2, of article 9, maximum daily rates were fixed as follows:

TABLE 55.—MAXIMUM DAILY RATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF IN LOCALITIES OF SPECIFIED CLASSES FOR PERSONS IN SPECIFIED AGE GROUPS

Persons receiving benefits	Place of residence: Localities of class—			
	A	B	C	D and E
	Marks	Marks	Marks	Marks
Males over 21 years.....	6.00	5.00	4.00	3.50
Males over 16 to 21 years.....	4.25	3.50	3.00	2.50
Males over 14 to 16 years.....	2.50	2.25	2.00	1.75
Females over 21 years.....	3.50	3.00	2.50	2.25
Females over 16 to 21 years.....	2.50	2.25	2.00	1.75
Females over 14 to 16 years.....	2.00	1.75	1.75	1.50

Maximum daily family allowances were also fixed as follows:

TABLE 56.—MAXIMUM DAILY FAMILY ALLOWANCES IN LOCALITIES OF SPECIFIED CLASSES

Persons for whom granted	Place of residence: Localities of Class—			
	A	B	C	D and E
	Marks	Marks	Marks	Marks
Wife.....	1.50	1.50	1.25	1.00
Children and other dependents.....	1.00	1.00	1.00	.75

The locality class register established for the granting of housing allowances to Government employees determines the grouping of the various localities in locality Classes A to E.

The decree of January 15, 1920, suspended the payment of unemployment benefits to persons under 16 years of age and increased the allowances to be paid to females. While those over 21 years of age had received from 2.25 to 3.50 marks per day they were thereafter to receive, if they were not living in the household of another person, from 3 to 5 marks and if they were living in the household of another person, from 2.50 to 4.25 marks. Females under 21 years were to get from 2 to 3 marks. The combined family allowances drawn by an unemployed person were not to exceed one and one-half times the amount of the unemployment donation which the unemployed received for himself and in no case more than from 1.75 to 2.50 marks for the wife and from 1.25 to 1.75 marks for each child and other family member he was legally obligated to support.

The new regulation went into force on February 1, 1920. As the cost of living was almost three times as high as in February, 1919, and as wages had in the meantime at least doubled, the unemployment benefit, which for males had not been altered, was extremely low. An adult employee with a wife and two children received, for example, in Berlin from February to April a weekly unemployment allowance of 72 marks, while the weekly minimum cost of subsistence for a family of four in the same three months was 254, 322, and 375 marks, and the weekly wages of bricklayers 185, 205, and 253 marks, and those of printers 161 marks.

New decrees increasing the unemployment benefit (in paper marks) were issued on May 6 and October 13, 1920, on November 1 and December 7, 1921, and on February 8, 1922. But with the ever-increasing monetary depreciation it became necessary to simplify the proceedings to change the amount of benefits, and the decree of March 21, 1922, provided that the maximum rates of the unemployment benefits and the family allowances should thereafter be fixed by the Minister of Labor conjointly with the Minister of Finances and with the approval of the Reichsrat. Table 57 contains all the changes that occurred from February 1, 1920, until December, 31, 1924. The rates given are for the lowest (D and E) and the highest (A) locality classes.

TABLE 57.—MAXIMUM DAILY RATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF, FEBRUARY 1, 1920, TO DECEMBER 31, 1924

Period beginning—	Males					
	Over 21 years of age				Under 21 years of age	
	Not members of another household		Members of another household			
	Marks		Marks		Marks	
Feb. 1, 1920.....	3.50-	6.00	3.50-	6.00	2.50-	4.25
Apr. 30, 1920.....	5.00-	8.00	4.50-	7.00	3.00-	5.00
Nov. 1, 1920.....	7.00-	10.00	5.50-	8.00	4.00-	6.00
Aug. 1, 1921.....	8.25-	12.00	7.00-	10.00	5.00-	7.25
Dec. 5, 1921.....	11.25-	15.00	8.75-	12.50	6.25-	8.50
Feb. 13, 1922.....	12.50-	18.50	10.00-	15.00	7.00-	10.00
Aug. 14, 1922.....	18.75-	28.00	10.00-	15.00	7.00-	10.00
Nov. 20, 1922.....	100 -	140	70 -	100	35 -	50
Dec. 25, 1922.....	255 -	360	175 -	250	85 -	125
Jan. 15, 1923.....	425 -	600	290 -	415	140 -	210
Jan. 29, 1923.....	510 -	720	350 -	500	170 -	250
Feb. 12, 1923.....	1,200 -	1,500	1,000 -	1,300	750 -	900
Apr. 16, 1923.....	1,950 -	2,400	1,650 -	2,100	1,150 -	1,450
May 14, 1923.....	2,600 -	3,200	2,200 -	2,800	1,500 -	1,950
June 4, 1923.....	3,950 -	5,000	3,500 -	4,400	2,450 -	3,050
June 25, 1923.....	7,100 -	9,000	6,300 -	7,900	4,400 -	5,500
July 9, 1923.....	12,800 -	16,200	11,300 -	14,200	7,900 -	9,900
July 18, 1923.....	16,100 -	20,000	13,900 -	17,500	9,800 -	12,200
July 30, 1923.....	27,000 -	33,000	23,000 -	29,000	16,000 -	20,500
Aug. 6, 1923.....	72,000 -	90,000	60,000 -	75,000	42,000 -	54,000
Aug. 8, 1923.....	180,000 -	225,000	155,000 -	185,000	105,000 -	135,000
Aug. 15, 1923.....	530,000 -	650,000	420,000 -	540,000	300,000 -	390,000
Aug. 22, 1923.....	820,000 -	1,000,000	650,000 -	830,000	460,000 -	600,000
Aug. 29, 1923.....	1,290,000 -	1,570,000	1,020,000 -	1,300,000	720,000 -	940,000
Sept. 5, 1923.....	2,000,000 -	2,450,000	1,610,000 -	2,030,000	1,100,000 -	1,460,000
Sept. 12, 1923.....	6,000,000 -	7,500,000	4,800,000 -	6,000,000	3,600,000 -	4,500,000
Sept. 19, 1923.....	¹ 17 -	21.5	¹ 14 -	17	¹ 10 -	13
Sept. 26, 1923.....	¹ 33 -	42	¹ 27.5 -	33.5	¹ 20.5 -	25
Oct. 3, 1923.....	¹ 48 -	60	¹ 39 -	48	¹ 27 -	36
Oct. 10, 1923.....	¹ 135 -	165	¹ 100 -	130	¹ 70 -	100
Oct. 15, 1923.....	¹ 960 -	1,200	¹ 960 -	1,200	¹ 570 -	720
Oct. 22, 1923.....	² 8.4 -	10.5	² 8.4 -	10.5	² 5.1 -	6.3
Oct. 29, 1923.....	² 16.8 -	21	² 16.8 -	21	² 10.2 -	12.6
Nov. 5, 1923.....	² 108 -	135	² 108 -	135	² 66 -	81
Nov. 12, 1923.....	² 330 -	420	² 330 -	420	² 190 -	250
Nov. 19, 1923.....	² 630 -	780	² 630 -	780	² 380 -	470
Dec. 10, 1923:						
District I.....	² 490 -	610	² 490 -	610	² 300 -	360
District II.....	² 550 -	700	² 550 -	700	² 330 -	420
District III.....	² 630 -	780	² 630 -	780	² 380 -	470
May 5, 1924:	Rentenmarks		Rentenmarks		Rentenmarks	
District I.....	0.60-0.75		0.60-0.75		0.35-0.44	
District II.....	.66-.84		.66-.84		.41-.50	
District III.....	.72-.90		.72-.90		.42-.54	
Aug. 11, 1924:						
District I.....	.72-.90		.72-.90		.42-.54	
District II.....	.79-1.00		.79-1.00		.48-.60	
District III.....	.86-1.10		.86-1.10		.54-.66	
Dec. 15, 1924:						
District I.....	.79-1.00		.79-1.00		.48-.60	
District II.....	.91-1.15		.91-1.15		.54-.69	
District III.....	1.01-1.25		1.01-1.25		.60-.75	

¹ Millions.² Billions.

TABLE 57.—MAXIMUM DAILY RATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF FEBRUARY 1, 1920, TO DECEMBER 31, 1924—Continued

Period beginning—	Females					
	Over 21 years of age				Under 21 years of age	
	Not members of another household		Members of another household			
	Marks		Marks		Marks	
Feb. 1, 1920.....	3.00-	5.00	2.50-	4.25	2.00-	3.00
Apr. 30, 1920.....	3.75-	6.00	2.50-	5.00	2.00-	3.00
Nov. 1, 1920.....	5.75-	8.00	3.50-	6.00	3.00-	4.00
Aug. 1, 1921.....	7.00-	10.00	5.00-	7.25	3.25-	4.75
Dec. 5, 1921.....	8.75-	12.50	6.25-	8.50	4.75-	7.00
Feb. 13, 1922.....	10.00-	15.00	7.00-	10.00	5.25-	8.00
Aug. 14, 1922.....	15.00-	22.50	7.00-	10.00	5.25-	8.00
Nov. 20, 1922.....	80 -	110	50 -	65	25 -	40
Dec. 25, 1922.....	200 -	275	120 -	165	70 -	100
Jan. 15, 1923.....	335 -	460	200 -	275	115 -	165
Jan. 29, 1923.....	400 -	550	240 -	330	140 -	200
Feb. 12, 1923.....	1,000 -	1,300	950 -	1,100	650 -	800
Apr. 16, 1923.....	1,650 -	2,100	1,450 -	1,750	1,000 -	1,300
May 14, 1923.....	2,200 -	2,800	1,900 -	2,350	1,450 -	1,750
June 4, 1923.....	3,500 -	4,400	2,900 -	3,650	2,150 -	2,750
June 25, 1923.....	6,300 -	7,900	5,200 -	6,600	3,900 -	5,000
July 9, 1923.....	11,300 -	14,200	9,400 -	11,900	7,000 -	9,000
July 18, 1923.....	13,900 -	17,500	12,000 -	15,000	9,000 -	11,000
July 30, 1923.....	23,000 -	29,000	20,000 -	25,000	15,000 -	18,000
Aug. 6, 1923.....	60,000 -	75,000	48,000 -	60,000	34,000 -	43,000
Aug. 8, 1923.....	155,000 -	185,000	120,000 -	150,000	90,000 -	105,000
Aug. 15, 1923.....	420,000 -	540,000	350,000 -	440,000	240,000 -	300,000
Aug. 22, 1923.....	650,000 -	830,000	540,000 -	680,000	370,000 -	460,000
Aug. 29, 1923.....	1,020,000 -	1,300,000	850,000 -	1,070,000	580,000 -	720,000
Sept. 5, 1923.....	1,610,000 -	2,030,000	1,300,000 -	1,660,000	910,000 -	1,120,000
Sept. 12, 1923.....	4,800,000 -	6,000,000	3,950,000 -	5,000,000	2,750,000 -	3,500,000
Sept. 19, 1923.....	¹ 14 -	17	¹ 11 -	14	¹ 8.5 -	10
Sept. 26, 1923.....	¹ 27.5 -	33.5	¹ 22 -	28	¹ 15 -	19.5
Oct. 3, 1923.....	¹ 39 -	48	¹ 31 -	40	¹ 22 -	28
Oct. 10, 1923.....	¹ 100 -	130	¹ 80 -	110	¹ 60 -	75
Oct. 15, 1923.....	¹ 780 -	960	¹ 780 -	960	¹ 440 -	560
Oct. 22, 1923.....	² 6.6 -	8.4	² 6.6 -	8.4	² 4 -	4.9
Oct. 29, 1923.....	² 13.2 -	16.8	² 13.2 -	16.8	² 8 -	9.8
Nov. 5, 1923.....	² 87 -	108	² 87 -	108	² 51 -	63
Nov. 12, 1923.....	² 280 -	340	² 280 -	340	² 170 -	200
Nov. 19, 1923.....	² 500 -	620	² 500 -	620	² 300 -	360
Dec. 10, 1923:						
District I.....	² 400 -	490	² 400 -	490	² 220 -	280
District II.....	² 440 -	560	² 440 -	560	² 270 -	330
District III.....	² 500 -	620	² 500 -	620	² 300 -	360
May 5, 1924:						
District I.....	<i>Rentenmarks</i>		<i>Rentenmarks</i>		<i>Rentenmarks</i>	
District II.....	0.48-0.60		0.48-0.60		0.28-0.34	
District III.....	.55-.67		.55-.67		.31-.40	
Aug. 11, 1924:	.56-.71		.56-.71		.32-.41	
District I.....						
District II.....	.65-.80		.65-.80		.38-.48	
District III.....	.72-.90		.72-.90		.43-.55	
Dec. 15, 1924:	.79-1.00		.79-1.00		.48-.60	
District I.....						
District II.....	.72-.90		.72-.90		.43-.55	
District III.....	.83-1.04		.83-1.04		.50-.62	
	.91-1.12		.91-1.12		.53-.68	

¹ Millions.² Billions.

TABLE 57.—MAXIMUM DAILY RATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF, FEBRUARY 1, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 31, 1924—Concluded

Period beginning—	Family allowance for—	
	Consort	Children and other dependents
	<i>Marks</i>	<i>Marks</i>
Feb. 1, 1920.....	1.75- 2.50	1.25- 1.75
Apr. 30 1920.....	2.25- 3.00	1.25- 2.00
Nov. 1, 1920.....	3.25- 4.00	2.25- 3.00
Aug. 1, 1921.....	3.50- 5.00	3.50- 4.25
Dec. 5, 1921.....	4.75- 7.00	4.50- 6.00
Feb. 13, 1922.....	5.50- 8.75	5.50- 7.50
Aug. 14, 1922.....	8.50- 13.00	8.25- 11.25
Nov. 20, 1922.....	50 - 65	35 - 50
Dec. 25, 1922.....	120 - 165	85 - 125
Jan. 15, 1923.....	200 - 275	140 - 210
Jan. 29, 1923.....	240 - 330	170 - 250
Feb. 12, 1923.....	550 - 700	450 - 600
Apr. 16, 1923.....	700 - 850	550 - 700
May 14, 1923.....	850 - 1,150	800 - 950
June 4, 1923.....	1,550 - 1,850	1,150 - 1,450
June 25, 1923.....	2,800 - 3,300	2,100 - 2,600
July 9, 1923.....	5,000 - 5,900	3,800 - 4,700
July 18, 1923.....	6,000 - 7,500	4,800 - 6,000
July 30, 1923.....	10,000 - 12,500	8,000 - 10,000
Aug. 6, 1923.....	27,000 - 33,000	21,000 - 27,000
Aug. 8, 1923.....	65,000 - 80,000	50,000 - 65,000
Aug. 15, 1923.....	170,000 - 230,000	130,000 - 190,000
Aug. 22, 1923.....	260,000 - 350,000	200,000 - 290,000
Aug. 29, 1923.....	410,000 - 550,000	315,000 - 455,000
Sept. 5, 1923.....	620,000 - 860,000	500,000 - 710,000
Sept. 12, 1923.....	2,150,000 - 2,750,000	1,800,000 - 2,250,000
Sept. 19, 1923.....	¹ 6.5 - 8	¹ 5 - 6.5
Sept. 26, 1923.....	¹ 12.5 - 15.5	¹ 9.5 - 12.5
Oct. 3, 1923.....	¹ 16 - 22	¹ 15 - 18
Oct. 10, 1923.....	¹ 45 - 60	¹ 35 - 50
Oct. 15, 1923.....	¹ 350 - 440	¹ 300 - 360
Oct. 22, 1923.....	² 3 - 3.9	² 2.5 - 3.1
Oct. 29, 1923.....	² 6 - 7.8	² 5 - 6.2
Nov. 5, 1923.....	² 39 - 48	² 34 - 40
Nov. 12, 1923.....	² 120 - 150	² 100 - 130
Nov. 19, 1923.....	² 170 - 200	² 120 - 150
Dec. 10, 1923:		
District I.....	² 130 - 160	² 90 - 120
District II.....	² 160 - 190	² 110 - 140
District III.....	² 170 - 200	² 120 - 150
May 5, 1924:	<i>Rentenmarks</i>	<i>Rentenmarks</i>
District I.....	0.17-0.20	0.12-0.15
District II.....	.19- .22	.14- .17
District III.....	.20- .23	.15- .18
Aug. 11, 1924:		
District I.....	.24- .30	.19- .22
District II.....	.29- .35	.19- .25
District III.....	.29- .38	.21- .27
Dec. 15, 1924:		
District I.....	.29- .35	.19- .25
District II.....	.31- .40	.23- .29
District III.....	.35- .44	.25- .31

¹ Millions.² Billions.

The decree of May 6, 1920, suspended the provision that the relief should not exceed one and one-half times the amount of the local wage and introduced the distinction for unemployed men over 21 years of those living and those not living in the household of another person, which distinction had formerly prevailed only for women.

The decree of October 13, 1920, provided that from and after November 1, 1920, the combined family allowances granted to an unemployed person should not exceed 200 per cent (theretofore 150 per cent) of the benefit he would draw for himself. These family allowances were also graded in a different way, the higher rates applying to the consort and the children up to 16 years of age and the lower rates applying only to "other dependents." The decree of November 1, 1921, reintroduced the old classes.

The order of August 1, 1922, provided that the combined family allowances should not exceed 300 per cent of the benefit which the unemployed would draw for himself. The order of June 8, 1923, reduced this to 200 per cent. The order of November 9, 1923, reduced it to 100 per cent, the order of February 14, 1924, raised it to 150 per cent. The order of August 1, 1924, again reduced it to 100 per cent, but only in case the combined family allowances together with the benefit drawn by the unemployed person would equal the average net income of similar groups of employees. The same order provided that unemployed females over 21 years of age who prove that other family members depend upon them for a living shall get the same benefits as males over 21 years of age; in such cases, however, the combined family allowances should not exceed 100 per cent of the benefit which the unemployed would draw for herself.

By order of October 19, 1923, the distinction between adults living and those not living in the household of another person was eliminated.

The order of December 11, 1923, introduced a subdivision into three "economic districts": District I, comprising Eastern Germany; District II, Central Germany; and District III, Western Germany. The locality classes were maintained, so that there were from then on, so to speak, 12 locality classes.

Table 58 shows the maximum weekly unemployment benefits, including family allowances, of a man with a wife and two children, living in a city of locality class A, and the minimum cost of subsistence of a family of four (father, mother, and two children from 6 to 10 years) in Greater Berlin:

TABLE 58.—MAXIMUM WEEKLY UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS AND MINIMUM COST OF SUBSISTENCE FOR A FAMILY OF FOUR IN GREATER BERLIN, JANUARY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924

Period	Maximum unemployment benefits	Period	Minimum cost of subsistence
1920	Marks	1920	Marks
January.....	57.00	January.....	220.00
February.....	72.00	February.....	254.00
March.....	72.00	March.....	322.00
April 1 to April 29.....	72.00	April.....	375.00
April 30 to May 31.....	90.00	May.....	365.00
June.....	90.00	June.....	304.00
July.....	90.00	July.....	324.00
August.....	90.00	August.....	308.00
September.....	90.00	September.....	299.00
October.....	90.00	October.....	318.00
November.....	132.00	November.....	316.00
December.....	132.00	December.....	327.00
1921		1921	
January.....	132.00	January.....	320.00
February.....	132.00	February.....	313.00
March.....	132.00	March.....	298.00
April.....	132.00	April.....	281.00
May.....	132.00	May.....	285.00
June.....	132.00	June.....	311.00
July.....	132.00	July.....	324.00
August.....	153.00	August.....	339.00
September.....	153.00	September.....	349.00
October.....	153.00	October.....	386.00
November 1 to December 4.....	153.00	November.....	509.00
December 5 to December 31.....	204.00	December.....	557.00

TABLE 58.—MAXIMUM WEEKLY UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS AND MINIMUM COST OF SUBSISTENCE FOR A FAMILY OF FOUR IN GREATER BERLIN, JANUARY, 1920, TO DECEMBER, 1924—Concluded

Period	Maximum unemployment benefits	Period	Minimum cost of subsistence
1922		1922	
January 1 to February 12.....	Marks 204.00	January.....	Marks 548.00
February 13 to February 28.....	253.50	February.....	627.00
March.....	253.50	March.....	789.00
April.....	253.50	April.....	915.00
May.....	253.50	May.....	995.00
June.....	253.50	June.....	1,195.00
July 1 to August 13.....	253.50	July.....	1,763.00
August 14 to August 31.....	381.00	August.....	2,958.00
September.....	381.00	September.....	4,714.00
October 1 to October 15.....	381.00	October 1 to October 15.....	6,136.00
October 16 to October 31.....	381.00	October 16 to October 31.....	8,871.00
November 1 to November 19.....	381.00	November 1 to November 15.....	13,238.00
November 20 to November 30.....	1,830.00	November 16 to November 30.....	19,303.00
December 1 to December 15.....	1,830.00	December 1 to December 15.....	24,395.00
December 16 to December 24.....	1,830.00	December 16 to December 31.....	25,579.00
December 25 to December 31.....	4,650.00		
1923		1923	
January 1 to January 14.....	4,650.00	January 1 to January 15.....	30,383.00
January 15 to January 28.....	7,770.00	January 16 to January 31.....	43,821.00
January 29 to February 11.....	9,300.00	February 1 to February 15.....	81,671.00
February 12 to February 28.....	20,400.00	February 16 to February 28.....	80,350.00
March 1 to March 15.....	20,400.00	March 1 to March 15.....	77,741.00
March 16 to March 31.....	20,400.00	March 16 to March 31.....	72,483.00
April 1 to April 15.....	20,400.00	April 1 to April 15.....	70,832.00
April 16 to April 30.....	27,900.00	April 16 to April 30.....	78,711.00
May 1 to May 13.....	27,900.00	May 1 to May 15.....	107,321.00
May 14 to June 3.....	37,500.00	May 16 to May 31.....	136,444.00
June 4 to June 15.....	58,500.00	June 1 to June 15.....	198,676.00
June 16 to June 24.....	58,500.00	June 16 to June 30.....	306,488.00
June 25 to June 30.....	105,000.00		
July 1 to July 8.....	105,000.00	July 1 to July 15.....	688,589.00
July 9 to July 15.....	139,000.00		
July 16 to July 29.....	237,000.00	July 16 to July 31.....	1,201,751.00
July 30 to August 5.....	1,393,000.00	August 1 to August 15.....	9,245,689.00
August 6 to August 7.....	1,062,000.00		
August 8 to August 14.....	2,610,000.00		
August 15 to August 21.....	7,560,000.00	August 16 to August 31.....	24,622,120.00
August 22 to August 28.....	11,580,000.00		
August 29 to September 4.....	18,180,000.00	September 1 to September 15.....	170,620,506.00
September 5 to September 11.....	28,380,000.00		
September 12 to September 18.....	88,500,000.00	September 16 to September 30.....	1 683.3
September 19 to September 25.....	1 255		
September 26 to October 2.....	1 495	October 1 to October 15.....	1 7,104.9
October 3 to October 9.....	1 708		
October 10 to October 14.....	1 1,950	October 16 to October 31.....	1 266,556
October 15 to October 21.....	1 14,160		
October 22 to October 28.....	1 123.6	November 1 to November 15.....	1 4,498.8
October 29 to November 4.....	1 247.2		
November 5 to November 11.....	1 1,578	November 16 to November 30.....	1 35,651.6
November 12 to November 18.....	1 4,980	December 1 to December 15.....	1 33.04
November 19 to November 30.....	1 7,680	December 16 to December 31.....	1 28.73
December 1 to December 9.....	1 7.68		
December 10 to December 31.....	1 7.02		
1924		1924	
January.....	Rentenmarks 7.02	January.....	Rentenmarks 27.74
February.....	7.02	February.....	26.55
March.....	7.02	March.....	26.91
April 1 to May 4.....	7.02	April.....	28.49
May 5 to May 31.....	8.40	May.....	29.29
June.....	8.40	June.....	28.43
July 1 to August 10.....	8.40	July.....	29.28
August 11 to August 31.....	11.10	August.....	28.81
September.....	11.10	September.....	29.76
October.....	11.10	October.....	31.30
November 1 to December 14.....	11.10	November.....	31.22
December 15 to December 31.....	12.78	December.....	31.13

1 Millions.

2 Billions.

3 Rentenmarks.

In comparing the two sets of figures, it must be borne in mind that in the time of rapid monetary depreciation everything depends on the day the benefits were actually paid. Very often the decree which raised the benefits for a certain period was issued in the middle

of that period, and so the increased benefits were paid when the money had lost part of its value.¹ The "real" allowances were thus smaller than one might judge from the table.

Most of the time these allowances were, however, very small, even when the day of payment is not taken into account. In general the allowances furnished only between one-fourth and one-third of the minimum cost of subsistence. The proportion was higher only from November, 1920, to October, 1921, from December, 1921, to February, 1922, in the second half of April, 1923, during some days in August and September, 1923, and from August 11, 1924, on. But in certain other periods it was much smaller. From September, 1922, until Christmas of that year the unemployment allowances did not cover even one-tenth of the minimum cost of subsistence, and in the first half of November, 1922, not even one-thirtieth.

Early statistics of the persons receiving unemployment benefits are incomplete. From May to December, 1919, reports are available only for some cities and one must resort to estimates in order to get a notion of the amount of unemployment which then prevailed. From March 1, 1923, to April 15, 1924, no figures are available for the occupied territory. Table 59 shows, for 1918 to 1924, the number of totally unemployed workers receiving unemployment benefits, by sex, the number of dependents of such unemployed for whom an allowance was paid, and the number of short-time workers assisted, so far as data are available.

TABLE 59.—NUMBER OF PERSONS RECEIVING UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS, DECEMBER 1, 1918, TO DECEMBER 15, 1924

Date	Totally unemployed workers receiving benefits			Number of dependents for whom allowances made	Short-time workers receiving benefits
	Males	Females	Total		
1918					
Dec. 1.....			501,610		
1919					
Jan. 1.....			905,137		
Feb. 1.....			1,076,368		
Mar. 1.....			1,053,854		
Apr. 1.....			829,758		
May 1.....			700,000		
June 1.....			620,000		
July 1.....			560,000		
Aug. 1.....			550,000		
Sept. 1.....			535,000		
Oct. 1.....			520,000		
Nov. 1.....			500,000		
Dec. 1.....			470,000		
1920					
Jan. 15.....	347,783	106,992	454,775	379,071	
Feb. 1.....	333,204	97,562	430,766	392,321	
Mar. 1.....	287,531	82,765	370,296	349,381	
Apr. 1.....	258,651	70,854	329,505	306,475	
May 1.....	228,554	63,753	292,307	273,496	
June 1.....	209,930	61,730	271,660	256,840	
July 1.....	240,812	82,111	322,923	293,520	
Aug. 1.....	294,747	109,088	403,835	370,015	
Sept. 1.....	309,579	105,022	414,601	387,254	
Oct. 1.....	301,809	91,014	392,823	362,423	
Nov. 4.....	282,126	79,185	361,311	345,646	
Dec. 1.....	277,007	73,080	350,087	352,875	

¹ For example, the benefits were raised by order of Aug. 4, 1923, as from Aug. 6, and by order of Aug. 14 for the period beginning Aug. 8 and ending Aug. 14.

TABLE 59.—NUMBER OF PERSONS RECEIVING UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS,
DECEMBER 1, 1918, TO DECEMBER 15, 1924—Concluded

Date	Totally unemployed workers receiving benefits			Number of dependents for whom allowances made	Short-time workers receiving benefits
	Males	Females	Total		
1921					
Jan. 1	334,912	75,326	410,238	458,924	
Feb. 1	347,974	75,190	423,164	499,140	
Mar. 1	346,532	80,068	426,600	494,738	
Apr. 1	333,630	79,691	413,321	468,148	
May 1	313,653	80,609	394,262	444,357	
June 1	282,468	74,884	357,352	384,683	
July 1	244,067	70,408	314,475	339,008	
Aug. 4	204,185	62,923	267,108	300,856	
Sept. 1	176,595	55,462	232,057	253,431	
Oct. 1	142,759	43,047	185,806	208,326	
Nov. 1	113,672	36,432	150,104	165,194	
Dec. 1	114,339	34,998	149,337	172,510	
1922					
Jan. 1	132,223	33,025	165,248	210,468	
Feb. 1	171,517	31,077	202,594	288,030	
Mar. 1	182,629	29,897	212,526	308,265	
Apr. 1	94,711	21,134	115,845	157,699	
May 1	49,191	15,517	64,708	79,855	
June 1	20,136	8,490	28,626	35,824	
July 1	13,781	5,867	19,648	25,339	
Aug. 1	10,603	4,534	15,137	18,611	
Sept. 1	7,946	3,725	11,671	13,308	
Oct. 1	12,054	4,624	16,678	21,028	
Nov. 1	19,297	5,516	24,813	28,068	
Dec. 1	34,463	8,437	42,900	50,638	
1923					
Jan. 1	71,429	13,989	85,418	106,108	
Feb. 1	129,405	20,815	150,220	190,336	
Mar. 1	165,089	24,919	190,008	240,253	
Apr. 1	188,675	33,735	222,410	272,229	125,352
May 1	223,696	43,270	266,966	312,282	379,620
June 1	211,863	41,666	253,529	279,683	412,304
June 15	181,893	38,055	219,948	239,362	300,536
July 1	152,081	33,901	185,982	189,471	259,875
July 15	133,084	30,724	163,808	159,907	254,833
Aug. 1	111,457	27,559	139,016	138,257	191,632
Aug. 15	116,323	31,020	147,343	147,260	210,774
Sept. 1	202,512	46,680	249,192	248,616	526,010
Sept. 15	313,477	70,962	384,439	379,015	934,731
Oct. 1	439,364	94,996	534,360	543,582	1,158,061
Oct. 15	575,650	121,425	697,075	701,451	1,476,437
Nov. 1	784,690	169,974	954,664	962,181	1,719,738
Nov. 15	1,028,563	236,941	1,265,504	1,257,113	1,816,979
Dec. 1	1,190,543	283,145	1,473,688	1,447,644	1,795,824
Dec. 15	1,216,639	271,532	1,488,171	1,470,375	1,227,628
1924					
Jan. 1	1,272,997	260,498	1,533,495	1,572,403	849,162
Jan. 15	1,351,895	238,155	1,590,050	1,690,214	624,932
Feb. 1	1,258,948	180,832	1,439,780	1,592,549	363,634
Feb. 15	1,162,091	145,145	1,307,236	1,481,018	252,328
Mar. 1	1,055,230	112,555	1,167,785	1,378,143	149,871
Mar. 15	891,910	83,975	975,885	1,182,248	90,006
Apr. 1	1,635,125	159,434	1,694,559	865,332	(¹)
Apr. 15	1,434,626	141,362	1,475,988	577,945	(¹)
May 1	1,528,225	143,558	1,671,783	-----	(¹)
June 1	1,375,238	126,720	1,401,958	-----	(¹)
July 1	1,394,293	132,127	1,426,420	-----	(¹)
Aug. 1	1,475,465	150,723	1,526,188	-----	(¹)
Sept. 1	1,527,300	161,185	1,588,485	-----	(¹)
Sept. 15	1,517,704	158,886	1,576,590	722,562	(¹)
Oct. 1	1,463,093	150,403	1,513,496	659,248	(¹)
Oct. 15	1,427,361	145,662	1,473,023	596,888	(¹)
Nov. 1	1,396,193	139,128	1,435,321	555,869	(¹)
Nov. 15	1,388,890	137,492	1,426,382	550,190	(¹)
Dec. 1	1,400,691	135,916	1,436,607	571,582	(¹)
Dec. 15	1,420,709	137,416	1,458,125	605,938	(¹)

¹ Includes also figures for short-time workers receiving benefit.² Included in figures for totally unemployed workers receiving benefit.

EXPENSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

Originally only such sums were considered unemployment relief expenses as were actually paid to the persons assisted. The decree of March 14, 1919, however, provided that expenses of administration should also be included.

Previous to the regulation of October, 1923, the funds for unemployment relief were contributed, in fixed proportions, by the Federal Government, the States, and the communes concerned, the Federal Government bearing one-half, the State one-third, and the communes the remaining one-sixth. In the case of communes of limited means the proportion borne by the Federal Government could be increased.

By decree of October 13, 1923, the method of raising funds for unemployment relief was radically altered.² It seemed important that the funds for unemployment relief and for the public employment offices should come from the same source, such institutions being intimately connected and established in the same communes.

The principal provisions of this decree are as follows:

ARTICLE 1. The funds for carrying on the struggle against the scarcity of employment and for unemployment relief are to be raised, up to the limit fixed in article 2, by contributions of employers and employees and by grants from the commune.

In so far as the maximum contributions of employers, employees, and communes fail temporarily to cover the necessary expenditures in districts with extraordinarily serious unemployment, the Federal Government and the States shall make the necessary grants.

ART. 2. All employees liable to compulsory sickness insurance under the Workmen's Insurance Code or to sickness insurance in a miners' fund, as well as their employers, are required to make contributions.

The amount of such contributions is to be fixed by the administrative committee of the public employment office for its district in fractions of the contributions to sickness insurance.

The contributions shall be so fixed as to cover four-fifths of the necessary expenditures for unemployment relief in the district of the employment office and of the necessary cost of the public employment office, but not to exceed— notwithstanding the provision of article 6, paragraph 2—20 per cent of the contributions for sickness insurance. One-half of the contributions shall be paid by the employers and one-half by the employees.

ART. 3. The contributions are to be paid in addition to the contributions for sickness insurance. * * *

ART. 4. The commune (communes) which has established a public employment office shall contribute one-fifth of the necessary expenditures for unemployment relief in its district and one-fifth of the necessary cost of the public employment office, but not more than one-fourth of the combined contributions paid by the employers and employees under article 2, paragraph 3. * * *

ART. 5. On unanimous resolution of the communes concerned, several public employment offices may form an association to bear the common risk of raising the necessary funds. * * *

ART. 6. The grants necessary under article 1, paragraph 2, will be borne by the Federal Government and the State in equal parts.

The grants by the Federal Government and the States fall due only when the maximum contributions permissible under article 2, paragraph 3, have been collected for at least two weeks.

This decree, which went into force November 1, 1923, was amended in some essential points by the decree of February 13, 1924. The main changes were:

1. The amount of the contributions shall no longer be fixed in fractions of the contributions to sickness insurance but in fractions

² This decree was issued under the emergency law of the same date granting extraordinary powers to the Government but before the latter was proclaimed. In order to avoid contests, the decree was reissued Oct. 15, and this is the date which is officially quoted.

of the basic wages (adopted for calculating sickness insurance contributions).

This provision was to eliminate the advantages to those employers and employees whose sickness insurance fund did not raise the permissible maximum sickness insurance contributions.

2. The contributions shall be so fixed as to cover two-thirds of the necessary cost of the public employment office and eight-ninths of the necessary expenditures for unemployment relief in the district of the public employment office. They shall not, however, except for a period of two weeks, exceed 3 per cent of the basic wage. The commune shall bear the remaining one-third of the cost of the public employment office and one-ninth of the expenditure for unemployment relief, the Federal Government and the States making grants only in so far as the expenditures for unemployment relief after two weeks are not covered by the contributions of the employers, the employees, and the communes. The Minister of Labor, moreover, may fix a higher percentage of the basic wage than 3 per cent as the contribution of employers and employees, and he may order, as from July 1, 1924, that the contribution of the communes shall be increased up to one-sixth of the expenditure for unemployment relief.

The object of these provisions was to lighten the financial burden of the communes but especially of the Federal Government and the States.

3. The State governments and the Minister of Labor may order that the contributions of employers and employees shall be calculated on the total expenditure for unemployment relief in large districts or even in the whole of Germany.

The object of this provision is the better distribution of the financial burden of unemployment.

4. The Minister of Labor may exempt certain occupations or groups of persons from contribution or may grade the contributions.

In pursuance of the last provision, the Minister of Labor, by order of March 13, 1924, exempted the following persons from the payment of contributions:

1. Persons engaged in agriculture or forestry as workers during part of the year, in case they, at the same time, own or rent agricultural property of such size that it furnishes the principal means of support for themselves and their family.

2. The consort and descendants of the persons mentioned in section 1, if they live under the same roof and are employed part of the year as workers in agriculture or forestry.

3. Workers who are engaged by contract of not less than a year's duration or for an indefinite period, in case the time allowed for giving notice without any sufficient reason is at least 6 months. The exemption ceases six months before the expiration of the contract, either by the expiration of the stipulated term or by the giving of regular notice.

By order of May 24, 1924, persons engaged in river, lake, and off-shore fishery are also exempted, if they own or rent agricultural property of such size that it furnishes the principal means of support for themselves and their family.

The total expenses for unemployment relief and public employment offices in the five months from August to December, 1924, were as follows: August, 1924, 20,495,318 marks; September, 1924, 22,456,941 marks; October, 1924, 21,901,132 marks; November, 1924, 19,326,565 marks; December, 1924, 22,810,411 marks.

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF WORK

Unemployment relief work was provided for by section 16 of the decree of January 15, 1920, authorizing the Minister of Labor, in furtherance of measures calculated to diminish the number of persons depending on unemployment relief, more especially by providing work for the unemployed, to grant loans and contributions out of the funds appropriated for unemployment relief, the amount of such loans and contributions being based on the number of persons thereby becoming independent of unemployment relief. The funds appropriated for unemployment relief work are raised in the same manner as those for unemployment relief—by the Federal Government, the States, and the communes concerned. Measures to be promoted under this section are, first of all, those considered profitable from the standpoint of public economy. In such cases an application must be filed in which the nature and extent of the undertaking in question are accurately specified and the number of workmen who will thereby become independent of unemployment relief given, and an estimate of the cost involved presented. In case the commune does not itself intend to carry out the relief work, the application is presented by the commune to the competent department. The conditions under which the Federal Employment Office and the Minister of Finance are authorized to grant loans and contributions are specified in detail. The principal consideration is the saving of expense for unemployment relief by the relief work proposed. In the beginning the undertakings to be promoted were restricted to relief work undertaken by corporations invested with public authority. Private enterprises expected to yield a profit are not as a rule to be promoted out of public funds and if so only when the commune which supervises the undertaking is in a position to reduce the profit. Grants are to be made only to undertakings which produce goods of general utility. An employer receiving a subsidy is required to supply the product of his undertaking at cost price.

The period for repayment of the loans provided in the various decrees was of various lengths, being at first long, but later generally short. The installments and the rate of interest were at first calculated accurately, but as the German currency became more and more depreciated they were calculated in terms of the produce yielded by the undertaking, until finally, on May 16, 1923, the rate of discount used by the Reichsbank was taken as the standard, except in cases where the real value of the produce was taken as a basis, 5 per cent being paid as interest.

As a rule loans and subsidies are to be given only for the current fiscal year, and even in case of exception not beyond the end of the current calendar year.

Under section 32 of the decree of February 16, 1924, the expense of the unemployment relief work is shared by the Federal Government and the State concerned. More and more the assistance

granted for unemployment relief work is being extended to private enterprises. This is done, however, as explained above, only on condition that, under the regulation of January 18, 1924, the product of the undertaking is employed for the public benefit, so that prices may to a certain extent be artificially lowered. To receive loans or subsidies from the Government a private undertaking must employ at least 20 unemployed who have received unemployment relief for not less than two weeks and who could not expect to find other work for some time. They must be employed to such an extent that they will not become entitled to assistance for short hours.

The undertakings started or promoted as unemployment relief work are considered emergency work. An order issued on November 17, 1923, by the Minister of Labor, contains the following regulations regarding relief works:

Definition.—Relief works are undertakings subsidized by the unemployment relief fund. The obligatory work done by the unemployed under section 9, paragraph 2, of the decree of October 15, 1923, as an equivalent of the assistance they receive, is not regarded as relief work.

Classification.—Small relief works are undertakings subsidized by the unemployment relief work fund, the funds being raised by contributions of the employers and workmen. [Road repairs are considered as small relief works according to a circular of the Minister of Labor of February 16, 1924.] Large relief works are undertakings subsidized in addition by the State and the communes. Large relief works are started only in cases of the most urgent need and must give work to 2,000 unemployed who have received unemployment relief for not less than two weeks. The unemployed assisted must constitute at least 2 per cent of the population of the communes, and employers and workmen in the communes concerned must pay the maximum rates.

Conditions.—Workmen who are engaged on relief works nevertheless remain at the disposition of the employment office and may be recalled as soon as they have a chance for profitable work. In order that as many unemployed as possible may find work on the relief works, the working time must be shortened, and, if this is not sufficient, the men must work in shifts.

At first (by decree of June 18, 1920) fair wages according to the local rate were paid for relief work, but later on the rate was lowered. A low rate of wages is paid in order to make the men employed on relief work anxious to find other employment for which they would receive the wages customary in the locality or those fixed by collective agreement. For some time also the maximum rate of wages was uniformly fixed (in 1923); generally, however, this was left to the local authorities.

Among relief works which the Minister of Public Works considers especially worth promoting are the following:

1. Building of electric lines and systems (high voltage lines up to 30,000 volts, transformer or converter stations, switching stations and low tension systems).

2. Building of houses. This does not refer to house building already subsidized by the Federal Government in one way or another. Not until the grants for this purpose by the Federal Government are exhausted is the building of houses to be subsidized by the unemployment relief fund, and then only in case the available workmen are thereby distributed in a manner advantageous to the builder or the number given employment considerably increased. Concerns engaged exclusively in the manufacture of building materials or of doors, window frames, and the like are not to be subsidized except in the case of building enterprises of public utility which manufacture such parts for their own use.

The building of residences for Government, etc., employees is also considered as deserving of encouragement by grants from the unemployment relief fund. The building of houses for rural laborers is to be promoted as far as possible and for this purpose noninterest-bearing loans are granted. Such houses may be built of wood, provided they are not mere temporary structures but are built to last for at least 30 years. These frame houses must conform to the building regulation and be well built and habitable in all seasons of the year. By means of noninterest-bearing loans running for 20 years, about 14,000 houses for rural laborers have thus far been built.

Building trades workers are to be prevented, if possible, from leaving their place of employment during the winter, and therefore their applications for unemployment relief are, as far as possible, to be granted and they are to be given special consideration as to the amount thereof and in the obtaining of employment. The railways are allowed to diminish their force, transferring men to the building trade. Railway employees who belong to the building trade are to be discharged and sent to the local employment exchange to obtain employment in their trade.

Unemployed workers of all trades may be given a course of training for the purpose of transferring them to other trades, but for workers in the building trades the procedure is regulated in detail.

In 1922 the following regulations were in force:

(a) The transfer of unemployed workers to other trades will be carried out by a committee consisting of equal numbers of employers and employees, with the president of the employment office as chairman. The duties of this committee are selection of suitable workmen to be apprenticed to other trades and establishments or workshops in which they can be trained, approval and supervision of the course of training, and arbitration of matters relating to the apprenticeship contract. The committee is to fix the length of the training, distribute the funds granted for the training of apprentices, etc.

(b) The workers to be apprenticed are to be selected from the following trades: Building laborers, stove fitters, joiners, and related trades. They must be unemployed or such workers as can be replaced by unemployed workers. Such apprentices are to be from 18 to 30 years of age.

(c) The length of the apprenticeship is to be fixed in each case according to circumstances; as a rule, one year for masons and one and one-half to two years for carpenters.

(d) On principle apprentices are to be trained in workshops or industrial establishments, this practical training to be supplemented by theoretical instruction. A contract is to be entered into between the employer and the apprentices. At the end of the apprenticeship the apprentice must pass a test before a committee before being classed as a journeyman. These conditions may be modified under certain conditions.

(e) The apprentice is to receive the wages of a helper in the building trade under the collective agreement. The workshop or concern taking an apprentice is allowed a grant from the unemployment relief fund. One-half of this allowance is due when one-third of the apprenticeship is over, one-third when two-thirds of the term is over, and the remaining one-sixth at the end of the apprenticeship.

In exceptional cases the grant may be used for the purchase of tools and working clothes.

3. In order to meet the great demand for rural labor, employment offices are to see that workmen out of employment are directed to places where work is to be had in the country. By decree of March 16, 1919, such workmen are allowed free railroad transportation to the place of work. In January, 1922, the following measures were recommended by the Federal Employment Office: Advertisements for work in the country for unemployed city workmen; investigation of vacancies of this kind, especially as to board and lodging; selection of suitable men for such work; arrangements for taking the unemployed workers to the place of work, and board and accommodation during the journey; provision of suitable clothing for the workmen (as far as possible), to be paid for by the employer; supervision of the treatment of the workmen in their new places of work; payment of traveling expenses on the return journey in case of illness, or illness or death in their families, or because the workmen prove unfitted for the work.

A separate fund was appropriated in April, 1923, out of the unemployment relief fund for the expenses incurred in procuring workers for rural labor. In 1923 a total of 14,000 city workmen were by this means transferred to the country, of which 30 to 35 per cent did not remain because of lack of working clothes, physical inability, dislike of the work, etc. The expenses for this agency during 1924 are provided for in the following manner: For every suitable unemployed workman for whom employment is procured in the country from January 1 to December 31, 1924, a sum equal to five times the amount of the unemployment benefit due to a single workman over 21 years of age in towns of class A in economic District II, but not exceeding the extra expenses incurred by the State employment office in promoting such labor movement will be paid. Up to April 1st three-fifths of this amount was borne by the Federal Government and two-fifths by the State, thereafter the Federal Government and State to contribute equal shares.

From April 1, 1920, to August 20, 1923, the number of days worked in the performance of unemployment relief work, was as follows:

	Days' work
Road making and digging.....	27, 835, 714
Public improvements.....	10, 294, 499
River and canal construction.....	12, 350, 310
Gas, water, and sewer work.....	5, 564, 852
Railroad work.....	3, 343, 084
Electrical plants.....	867, 968
Gardening.....	162, 369
House building.....	4, 696, 953
Miscellaneous.....	8, 523, 801
Total.....	73, 639, 550

EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

Pre-war time.—In pre-war time the conduct of employment agencies was left to private enterprise. In consequence many different kinds of employment agencies were established and flourished side by side without any connection with each other. The earliest form was the employment office of the trade guild, which by the supplement to the Industrial Code of June 18, 1884, was given the

task of procuring employment for journeymen. With the rise of the trade-union movement the trade-unions established employment offices for almost all trades, but they did not acquire any considerable importance. The employment offices of the salaried employees' associations were centralized and also served as registration offices. The employers' associations also established employment offices, some of which attained importance. Other offices managed conjointly by employers and employees were established on the basis of collective agreements, but they were only for certain trades. Public welfare or charitable associations also established employment offices, but they generally restricted their activities to procuring employment for the needy. In addition to all these private agencies there existed public employment offices, established or subsidized by communes or communal unions, which soon acquired greater importance than any of the others.

Because of this great variety of employment offices working side by side but without a common control or unity of purpose, a sufficiently regular supply of labor for the vacancies occurring could not be maintained. In order to remedy this and other defects of the employment service, the public employment offices deemed it advisable to cooperate more closely and so formed associations of the employment offices in the Province or State, these associations being united in the Federation of German Employment Offices. In order to secure regular adjustment between supply and demand of labor in the different localities, they published regular lists of vacancies and established a journal for employment agencies.³ As these associations, however, comprised only the public employment exchanges, the defects arising from lack of unity and uniformity among private offices could not be entirely eliminated.

Legislation regulating comprehensively the organization of employment offices was lacking. The States, especially in southern Germany, had issued ministerial decrees by which public employment offices were promoted but which did not provide for uniform organization. The Federal Government confined its activities to giving financial assistance for the maintenance of the public employment offices. Only the private employment office operated for profit, about which complaints were frequently heard at the time, was strictly regulated by law. Sections 1 to 14 of the law of June 2, 1910, covered private employment offices operated for profit and provided that such agencies were not thereafter to be established unless urgently necessary. The management of such employment agencies was made subject to the control of the local authorities and the carrying on of certain other business in connection with such employment agencies was forbidden. Employment agencies for female workers were subjected to strict control by the police authorities, and it was provided that maximum fees were to be fixed by the authorities. Sections 15 to 18 of the law related to nonprofit employment agencies, authorizing the State governments to prescribe their qualifications and duties, but the States took very little advantage of this permission.

War time.—The complete change in economic conditions caused by the outbreak of the war made it necessary to adjust the organization of the employment offices to the altered conditions. The Central

³ Der Arbeitsmarkt, later Der Arbeitsnachweis in Deutschland.

Bureau of the Federal Employment Service (*Reichszentrale der Arbeitsnachweise*) was thus established on August 6, 1914, within the Ministry of the Interior, with the object of organizing the employment offices throughout the country on a uniform basis, of affording a comprehensive survey of the labor market, and of equalizing the supply and demand of labor. This department, however, did not exert very great influence on the organization of employment offices. In addition to this the Federal Statistical Office published a labor market gazette, each employment office reporting twice a week the number of applications for employment still pending and the number of vacancies. Finally, under section 15 of the law on employment agencies all employment offices were required from and after May, 1915, to report concerning their establishment and organization, and once a month on the number of applications filed and vacancies registered, with the object of obtaining a survey of the existing employment offices and of the state of the labor market. The decree of the Federal Council (*Reichsrat*) of June 14, 1916, authorizing the State governments to make it the duty of the communes or communal unions to establish or subsidize public employment offices and to issue regulations for their organization and management, did not lead to any important results. Prussia, for instance, merely instructed the presidents of the administrative districts to make use of their powers, "in case the communes or counties should decline to supply an evident want."

The first effective step towards unification of the individual employment offices was taken when the national auxiliary service law of December 5, 1916, went into effect. Under the management of the newly-established War Office central information bureaus comprising all the employment offices were established, and attached to the associations of employment offices, with advisory committees composed of equal numbers of employers and of employees. Registration offices for the auxiliary service were also established, which were in all cases attached to the public employment offices and to which vacancies and applications for employment were required to be reported.

Postwar period.—The sudden demobilization subsequent to the revolution of 1918 and the consequent enormous increase in the number of the unemployed resulted in a reorganization of the employment offices. The management of the entire employment service was transferred from the War Office to the Demobilization Office on November 9, 1918. In an attempt to regulate the labor market the new Government issued the decree of December 9, 1918, confining itself, however, to conferring extensive powers on the States. Thus authorized, most of the States issued decrees; e. g., the provisional decree of September 12, 1919, of Prussia requiring on principle every subordinate government board to establish public employment offices in its district and providing that provincial boards (which later became the State employment offices), composed of all the employment offices in the Province or district, should be established.

The growing importance of the employment offices, especially in connection with unemployment relief and unemployment relief work, made it necessary to centralize the employment agency in a Federal Employment Office (*Reichsamt für Arbeitsvermittlung*)

established by decree of the Federal Government May 6, 1920. Soon after its establishment, the Federal Employment Office was instructed to submit a draft of a comprehensive bill regulating employment agencies. On December 7, 1921, this bill was submitted to the Reichstag in the form given it by the Reichsrath and after numerous amendments was passed almost unanimously, being signed by the President of the Republic, July 22, 1922.

OPERATIONS OF EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

The economic importance of the public employment office organization established by the employment office act of July 22, 1922, is evidenced by statistics of vacancies filled through the various employment offices. Up to the passing of the employment office act, as shown above, public (at that time the communal) employment offices had not been promoted to any considerable degree by legislative measures. But in spite of unrestricted competition in the labor market the public employment offices had succeeded in distancing all other employment offices. This is due mainly to the advantages they offer both to employers and to employees, such as gratuitous services, impartiality and, last but not least, management by boards composed of equal numbers of employers and employees.

Of the total vacancies for men filled by all employment offices in 1913 the public offices had filled 44 per cent; in 1920 the proportion filled by them was 78 per cent, due mainly to the growth of the communal employment offices during the war. In 1923 the proportion was 90 per cent, which shows that the employment office act has had a favorable influence on the activities of the public employment offices. The proportion of vacancies for women filled by such offices has increased correspondingly, being in 1913, 86 per cent; in 1920, 89 per cent; and in 1923, 91 per cent.

The proportion of vacancies negotiated by the employers' employment offices, whose operations in pre-war time came next in importance to those of the public employment offices, has fallen from 34 per cent in 1913 to 14 per cent in 1920 and in 1923 was only 0.4 per cent. This exceptionally low figure is due mainly to the fact that the employment office of the port of Hamburg, which filled 362,353 vacancies in 1920, was in the beginning of 1921 attached to the State employment service. The vacancies for women filled by the employers' employment offices has never been of importance, being in 1913, 4.5 per cent and in 1920, 0.4 per cent. In 1923 the figure fell to 0.1 per cent of the total business done by all offices.

The proportion of vacancies for men filled by the workers' employment offices has fallen from 11 per cent in 1913 to 3 per cent in 1923. The proportion of vacancies negotiated by the salaried employees' employment offices has been maintained at approximately the same level. Vacancies for men filled dropped from 1.4 per cent to 0.8 per cent and vacancies for women filled from 2.2 per cent to 1.8 per cent. The offices managed jointly by employers and employees have increased the extent of their operations from 2 per cent in 1913 to 4 per cent in 1920 and 1923. Whereas the proportion of vacancies for men filled by public welfare employment offices fell from 1.6 per cent in 1913 to 0.6 per cent in 1920 and to 0.5 per cent in 1923, the vacancies for women filled has averaged 4 per cent.

Table 60 shows the number of vacancies filled by the various kinds of employment offices in 1913, 1920, and 1923:

TABLE 60.—NUMBER AND PER CENT OF VACANCIES FILLED BY EMPLOYMENT OFFICES IN GERMANY, 1913, 1920, 1923, BY KIND OF OFFICE

Kind of employment office	NUMBER			PER CENT		
	Males			Females		
	1913	1920	1923	1913	1920	1923
Public employment office.....	1, 086, 738	3, 094, 103	2, 075, 360	555, 843	1, 312, 108	1, 006, 501
Public welfare employment office.....	37, 845	22, 773	10, 940	25, 756	54, 945	52, 586
Equipartisan employment office.....	47, 800	162, 428	99, 710	6, 734	55, 353	9, 601
Employers' employment office.....	836, 644	575, 634	9, 730	29, 018	5, 419	1, 631
Workers' employment office.....	280, 335	84, 401	70, 022	10, 607	15, 782	7, 751
Salaried employees' employment office.....	36, 370	42, 123	19, 025	14, 684	37, 294	20, 301
Guilds, etc., employment office.....	127, 730	9, 862	17, 007	6, 133	132	6, 380
Total.....	2, 453, 462	3, 991, 324	2, 301, 794	648, 775	1, 481, 033	1, 104, 751
PER CENT						
Public employment office.....	44.3	77.5	90.3	85.7	88.6	91.1
Public welfare employment office.....	1.6	.6	.5	4.0	3.7	4.8
Equipartisan employment office.....	2.0	4.1	4.3	1.0	3.7	.9
Employers' employment office.....	34.1	14.4	.4	4.5	.4	.1
Workers' employment office.....	11.4	2.1	3.0	1.6	1.1	.7
Salaried employees' employment office.....	1.4	1.1	.8	2.2	2.5	1.8
Guilds, etc., employment office.....	5.2	.2	.7	1.0	.0	.6
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

On comparing the business transacted by the various kinds of employment offices with respect to the occupations followed by the applicants, the difference in importance of the public employment offices and of the other kinds of employment offices becomes evident.

In numbers and proportion the figures for communal public employment offices are highest for common labor of various kinds and for domestic servants, which classes include the main body of unskilled employees employed on short contracts. The total vacancies filled in these classes in 1923 is 566,764 for men and 608,300 for women. The number of vacancies negotiated by the communal public employment offices in 1923—546,745 men and 556,653 women—and by the public-welfare employment offices—6,815 men and 46,490 women—are significant in this connection. As regards the skilled occupations, the share of the communal public employment offices in the vacancies filled in agriculture is remarkable, amounting to 205,401 for men out of a total of 231,663 and 74,217 for women, out of a total of 80,379. In many trades the public employment offices seem almost to have a monopoly, and there are only a few trades in which other employment offices manage to surpass the public offices, such as the printing trades in which the equipartisan employment office has filled 16,359 vacancies for men out of a total of 23,422.

In Table 61 are shown the number of vacancies filled by non-profit employment offices in 1923, by occupations:

TABLE 61.—VACANCIES FILLED BY NONPROFIT EMPLOYMENT OFFICES IN GERMANY, 1923, BY OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Applications		Vacancies		Vacancies filled		Vacancies filled by public employment offices					
							State				Communal	
							Offices for specific occupations		Branch offices			
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Fe- males	Males	Fe- males	Males	Females
Agriculture, gardening, forestry	336, 546	92, 227	279, 252	123, 658	231, 663	80, 379	4, 352	1, 347	3, 699	1, 385	205, 401	74, 217
Mines, smelting works, salt mines	96, 202	2, 491	34, 935	1, 880	32, 138	1, 682	96		259	16	31, 688	1, 666
Stone, clay, and glass products	78, 271	9, 681	23, 546	3, 243	21, 788	3, 059	67		61		20, 550	2, 828
Metal working and machinery	770, 951	87, 472	238, 480	35, 985	203, 000	31, 192	10		879	14	193, 874	30, 886
Chemicals	25, 032	15, 602	14, 162	6, 082	14, 018	5, 912	1		11		13, 736	5, 762
Textiles	61, 633	108, 948	16, 172	38, 613	15, 151	35, 163			13	29	14, 869	34, 811
Paper	24, 632	50, 388	8, 004	22, 430	7, 626	21, 376			33	11	7, 157	20, 650
Leather	51, 995	9, 812	16, 129	4, 323	14, 644	4, 004	3		132	4	14, 197	3, 794
Lumber and timber	225, 413	10, 498	93, 616	4, 633	84, 422	4, 303	3		388	2	74, 446	3, 895
Food, liquors, and tobacco	143, 475	111, 628	58, 930	49, 740	57, 139	48, 325	3		228	23	44, 675	46, 069
Clothing	163, 627	167, 877	36, 205	67, 687	32, 344	55, 402	4		237	385	30, 268	52, 625
Cleaning	36, 806	27, 371	22, 906	20, 753	18, 740	16, 383	8	2	128	173	10, 797	13, 385
Building	472, 346		169, 036		154, 340				550		146, 467	
Printing	75, 105	25, 761	24, 117	13, 437	23, 422	12, 969	4		57	1	5, 763	5, 181
Art industries	4, 356	557	1, 324	303	870	250	6		7	3	836	246
Musical, theatrical, etc., shows	184, 213	6, 501	169, 352	4, 433	167, 171	4, 109		1	144	101	148, 071	3, 273
Hotels and restaurants	282, 228	148, 467	243, 693	143, 392	235, 982	106, 166	8		403	261	206, 707	100, 393
Transportation	580, 217	15, 713	335, 634	7, 279	325, 478	6, 567	95		829	368	284, 673	6, 169
Domestic service	8, 918	683, 510	6, 676	829, 444	6, 000	515, 844	7	80	61	1, 630	4, 952	465, 633
Common labor	1, 523, 467	384, 008	578, 919	98, 514	560, 764	92, 456	457	212	1, 511	602	541, 793	91, 020
Firemen and engineers	53, 965		21, 135		20, 598				123		6, 758	
Commercial clerks	179, 044	137, 417	72, 189	58, 796	43, 591	33, 932	836	7	493	373	23, 689	20, 276
Office clerks	43, 233	59, 230	20, 471	40, 123	15, 937	21, 509	485	6	349	254	13, 182	13, 251
Technical employees	40, 588	597	8, 555	160	6, 754	97	460		68	3	5, 685	83
Liberal professions	27, 567	8, 654	5, 673	3, 602	4, 756	2, 176	299	7	166	111	3, 819	1, 635
Not specified	12, 006	3, 908	3, 860	2, 371	3, 458	1, 501	47		23		3, 214	1, 347
Total	5, 501, 856	2, 168, 318	2, 502, 971	1, 580, 881	2, 301, 794	1, 104, 756	7, 251	1, 662	10, 842	5, 749	2, 057, 267	999, 095

TABLE 61.—VACANCIES FILLED BY NONPROFIT EMPLOYMENT OFFICES IN GERMANY, 1923, BY OCCUPATIONS—Concluded

Occupation	Vacancies filled by other employment agencies													
	Guilds'		Equipartisan		Employers'		Workers'		Salaried employees'		Public welfare		Others	
	Males	Fe- males	Males	Fe- males	Males	Fe- males	Males	Fe- males	Males	Fe- males	Males	Fe- males	Males	Fe- males
Agriculture, gardening, forestry.....	6,250	2,252	114	-----	230	5	8,602	167	335	117	2,502	794	178	95
Mines, smelting works, salt mines.....	-----	-----	8	-----	-----	-----	12	-----	-----	-----	7	-----	86	-----
Stone, clay, and glass products.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1,041	231	-----	-----	46	-----	25	-----
Metal working and machinery.....	794	-----	6,434	263	88	-----	374	14	5	-----	115	-----	477	15
Chemicals.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	243	150	-----	-----	3	-----	24	-----
Textiles.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	51	-----	197	319	-----	-----	1	-----	20	4
Paper.....	-----	-----	144	617	-----	-----	225	86	-----	-----	5	-----	62	2
Leather.....	5	-----	113	-----	-----	-----	161	206	-----	-----	15	-----	18	-----
Lumber and timber.....	24	-----	8,121	249	3	-----	1,264	157	2	-----	44	-----	127	-----
Food, liquors, and tobacco.....	1,558	-----	8,534	20	-----	-----	1,761	2,200	273	-----	49	-----	58	13
Clothing.....	66	-----	2	-----	13	54	1,433	2,046	34	4	195	166	92	122
Cleaning.....	323	8	3,124	541	2,119	104	1,309	53	259	8	134	546	539	1,563
Building.....	250	-----	750	-----	1,868	-----	4,264	-----	7	-----	55	-----	125	-----
Printing.....	18	10	16,359	6,739	-----	-----	1,134	1,030	10	-----	24	-----	57	7
Art industries.....	-----	-----	6	-----	-----	-----	10	-----	-----	-----	4	-----	1	-----
Musical, theatrical, etc., shows.....	-----	-----	718	714	-----	-----	18,226	19	-----	-----	-----	-----	12	-----
Hotels and restaurants.....	-----	-----	8,579	404	1,264	638	18,791	808	-----	-----	233	3,661	27	-----
Transportation.....	-----	-----	29,866	-----	1,014	-----	7,850	-----	-----	-----	67	-----	1,034	5
Domestic service.....	-----	1	-----	-----	4	781	582	-----	-----	-----	80	46,104	4	1,449
Common labor.....	8	-----	3,701	54	2,778	-----	133	-----	16	33	-----	-----	-----	-----
Firemen and engineers.....	-----	-----	13,114	-----	389	-----	2,121	110	-----	-----	6,735	386	1,644	72
Commercial clerks.....	-----	-----	6	-----	37	2	54	-----	100	39	-----	-----	71	-----
Office clerks.....	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	5	-----	16,873	12,701	339	406	1,313	167
Technical employees.....	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	2	6	561	7,303	117	218	1,239	471
Liberal professions.....	-----	-----	9	-----	-----	-----	50	-----	449	8	8	3	32	-----
Not specified.....	-----	-----	6	-----	-----	47	3	-----	101	127	99	176	260	120
Total.....	9,296	2,271	99,710	9,601	9,730	1,631	70,022	7,751	19,025	20,301	10,940	52,586	7,711	4,109

The number of employment offices in 1923 has not yet been ascertained. There are, however, 21 State employment offices distributed over the States and Provinces. On December 1, 1921, the number of registered employment offices of each kind was as follows:

Public employment offices.....	1, 332
Public-welfare employment offices.....	168
Equipartisan employment offices.....	72
Employers' employment offices.....	35
Workers' employment offices.....	195
Salaried employees' employment offices.....	314
Guilds, etc., employment offices.....	86
Total.....	2, 202

ORGANIZATION OF EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

The employment office act of July 22, 1922, provides for a system of public employment offices based on the existing communal employment offices. It thus creates a system of free public employment offices under a common management (section 1), in accordance with the principles established in article 2 of the draft convention on unemployment passed at the International Labor Conference at Washington in 1919. The act further provides that in these public employment offices trade departments shall be established. Other provisions regulate the management of the employment offices.

Although the act provides a systematic organization of the public employment offices (*öffentliche Arbeitsnachweise*), it does not give them a monopoly. On the contrary, the existing private nonprofit employment offices are allowed to carry on business as before and even the establishment of new offices of this kind is not prohibited. They are, however, subject to the supervision of the State employment offices. Private employment offices operated for profit are also permitted to continue in business but their operation will be prohibited after January 1, 1931.

The regulation of the public employment service is based, first, on the principle of systematic organization; second, on the administration of the employment offices by the persons interested. Special provisions of the act relate to the personnel of the employment offices. The procedure in case of complaints and the method of financing the employment offices are also provided for.

The systematic organization of the public employment service, in contradistinction to the uncontrolled operation theretofore obtaining, is effected by providing a complete system of public employment offices (secs. 2-14) under State employment offices for larger districts (secs. 15-25), and by establishing a Federal Employment Office for the entire country (secs. 26-31).

COMMUNAL PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

Public employment offices form the first class in the organization of the public employment service. In order that the entire country may be covered by a network of employment offices, the act provides that every commune must be covered by a public employment office. As a rule, a public employment office must be established in every subordinate administrative district (sec. 3). In order, however, that this system of public employment offices may not be distributed

arbitrarily according to a fixed pattern, which would be the case if the districts were limited by political demarcations, the State government may, in fixing the districts for public employment offices, ignore the limits of the subordinate administrative districts and make the districts larger or smaller according to economic needs.

The public employment office is to be established by the communal administration, and several communes may combine to establish a public employment office in order that it may be more efficient. The management of such a joint employment office is intrusted by the State government to one of the communes concerned (sec. 6).

In case the district covered by a public employment office, while extensive, is yet not large enough to render it advisable to divide it and establish a second office, the existing office may establish a branch office within its own district. Branch offices of this kind, which generally carry on their business independently, are frequently charged with the management of special departments. They remain, however, a part of the public employment office and are subordinate to the general administrative committee, unless they happen to be trade departments (see p. 174).

The chief work of the public employment service is performed in the communal public employment offices. Their fundamental duty is to procure employment for workers and salaried employees, and in addition they are to assist in carrying out relief measures provided for by law, especially unemployment relief. The decree of the Federal Government of February 16, 1924, relating to unemployment relief regulates in detail the assistance to be rendered by employment offices, and especially the public employment offices, in carrying out the unemployment relief measures. Besides this, the act provides that employment offices shall undertake, either voluntarily or at the direction of the authorities, vocational guidance and the placement of apprentices.⁴ The Minister of Labor or the State government may assign to the public employment offices additional duties in the field of regulating the labor market, such as procuring employment for and assisting in the relief of persons of limited earning capacity and itinerant workers⁵ (sec. 2).

STATE EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

The State employment offices form the second class in the organization of the public employment service, being also established on the basis of existing institutions, for during the war central information bureaus had been established which consolidated a number of employment offices with the object of adjusting the interlocal labor supply and demand.

These State employment offices are established in States, Provinces, or other large districts (sec. 17), either as independent boards or in connection with some other State or communal administrative agency. The State employment office district are also to be fixed according to economic needs and without regard to political demarca-

⁴ The public employment offices have not as yet been charged authoritatively with these additional duties. The general regulations relating to vocational guidance and the placement of apprentices contain only regulations for such public employment offices as have already assumed these functions.

⁵ According to the law of Dec. 23, 1922, as amended Jan. 12, 1923, regulating the employment of cripples, public employment offices are required to send representatives to the central relief committees. Under article 1, No. 4, of the decree of Oct. 30, 1923, the employment offices may, with the permission of the Minister of Labor, also be charged with further duties.

tions. Thus several State governments may establish a common State employment office if one or more of the States concerned is not able to support an efficient State office because of limited territory. As it may be expedient for certain work by the State office to be performed in the locality, the act explicitly provides that branch offices may be established with the consent of the State government (sec. 16). Thus the State office at Münster in Westphalia, which covers Lippe and the Province of Westphalia, has established a branch office for the mining industry.

The primary duties of the State employment offices consist in the supervision of all employment offices and the rendering of decisions on complaints against them, the observation of the labor market, and the adjustment of supply and demand in the different localities. The supervision of the public employment offices and the rendering of decisions on complaints against them are confined, however, to their administration, and does not extend to their management, the control of which is reserved to the competent provincial, etc., authorities. The State employment agency in its supervision of the employment offices has no means of enforcing its orders, but may call upon the provincial, etc., authorities in case of disobedience thereof. Subject to the approval of the administrative committee and the State government, the State offices may establish rules for the administration of the employment offices of their districts, in order that such administration may be uniform.

The State employment offices shall, on principle, refrain from filling vacancies or entertaining applications for employment themselves, but may do so in exceptional cases when adjustment of the supply and demand among different localities is urgent. In addition, State offices are authorized to fill vacancies themselves when departments for separate trades are established within a State office, but only in case a similar department does not exist in one of the employment offices of the district (sec. 38).

In order to promote interlocal adjustment of supply and demand, the State offices publish weekly reports of vacancies still pending and of the state of the labor market in their districts. They have general authority to demand such information from all institutions engaged in workers' relief, and section 54 of the employment office act provides that any person refusing to give information or purposely giving misleading information may be fined or imprisoned.

The Minister of Labor may, with the approval of the Reichsrat, assign to the State employment offices additional duties in the field of regulating the labor market.⁶ By "general directions to the employment offices relating to vocational guidance and the placement of apprentices," dated May 12, 1923, the State offices are directed by the Federal Employment Office to extend their operations to these matters.

FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT OFFICE

The Federal Employment Office is at the head of the organization of the employment service and is responsible for uniform management and cooperation of the entire service,⁷ so that it will function

⁶ The same restrictions apply here as with the public employment offices.

⁷ The Federal Employment Office, by decree of Sept. 30, 1922, of the Ministry of Labor, was made a department of the Ministry of Labor.

as a single employment organization. It covers the whole of Germany, its headquarters being in Berlin.

The Federal Employment Office, conjointly with the State governments, supervises the enforcement of the employment office act. It exercises technical supervision over the State employment offices and the communal public employment offices. It also observes the labor market, section 31 of the act authorizing it to institute inquiries concerning the state of the labor market, working conditions, strikes, lockouts, etc. Under section 54 of the act any person declining to give information or knowingly giving false information may be fined or imprisoned.

The Federal office is to take measures to adjust the supply and demand of labor in different economic districts, and for this purpose publishes weekly a labor market bulletin containing reports of the State offices on the state of the labor market, applications for employment, and vacancies in the country which can not be filled within the district of a State office. It is also required to report regularly on the state of the labor market, the amount of unemployment, the development of collective bargaining, and all matters connected therewith.⁸ In addition, the Federal office is charged with the duty of regulating and supervising, conjointly with the State governments, the recruiting, placing, and employment of alien workers.⁹

The Federal office is to lay down general principles for vocational guidance and for the placement of apprentices, not only for the public employment offices but also for private concerns engaged in this work.¹⁰ In case of persistent violations of these principles the Federal office may, subject to the approval of the advisory council, demand the closing of the offending private establishments.

The Federal Employment Office, as well as communal and State employment offices, may be charged with additional duties relating to the labor market. This has been done in the case of unemployment relief.

TRADE DEPARTMENTS

The organization of the employment service must be adapted not only to the local but also to the economic requirements of the individual trades. An effective employment agency, one that takes into consideration the special requirements of each trade, the requirements of each vacancy to be filled, and the special qualifications of each worker, is possible only on the basis of an organization by trade departments. Before the passage of the employment office act many large employment offices had established separate departments for certain trades and this development was promoted by the act. In all classes of the employment service, trade departments may be established, to which a great measure of independence is given by the act.

Trade departments may be established voluntarily or by order of the authorities. A trade department may be formed voluntarily if the employers' and employees' organizations, after an inquiry, decide that it is needed, the commune as a rule having the right

⁸ These reports are published in the *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, the official bulletin of the Ministry of Labor and of the Federal Employment Office.

⁹ See pp. 183 and 184 for provisions regulating this matter.

¹⁰ Such regulations have been issued and are discussed in the sections on vocational guidance and placement of apprentices (pp. 185 to 189).

only of contesting such decision. If such trade organizations do not exist, the question is decided by the administrative committees of the employment offices (sec. 32). The State employment office may order the establishment of a trade department in a public employment office, and the Federal Employment Office may order the establishment of one in the State employment office (sec. 37), which permits of the creation of a sufficiently broad trade basis in such employment offices.

The trade departments are not independent employment offices but rather departments of the employment offices with a large measure of independence. They are under the management of the employment offices in which they are established, the chairman of the administrative committee of the employment office being also chairman of the committee of the trade department. The trade departments are to concern themselves with conditions in the trades for which they are established and especially employment in such trades.

The trade departments in the State and Federal employment offices may fill vacancies directly if there is no such trade department in a subordinate office (sec. 38).

Separate departments for men and women may be established whenever it is deemed advisable for technical or moral reasons to separate male and female workers in the employment office. In the women's department the manager must be a woman and as far as possible the agents also should be women. These separate departments should not be confounded with the trade departments established for certain trades, such as the metal industry, the building trades, domestic service, and the like. A department for working men or women, unless it is a trade department for a certain trade, is under the administrative committee of the employment office and subject thereto in the conduct of its business.

EQUIPARTISAN BOARDS

Another basic principle of the public employment service is that of government by the parties concerned—the employers and the employees.¹¹ This principle finds expression in the administrative committees of the communal and the State employment offices, the advisory council of the Federal Employment Office, and the trade committees of the trade departments, on all of which both employers and employees are represented.

The composition of these equipartisan boards is different in each of the classes of the employment service. In the communal public employment offices, the administrative committee consists of the chairman, three employers, and three employees. The trade committee, whether belonging to a communal office, a State office, or the Federal office, is also composed of three employers and three employees. The chairman of the administrative committee is, however, also the chairman of the trade committee. In the administrative committee of the State employment office, one-third of the members are employers, one-third employees, and the remaining one-third representatives of the communes in which public employment offices are established. The advisory council of the Federal Employment

¹¹ This is in accordance with the draft convention on unemployment adopted by the International Labor Conference at Washington in 1919: "Committees which shall include representatives of employers and employees shall be appointed to advise on matters concerning the carrying on of these agencies."—*Monthly Labor Review*, February, 1920, p. 20.

Office is composed of four representatives of public bodies, four employers, and four employees, to whom experts may be added as advisers. It is provided that one of the members of the advisory council must be a woman (sec. 29).

Although the principle of equipartisanship is thus followed throughout in the composition of the administrative committees, parity of voting members is not in all cases considered indispensable, as the by-laws of the employment offices may designate the proportions of voting members on the administrative committee. Only for decisions on appeals is a parity of voting members on the administrative committee of State offices and the advisory council of the Federal office required (secs. 22, 29).

All employer and employee members of these administrative committees must be German citizens at least 24 years of age. They are appointed for periods of three years,¹² and receive no pay (sec. 10). The members of the committees of the public employment offices and of the trade departments are proposed by the employers' and employees' organizations (sec. 9)—in the latter case by such organizations of the trades concerned (sec. 33)—and appointed by the commune in which the employment office is established or by which it is managed.

The employer and employee members of the administrative committee of the State offices are to be elected by the employers' section and the workers' section, respectively, of the district economic council; if there is no such council they are appointed by the State government on recommendation of employers' and employees' organizations of the State office district (sec. 65). The members of the advisory council of the Federal office representing the employers and the workers are elected by the employer section and the workers' section, respectively, of the Federal economic council (secs. 29 and 66).

The duties of all the equipartisan committees of the employment service are essentially the same. They lay down principles for the administration of the employment offices and issue regulations therefor, supervise the operations of the office, being authorized to demand books, files, and other documents for examination, and receive and render decisions on complaints.

The committees have great influence in other ways. The by-laws of the employment offices are formulated after consultation with them (secs. 5 and 18). They are consulted as to the appointment of the heads of the employment offices and may protest against such appointments. The duty of the administrative and trade committees involving the highest responsibility is, however, the selection of the managers and employees of the employment offices, whom they propose (secs. 13 and 23). The committees take a prominent part in the fixing of the budget (secs. 14 and 22).

The trade committee of the trade department is independent of the administrative committee of the employment office, but its authority may be restricted by the general administrative committee and it is obliged to follow the general principles laid down by the latter.

The advisory council of the Federal Employment Office must approve the principles laid down for vocational guidance and the

¹² Suspension from office of committee members must be provided for in the by-laws, as the act contains no provisions therefor.

placement of apprentices, as well as the general regulations for the management of public employment offices and the State employment offices (sec. 30).

MANAGEMENT OF EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

The communes and the State and the Federal Governments manage the public, State, and Federal employment offices, respectively, through a representative who acts as chairman of the office. As the representative of the Government he is also the chairman of the administrative committee or advisory council, and thus acts in a double capacity—as representative of the Government authorities in the management of the office and as chairman of the administrative committee or advisory council, but he is primarily the representative of the Government, and is appointed by it, after consultation with the equipartisan boards (secs. 8 and 20).

These public employment offices are established by the civil authorities and are therefore public bodies, being departments of the communal or communal union boards and the State and Federal Governments, respectively. Subject to the approval of the administrative committees the authorities of such governments issue rules governing the employment offices (secs. 5 and 18),¹³ and in the case of communes appoint the members of the committees and their alternates; as well as the managers and employees, on approval of the administrative committee.

As the budget of the communal public employment office forms part of the budget of the commune in which it is established, it is fixed by the latter, but the administrative committee has the right to suggest alterations and to raise objections (sec. 14). The same is true as to the budgets of the State offices, which are fixed by the State government, except that if the State office is an independent board or attached to an independent board, the administrative committee is restricted to making suggestions and can not raise objections, as in that case the budget forms part of the general budget of the State. In the Federal Employment Office the advisory council has no part in the fixing of the budget, as it forms part of the Federal budget.

PERSONNEL OF EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

Special provisions concerning the personnel of the employment offices appear in section 13 of the employment office act.

The head of the employment office is the chairman of the administrative committee. Of the other employees in the communal public employment office and the State office the most important is the manager (secs. 13 and 23). The offices of chairman of the committee and manager of the employment office may, however, be united in the same person and this is the rule, especially in the smaller offices.

The manager of a communal office is appointed, on proposal by the administrative committee, by the commune and of a State office by the State government. As the efficiency of an employment office depends on the qualifications of the manager, the act provides

¹³ The president of the Federal Labor Office on Nov. 17, 1922, under the authority of section 5, paragraph 4, of the employment office act, issued "regulations concerning the contents of by-laws of public employment offices," under which the by-laws must set forth the commune establishing or managing the employment office, the name, district, and locality of the employment office, duties, fiscal year, expenditure, the composition, appointment, and period of service of the administrative committee, dismissal of members of the committee, etc. The decree, under section 11 of the act, further sets forth model by-laws for a larger public employment office and model business rules for an employment office.

that he must be a person possessing "the necessary practical knowledge of employment office work." If a separate manager is appointed for the trade department by the administrative authorities on proposal by the trade committee, he must possess the same qualifications as the manager of the employment office, and in addition have practical experience of employment office work in the trade concerned (sec. 34).

The administrative and trade committees have also the right of proposing the other employees. While as a general rule no special qualifications are required of such employees, those of the trade departments should, as far as possible, belong to the trade concerned.

At the head of the Federal Employment Office is a president, who is also chairman of the advisory council. Among the other employees are to be women possessing practical experience of employment office work (sec. 29).

APPELLATE PROCEDURE

A written complaint may be lodged by any interested person with the administrative committee against decisions of the chairman of the employment office or with a trade committee if the complaint is against a trade department. If the decision of the chairman is reversed by the committee, he may appeal within two weeks to the administrative or trade committee of the State office. In the case of decisions of the State office, the procedure is similar.

Decisions of the administrative or trade committees not rendered on appeal may be appealed to the administrative or trade committee of the State office and such decisions of the State office may be appealed to the advisory council of the Federal office, while decisions of the trade committees of the Federal office may be appealed to the advisory council.

EXPENSES OF EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

Before the employment office act went into effect the necessary funds for the employment offices were raised by the communes, and for the State offices by the States and the provincial unions, but as the communes and the provincial unions were in most cases neither able nor willing to continue to bear the expense, section 67 of the act provides that until the passing of special legislation the expense of the three different classes of employment offices is to be borne by the establishing communes, the State governments, and the Federal Government, respectively, but the Federal Government is to grant subsidies of the cost to the State offices and reasonable contributions to the public employment exchanges.

By the decree on unemployment relief as amended February 16, 1924, the establishing communes are to bear the expense of the public employment exchanges (sec. 37), but may appropriate for this purpose an amount equal to two-thirds of the necessary expense out of the amounts paid by employers and employees for unemployment relief. If a public employment office is established for several communes or by a communal union, the cost is to be divided among them. In the case of the State offices, section 36, paragraph 2, provides that two-thirds of the cost may be paid out of the amounts paid by employers and employees for unemployment relief in the district of the State employment office, the rest to be borne by the body or board establishing the office.

PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

Private nonprofit employment offices.—Under the employment office act private employment offices not operated for profit are permitted to continue their operations, but their authority has been greatly restricted. In the first place, such offices are subject to the supervision of the State employment office in whose district they do business (sec. 44, par. 1), or if their operations extend beyond the district of a State office, by the State office in the district of their location, or the Federal office may decide itself to supervise the private employment office. If the orders of the supervising authority are not complied with, the private employment office may be closed (sec. 45, par. 2).

The Federal office may issue regulations as to the establishment and management of these private offices (sec. 44, par. 3) and this was done by decree of the Federal office, October 26, 1923. The body establishing the employment office must appoint a manager, who is responsible for compliance with the regulations. Such manager is prohibited from also acting as an independent labor agent. The name of such private employment office must show who established it and for what trades and classes of persons it is operated. The office must be unobjectionable from a moral and sanitary standpoint.

Such private employment offices must abide by the regulations governing public employment offices. While not obliged to give gratuitous service the fees charged must not be more than enough to cover their expenses. If the fees charged are higher and are not reduced on demand, the supervising employment office may demand the closing of the private office on the ground that it is being operated for profit. Fees may not be charged unless a labor contract has been concluded through the efforts of the employment office. This does not apply, however, to the prepayment of cash expenses incurred. Employment offices established by economic organizations of workers, and which by statute negotiate vacancies for members of such organizations only, are permitted to question their clients as to the organization to which they belong (sec. 44, par. 2). By the orders putting the employment office act into effect, private offices are prohibited from making misleading statements, especially as to the conditions of labor contracts and the number of vacancies, of applications for work, or of placements. They are also forbidden to procure employment in other trades or for other groups of persons than those specified by them.

In order to adjust supply and demand between the employment offices, the private offices must report to the public employment offices all vacancies they can not fill and all applicants they are not able to place. Lists of vacancies published by private employment offices must be submitted to the supervising employment offices.

In order to enable the supervising employment offices effectively to control the private offices, the latter are required to keep systematic and up-to-date lists of vacancies and applications, and also to give the supervising office all necessary information concerning the management of the business.

The employment office act provides that a private employment office not operated for profit may be converted into a public employment office on application by the body bearing the cost of the private

office. The State office may, with the approval of the administrative committee, apply to the Federal office for permission either to convert the private office into a public employment office or to close the private office if the former, after repeated demands, does not comply with the requirements of the employment office act and the decrees relating to private employment offices within a reasonable time, or if its business is of no importance to the district, or if two-thirds of the administrative committee consent. On the approval of two-thirds of its advisory council, the Federal Employment Office may then order the conversion or closing of the private employment office. Appeal from such order may be taken to the Minister of Labor, whose decision is final.

The reestablishment of a private employment office not operated for profit, or the restoration of the independence of a private office converted into a public employment office, may be authorized by the State board if it is proved that because of the nature of the trade in question or the special requirements of the interested persons the office can be managed to greater advantage by an economic organization or a trade corporation than by a public employment office.

Thus, although the competition of private nonprofit employment offices is permitted on principle, the act provides means of preventing private employment offices from in any way prejudicing or frustrating the object of the public employment service. Further, the carrying on of a nonprofit employment office without permission is made punishable by fine or imprisonment on demand of the competent employment office (sec. 56).

Private employment offices operated for profit.—Private employment offices operated for profit were regulated by the law of June 2, 1910, relating to professional employment agents, but the provisions of this law were from the very first regarded as merely provisional, the end in view being complete abolition of the private employment agency in favor of communal public employment offices, because of the high fees charged by the private offices, the frequent tempting of workers and others to change or to leave their positions and to break their contracts, and the consequent injury to the public interest.

The employment office act endeavors to put an end to these evils in three ways:

(a) The private employment agency operated for profit is prohibited altogether from and after January 1, 1931, all licenses to carry on such offices then becoming void. Agents who on that date have been operating a licensed office since June 2, 1910, are to receive reasonable compensation, to be fixed by a special law. The Minister of Labor may allow exemptions from this general prohibition, especially in cases in which the employment service can not be carried on as effectually by the public offices, such as obtaining situations for actors.

(b) A gradual reduction in the number of such private employment agencies is to be brought about under the provision that, from the time of its going into effect, licenses to carry on such employment agencies will no longer be granted and existing licenses will not be extended or transferred. In this case, also, the Minister of Labor may allow exemptions.

(c) Such private employment agencies are placed under the supervision of the public employment offices in whose jurisdiction they are located, though without prejudice to the supervision exercised by the police authorities. Under the general regulations, issued by authority of section 69 of the act, technical supervision of the private employment agents doing business for profit is exercised by the chairman of the public employment office in whose jurisdiction such an agency is situated. These agents are required to allow representatives of the competent public office to enter all rooms used for business, to submit all their books and business papers, and to answer all inquiries relating to their business operations correctly. They are further required to keep a book in which all applications and vacancies are registered on the day they are received.

(d) The employment office act has included under the definition of "private employment agency operated for profit" the publication, for profit, of lists of vacancies and also the supplying, for a consideration, of workers to employers for temporary employment where the agent or contractor does not himself supply the necessary tools or assume the employers' share of the insurance, etc., charges on their account.

(e) The carrying on of such a private employment office without a license and in contravention of the law is punishable by fine under section 57 of the act and, in cases of previous conviction, by imprisonment.

PRINCIPLES GOVERNING EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

The employment office act relates exclusively to the organization of employment offices. Principles for their business operation are determined by the offices themselves in their rules and regulations and by their officials. The act, however, sets forth (secs. 39-43) a few important principles, which are supplemented by regulations concerning foreign workmen, the securing of situations for German workmen in foreign countries, and the filling of vacancies for seamen. These principles apply not only to public employment offices but also, with the exception of the provision as to gratuitous service, to the other nonprofit offices.

The fundamental principle of the entire public employment system is gratuitous service (sec. 39) both for employers and for employees. This applies solely, however, to the main function of the employment agency; i. e., the filling of vacancies and placement of employees, including apprentices, but not to other aid given by the employment office, especially vocational guidance.

The employment office service should be impartial and take account of the individual circumstances of the applicant (sec. 40). The act states explicitly that the placing of workers in employment must be effected without regard to membership in an organization, inquiries as to whether the applicant belongs to an association of any kind (political party, religious denomination, etc.) being prohibited, except in the case of establishments with a pronounced political or religious tendency. Private employment offices carried on by workers' organizations are allowed to ask questions of this nature. Blacklists are explicitly prohibited.

In order to bring the right man and the right place together, the act provides that vacancies are, as far as possible, to be filled with the most suitable applicants, taking into account, on the one hand,

the nature and conditions of the work, and on the other hand, the trade and physical qualifications, as well as the personal and family circumstances, of the workman and the length of time he has been out of work.

Placement according to qualification may be supplemented with advantage to employers and employees by information given by the manager and the agent, for it is frequently necessary, especially in filling positions of trust, that the agent give information concerning the person he wishes to place. Manager and agent are therefore authorized to give information of the particular conditions of a vacant situation that may be of importance to an applicant as well as of the peculiar qualifications of an applicant which may be of importance in an available vacancy. Such information may, however, be given only if the particular conditions or special qualifications have become known to the employee of the employment office in his official capacity and if justified by special circumstances; e. g., if the applicant is to live under the same roof with the employer (sec. 43).

The terms of the offered employment may determine decisively the filling of a vacancy. While employment offices are not to interfere in the question of rates of wages, neither are they to become accessory to infringements of collective agreements by filling vacancies where the rate of wages proposed is considerably below the minimum rate customary in the trade and place.

If the terms of the labor contract are regulated by collective agreement, the employment office is not to secure employees for employers unless the conditions of the contract are in accordance with the collective agreement (sec. 41). The employment offices must therefore be well versed in the terms of collective agreements.

In case the conditions of the contract are not fixed by a collective agreement, the public employment office must decline to place workers whenever the wages offered are lower than the minimum rates customary in the place. Although the employment office should, in general, refrain from interfering in the fixing of the rate of wages, the trade committee may, in case there is no established minimum rate of wages for that trade in the place, fix such a rate and the employment office is then bound by it.

The attitude of the employment offices in case of strikes and lockouts is regulated in detail by the act. Section 42 provides that in case of such economic struggles the employment offices are to take an impartial attitude, and to favor neither side, either by procuring workers for employers or by refusing to supply workers. As the existence of a strike or lockout is of great importance to an applicant in deciding whether or not to take a job, the employment office is bound to give information on this point.

The employers are required and the workers' economic associations are permitted to inform the competent employment office in writing of the outbreak or termination of a strike or lockout. Under the regulations on this point issued by the Federal office the employment office to receive the notice is the office in whose district the business concerned in the strike is located. The notice should arrive, or at least be in the post, on the working-day following the outbreak of the strike or the commencement of the lockout. Failure to send the notice is punishable by fine or imprisonment (sec. 54).

When the written notice has been received, the employment agent is bound to inform an applicant of the strike or lockout, and to place him only in case he requests it after knowledge of the strike. Placement of striking or locked-out workers may be made only in case the employer has been informed of the strike or lockout, even if such strike or lockout is in a different trade.

OBLIGATORY REPORTING OF VACANCIES

An important condition of effective unemployment relief is the adjustment of supply and demand on the labor market, for it is evident that unemployment relief can operate smoothly and effectively only if vacancies are as far as possible reported to such offices. The employment office act has not, however, made the reporting of vacancies to the employment office compulsory (which would mean that vacancies could not be filled and no employee could be engaged except through the employment office), as the organization of public employment offices in various places and for various trades and professions is not so complete as to enable them fully to adjust supply and demand in all branches of the labor market. The reporting of vacancies by employers was thus made optional.

The Minister of Labor may, however, after consulting the advisory council of the Federal Employment Office, order that certain employers shall report all vacancies to the competent employment office (sec. 49), but this authority is subject to four restrictions, viz: The reporting of vacancies may be made obligatory only in the case of workers subject to sickness and old-age insurance; it may not be made obligatory in agriculture and in domestic service; establishments with less than five employees may not be compelled to report vacancies; and employers can not be compelled to report vacancies caused by strikes or lockouts. The act provides no means of compulsion in case an employer neglects to report vacancies, which greatly reduces the value of these provisions.

The obligation to report vacancies provided in section 49 of the act is extended by other laws. Section 74 of the law on works councils provides that in case of intended dismissal of large numbers of workers in consequence of reorganization of the business the employer shall be obliged, at the instance of the works councils, to report the same to the State employment office or the public employment office designated by the State office, in order that the necessary measures may be taken to place such workers.

SPECIAL DEPARTMENTS

The following departments of the employment service are separately regulated by the employment office act: (1) The recruiting, placing, and employment of foreign workmen; (2) the recruiting and placing of German workmen in other countries; and (3) vocational guidance and the placement of apprentices.

Recruiting, placing, and employment of foreign workmen.—Under section 26 of the act the recruiting, placing, and employment of foreign workmen has been regulated by decrees of the Federal Employment Office.

In pre-war time no regulations were issued on these points. In the period of sudden growth of German industry the number of workers available in Germany was not sufficient for the requirements of

industry and foreign workmen were engaged to fill the gaps in manufactures and farming. The influence of these foreign workers on conditions in German industry may be judged from their number, which was approximately a million. After the war when employment became scarce, the question of how to eliminate the competition of these foreign workers became urgent, and the Federal Employment Office, under the authority given it by section 26, regulated the placement of foreign workmen by the decree of October 19, 1922, amended January 2, 1923, on the recruiting and placing of foreign rural workers, and by the decree of January 2, 1923, on the recruiting and employment of foreign workers.

Even before these decrees had gone into effect a perceptible reduction in the number of foreign workers had set in. According to statistics of the Federal Office for the Placement of Foreign Workers their number in 1922 was:

	Men	Women
Manufactures-----	114, 910	24, 588
Farming-----	75, 590	72, 496
Total-----	190, 500	97, 084

The leading principle of the decree of October 19, 1922, is that foreign workers shall be engaged only when suitable German workers are not available. The State employment office decides whether the engagement of foreign workers is to be permitted. Certain groups of foreign workers, however, are excepted from the rule; e. g., workers who have been employed in Germany for many years. To enable the authorities to supervise the employment of foreign workmen, employers are not permitted to engage foreign workers who do not possess workers' identification cards. These identification cards are issued by a system of frontier offices organized for that purpose by the Federal Office for the Placement of Foreign Workers. As the foreign workmen are engaged only for certain jobs, measures are taken to prevent them from changing their places of work easily. Such change is permitted only if the contract of the foreign workman is in perfect order. In case of dispute the public employment office decides. Foreign rural workers may not change from farming to manufacturing work without express permission of the State employment office. Special provision is made as to wage and working conditions of foreign seasonal workers. Such workers may be employed only on the basis of the standard contract for foreign seasonal workers formulated by the agricultural trade committee of the Federal Employment Office.

Application to employ foreign workers is subject to the approval of the competent public employment office and of the State office. Violations of these provisions are punished by fine and imprisonment.

Under the above-mentioned decree the recruiting and placing of foreign rural workers is done by the Federal Office for the Placement of Foreign Workers but only for concerns that have permission from the competent State employment office to employ foreign workmen.

Recruiting and placing of German workers in foreign countries.—As the abuses connected with the recruiting and placing of German workers in foreign countries could not be effectually combated under existing legal regulations and such recruiting and placing directly influences the German labor market, section 60 of the employment

office act provides that the recruiting and placing of German workers in other countries is to be regulated by the Minister of Labor and the Minister of the Interior conjointly, after consultation with the advisory council of the Federal Employment Office. Under this authority the decree of October 4, 1923, on recruiting and placing of workers in foreign countries was issued, going into effect March 1, 1924.

The decree provides that private nonprofit employment agencies and employment agencies operated for profit may place workers in foreign countries only when they have a special license therefor. Public employment offices are excepted from this rule. A license to place workers in foreign countries will be granted only if there is urgent necessity therefor and the agency in question is proved to be trustworthy. Application for a license must be made to the competent State employment office, but is granted only by the Federal Employment Office. Certain untrustworthy agencies are prohibited altogether; e. g., itinerant employment agents doing business for gain. Violations are punishable by fine and imprisonment under section 60, paragraph 2, of the employment office act.

Vocational guidance and placement of apprentices.—In the last 10 years there has been a tendency in many communal employment offices to advise applicants as to the choice of a trade, in order to advance the trades requiring training and also the selection of suitable masters for apprentices and of places for the latter when they have finished their training. A number of communal employment offices had accordingly established departments for this purpose but a systematic organization was lacking. The decree of December 9, 1918, of the Federal Office for Economic Demobilization relating to employment offices provided (sec. 4) that the State governments should require the communes and communal unions to establish departments for general vocational guidance and for placement of apprentices. The decrees issued by the State governments thereunder left it to the communal authorities as to whether they would place such offices under the employment offices or under other communal bodies, such as the office for the protection of juveniles.

In September, 1922,¹⁴ there existed in the 1,035 subordinate administrative districts 592 public vocational guidance offices. This number, however, includes many offices in which the manager had another main occupation. Of these 592 vocational guidance offices 71 were independent, 397 were departments of public employment offices, 79 of public welfare offices, 14 of offices for the protection of juveniles, 14 of schools, 12 of offices for widows and orphans' relief, and 5 of other public offices. Although the employment office act does not provide that the vocational guidance offices shall be placed under the public employment offices, this will probably become the rule because the communes have to bear the principal part of the expense of such offices unless they are placed under the public employment offices.

Of the 592 vocational guidance offices, 17 assisted male youths, 1 assisted girls, and 574 assisted youths of both sexes; 506 of these offices also assisted adults, and 563 partial cripples.

¹⁴ That is, before the employment office act went into force; later data are not yet available.

As men and women generally follow different trades, it has proved convenient in practice to have separate offices for them. Thus in 168 offices separate departments for males and for females have been established. That vocational guidance is intimately connected with placement of apprentices is indicated by the fact that in 568 cases the two are combined.

Table 62 shows how many of the 592 offices in 1922 had agents who devoted all or a part of their time to vocational guidance work or worked without salary:

TABLE 62.—NUMBER AND PER CENT OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE OFFICES WHOSE AGENTS DID VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE WORK AS REGULAR OR AUXILIARY DUTY OR WITHOUT SALARY, 1922, BY SEX OF MANAGER

Sex of manager	Offices having agents whose vocational guidance work was done as—							
	Regular duty		Auxiliary duty		Without salary		Not specified ¹	
	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
Male.....	56	9.5	433	73.1	92	15.5	11	1.9
Female.....	49	8.3	113	19.1	13	12.2	417	70.4

¹ Includes all cases in which no special vocational guidance agent was employed but where, for example, the manager of the employment office acted as vocational guidance agent.

In order that the placement not only of juveniles but also of adults who change their callings may be regulated systematically, the Federal Employment Office was, by section 2, No. 4, of the decree of May 5, 1920, charged with the supervision of all bodies engaged in vocational guidance work and the placement of apprentices. The provisions of the employment office act charge the Federal Employment Office with extended duties relating to vocational guidance and the placement of apprentices.

Under section 26 the Federal office is authorized to lay down principles for the management not only of the public vocational guidance agencies but also of private institutions of this kind, subject to the approval of the advisory council and after hearing of the guilds and economic organizations. It also supervises the management of offices for vocational guidance and the placement of apprentices conjointly with the respective State governments and may, with the approval of the advisory council, demand the closing of such offices if, by persistent violation of the principles laid down, they endanger the primary purpose of vocational guidance and the placement of apprentices, in which case the offending office is closed by the State government.

The Federal Employment Office on May 12, 1923, issued "general regulations for vocational guidance and the placement of apprentices in employment offices" and also "general principles to be followed in vocational guidance and the placement of apprentices in institutions not under the public employment offices."

While public employment offices are not obliged by these orders to establish departments for vocational guidance and the placement of apprentices, in so far as they have undertaken these duties they are bound by the rules laid down by the Federal office.

Under these rules the departments for vocational guidance and the placement of apprentices in the public employment offices are to make "systematic arrangements for guiding young people in choosing a trade or profession and to inform the public as to all matters relating to the prospects in trades or professions." In this the employment offices are to cooperate closely with the schools, and in most of the States such cooperation is already established by law.

It is also the duty of the vocational guidance offices of public employment offices "to give advice to applicants of both sexes in all matters relating to the choosing of a profession, both on entering business life and on changing their trade or profession, and to training for the same. It is especially desirable in this respect to acquire an influence over the young people under 18 years of age who apply to the public employment office." Supervising the subsequent career of the persons advised or placed may also be included in the scope of vocational guidance and placement of apprentices. The vocational guidance offices shall also direct applicants to suitable training establishments.

Apprentices should not be placed in businesses or workshops that are technically, morally, or hygienically objectionable, and it is therefore the duty of placement agents to investigate a business or workshop taking apprentices, cooperating with the authorities charged with that matter. In other matters placement agents are subject to the provisions of the employment office act for the general employment service. It is, however, emphasized in the "general regulations" that vocational guidance and the placement of apprentices must be impartial and that the interests of a trade must be made subordinate to general economic and social considerations.

The public employment offices may not undertake other duties relating to vocational guidance and the placement of apprentices without the approval of the State employment office.

No express regulations have been issued for putting the vocational guidance agencies and the placement of apprentices under the employment offices, this being a matter to be settled according to the circumstances of each case. In smaller employment offices this work is frequently performed by an employment agent as a subsidiary duty. In the larger public employment offices in large towns special departments have been created for the purpose, which are subject to the management of the general administrative committee. The administrative committee lays down the lines along which vocational guidance and the placement of apprentices are to be administered and settles complaints. A council of experts, whose services are to be gratuitous, may be consulted for advice on proposed measures, the size and composition of such council varying with local requirements. The members of such council should be, first, employers and employees of the trades, commerce, manufactures, farming and domestic service, and then representatives of other callings, persons with practical knowledge of vocational guidance and the placement of apprentices, representatives of public employment offices and schools, physicians, psychologists, and persons engaged in public welfare work and in factory inspection. The number of representatives of employers and employees must be equal, and women must be included among the members. The term of office of the council should coincide with that of the administrative committee. The standard rules and regulations

for a large public employment office, issued by the Federal Employment Office, provide expressly that a council of experts shall be consulted before principles of management and items of the budget relating to vocational guidance and the placement of apprentices are adopted. The council aids in ascertaining the state of the labor market and the demand for apprentices, in procuring suitable instructors and training schools, and in establishing cooperation with the schools, especially the technical schools, the juvenile department, the health department, the relief funds for mutilated soldiers, the survivors of soldiers killed in war, and cripples, and the factory inspection service.

With the object of securing persons of extended experience for this work, instructions have been issued that only persons at least 28 years of age with five years' successful work in a profession or trade, and experience in the treatment of juveniles are to be selected as vocational guidance agents. Teachers in technical schools are especially suitable persons for this work, because their calling brings them into close contact with the trades and professions and gives them a personal knowledge of the employers who take apprentices. A woman should, if possible, be appointed in vocational guidance work for women.

The employment office act has made vocational guidance and placement of apprentices part of the regular duty of the State employment offices. This was done so that the local institutions in a district could be organized and their work coordinated and promoted. The provisions regulating the management of such agencies by the State office are similar to those for the public employment offices. The State office must, however, form a council composed of representatives of the principal vocational guidance agencies of the district.

The duties of the State offices along these lines are to cooperate in establishing and developing agencies for vocational guidance and placement of apprentices in the public employment offices of the district, to supervise their administration when commissioned by the Federal Employment Office, to supervise the organization and management of the agencies for vocational guidance and placement of apprentices outside the public employment offices, to observe the supply and demand for apprentices in the trades, to adjust inter-locally supply and demand, to secure cooperation between public vocational guidance and apprenticeship agencies and the persons and associations interested, to instruct vocational guidance agents, to collect statistics and information relating to trades and professions, to undertake vocational guidance work for professions or groups of persons not served by the employment offices, and to promote opportunities for training in agriculture and domestic service, trades, commerce, and manufactures. The State office may not undertake other duties without the approval of the Federal Employment Office.

The supervision the State offices exercise over the vocational guidance agencies relates only to their primary work and does not extend to details of management, which are supervised by the general administrative authorities.

Vocational guidance and the placement of apprentices by agencies not under the public employment offices is regulated by the decree of May 12, 1923. The principles therein set forth apply to all such organizations, which are mainly or partly engaged in giving advice and information to applicants as to the choice of a trade or profession

on entering business life, or on changing their calling, and apprenticeship and additional training, and also to agencies for the placement of apprentices. They do not apply to organizations giving only occasional advice and information, such as trade-unions, organizations for the protection of juveniles, schools, etc.

The decree lays down the general principle that the free action of individuals or associations along these lines, if really for the public welfare, should not be hampered, but that the State employment offices must have jurisdiction to proceed against such individuals or associations for abuses or incompetency.

In order that private organizations engaged in such work may not be used for political purposes, the act prohibits their obtaining members for economic, religious, or political associations. Special regulations provide that it must appear from the name of the agency who is the organizer and for what trade or trades it is established. The management of such agencies must be impartial, and should consider primarily the preferences and the physical qualifications, etc., of its clients. The agents employed must be qualified and have had practical experience.

Under the present law, employers having vacancies for apprentices are not obliged to apply for apprentices to the public offices for vocational guidance and the placement of apprentices. The State employment offices may, however, demand reports from private agencies. The cooperation of private agencies with the public agencies must be arranged according to local circumstances. The State employment office in whose district private agencies are situated has supervision of their activities. Notice of the establishment of new and the closing of existing agencies must be given to the competent State employment office.

In case the primary object of vocational guidance and the placement of apprentices is prejudiced by persistent violation of the above regulations and principles, the Federal Employment Office may, with the approval of the advisory council, demand the closing of the offending agencies. The closing is done by the State government.

Chapter VIII.—COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES

Consumers' cooperative societies are associations formed for the purpose of purchasing at wholesale food and other goods, thus saving for the members the retailer's profit. These societies frequently manufacture the goods they deal in, as soon as their sales warrant it. In Germany for the last 30 years they have been organized as registered limited liability cooperative societies, though some few have kept to their original form of joint-stock companies. The law on cooperative societies prescribes their organization—managing committee, board of supervisors, general assembly—and regulates the financial relations of the members to the society. Every member of the society has to contribute a certain amount of share capital and is also liable for a certain additional amount in case of failure. The law further provides for regular audits of the cooperative societies. These audits are usually carried out by the central unions of cooperative societies, or by special societies—auditing unions—formed for the purpose.

The consumers' cooperative movement in Germany began in the fifties of the last century, such societies being formed by workmen and people of the middle classes. Their business was on a small scale, and it was not till the eighties that the movement received a fresh impetus. At that time the socialist workmen of the Saxon manufacturing district began to join the existing societies in large numbers and to establish new societies.

In the last decade of the century the masses of the workmen, who in consequence of the economic prosperity of Germany flocked into the trade-unions in large numbers, took up the idea of consumers' cooperation spontaneously and with enthusiasm. The result was that the movement for the establishment of consumers' societies suddenly assumed great proportions. As a result of difference of political opinion between the conservative managers of the General Union of German Cooperative Societies and the representatives of the modern tendency in the movement, the latter, in 1903, established the Central Union of German Cooperative Consumers' Societies. A few years later a number of societies established by members of the so-called Christian trade-unions separated from the General Union and established the Union of West German Consumers' Cooperative Societies, later called the National Union of German Consumers' Cooperative Societies. The members of the societies belonging to this union are mainly persons connected with the Christian trade-union movement.

However, the establishment of consumers' retail societies is only the first step; the next is the formation of the cooperative wholesale society, in which may be pooled the purchasing power of the individual retail societies. The consumers' cooperative societies of Saxony had already (1893) established a wholesale purchasing society in Hamburg. The members of the General Cooperative Union would, for a long time, have nothing to do with this wholesale society. The National Cooperative Union established its own wholesale society.

POSITION AT OUTBREAK OF WAR

In December, 1913, the Central Union of German Consumers' Cooperative Societies comprised 1,157 societies with 4,881 stores and 1,621,195 members. Of their members, 1,220,530 were workmen. These societies had a business for the year of 742,006,215 marks, of which 99,877,629 marks were for goods of their own production. They employed 25,348 persons and their working capital amounted to 31,066,373 marks in share capital, 22,503,801 marks in reserve funds, and 67,973,689 marks in savings deposits of members.

Before the war, 807 cooperative societies were affiliated with the wholesale purchasing society of the union (the G. E. G.). The wholesale's business amounted to 154,047,316 marks, of which 11,076,578 marks were for goods of its own production (soap, cigars, and matches). The working capital of the wholesale society was 4,000,000 marks and its reserves 6,606,734 marks. This shows that the wholesale had been at pains to increase its capital as far as possible out of the profits and not to make calls on the societies for new capital. To what extent it has worked with capital from other sources does not appear from the balance sheet, as the society also carries on a banking business and makes only one balance sheet for both departments of business.

At the end of 1913, the membership of the General Union of German Consumers' Cooperative Societies included 287 consumers' cooperative societies having 623 stores, 323,228 members, and a turnover of 83,510,509 marks, of which amount 4,272,725 marks were for goods of their own production. The societies' reserves amounted to 4,558,571 marks and members' savings deposits to 2,123,782 marks.

The National Union of German Consumers' Cooperative Societies comprised in 1913 159 societies, with 143,444 members. The business of these societies amounted to 38,597,252 marks, of which 3,943,540 marks were for articles produced by the societies. These societies employed 1,877 persons and operated 599 stores. Reserves amounted to 1,369,811 marks and savings deposits of members to 579,836 marks. Among its members were 82,715 industrial workers. The wholesale society of the national union had a turnover for the year of 9,718,670 marks.

SITUATION DURING THE WAR

The war affected the development of the German consumers' cooperative societies mainly as regards membership and business. On the outbreak of the war the ban formerly imposed by the Imperial Government, and in many cases also by the communal authorities, upon membership of their employees in consumers' cooperative societies was removed. Also, the prejudice of the middle classes against joining organizations of workmen disappeared. The membership field was therefore greatly enlarged and in some cases the societies received such an influx of new members that their requirements could not be satisfied, owing to the limitations on business operations because of the exigencies of war. In a few months, however, things were totally changed. When food became scarce in Germany and was rationed, some cooperative societies were favorably situated because their managers were employed in the communal

distribution of food, but on the whole the societies began to suffer because the authorities favored private business concerns over the cooperative societies. The central purchasing organizations of the cooperative societies were ignored by the distributing authorities. The more the food-rationing system was developed, the less completely was it carried out, so that illicit trade flourished and almost every dealer had a double stock—a legal one to sell openly over the counter and an illicit one under the counter. The cooperative societies as wholesale dealers could not risk joining this illicit trade. Their members therefore frequently preferred to go to the private dealers, by whom they were better supplied. In consequence of the very great loss they thus sustained, the cooperative societies after the revolution were among the first to demand the abolition of the public distribution of food, although the trade-unions and the Socialist Party vehemently opposed the slightest relaxation in the rigor of the system.

CONDITION AFTER THE WAR

Data showing the amount of business done since the war are very unsatisfactory, as the figures are comparable with those of previous years only if reduced to gold marks on the basis of the weekly or monthly index of the cost of living.

In the following statistics the number of members is therefore given and the amount of business done stated only in a few cases, to allow the turnover of the different groups of societies to be approximately compared. The figures seem to show that the consumers' cooperative movement has extended but has made little gain in vigor, for the business done per member hardly reaches the pre-war figure. The figures given are, however, taken at random and may be misleading.

The Central Union of German Cooperative Societies comprised at the end of 1918, 1,090 societies operating 5,360 stores and having 2,231,917 members. At the end of 1922 the union comprised 1,350 societies running 8,066 stores and having 3,161,794 members. In the year 1922 these societies had sales of 13,889,314,620 marks, of which 2,264,443,400 marks was for goods produced by the union societies themselves. The number of societies affiliated with the cooperative wholesale society increased from 969 in 1918 to 1,030 at the end of 1922.

At the end of 1918 the General Union of German Cooperative Societies comprised 253 consumers' societies, with 303,025 members. It had 506 stores and did business to the value of 80,000,000 marks. Since then it has lost a great many of its members, these societies having joined the Central Union of German Cooperative Consumers' Societies.

The National Union of Cooperative Consumers' Societies comprised in 1918, 274 societies, with 354,293 members and annual sales of 73,225,555 marks, of which 5,492,283 marks were for goods produced by the societies. At the end of 1922, the union comprised 449 societies, with 654,583 members, 1,858 stores, and annual sales of 4,919,900,000 marks, of which 345,200,000 marks were for goods produced by the societies' union.

The most remarkable change occurring in the postwar period in the organization of the consumers' cooperative societies is the estab-

lishment of a joint committee consisting of representatives of the various cooperative unions. The more intimate connections between the unions have not led to business relations of any considerable importance between consumers' and producers' cooperative societies but only to joint action on questions of taxation and legislation.

The most important result of this joint action is an amendment to the cooperative societies law by which the legal obstacles to the amalgamation of cooperative societies were removed. Under the law in its original form amalgamation of societies could take place only by one of the societies winding up its affairs and its members joining the other society. This method always resulted in a considerable loss of members. By the amendment amalgamation may be effected by a two-thirds vote of the members at general meetings of the societies concerned, by virtue of which the members of both societies automatically become members of the new society from the day on which amalgamation takes place. In view of the tendency for small cooperative societies in a neighborhood to join the larger and more efficient societies, this amendment is of some importance. The cooperative societies law has further introduced the system of representation by delegates in the general assemblies, making the representation by delegates obligatory for the societies with more than 10,000 members and optional for those of medium size (with more than 3,000 members). By their close cooperation the unions, which had drafted the bill of amendments, succeeded in having the new act so formulated that the application of these provisions of the act was left altogether to the societies.

The business of the consumers' cooperative societies in the years following the war has suffered because the time of the managers has necessarily been so much occupied by the fluctuations of the market and the depreciation of the money. The need of capital has also been frequently felt to a considerable degree. Finally the reorganization of business after the war had to be carried out with the older generation of managers, who, while having an extended experience, were not always enterprising enough to take up new lines with enthusiasm but preferred a slow rate of evolution. One reason for this may be that the extension of business has been mainly concentrated on dry goods. Before the war, the tax on department stores made it almost impossible, at least in Prussia, for cooperative societies to deal in dry goods. In other parts of Germany, the dry goods and shoe business was of great importance, but nowhere of the importance it had attained in the cooperative consumers' societies in England at that time. The repeal of the tax on department stores produced a considerable change in this respect. A number of consumers' cooperative societies in large cities have established department stores, and the business in dry goods, boots and shoes, and household articles has on the whole been greatly extended. Here and there furniture departments have been established.

It is especially difficult to gain an insight into the financial position of the consumers' cooperative societies. The unions have, it is true, published the figures relating to their business operations during the whole period of inflation, but data for reducing these figures to gold value so as to have a stable basis for calculation are not available. On the whole, though the societies sustained some losses, they have not suffered much either by the war or by the revo-

lution. Their financial position was, however, decisively influenced by the inflation of the currency and this in two opposite directions. On the one hand, the consumers' cooperative societies have, along with the retail business generally, suffered in many ways by the legislation against usurious trade practices and the way in which it was administered, and as they were prohibited from demanding the cost price of their goods, they suffered loss of capital. On the other hand, the food business has, on the whole, flourished during this period. Preferential credits were accorded to food dealers by the Reichsbank and they thus succeeded, though generally wanting in business capacity, in profiting by the inflation of the currency. The cooperative consumers' societies also profited by this condition. Though for a few months they lost continually, they then made extraordinarily high profits on their stock through the depreciation of the currency. A survey of the business done and the bills for goods in the periods of relative stability of the currency shows that the societies do not pay as promptly as in pre-war times and demand longer terms. This indicates a certain need of capital, but on the whole they seem to have held their own, with varying success, until the autumn of 1923, when the currency broke down altogether. At this time the cooperative consumers' societies have evidently sustained severe losses of working capital. As soon as the rentenmark was introduced and even before the stability of the new currency was recognizable, they proceeded to declare the old shares void and to sell new shares payable in rentenmarks. The societies had already made a number of increases in the nominal amount of the old shares, which virtually amounted to assessments on the members, a proceeding which caused a certain amount of discontent. It is therefore rather doubtful whether this fresh demand for capital in the form of new shares will be altogether successful.

The ability of the consumers' cooperative societies to compete with private dealers has been considerably reduced in the last few years by the general sales tax and by the situation as to wage and working conditions.

The changes in working conditions produced by the war and the revolution showed themselves most forcibly in the relations of the cooperative societies to their workmen and salaried employees. Before the war the societies belonging to the Central Union of German Consumers' Cooperative Societies had concluded national collective agreements with the bakers' and transport workers' trade-unions. On the whole the relations of the consumers' societies with the bakers' union were excellent and with the transport workers' union rather good. The only serious conflicts were with the head salesmen who had a union of their own. The shop girls as well as the female clerks regarded their occupation with the consumers' societies as transitory and were of little importance as trade-union members. After the revolution there was a tendency, perceptible though short lived, to substitute works' councils for the trade-unions in negotiations with the workmen. This tendency was more pronounced with the cooperative societies than with private business as the management of the cooperative consumers' societies was restricted by various obligations towards their members. The subject of collective agreements next came to the fore. After the revolution, the managers of the consumers' cooperative societies

attempted to regulate the relations of the societies with their employees by concluding general collective agreements with each of the different trade-unions in the same way that the collective agreement in the printers' trade had always applied to the printers employed by the consumers' societies. This attempt, however, was a complete failure, the only result being that the trade-unions concerned began individually to assail the consumers' societies. Because of these continual conflicts the societies finally resorted to national collective agreements. The relation between the societies and the bakers' trade-union, the old management of which had been overturned, has become especially bad. During the war night work in the bakers' trade was prohibited, in order to prevent the consumption of fresh rolls in the morning and thus to economize wheat flour. This prohibition of baking during the night has remained in force, although the consumers' societies, which worked three shifts, were thereby prevented from utilizing their plant to full advantage. Consumers' cooperative societies and the General Federation of Trade-Unions at present unite in the demand for the abrogation of the prohibition of night work in concerns working three shifts, but the bakers oppose this vehemently.

The works councils have, with the exception of a short period in 1919, been of little more importance than the workmen's committees in former times. Attempts to give the works councils' delegate a seat on the supervising board came to naught because of the provisions of the cooperative societies act.

The cooperative wholesale society has, perhaps, experienced the most remarkable development in the whole cooperative movement. During the war nothing could be done to increase its business, but after the war it began to develop its business in manufactured goods and household articles and created a central office for this department in Saxony. It also greatly increased the number of its industrial works and now manufactures soap, tobacco products, matches, mustard, fish products, macaroni, boxes, clothing, confectionery, brushes, furniture, etc. It is difficult to give exact figures showing its financial condition, but comparison of the business reports of 1913 and 1922 shows that there has been considerable expansion.

In general, the progress of German consumers' cooperative societies may be summarized as follows: They have been less crippled by the war than any other economic movement in Germany, and they have not been influenced permanently by the revolution. The war found them in a period of rapid growth and development, for which their financial resources were not quite adequate, and this was in a great measure interrupted by the war. Since the war they have been hindered by lack of capital and the precarious economic conditions. Their members have increased and they have extended their business considerably in manufactured goods and household articles, but hardly any in foodstuffs. They sustained considerable losses of working capital owing to the breakdown of the currency and are now engaged in reorganizing their business. In spite of their great importance to the workmen, before the war they took no part in public life, and public opinion took no notice of them; this condition has not been changed by the disturbances and economic and political revolutions which have occurred.

COOPERATIVE BUILDING SOCIETIES AND BUILDING GUILDS

COOPERATIVE BUILDING SOCIETIES

The German cooperative building societies, like the consumers' societies, are almost exclusively registered societies with limited liability. Their importance before the war lay mostly along educational lines. They departed from the apartment-house system prevailing in many large cities, and again and again demonstrated by practical examples that even with rather high building-lot prices it was possible for one-family and two-family houses to compete with apartment houses; and they educated public opinion by interesting especially the workers in housing reform. But their activity was not of great importance if measured by the number of their members and the dwellings they erected. According to the last comprehensive pre-war statistics, which refer to January 1, 1912, the number of cooperative building societies was 1,173, with 225,672 members. The number of houses and dwellings erected is reported for only 494 societies, with 127,377 members; by the end of 1910 these had built 10,678 houses, with 51,086 dwellings. It is therefore safe to say that up to the war these societies had not constructed more than 100,000 dwellings.

During the war the cooperative building societies naturally made little progress. At first they suffered financial losses through the vacating of shops and the incapacity of many of their members, especially the wives of their enrolled members, to pay the full rent. Later, when industry became more prosperous and the demand for dwellings increased, other difficulties—in particular the scarcity and high cost of building materials—prevented them from erecting houses to any extent.

After the war there was a very strong trend toward cooperative building societies. Their number increased from 1,391 on January 1, 1918, to 1,485 on January 1, 1919, 2,126 on January 1, 1920, 2,545 on January 1, 1921, 3,118 on January 1, 1922, 3,311 on January 1, 1923, 3,422 on January 1, 1924, and 3,795 on January 1, 1925. But many of the new societies had very few members, and some of them were not genuinely cooperative societies but societies financed more or less by employers or contractors.

Because of the difficulties encountered in the construction of dwellings during the period of inflation (see pages 39 to 47), the record of the activities of the cooperative building societies was small, if measured by the need for housing accommodations, but very large if measured by the total number of new dwellings. According to data of investigations made by the Federal Statistical Office, the number of houses and dwellings constructed by public welfare building activities (*Gemeinnützige Bautätigkeit*) and by other building activities was as follows:

TABLE 63.—NUMBER OF HOUSES AND DWELLINGS ERECTED IN GERMAN CITIES, 1920 TO 1923

Year	Number of cities	Number of inhabitants	Public welfare building activities		Other building activities	
			Houses	Dwellings	Houses	Dwellings
1920.....	35	Over 100,000.....	4,497	10,468	710	8,433
1921.....	35	Over 100,000.....	6,470	12,228	1,139	9,045
1922.....	42	Over 100,000.....	5,490	12,988	2,225	10,552
		Over 100,000.....	5,612	15,619	3,523	14,381
1923.....	44	50,000 to 100,000...	3,163	6,301	758	2,711
		Over 100,000.....	6,901	18,699	3,660	12,968
		50,000 to 100,000...	2,911	6,922	684	2,711

In the cities with over 100,000 inhabitants covered by these statistics the per cent of dwelling houses constructed for public welfare amounted in 1920 to 86.4, in 1921 to 85.0, in 1922 to 65.2, and in 1923 to 65.3, and the per cent of new dwellings in 1920 to 55.4, in 1921 to 57.5, in 1922 to 52.1, and in 1923 to 59.2. The fact that the percentage of houses built by public welfare activities was in each year larger than the percentage of dwellings so constructed, while the difference between the two percentages decreased each year, is due to the larger size of the houses constructed by other building activities and the increasing tendency to erect smaller houses, and also to a certain extent to the increasing number of villas constructed by the newly rich.

Building for public welfare was carried on during these years in the smaller more than in the larger cities. The percentage of the houses erected for public welfare was in 1922, 80.7 and in 1923, 81.0 in the cities from 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, as compared with 65.2 in 1922 and 65.3 in 1923 in the larger cities, and the percentage of dwellings in 1922, 69.9 and in 1923, 71.9, as compared with 52.1 in 1922 and 59.2 in 1923.

One must, however, bear in mind that these figures include not only dwelling houses erected by cooperative building societies but also dwellings constructed by the Federal Government, the municipalities, private employers, foundations, etc. It is possible, however, at least for the year 1922, separately to consider the dwellings constructed by cooperative building societies (including foundations) and to add some details about the size of the dwellings.

TABLE 64.—NUMBER OF HOUSES AND DWELLINGS ERECTED BY GERMAN COOPERATIVE BUILDING SOCIETIES, 1922

Size of city	Number of cities	Houses	Dwellings with—						Total
			1 room	2 rooms	3 rooms	4 rooms	5 rooms	6 rooms and more	
Over 100,000 inhabitants.....	42	4,272	3	128	2,267	4,164	2,028	1,042	9,632
50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants.....	43	2,093	-----	77	606	1,572	757	117	3,129

Of the total houses erected the per cent erected by cooperative building societies was thus, in the cities over 100,000 inhabitants, 42.2, and in the cities from 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants 53.4, the per cent of total dwellings was 32.1 and 34.7, respectively.

One-third of all the dwellings constructed in German cities with over 50,000 inhabitants were erected by cooperative building societies, and yet the building activities of these societies was small, even if measured by their activity in pre-war times.

The cooperative building societies have gained considerable moral ground since the war as the general public has come to see that these societies, which had been so belittled in pre-war times, had after all in a time of great crisis shown more power of resistance than private business enterprises. It was generally hoped that after the stabilization of the mark the cooperative societies would take up the construction of new dwellings on a very large scale, but as the cost of building is about 60 per cent higher than 10 years ago and the rate of interest on mortgages exceeds the pre-war level by at least 100 per cent, these hopes have so far not been fulfilled.

BUILDING GUILDS

While the purpose of cooperative building societies is to supply to their members for their own use adequate dwellings at a reasonable price, builders' cooperative societies and building guilds build for third parties. Builders' cooperative societies existed to some extent before the war, gained some ground during the war, and developed considerably in the first years after the war, but they were more and more outstripped by the building guilds, the first of which was founded in 1919.

The objects of building guilds are (1) to carry on building work of all kinds and to accept contracts for such work, especially in connection with workers' housing, and (2) to acquire building-material establishments. "The building guild," according to its by-laws, "shall aim at relieving the housing shortage, improving housing conditions, and encouraging technical progress in the building trade. It shall especially attempt to accomplish these aims by means of trying and perfecting the various methods of building and working, by systematically developing professional skill, and by increasing the willingness of their salaried employees and workers to do efficient work. Its guiding principle shall always be to construct buildings for the community of as good a quality as possible at the lowest practicable cost."

The advantages of the building guilds over the builders' societies are:

(a) The members of the guilds are not single individuals but public bodies or public-welfare bodies, and therefore public interest is better safeguarded than in the builders' societies.

(b) As the principal shareholders of the building guilds (which are limited-liability companies) are the Federal Government, State governments, municipalities, trade-unions, home settlement societies, etc., the building guilds have a more stable financial foundation than the builders' societies, which depend on single individuals, generally of small means.

(c) The building guilds are also superior to the builders' societies in that the latter are subject to the decisions of the majority of the general assembly, the membership of which may change quickly.

From the very outset the building guilds had considerable practical success in spite of the opposition of vested interests. As they limited profits to 5 per cent and as the best workers sought employment

by the guilds, they could easily submit lower bids than those of private contractors and were soon offered more contracts than they could carry out.

The building trades-unions soon recognized the importance of the building guilds in the slow recovery of the building trades and assisted the guilds in many ways. It was indeed mainly due to their financial help that it was possible to create, as early as September 16, 1920, a Federation of Public Welfare Building Enterprises (*Verband sozialer Betriebe*), which included both the building guilds and the builders' cooperative societies. The objects of this federation, according to its by-laws, are "to found and encourage public welfare enterprises organized as cooperative or other societies, not working on private capitalistic lines, and to represent such enterprises in negotiations with the authorities of the Federal Government, the State governments, and the municipalities."

The number of enterprises affiliated with the federation was 200 on December 31, 1921, 207 on December 31, 1922, and 214 on June 30, 1923. But in the meantime the transformation of builders' cooperative societies into building guilds had made so much progress that the number of affiliated cooperative societies dropped from 140 to 107 and then to 74, while the number of affiliated guilds had increased from 60 to 100 and then to 140.

The number of workers employed in the enterprises affiliated with the federation is about 20,000. While this represents only about 2 per cent of the total number of German building trades workers, the enterprises have, according to the reports of the federation, constructed almost 10 per cent of the total number of small dwellings built since the formation of the federation.

The paid-in and working capital of the building guilds exceeds 10,000,000 gold marks and it steadily increases, as the building trades-union has passed a resolution that 5 per cent of the union contributions shall be placed at the disposal of the building guilds. The guilds own works for the production of building materials, such as brick kilns, sawmills, compo factories, gravel pits, stone quarries, slate quarries, etc. They also own a woodworking factory, and a good deal of land, scaffolding, etc.

The guild idea has taken hold of all the branches of the building trade, and the guilds may be expected to grow rapidly as soon as the general impediments to building activity disappear.

SERIES OF BULLETINS PUBLISHED BY THE BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

*[The publication of the annual and special reports and of the bimonthly bulletin was discontinued in July, 1912, and since that time a bulletin has been published at irregular intervals. Each number contains matter devoted to one of a series of general subjects. These bulletins are numbered consecutively, beginning with No. 101, and up to No. 236 they also carry consecutive numbers under each series. Beginning with No. 237 the serial numbering has been discontinued. A list of the series is given below. Under each is grouped all the bulletins which contain material relating to the subject matter of that series. A list of the reports and bulletins of the Bureau issued prior to July 1, 1912, will be furnished on application. The bulletins marked thus * are out of print.]*

Wholesale Prices.

- *Bul. 114. Wholesale prices, 1890 to 1912.
- Bul. 149. Wholesale prices, 1890 to 1913.
- *Bul. 173. Index numbers of wholesale prices in the United States and foreign countries.
- *Bul. 181. Wholesale prices, 1890 to 1914.
- *Bul. 200. Wholesale prices, 1890 to 1915.
- *Bul. 226. Wholesale prices, 1890 to 1916.
- Bul. 269. Wholesale prices, 1890 to 1919.
- Bul. 284. Index numbers of wholesale prices in the United States and foreign countries. [Revision of Bulletin No. 173.]
- Bul. 296. Wholesale prices, 1890 to 1920.
- Bul. 320. Wholesale prices, 1890 to 1921.
- Bul. 335. Wholesale prices, 1890 to 1922.
- Bul. 367. Wholesale prices, 1890 to 1923

Retail Prices and Cost of Living.

- *Bul. 105. Retail prices, 1890 to 1911: Part I.
Retail prices, 1890 to 1911: Part II—General tables.
- *Bul. 106. Retail prices, 1890 to June, 1912: Part I.
Retail prices, 1890 to June, 1912: Part II—General tables
- Bul. 108. Retail prices, 1890 to August, 1912
- Bul. 110. Retail prices, 1890 to October, 1912.
- Bul. 113. Retail prices, 1890 to December, 1912.
- Bul. 115. Retail prices, 1890 to February, 1913.
- *Bul. 121. Sugar prices, from refiner to consumer.
- Bul. 125. Retail prices, 1890 to April, 1913.
- *Bul. 130. Wheat and flour prices, from farmer to consumer.
- Bul. 132. Retail prices, 1890 to June, 1913.
- Bul. 136. Retail prices, 1890 to August, 1913.
- *Bul. 138. Retail prices, 1890 to October, 1913.
- *Bul. 140. Retail prices, 1890 to December, 1913
- Bul. 156. Retail prices, 1907 to December, 1914.
- Bul. 164. Butter prices, from producer to consumer.
- Bul. 170. Foreign food prices as affected by the war.
- *Bul. 184. Retail prices, 1907 to June, 1915.
- Bul. 197. Retail prices, 1907 to December, 1915.
- Bul. 228. Retail prices, 1907 to December, 1916.
- Bul. 270. Retail prices, 1913 to 1919.
- Bul. 300. Retail prices, 1913 to 1920.
- Bul. 315. Retail prices, 1913 to 1921.
- Bul. 334. Retail prices, 1913 to 1922.
- Bul. 357. Cost of living in the United States.
- Bul. 366. Retail prices, 1913 to December, 1923.
- Bul. 369. The use of cost-of-living figures in wage adjustments. [In press.]

Wages and Hours of Labor.

- Bul. 116. Hours, earnings, and duration of employment of wage-earning women in selected industries in the District of Columbia.
- *Bul. 118. Ten-hour maximum working-day for women and young persons.
- Bul. 119. Working hours of women in the pea canneries of Wisconsin.
- *Bul. 128. Wages and hours of labor in the cotton, woolen, and silk industries, 1890 to 1912.
- *Bul. 129. Wages and hours of labor in the lumber, millwork, and furniture industries, 1890 to 1912.
- *Bul. 131. Union scale of wages and hours of labor, 1907 to 1912.
- *Bul. 134. Wages and hours of labor in the boot and shoe and hosiery and knit goods industries, 1890 to 1912.
- *Bul. 135. Wages and hours of labor in the cigar and clothing industries, 1911 and 1912.
- Bul. 137. Wages and hours of labor in the building and repairing of steam railroad cars, 1890 to 1912.

Wages and Hours of Labor—Concluded.

- Bul. 143. Union scale of wages and hours of labor, May 15, 1913.
- *Bul. 146. Wages and regularity of employment and standardization of piece rates in the dress and waist industry of New York City.
- *Bul. 147. Wages and regularity of employment in the cloak, suit, and skirt industry.
- *Bul. 150. Wages and hours of labor in the cotton, woolen, and silk industries, 1907 to 1913.
- *Bul. 151. Wages and hours of labor in the iron and steel industry in the United States, 1907 to 1912.
- Bul. 153. Wages and hours of labor in the lumber, millwork, and furniture industries, 1907 to 1913.
- *Bul. 154. Wages and hours of labor in the boot and shoe and hosiery and underwear industries, 1907 to 1913.
- Bul. 160. Hours, earnings, and conditions of labor of women in Indiana mercantile establishments and garment factories.
- Bul. 161. Wages and hours of labor in the clothing and cigar industries, 1911 to 1913.
- Bul. 163. Wages and hours of labor in the building and repairing of steam railroad cars, 1907 to 1913.
- Bul. 168. Wages and hours of labor in the iron and steel industry, 1907 to 1913.
- *Bul. 171. Union scale of wages and hours of labor, May 1, 1914.
- Bul. 177. Wages and hours of labor in the hosiery and underwear industry, 1907 to 1914.
- Bul. 178. Wages and hours of labor in the boot and shoe industry, 1907 to 1914.
- *Bul. 187. Wages and hours of labor in the men's clothing industry, 1911 to 1914.
- *Bul. 190. Wages and hours of labor in the cotton, woolen, and silk industries, 1907 to 1914.
- *Bul. 194. Union scale of wages and hours of labor, May 1, 1915.
- Bul. 204. Street railway employment in the United States.
- Bul. 214. Union scale of wages and hours of labor, May 15, 1916.
- Bul. 218. Wages and hours of labor in the iron and steel industry, 1907 to 1915.
- Bul. 221. Hours, fatigue, and health in British munition factories.
- Bul. 225. Wages and hours of labor in the lumber, millwork, and furniture industries, 1915.
- Bul. 232. Wages and hours of labor in the boot and shoe industry, 1907 to 1916.
- Bul. 238. Wages and hours of labor in woolen and worsted goods manufacturing, 1916.
- Bul. 239. Wages and hours of labor in cotton goods manufacturing and finishing, 1916.
- Bul. 245. Union scale of wages and hours of labor, May 15, 1917.
- Bul. 252. Wages and hours of labor in the slaughtering and meat-packing industry, 1917.
- Bul. 259. Union scale of wages and hours of labor, May 15, 1918.
- Bul. 260. Wages and hours of labor in the boot and shoe industry, 1907 to 1918.
- Bul. 261. Wages and hours of labor in woolen and worsted goods manufacturing, 1918.
- Bul. 262. Wages and hours of labor in cotton goods manufacturing and finishing, 1918.
- Bul. 265. Industrial survey in selected industries in the United States, 1919. Preliminary report.
- Bul. 274. Union scale of wages and hours of labor, May 15, 1919.
- Bul. 278. Wages and hours of labor in the boot and shoe industry, 1907 to 1920.
- Bul. 279. Hours and earnings in anthracite and bituminous coal mining.
- Bul. 286. Union scale of wages and hours of labor, May 15, 1920.
- Bul. 288. Wages and hours of labor in cotton goods manufacturing, 1920.
- Bul. 289. Wages and hours of labor in woolen and worsted goods manufacturing, 1920.
- Bul. 294. Wages and hours of labor in the slaughtering and meat-packing industry in 1921.
- Bul. 297. Wages and hours of labor in the petroleum industry.
- Bul. 302. Union scale of wages and hours of labor, May 15, 1921.
- Bul. 305. Wages and hours of labor in the iron and steel industry, 1907 to 1920.
- Bul. 316. Hours and earnings in anthracite and bituminous coal mining—anthracite, January, 1922; bituminous, winter of 1921-22.
- Bul. 317. Wages and hours of labor in lumber manufacturing, 1921.
- Bul. 324. Wages and hours of labor in the boot and shoe industry, 1907 to 1922.
- Bul. 325. Union scale of wages and hours of labor, May 15, 1922.
- Bul. 327. Wages and hours of labor in woolen and worsted goods manufacturing, 1922.
- Bul. 328. Wages and hours of labor in hosiery and underwear industry, 1922.
- Bul. 329. Wages and hours of labor in the men's clothing industry, 1922.
- Bul. 345. Wages and hours of labor in cotton-goods manufacturing, 1922.
- Bul. 348. Wages and hours of labor in the automobile industry, 1922.
- Bul. 353. Wages and hours of labor in the iron and steel industry, 1907 to 1922.
- Bul. 354. Union scale of wages and hours of labor, May 15, 1923.
- Bul. 356. Productivity costs in the common-brick industry, 1922-23.
- Bul. 358. Wages and hours of labor in the automobile-tire industry, 1923.
- Bul. 360. Time and labor costs in manufacturing 100 pairs of shoes.
- Bul. 362. Wages and hours of labor in foundries and machine shops, 1923.
- Bul. 363. Wages and hours of labor in lumber manufacturing, 1923.
- Bul. 365. Wages and hours of labor in the paper and pulp industry.
- Bul. 371. Wages and hours of labor in cotton-goods manufacturing, 1924.
- Bul. 373. Wages and hours of labor in slaughtering and meat packing, 1923.
- Bul. 374. Wages and hours of labor in the boot and shoe industry, 1907 to 1924.
- Bul. 376. Wages and hours of labor in hosiery and underwear industry, 1907 to 1924.
- Bul. 377. Wages and hours of labor in woolen and worsted goods manufacturing, 1924.

Employment and Unemployment.

- *Bul. 109. Statistics of unemployment and the work of employment offices.
- Bul. 116. Hours, earnings, and duration of employment of wage-earning women in selected industries in the District of Columbia.
- Bul. 172. Unemployment in New York City, N. Y.
- *Bul. 182. Unemployment among women in department and other retail stores of Boston, Mass.
- *Bul. 183. Regularity of employment in the women's ready-to-wear garment industries.
- Bul. 192. Proceedings of the American Association of Public Employment Offices.
- *Bul. 195. Unemployment in the United States.
- Bul. 196. Proceedings of the Employment Managers' Conference held at Minneapolis, Minn., January, 1916.
- *Bul. 202. Proceedings of the conference of Employment Managers' Association of Boston, Mass., held May 10, 1916.
- Bul. 206. The British system of labor exchanges.
- Bul. 220. Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Association of Public Employment Offices.
- Bul. 223. Employment of women and juveniles in Great Britain during the war.
- *Bul. 227. Proceedings of the Employment Managers' Conference, Philadelphia, Pa., April 2 and 3, 1917.
- Bul. 235. Employment system of the Lake Carriers' Association.
- Bul. 241. Public employment offices in the United States.
- Bul. 247. Proceedings of Employment Managers' Conference, Rochester, N. Y., May 9-11, 1918.
- Bul. 310. Industrial unemployment: A statistical study of its extent and causes.
- Bul. 311. Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the International Association of Public Employment Services, Buffalo, N. Y., September 7-9, 1921.
- Bul. 337. Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the International Association of Public Employment Services, Washington, D. C., September 11-13, 1922.
- Bul. 355. Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the International Association of Public Employment Services, September 4-7, 1923.

Women in Industry.

- Bul. 116. Hours, earnings, and duration of employment of wage-earning women in selected industries in the District of Columbia.
- *Bul. 117. Prohibition of night work of young persons.
- *Bul. 118. Ten-hour maximum working-day for women and young persons.
- Bul. 119. Working hours of women in the pea canneries of Wisconsin.
- *Bul. 122. Employment of women in power laundries in Milwaukee.
- Bul. 160. Hours, earnings, and conditions of labor of women in Indiana mercantile establishments and garment factories.
- *Bul. 167. Minimum-wage legislation in the United States and foreign countries.
- *Bul. 175. Summary of the report on condition of woman and child wage earners in the United States.
- *Bul. 176. Effect of minimum-wage determinations in Oregon.
- *Bul. 180. The boot and shoe industry in Massachusetts as a vocation for women.
- *Bul. 182. Unemployment among women in department and other retail stores of Boston, Mass.
- Bul. 193. Dressmaking as a trade for women in Massachusetts.
- Bul. 215. Industrial experience of trade-school girls in Massachusetts.
- Bul. 217. Effect of workmen's compensation laws in diminishing the necessity of industrial employment of women and children.
- Bul. 223. Employment of women and juveniles in Great Britain during the war.
- Bul. 253. Women in the lead industries.

Workmen's Insurance and Compensation (Including laws relating thereto).

- *Bul. 101. Care of tuberculous wage earners in Germany.
- *Bul. 102. British National Insurance Act, 1911.
- Bul. 103. Sickness and accident insurance law of Switzerland.
- Bul. 107. Law relating to insurance of salaried employees in Germany.
- *Bul. 126. Workmen's compensation laws of the United States and foreign countries.
- *Bul. 155. Compensation for accidents to employees of the United States.
- *Bul. 185. Compensation legislation of 1914 and 1915.
- *Bul. 203. Workmen's compensation laws of the United States and foreign countries.
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