

INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST BUREAU

*People's Palace*  
**BRUSSELS**

## **International Socialist Congress at Vienna**

(August 23-29, 1914)

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### DOCUMENTS

## **1<sup>st</sup> Commission : UNEMPLOYMENT** **REPORT BY VAILLANT**

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I received the letter from the International Socialist Bureau entreating me to send the report on Unemployment by June 1<sup>st</sup>. Before I was able to deal with it, I discovered that I had no more than a few days before me. I realised after the meeting at London on December 13 and 14, how imprudent I had been to give way to friendly insistence that I should make a report for which months of research and work were necessary, on the eve of a legislative electoral period which took up every moment of my time.

The picture traced of the genesis of unemployment by Karl Marx in *Capital* is truer than ever, in proportion as it has developed : capitalist accumulation assisted and stimulated by scientific and technical progress is accelerated and increases with the concentration and centralisation of capitals, characteristic of the present period of cartels and trusts.

To-day more than ever a less quantity of labour-power suffices to work up an increasingly greater quantity of productions of all kinds ; and with the progressive diminution of variable capital relative to constant capital in the composition of capital, a constantly increasing portion of the working class ceases to be necessary for the improvement of capital, and becomes superfluous, and produces a « relative overpopulation » independent of the general movement of population.

Thus is formed the mournful troop of « out-of-works », an essential contingent, if not the most numerous, of the army of the

industrial reserve, which is a necessary condition for the existence and development of the method of capitalist production, for without that, it could neither exist nor develop.

By the total or partial inoccupation of its principal elements, by the uncertainty and insecurity of existence for all its members, this industrial reserve army is entirely under the subjection of capitalism, which, with the return of industrial activity, draws upon those forces of labour which have especially accumulated during periods of depression.

But the normal and always growing movement of capitalist development, with its chronic overproduction and ups-and-downs, maintains never-ceasing unemployment even in times of the greatest industrial activity, and the reserve army of labour is always increasing.

At the same time that the progress of capitalism turns more and more of the mass of the nation into wage-workers, it forces into that reserve army the greater part of those waging working elements.

Thus, as a result of the progress of the method of capitalist production, we see the small rural and urban producer losing his property and means of production, and all his independence, and falling under the subjection of capitalism, and his small peasant property and his urban family workshop, his small exploitation, are, through capitalism, forced at the lowest rate into the reserve army of labour, and he finds his services accepted only in the days of prosperity.

By the same process, the miserable and dispossessed peasant flies to the town where his immigration increases the number of those out of work, the elements of the reserve army, and furnishes to home industry fresh elements of complete submission to the masters and merchants by competition with the labour of the factory and workshop.

By the same process, also, the working family is more and more split up, thus furnishing to the machine industry a continually increasing and abundant number of women and children who, to the benefit of the employers, replace the adult worker who is thus thrown into ranks of the unemployed, and into the industrial reserve.

But all these sources of unemployment result from the play of capitalist development.

An adequate reserve army of labour is always necessary to capi-

talism from which it can draw at its will, and for this purpose, as we see at the moment, it has recourse, with the aid of the State of which it is the master, to every means of ruse and violence.

It directs to the points where it has the greatest need of the emigration, if necessary.

It directs to the points where it has the greatest need of the immigration of cheap and unskilled labour, or limits emigration, if necessary.

Trade union statistics estimate the number of foreign workmen employed in Germany in 1913 at 767,000, an increase of 40,000 upon 1912.

In Austria, an enactment of March, 1914, suppresses the liberty of emigration for individuals from 17 to 36 years of age, who thus cannot leave the country without the authorisation of the Government. In the first six months of 1913 there were 117,641 emigrants. The Government did not hesitate from a violation of constitutional legality in order to maintain the effectives of the reserve army of industry at the rate desired by the employers.

In France the Three Years Law withdrew the class of 1913 from the work of production amounting to more than 100,000 young men of 20 years in full vigour. The employers immediately made an appeal for labourers at the lowest price from most distant countries. And while the men unemployed apply vainly for work at the mines and the engineering works, where their labour is refused because it is too dear, troops of Slavs, Moroccans and Chinese are brought in, until Chinese work in the suburbs of Paris to-day.

A thousands Kabyles are working in the pits at Courrière.

Poles and Italians abound in the Briey Basin, where out of total population of 120,000 inhabitants, there are 90,000 strangers.

In Normandy, Chinese are found in the spinning mills near Dieppe, and Moroccans in the mines.

Recently the press have announced the arrival of 500 Chinese brought into the South of France for working in the vine yards.

In a recent declaration (*Journal Officiel*, of May 16th, 1913) the Minister of the Interior acknowledged the presence in France of more than 3,000 Kabyles and Arabs from Algeria, 2,000 of whom were in the Bouches-du-Rhône, 400 in the Pas-de-Calais, and 600 in the Seine departments.

Thus the desire of the employers for workers at a cheap rate is

satisfied by the lowering of the wages of all about them, and separated from the population by differences of custom and language, they remain here for a long time inaccessible to trade union propaganda.

Statistics, official inquiries, professional returns, all have shown that, responding to the expansions and contractions of production and the markets, of which the oscillations are incessant, even in times of apparent prosperity the number out of work is all the while considerable. And the averages thus obtained, accusing evidence of these permanent miseries, will be of greater service if the local and industrial inquiries for which we are asking are made and generalised.

The general direction of these averages is towards a constantly growing increase, the expansion of the markets always further contracting relatively to the more rapid development of production.

A periodical crisis of overproduction results, which increases the intensity and extent of unemployment.

In proportion as the complexity of economic life grows greater these periodical crises of overproduction, and the more accidental and intermittant but often prolonged times of depression, distinguish and differentiate themselves further by their origin and course.

The present crisis, which was indicated by our comrade Trimm in his report of the German Social-Democratic Party Congress in 1913, is making itself felt in an acute fashion at the outset in the building industry before it ravages other industries.

The industrial and commercial contraction already noticeable in England and France appears to march slowly, and from the returns from the trade unions published by the French Labour Department and the *Labour Gazette*, seems not to have raised the line of unemployment as much as was feared.

Having extended itself to other countries, in 1907 the crises assumed a financial origin in the country where financial capital most dominates, the country of the trusts, the United States.

We have seen the beginnings of the great industrial crisis which commenced in 1901, and which has been beyond all a crisis of the means of production.

In the period of accelerated production which preceded it, we had seen the growing rise in the prices of all commodities, above

all of coal and iron and particularly the latter, become increasingly the measure of industrial activity ; to the point where it became necessary to limit its employment as much as possible — to the point, for example, when in 1900 not a trace of it was to be found in the buildings of the Paris Exhibition, though the buildings of the Exhibition of 1889 had all been constructed of iron.

The price of iron fell, and there was immediately a general collapse of prices, the giving way of the artificial construction of previous prosperity, the beginning of an acute crisis first in the metal trades, then in other industries — and worse still in Germany than in France — destroying all the industrial and commercial forces least capable of resistance, and accelerating the concentration of capitals.

This crisis has been prolonged until we have a solid period of depression with its ups-and-downs more or less acute in certain branches of production, ups-and-downs which, according to their localisation, intensity, and bearing upon those branches of production and the measure of their generalisation, seem to give to each crisis its own distinctive mark.

Even the complexity of these phenomena shows all the interest which there would be in a methodical inquiry, by an exact study of them in their genesis, development and effects.

For if it is impossible to abolish unemployment under capitalism, it is possible to mitigate and even to some extent prevent the miseries which it causes. The means for their prevention and mitigation will be best indicated by such an inquiry.

It causes me to regret the more that I have not the time to consult the multifarious recent statistical documents, and particularly the publications of the International Association against Unemployment.

As the working class obtains a clearer idea of the miseries and afflictions of unemployment, their aggravation by crises due solely to capitalist society, so will its spirit of revolt grow with its wrath ; and thus the development of capitalist society will itself engender the opposing forces for its destruction.

Engels in his editorial preface to the English edition of *Capital* said : « Meanwhile each succeeding winter brings up afresh the great question, what to do with the unemployed ? and we can almost calculate the moment when the unemployed, losing patience, will take their own fate into their own hands. »

The chief historical moments of this revolution destructive of capitalist society are in the memory of all.

In 1789 it was from among the unemployed, many of whom were forced into vagabondage, that the rebels were recruited.

In 1830, it was unemployment in the printing offices which provided the revolution with its insurgents.

In February 1844, in that winter of crisis and misery, unemployment furnished soldiers for the insurrection.

The insurrection of June 1848, was made by the unemployed disbanded from the national workshops.

In 1871, the battalions of the Commune were provided by the unemployed of Paris.

We can say also that the trade union and Socialist organisations, in making known the causes, the miseries and the extent of unemployment, are carrying on revolutionary work.

Further, we can include labour statistics among the practical means of action against unemployment which it is necessary for us to examine.

## 1 — LABOUR STATISTICS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The working class in Germany appear to have understood better than all others the revolutionary value of labour statistics, instituting inquiries which they undertake directly, and where possible with the co-operation of Socialist municipalities or those under the influence of Socialists.

In January 1902, replying to the Socialists who demanded measures for dealing with unemployment, the Minister Posadowsky, whilst not denying the crisis, declared that there was at the most only 7,500 unemployed workmen in Berlin. Within a few days the trade unions and the Socialist Party made a statistical inquiry which established the fact that the population of Berlin contained 76,000 workers entirely without employment, making with those but partially employed a total of 117,000.

On November 22, 1908, there was a new sounding of the intensity of unemployment in Berlin.

On February 12, 13, and 14, 1909, a fresh inquiry into unemployment was made in Berlin by the trade unions and the Socialist Party. no longer simply by way of an appeal (Melde-system) but by a much

more certain method, the « Hauslistesystem », by a depot set up after replies had been received from each house on cards left by the inquirers ; and by this exact method it was proved that there were 101,300 unemployed in Berlin and its suburbs.

In towns such as Stuttgart the figures concerning the unemployed were collected several times a year with the help of the trade unions.

Whatever the method employed the approximative correctness is sufficient to be regarded as reliable and to indicate the immediate measures of help which should be taken. The moral and Socialist result is thus always obtained. It is in virtue of these precedents that, on an interpellation in 1904, I demanded in the name of the Socialist Group that the French Chamber should order a permanent inquiry into unemployment, comprising general as well as local statistics and those special to various branches of production, the inquiry to be under the direction and control of the Labour Commission of the Chamber and conducted by the trade unions of the General Confederation of Labour, with co-operation of the municipalities and the technical services of the Government.

The Chamber gave its assent by voting the following resolution :

« The Chamber authorises the Labour Commission to organise a permanent inquiry into industrial and agricultural unemployment, national and local, and the methods of preparing for it and of palliating it. »

Notwithstanding many subsequent requests to proceed with it, nothing has come from the vote.

## 2. — GENERAL MEASURES

(a) *Limitation of the length and intensity of labour.* — In limiting the daily and weekly duration of labour and its intensity, trade union effort and legislation best assure the working class in their period of activity of protective and secure conditions, permitting them to resist and to agitate for the amelioration of their lot.

For the limitation of the duration of labour, the eight hours day and the « English week » (i. e., half holiday on Saturday) by reducing the amount of work from each increases the opportunity of

work for all, and without perceptibly modifying the productivity of labour, by work answering more nearly to their physical conditions, will permit the normal occupation of a greater number of workers.

This effect will be the more assured by adding to the reduction of its duration a reduction of the intensity of labour. This is an essential hygienic condition of work, a most efficacious means of preventing illness and accidents and the rapid wear and tear of the human organism, which by premature old age and relative incapacity for work, provides employers with labour at a low price to compete with the vigorous workman and throw him out of work.

(b) *Trade union liberty. Right of working class combination.* — More essential than any other measure is that which guarantees liberty to trade unions and extends the full right of working class combination. By this means the power of working class resistance, organisation and struggle, is increased better than by any other means.

(c) *Protective legislation for women and children.* — It is an historical fact that protective legislation began with the protection of children followed by that of women, and as the history of the « Factory Acts » shows, for example, the measures enacted for children and young persons were soon extended to adults.

Even before these measures had a more extensive effect, they had also a direct effect on the protection of the labour of adults in that which concerned unemployment, which was always increased by the ever growing employment — particularly in France — of women and children in the operations of the machine industry.

(d) *Trade union wages and in default a minimum wage.* — Where trade union action has not been able to gain trade union rates of wages, there must be established a minimum wage based on the cost of living. This guarantees against oscillations in the market price of his labour unfavourable to the worker through the action of the employers in this direction, and also against the main effects on the industrial workers of improvements in machinery, or, with the reduction in the working day, the passing from piece work to day work etc. To-day after their great strike, this is still the principle demand of the English miners.

(e) *Home work and a minimum wage.* — It is in home work and in the low paid trades that the minimum wage has been introduced,



partially at least, first of all in Australia and then in England, and its effects have been beneficial in every respect. It is being extended more and more, so it seems in Australia, even to some of the callings where wages are relatively high.

The minimum wage after the Australian system is established and controlled by wages boards.

It is moreover an analogous system that England has instituted for the minimum wage of the miners after their great strike.

### 3 — RELIEF WORKS

These relief works for the misery of unemployment, in time of depression and acute crisis, can render service to the workers ; but one of the express conditions of such works must be their execution under normal conditions of hours and pay under trade union control. This is rarely the case save in respect of such works organised by Socialist municipalities.

Ordinary relief works are very limited in France as can be seen from the statistics of such works for 1912.

439 municipalities in 52 departments organised unemployed relief works in 1912 against 549 in 1911 and 539 in 1910. The total of the expenses was 956,960 francs (£38,280). The amount exclusively devoted to wages was 911,859 francs (£36,467) for a total of 20,363 unemployed.

The average number of working days of each unemployed worker was from 1 to 20 for 64.3 per cent in 325 of the communes.

It is calculated that in 414 communes the average sum received per unemployed worker was from 0 to 10 francs in 21 communes ; 10 to 20 francs in 72 communes ; 20 to 30 francs in 53 communes ; 30 to 50 francs in 55 communes ; 50 to 60 francs in 25 communes ; and 60 to 100 francs in 74 communes.

In 324 of these communes the average wage has been calculated as follows : in 66.04 per cent the average was from 1.50 franc to 2.50 francs.

The relief works executed were the maintenance of rural roads, the transport and breakage of stone, ballasting, cleansing of ditches, felling of trees, and embankment works.

We see the small importance of relief works thus limited in conception and practice.

#### 4 — REGULATION OF WORK IN PRISONS AND BENEVOLENT ESTABLISHMENTS

We in France have begun a line of progress by increasingly substituting in the matter of prison labour the organisation of such labour by the prison authorities instead of it being hired out to contractors. But this is insufficient.

Labour in prisons and in benevolent institutions, workrooms, etc., brings to free work, especially that of women, disastrous competition and is a great cause of unemployment.

It has made me several times propose the prohibition of all production of commodities in prisons and benevolent establishments, and that the labour, instead of producing commodities, should be solely educative.

#### 5 — CO-ORDINATION AND SYSTEMATIC EXECUTION OF PUBLIC WORKS

Convinced of the practical value of this measure, after a principal question in the Chamber on unemployment in 1900, I have never ceased to demand that all State, departmental and communal works should be co-ordinated on a uniform plan for execution in certain times and places, so that without neglecting any of the other factors of urgency — economic, sanitary, educational, etc. — they may be carried out as nearly as possible in accordance with the state of the markets, and particularly of local and general unemployment.

Up to the present, through routine or arbitrary motives, these works are hurried on in times of prosperity, and slowed down in times of crisis.

If, on the contrary, their execution was hastened in times of crisis and depression, whether anticipated, threatening, or present, if that were done with regard to State and communal orders; if the activities of those industries under the control of the State and the communes were similarly regulated, mines, railways, tramways, etc., then with the stimulation and impulse of private industry, there is a chance to some extent of obtaining relief of the economic situation and increased occupation for those out of work.

For some years demands to this effect have brought forth no response beyond certain ministerial circulars which say nothing.

It was at the sitting of November 11, 1907, that in reply to the same request, the Labour Minister, M. Viviani, promised the appointment of an Interministerial Commission to make a study of the co-ordination of public works on signs of the appearance of crises and measures for their prevention and mitigation.

The promise was carried out ; the said Commission on crises was appointed, and has since become a Commission on Unemployment. But up to the present it has seldom met.

The Commission on crises formed a sub-commission on unemployment which published a very interesting report from MM. Cahen and Laurent. The conclusions of this report, adopted by the Commission, but unfortunately not yet by the Chamber and the Government, have a very real practical value on financial matters relating to the Budget. I therefore reproduce them :

« To sum up, the sub-commission, after having lengthily examined this various financial proceedings which will permit State works and undertakings to be carried out according to the economic situation of the country, has resolved on the adoption of four reforms which it can with confidence suggest, and which will be complementary to one another.

« 1. — In a period of crisis, the State shall make further calls on the funds placed at its disposal for the execution of public works already passed, when the total of the budget credits previously allocated to such works exceed the proportions fixed by agreement.

« 2. — Authorisation shall be decreed for the bringing forward of credits for new works which have not been entirely spent during the period for which they were voted, their description op be definitely fixed in the financial laws.

« 3. — Special reserve funds to the various industrial services where, presenting an analogous character, and where constituted by the budget surplus, there can be executed to their account orders and works at the time when the receipts appertaining to each of them may have decreased through the effect of a crisis.

« 4. — An examination shall take place to see if a general reserve fund maintained in the same manner should be able eventually to be placed at the disposal of the Government in view of the execution of the same works. »

And here is the final complementary remark of the sub-commission :

« Impressed by the particularly rare and happy coincidence which seemed to identify the financial interests of the State, those of national industry and the workers, the sub-commission believes that herein will be found the best justification for its proposals. »

But even the foundation of the question has not been touched. Nothing has been done in this sense. It is the Socialist Party that must compel the Government to move.

## 6. — NATIONAL ORGANISATION OF « PLACEMENT »

« Placement », the bringing the workers into touch with employment, is of the first importance against unemployment. The efforts of working class organisations to this end have until now been held in check by the opposition of the employers, and the opinion grows each day that the ground for a real solution will be the national organisation of « placement », a parallel method under the control of the State and the trade unions.

## 7. — ASSURANCE

The evil of unemployment presses not only upon those out of work ; it hovers continually over the entire working class, and threatens each of its members with the evil of which he will be the victim sooner or later, thus making working class life a veritable torture of uncertainty, dread and insecurity.

Among all the methods of prevention and mitigation of the miseries of unemployment, the best are those which give the greatest amount of security to the working class together with the best guarantees of reparation and compensation to the unemployed.

Among all the means, that which best approaches this end is assurance in its social form — Social Assurance.

Before arriving at this, there are several intermediate forms between it and individual assurance, from which the workers are

excluded, and which is only accessible to those possessing the means to pay the assurance premium.

(a) *Subventional Method of Assurance.* — I. — Trade Union Assurance. — In proportion as they grow and increase their strength trade unions come to the help of their unemployed and find there a means of defence and recruiting. It has undoubtedly some narrow limits. But these limits will be removed if subsidies from the State and the communes come into operation.

By these subsidies, if sufficient are granted without conditions other than that of the certainty of their proper use, a thorough trade union assurance could be constituted of a most effective kind which would attract all workers to the ranks of the trade unions, where they would find their guarantee of security in the practice of working class solidarity.

It is not in this way that subsidies from public powers are granted. In France, for example, a credit 210,000 francs (£ 8,400) had been set down in the Budget as a subsidy to the Unemployed Funds instituted by the trade unions, and this credit, constantly reduced, has never been used thoroughly for its purpose ; consequently the conditions of this subsidy have little attraction for the trade unions anxious before everthing for their liberty and right of combination.

This is what is said by the report of the subsidies to the Unemployed Funds in 1912 :

« The State proposes simply to encourage the institutions created by the workers with a view to helping them with a regular indemnity for those among them who unfortunately cannot get work. »

The maximum of indemnity upon which the calculation of the subsidies has been based has been raised from 2 francs to 2.50 francs.

As a maximum, a subsidy of 100 francs can be granted as an encouragement at the opening of newly-established funds.

The sum total of contributions paid for purposes of unemployment by active members during the past half-year must be equal to at least a third of the subsidies allowed ; and when the proportion of one-third has been reached, and the funds are operating regularly, a subsidy can be allowed in proportion to 20 per cent more of the sum total of the contributions paid during the half-year.

Arrangements endorsing the text of the statutes of the funds are compulsory as a condition for these subsidies.

This obligation is enough to arouse the opposition of the trade unions, and to set aside their demands.

Here is the full report of the distribution of the credit for 1912. Seeing the small number of demands, the rates of subsidy were fixed beforehand for the two half-years at their maxima.

On a credit of 80,000 francs (£3,200), 47,542 francs (£1,900) have been distributed as against 50,726 francs (£2,030) in 1911.

It is by means of this caricature of assurance and so-called « Social Providence » that the French Government conceives and practices assistance for unemployment.

(b) *Subvention and Communal Assurance.* — The communes arouse less opposition from the trade unions than the State, and wherever the municipalities are Socialist, or even simply democratic, their subsidies to the unemployed funds of the trade unions have the most excellent effect. It is well understood that the effects are limited, but assistance which the subsidy helps to give is applicable only to trade unionists.

Most often, however, communal assurance, still in an embryonic state, is reduced to the methods of « social providence ».

These methods, more or less a modification of the Ghent system, seem to prevail to-day, notably in Belgium and Germany.

It was not in the nature of assurance funds or of a subsidy to trade unions, but communal assistance to those workers who had made individual or collective provision against unemployment, the trade unions being able to be the means for the transmission of this assistance to their members. The addition or communal contribution will be so much per cent, for example 50 per cent. of the assistance which the isolated individual or member of a trade union will be assured by his contributions, savings, etc.

(c) *Labour Assurance.* — The present stage in the evolution of assistance formerly appropriated by industrial funds is when the State, coming in and adding its contribution to those of the employer and workman, and generalising its application to several risks, has made a national institution of it.

To Germany belongs the high merit of having realised this nation-

al institution to the point where its compulsory labour assurance against old age, invalidity, accidents, and sickness has become a model copied everywhere.

In its assurance against accidents, France has made an imperfect institution of it.

England, after having recourse to assistance for old-age pensions, has copied the labour assurance of Germany for insurance against sickness and invalidity, and has also dealt with unemployment in a limited number of trades.

German labour assurance carries with it all the possibilities of a development which will become very rapid when, victorious over the bureaucracy, labour will see the birth of a new era. It will develop towards social assurance which it foretells and promises in the near future.

(d) *Social Assurance*. — Social assurance so-called because of its difference from other forms of assurance, has the following object : The worker is not assured by a personal contribution but by the society which gives and guarantees him rights of reparation and compensation for damage from social risks. Social assurance can be considered in its general and special aspects to the life of the worker.

Though the general aspect be foreign to the object of this report, it is necessary to say a few words about it, the better to understand the conclusions proposed.

In a parliamentary proposal « for the institution of social assurance » given in more than once during the last legislature in the name of the Socialist Group, I tried to emphasise the characteristics, formation and development of social assurance.

In its general form social assurance includes all ages, all incidents of life and their risks ; and it embraces all the people of the country under consideration to whom it guarantees at least a minimum of existence. Institutions for assistance to the poorest and weakest are enlarged and transformed into institutions for assurance ; the right to assistance under the control and administration of the assured replacing the former assistance, always badly administered even where it was supposed to be obligatory.

In this general form as in the other, the principal object of social assurance is more than ever reparation and compensation for risks, the prevention of these risks by laws and protective measures, and

the employment of necessary and sufficient sums of money to this end.

But let us confine ourselves to the consideration of social assurance in regard to that which concerns the period and activities of the life of the worker in full working capacity, and the risks to which he is exposed — old age, invalidity, infirmity, accidents, unemployment, etc., all of which have a common character and effect in that they totally or partially take away his capacity of working.

Under social assurance the obligation of the State is that, in default of being able to prevent the effects of these risks, it must make reparation by medical attendance and other useful means, and to provide compensation, in addition to that for his family, by a pecuniary indemnity to the insured equal at least to what has been taken from his wages partly or entirely.

The distinctive characteristics of social assurance are :

First, the administration of social assurance funds and committees by the trade unions of the insured.

Then, no working class contributions.

A contribution from the employers similar to that for labour assurance in Germany and England, forming a fund of which the capitalised accumulated revenues will allow complementary expenditure for better prevention or risks and the remuneration for services of administration and inspection of the societies of the insured.

The contribution from the employers is a just one, the masters being more directly responsible for the risks that are run, and if the risks increase, the increase of contributions which they will incur will form a certain means of preventing them.

By necessary and sufficient annual credits provided for in the budget, the State must furnish the funds which, after the beginning, will insure the proper working and development of social assurance and its institutions. These funds to be provided by a graduated tax on the capital and incomes of the wealthy classes.

The deductions from this statement and report can be summed up in the following conclusion and resolution to be proposed at the Congress :

« The Congress : Considering that if unemployment can only disappear with the method of capitalist production for which it is a necessary condition of existence and development, there are laws,



reforms and means which even now can prevent or mitigate in some measure misery and suffering and their aggravation in times of depression and crisis ;

« Considering that the evil of unemployment presses not only on those out of work, but unceasingly threatens all members of the working class and makes the whole of working class life a long torture of insecurity and dread ; that therefore the first and most necessary measures against unemployment and its evils are those which best protect the workers, guarantee their security, and increase the power of organisation, the resistance and struggle of the working class ;

« 1. — The extension of the right of trade union combination ;

« 2. — Limitation of the duration and intensity of labour : the eight hours day and the « English week » (Saturday half holiday) ; physiological and hygienic limitation of the intensity and rapidity of labour ;

« 3. — Fixing a trade union rate of wages, a minimum wage according to the cost of existence ;

« 4. — The Australian system of a minimum wage and wages boards for home work and low paid callings ;

« 5. — Prohibition of all production of commodities by labour in prisons and benevolent establishments ; educational work to be substituted in them for productive work ;

« 6. — Systematic co-ordination and execution of public works in accordance with the economic situation, the state of the markets and the intensity of unemployment ;

« 7. — Institution of a national organisation of the service of « placement », under the control of the State and the trade unions ;

« 8. — Social Assurance against all the risks of working class life and labour—unemployment, accidents, sickness, invalidity, infirmity, old age, etc., without workmen's contributions, and managed, quite independently, by the unions of those insured.

« Assurance guaranteeing to all those insured reparation for risks undergone, compensation to be at least equal to the proved loss of working capacity or wages.

« Establishment of all institutions and measures useful for the prevention of risks.

« Graduated tax upon capital and incomes of the wealthy classes,

the provision by an annual credit in the budget of necessary and sufficient sums for the complete working and development of social insurance ; the capitalised funds from the employer's contributions furnishing useful complementary sums ;

« 9. — Permanent and periodical inquiry into unemployment by the trade unions with the co-operation, if possible, of the technical services of the communes and the State. »

ED. VAILLANT, Reporter.

Paris, May 7th, 1914.

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