MODERN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS
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DESCRIPTIVE SUMMARIES AND BIBLIOGRAPHIES

BY

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PREFACE

The new motif in the history of the last century is the general realization by the community that something must be found to solve the social ills of the world. In this volume, I have tried to trace in general lines the origin, philosophy, and strength of contemporary social and industrial movements and have given a critically selected reading list about each of these movements. Naturally, the selection of the different "roads to freedom" is more or less arbitrary and should be so considered. I have included only the main proposals and have omitted social and industrial ideas which in the eyes of many persons may appear very important.

The earlier part of the volume deals with Trade Unionism and the Cooperative Movement. The adherents of both of these movements claim that if carried out to their logical conclusions they will remedy existing evils without fundamental changes in the social order. The three plans classed as experiments in industrial democracy, namely, Copartnership, National Councils, and the Plumb Plan, are practical steps toward industrial control by the workers, the first and second of which have already been initiated. The movement for a Single Tax may be classified as fundamental social reform rather than social reorganization.

Socialism, Guild Socialism, Syndicalism and Anarchism are important movements seeking a complete social reorganization. Bolshevism's social regime is included with considerable emphasis because it represents the first attempt at such reorganization on a national scale. Communism, in so far as it is a distinct movement, has been covered in the description of labor parties in various countries and under Bolshevism.

This volume was finished a year ago. Since then, many changes have occurred in the world of labor, and I have tried to bring the reference as far as possible to date. In discussing Socialism, I have treated merely the most important countries. As much as possible I have tried to follow the advice of the Oxford Scholar, Dr. Routh of Magdalen, who offered to an
equally learned man the advice, "Always wind up your watch and verify your references." I am aware, however, that on account of the numerous changes which have occurred in the different socialist parties and in the trade union world, some mistakes may have slipped by, and for these I ask the reader's indulgence.

I am taking this opportunity to thank Leonard Abbott, Evans Clark, Alex Gumberg, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Algernon Lee, Albert Sonnichsen, Alexander Trachtenburg, Dr. Carlo Tresca, and Mrs. James Warbasse for their great kindness in reading parts of the manuscript relative to those movements with which they are familiar, and for their very valuable suggestions. To the Staff of the Bureau, I wish to express my thanks for the patience and continual help. Last but not least, I have to extend many thanks to Miss Marion Taylor, formerly associated with the Bureau, and Frank Anderson, associated with the Bureau, whose untiring cooperation I have had at every step of this work. Without their hearty support this volume could not have been completed.

Savel Zimand.

Bureau of Industrial Research,
New York City.
May, 1921.
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INTRODUCTION

The labor movement, in all its phases, has attained such proportions in modern civilization, that interest in it is no longer confined to its membership and a few curious students. The following pages bear eloquent witness to this fact. The range of labor activities, the power of labor in European councils, to say nothing of the Russian experiment, and the strength of trade unionism in industries are forced upon the attention of the public at large by the headlines and editorials of the daily press.

There are, of course, ups and downs in the labor movement as in most other human undertakings. The unions in particular trades rise, flourish, and decay or are transformed. Labor parties appear and disappear. But the labor movement, broadly conceived, gains momentum each decade. The membership of trade unions, marked, it is true, by fluctuations, shows a general trend upward. The capital and membership of cooperative societies increase from year to year. Political parties appealing to labor and sustained by it have, within the last twenty-five years, enlarged the sphere of their direct and indirect influence in the affairs of state. The phrase "industrial democracy" has become a slogan likely to be as significant in the twentieth century as the term political democracy was in the nineteenth century. The collectivist drift in legislation and administration has swept all governments away from their ancient moorings. Every thoughtful person is speculating upon the future.

It is not necessary, however, to enter upon the domain of prophecy to justify the great pains taken by Mr. Zimand in preparing this monumental bibliography on the labor movement. It is not necessary to assume that labor will play, in the future, a rôle comparable to that of the military caste, the landed aristocracy, or the capitalist class in order to give a significance to the literature here described. A casual study of the current philosophy of economics and politics reveals the steadily deepening influence of labor ideals and activities upon our thinking about
social questions. Having its roots far down in the life of millions of people, being interwoven with the very fibre of industrialism, the labor movement partakes of the character of a huge natural process, moving forward under the stress of relentless forces that will not be stayed. To ignore it or to suppose that a few years of the "bread-line" will eradicate it, is to betray a profound misunderstanding of its place in the great scheme of things.

There was a time when such a bibliography of the labor movement would appeal only to a handful of students. Today even the stanchest advocate of "business unionism" has learned the limitations of the battle for hours and wages. Forced by stern necessity to consider their social implications, he is compelled to turn to the wider philosophy of the labor movement to see what it has to teach. By no conceivable process can business unionism disentangle itself from broad relations and responsibilities no matter how much it may protest that it is hewing to the old line. It is hewing into the structure of a living social organism. Modern journalists have learned to their chagrin that they cannot write the day's news or about the day's news without having more than a superficial acquaintance with the Molly Maguires, the Homestead riots, and the Pullman strike. Those who have occasion to deal directly with labor either as employment administrators or employers are beginning to learn that there is a relation between production and the thought of those who are engaged at forge and loom. Thus there is daily widened the range of those who must know about the rise and growth of the labor movement in all its phases. To them Mr. Zimand has rendered a distinct and noteworthy service.

No attempt to perform exactly this service has ever been made before. There are, it is true, a number of useful bibliographies on labor, but they are either restricted in scope or quite out of date. They are more than obsolete in a chronological sense. They tell of a world that has passed into history. The daily press has given us vivid impressions of the momentous transformation that has taken place in the labor world since 1914. Many important ideas and associations rose and flourished long before the World War and must be covered in a sound bibliography, but any one whose knowledge of the labor movement is limited to the period before the great
INTRODUCTION

cataclysm is poorly prepared to think, speak, or write about the modern world of labor. It is for this reason also that Mr. Zimand's labors are to be cordially appreciated.

The care with which he has covered the foreign field is likewise a commendable feature of his undertaking. Politics may "stop at the water's edge," but neither capital nor labor does. The whole structure of modern finance is international. It was already international before 1914. The outcome of the war has doubly emphasized this feature of modern economy. London, New York, Paris, and Tokio, to say nothing of other strongholds of finance, are but the nerve centers of one mighty economic organism. World trade catches the United States tightly in this mesh. The state of European commerce and exchange, the enormous debts due this country from the former companions in war only reinforce the stout net already woven about American capital.

So labor has become international. The mobility of labor is almost as great as the mobility of capital. Modern means of transportation flings it forward and back across the surface of the earth as the demand rises and falls. As all important industries depend upon the international market, so the labor conditions in each country are a matter of grave concern to those who seek to raise the standards in any country. This is a commonplace too often forgotten by ardent advocates of nationalism. For these reasons organized labor in its various forms takes on international features. Regular trade unions as well as socialistic parties hold international conferences. Ideas are exchanged. Experiences are compared. Programs are modified in the light of general experience. Labor leaders, both economic and political, sit around common tables as great bankers from the ends of the earth gather at London, Paris, or New York to consider matters of common concern and interest. If, therefore, a student of the modern labor movement should be provincial enough to care only for the records of his own country the necessities of the case require him to broaden his outlook. Mr. Zimand has made clear the way for him.

It is not merely the professed student of the subject who will make use of this bibliography. There is an increasing number of neophytes who will have recourse to it. To them the Hirsch-Dunker unions, the C. G. T., the Unione Italiana del Lavoro, will be as Greek to the barbarians. Accordingly Mr.
Zimand has made smooth the way by a device not usually found in bibliographies. He has written a brief preface in which he has sketched the significant features of the labor movement in the various countries. In a word he gives in succinct form a clue to the tangled maze of materials in which the new worker might readily lose himself.

Of Mr. Zimand's qualifications for undertaking such a bibliography it is hardly necessary to speak. The fruits of his labors speak for themselves. However, by way of assurance to those who do not know him personally, I may say that he is well equipped for this task. His knowledge of European languages and European countries is wide and sure. He has visited all the leading nations of which he speaks. The titles of the books and papers which he records are not mere strings of words mechanically set together. He is acquainted with the literature which they represent and the life which they reflect. He is himself a student, not a maker of card catalogues, but he has none of that unwarranted contempt which students sometimes have for the librarian's profession. He has served his apprenticeship in that craft. Still he makes no claims to omniscience or perfection. He knows with the editor of the great Oxford Dictionary that a work which is complete is never published and that one which is published is never complete. It is a pleasure, therefore, to commend his labors to all who have occasion to inquire into the rise and growth of the modern movement.

It is a promising sign that the Bureau of Industrial Research, under whose auspices this bibliography was prepared, proposes first to acquaint students with the literature of the labor movement. Thoroughness ought to be the watchword of those who undertake to write or to lead in this sphere. The director, Mr. Robert W. Bruère, knows from long experience in the field of social economy that a comprehension of what has been said and done about any particular matter is the beginning of wisdom.

Charles A. Beard.

December 14, 1920.
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Trade union history

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TRADE UNIONISM

The best definition of a trade union is to be found in the name itself, which means the union of all in one trade. "It goes back," Hoxie writes in his "Trade Unionism in the United States," "in its genesis ultimately to the common needs and problems of the wage workers; it rises immediately out of the consciousness of the common or group character of those needs and problems; it exists for common action looking to the betterment of the living conditions.... The organization and the specific form or structure which it takes are merely the instruments which the group adopts for propagating its viewpoint and putting its program into effect." "Unionism," says Hoxie again, "is one of those group forces whose influence is effective in a greater or less degree in determining every feature and standard in our industrial, political, social, ethical and religious life."

The earliest unions sought to comprise all workers of one craft in a single factory; later they enlarged their scope by including all those employed in a single trade in a local community. This organization was still further extended to national and, finally, international dimensions.

The forms and structures assumed by the trade union in its wider meaning are various. There are the familiar craft organizations, the unions organized on the basis of the material on which their members are working, called by Mr. G. D. H. Cole "material trade unionism," and the unions organized to include all workers in a given industry. Some unions are restricted to members of one sex. Finally there is the so-called "One Big Union," an inclusive form whose advocates seek to include all workers without distinction of trade, industry or sex. All these types of unions appear with endless gradations and variations.

No single governing unit can be ascribed to trade unions. Some are mainly conducted as branch or local bodies, with shop and district committees in active control. Others are national or international, with central executives, either paid or on a
voluntary basis. Local unions are also organized geographically into central unions of city or state, to handle special matters peculiar to the locality, but always under the jurisdiction of the national unions. Representation on the national boards is determined on geographical or trade lines or on both. Almost all unions hold an annual or biennial national convention. The referendum to the entire membership is widely used by some unions and by others only to determine fundamental questions of policy.

The structure and government of trade unionism differs in the different countries as a result of differences of government and of industrial conditions. The American trade union movement is in part organized by international unions into an American Federation of Labor to promote the economic welfare of the workers outside of political parties. England, with its many independent unions, now on the way to amalgamation, finds them almost united in the support of the Labour Party. Germany's Social-Democratic unions form the economic arm of the different Socialist parties. In France the unions, originally moulded by anarchist influence, have, since the Great War, become more centralized. The purposes of trade unionism are various. They range from a limited conception of the economic betterment of the craft to the enthusiastic interpretation which sees in the movement the economic emancipation of the worker through the abolition of the wage system. The object and purpose of trade unionism are not merely to press for higher wages and shorter hours. Of late trade unionism in all industrial countries has become the most vital force through which the workers expect the reconstruction of society. "The only thing which makes the governments stand up and take notice," writes a high official of the British Labour Party, "is industrial action." And, as another authority remarks, "in no single case throughout the nineteenth century, so far as our knowledge goes, was any Factory Act due to the initiative of a Liberal leader. The efforts of Lord Shaftesbury (a Conservative) were, of course, very important, but in the main the whole, both of the initiative and of the driving force, came directly and exclusively from the Trade Unions."¹

The standard works on Trade Unionism upon which most

¹ From The New Statesman, November 20, 1920.
later books are based, are Sidney and Beatrice Webb's "The History of Trade Unionism" and "Industrial Democracy." The former has just appeared in a revised edition. The second, written about twenty-three years ago, has been republished with a new introduction and both remain today the authoritative books on the subject.

As an introduction to the movement in this country the reader is referred to Robert Franklin Hoxie's "Trade Unionism in the United States." The two volumes of "History of Labour in the United States" by Professor Commons and Associates give an exhaustive study of the facts of trade unionism in relation to the labor movement. General references on the Trade Union movement are found in the American and English labor yearbooks.

THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION FEDERATION

A central international federation of national trade unions has been in existence for about twenty years. The International Trade Union Secretariat was founded in 1901.

International Trade Union Congresses had been held beginning with the later eighties. But it was not until 1901 that a central International body was organized, and its purposes definitely shaped, at the International Conference held at Dublin in 1903. This conference adopted a resolution designed to bring into closer touch the various national trade union organizations "by an intimate knowledge of the progress of the movement in the various countries." In order to carry this out it was decided that the secretaries of the various national federations should forward a yearly report to the Secretary of the International.

The International also "aimed at collection and publication of statistics of Trade Unionism all over the world" and "at the mutual interchange of Trade Union information." In 1912 the number of members affiliated with the International was 7,395,361. The Great War disorganized the International Federation and at the conference of Amsterdam in August, 1919, it passed out of existence.
But at the same conference a new International Federation of Trade Unions was formed with the following objects:

1. The promotion of interests and endeavors of the organizations affiliated on a national and international basis.
2. The promotion of the trade union movement, both national and international, in the countries not affiliated.
3. The promotion of a combined action on all questions of mutual trade union interest.
4. The prevention of international blacklegging.
5. The provision of funds for the promotion and furtherance of the foregoing objects, and such other trade union objects as may from time to time be incorporated in the rules.¹

The administration of the Federation vests in the Bureau, management committees, and the biennial conference.

Ninety-two delegates from fourteen nations and representing 17,740,000 members attended the Amsterdam conference and participated in the creation of the new International.

In the fall of 1920 a controversy started within the ranks of the International Federation around the question of pure trade unionism versus Socialist trade unionism. Samuel Gompers and Mathew Woll explain their secession from the International as follows:²

It is a source of regret that conditions have been so shaped by those who are now controlling the policies and course of the new International Federation of Trade Unions that the A.F. of L. feels constrained to refrain from joining a movement where the independence and autonomy of each national trade union center is not only denied but wherein it is subjected to absolute domination for purposes wholly foreign to the objects for which the International Federation of Trade Unions should be formed.

W. A. Appleton, the president of the International, resigned from the presidency in November, 1920. "Had it been decreed," he wrote to Samuel Gompers on April 15, 1920, "that my election to the Presidency of the International Federation involved my acceptance of Socialism or any other political 'ism,' I should most emphatically have refused the nomination. I stood as a trade unionist, I mean one who has asserted and practised his right to combine with his fellows for the purpose of selling his labour at the best possible price."³

The Third International and the Russian units denounced the delegates to the Amsterdam International as "Yellow Leaders" and proceeded to summon a Red Trade Union International, the first congress of which was held the first of the year. (1921).

A special congress of the International Federation of Trade

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³ The Democrat, 1920.
Unions took place on November 22, 1920, at which twenty-four million trade unionists were represented instead of the nineteen million represented at the Amsterdam conference,—this despite the defection of America and Russia, each bordering on five million. At this conference a resolution was passed by 21,906,000 to 2,710,000 votes calling for international mass action to end reaction and establish a new social system.

The strength of trade unions affiliated with the International was in 1920 as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>8,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain (T. U. C.)</td>
<td>6,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>2,300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain (G. F. T. U.)</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czecho-Slovakia</td>
<td>750,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>700,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>281,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>260,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>240,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>225,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>215,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>27,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TRADE UNIONISM IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES**

*Australia and New Zealand*

Organization of trade unions in Australia was at first difficult to effect because the betterment of working conditions, hours and wages was more advanced there than in other countries.

The first union was formed by the masons in 1850, followed by other trades a few years later. Soon after their organization the majority of the unions were able to secure the eight hour working day without a strike.

Unsuccessful strikes in 1885-1887 aroused the trade unions to the necessity for political activity. About this time also there appeared the beginnings of a movement toward industrial unionism in the organization of a sheep-shearers' union, industrial in structure, which included all classes of farm labor. Within the last two years industrial unionism has been revived, as noted elsewhere under the subject, Syndicalism.

There is no central unifying body for Australian trade unionism. In the larger towns are Labour Councils, which secure
a measure of co-ordination; and sometimes these Labour Councils in a State capital, such as Sydney, receive affiliation from other parts of that State. The movement supports an active Labour Party whose political strength has brought about more advanced labor legislation than exists in many other countries.

Membership in the Australian Trade Unions was reported as 84,231 in 1900, and in 1919 there were 387,806, or 12.6 per cent of the total population.

In New Zealand trade unionism has gained strength only in recent years.

The New Zealand Workers' Union, which includes shearsers, farm and station hands, flax mill workers, timber workers, and employees of the Public Works Department, aims at organizing all rural workers into one big union. The alliance of Labour grew out of the affiliation, first of the waterside and transport workers, and then of the miners. It now includes, among others, railway and transport workers, miners, engineers and metal workers. It is, in effect, a federation of federations.

In 1920 there were 380 unions, with 82,553 members: that is, 7 per cent of the population. Of the unions, 190 were organized into 30 associations, mainly national federations of one craft.

Austria

The Gewerkschaftskommission Oesterreichs (Trade Union Federation of Austria) was composed, before the war, of 77 national and 35 regional organizations, with headquarters in Vienna. The commission is modelled after the German plan, having its constituent unions organized either industrially or on a craft basis.

In spite of the fact that the present Austria is mainly agricultural, and that industrial production has been much hampered as a result of the war, membership in the central union organization is still very large. Fifty-five per cent of the population of Vienna is organized, and approximately every ninth inhabitant of German Austria is a trade union member. In 1913, the union membership was 450,000; in 1916 it had dropped to 166,937; and in 1920 it rose to 800,000, out of a total population of 6,500,000. By comparison with these figures its chief opponent, the Christian trade union movement, appears insignificant.
Belgium

Organized labor in Belgium is divided into three different groups, namely:

2. The Socialist Unions.
3. The Neutral Unions.

1. The Sécrétariat Général des Unions Professionales Chrétiennes is affiliated politically with the Clerical party. Its strength rests in general on the Catholic centers of the Flemish provinces. The Catholic unions oppose strikes and do not accept the "class struggle" as inevitable. In 1914 they numbered 81,795 members.

2. The Commission Syndicale du Parti Ouvrier et des Syndicats Indépendants, representing the Socialist Unions, is affiliated industrially as well as politically with the Parti Ouvrier (Labor Party). The Trade Union Commission includes federations of national trade organizations, trade unions not yet federated or belonging to federations not yet affiliated with the Committee. It aims at the development of the solidarity of the working class and its economic emancipation on the basis of the class struggle. Its membership had grown from 160,000 in 1914 to 700,000 in 1920. It includes among its affiliated unions railway-men, teachers and government employees.

3. The Confédération Syndicale Belge (neutral unions) is composed of Catholics with liberal tendencies and is affiliated with the Parti Ouvrier Libéral. The membership of the neutral unions in 1920 was nearly 200,000.

Canada

The trade union movement in Canada has developed along lines parallel for the most part to the labor movement as expressed by the American Federation of Labor. Almost all labor organizations of Canada are part of the international trade unions in the United States.

The principal organization in the Dominion is the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada. It was originally established in 1873, went out of existence for a brief period and was re-established in 1885. In September 1918 its membership was
The Congress maintains friendly relations with the British Trades Union Congress. It is closely allied with the A. F. of L. but maintains complete autonomy with respect to all legislation in Canada. Jurisdictional disputes between Canadian unions are settled by the A. F. of L.

The structure of the organization is along the lines adopted by the A. F. of L. Local unions of kindred trades send delegates to the general Congress. The federations of Canada include provincial federations and councils, representing building trades, metal trades, printing trades, railway employees and theatrical employees. The provincial federations are chartered by the Trades and Labour Congress and cover their respective provinces.

The District Councils or Conference Boards in the organization vary in size. In some instances they are confined to a few branches of the same craft in a locality. In others they include all the local branches of a given craft within a stated area. Occasionally they also extend to an entire province or even throughout the Dominion. The Councils meet at certain intervals to consider the welfare of the membership.

Another form of organization is the Trades and Labor Council composed of delegates representing the branch unions in a given city or district. These Councils are purely voluntary and are designed in part to give expression to opinions on public questions.

The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada has put forward a political program which includes the demand for a legal working day of six hours and the six day week,1 for government inspection of all industries, for a minimum living wage based on local conditions, for public ownership of all public utilities such as railways, telegraphs, telephones, waterworks, mines, etc., and for an increased tax on industries and land values.

Until 1917 the Congress tried to influence legislation by conference with and recommendations to the leaders of the legislative bodies in conformity with the nonpartisan policy of the A. F. of L. In 1917 it departed from this policy in favor of the formation of a Dominion-wide labor party. The industrial disturbances of 1917 and 1918, during the period of formation of the labor party, are described in the proceeding's

1 Prior to 1916 the demand was for an eight hour day and a six day week.
of the Trades and Labour Congress convention of 1918, p. 14. The Canadian Federation of Labour is opposed to the Trades and Labour Congress' policy of affiliation with the A. F. of L. It is made up of a score of unions located in Quebec and Toronto, the most influential of which is the Amalgamated Society of Engineers with headquarters in Great Britain.

The total number of trade union members reported at the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada in 1920 was 173,463.

Denmark, Norway, Sweden

Denmark

The trade union movement of Denmark dates from the seventies. As far back as 1883 the first collective agreement was secured by the cabinet makers' union. Between 1887 and 1900 strikes became common. In 1886 a federation of the trades of Copenhagen was organized, and in 1896 the Danish Laborers' Federation. Two years later the workers created the Danish Trade-Union Association, whose membership in 1920 was 300,000. In addition to this organization there are the so-called Christian trade unions, organized according to church affiliations, which have a membership of about 4,500. There is also a small group of unions organized and controlled by employers.

The Danish Trade-Union Association reflects the German movement in method of organization. Several unions are organized locally by districts and in national federations. The federations are in turn affiliated with the general federation. The national federation is governed by a national convention which meets every two years. It is not a political organization but the members are either voters or members of the Social Democratic Party.

Norway

The trade union movement in Norway had its beginnings in 1884 with the founding of the typographical union. In 1899 the National Federation was formed, composed of 75 local organizations, numbering about 20,000 members. Since 1910 it has devoted itself to organizing the seamen and the agricultural

1 The divergence between eastern and western Canada in matters of policy and principles of labor parties, is analyzed in an article in the Toronto "Industrial Banner" for September 27, 1918.
laborers and in 1919 numbered 150,000 members, out of a total of about 230,000 who are eligible for membership.

The structure of the unions is similar to that of Denmark. They are essentially craft unions. Industrial unionism has, however, developed in certain organizations; as for instance, among iron, steel and metal workers, workers in the paper industry, and the general laborers' federation. The highest legislative authority is the convention which meets biennially.

The National Federation of Trade Unions maintains friendly relations with the Labor Party, two representatives being on its executive committee. The Syndicalist influence in the Trade Union movement is present but not in great strength.

Sweden

Workers in Sweden began to organize about the middle of the nineteenth century after the lifting of legal restrictions on the choice of occupations or trades. The first organization of workers was for educational purposes and some groups were composed of both employers and workmen. The Trade Union Movement began in 1880 under the influence of the German and Danish Social Democracy. Six years later national craft federations began to spring up. In 1898 all the national unions united to form the General Confederation of Trade Unions which comprises the great bulk of organized labor in Sweden. This organization attracted to its ranks all the less skilled elements and the agricultural laborers. This Confederation is composed of loosely affiliated self-governing local unions. The highest authority in the movement is the National convention which meets every three years and fixes the policy of the Confederation. The great significance of the Swedish trade union movement is revealed by the fact that in 1920 281,000 persons were organized in bona fide trade unions in a country with only 400,000 wage workers.

The trade union movement maintains cordial relations with the Social Democratic Labor Party, and is also in intimate cooperation with the Trade Union movements in other Scandinavian countries. Its main activities are, however, in the economic field. It is interested in cooperation, community banks, and the like. Collective bargaining is highly developed in the country and recognized by all employers in the principal industries of
Sweden. Wage agreements are usually made on a national scale.

In all the Scandinavian countries employers' organizations are strongly developed.

France

For an account of the trade union movement in France see under Syndicalism, page 210 as French unionism is best known under this name.

Germany

The oldest German trade union was organized in 1848. It was not, however, until the restrictive laws prohibiting associations were removed between 1861 and 1869 (in the various German states) that trade unions began to develop. The opposing factions within the trade union groups consisted of the Marx and Lassalle groups, favoring Socialist political activity, and the so-called Hirsch-Duncker trade unions, which proclaimed the essential harmony of interest between labor and capital. The repressive laws of 1878 made effective labor combinations impossible, and it was not until 1890, when the anti-Socialist law was repealed, that German trade unionism became influential. From that day on its growth has been continuous and rapid.

The main trade union organizations are:

1. Free Trade Unions.
2. Christian Trade Unions.
3. Hirsch-Duncker Trade Unions.
4. Other Trade Unions and Industrial Organizations.
5. Syndicalist Trade Unions (discussed under Syndicalism.)

1. The Free Trade Unions are the most important. The central organization is called the General Federation of Trade Unions, which is headed by a committee of thirteen members elected by a congress of delegates from 52 national unions. The trade union congress meets every three years. In 1910 a department for social research was established for the purpose of preparing material for social legislation.

The Free Trade Union Movement is engaged in an elaborate educational program. Its General Commission has established
a trade union school in Berlin supported and managed by trade unionists. The school provides a six weeks' course of instruction to about sixty selected trade unionists who are fully supported during this period by their unions. The 52 national unions have affiliated with the General Commission and have practically similar constitutions and include workers in almost all the industries of the country. In form they are close amalgamations; the metal workers and the building trades have adopted the industrial form.

The membership has increased from a quarter of a million in 1890 to about 8,440,000 in 1920.

2. The Christian Trade Unions were established in 1893 to oppose the Free Trade Unions and are mainly under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. They do, however, include Protestants. Their largest constituency comes from the miners. This movement is founded on a belief in the identity of interest of employers and employees. Occasionally members of the Christian Unions have joined with members of the Social Democratic Unions in strikes and lockouts. Their total membership in 1920 was 1,000,770.

3. The Hirsch-Duncker Trade Unions recruit their membership mainly from the engineering and factory trades. Each trade or industry has its own national organization which is represented in an association of all national federations called the Central Council. The policies of the unions are formulated and carried out by the Central Council at the general Congresses held at periodical intervals.

Like the Christian Trade Unions they believe in social betterment by peaceful means. They are opposed to strike and favor arbitration and the wage agreement. They have no political alliances but in general support the Democratic Party. Their membership in 1920 was 189,831.

4. There are other organizations such as independent or local associations of clerks and commercial travellers which have a certain trade union character and yet cannot be accurately described as such. Their membership amounted in 1920 to 214,360.

**Great Britain**

It is difficult to describe the structure of British Trade Unionism on account of the variety of types of organization which range from close amalgamations to loose federations with
many degrees between these extremes. There are about 1,123 separate labor unions in the United Kingdom.

The majority of the unions are basically local, though the greater number are also affiliated with national organizations. Until 1851, when the Amalgamated Society of Engineers developed a new type of trade union structure, the normal unit of organization was geographical within a craft.

The national unions may be classified as craft unions, kindred craft unions, and industrial unions. The craft unions, e.g., the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the National Union of Enginemen, and the National Union of Clerks, organize all the men of a single trade or craft into one union. The kindred craft unions, e.g., the Steam Engine Makers, organize into one union all workers at kindred trades. The industrial unions, e.g., the National Union of Railwaymen, unite all workers employed in an industry, whether skilled or unskilled.

As late as 1889 the trade union movement was made up almost entirely of skilled workers. Since then numerous efforts have been made to organize the semiskilled and the unskilled. The General Labour Unions, which had in 1920 a membership of about 950,000, include unskilled workers and workers in trades or industries not organized by existing craft unions.

The government of trade unions is almost as various as their structure. In some unions all control rests with the central executive committee; in the building industry, again, each local union makes its own agreements, controls its own funds, and evolves its own method of organization. In many unions the executive body is controlled by delegates' conventions, or by ballot of the entire membership.

The National Union of Railwaymen is an example of the latest type of trade unionism. A general secretary with four assistants works with the executive committee, which is elected by the entire membership of the union. The union as a whole is divided into regional districts and each district in turn divides its membership into four classes based on the character of service performed. Each group in each district elects one representative to the committee. Representatives are elected for terms of three years; one-third of the membership of the committee retiring each year.

The General Federation of Trade Unions has attempted to

1 Now merged in the Amalgamated Engineering Union.
give unity to the Trade Union movement. It was created in 1899, with a membership of 343,000, representing 43 societies; by 1919 it had reached a membership of 1,086,000, representing 146 societies. This organization is, however, losing ground. Another attempt to unite the movement appears in the work of the Trades Union Congress, created in 1868, with which the greater number of the more important unions are affiliated. The Congress has no central executive, and up to 1914 it was not very effective. Since 1914 and especially since the growth of the Labour Party it has gained strength. This Trades Union Congress, which is strictly what its name implies, elects a parliamentary committee to watch over legislative measures and to keep in touch with labor problems between the annual conventions.

In addition to these organizations, the Trades Councils form an important part of the British Trade Union movement. They are organized on geographical and industrial lines.

The increased use of shop stewards in British industries during the war expressed a growing tendency toward industrial unionism, local autonomy, and workers' control of industry. A shop steward was chosen by the workers in a particular shop, (most frequently in machine and munition works) to negotiate with the management. The Amalgamated Engineering Union has recognized these stewards as union officials.

Statistics for the year 1918 give the unions a total membership of 6,620,000, of whom 1,220,000 were women;¹ "being over 12 per cent of the census population and probably 60 per cent of all the adult male manual-working wage earners in the kingdom." The total population is estimated as not quite forty-eight millions.² The "Labour Gazette" of Dec. 1920 put the total membership at the end of 1919, at 8,024,000. "The total of 8,024,000, however, includes about 56,000 members of overseas branches of certain unions, and also a number of persons (principally teachers) who are members of more than one society, and are therefore counted twice in the figures. When the necessary allowance is made for these cases, the net number of members within the United Kingdom would appear to be a little under eight million."

Italy

Italy has several different trade union organizations which are similar in structure but different in aim. They are as follows:

1. General Federation of Labor.
2. Italian Labor Union.
3. Catholic Unions.
4. Italian Syndicalist Union. (discussed under Syndicalism)

1. The Confederazione General del Lavoro (General Federation of Labor) is the strongest central trade union organization in the country. It is founded upon the Syndicat or union of members of the same trade or industry in a given locality. These Syndicats are organized in a National Federation of all unions in a given industry or trade, and in local clubs called Camere del Lavoro, made up of all trade unions of a given locality. Representatives from these Camere and from their national federations form the General Federation of Labor.

The General Federation of Labor aims at the economic betterment of the working class. In politics it is inclined toward the moderate wing of the socialist party, supporting, however, in general matters such as elections, strikes, etc., the Italian Socialist Party. In 1914 its paid membership was 320,858, of whom 195,858 were industrial, and 125,000 agricultural, workers. In 1920 it claimed a membership of 2,300,000.

2. The Unione Italiana del Lavoro (Italian Labor Union) was organized in 1917 by the pro-war socialists, headed by Alceste de Ambris, who visited the United States in 1919. It forms an adjunct to the pro-war socialist party and claims a membership of 125,000.

3. The Unioni Cattoliche (Catholic Unions) are a numerically unimportant part of the labor movement and are recruited mostly among women, having about 100,000 members.

The Netherlands

Organized workers in the Netherlands have been engaged for a long time in political activity. A great body of organized labor, The Netherlandisch Verbond van Vakvereenigingen, (The Netherland Federation of Trade Unions) is almost
identical with the Social Democratic Party, while on the other hand almost 30 per cent of organized labor is affiliated with unions, which, under the influence of the Catholic or Protestant Churches, are opposed to Socialist aims. The five central organizations of the trade union movement are as follows:

1. Netherland Federation of Trade Unions.
4. Netherland Federation of Neutral Trade Unions.
5. National Labor Secretariat. (discussed under Syndicalism)

1. The Nederlandisch Verbond van Vekvereenigingen (Netherland Federation of Trade Unions) is the strongest of the organizations. It advocates the aims of the Social Democracy by lawful and orderly methods. It has increased its membership from 44,378 in January, 1911, to 183,041 in September, 1918. It stands in close affiliation with the Social Democratic Labor Party.

2. The Christelyk National Vakverbond (Christian National Federation of Trade Unions) is a federation of unions organized under the guidance of the Protestant Churches, and supports the anti-Revolutionary Party, a conservative party which polled 174,000 votes in the 1918 elections.

3. The Bureau voor de Roomsche Katholieke Vakorgenisatie (Bureau of the Roman Catholic Trade Union Federation) was founded under the influence of the Catholic Church to combat the economic principles of the Socialists. It was encouraged by the papal encyclical issued in 1892, known as "Rerum Novarum." It supports the Clerical Party which is at present the strongest political party in the Netherlands. Its membership grew from 15,541 on January 1, 1911, to 63,139 on January 1, 1918.

4. The Nederlandisch Verbond voor Neutrale Vakvereeningen (Netherland Federation of Neutral Trade Unions) is not affiliated with any political party. Its membership in January, 1918, was 7,794.

Russia

In Russia prior to 1905 it was illegal to be a member of a trade union. Even after the repeal of the prohibitory law the
unions had a membership of only a few thousands, and were not a significant force in the country's industry.

After the overthrow of the Czar's regime, however, the trade union movement enjoyed a rapid growth, developing within a half year more than a thousand separate organizations with about 2,000,000 members. At once the unions began to use the strike as a political weapon, but did not succeed in securing an eight hour day during Kerensky's régime.

This and other reforms were instituted at the time of the Bolshevik revolution; the unions were given an important status in the control of industry, and at present have charge, under the authority of the Council of People's Commissaries, or Cabinet, and in conjunction with the Commissariat of Labor, of the regulation of wages, working hours, and other conditions of employment; registry of the unemployed, who are paid, subject to conscription for work; inspection of sanitary and general conditions, especially in dangerous or unhealthy occupations; recommendations for factory legislation, etc. The unions are also represented in the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

Russian unions are organized by industries instead of by trades. Because of their political status and authority direct action by strikes or otherwise is unlawful. In the first half of 1920 the unions had increased to 4,483 with a membership of over 5,000,000.

Switzerland

The Swiss trade union movement is very much akin to the German. The Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsverband (Swiss Federation of Trade Unions) was founded in 1882; had in 1919, 200,000 members enrolled, and included twenty federations organized either by industry, as the textile workers, or by craft, as the painters and plasterers. There are other unions such as the engineers with 23,000 members (in 1916) and the State Railwaymen, with 22,000 members (in 1916) which stand outside the Gewerkschaftsverband. The general policy of the Swiss unions is socialistic and they maintain sympathetic relations with the Social-Democratic Party.

The Catholic unions have a federation of their own including 12,000 members and the Syndicalists an organization with about 7,000.
Trade unionism began to develop on a large scale in the United States only after the Civil War.

Societies and local clubs of artisans existed during the earlier part of the 18th century but they had no program of general trade union policy. During the last part of the 18th century and the first part of the 19th, trade unionism showed the first signs of life. Its development was very slow. The unions were weak and met with general opposition. Among the first unions were those of the printers and carpenters.

Robert F. Hoxie in his “Trade Unionism in the United States” divides the development of trade unionism in this country in the following nine phases:

I. The beginnings in the local unions, 1798-1827.
II. Predominance of trade unions, 1827-1837.
III. Predominance of utopian, socialistic and social uplift unionism, 1844-1853.
IV. Reorganization of local unions and beginnings of national trade unions, 1853-1860.
V. Revival of trade unions, 1860-1866.
VI. Attempted amalgamation of national craft unions, 1866-1874.
VII. Predominance of the universal labor union, the Knights of Labor, 1879-1890.
VIII. Predominance of federation of national craft unions, 1890—to the present.
IX. Beginnings of industrial unionism.¹

The principal functional types of unions Hoxie gives as three: business, uplift, and revolutionary unions. He instances as an example of business unionism the national craft federation, the International Machinists’ Union; of uplift unionism, the Knights of Labor, of the revolutionary union, the United Mine Workers’ Association; and of the extreme revolutionary, the I. W. W.

Trade unions began about 1820 to make their appearance in local and national form. In the middle of the thirties we find a few important national unions. During the forties utopian Socialist ideas influenced the trade union movement, finding expression in the different working class congresses held during that period. A decade before the Civil War the trade union movement took stronger hold upon the skilled workers, and

the unions gained large numbers of new members. The Civil War interrupted this development of organization among the workers. After this time, however, they grew steadily and began to extend throughout the entire country.

First came the Knights of Labor, which, organized in 1869, had a brief period of growth between 1880 and 1890, and then rapidly disintegrated. The following quotations from its constitution explain its aims:

The Knights of Labor Assembly is not a mere trade union and beneficial society... It aims to assist members to better their condition morally, socially, and financially. Among the higher duties that should be taught in every local assembly are man's inalienable inheritance of, and right to share, for use, the soil; that the right to life carries with it the right to the means of living and all statutes that obstruct or deny these rights are wrong, unjust and must give way. Every member who has the right to vote is a part of the government... and has a duty to perform... In short, any action that will advance the cause of humanity, lighten the burden of toil, or elevate the moral or social condition of mankind... is the proper scope and field of operation of a local assembly.¹

As the Knights of Labor lost their strength the American Federation of Labor, created in 1881, grew until today it is the dominant trade union body in the country. Its president, Mr. Samuel Gompers, testifying before the Commission of Industrial Relations in 1915, explained the objects of the A. F. of L. in part as follows:

The American Federation of Labor directs its efforts toward the encouragement or formation of trade and labor unions, and the closest federation of such unions... the establishment of departments, central bodies for these organizations, to aid and assist each other to the fullest in any of the struggles in which they may be engaged; for the protection of the rights and the interests of the membership and of the working people; to promote and advance their interests and rights economically and politically, legislatively and socially; to make life the better for living in our day, and so that the workers may be in a better position to meet any problems with which the future generation may be confronted. In a word, to let no effort go untried by which the working people as the masses of the people, may find betterment upon every field of human activity. There is no limit to any course that may be pursued by our American Federation of Labor if it is calculated to be of advantage to the people of our country and primarily of advantage to the working people... I take in the sum total of human activity, regardless upon what field that may be, which can aid, which can promote, and which can advance and protect the rights and the interests of the working people to establish better conditions and also to work for the greatest sum total of human happiness.²

Before the same Commission Mr. Gompers described the form of the American Federation of Labor as follows:

The American Federation of Labor is not, as it is often mistakenly called, an organization, but a federation. It is a federation of organizations, each of which has its own government, determined by its own

¹ Quoted by Hoxie: Trade Unionism in the United States. 1919. p. 90-1.
² U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations. 1916. v. 2. p. 1497.
needs and requirements, the result of the experience of the members of the organization; and this right, as in the beginning, has been proclaimed and has been adhered to as consistently as possible in the history of the American Federation of Labor. The Federation has no part except that which is yielded and conceded by the organizations which make up the Federation... There are 110 national and international unions. There are, industrially, five departments. There are 42 state federations of labor. There are 623 city central bodies or local city federations of the local trade unions in the city or town, and there are 642 local trade and federated unions directly attached to the American Federation of Labor as local unions, and whose chartered existence to the American Federation of Labor will continue until a sufficient number of each particular calling exists so that a national union may be formed from these locals and set up in business as a sovereign entity in the trade or the calling or the industry covered by these local unions.  

The membership as reported to the Convention of 1920 was 4,078,740, with 110 national and international unions, and 36,741 local unions. Adding the membership of the railway brotherhoods, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and a number of other trade unions, who are not affiliated with the A. F. of L., we find over 5,000,000 workers organized in this country.

The American Federation of Labor has been affiliated since 1909 with the International Secretariat of the trade union movement which was reorganized in 1919. In the fall of 1920 it seceded.

The high development of machines and large scale production in this country has attracted a very great number of unskilled workers. The marked increase in immigration, especially from Italy and Eastern Europe, brought up the problem of organizing this new element in the population. Whereas the oldest type of immigrant represented to a great extent skilled labor, and was organized into craft unions, the newer type was mostly unskilled for whom no organizations were as yet provided by the A. F. of L. In the past decade the A. F. of L. has supplemented its policy of advocating restriction of immigration with efforts to organize the unskilled.

A new type of trade unionism is presented by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America who dominate the men's and boys' clothing industry. The members of this organization seceded in 1914 from the United Garment Workers of North America and at the same time from the American Federation of Labor. The preamble of the constitution of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers reads in part as follows:

In order to be efficient, and effectively serve its purpose, the union must in its structure correspond to the prevailing system of the organ-

1 U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations. 1916. v. 2. p. 1493.
STAE-UNIONISM

ization of industry. Modern industrial methods are very rapidly wiping out the old craft demarcations, and the resultant conditions dictate the organization of labor along industrial lines.

In 1921 the Amalgamated Clothing Workers numbered nearly 200,000 members. In structure the Amalgamated is industrial and very democratic in government. The rules for voting permit the rank and file to control the action of the officials very closely. The philosophy of the organization is similar to Reformist Socialism.

Recent developments in the trade union movement point to a tendency in the different trades toward forming district allied governing bodies to determine the conditions under which the workers shall work. The federated action of international trade unions in the 1919 steel strike, the organization of the four railroad brotherhoods, into the so-called "Big Four," to secure united action, and the formation of a similar organization among the railway shopmen, are illustrations of this new labor technique.

Officially the A. F. of L. does not favor separately organized political action by its membership, and it therefore opposes the recently organized Farmer-Labor Party, and the Socialist Party. It adheres to the motto, "Reward your friends and punish your enemies." Its reconstruction program in the February, 1919, issue of its monthly organ, "The American Federationist," and the account of its convention in the August, 1919, number, indicate its non-partisan policy.
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MODERN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS


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FRANCE


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Bernstein, Eduard. Trade unionism in Germany. (In Contemporary rev. N.Y. v. 92. p. 679-89. 1907.)

Christian labor unions in Germany. (In Catholic mind. N.Y. no. 7. p. 117-43. Apr. 8, 1906.)


Bibl. p. vii-viii.


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Munich a model union center, (p. 106-14.)
Trade Unionism


A note from the Correspondenzblatt, showing distribution by main industries of union membership.

Kulemann, W. Deutschland. (In Geschichtliche Entwicklung der Berufsorganisationen. 1908. v. 1-3.)


Translation of an article in the Correspondenzblatt, organ of executive committee of Social democratic trade unions, June 8, 1918.

Sanders, W. S. Trade unionism in Germany. London. Fabian research dept. 1916. 52p.

Describes the German movement and commends the solidarity and details of organization of the German unions.


"A congress noteworthy for its pronounced hostility to the repressive measures planned at that time by the Government."


Aiming at harmony between labor and capital.


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Cole, G. D. H. Introduction to trade unionism; being a short study of the present position of trade unionism in Great Britain prepared for the trade union survey of the Labour research department. London. Labour research dept. 1918. 128p. Selected bibliography, p. 120-1.


Drake, Barbara. Women in trade unions. London. Labour research dept. 1920? 237p. (Trade union ser. no. 6.) See also her Women in the engineering trades.


Gleason, Arthur. What the workers want; a study of British labor. N.Y. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 1920. 518p. A serious study of English trade unionism by one who has spent years in close contact with the movement.


Statistics on membership, funds, benefits, etc.


Summarizes principal statistics from 1899 to 1913.


Reveals a new aspect of modern history. "Their theme is the reaction of the new agriculture and industry upon popular life and institutions, the treatment by Governments of the problems and movements which it produced, and the psychology which made it possible for statesmen and preachers to forget human misery in economic progress and to brand as sedition the writhings of despair."—Nation, London.


Reconstruction policy of British labor.


Revolutionary tendencies in British trade unionism.


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Democrat. Weekly. London. v. i-date. 1919-date.
   Official organ of the General federation of trade unions.
   London. H. M. stationery off. 1913-date.
   Reviews the labor situation in Great Britain and in general. Has digest of government publications, statistics and special articles; and is similar to the U.S. Labor statistics bureau, Monthly labor review.
Labour leader. A weekly journal of socialism, trade unionism and politics. Manchester, 30 Blackfriars st. v. i-date. 1904-date.
   Official organ of Independent labour party.
Labour news service. Published by the Labour party. Weekly.
   London. 33 Eccleston square, S.W. 1.
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Kulemann, W. Holland. (In Geschichtliche Entwicklung der Berufsorganisationen. 1913. p. 413-70.)

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SWITZERLAND


TRADE UNIONISM


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Kulemann, W. Spanien. (In Geschichtliche Entwicklung der Berufsorganisation. 1913. v. 5. p. 391-412.)


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Amalgamated clothing workers of America. (In Am. labor year book. 1919-20. p. 177-85.)

A summary of the history of the organization by its secretaries.


A reiteration of principles of right of association, the federation's political neutrality, etc. Endorses the cooperative movement and government regulation of industry.


A summary of resolutions and programs of the Atlantic City convention.


Simple and brief introduction to trade unionism.


Burke, W. M. History and functions of central labor unions. N.Y. Columbia univ. pr. 1899. 125p. (Columbia univ. studies.)

Carlton, F. T. History in the United States. (In History and problems of organized labor. 1911. p. 111-94.)


Ely, R. T. Growth and present condition of labor organizations in America. (In Labor movement in America. 1905. p. 34-91.)


A collection of addresses, with some official A. F. of L. documents, forming "a complete story of the American labor position during the war."


An abstract of the testimony of the President of the American federation of labor before the U.S. Commission on industrial relations in New York. May, 1914.
An expansion of the political programs of the June, 1919, convention and Dec., 1919, conference of the A. F. of L.

A comprehensive text-book presenting history and interpretation of the American movement. Contains "suggestions for further reading."


Trade union movement p. 13-32. A brief account of union activities, with assertion of the essential sympathy between trade unionism and socialism.


Very valuable contribution.


Literatur, p. 97-8.

The so-called "bill of rights" adopted by the December conference.

Descriptions of various union organizations, and accounts of recent strikes.

Impressions of the president of the trade union movement of Germany of the American labor movement.

Reference notes of citations, p. 266-9. An intellectual point of view of labor union policies and methods.


"Labor unions are for the workmen, but against no one." History, chapters 3-4, 7-10.

Powderly, T. V. Thirty years of labor, 1859 to 1889, in which the history of the attempts to form organizations of workingmen for the discussion of political, social and economic questions is traced. The national labor union of 1866, the industrial brotherhood of 1874, and the order of the knights of labor of America and the world. The chief and most important principles in the preamble of the Knights of labor discussed and explained with views of the author on land, labor, and transportation. Columbus, O. Excelsior pub. house. 1889.


Trade union theory and remedies for members' unemployment.


Special volumes on strikes and lockouts. v. 3, 10, 16, 21. 1888, 1894, 1901, 1906. Reports continued in U.S. Labor statistics bureau. Monthly labor rev. Also special volumes on trade union benefit systems, etc.


Bulletins numbered in series beginning July 1, 1912. Various bulletins deal with trade unionism in the U.S. See especially the "Conciliation and arbitration" series, and "Union scale of wages and hours of labor" bulletins.
TRADE UNIONISM


Organization of league in 1905, its history, and reconstruction program.


British and American trade unionism contrasted in detail.


Reviews our government labor policy.


Numerous bibliographical footnotes. The interpretation and enforcement of various requirements for admission.


A documentary investigation of various phases of the boycott, with illustrative and historical material.


The development of industry and of the labor movement, treating organization, legislation, and controversies.

Periodicals


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Statistics


Statistics of trade union membership classified by industries. Based chiefly on records of voting strength of A. F. of L. international unions given in its "Report of the proceedings of the annual convention."


Other Countries


Kulemann, W. (Gives resumés of trade union progress in various countries not covered above, in Geschichte Entwicklung der Berufsorganisationen. 1913. v. 4-6.)

v. 4: Luxemburg, p. 413-26.


From Internationale Korrespondenzblatt, Berlin, May 18, 1918.
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Labor Colleges

General


Contains account of trade union education in Great Britain and in foreign countries. One of the best books on the subject.


Belgium

Man, Henry de How Belgian labor is educating itself. (In Survey. N.Y. v. 44. p. 667-70. Sept. 1, 1920.)

Germany


Great Britain

Central labour college. (In Labour year book. 1919. p. 294-5.)

History of movement, origin as a revolt against conservatism of Ruskin college. Supported by miners' and railway unions and backed by Plebs league.


Traces history of C. L. C., the quarrel with Ruskin college, the guardianship of the C. L. C. by South Wales miners' federation and National union of railwaymen. The C. L. C. is "aggressively Marxian." Outline of educational policy for trade unions.


Summaries of organization and work of the several British labor colleges.
Reviews work of W. E. A., Ruskin college and the Labour college.
Break of the C. L. C. with Ruskin college, and formation of Plebs league to back the work of C. L. C.

A review of the organization, the work, and the cooperation of university instructors with the workers' organizations.
N.Y. Longmans, Green & co. 1913. 197p.
The fullest summary of the activities and development of the Workers' educational association.

Paul, Eden and Cedar. Independent working class education.
London. Workers' socialist federation. 1918. 31p.

Foundation, support, and government by trade union and cooperative union representatives. Courses, scholarships, publications, etc.

Plans for educational reconstruction, classes, summer schools, libraries, literature and directory of branches in Great Britain and the colonies, including a branch in Montreal at McGill university.

Workers' educational association. Education and working class.
London. Workers' educational assn. 1914. 25p. A statement of objective reprinted from the 'Round Table' of March, 1914.


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Plebs league. (Graduates and students of Labour college).
Mrs. W. Horrabin, Secy. 112 Penywern road, Earl's Court, London. S.W. 5.


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Budish, J. M. Education and culture within reach of our workers. (In Fur worker. N.Y. Sept. 1919.)
Reprinted in N.Y. Call.

Account of the educational work of the needle trades unions.


Brief review of work of Trade union college of Boston, of Chicago, and International ladies' garment workers' union educational committee.

Fox, G. M. When labor goes to school. N.Y. National board.

Good summary.


Note on founding of labor college for union members. Instructors drawn from executives and experts in government departments.
[Labor education.] (In Am. labor year book. v. 3. 1919-20 p. 203-6.)

Articles on the United labor education committee, the International ladies' garment workers' union, and the Boston trade union college.


Stoddard, W. L. What the workers want to know. (In Indus. management. N.Y. v. 61. p. 208-10. March 1, 1921.)


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Workers' education; a symposium. Reprinted from the Shipbuilders' news and navy yard employee for Sept. 1919, by the Industrial committee of the Department of research and method of the National board of the Young women's christian assn. 1920. 111p.

Contents: Dana, H. W. L. Boston trade union college; Beard, C. A. New school for social research; Budish, J. M. United labor education committee; Poyntz, J. S. Workers' university; Tannenbaum, Frank. Labor and education; Cady, M. L. Workers' education and the Young women's christian assn.

Directories

Amalgamated clothing workers of America. National educational department. J. B. Salutsky, educational director. 31 Union square, N.Y.C.

Baltimore trade union college. Baltimore, Md. International ladies' garment workers' union. Educational committee. 31 Union square, N.Y.C.

Pennsylvania labor education committee. Abraham Epstein, secy. P.O. Box 662, Harrisburg, Pa.

Rand school of social science. 7 East 15th st. N.Y.C.
United labor education committee. J. M. Budish, chairman. 41 Union square, N.Y.C.
Workers' university. International ladies' garment workers' union. Cleveland, Ohio.

Trade Union Directories

Issued annually.
Issued annually.
Issued annually.
Each issue of American labor year book contains directory of unions.
Each issue contains directory.
Massachusetts. Statistics bureau. Annual directory of
labor organizations in Massachusetts. 18th. 1919. Bost. 1919. 65p.

Directories of Labor Periodicals

Arranged by states and countries.
Has list of labor papers revised annually.
Commons, J. R., and others. Labour papers. (In History of labour in the United States. 1918. v. 2. p. 586-7.)
Trade unionist journals. (In Labour year book. 1919. p. 411-12.)
Lists British papers.
Wisconsin state historical society library. Current labor and socialist papers. (In Collections on labor and socialism in the Wisconsin historical library. 1915. p. 10-14.)
The socialist periodicals of various countries carry news of trade unionism.
THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

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THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Cooperative Movement is a form of cooperative effort aiming at the association of producers or consumers in self-governing cooperative workshops or consumers' societies. James P. Warbassee defines it as "an organized non-political effort of the people to control the production and distribution of things needed to satisfy their wants. It is devoted to the principle that things should be done and commodities produced for use rather than for exchange." 1

The Cooperative Movement is widespread and has grown rapidly, approximately doubling its membership in the European countries every ten years. During the war this rate of increase has doubled. The movement uses economic rather than political means, and meets successfully the competition of privately run enterprises.

The Cooperatives have engaged in the banking business, manufacturing, insurance, farming, transportation, etc. The consumers' cooperative movement is more radical in tendency than the agricultural cooperatives. It has received support from socialists, who favor it because it is a training school or laboratory for the collective administration of the people's business and seeks to eliminate the profit system.

In 1843 2 in the town of Rochdale, England, twenty-eight weavers came together to discuss ways and means of bettering their economic condition, and decided to open a cooperative store for their own use. The constitution provided that the goods must be sold at market prices and that each member, man or woman, should have one vote in the affairs of the society. At the end of each quarter of the year profits were to be distributed to the members in proportion to their patronage. The society was thus not for profit but for the benefit of the consumer. Ten years later the membership of the British Cooperative Movement had grown from 28 to nearly 1,000, and

1 James P. Warbasse—The Destiny of the Cooperative Movement; p. 1.
2 Many cooperative societies are older than Rochdale.
extended in 1920 to about 4,000,000. The capital invested had risen in 1919 to $243,325,000, and the total turnover to $389,320,000.

In England, as in all other countries, in which the cooperative idea has taken hold, the original Rochdale principle forms the basis of the present day cooperative societies. To become a member a share of one pound ($4.87) must be purchased but may usually be paid for in installments of 3d. (6.1 cents). The maximum value of shares that can be held by any member is fixed by law at 200 pounds ($973.30). Each member has one vote irrespective of the number of shares held and is eligible to a seat on the board of management, or to any other representative office.

In March, 1864, the first English cooperative wholesale society was founded. The total sales up to 1917 amounted to $2,926,087,045. In 1918 their sales amounted to $317,139,877. The Belgian Cooperative Movement was started in the early eighties with the society called the Vooruit, originally a cooperative bakery whose profits were allowed to accumulate as a benefit and insurance fund for its members. The movement grew along with Socialism and Trade Unionism. The turnover in 1915 amounted to $1,130,000. There is also a Belgian peasants' cooperative league, the Boerenbond.

Cooperation in Denmark began in 1866, when the country was suffering from its war with Prussia. At first it was an agricultural movement, especially in dairy production; and the distributive societies were of later development. The annual trade of all forms of cooperation in 1916 was about $250,000,000. The Danish movement is stronger in proportion to the size of the country than any other.

The French Cooperative movement has been largely agricultural, with a tendency toward decentralization, and the formation of many small societies. Its services in the war zone, which did much to save the soldiers from the greed of profiteers, have gained it considerable favor with government and public. In August, 1918, there were 1,500,000 cooperators, and their yearly accounts amounted to about $115,811,000.

In Germany the movement originated among the middle class,
but spread to the workers in spite of government opposition, and the expulsion of radical locals from the national organization. The general plan is similar to that in England. The so-called Schultze-Delitsch banks and Raiffeisen or credit societies have been extensively developed. During the war, although various enterprises for cooperative factories had to be abandoned, the membership and trade of societies more than doubled. The consumers’ societies have over two million members, and the banking, agricultural and producers’ associations as many more.

Russia since the revolution has developed the largest cooperative movement in the world. The cooperatives, which had been hampered under the Czar’s government, received an important part in the (Kerensky) government, holding several prominent positions in the administration of commerce and production. The local associations increased from fewer than 20,000 in 1905 to 50,000 in 1918, with 20,000,000 members. The cooperative movement has distributed during the last years a large percentage of the food in Russia, opened a university, conducted banks, and become a very important factor in agriculture, especially in Siberia. The Bolsheviki have nationalized the cooperatives.

Italy, Switzerland and Austria have also strong cooperative movements. Ireland’s cooperation is mainly agricultural, and has been of great help to the peasants.

The international cooperative organization has developed plans for interchange of commodities between the various countries. It organized relief work during the war, when its strength was shown by German soldiers’ recognition and protection of cooperative stores in the occupied portions of France.

In the United States the cooperative movement has made great progress during the last few years. It is however still weak and sporadic.

Holyoake’s “History of Cooperation” is a thoroughly comprehensive work, though not of recent publication. Very useful is Beatrice Potter’s “Cooperative movement in Great Britain.” Woolf’s “Cooperation and the Future of Industry” shows the relation of cooperation to the general labor movement. Harris’s “Cooperation, the Hope of the Consumer,” and Sonnichsen’s “Consumers’ Cooperation,” interpret the movement from the cooperative but critical viewpoint. Also the Webbs’ study in the New Statesman, Supplement of May 1914, gives a digest of the international cooperative movement.
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Bibliography on cooperation. (In Foods and markets. Albany. v. i. p. 39. Nov. 1918.)


List of publications, 45 pamphlets and leaflets constantly revised on various phases of consumers' cooperation. Stores, wholesale, producers, housing, etc.


Marot, Helen. Cooperation and profit-sharing. (In Handbook of labor literature. 1899. p. 41.)


U.S. Agriculture department. Selected list of publications on cooperative purchasing and marketing. (In Bulletin 547. 1917. p. 78-82.)

U.S. Labor statistics bureau. Monthly labor rev. Wash. carries a section called "Cooperation" which reviews developments in various countries, and articles on cooperation.

General References

American labor year book. N.Y. Rand School of social science. 1916-date.
Contains an annual account of cooperation.

Bloomfield, Daniel, ed. Workers' cooperative movement. (In Selected articles on modern industrial problems. 1919. p. 3-34.)
Articles by Harry W. Laidler, James P. Warbasse, and the A.F. of L.; also a summary of the movement in Great Britain.


Copartnership recommended as a step toward cooperation.

Whole number devoted to cooperation. Other issues contain news of cooperation.


Harris, E. P. Cooperation, the hope of the consumer. N.Y. Macmillan co. 1918. 328p.
The fullest account of the sources of economic profit of consumers' cooperative associations. Detailed practical presentation of management of cooperative business.

Cooperatives p. 179-225.

Cooperation in various countries as no. 1. "Consumers cooperative societies in 1919 (Denmark and Sweden)."

Contains abstract of laws relative to cooperation.

Agriculture needs scientific management and the assistance of the industrial cooperative associations in marketing.

Theories of cooperation and rise of agricultural cooperation in Ireland.

Sonnichsen, Albert. Socialism and cooperation. (In Consumers' cooperation. 1919. p. 185-204.) Cooperation said to be more practical, more gradual and more liberal than socialism.


Good discussion of the relation between the two movements.


Warbasse, J. P. Destiny of the cooperative movement. N.Y. Coop. league of Am. n. d. 4p.


Contains much practical information on various industries and commercial geography.


Shows the relation of cooperation to the general labor movement. An excellent discussion and prophecy.

History of the Movement

Acland, A. H. D. and Jones, Benjamin. Working men cooperators; what they have done, and what they are doing. An account of the artisans' cooperative movement in Great Britain, with information how to promote it. London. Cassell & co. 1884. 136p.
Statistics on distributive and productive cooperation.
Brizon, P., et Poisson, E. La coopération. (v. 8 of Encyclopédie socialiste, syndicale et coopérative de l'internationale ouvrière. 1913.) 596p.
History of cooperation in various countries.
Statistics for 1916 and partial for 1917 and 1918. Discussion and memorandum to peace conference.
A textbook containing history in various countries arranged under the headings: banks, agricultural societies, workers' societies and stores. List of authorities, p. 381-92.
An authentic description up to 1913. Now out of print.
A description of productive, credit and distributive cooperation.
Hertel, Hans. Co-operation in Danish agriculture; an English adaptation of Andelsbevoegalsen; Denmark, by Harold Faber. N.Y. Longmans, Green & co. 1918. 176p.


A history of the movement in Great Britain from the Owenite period to 1904.


Selected list of publications on cooperative purchasing and marketing. p. 78-82.


Out of print.


Describes the origin and growth of the British cooperative movement as one aspect of the larger movement toward industrial democracy. Appendix gives tables of associations of producers, percentages of cooperative sales, and the relative progress of the movement.


Includes summary of cooperative progress in various countries.


The conference of the All-American farmer-labor cooperative congress, in Chicago, Feb. 1920, took steps toward the establishment of cooperative banks and credit unions, and approved cooperation in other fields.


Agricultural cooperation in Ireland.


"A brief up-to-date history of the cooperative movement both in Europe and the United States, in which cooperation is presented as a means for reorganizing industry on a collective basis with the ultimate aim of creating a consumers' industrial democracy."—Cooperative league of America.


Warbasse, A. D. Story of cooperation; a survey of the beginnings and growth of the movement for the economic emancipation of the people. 3d ed. N.Y. Coop. league of Am. 1921. 24p.

Summaries of progress of movements in different countries.


Warbasse, J. P. Producers' co-operative industries. N.Y. Co-op. league of Am. 1921. 16p.

"The best elementary account of the history, theory, and practice of cooperation in Great Britain and Ireland."—Cooperative league of America.


Primarily discusses agricultural cooperation.


Technical


Cooperative league of America. How to start and run a Rochdale cooperative store. N.Y. 1920. 32p.


Year-books and Proceedings


THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

English and Scottish wholesale societies. Peoples' year-book and annual.
A volume of useful information prepared by the Cooperative press agency. Manchester. Co-op. wholesale soc. v. i-date. 1918-date.
Reports of congresses held in March and June, 1919.

Periodicals

Co-operation. A magazine devoted to social and economic progress through cooperation. Monthly. N.Y. Cooperative league of Am. 2 West 13th st. v. i-date. 1915-date.
Published by the Joint committee of Russian co-operative organizations in London.

Schools

Need of training in technique of cooperation.
Editorial on N.Y. schools.


"Method for conducting discussion classes."

Warbasse, A. D. Co-operative education; duties of educational committees defined. N.Y. Co-op. league of Am. 1920. 15p.


N.Y. preparatory schools and cooperative educational institute.
PROPOSED EXPERIMENTS IN INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Under this heading are included Copartnerships, National Industrial Councils (notably the so-called Whitley councils of Great Britain and joint councils like that of the printing industry in the United States), and the Plumb Plan. These are industrial experiments which afford the workers some participation in the control of conditions and of their employment. None of the plans, with the exception of the Builders' plan, eliminate private profit, though each tends to reduce it by increasing the workers' "voice in the management."
COPARTNERSHIP

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COPARTNERSHIP

Lord Leverhulme, who has been described as the man who has done more than anyone else for the introduction of copartnership, defines this scheme as "a means of better, fairer and more just relationship of so-called employer and employee resulting in better productive activities." Under such an arrangement "an employee-worker receives each year an allotment of copartnership certificates in proportion to the amount of his salary or wages and the length and value of his services, and which copartnership certificates are, during the copartner's connection with the firm, entitled to dividends in proportion to the dividends paid to the ordinary shareholders. The copartner would see the number of copartnership certificates growing each year. He would experience the fact and realize the cause why dividends in some years were higher than others, and why in some years from unavoidable causes dividends might fail to be earned or to be paid. He would realize the direct connection between profits and all the problems that the management has to solve in a business, and in this way the employer-capitalist would have secured a partner whose brain would be at work as well as his hands in effecting economies and avoiding waste in the business, and in making suggestions for the improvement of processes and the improvement in the organization of the time of himself and comrades, so that profits might be increased and higher dividends be paid. Under a system of copartnership the employer-capitalist would have his employee-workers who had been with him a certain number of years as copartners, now realizing that their interest in the business equally with that of the employer-capitalist ran along the lines of increased output and of cheaper costs of production, and there would come what I may call 'team work'."

Besides Lord Leverhulme's book just quoted, the reader is especially referred to the publications of the Labour Co-Partnership Association in London, to Aneurin Williams' "Co-partnership and Profit-sharing," and to A. Trombert's "Profit-sharing."

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Williams, Aneurin. Bibliography. (In Co-partnership and profit-sharing. 1913. p. 253-4.)

Theory


"Books and publications referred to", p. 62.


Copartnership unsuccessful because it is a compromise which insists that the interests of employer and employee are identical.


Copartnership recommended as a step toward cooperation.


Recommends the introduction of copartnership in the gas industry throughout England.


Pease, E. R. Profit-sharing and co-partnership; a fraud and a failure? London. Fabian society. 1913. 16p. (Fabian tract 170.)

Bibl. p. 16.
A better solution than workers' societies.

Williams, Aneurin. A better way; some facts and suggestions as to introducing the partnership of labour with capital into established business. London. Labour co-partnership assn. 1910? 16p.

Bibl. p. 253-4. Workmen's copartnership productive societies in Great Britain have "benefited their members, helped trade unions, served as centers of working-class idealism, and played a great part in working out a new organisation of industry."

Copartnership as an antidote to labor unrest.

History

Farnam, H. W. Socialized business enterprise. (In Economic utilization of history and other economic studies. 1913. p. 138-64.)
A description of the Zeiss optical works at Jena.


How the employees of Rock Island arsenal have been made to see "that they are on their way toward becoming partners in a large enterprise."


An account of the experiment in copartnership by the French contractor, Edmonde Jean Le Claire.

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Leverhulme, Lord. Co-partnership. (In Six-hour day and other industrial questions. 1919. p. 59-137.) Contains plan of the copartnership trust in Lever brothers limited. The author is a pioneer in the practice of industrial democracy.

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# NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS
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NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS

By National Industrial Council is understood a joint standing body equally representative of the nationally organized employers and the nationally organized workers of an industry. The term originated in England and was applied to bodies so constituted in a number of English industries.

In March, 1917, a sub-committee of the Reconstruction Committee, later the Reconstruction Ministry, presented to the War Cabinet of Great Britain, its First (Interim) Report on Joint Standing Industrial Councils, since then known as the Whitley Report. The committee recommended "the establishment for each industry of an organization representative of employers and work people, to have as its object the regular consideration of matters affecting the progress and well-being of the trade from the point of view of all those engaged in it, so far as this is consistent with the general interest of the Community."

For the carrying out of the above policy the Report continues, "we recommend that His Majesty's Government should propose without delay to the various associations of employers and employed the formation of Joint Standing Industrial Councils in the several industries, where they do not already exist, composed of representatives of employers and employed, regard being paid to the various sections of the industry and the various classes of labor engaged.

"It is not enough to secure cooperation at the center between the national organizations; it is equally necessary to enlist the activity and support of employers and employed in the districts and in individual establishments. The National Industrial Council should not be regarded as complete in itself; what is needed is a triple organization—in the workshops, the districts and nationally."

The report did not lay down any very definite lines for the operation of these councils, but suggested, as questions with which they might deal, the settlement of conditions of employment and of the methods of fixing, paying and readjusting wages; the establishment of regular methods of negotiation; means of assuring security of earnings and employment;
technical education and industrial research; utilization of inventions and improvement of processes; and proposed legislation affecting the industry.

The proposals as outlined in this report had been suggested in the main as early as 1916 by Mr. Malcolm Sparkes, in his "Builders' National Industrial Parliament" and by the Garton Foundation report on "The Industrial Situation After the War."

The report submitted during 1919 to the Industrial Council for the Building Industry, better known as the Building Trades Parliament, dealing with scientific management and reduction of costs, presents an important document on industrial reconstruction. The scheme as outlined in this report "was to eliminate altogether speculative profit. . . . It would leave intact interest on actual capital; but it would transform the employer into a salaried manager, working under the orders of the industry as a whole. It would guarantee the workers against unemployment and ensure them through their trade unions a real share in the control of the industry."  

At the present time (1920) there are in Great Britain fifty-one industries and undertakings in which joint Industrial Councils have been introduced. The total number of work people engaged in those industries is estimated at about 3,300,000.  

In the United States by 1920 the Council idea had received serious consideration in at least six industries, but actual organization was only consummated in the printing trades and the electrical construction industry. In the building and construction industry as a whole a National Congress is in process of organization which in a general way follows the council model. The preamble of the Joint Industrial Council for the printing trades indicates that the Council is established with a view to "promote the spirit of cooperation and to deal with problems of the industry in a way to insure the protection of the interests of all concerned." The Council is to be thoroughly informed as to conditions and interests of all parties in the industry and to be in a position to suggest for ratification, regulations which shall eventually become the law of the industry. The Council is to be composed of sixteen members; eight chosen by the several employers' associations and eight chosen by the first international unions which are party to it.

The Webbs in their revised History of Trade Unionism summarize the Whitley councils as follows: "after two years' propagandist effort, it seems (1920) as if the principal industries, such as agriculture, transport, mining, cotton, engineering, or ship-building, are unlikely to adopt the scheme... The Government found itself constrained, after an obstinate resistance by the heads of nearly all the departments, to institute the Councils throughout the public service. We venture on the prediction that some such scheme will commend itself in all nationalized or municipalized industries and services, including such as may be effectively 'controlled' by the Government, though remaining nominally the property of the private Capitalist—possibly also in the Cooperative movement; but that it is not likely to find favor either in the well organized industries (for which alone it was devised) or in those in which there are Trade Boards legally determining wages, etc, or, indeed, permanently in any others conducted under the system of capitalist profit-making." 1

The literature on industrial councils consists mostly of documents and magazine articles. The Whitley reports have been reprinted in this country by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, and by the Bureau of Industrial Research in the pamphlet, "The Industrial Council Plan in Great Britain," which contains all earlier documents in connection with the Council movement. A very valuable addition to the Joint Industrial Councils literature is "The Industrial Council for the Building Industry," published by the Garton Foundation, of England. The National Guilds League of Great Britain has issued a criticism on the industrial council plan as a reply to the assertion that national industrial councils were an application of the principles of guild socialism.

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Great Britain. Labour Ministry. Industrial councils; suggestions as to the constitution and functions of a national joint industrial council, of district councils of national joint industrial councils, and of works committees in industries in which national joint industrial councils are established. rev. ed. London. H. M. stationery off. 1920. 32p. (Industrial reports no. 4.)
1st ed. 1919. 21p.


Summary with supplementary notes.


Great Britain. Reconstruction ministry. Committee on relations between employers and employed. Supplementary report on works committees. London. H. M. stationery off. 1918. 4p. (cd. 9001)


Numerous articles appearing in the Survey are condensed into this account.


Opposes the Whitley plan and repudiates any identity with it of the guild movement. The latter seeks a complete reorganization, not "a permanent improvement in the relation between employers and workmen." No scheme of so-called joint control can meet the demands of the worker. The Whitley plan, moreover, will be disadvantageous to the trade unions.


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1918


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1919


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Paragraph on industrial councils as natural accompaniment of shop committees.


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Other Countries

BELGIUM


CANADA


**GERMANY**


**NORWAY**

THE PLUMB PLAN

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THE PLUMB PLAN

Early in 1919 the former railroad corporation lawyer, and present attorney for the Railroad Brotherhoods Glenn E. Plumb, formulated a plan, endorsed by the Railroad Brotherhoods and later introduced in the form of a bill in Congress, to the effect that railway employees shall share in the management of the railroads in the United States.

Briefly stated, the system would be administered by a board of fifteen directors; one-third of whom would be appointed by the President of the United States, with the approval of the Senate; one-third elected by the officers of the Corporation, and one-third by the operating force. The Board of Directors, the officers, and the employees would administer such matters as rates, subject to the direction of the Inter-State Commerce Commission; salaries and wages; working conditions; rolling stock, etc. They would constitute the National Railway Operating Corporation which would lease from the Government all the railway lines and properties after they are nationalized, for a period of one hundred years unless sooner terminated by act of Congress.

On January 1, 1920, Mr Plumb sent out to the press an industrial program extending the main parts of his plan to the industry of the country. For this purpose Mr. Plumb classifies industry under four divisions: first, those industries which are individualistic in ownership and organization; second, all those industries formerly individualistic but now so developed that ownership, separated from labor, concerns itself only in direction and supervision of production, in which it engages the efforts of others who have no share in ownership; third, those industries which are based upon a grant from society in the shape of a franchise, grant of privilege, or monopoly. The last named include all public service corporations except interstate commercial transportation, and all other industries engaged in exploiting natural resources. The fourth division includes only railroads and commercial transportation facilities.

The public interest is expressed as its right “to obtain better,
cheaper and more products or service as the progress of the arts permits the making of more and better goods or service at a lower cost of production." To the owners of capital such terms must be offered as will induce them to invest. Labor is to be entitled to receive an equivalent amount in payment for the value of services rendered.

The political program is outlined as follows: for the railroads and all means of transportation, the principles of the Plumb Plan, with such modifications of details as may be needed to carry out its general principles. Second, as to all industries based upon grants, privileges, exploitation of natural resources and the enjoyment of monopoly, the adoption of the necessary legislative policy through local enactments either to acquire public ownership of such utilities with the extension of the principles of the Plumb Plan to the control and operation, or the adoption for their control of a tri-partite representation of the public, private capital, and labor. Third, as to all industries engaged in production not based on grants of privileges or monopolies, the adoption of legislation either local or national, requiring all corporations organized for the conduct of such industries to recognize the right of labor to take part in the control and management of the industry, and to share in the profits of such industry on terms of equality with capital. The individualist industries shall be left entirely to the individuals owning and operating them.

Literature on the subject can be obtained from the headquarters of The Plumb Plan League, Machinist Building, Washington, D.C.
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The employees' challenge to the President shows the importance of their plan, which needs sympathetic criticism.


"American labor with the railroad brotherhoods leading seems to have crossed its Rubicon."


A guild socialist's analysis of the Plumb plan.


Hostile account of the introduction of the Plumb proposals.

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An answer to various objections.
"A sure method for the ultimate reduction of transportation charges to actual cost."
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Makes a distinction between the plan and government operation.


A comparative chart showing the provisions of seven different schemes for railroad reorganization; the Plumb plan and six plans for private ownership.


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THE SINGLE TAX

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THE SINGLE TAX

Henry George developed a scheme of economic reform known as the “Single tax,” in which he proposed that all taxes should be levied upon land values. His argument was based on the presumptive tendency of land to absorb all the value due to “improvement in the productive power of labor.” Among these improvements he included “the growth of population, the increase and extension of exchanges, the march of invention, the spread of education, the improvement of government,” etc. “Land being necessary to labor and being reduced to private ownership every increase in the productive power of labor but increases rent,—the price that labor must pay for the opportunity to utilize its powers, and thus all the advantages gained by the march of progress go to the owner of the land and wages do not increase.”

Henry George defined the single tax in his organ “The Standard” as follows:

“The Standard advocates the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry and the taking, by taxation upon land values irrespective of improvements, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term ‘land’.

“We hold that to tax labor or its products is to discourage industry. We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to utilize them by employment of labor or abandonment to others; that it will thus provide opportunities of work to all men and secure to each the full reward of his labor; and that as a result involuntary poverty will be abolished and the greed, intemperance and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away.”

1 Quoted from Ely’s Outlines of Economics. 1917. p. 679-80.
Apart from the works of Henry George, especially his "Progress and Poverty," as a general description Young's "Single Tax Movement in the United States," is to be recommended.

Professor Lewis J. Johnson of Harvard University is now president of the National Single Tax League.
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One of the principal authorities on the subject.


Selections from Tolstoy's writings in favor of socialized land.

An academic and rather utopian discussion of the blessings which would ensue from the adoption of the single tax program.

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SOCIALISM

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SOCIALISM

Socialism, in so far as it has definable unity, is the social movement which seeks a system of organized industrial and political government, in which use instead of profit shall be the dominant motive of production and its control shall be democratic. Public ownership of the "socially necessary means of production" is advocated in order to emancipate production from private profit.

There exist wide divergences of theory and program, even among socialists, the more radical upholding the idea of a definite act of "revolution" as a necessary prelude to social reorganization, and the so-called reformists expecting a gradual progress through a process of education.

The Socialist idea can be traced back to Baboeuf, Saint Simon, Fourier, and Owen. The modern movement originating with Karl Marx and Frederick Engels began with the publication of their Communist Manifesto in 1848. In 1867 Marx finished the first volume of "Das Kapital," which became the basis of modern socialism. His main theories are, first, the materialistic interpretation of history; second, the theory of surplus value; third, the law of concentration of capital; and fourth, the principle of the class struggle.

A reaction within the movement against these strict Marxian theories set in about the middle nineties and gained ground even in Germany, the home of orthodox Socialism. Eduard Bernstein's book, "Evolutionary Socialism" (Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Social-Demokratie) led the attack against the rigid orthodoxy which had grown up in the Marxian movement.

A similar school of revision, independent of the continental writers, had been developed somewhat earlier by the Fabians in Great Britain. Among the many societies for social reform which came into existence in the years from 1870 to 1890 none has exercised so marked and beneficial an influence on educated public opinion and on legislation as the Fabian society. "The Society adopted the name Fabian after Fabius Cunctator, the
Roman general." This reformistic tendency was reflected in the movement itself. Political successes forced Socialists in practically every country to devote their attention to immediate reforms and collectivist measures, and gradually to forget to apply Marxian principles in the interpretation of every event.

As these compromises were introduced, tending toward State Socialism, the employing class adopted a paternalistic attitude toward the workers, and the state gradually assumed more and more control of public utilities and industries. Germany and New Zealand especially took steps in this direction, while the Great War developed the same tendency in the United States, Great Britain, and other countries.

Strict State Socialism is regarded by many socialists as "State Capitalism"—an attempt to placate the workers by improving their material condition and transferring the control of wealth from individual capitalists to a state in turn controlled by them; the workers remaining as dependent industrially as ever. But the major part of the Socialist Movement is opposed to any representation of their aims as compatible with State Socialism.

Scientific Socialism should be studied in the Communist Manifesto, Capital (or its summary, Marx's "Value, Price, and Profit"), Engels' "Socialism Utopian and Scientific", and Karl Kautsky's "Class Struggle." A general description of the Socialist movements is to be found in Kirkup's "History of Socialism" and Harry W. Laidler's "Socialism in Thought and Action." "Socialism of Today," by English Walling and others, is a source-book containing descriptions of the progress of the movement throughout the world. Emile Vandervelde's "Socialism versus the State" is a warning against collectivism; and a fair review of the entire subject by a non-socialist is O. D. Skelton's "Socialism, a Critical Analysis." Bertrand Russell defines and clearly differentiates Socialism from Anarchism and Syndicalism in his "Proposed Roads to Freedom."

In the following summaries of the progress of Socialism in various countries, such labor parties as are socialistic in tendency have been included.

"The International"

Attempts to form an international organization of workers were first made by a group of exiles living in London during the period of 1840-1848. The organization was known as the
"League of Just," and in 1847 it became the "Communist League." It remained for many years a secret organization and was composed mostly of Germans. At a congress held in London in 1847 Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were requested to prepare "a complete theoretical and working program" for the League. This they did, resulting in the "Communist Manifesto" published in 1848. The League lasted only a few years and passed out of existence in 1852 because of governmental repression.

In 1862 a deputation of French working men visited the International Exhibition in London, and out of the meetings of the French and English labor leaders grew the "International Association of Workingmen."

In 1864 at a public meeting held in London a committee of representatives of different nations was appointed to draft a constitution and program for an association. A General Council with offices in London was elected. The General Council was composed of representatives of the national bodies of the different countries.

Conferences of the Association were held in Geneva, 1866, Lausanne in 1867, in Brussels in 1868, (98 delegates present), in Basel in 1869, the Hague 1872. The Association had to struggle against severe government persecution. Conflicts within the organization itself arose between Karl Marx and Michael Bakunin, representing respectively the socialist and the anarchist points of view. In 1872 the General Council removed its seat to New York. Its influence diminished and in the same year it ceased to function. In 1889 on the occasion of the Centenary of the French Revolution, an international socialist congress was held in Paris. This marks the beginning of the Second International. In reality two congresses were held. That of the orthodox Marxists was attended by 395 delegates, and that of the Reform Socialists by about 600. Other congresses were held at Brussels in 1891, Zurich in 1893, London, 1896, and Paris in 1900.

The Paris conference decided upon a form of organization with an international bureau, known since then as the International Socialist Bureau. Affiliations with the Bureau and consequently representation in the congresses were open to;

1. All associations which adhered to the essential principles of Socialism; socialization of means of production and distribution; international association of and action by
the workers; conquest of public powers by the proletariat organized as a class party.

2. All constituted organizations which accept the principle of a class struggle and recognize the necessity for political action (legislative and parliamentary), but do not participate directly in the political movement.¹

The last condition was adopted for the purpose of excluding anarchist and of admitting trade unionist and other labor organizations which, though not political in character, favored political action.

The International Bureau was made up of delegates from socialist organizations of the countries affiliated with the International. Every three years an international socialist congress took place and resolutions were adopted. These, however, were merely advisory and not binding upon the national socialist parties. The International did not prescribe the tactics which the movement of any country should adopt. This was left to the discretion of each national organization.

Under the auspices of this Bureau, the following congresses were held: Amsterdam, 1904, Stuttgart, 1907, Copenhagen, 1910, and an extraordinary congress at Basel on the occasion of the Balkan wars in 1912. The congress which was to have been held in Vienna in 1914 was prevented by the Great War, which practically destroyed the Second International as an organized body. The Bureau removed from Brussels to the Hague when the war broke out, continued to maintain relations with the Socialist parties of all countries during the war and tried to co-ordinate their action. Various attempts were made for the revival of the Second International but up to March 1921 they were without success.

The first conference after the outbreak of the Great War to be attended by Allied and Central-Power socialists was known as the Zimmerwald Conference and was held in Switzerland in September, 1915. Those who were present at the conference belonged to the Left Wing of the Socialist movement and their aim was to find a common program in behalf of peace. Other gatherings took place in Kienthal in 1916, in Stockholm in 1917, and in London in the spring of 1918, an Inter-allied Socialist and Labor Conference.

After the Armistice the socialists met in two different reunions

¹Labour Year Book of Great Britain. 1916.
—Berne, February, 1919, and Lucerne, August 1919,—and decided to hold a conference in 1920 to revive the Second International.

The present split in the Socialist movement may be said to be due to the attitude taken toward Bolshevism by the different factions. The Conference of August, 1920, declared for the revival of the Second International and opposed the Third International created by the Bolsheviks. But the revival of the Second International remains a pious wish.

The Third International so-called by the Russian Communists, was organized at a congress held in Moscow in March, 1919, thirty-two foreign delegates participating, and representing twelve different countries. A manifesto was adopted “repudiating the vacillation, mendacity and superficiality of the socialist parties” and appealing to workers in all countries to fight “against imperialist barbarity, against monarchy, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois states, and bourgeois property, against all kinds and forms of social and national oppression.”

The manifesto further declared:

Even though the first International foresaw the coming development and inserted a wedge, and though the second International collected and organized millions of proletarians, still it is the third International that stands for the open action of the masses and for revolutionary operations. ¹

The terms of the affiliation are embodied in 21 points.

The situation in 1921 presented itself as follows: The second International was dead. The Third was Communist functioning through a dictatorship. Socialists were divided between Lenin and Webb.

**Progress of the Movement in Various Countries**

**Australia and New Zealand**

The beginnings of the labor movement in Australia can be traced to the great strikes of shearsers and seamen in 1890. It was then that the trade unions awoke to the fact that labor representation in the various parliaments was just as necessary as strong industrial organizations. Political labor bodies were formed in each state, with which any trade union might affiliate itself. The result was the formation of the Labour Party in Australia in 1892.

This party, while not definitely committed to theoretical Socialism, tends toward socialist doctrines and advocates the regulation of industry by the state. During the war the Labour

¹American Labor Year Book 1919-20. p. 320.
Party split. The supporters of conscription, led by Prime Minister Hughes, formed a National Labour Party. The original party was rechristened the Australian Labour Party. Its representatives in Parliament in 1919 numbered 26 out of 75 deputies and one seat in the Senate.

An attempt at fusion only began during 1919-1920 with the formation of an Australian Socialist Party on a Marxian basis. At the end of 1920 the Australian Communist Party was founded, which is affiliated with the Third International. The only other party of importance is the Socialist Labour Party.

There are also a host of small Socialist societies in the various capitals and the big mining centres.

In 1916, at a joint conference of the Social Democratic Party the Labour Representation Committees and the United Federation of Labour, a unified Labour Party, with a definitely socialist objective was established in New Zealand. At the 1919 elections the Labour Party secured eight seats.

**Austria**

The socialist labor movement began to make itself felt in Austria in the early eighteen-seventies, but it could not elect a representative to the Austrian Parliament until 1901. The people succeeded in democratizing the suffrage to some extent, in 1907, but this did not appreciably improve economic conditions. Differences of nationality and language formed an obstacle to effective organization.

Although the Socialists supported the war which was opposed within their ranks by only a small minority, the government during that period employed rigid methods of suppression and persecution against party press and leaders. Conditions were somewhat improved after the death of Emperor Francis Joseph, but not enough to avert the revolution which in October, 1918, destroyed a monarchy six hundred years old, and formed a number of independent national states. Austria today comprises only the old German Austria.

In 1907 the social democrats polled 1,041,948 votes and elected 87 representatives. In 1911, with a slightly increased vote, the representation fell to 83 in an assembly of 516. In October, 1920, the latest election in Austria, the socialists elected 66 representatives to an assembly of 175. Although this was a slight
decrease from the 1919 elections, it is the second largest representation of any single party in the Constituent Assembly.

On November 28th, 1920 the Left wing socialists, of the Social Democratic Party decided to found a Socialist Labor Party of German-Austria.

The Austrian Communist Party is weak numerically and did not take part in the elections held in 1920.

BELGIUM

The Belgian Labor Party (Parti Ouvrier) organized in 1885, achieved its first parliamentary success in 1894 when 24 Socialists won seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

Émile Vandervelde, its leader, has maintained that it unites the characteristics of the three great nations surrounding it. From England it adopted cooperation and self-help, from Germany political tactics and fundamental doctrines, from France its idealistic tendencies. The close cooperation which exists between the Labor Party, trade unions and the cooperative movement makes the Labor Party a federation of federations of those organisations.

Its economic viewpoint is reformist Marxian, and opposed to ultra-revolutionary measures. Its immediate program includes free secular education, religious freedom, abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic, abolition of the Senate, the eight-hour day, repeal of all laws against strikes.

The Labor Party includes:

I. Cooperative societies (which provide the financial strength of the party)
II. Trade Unions (which work hand in hand with the party)
III. Mutual aid societies
IV. Political organizations
V. Educational and social clubs

In the November, 1919, election the party seated 70 representatives out of a total of 186, and polled 644,499 votes, 37 per cent of the total. Socialists were chosen for the offices of President of the Chamber, Vice-President of the Senate, and four Cabinet seats. The Socialists’ municipal representation totaled 850 before the Great War.

There also is a feeble Communist Party.
The main labor and socialist political organizations in Canada are:

I. The Socialist Party of Canada
II. The Social Democratic Party
III. The Labour Party

The Socialist Party in Canada dates from about 1890, and the Social Democratic Party from January, 1911. In 1920 these parties were without representation in the Dominion Parliament and had only succeeded in electing a few representatives to the Provincial legislatures.

A movement for the creation of a labor party was set on foot in 1917, and at a convention called in July, by labor leaders of the province of Ontario, the Independent Labour Party was organized. This party's first platform included declarations in favor of free text books in the schools; public ownership of all sources of wealth; the nationalization of banking and credit systems; initiative, referendum, and recall; old age pensions, and pensions for mothers with dependent children; and the abolition of the judicial power to declare legislation of the Dominion parliament unconstitutional.

This organization was formally approved by the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, held in September, 1917. A national Canadian Labour Party has not as yet been formed, although steps are being taken toward its formation.

Denmark, Norway and Sweden

The socialist organizations in Denmark are the Social Democratic Party and the Socialist Party. The former was founded in 1878 and represents reformist socialism. In the election of 1919 it seated 36 deputies out of a total of 137. The Socialist Party, which endorses the communist program, has little influence in the political field. The Danish General Labor Federation maintains friendly relations with both parties.

In 1881 the social democrats of Norway organized a party, out of which was formed in 1897 the Norwegian Labor Party (Norak Arbeider-parti). In 1891 the party adopted a straight Socialist platform. In March, 1918, it adopted a more revolutionary platform endorsing the creation of a workers' and soldiers' council, and the use of "revolutionary mass action in
the struggle for the economic freedom of the working class." At the elections in October, 1918, it polled over 300,000 votes, and elected 18 deputies out of 101.

The Socialist groups in Sweden are the Social Democratic Labor Party, and the Left Socialists. The Social Democratic Labor Party was founded in 1889 and is collectivist in theory, accepting parliamentarism. It is the strongest Socialist organization in the country, and in the election of 1920 won 76 seats out of a total of 230 in the second Chamber, polling 228,000 votes.

The Left Socialists, founded in 1917, have endorsed communism. At the 1920 election this organization polled 15,000 votes and elected 7 representatives.

The labor union movement in all the Scandinavian countries cooperates with the socialist parties.

FRANCE

While Socialism in France dates back to the French revolution, the socialist movement has for many years been weakened by internal struggles between the different schools of theory.

There were the followers of Louis Blanc who advocated state-aided production by associations of producers, those of Jules Guesde, standing for pure Marxian socialism, of Millerand for extremely moderate socialism, of Jean Jaurès for reformist socialism, etc.

The different socialist groups united in 1905 to form the extremely modern Parti Socialiste Unifié, which advocated socialization of the means of production and distribution, the attainment of political power by the workers, and transformation of capitalism into a collectivist society.

In the November, 1919 elections, although the party polled 1,700,000 votes, 24 per cent of the total, and an increase of 8 per cent since 1914, the representation fell from 105 to 55, out of a total 602, due to the operation of new election laws.

Since the Russian Bolshevik Revolution the French Socialist Party has been standing for uncompromising tactics. At the national congress held at Tours, Dec. 25, 1920, the party split on the question of the Third International. The congress was divided by three factions: the Right wing opposing the conditions of the Third International; the Center requesting admission with maximum reserves; and the Left favoring
admission according to the conditions imposed by the Third Internationale. The victory of the Communists resulted in the withdrawal of the Center and the Right wing and the formation by them of the Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière. The original party contains about 60 to 70 per cent of the party members, and is called Section Française de l'Internationale Communiste. Of the original 55 deputies, fifteen stayed with the party, the rest went with the new organisation.

Germany

The social philosophy of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, later accepted by the international socialist movement, was the direct heritage of the German socialists. It was Lassalle, however, who taught the German workers to organize independently into a political party.

The modern socialist movement in Germany dates back to 1863 when the General German Workingmen's association was founded by Ferdinand Lasalle. In 1869 the adherents of Marxian socialism assembled at Eisenach and formed the Social Democratic Labor Party. These two organizations united in 1875. In 1878 an anti-socialist law was passed at the insistence of Bismarck, then Prime Minister, declaring the socialist party an illegal organization. This law was repealed in 1890 and the party was reorganized immediately at Halle. The Erfurt program, famous as the first of the programs of practical and theoretical Marxian Socialism, was adopted by the congress of the following year.

At the outbreak of the Great War, the Social Democratic Party had become the largest party in Germany. Its membership throughout the Empire on March 31, 1914 was 1,085,905, including 174,754 women. Four and a quarter million votes, that is, over half of the total vote, was cast at the Reichstag election of 1912 for the party. Out of 397 members of the Reichstag, the Social-Democratic group numbered 111 members.

The great weapon of the German social democracy was the powerful press it had at its disposal. It had over 120 newspapers and a great many periodicals. No other socialist party was its equal in this field. In cooperation with the trade unions 364 branch education committees have been established under the direction of a central education committee. The party maintained a socialist college in Berlin.

Up to 1914 most cordial relationship existed between the
trade unions and the party. In fact, the trade unions helped
the party materially and morally.

The party split, over the war issue, into three main groups:—
the Social Democratic Party, endorsing the war; the Inde-
pendent Socialist Party opposing the war; the Spartacus group
opposing the war and endorsing communist principles. Until
December, 1918, the majority of the Spartacus group also
belonged to the Independent Socialist Party. After this date
they organized into the Revolutionary Communist Party of
Germany.

At their annual convention at Halle in October 1920, a split
occurred within the ranks of the Independent Socialists over
the issue of joining the Third International. By a vote of 237
to 156 the congress decided to join the Third International.
The 156 delegates were in favor of joining the Third Interna-
tional with a maximum of reservations.

The three main parties in 1921 were:
I. The Social Democratic Party
II. The Independent Socialist Party
III. The United Communist Party of Germany; section of
the Third International

I. The Social Democratic Party, composed of the pre-war
socialists adheres to the Second International and has adopted
a moderate parliamentarian program of action. The following
main points of their election program was published in the
"Vorwärts" of April 4th, 1920.

The aim of social democracy is socialism, not to be won by violence
or dictatorship, but by democracy and the will of the people. It aims
at bringing wages and salaries into line with the cost of living. Disabled
men and war widows and orphans must be adequately provided for.
The increased importance of the worker in industry already gained
by the Works Councils Law will be further developed by socialization.
All transport is to be directed by the State.
The Land Settlement Act is to protect small farmers against large
landowners, and to create hundreds of thousands of new small agricultural
undertakings.

In 1921 the Social Democratic Party had 108 representatives
in the Reichstag out of a total of 469 deputies.

II. The Independent Socialist Party is the "center" of the
socialist movement in Germany. Its policies were expressed in
their election program of 1920 as follows:—

Independent Social Democracy aims at the taking over of political
power by the proletariat, in order to overthrow capitalism and bring
about a socialistic order of society. This aim cannot be attained except
through the political supremacy of the working class, the dictatorship
of the proletariat. This is the meaning of the Soviet system. It represents
a transitional stage from capitalism to socialism.
In 1921 the Independent Social Democratic Party had 61 representatives in the Reichstag.

III. The United Communist Party of Germany was originally the Spartacus group. In Dec. 1918 it reorganized in the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany and in 1920 after the Independents split and joined the Communist, became the U. C. P. of G. They believe that

The conditions for the triumph of the International Proletariat are:

1. The adoption by all parties of the clear, unequivocal theory of revolutionary Marxism;
2. An organization rigidly maintained on lines of military discipline;
3. Untiring activity in all spheres of action open to the proletariat.

In 1921 they had 26 representatives in the Reichstag.

**Great Britain**

The labor movement of Great Britain is expressed primarily today in the trade unions, the Labour Party, and the Cooperative movement. Up to 1824 any combination of workmen for industrial purposes was illegal. As soon as restrictive statutes were repealed trade unions arose and in the course of the next fifty years gained sufficient support to make possible the passage in 1871-1878, of two important acts which legalized their status.

In 1900-1901, labor received a severe blow in the Taff-Vale decision. This provided "that the Trade Union, though admittedly not a corporate body, could be sued in a corporate capacity for damages alleged to have been caused by the action of its officers, and that an injunction could be issued against it restraining it and all its officers, not merely from dismissal acts, but also from unlawfully, though without the slightest criminality, causing loss to other persons. Moreover, in their elaborate reasons for their judgment, the Law Lords expressed the view that not only an injunction but also a mandamus could be issued against a Trade Union, requiring it to do anything that any person lawfully called upon it to do; that a registered Trade Union could be sued in its registered name, just as if it were a corporation; that even an unregistered Trade Union could be made collectively liable for damages, and might be sued in the names of its proper officers; the members of its executive committees and its trustees; and that the damages and costs could be recovered from the property of the Trade Union, whether this was in the hands of separate trustees or not." 1

As a result of thirty years of Liberal-Labour-left agitation a labour representation committee was formed which developed later into the Labour Party. The Labour Group became politically effective in securing the repeal of the Taff-Vale decision and the passage of legislation favorable to its aims.

The main labor and socialist organizations of Great Britain are as follows (the cooperative movement is discussed elsewhere):

I. The Labour Party
II. The Independent Labour Party
III. The Socialist Labour Party
IV. The Communist Party of Great Britain
V. The Socialist Party of Great Britain
VI. The National Socialist Party
VII. The Fabian Society
VIII. The Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women’s Organizations
IX. The Joint Board

I. The British Labour Party dates from 1899 and is composed of trade unions, and trades councils, of socialist, cooperative, and other working class societies, and of individuals. The Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society belong to the Labour Party. Although the Labour Party is not directly committed to Socialism, it advocates Socialist principles. The support which it receives from the trade union is its great source of strength. In 1917 the party was reorganized to include as members all producers “by hand or brain”; and its membership now consists of “national societies” and “parliamentary constituencies.” This makes possible the enrollment of individuals who subscribe to the platform and reside or work within a constituency. The membership of the party has grown from 375,031 in 1900 to very nearly four million by 1921. Its representation in Parliament in January, 1921, was 67 members out of a total of 707.

II. The Independent Labour Party was founded in 1893 by Keir Hardie. It is more uncompromisingly socialistic in aim than the Labour Party and advocates collective ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and independent labor representation on all legislative and administrative bodies. It had in 1920 a membership of about 50,000.

III. The Socialist Labour Party is the extreme left wing of Marxian Socialism in Great Britain. It advocates industrial
unionism and revolutionary political action, and refuses to affiliate with the British Labour Party. It is numerically a handful.

IV. The Communist Party of Great Britain originated in August 1920. It grew out of the socialist group which was founded in 1881 by H. M. Hyndman. Its membership is not very large.

V. The Socialist Party of Great Britain was formed by secessionists from the old Social Democratic Party in 1904. It emphasizes political action and an uncompromising interpretation of Marx, and opposes all other political parties. Its membership is of negligible size.

VI. The National Socialist Party is composed of the minority of the British Socialist Party, which seceded in 1916 under the leadership of H. M. Hyndman, because of the party's opposition to the war.

VII. The Fabian Society, founded in 1883-1884 by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, Bernard Shaw, Graham Wallas, and others, has had an important influence on the socialist movement in interpreting socialist principles in terms of actual working methods. Its function is mainly that of propaganda and research, the publication of special pamphlets and essays and the organization of lectures. A portion of its work has now been taken over by the Labour Research Department.

VIII. The Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations, organized in 1916, includes as members the Women's Trade Union League, the Women's Cooperative Guild, and the Women's Labour League, the National Federation of Women Workers and the Railway Women's Guild. The Women's Labour League, which sponsored the constitution of the Joint Committee, is organized for the purpose of obtaining direct labor representation in connection with the Labour Party, direct representation of women in Parliament and on local bodies, and economic equality of the sexes.

IX. The Joint Board is composed of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, and the Executive Committee of the Labour Party. It was founded in 1906 and reorganized in 1908. Its objects are, first, to secure united action by all labor organizations on matters of common interest; second, to act as a judicial body to determine the
bona fide character of any trade union organization which is a member or prospective member of any constituent organization; and third, to act as a court of arbitration between unions in cases of disputes.

ITALY

The modern Socialist movement in Italy first came into existence under the influence of Bakunin. In 1869 he opened the first branch of the International in Naples. The organization had only a short life, and in 1880 was superseded by the Labor Party. In 1890 this party endorsed the principles of Marxian Socialism.

The main socialist groups of Italy are as follows:

I. The Italian Socialist Party.
II. The Reformist Socialist Party.
III. The Communist Party of Italy; Section of the Third Internationale.

I. The Italian Socialist Party is the strongest socialist organization in the country and represents the extreme left of the movement. This party is opposed to participation in the government and favors, with reservations, the Third International. In 1921 it was represented in the Chamber of Deputies by 156 members out of a total of 508, the largest representation of any single party in Italy.

At the congress of Livorno, January 1921, a split occurred over the issue of accepting unreservedly the conditions of the Third International. The congress was confronted by three resolutions: that of the majority endorsing the Third International with certain reservations; that of the Communists; and that of the Right wing favoring the Third International with maximum reservations. The vote was as follows: 98,029 for the first; 58,790 for the second; 14,212 for the third. The Communist seceded and formed the Communist Party of Italy.

II. The Reformist Socialist Party was formed in 1912 by the moderate socialists, led by Bissolati, who were expelled from the Italian Socialist Party because of alleged infidelity to the principles of the class struggle, and for their support of the Tripolitan war. It elected 16 representatives to the Chamber of Deputies in 1919 elections.
THE NETHERLANDS

The main socialist organizations of Holland are as follows:

I. The Social Democratic Labor Party.
II. The Communist Party of the Netherlands; section of the Third International.
III. The Federation of Christian Socialists.

I. The Social Democratic Labor Party was founded in 1894 when a majority of the old Social Democratic Federation voted to discontinue political activity and to concentrate on revolutionary mass action. Those opposed to this policy undertook to form a new party under the name of the Social Democratic Labor Party as a means of counteracting the ultra-radical tendencies in the federation and of furnishing an organization for political action for the more moderate socialists. This party has grown steadily and is today the strongest labor party in the country. It has stated its aims as follows: "To forward the socialization of industries and nationalization of the land. If the present organization of the State cannot do all this, then revolutionize the State." Its specific demands have been formulated at a labor congress held under the joint auspices of the Social Democratic Labor Party and the Dutch Federation of Trades Unions, in November, 1918. These two organizations are so intimately affiliated as to be almost identical. At the election in July, 1918, the party elected 22 members to the second chamber, polling 296,145 votes, 22.3 per cent of the total vote.

II. The Communist Party of the Netherlands was originally the Social Democratic Party organized in 1918. In the 1918 election it showed its strength for the first time, casting 31,023 votes and electing two representatives.

III. The Federation of Christian Socialists is a sect of Socialist pacifists and Tolstoian anti-militarists. It elected one representative in 1918 and polled 8,423 votes.

RUSSIA

The Socialist movement in Russia began in the eighteen forties and continued for a time as an intellectual movement of students with a few working class followers. As it became more influential, the government began to persecute its exponents, who in turn adopted terrorist tactics. In the latter part
of the century, the development of industrialism in its most intense form stimulated class consciousness among the workers and led to many strikes, culminating in the general strike of 1905. When the strike failed the people resorted to mass demonstrations.

After this unsuccessful revolution, the Socialists adopted parliamentary tactics, and although their parties were declared illegal and forced to establish headquarters outside the country, it was found possible to elect candidates to the Duma in 1907 on other tickets. The Socialists were so strong that given universal suffrage they would have had considerable influence on the political life of the country.

At the outbreak of the great war, Russian Socialists suffered from secessions of pro-war members. Prior to 1917 the main socialist and labor parties of Russia were:

I. The Social Revolutionary Party.
II. The Social Democratic Labor Party.
III. The Group of Toil (Labor Party).
IV. The Bund. (Jewish Labor Federation of Russia, Poland and Lithuania.)

I. The Social Revolutionary Party organized about 1897 temporarily employed terrorist methods. The Party was in effect a revival of the Norodnaya Volya (Peoples Will Pary) of the seventies and early eighties. The Kerensky pro-war faction split from this party, leaving a moderate and a radical anti-war group.

II. The Social Democratic Labor Party, pure Marxists, was the most important Socialist organization. At first it was called League for the Emancipation of Labor and was organized abroad in 1884. Under its influence chiefly the beginnings of a trade union movement were made in Russia in the early and middle nineties. In 1898 the party was reorganized, with a definite declaration of its political as well as economic aims. It was divided into Bolsheviki, or majority adherents, and Mensheviki, the minority. The division of the S. D. L. P. into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks became clear in 1903.

III. The Group of Toil organized in 1905-1906 was a peasant party with a considerable following on account of its
adoption of certain principles akin to ancient Russian communism.

IV. The Bund was the organization of Jewish socialists. It was originated and maintained close relations with the S. D. L. P.

**Spain**

The Socialist Labor Party and the General Labor Association are the only important Socialist organizations in Spain. In 1910 the former entered a coalition with the Republicans, and Pablo Iglesias, the leader of the Socialists, was elected to office in Madrid. His policies did not accord with party tradition, and the Socialists failed to support him when he advocated Spain's participation in the Great War. At the December 1920 elections the socialists elected three representatives to the Cortes.

The General Labor Association, founded in 1889, is a federation of trade unions in sympathy with Socialism. Its membership is about five times that of the Socialist Labor Party. Its platform consists principally of recommendations for reform and labor legislation.

**Switzerland**

The oldest political working-class organization in Switzerland is the Grütli union, founded in 1838, with a membership chiefly composed of artisans and handworkers. In 1878 it accepted Socialism in principle, and in 1901 it joined the Social Democratic party, but seceded again during the war.

The Social Democratic party was originally formed under Marxian influence in 1888. It still stands for internationalism of the strictest type. Politically this party has achieved the defeat of various anti-socialist measures.

In 1902 the party polled 55,000 votes and elected seven members to the national chamber, whose total membership is 189. In 1919 it elected 39 deputies, reaching third place among national political organizations, the Radical Democrats coming first with 63 seats, the Catholic conservatives second with 42, and the peasant party fourth with 27.
Socialism in the United States had its beginnings in the early part of the 19th century in the establishment of experimental communities after the plan of the utopian Socialists. Between 1848-1890 the socialist movement was largely composed of the immigrant element. Until the late nineties socialism made little headway amongst the American element of the country. While this is still true to a considerable extent, a large proportion of the Socialist Party members are at present American citizens.

The main socialist and labor organizations in the United States are the following:

I. The Socialist Labor Party.
II. The Socialist Party of America.
III. The Communist Party of America.
IV. The United Communist Party.
V. The National Non-Partisan League.
VI. The Farmer-Labor Party.

I. The Socialist Labor Party was organized in 1877. It reached the peak of its power in 1898 under the leadership of Daniel De Leon. In the election of 1898 it polled a vote of 80,000. Opposition to the American Federation of Labor resulted in the formation by this party of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, which declared for industrial unionism and fought the principle of craft unions. The formation of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance led to a split in the party. Those who seceded formed the present Socialist Party of America. This alliance was not successful and with the advent of the Socialist Party the Socialist Labor Party lost votes and gradually sank to its present insignificant size. Theoretically the influence of this tiny group has been great in Scotland, Wales, United States, and Ireland. The Shop Stewards,' the Labor College, the Workers' Union, the British S. L. P. all have been influenced by DeLeon's pamphleteering. Secretary Socialist Labor Party, Arnold Peterson, 45 Rose St., New York.

II. The Socialist Party of America was founded about 1901 by a coalition of sections of the Socialist Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party in which Hillquit, Berger, Debs, and
Seymour Stedman were prominent. The present name was adopted 1903-1904. It reached the height of its membership in 1912 with a roll of 118,000 but lost members through internal friction between the direct actionists, communists, and parliamentary Socialists, resulting in the split of 1919. The national executive committee of the Socialist Party adopted various resolutions in January, 1919, expressing toward the new National Labor Party an attitude of watchful waiting. The present membership of the Socialist Party is about 26,000. In the November, 1920 election it polled nearly 1,000,000 votes. Secretary National Executive Committee, Otto Branstetter, 220 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

III. The Communist Party of America seceded in 1919 from the Socialist Party after the expulsion of some foreign language federations and three state organizations because of alleged opposition to the Socialist Party's principles. Its tactics and principles are taken with little modification from those of the Russian Bolsheviks. The United States Secretary of Labor rendered in 1919 a decision declaring membership in the Communist Party sufficient cause for deportation of aliens, and many members have been sent to Europe under this decision.

IV. The United Communist Party is a union of a group who left the Socialist party in 1919 forming the Communist Labor party, and a seceding group from the Communist party.

V. The Non-Partisan League, organized in 1915, is composed of farmers who aim at socialization of various economic enterprises through cooperative management and political representation within existing parties. The league's birthplace is North Dakota, but it has spread to a number of agricultural states and is now organized on a national basis, claiming a membership in 1919 of 250,000. The President is A. C. Townley, in care National Non-Partisan League, St. Paul, Minnesota.

VI. The Farmer Labor Party was organized at a convention in Chicago in June, 1920, by representatives of local labor parties and local unions throughout the country. A constitution was adopted, and officers and standing committees elected. A platform was adopted and a national ticket nominated. Since the convention the organization has been extended but no accurate estimate can be obtained of the present membership. In the November, 1920, election it polled nearly 300,000 votes.
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General History and Theory

American labor year book. N.Y. Rand school of social science. v. 1-date. 1916-date.

Section on "socialist, labor and cooperative movements" in various countries.
An explanation of socialism in popular style.
A statement of the capitalist indictment, and a refutation of anti-socialist arguments.
Bibl. p. 264-86. Biographical notes on socialist writers and leaders of all countries, p. 265-63. Chronological chart showing development of socialism in the nineteenth century by countries.
Pamphlets separately published bound in 2 v.
Bibl. p. 399-442. Headings: The nature of socialism, the weakness of socialism, the golden mean, or practicable social reform.
A source book of selections describing the history of socialism in various countries.
A brilliant summary of socialism from an ethical point of view.
Reprints from Metropolitan magazine, discussing causes, aim, methods, program and accomplishments of socialism, especially in the United States.

Bibliographical footnotes. Socialism in relation to individualism, ethics, law, the state; politics. The reform achievements of the socialist movement in various countries.


"'Suggested reading' and 'topics for reports and discussions' at end of each chapter. . . . Fair and logical in its attempt to remove popular misconceptions and place the real facts before the reader."—Pittsburgh pub. lib.


Socialism in different countries.


What socialism is not, what capitalism is, and what socialism is.


Bibl. p. 470-9. One of the best general histories. Contains discussions of early French and English socialism, Marx, the International, and German social democracy; Russia, the second International, the English school.


Gives an historical survey of the theory and practice of the movement, with an extensive bibliography. Recent developments in various countries are fully treated.


Bibl. p. 289-92. Headings: Socialist evolution, political, economic and industrial; socialist criticism, the economic and intellectual failure of capitalism; socialist construction, method, demands, the state; the socialist movement.

Melvin, Floyd. Socialism as the sociological ideal; a broader basis for socialism. N.Y. Sturgis & Walton co. 1915. 216p.


A text book of socialism, not critical.


Contains bibliography classified by countries, also copies of various documents.
Bibl. p. 9-12. Selected readings on "Utopian, Christian, Marxian, and progressive socialism."

Schäffle, Dr. A. Quintessence of socialism. Translated from the 8th German ed. N.Y. Charles Scribner's sons. 1892. 127p.
A scientific and yet a popular picture of the economic consequences of socialism.

"A moderate and even-tempered reply to current objections to socialism." (Springfield Republican) Emphasizes evolutionary and ethical phase.


Biographical footnotes. A good history of the theory of socialism; and a clear, synthetic description of socialist thought.

Spargo, John and Arner, G. B. L. Elements of socialism. N.Y. Macmillan co. 1912. 382p.


Walling, W. E. Socialism as it is; survey of the world-wide revolutionary movement. N.Y. Macmillan co. 1912. 452p.
List of references p. 437-45.

Walling, W. E., ed. The socialism of today; a source-book of the present position and recent development of the socialist and labor parties in all countries. N.Y. Henry Holt & co. 1916. 642p.

An important contribution to theory.

The application of socialism to present conditions, with answers to various objections, written in a popular and persuasive style.
For comparisons of socialism with syndicalism and anarchism, see under Syndicalism—Theories, and Anarchism—Theories.

**Theories**

**UTOPIAN**


A socialistic utopia of the year 2000 described in form of a novel.

Brisbane, Albert. Association; or a concise exposition of the practical part of Fourier's social science. N.Y. Greely & McElrath. 1843. 80p.

Fourier, Charles. Theory of social organization. N.Y. C. P. Somerby. 1876. 2 parts.


Socialism through ancient and mediaeval European history. The aesthetic conception of a socialist state.


An analysis of human nature, as a basis for the "rational system of society."


Contains "universal constitution and code of laws" of proposed international state, to provide universal cooperation and equal opportunity.


Selections from his complete works.


A theory of society based on the fundamental desires to acquire, to enjoy, and to know, which stir up capabilities and bring about activity of all kinds.

**Community Experiments**

Hillquit, Morris. Utopian socialism and communistic experiments. (In History of socialism in the United States. 1906 Part i. p. 21-148)
A description of communistic experiments.
A literary and antiquarian account of Ruskin's unsuccessful community experiment.

SCIENTIFIC

Refutes the criticisms of Marxian socialism.
Summarizes theories of scientific socialism, and brings Marxism up-to-date.
De Leon, Daniel. Vulgar economy; or a critical analyst of Marx analyzed. N.Y. National executive committee. Socialist labor party. 1914. 53p.
One of the best summaries of the Marxian theories. Rather difficult reading.
Included in the preceding book.
Kautsky, Karl. Bernstein und das sozial demokratische Programm. Eine Antikritik. Stuttgart, I. H. W. Diezz Nach f. g. m. b. h. 1899. 195p
The book is an elaboration of the official program of the German social-democratic party as it was organized up to 1914, by its ablest scholar.


4 v. of 12 announced to be published.


Academic in treatment.


An epitome of the first volume of Capital.


Drawn up in 1848; it is still considered by many socialists the most expressive document of the social revolution.

Rubinow, J. M. Was Marx wrong? The economic theories of Karl Marx tested in the light of modern industrial development. N.Y. Marx institute of Am. 1914. 60p.

An answer to Marxism vs. socialism, by Simkhovitch. Shows the actual progress of concentration of capital, and defends Marx.


A clear and fair description.

Veblen, Thorstein. Socialist economics of Karl Marx and his followers. (In Place of science in modern civilization. 1919. p. 409-56.)


**REVISIONIST**


Critical essays in the philosophy of socialism, analyzing the contributions of Saint Simon, Owen, Weltling, Stirner, Marx and Engels.


An academic study, one of the first criticisms of scientific socialist theory. Attempts to prove that the concentration of capital, as set forth in Communist Manifesto, has not come to pass. In place of revolution, therefore, we should expect slow evolutionary development along political lines.


A series of essays, first published in a socialist daily paper in Paris, mostly dealing with questions of method, and advocating "socialist opportunism" or "revolutionary evolution." Translator's preface, 43 pages, contains brief and clear exposition of Jaurès' socialism.


With introduction and bibliography of the English socialist school, by H. S. Foxwell.

Mill, J. S. Socialism of John Stuart Mill, ed. by W. D. P. Bliss. N.Y. Twentieth century pub. co. 1909?

Collection of the writings of Mill on social problems.


Essays by Shaw, Webb, William Clarke, Sydney Olivier, Annie Besant, Graham Wallas and Hubert Bland. The motto of the society is to "wait for the right moment, as Fabius did, and then strike hard." 1920 ed. pub. by Fabian society. London.


The conditions which Marx prophesied would cause the revolution have not developed. Modern Marxists look forward to the revolution as a sort of utopia, and pursue the reformist policy.


Criticizes scientific socialism as lacking ideals, and revolutionary syndicalism as utopian. National types of socialism expounded. Conclusion recommends moderate policy. Appendix contains chronological table of social movement, 1850-1907, by countries.
An indictment of British capitalism.

Collectivist

Browne, W. R., comp. Man or the state; a group of essays by famous writers. N.Y. B. W. Huebsch. 1919. 141p.
Danger of collectivism.
Cross, I. B. [Collectivism.] (In Essentials of socialism 1912. p. 63-70.)

With appendix giving illustrations of collectively owned industries in various places. A sympathetic study, in which Rodbertus is preferred to Marx.

Dawson, W. H. Karl Rodbertus and the wages principle. (In German socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle. 1899. p. 61-90.)
Describes the theories of one of the earliest state socialists.

A critical exposition of the whole of Rodbertus' theory.


The state socialistic "institutions which Germany has developed... are in no way inconsistent with democracy."

Government operation, which showed the weaknesses of the competitive system, was unsuccessful because undemocratic.

Laidler, H. W. Public ownership throughout the world; a survey of the extent of government control and operation. N.Y. Rand school of social science. 1918. 48p.

Lusk, H. H. Social welfare in New Zealand; the result of twenty years of progressive social legislation and its significance for the United States and other countries. N.Y. Sturgis & Walton co. 1913. 287p.


Description and interpretation of collectivism in Germany.


The scientific explanation of crises as the result of over-production, to be remedied by state socialism.


Todd, R. M. Municipal ownership, with a special survey of municipal gas plants in America and Europe, comprising a view of the general principles of public ownership; its relation to the public welfare, etc. Chic. Public ownership league of America. 1918. 122p.

Collective ownership treated without reference to any other socialistic principles.


An antagonistic description of the advance of municipal socialism in England.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on interstate commerce. Hearings on public ownership of railroads of Albert M. Todd, president of the Public ownership league of America. Wash. Govt. print. off. 1919. 44p. (65th Cong. 3d sess.)


Part I deals with capitalist concentration, and Part II with the socialization of the means of production and exchange.


A book written before the war, warning against confusing socialism with statism.

Walling, W. E. State socialism and after. (In Socialism as it is. 1912. p. 1-116.)

Walling, W. E., and Laidler, H. W., eds. State socialism, pro and con; official documents and other authoritative selections—showing the world-wide replacement of private by governmental industry before and during the war. N.Y. Henry Holt & co. 1917. 649p.


See also under Guild Socialism; Collectivism and Guild Socialism.

**CHRISTIAN**


One of the first expositions of Christian socialism.


Author interprets Ketteler as favoring workingmen's association and legislative reform, but not the revolutionary aims of the International.

Nearing, Scott. Social religion; an interpretation of Christianity in terms of modern life. N.Y. Macmillan co. 1913. 227p. Socialism, an opportunity and challenge to the churches.


Rauschenbusch, Walter. Christianity and the social crisis. N.Y. Macmillan co. 1913. 429p. The social aims of Jesus; why has Christianity never undertaken the work of social reconstruction?

Rauschenbusch, Walter. Christianizing the social order. N.Y. Macmillan co. 1913. 493p. Lines of moral evolution which should follow the present social awakening in the organization of religion.


A study course for college students.

Scudder, V. D. Church and the hour; reflections of a socialist church-woman. N.Y. E. P. Dutton & co. 1917. 133p.
A literary expression of the necessity for reconciling socialism with the church.
Bibl. at head of each chapter. Socialism and Christianity are allies. "The socialistic ideals are practically those of early Christianity."
"In reality the relation between economic and spiritual development is an interlocking relationship."
Interpretation of New Testament history to show the essential socialism of Jesus.
For Christian socialism in Great Britain.
See also under Cooperation, books dealing with the history of cooperation in Great Britain.

Contra
A scientific analysis and contradiction of Marxian theories by the late head of the Austrian school of economics.
Antagonistic review of the progress of the movement.
Ellwood, C. A. Socialism in the light of sociology. (In Sociology and modern social problems. 1919. p. 354-70.)
Bibl. p. 367-70. Socialism feared as bureaucracy.

Hillquit, Morris, and Ryan, J. A. Socialism; promise or menace? N.Y. Macmillan co. 1914. 270p.
A written debate, in which both sides present their arguments very ably.

Hirsch, Max. Democracy versus socialism; a critical examination of socialism as a remedy for social injustice and an exposition of the single tax doctrine. N.Y. Macmillan co. 1901. 481p.

A series of brilliant letters between a socialist and an individualist.

LeRossignol, J. E. Orthodox socialism; a criticism. N.Y. Thomas Y. Crowell & co. 1907. 147p.
Selected list of books in English, p. 141-4. "The theories of socialism, as they stand now, are more utopian than scientific, and calculated to divert society from its efforts to secure a gradual improvement of present conditions to the dangerous pursuit of an intangible and impracticable ideal."

An introduction by Herbert Spencer, and essays by various writers.

Democracy not applicable to industry.


The danger of over-centralization.


Skelton, O. D. Socialism; a critical analysis. Boston. Houghton Mifflin co. 1911. 329p. (Hart, Schaffner and Marx prize essays in economics.)
With bibl. A good presentation of anti-socialism.

A bitter anarchist attack on socialism.
History

International


Bibl.


Kirkup, Thomas. The International. (In History of socialism. 1913. p. 168-96.)


Longuet, Jean. Le mouvement socialiste internationale. (v. 5 of Encycloèdie socialiste. 1912. 648p.)


Moscow international communist conference. (In American labor year book. 1919-20. p. 311-20.)

A brief account of the conference, and text of the manifesto.

Oneal, James and Minor, Robert. Resolved that the terms of the Third international are unacceptable to the revolutionary socialists of the world. Affirmative, James Oneal vs. negative, Robert Minor. N.Y. Academy pr. 1921.

Appendix gives "21 points" of 3d international.


Covers history of 1st, 2d and 3d internationals.


Urges the "organization of an international resistance to the international conspiracy of demagogism."
Walling, W. E. ed. The international. (In Socialism of today. 1916. p. 3-27.)

Periodicals
Gives news of socialism and labor parties in various countries.
A magazine of some 250 pages printed simultaneously in Russian, English, French and German. Organ of the third Internationale.

IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

Australia
Bliss, W. D. P. Socialism in Australia and New Zealand. (In Handbook of socialism. 1907. p. 150-3.)
Coghlan, T. A. Labour and industry in Australia from the first settlement in 1788 to the establishment of the commonwealth in 1901. N.Y. Oxford univ. pr. 1918. 4v.
A general economic history, with special emphasis on labor. Describes trade unionism, the labor party, etc.
Hunter, Robert. [Socialism in Australia.] (In Socialists at work. 1908. p. 354-6.)
A judicial treatment from the viewpoint of a non-socialist senator in the Commonwealth parliament.
Periodicals

Australian worker. Weekly. Sydney, N.S.W.
Carries news of Australian labor party.

Austria

Balch, E. G. Statement of the Austro-German socialist delegates. (In Approaches to the great settlement. 1918. p. 186-9.) In reply to the questionnaire of the Dutch-Scandinavian socialist committee in 1917, expressing the anti-imperialist aims of the Austrian party.
Kirkup, Thomas. [Socialism in Austria.] (In History of socialism. 1913. p. 336-8.)

Periodicals

Organ of majority socialists.
Organ of scientific socialism.

Die rote Fahne. Daily. Vienna
Organ of the Communist party of Austria.

Belgium


Brooks, J. G. Socialism at work. (In Social unrest. 1913. p. 313-43.)


Hunter, Robert. Belgian labor party. (In Socialists at work. 1908. p. 128-52.)

Kirkup, Thomas. [Socialism in Belgium.] (In History of socialism. 1913. p. 330-4.)

Nitti, Francesco. [Catholic socialism in Belgium.] (In Catholic socialism. 1895. p. 301-10.)

Orth, S. P. Belgian labor party. (In Socialism and democracy in Europe. 1913. p. 118-45.)

Describes the success of the Belgian labor party in the 1919 elections.

Walling, W. E. Belgium. (In Socialism of today. 1916. p. 70-5.)

Programs


Periodicals

De Werker. (Worker.)
Organ of the Socialist party of Belgium.

De Voorwit (Forward.)
Organ of the Socialist party of Belgium.

Organ of the Socialist party of Belgium.

Organ of the Communist party of Belgium. Section of 3d international.

Canada

Contains article dealing with the organization of Federated labour party in Vancouver.


Political aspects of the movement.

Describes the creation of the party.

Independent labour party of Toronto. (In Industrial banner. Toronto. Nov. 1; Dec. 13, 27; 1918.)
The party's success in municipal and by-elections.


Programs


A newly organized party.

*Periodicals*

Official organ of the Ontario independent labour party.

Western clarion.
Official organ of the Socialist party of Canada.

Denmark, Norway, and Sweden

Hunter, Robert. [Socialism in Scandinavian countries.] (In Socialists at work. 1908. p. 340-5.)
Kirkup, Thomas. [Socialism in Scandinavian countries.] (In History of socialism. 1913. p. 346-9.)

*Periodicals*

Organ of Young people's movement of Norway.

Official organ of Norwegian labor party.

Official organ of Swedish social democratic labor party.

Stormkloken. Weekly.
Organ of the Young people's federation of Sweden.

France

Bliss, W. D. P. Socialism in France. (In Handbook of socialism. 1907. p. 71-82.)

Asserts that there has been little original socialist thought in France since Proudhon.

Hunter, Robert. French socialist party. (In Socialists at work. 1908. p. 56-87.)

History in chronological sequence, by authors among whom are Albert Thomas, Georges Renard, John Labusquiere, Gabriel Deville, Paul Brousse, Henri Turot, René Viviani, and Eugène Fourniere.

Eighteenth century to 1898.
SOCIALISM


"The republic is the political formula of socialism, as socialism is the economic and social expression of the republic."

Nitti, Francesco. [Catholic socialism in France.] (In Catholic socialism. 1895. p. 258-300.)

Orth, S. P. Socialist party in France. (In Socialism and democracy in Europe. 1913. p. 75-117.)

Rouger, Hubert. La France socialiste. (v. 8 of Encyclopédie socialiste, syndicale, et coopérative de l'internationale ouvrière. 1912.) 416p.


Programs

Liberal French socialists. Program, 1902. (In Orth, S. P. Socialism and democracy in Europe. 1913. p. 281-9.)


Report of the proceedings of the conference for unification of the French socialist party.

Treat, Francis. What happened at Tours. (In Socialist review. N.Y. v. 10. p. 72-5. Apr.-May 1921.)


Periodicals


Organ of the Committee of the 3d international.


Official organ of Section Française de l'Internationale Communiste.

12 Rue Feydeau.
Evening paper. Official organ of Section Française l'Internationale ouvrière.
1-date. 1920-date.
La vague; pacifiste, socialiste, femmiste. Weekly. Paris. 20
Rue du Croissant.

Germany

Bevan, E. R. German social democracy during the war. London.
History carried as far as November, 1917.
Bernstein, Eduard. Ferdinand Lassalle as a social reformer.
London. 1893.
Bliss, W. D. P. Socialism in Germany. (In Handbook of
socialism. 1907. p. 83-110.)
Dannenber, Karl. Revolution in Germany. N.Y. Radical rev.
pub. assn. 1919. 32p.
Dawson, W. H. German socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle.
N.Y. Charles Scribner’s sons. 1899. 300p.
Dawson, W. H. Outlook of socialism. (In Evolution of modern
Germany. 1918. p. 444-66.)
Ely, R. T. Germany. (In French and German socialism. 1883.
p. 156-262.)
Hunter, Robert. German social democracy. (In Socialists at
work. 1908. p. 1-30.)
Kirkup, Thomas. German social democracy. (In History of
socialism. 1913. p. 197-236.)
Laidler, H. W. The German revolution. (In Socialism in
thought and action. 1920. p. 359-87.)
Liebknecht, Karl. The future belongs to the people. Speeches
made since the beginning of the war. Edited and translated


A scholarly, readable history. By far the best in existence.

Nitti, Francesco. German Catholic socialists. (In Catholic socialism. 1895. p. 130-98.)

Orth, S. P. German social democracy. (In Socialism and democracy in Europe. 1913. p. 146-206.)


Appendix on social democracy and the woman question in Germany, by Alys Russell, p. 175-95.


Sombart, Werner. [German socialism.] (In Socialism and the social movement. 1909. p. 165-75.)

Walling, W. E., ed. Germany. (In Socialism of today. 1916. p. 27-56.)


Summarizes the platforms of the different socialist parties.

Zimand, Savel. Hugo Haase and the independent socialist party. (In N. Y. Call. May 11, 1919.)


Describes the socialist movement in Germany.


Programs

Balch, E. G. Memorandum of the German minority socialists. (In Approaches to the great settlement. 1918. p. 182-5.)
Bavarian social democratic party. Communal program (n. d.) (In Orth, S. P. Socialism and democracy in Europe. 1913. p. 301-3.)


With introduction.


Synopsis of programs of various parties.


Periodicals

Organ of the German independent socialist party.


Organ of the Communist young people’s international.

The scientific organ of the German social democratic party. Editor, Heinrich Cunow.

Organ of the United communist party of Germany.


Organ of German social-democratic party (right wing).

Great Britain


Beer, M. A history of British socialism. London. G. Bell & sons. 1919. 2v. Traces the beginnings of the socialist movement back through mediaeval communism to the Roman empire, and brings the history up to the present time.

Bliss, W. D. P. Socialism in England. (In Handbook of socialism. 1907. p. 50-70.)


Hammond, J. L., and Barbara. Skilled labourer, 1760-1872. London. Longmans Green & co. 1919. 397p. Reveals a new aspect of modern history. "Their theme is the reaction of the new agriculture and industry upon popular life and institutions, the treatment by governments of the problems and movements which it produced, and the psychology which made it possible for statesmen and preachers to forget human misery in economic progress and to brand as sedition the writhings of despair."—Nation, London.

Hammond, J. L., and Barbara. Town labourer, 1760-1832; the new civilisation. London. Longmans, Green & co. 1918. 346p. Presents the author's conclusions as a whole, referring to the history of the "civil war" between 1760 and 1832. It is the revelation of a philosophy of social life.


Warning to socialists that the Labour party stands only for social reform.


Hunter, Robert. British labor party. (In Socialists at work. 1908. p. 88-127.)


Kirkup, Thomas. English school of socialism. (In History of socialism. 1913. p. 365-402.)


MacDonald, J. R. British party. (In Socialist movement. 1911. p. 229-35.)


MacDonald, J. R. Socialism after the war. London. Natl. labour pr. 1918. 80p. Outlines a reconstruction program for the British labor party.

Orth, S. P. English labor party. (In Socialism and democracy in Europe. 1913. p. 207-49.)


Skelton, O. D. [England.] (In Socialism; a critical analysis. 1911. p. 287-300.)


Tead, Ordway. British reconstruction programs. N.Y. Inter-collegiate socialist society. 1918. 76p.
SOCIALISM


Bibl. p. 333-6. An interpretative history, from a liberal viewpoint, reassuring the public as to the dangers of the socialistic Labour party.


Brief history of the movement in England, description of progress among the organizations, in the churches and universities, and in politics.


Programs

British labour party. Constitution as adopted by the party conference held in London on February 21, 1918. (In Kellogg, P. U. and Gleason, A. H. British labour and the war. 1919. p. 367-71.)

British labour party. Platform in the general elections, December, 1918. (In Kellogg, P. U. and Gleason, A. H. British labor and the war. 1919. p. 413-17.)


Contains political resolutions of the conference, statement of election results, report of the National labour press, and constitution of the party.

Contains constitution, directories, etc.


Periodicals

Daily herald. London.
Organ of the British labour party.

Organ of the Socialist information and research bureau.


Organ of Social democracy.

Organ of the Independent labour party of Great Britain.


Labour party. (Great Britain.) Local government, parliamentary and international bulletin. Semimonthly. London. 33 Eccleston Square, S.W. 1.


Labour woman; a monthly journal for working women. London.
Organ of the Labour party. 33 Eccleston Square. S.W. 1. v. 1-date. 1902-date.


Fabian, collectivistic.

Organ of the Plebs league.

Organ of Socialist labour party of Great Britain.


Italy

Garlanda, Federico. [Socialism.] (In New Italy. 1911. p. 335-44.)


Hunter, Robert. Italian socialist party. (In Socialists at work. 1908. p. 31-55.)


Kirkup, Thomas. [Italian socialism.] (In History of socialism. 1913. p. 334-6.)


Walling, W. E., ed. Italy. (In Socialism of today. 1916. p. 76-94.)

Programs

Italian socialists' proclamation. (In Balch, E. G. Approaches to the great settlement. 1918. p. 201-5.)
The directors of the Italian socialist party, the Socialist parliamentary group, and the general federation of labor, stated in 1917 their international principles and reconstruction program.

Periodicals

Yearbook containing directories, proceedings, and descriptive accounts, interspersed with photographs, sketches, etc.
Official organ of the Italian socialist party.
Organ of the Communist section of the Socialist party of Italy.

Netherlands

Hunter, Robert. [Socialism in Holland.] (In Socialists at work. 1908. p. 345-7.)
Kirkup, Thomas. [Socialism in Holland.] (In History of socialism. 1913. p. 343-5.)

Periodicals

Official organ of the Dutch social democratic labor party (right wing).
Official organ of the Communist party.
Russia

Hunter, Robert. [Russia.] (In Socialists at work. 1908. p. 327-32.)


The largest part of the book is occupied with incidents and atrocities of the revolution. p. 1-24 deals with the organization of the socialist party in Letvia, Courland, etc.

International socialist labor congress, 4th, Amsterdam, 1904.

Kirkup, Thomas. Revolution in Russia. (In History of socialism. 1913. p. 237-64.)


Lenin, N. Party divisions. (In Lenin, N. and Trotzky, L. Proletarian revolution in Russia. 1918. p. 33-41.)

Masaryk, T. G. Modern socialism. (In Spirit of Russia. 1919. v. 2. p. 287-377.)

Description of revolutionary parties and economic and intellectual conditions.


History of the revolutionary movement from the decembrists to the bolsheviks. Pro-Kerensky.

Stories of the revolutionary fraternity.

Stiéloff, Georges. La fraction social-démocrate dans la troisième Douma. Paris. Marcel Rivière et cie. 1913. 87p. (v. 9 of Les documents du socialisme.)

Tchernichew, K. G. La possession communale de sol. Paris. G. Jacques & cie. 1903. (Bibliothèque d'études socialistes. v. 11.)
Walling, W. E., ed. Russia and Finland. (In Socialism of today. 1916. p. 95-107.)

See also Bolshevism—Russia.

Spain


Hunter, Robert. [Socialism in Spain.] (In Socialists at work. 1908. p. 349-51.)


Platforms

Beals, Carleton Class duel in Spain. (In Liberator. N.Y. v. 4, no. 4. p. 16-20. Apr. 1921.)


Periodicals


Central organ of the Socialist labor party in Spain.

Switzerland

Dawson, W. H. Grütli association. (In Social Switzerland. 1897. p. 69-77.)

History and growing radicalism of the association.

Walling, W. E., ed. Switzerland. (In Socialism of today. 1916. p. 127-8.)

Periodicals


Züricher Volkrecht. Daily. Zürich, Switzerland.
SOCIALISM

United States

This section includes reference on Labor parties.


A sympathetic history of the league from its formation through December 1919.


Hillquit, Morris. History of socialism in the United States. 5th ed. rev. and enl. N.Y. Funk & Wagnalls co. 1910. 389p. Bibliographical footnotes. Utopian socialism and communistic experiments; the modern movement, including German clubs in ante-bellum period, organization of the party and of unions, the Socialist labor party, and contemporary socialism.


Discussion, testimony, and cross-examination before Committee on industrial relations bringing differences in policy between the A. F. of L. and the socialist party.
MODERN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Trial and expulsion of N.Y. city socialist assemblymen.

Hughan, J. W. American socialism of the present day, with an introduction by John Spargo. N.Y. John Lane co. 1911. 265p.

Karsner, David. Debs; his authorized life and letters from Woodstock prison to Atlanta. N.Y. Boni & Liveright. 1919. 244p.
Biography of the presidential candidate of Socialist party.

A summary of the platform adopted by the November convention.


"A socialism grounded in the philosophy of utility embodies the best traditions of Americanism."

Syndicalist leanings.

The convention, the platform, the prospects.

The great increase in farm tenancy is due to the operations of big business.

Accuses the official faction of the state government of discrimination against the league.

History of the league's activities in North Dakota.


Reports of conventions noted.

"Intended for use in the general propaganda work of the socialist party," the book is largely an indictment of capitalism.


An economic interpretation of American history.


Expulsion of N.Y. assemblymen.

Attack on the "stupid policy adopted by socialist party of America" toward the world war. Gives the St. Louis anti-war "Majority report."


Bibliographical notes. 391-7. An analysis and comparison of the Progressive, Labor and Socialist parties of America.


The evolution of plutocracy, and the beginnings of a democracy, whose industrial program aims to socialize production.
Programs


SOCIALISM


Socialist party organizations are also described in American labor year book.

Periodicals and Year Books


A propaganda publication with a large circulation.


Ceased pub.


Devoted to international socialism. Ceased pub.

Communist. Bi-weekly. (Place of publication not now given.) v. 1-date. 1919-date.

Official organ of the Communist party of America. Section of the 3d communist international. Formerly pub. at 1219 Blue Island ave. Chic.

Communist labor party news. Cleveland. 3207 Clark ave.

Official organ of the Communist labor party.


Communist magazine.


New day; the national socialist weekly. Chic. 220 South Ashland blvd.

Organ of the Socialist party of the United States.


Organ of the Farmer-labor party.


Oldest and very informative socialist paper. Advocate of communist principles since 1919.


Official organ of the National nonpartisan league.


A Christian socialist periodical.


Supercedes the quarterly Intercollegiate socialist. Name now changed to Labor Age, pub. by Labor publication society, 70 Fifth ave., N. Y. City.


Organ of the Socialist party of the United States.

Voice of labor. Semimonthly. N.Y.

Published by the labor committee of the national left wing of the Socialist party. Ceased pub.

Weekly people. N.Y. 445 Rose st. v. 1-date. 1891-date.

Published by the Socialist labor party.


Workers' council. Bi-weekly. N.Y. International education assn. 95 Canal st. v. 1-date. Apr. 1, 1921-date.

Organ of the 3d international.

Other Countries


Brady, Thomas. Socialist party of Ireland, the historical basis of socialism in Ireland. Dublin. n. d. 16p.


A record of the industrial history of Ireland, from a revolutionary viewpoint.
A history of rigid suppression. Russia's example said to be an encouragement to Japanese workers.

Sympathetic toward the Sinn Fein group.


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Annotated list.
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GUILD SOCIALISM

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GUILD SOCIALISM

Guild Socialism as a theory of industrial reorganization originated in England about 1900 as a reaction against the theory of state socialism. A. J. Penty, A. R. Orage, and S. G. Hobson were principally responsible for the formulation of a plan to convert trade unions into guilds, taking the name from the old craft guilds of the middle ages. G. D. H. Cole has been influential in popularizing the movement.

In theory the national guilds aim at an adjustment between the syndicalist plan for the supremacy of the workers as producers, and the collectivist theory of the supremacy of the state. A national guild, as proposed in this plan, is the association of all the workers of every kind, administrative, executive, and productive, in any particular industry, to constitute a self-governing organization of the industry and "to carry on that industry on behalf of the whole community." The aims of the guild socialists, as defined in the constitution of the National Guilds League, are "the abolition of the wage system, and the establishment by the worker of self-government in industry through a democratic system of national guilds working in conjunction with a democratic state."

According to G. D. H. Cole, the relations between guilds would vary widely in closeness and importance from case to case. Every guild concerned with industry or economic service would be represented in an Industrial Guilds' Congress which "would be the final representative body of the guild system on its industrial side." The proper national representation of collective consumption would rest in a national collective Utilities Council, the Civic Service organization would be represented by Civic Guilds and lastly the civic body or citizens by Cultural and Health Councils.

The guild socialists are divided into factions.¹ The two main

¹ There is not one Guild Socialism, but many Guild Socialisms. Collectivism we know and Capitalism we know. But Guild Socialism is a very Proteus. Its phases are legion, its Guilds of infinite variety. There are the all hand-woven Guilds of the Middle Ages Union, the Glory-be-to-God Guilds of Mr. Reckitt, the Glory-be-to-Trotsky Guilds of the new N. G. L, Executive, the esoteric bank-on-me Guilds of Major Douglas, the Guilds-and-water of Mr. Stirling Taylor. Not to mention the functional jigsaws of Mr. Cole. There is also Hobson's Choice.—The Guildsmen, March 1921.
factions are those of Cole and Hobson. Those around G. D. H. Cole are opposed to the theory of state sovereignty, reject the idea of the state as the final and only representative of the consumers and contend that a new coordinating body should be established which would bring together the various functional bodies—industrial guilds, cooperative and collective utilities councils, civic service guilds, cultural councils and health councils—and which would not be inconsistent with the theory of functional democracy on which the system of guild socialism is based. The bodies enumerated above would not, however, complete the composition of the Commune, as Mr. Cole calls the coordinating body. "In any instance, there might be special organizations to which it would be desirable, on account of their importance in the town, to give representation. Again, what is far more important, the town as a whole cannot be treated as an undifferentiated unit. In electing their representatives to serve on the four councils mentioned above, the citizens, if the town were of any size, would almost certainly vote by wards and each member on a council would sit there as a ward representative in relation to his particular function."  

The other faction centers around Mr. S. G. Hobson and the editors of the New Age. Mr. Hobson considers the state "as the organ of citizenship, possessing full freedom of movement, itself assuming all or any functions which cannot be assigned to any suitable organization—particularly in the case of sudden emergencies; it is undoubtedly the appropriate organ for all emergencies, great or small. As for sovereignty, I end as I began: The citizen (voicing his will through the State) must take precedence over the Guildsman. I recognize no other sovereignty." Mr. Hobson admits that the subject of the state has barely been touched. And Cole says that he does not know "whether the national body—the 'state' if you will—should be a Parliament or a Congress or political Soviet."

The Cole faction is again divided into those who are sympathetic to the soviet theories and direct action, and the more moderate group which does not agree with the soviet ideas. The Hobson faction is divided among those who consider the

abolition of the wage system essential to the introduction of national guilds and those represented by Mr. A. J. Penty who object to the prevailing emphasis on quantity production and consider industrialism a more fundamental enemy of labor than capitalism.

Then we have the Christian Guild Socialists, as represented by Mr. Reckitt, who emphasize the Christian idea in guild socialism. The annual meetings of the National Guilds League always bring up anew the question whether the League should not change its name to Guild Socialist League and the decision is postponed from year to year.

The strength of the guild socialists is not expressed in their numbers. It is the influence which they have secured in a few powerful trade unions that has given them standing in the labor world. The ex-president of the miners, Mr. Robert Smillie, the secretary, Frank Hodges and William Straker, are guild socialists, and before the Sankey Coal commission, which recommended the nationalization of coal, proposed a guild socialist scheme for the introduction of coal nationalization. The guild socialists have also secured a real influence among the railway workers' union and already experiments are being made in the building trade unions in the setting up of local building guilds which have undertaken contracts for building houses under government auspices. On the educational field the guild socialists are performing their work through the National Guilds League and also indirectly through the Labour Research Department which is managed mostly by guild socialists. The guild socialists have rendered a real service to the socialization movement by making the socialists take a critical attitude towards the functions and authority of the state and also in outlining concrete plans for the administrative organization of the socialist society. This is the real service which they have performed.

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Brief list of books with list of periodicals carrying articles on guilds.


A brief list.


A brief but fully annotated list.

Russell, Bertrand. [National guilds.] (In Proposed roads to freedom. 1919. p. 81-5.)

Bibliographical footnotes, giving only chief works.


Reading list on the guilds and related topics. Sunwise turn is American agent for many guild socialist books.


Definitions


Orage, A. R. [Definition.] (In Alphabet of economics. 1917. p. 53-4.)

Programs


Outline of national guilds, opposition to wage slavery, support of industrial unionism, endorsement of state ownership of public utilities, and means of production, with operation by self-governing workmen’s guilds.

Books


Though not a guildsman, Belloc gives substantially the guild criticism of the state.


"Out of the soviet experiment, and out of the ideas of the guild socialists in England, is evolving what will prove to be the state-norm of the immediate future—or something very like it." Introd. p. ix.


An attack on present industrial system for making work life "monot onous, inhuman, and devoid of all dignity and reality." Advocates "voluntary collectivism" and predicts "some system of National guilds will be worked out, which, while rendering the worker-groups self determination will award to them their fair share."


Brief statement of guild principles. Advocates nationalization of industry, and guild control.


Published in N.Y. by Stokes as "Guild socialism; a plan for economic democracy."

Advocates war control by state of industry and increasing guild control.


"In 'Labour in the commonwealth' he (Mr. Cole) gives us as a systematic discussion of the whole problem of industry; and while in this volume he says little directly about national guilds, the whole argument leads directly to the brief concluding exposition of the guild idea."—Nation. N.Y. Jan. 24, 1920.


Being a summary of evidence submitted to the commission.


A standard work on guild socialism giving the theory of the movement and its relation to syndicalism, collectivism, trade unionism. It is at every point well informed and clearly stated.


"Books on national guilds," opp. p. 44. Introduction to study of national guilds.


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Cory, H. E. Class struggle and fraternity. (In Intellectuals and the wage workers. 1919. p. 122-239.)
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Craik, W. W. How did national guildism originate and what were the essential features of this point of view? (In Short history of the British working-class movement. 3d ed. London. 1919. p. 80-1.)
Note on guild socialism.
Duguit, Léon. Law and the modern state; introd. by Harold J. Laski; tr. by Frida and Harold J. Laski. N.Y. B. W. Huebsch. 1919.
The essential points of Mayor Douglas' analysis are these: "(1) The national capacity to produce is always increasing. (2) The benefit of this increase is at present absorbed by high finance directly through high prices, and secondarily through the operation of the credit system. (3) This increase in national productive capacity is in reality commercial property; and the present system is an elaborate means of diverting the increment of social production from the community as a whole to certain groups of privileged individuals." G. D. Cole. The Guildsman. March 1921.
Ernest Benn's "constitutional monopolism" attacked. Nationalization and trade union control of industry advocated.
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Essays reprinted from the New Age and other papers, in which the principles of the guilds have been set forth in relation to various topics. The central idea is that labor is not a commodity as the economists have pretended. Comment on Garton foundation report. Industrial councils a half-way house to guild socialism. A forecast of guild morality based on reward for creation of social and economic values.


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Laidler, H. W. Guild socialism. (In Socialism in thought and action. 1920. p. 170-7.)

Good summary of the theory.


Maeztu, Ramiro de. Authority, liberty, and function in the light of the war; a critique of authority and liberty as the foundations of the modern state and an attempt to base societies on principle of function. London. George Allen & Unwin. 1916. 288p.

"Contents appeared between March, 1915, and June, 1916, in the New Age." A plea that society should be organized industrially, or functionally and not on basis of liberty or authority.


Criticism of guilds proposals.


Labor's losses during the war under state control of industry.


Outline of its activity and organization.


No. 1. A catechism of national guilds. n. d. 8p.

No. 8. Industrial chaos; the labour crisis and the way out—national guilds. n.d. 8p.
GUILD SOCIALISM

No. 1. National guilds; an appeal to trade unionists. 1919. 16p.
No. 2. Guild idea; an appeal to the public. 1919. 15p.
No. 3. Towards a miners' guild.
No. 4. Towards a national railway guild. 1919. 16p.
Criticism of Whitley councils.
A series of definitions of the terms used in the discussion of guild socialism, by the editor of the New Age. Not a very distinct contribution.
An attempt to formulate a policy for guildsman "in event of a revolution." Contents: Economic cul-de-sac; Maximum production and scientific management; Spiritual change; Function of the state; Class war.
According to author since the decline of Rome economic developments are the product of ideas.
Attacks Beatrice and Sidney Webb's collectivism and gives exposition of mediaeval guilds system, the relation of National guilds to syndicalism; treats abolition of wage system, division of labor, machinery in industry and the place of handicraft in production. Criticized because of its advocacy of the revival of mediaeval guilds. "He raises almost as many questions as he answers, and they are economic questions which ramify too far to answer themselves." The author does not emphasize as does the average national guildsman the role of the worker in the social transformation.
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Taylor, G. R. S. Guild state; its principles and possibilities. N.Y. Macmillan co. 1919. 153p. Contains: Historical basis of the guild system; First principle, organization by function; Second principle, self-management; Third principle, decentralization and small units; Consequent results of main principles; Relations between guilds and state; Guildsman's philosophy of life.


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1917


"The function of the state is to give protection to the community: military protection in the first place; civil protection in the next; and economic protection in the last."

1918

Fitch, J. A. Guild reappears in industry; skilled craftsmen of the Photoengravers' union take charge of their employer's business. (In Survey. N.Y. v. 41. p. 192-3. Nov. 16, 1918.)


Review of Belloc's Servile state and Hobson and Orage's National guilds with a sketch of mediaeval guilds. Gives guild relation to Catholic church.


"An understanding of what I may call the 'spiritual interpretation of history' will bring us nearer to an understanding of the guild movement." Recognizes "that under the existing economic system the interests of capital and labour are irreconcilably opposed, and no compromise is possible" and meets the Marxist affirmation that the problem is material by affirming that it is both spiritual and material.


By neo-Marxians the author refers to the English Plebs league and Socialist labour party.


1919


Guild socialist propaganda in America, South Africa and Germany. The Plumb plan is outlined.

Outline of guild schools of thought and their differences with the state socialists.


Reprinted in Bloomfield, Daniel, ed. Selected articles on modern industrial movements. 1919. p. 158-67. A valuable article on the application of mediaeval guild principle of self-government in industry to modern trade union control of industry with the aid of the technicians or "salariat."


Brief sketch of theory.


Author is priest of the "Catholic crusade," a movement for democracy in religious life and social religion.


Reprint of National guilds league pamphlet.


Reprinted as separate 12p. Deals with town planning in accordance with guild organization. p. 10.

Because guild socialism opposes capitalism, and promises to avoid war, the danger of centralized state, of decentralized anarchy and could be counted to encourage initiative and increase liberty.

A review of Industrial council for the building industry. See also Penty's article in Am. inst. arch., Jour. Wash. v. 7. p. 149-52. Apr. 1919.

A discussion of the differences between guild and state socialism by a member of the Independent labour party of Great Britain.

Outline of their history and theory.

1920


Plans for South Africa and New Zealand.


A brief exposition of guild theories and review of guild literature.

Contains architecture of industrialism, financial deadlock, spending surplus wealth, idealism of socialism, architecture and the guilds.


1921


Periodicals

Great Britain

“Editorially supports the national guilds position.”

“Contains a page of trade union notes compiled from the national guilds standpoint.”


The Guildsman was started in 1916 by the Glasgow group of the National guilds league. On sale at Sunwise turn, inc. N.Y. City.


New age. Weekly. London. 38 Cursitor st., E.C. 4. A. R. Orage, ed. S. G. Hobson, associate ed. In the columns of this review the guild idea was first formulated some half dozen years ago. On sale at Sunwise turn, inc. N.Y. City.


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The Socialist review started as a monthly publication Dec. 1919 with v. 8. no. 1. Formerly Intercollegiate socialist (quarterly). Occasional articles. Name now changed to Labor Age, pub. by Labor publication society, 70 Fifth ave., N. Y. City.


Guilds—Mediaeval

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Lambart, J. M. Two thousand years of guild life; or, an outline of the history and development of the guild system from early times, with special reference to its application to trade and industry; together with a full account of the guilds and trading companies of Kingston-upon-Hull, from the 14th to the 18th century. Hull. A. Brown & sons. 1891. 414p. Bibl. p. 399-402.

Lamprey, Louise. In the days of the guild; with four illus. in color by Florence Gardner and numerous line drawings by Mabel Hatt. N.Y. Stokes. 1918. 291p.


“No National guildsman has attempted to write the history of the Mediaeval guilds, or even to explain at all clearly their relation to the system which he sets out to advocate. Until this very necessary work is executed, the present translation of M. Renard’s study of Mediaeval guilds should fill a useful place.”—G. D. H. Cole. Introd. p. x.


Ruskin, John. The guild and museum of St. George; reports, catalogues, and other papers. N.Y. Longmans, Green & co. 1907. 362p.

A literary and antiquarian account of Ruskin’s unsuccessful community experiment.


“List of authorities” p. 69-73. Also numerous bibliographical footnotes.


Unwin, G. Gilds and companies of London. N.Y. Charles Scribner’s sons. 1909.


**Books on Survival of Guilds**

In some countries, notably India, China and Japan, the guild system, typical of mediaeval Europe, still persists in some form.

Ashbee, C. R. Craftsmanship in competitive industry; being a record of the workshops of the Guild of handicraft, and some deductions from their twenty-one years’ experience. Broad Campden, Gloucestershire and London. Essex house pr. 1908. 258p. N.Y. Sunwise turn, inc. 1918.

The arts and crafts movement in England.
An attempt to perpetuate something of the guild craftmanship.
Community organization similar to that advocated by Ward and Collier in the U.S.
Contains observations on Indian guilds and their relation to modern industrial problems.
A study of guild society in India by a curator of the Boston museum of arts.
Guild of handicraft; its deed of trust and rules for the guidance of its guildsmen, together with a brief note on its work carried up to the close of the year 1909 and prepared for the use of its members and for the trustees, by C. R. Ashbee. Broad Campden, Gloucestershire, printed by Essex house pr. 1909. 22p.
An account of guild control of industry in China; author is impatient of guild restrictions on European trade.
# SYNDICALISM

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SYNDICALISM

Whereas anarchism and socialism were both born as theories, the name syndicalism is simply the French word for trade unionism, and originally had no larger significance. In 1902 the French central labor body (Confédération Générale du Travail) declared itself against political action and in favor of what has come to be known as syndicalism.

Dissatisfied with the political tactics and collectivistic aims of the socialists, the French syndicats or unions definitely abandoned socialist leadership, became quite separate in organization, and adopted the slogan of "industrial action."

They accepted the ideal of a society without political state organization, but gave it a practical means of expression through the principle of an industrial government. Syndicalism repudiates collectivist and parliamentary tactics, preferring direct action, by means of the general strike and "sabotage."

It wishes the organized workers to own all land and capital and administer all industry. The syndicats, or local unions, are to be loosely federated into three organizations, the bourses du travail, or central labor unions of a city or district; the national federation of each industry; and the general federation. The most important of these elements is the bourse du travail, and the national organizations are assigned only limited powers.

At the present time the influence of syndicalism as a philosophy appears to be waning. A distinct evidence of this is the fact that the C. G. T. in 1918 decided to give up its policy of political neutrality, and to cooperate with the socialist movement.

Levine's "Syndicalism in France" gives the best description of the movement. Sorel's "Reflections on Violence" interprets the theory, and Bertrand Russell's "Proposed Roads to Freedom" contains a good general review of syndicalism. Lagardelle, Leone and Labriola are prominent exponents of syndicalist philosophy, and their books on the subject are valuable.

Australia

The "Worker's Industrial Union of Australia" dates back to some years before the war. The platform of this organization
declared as its aim "to bind together in one organization all wage-workers in every industry, and to secure the abolition of capitalistic class ownership of the means of production and the establishment in its place of social ownership by the whole community." The strength of the organization is not considerable.

**Canada**

In 1906 the Industrial Workers of the World began organization in Canada, and formed many branches in Alberta and British Columbia, claiming in 1911 as many as 10,000 members. During the war a large proportion of the branches were dissolved, and there is at present no accurate information about the membership.

**Denmark and Norway**

Denmark has a small syndicalist group opposed to the policy of collective bargaining and parliamentary tactics. This movement gained strength during the war.

In Norway the syndicalists have secured control over the Metal Workers' Federation, one of the largest trade unions in the country.

**France**

The labor unions, "syndicats," increased considerably in number about 1884. In the early nineties the organization was furthered by the formation of "Bourses du Travail" or the workingmen's exchanges. Ferdinand Pelloutier first gave expression to revolutionary syndicalism based on direct action, and attacked parliamentary action. Although a few unions opposed this philosophy, imperative necessity for unity held the different elements of the Federation together. At present, the leadership of the C. G. T. (General Federation of Labor) has given up much of its former revolutionary tactics and has adopted a more conciliatory attitude toward the government. A strong movement, especially among the metal workers, headed by Pierre Monette, opposes the official policy of the C. G. T. The membership of the federation is now estimated at 1,500,000.

**Germany**

In Germany the syndicalist movement is represented by the "Gewerkschaftskommission der Freien Vereinigung deutscher Gewerkschaften (General Commission of the Free Association of German Unions) and claims 60,000 members."
SYNDICALISM

Great Britain

Syndicalism as a separate movement has gained very little foothold in England. But it has been influential in giving currency to the idea of industrial unionism. Tom Mann, its most outstanding figure, was until recently secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

Holland

The "National Arbeids-Secretariaat" (National Labor Secretariat) of the Netherlands had in 1920 a membership of 33,060. It advocates sabotage and direct action, and discourages political action by the workers.

Italy

The Italian revolutionary syndicalists organized in 1906 the Italian Syndicalist Union, a frankly revolutionary organization free from any affiliation with the Socialist Party or the Italian General Federation of Labor. The organization represents the radical syndicalist element, which is opposed to political activity and favors direct action, the general strike and revolution. In 1920 the organization claimed 305,000 members.

Spain

In Spain the syndicalist movement is represented by the National Confederation of Labor. The confederation is an underground organization with anarcho-syndicalistic tendencies. It controls mainly the Catalonia district.

United States

Syndicalism in the United States has found expression in the organization of the Industrial Workers of the World. This was preceded by the Knights of Labor, similar in structure but not in philosophy, which was organized in 1869, and demanded "the grand union of all who toil, regardless of sex, of creed, or of color." The idealism of this theory could not survive the practical test of sympathetic strikes, tried in 1886-1888 at terrible cost on two railroads and among the longshoremen. The membership of this body (Knights of Labor) reached its maximum of about a million in 1887, then declined to 100,000 in 1898, and is now practically extinct.

The organization of the I.W.W. was inspired by the manifesto of a convention of labor leaders, held in January,
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1905. This document contained an indictment of prevailing conditions in the trade-union world, tentative plans for a new departure in labor organization, and a call for a convention to organize this new union. At its inception in June, 1905, the I.W.W. was divided into three departments; mining, metal and machinery, and transportation. At first it devoted its energy to reforming the existing craft unions of the A. F. of L., against a very active opposition. It conducted numerous strikes in the early period, most of them unsuccessful because of inefficient leadership and imperfect organization. A year after its inauguration the union numbered 21,000 members, and three months later, 60,000. Any attempt to state the membership accurately is difficult, both because the enrolled members at any given moment represent only a fraction of the movement, and because at times of definite strike activity the enrollment temporarily increases. In 1921 the I. W. W. had about 15,000 members. The bulk of the membership is drawn from itinerant workers in agriculture and the lumber camps.

The I.W.W. has held consistently to its policies of complete democracy in membership, and direct industrial action as its principal method. For several years it has been practically an outlaw organization, working against legislative and judicial opposition and a campaign of antagonistic press propaganda. Its national headquarters are at 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago.

Carleton H. Parker's article in the Atlantic Monthly for November, 1917, gives a psychological interpretation of the I.W.W. Robert W. Brüere's "Following the Trail of the I.W.W." is the account of a personal investigation. A detailed history and an extensive bibliography are to be found in P. F. Brissenden's book, "The I.W.W."
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The most inclusive bibliography of the I.W.W. Arranged under official I.W.W. documents, propaganda leaflets, periodicals, books and pamphlets, magazine articles listed by date.


Not a complete bibliography. "The books, pamphlets and leaflets are those which the writer has found most useful in this study." Arranged under American, English, French and German literature.


Numerous references to syndicalism, covering theory and development in France, Italy, and U.S.

Lewis, A. D. Annotated list of works on syndicalism consulted by the author. (In Syndicalism and the general strike. 1912. p. 295-309.)

Stewart, Anna. [Syndicalism.] (In Social problems; outlines and references. 1917. p. 217-18.)

Arranged under I.W.W., class warfare, direct action, general strike, sabotage, violence, etc.

Definitions

National civil liberties bureau. Terms commonly used and abused in connection with radical labor movements. (In Truth about the I.W.W. 1918. p. 7.)


Spargo, John. What is syndicalism? (In Syndicalism, industrial unionism and socialism. 1913. p. I-4.)

Gives etymology and definition from a socialist's viewpoint.

General


M. Sorel. Syndicalism in Great Britain and other European countries. A compilation of London Times articles. Purpose is a study of syndicalism in order to combat it.


Bibl. p. 295-309. Bibliographical footnotes. Sorel and his ideas, syndicalism in Italy, Germany, England and other countries, with chapter on objections to syndicalism.


"The philosophy and practice of syndicalism, its history and its status all over the world." Partisan but a detailed study.

Theories


Belloc regards the state as the tool of capitalism and thinks that French syndicalism and Irish agricultural cooperation are hopeful reactions against the servile state.


Bibliographical footnotes. Syndicalism and the minimum wage. Study by the eminent German historian of trade unionism. English and Australian data.


Goldman, Emma. Syndicalism; the modern menace to capitalism. N.Y. Mother earth pub. assn. 1913. 14p.

A brief statement of its philosophy.


Discusses value of direct action, the general strike, patriotism, the attitude of syndicalists and socialists toward these issues.


Written before split of Haywood with political actionists. Outline of industrial conditions in U.S., the one big union idea and the place of socialism in labor emancipation.


Includes a discussion of syndicalism.


"Authorities" p. 357-73. A socialist's attack on syndicalism.


Criticism of reformist socialism.


Collection of arguments for and against the general strike.
Lagardelle, Hubert, and others. Syndicalisme et socialisme. Paris. Librairie des sciences, politiques et sociales. 1908. 63p. (Bibliotheque du mouvement socialiste. no. 1.)

Contents: Arturo Labriola, Le syndicalism et la socialisme en Italie; Robert Michels, Le syndicalisme et la socialisme en Allemagne; Boris Kritchewsky, Le syndicalisme et la socialisme en Russie; Hubert Lagardelle, Le syndicalisme en France; Victor Griffuelhes, Les caracteres du syndicalisme francais; Hubert Lagardelle, Anarchisme et syndicalisme. Part of discussion on direct and political action centering about the rejection of parliamentary tactics by C. G. T.


"The only socialism that now inspires hopes and fears is of the school of Tom Mann and William D. Haywood."


Contains: Authority in the modern state; Administrative syndicalism in France, and other essays.


"May be called a text-book of syndicalism."


The general strike as a weapon, organization "after the victory," historic synopsis of general strike idea.


Relations of Bertrand Russell's and Henri Bergson's philosophies to that of syndicalism.
SYNDICALISM


Bibliographical footnotes. A philosophical examination of the place of violence in social development, its ethics and use in the general strike.


A criticism of syndicalism because of its revolutionary aims and advocacy of violence in class warfare.


Admits value of action on political field.


Outline of theory, direct action, boycott, sabotage.

**Syndicalism and Socialism**

Criticism of syndicalism by socialists.


A socialist's criticism of syndicalism.


By a socialist with syndicalist leanings.


Tom Mann, the foremost English syndicalist, presents the case for direct action and industrial unionism and Lewis, the socialist plan for capturing the political state and nationalization of industry.


Contains a criticism of revolutionary syndicalism as Utopian.
Bibliographical notes p. 234-43. Socialist's study of syndicalist theory, including the general strike and sabotage. Opposes resort to violence and "extreme" revolutionary action.


Selected books on syndicalism, p. 154. Also numerous bibliographical footnotes.

*Syndicalism and Industrial Unionism in Various Countries.*

**AUSTRALIA**


**Periodicals**


The people. Weekly. N.S.W. South Australia.


**DENMARK, NORWAY AND SWEDEN**

A hostile account compiled from London Times.

Louis, Paul. *Danemark.* (In Syndicalisme Européen. 1914. p. 239-69.)
Development of labor movement in Denmark, trade union history and syndicalist tendencies.

Industrial growth and industrial unionism in Norway.

Swedish industries and history of syndicates.
Periodicals

   Organ of the revolutionary syndicalist movement of Sweden.
Direkte Aktion. Christiania, Norway.
Solidaritet. Weekly. Copenhagen, Denmark.

FRANCE

   "A severely academic study, but one of the most useful yet published."  J. G. Brooks.
   Bibliographical footnotes. Also bibl. p. 428-30. Doctrines of Sorel and history of C. G. T.
Delesalle, Paul. Les bourses du travail et la C. G. T. Paris. Marcel Rivière et cie. n. d. 64p. (Bibliothèque du mouvement prolétarien. no. 9.)
   "Terribly detailed (giving resolutions at various congresses,) but a most important history of trade unions in France from the French Revolution to 1906, written from a syndicalist point of view."—A. D. Lewis.
Laurin, M. T. Les instituteurs et le syndicalisme. (amicales 4 syndicats d'instituteurs.) Paris. Marcel Rivière. 1908. 64p. (Bibliothèque du mouvement prolétarien. no. 7.)
   Government employees and syndicalism. M. G. Clemenceau's answer to the unions.
   An important history.


Programs

Confédération générale du travail. (In L’information ouvrière et sociale. Nov. 28, 1918. no. 26.)

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"Gives an excellent account of the Freie Vereinigung deutscher Gewerkschaften."—A. D. Lewis.

Lewis, A. D. Germany. (In Syndicalism and the general strike. 1912. p. 149-68.) Bibliographical footnotes. Relation of socialism and craft unions to syndicalism.

Periodicals


Great Britain

SYNDICALISM


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Clay, Sir Arthur. Syndicalism in Italy. (In Syndicalism and labour. 1911. p. 79-85.) Hostile account of railway strike in 1907 and Parma strike of 1907. Taken from London Times.


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Labriola, Arturo. Le syndicalisme et le socialisme en Italie. (In Lagardelle, Hubert, and others. Syndicalisme et socialisme. 1908. p. 9-20.) Revolt of the syndicalists against the parliamentary socialists.


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Program


Periodical


NETHERLANDS


Periodical


RUSSIA

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SOUTH AMERICA

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La acción obrera. Buenos Ayres.
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SPAIN


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SWITZERLAND


Outline of Swiss industries and growth of unions.

United States — The Industrial Workers of the World


Bloomfield, Daniel, ed. Syndicalism, industrial unionism and the I. W. W. (In Selected articles on modern industrial movements. 1919. p. 35-86.)


Bruère, R. W. Following the trail of the I. W. W.; a first-hand investigation into labor troubles in the West. A trip into the copper and lumber camps of the Inland empire with views of the man on the job. N.Y. N.Y. eve. post. 1918. 399p.

The general situation and conditions in Bisbee, Arizona, after the deportation, the situation in the Oregon and Washington lumber camps. The Loyal legion of loggers and lumbermen and I. W. W.


Commons, J. R., and others. From socialism to anarchism and syndicalism, 1876-1884. (In History of labour in the United States. 1918. v. 2. p. 269-300.)

Account of I. W. W. trial in Washington for killing of paraders who, author asserts, attacked Centralia headquarters.


Ebert, Justus. The trial of a new society; being a review of the celebrated Ettor-Giovannitti-Caruso case, beginning with the Lawrence textile strike that caused it and including the general strike that grew out of it. Cleveland, O. I. W. W. pub. bur. 1913. 160p.
A review of one of the first large I. W. W. strikes.

Haywood's defense and testimony at the I. W. W. trial in Chicago, when accused of obstructing the U.S. prosecution of the war.


Hoxie, R. F. Industrial workers of the world and revolutionary unionism. (In Trade unionism in the United States. 1919. p. 139-76.)


Reprinted from Political science quarterly.


Contains essays on the psychology of the I. W. W.

A psychological study of the I. W. W. Reprinted in Casual laborer and other essays.
Anti-I. W. W. description of its propaganda.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD AND THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Bibliographical footnotes.
I. W. W. objections to A. F. of L.


Brief history of craft unions, their disunion, jurisdiction disputes and conservatism.

Strikes made ineffective by craft organizations and contracts with employers.

Programs
With various additions and omissions indicated. The constitution is analyzed by Brissenden.

Industrial workers of the world. Preamble and constitution.

Gives early form.
Periodicals


Rebel worker. Semimonthly. N.Y. 115 E. 10th st.


Periodical Directories


Gives many foreign syndicalist and some anarchist papers also.


Brief list.

Organes fédéraux. (In Encyclopédie socialiste, syndicale et coopérative de l’internationale ouvrière. Le mouvement syndical. 1913. p. 96-8.)

List of papers of various French local syndicats. Bibliographical note.

Spargo, John. (In Syndicalism, industrial unionism and socialism. 1913. p. 234-5.)

Gives few of French, English and U.S. syndicalist publications.
BOLSHEVISM AND THE SOVIET STATE

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BOLSHEVISM AND THE SOVIET STATE

Russian Bolshevism is here classified separately from the main Socialist movement on account of its special significance as the only socialist experiment ever made on a large scale.

The word Bolshevik, which means "belonging to the majority," was originally applied to the left or radical wing of the Russian Socialist-Democratic Party at the time of the split in 1903.

Lenin, in an article on "The Communist Party" explains Bolshevism as follows:

We are Marxists and our policy is based on the Communist Manifesto which has been perverted and disregarded by the Social Democracy. (Lenin means by Social Democracy the adherents to the "Second International," S.Z.) The term Social Democracy is unscientific... mankind can only pass from capitalism into socialism, that is, public ownership of the means of production and the distribution of products according to individual work. Our party looks farther ahead than that: socialism is bound sooner or later to ripen into Communism which banner bears the motto 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.' The second part of the term Social Democracy is scientifically wrong. Democracy is only a form of authority. We Marxists are opposed to every form of authority.  

The Soviet State established in Russia in November, 1917, has, however, assumed authority to the extent of a virtual dictatorship, supposedly only for the transition period, during which it claims as its mission to eradicate the causes of social inequality by making all citizens workers by either head or hand. All land and industries were theoretically nationalized very early in the soviet regime, but the nationalization has been broadly applied, leaving many industrial organizations cooperatively owned, and some leased back at a small rental to their former owners while the system of peasant ownership of land has largely displaced that of the state.

The political structure of the Soviet State is roughly as follows: Every factory and group of peasants elects its local

1 Lenin and Trotzky: Proletarian Revolution in Russia, 1918, p. 153-4.  
2 Soviets are not identical with Bolshevism, and do not necessarily imply the dominance of Bolshevik theories and policies. The present Soviet state is, however, dominated by Bolshevik theories.
soviet, or council. These units are represented in the town and district soviets, which in turn send delegates to the all-Russian Congress of Soviets. The delegates can be recalled at any time. This congress, held at least once a year, appoints a Central Executive Committee of 200 members, giving proportionate representation to the various political parties. The Executive Committee appoints the commissaries, in charge of foreign affairs, education, finance, justice, etc., who form the Council of People's Commissaries, or cabinet.

The economic soviet organization is centralized in the Supreme Council of Public Economy, a cabinet department, whose membership of 69 consists of 30 representatives from industrial unions, 20 from regional councils, 10 from the Central Executive Committee, 7 from the Council of People's Commissaries, and 2 from the Cooperatives. The Supreme Council appoints three delegates to the Central Board of Management of each of the principal industries organized on a national scale. This board also contains three technical experts and three practical workers. A former correspondent of the Manchester Guardian wrote that: "the Supreme Council of Public Economy was the tool designed to create the new order in Russia; the soviet was only the temporary weapon to protect the hands that worked that tool."

General descriptions by observers of Russia under the Soviet regime are given in Antonelli's "Bolshevik Russia," W. T. Goode's "Bolshevism at Work," the Report of the British Labour Delegation to Russia, Brailsford's "Russian Workers' Republic" and Arthur Ransome's "The Crisis in Russia", Lenin and Trotsky's "Proletarian Revolution in Russia" defends the theories of Bolshevism.

1 The most distinctive feature of the Soviet organization is that it is based upon the workshops and natural units of industry, and that its structure rests finally upon the factory committee or its equivalent. Similarly a peasant's soviet is based on the agricultural community of the village.

2 In 1921 the Supreme Council of Public Economy had under it "fifty-three Departments or Centres (Textile, Soap, Wool, Timber, Flax, etc.), each controlled by a 'College' of three or more persons. There are 232 members of these Colleges or Boards in all, and of them 83 are workmen, 79 are engineers, 1 was an ex-director, 50 were from the clerical staff, and 19 unclassified."
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliographies


Clark, Evans. Facts; fountains of truth. (In Facts and fabrications about soviet Russia. 1920. p. 55-93.)


Prepared for the Mission of enquiry in Russia. Most complete bibliography, giving sources in English, Russian, German and French.


Documents of the Soviet Republic


Documents referring to large quantities of Russian ruble bills caused to be printed in this country by a member of the Russian embassy at Washington, and sent to Russia for use in combating the revolution.


Soviet constitution, land law and the Franco-Russian alliance.


Valuable source book.


Decree of the government relative to cantonal land committees. (In Antonelli, Étienne. Bolshevik Russia. 1920. p. 273-6.)


"This land decree was almost the first official act of the soviet government on coming into power after the coup d'état of Nov. 7, 1917 (our style)." The law was replaced by the "Fundamental law of socialization of land" in September 1918.

Decree of the Council of people's commissaires establishing organs for workers' control of industries.

Decrees and constitution of soviet Russia. Reprinted from the Nation. N.Y. Nation pr. 1919. 89p.
Constitution p. 3-17. Laws and decrees p. 18-69.


Documents of Russian Constitutional Assembly.

I. Rights of the toiling and exploited people.

II. Proclamation of the bolsheviki.


Education and art in soviet Russia; in the light of official decrees and documents, with a foreword by Max Eastman. N.Y. Socialist pub. soc. 1919. 64p.

Presents 34 distinct documents, official and magazine publications.

Financial problems of soviet Russia; report of People's commissaire of finances, H. N. Krestinskyi, at the first congress of the northern district of Russia. (In Revolutionary age. Boston. v. i. p. 4 and 8. March 29, 1919.)


Instructions to emissaries sent into the provinces. (In Antonelli Étienne. Bolshevik Russia. 1920. p. 271-2.)


Labor laws of soviet Russia. N.Y. Russian soviet govt. bureau. 1920. 48p. (Soviet Russia pamphlets. no. 1.)


The proletariat of the Entente countries is invited to make common cause with the Bolshevik revolution.

Lunacharsky, A. V. Appeal by the People's commissary of education of Russia to all who teach. (In Class struggle. N.Y. v. 2. p. 317-22. May-June 1918.)


Note to the allies from the soviet government of Ukraine. (In Soviet Russia. N.Y. v. 1. p. 11. June 21, 1919.)


On Oct. 24, 1918, this note was handed in by People's commissary for foreign affairs Chicherin to the Norwegian attaché in Moscow, Mr. Christiansen, for transmission to President Wilson.


Military, political and industrial dispatches.


Political propaganda and educational activity in the villages; a resolution of the 8th convention of the Russian communist labor party. (In Soviet Russia. N.Y. v. 1. p. 13-14. July 12, 1919.)


A translation of the constitution of the Russian soviet republic "made from official printed texts embodying the latest revisions, and required by law to be posted in all public places in Russia."


This "Fundamental law of socialization of the land" went into effect in September, 1918, replacing the earlier and briefer land decree of Nov. 7, 1917.


A summary of communications of the Commissariat for foreign affairs regarding peace, with full text of several of the more important communications. An official compilation by the Russian soviet bureau in New York.

Russian soviet republic. Two fundamental land decrees. (In Lenin, Nickolai. Land revolution in Russia. 1919. p. 28-32.)
MODERN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS


The publication of these documents of the Allies and their repudiation by Russia was a sensational part of the early foreign policy of the soviet government.


The struggle for peace and labor. To the working class organizations of France, England, and Italy. (Radio of the People's commissariat for foreign affairs of July 17, 1919.) (In Soviet Russia. N.Y. v. 1. p. 4-6. Nov. 15, 1919.)

Further documents are reprinted in the Foreign relations section of the Nation. N.Y.

Books and Pamphlets


Y. M. C. A. man's account of the American campaign in Northern Russia.
American association for international conciliation. Communist 
party in Russia and its relations to the third international and 
to the Russian soviets. (In International conciliation. N.Y. 


Political and economic organization of soviet Russia, p. 52-7.

An attempt "to tell without passion and without dissimulation what 
the bolshevik Russia. . . is, what are its philosophy, its doctrine, its 
men, and its deeds." Contains reproductions of official texts.

278p.
Trade possibilities of Russia.

Beatty, Bessie. Red heart of Russia. N.Y. Century co. 1918. 
480p.
As correspondent of the San Francisco Bulletin Miss Beatty saw the 
uprising of the bolsheviks.

Bloomfield, Daniel, ed. Bolshevism. (In Selected articles on 
modern industrial movements. 1919. p. 243-312.)
Periodical articles for and against the soviet system.

Bolshevik aims and ideals, and Russia's revolt against bolshevism. 
Reprinted from the Round table. N.Y. Macmillan co. 
1919. 89p.
Hostile, from the standpoint of British liberalism.

Brailsford, H. N. Russian workers' republic. N.Y. Harper & 
bros. 1921. 274p.
Valuable as representing the attitude of British labor toward Russia.

Bryant, Louise. Russia in revolt. Reprint from the Western 

Bryant, Louise. Six red months in Russia. N.Y. George H. 
Doran co. 1918. 299p.

Bullard, Arthur. The Russian pendulum; autocracy, democracy, 
A report hostile to the bolsheviks, based on a visit to Russia and Siberia 
from 1917 until after the armistice.

Bullitt, W. C. Bullitt mission to Russia. Testimony before 
the committee on foreign relations, United States Senate. 
Including Lenin's peace proposal, Mr. Bullitt's report on 
Russia, Lincoln Steffens' report on Russia, discussions of the 
peace conference on a policy toward Russia, etc. N.Y. B. W. 
Huebsch. 1919. 151p.


Goode, W. T. Bolshevism at work; studies of the actual working of the government in soviet Russia. N.Y. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 143p. Has a good chapter on trade unions. A readable and brief account.


Tries to show that bolshevik tactics are not in accordance with the Marxian point of view. Answered by Lenin in "The proletarian revolution and Kautsky, the renegade."

Kerensky, A. F. Prelude to bolshevism. N.Y. Dodd, Mead & co. 1919. 312p.

The Kornilov uprising described by the former Prime Minister of the coalition government.


Author is editor of Daily herald. London.

Lenin, Nikolai. The land revolution in Russia; a speech on the land question in December, 1918, together with two fundamental land decrees of the Russian soviet republic. London. Independent labour party. 1919. 32p.


Articles written before and after the proletarian revolution.


An appeal for internationalism and support of Russian policy.


Answer to Kautsky's "Terrorism and communism."


A clear description of the main principles of sovietism.


Gives the bolshevik conception of the state.


The book was written before the bolsheviks came into power and contains material on their theory and tactics during the war.


The revolution, the republic and its problems, described in detail by the revolutionary leaders.
Contains supplementary chapter by Ivy Litvinoff on terrorism.
Account by a bolshevik.
Background of the revolution. Contains chapter on the origin of the bolsheviki.
Poole, Ernest. Dark people; Russia's crisis. N.Y. Macmillan co. 1918. 226p.
Poole, Ernest. Village; Russian impressions. N.Y. Macmillan co. 1918. 234p.
A contribution in socialist theory.
Potter, S. C. Russia before and after the revolution. Tuckton.
Free age pr. 1920.
Sympathetic to bolshevism.
Price, M. P. Capitalist Europe and socialist Russia. London.
British socialist party. 1919. 31p.
A brief history of the revolution and organization of the Soviet government, to Nov. 1918.
Ransome, Arthur. Crisis in Russia. N.Y. B. W. Huebsch. 1921.
Journal of observations of "the gigantic experiment which we are allowing to pass abused but not examined."
BOLSHEVISM

Reed, John. Ten days that shook the world. N.Y. Boni & Liveright. 1919. 371p.
A picturesque account of the November revolution.

Describes the major social changes going on in Russia during the latter half of 1917.


Bolshevism, as the new autocracy, inconsistent with the author's form of socialism.


"The purpose of this book is to present to the American people, first, the great movement which brought Russia to the revolution of March, 1917, and then, as far as possible by documents, the development of the revolution from March up to date." From the preface written in summer of 1918. The book contains a chapter on "Russia under the rule of the bolsheviki." Strongly anti-bolshevik.

Saylor, O. M. Russia, white or red. Boston. Little, Brown & co. 1919. 312p.
A sympathetic interpretation from the viewpoint of a non-bolshevik visitor.

By dramatic editor of Indianapolis News.

Sheridan, Clare. Mayfair to Moscow. N.Y. Boni & Liveright. 1921.


Superficial account.

Not very reliable.

Anti-bolshevik.

Practicable internationalism.
MODERN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS


A revolutionary United States of Europe could provide the only real peace program.

United States. Committee on public information. German-bolshevik conspiracy. Wash. Govt. print. off. 1918. 30p. (War information series. no. 20.)

Pt. 1. German-bolshevik; a report by Edgar Sisson. Pt. 2. Letter of Mr. Creel to the National board for historical service (Oct. 18, 1918); report of special committee on the authenticity of the documents (Oct. 26, 1918).


Appendix. p. 1172-265, gives various decrees of the Russian soviet government.


Antagonistic summary of selected documents, proclamations, etc.


Emile Vandervelde is the Minister of justice of Belgium and formerly President of the International socialist bureau. He visited Russia in May-June, 1917.

A voice out of Russia, containing: Editorial, Withdraw from Russia! Colcord, Soviet Russia and the American revolution; Lomonossoff, A voice out of Russia; Decrees on land and workers' control. N.Y. Dial pub. co. n. d. 48p.


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Attack on sovietism.

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Williams, A. R. Bolsheviks and the soviets. N.Y. Rand school
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v. 2. p. 49-63. Nov.-Dec. 1917.)
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1918

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59. p. 32. Dec. 14, 1918.)
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Brandt, Louis. Bolsheviki—the masters of the revolution. (In
The history of the bolsheviki as a party organization.
Colcord, Lincoln. Soviet Russia and the American revolution.
Dicey, A. V. Burke on bolshevism. (In Nineteenth century. N.Y. v. 84. p. 274-86. Aug. 1918.)


A comparison between American and Russian revolutionary developments and a jurisdiction of the communistic bolshevistic tactics.


Speech delivered before a meeting of the All-Russian central executive committee, of the Moscow soviet, and of other labor organizations held in Moscow on Oct. 22, 1918.


Nuorteva, Santeri. Rape of Finland’s labor republic. (In Class struggle. N.Y. v. 2. p. 298-304. May-June 1918.)

Official report of Russian Congress telling how Mr. Wilson’s message was received by soviet delegates. (In U.S. Committee on public information. Official bulletin. Wash. March 20, 1918. p. 2.)


A personal description of Lenin and Trotsky.

Description of the Russian foreign affairs department under bolsheviki rule.

Reed describes the new democratic organizations which sprang up to take charge of the Russian army under the revolution.


Description of the bolshevik revolution.

Reed, John. Visit to the army. (In Liberator. N.Y. v. 1. p. 28-34. May 1918.)
The workings of democracy among the rank and file during bolshevik rule.


Russia's chaos laid to the allies. (In Literary digest. N.Y. v. 59. p. 20. Dec. 21, 1918.)


What is a bolshevik? (In Travel. N.Y. v. 30. p. 17. March 1918.)

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1919

A strong centralization of the finance policy.
By an agent of the Swiss Red Cross, not a bolshevist.
Dealing with the soundness of the economic principles of the bolsheviki from the bolshevik point of view.
The author, "a specially well-informed Russian, hostile to bolshevism" points out that preparation is necessary before nationalizing industry.
Building up soviet Russia. (In Soviet Russia. N.Y. v. 1. p. 16-18. Nov. 22, 1919.)
The rise of industry, proletariat culture.
Bolsheviks have offered to reimburse small holders or to recognize the debt as a whole, but the French government has ignored the proposal.

Davis, Jerome. More light on Russia; first hand observations that correct some popular misconceptions. (In Independent. N.Y. v. 97. p. 367. March 15, 1919.)

Davis, Jerome. What we can do for Russia. (In Independent. N.Y. v. 97. p. 190. Feb. 8, 1919.)

An account of the revolution by a non-bolshevik.

Ereshkin, M. C. Soviets in Russia. (In Struggling Russia. N.Y. v. i. p. 39-40. Apr. 5, 1919.)

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A plea against intervention.


Consists of mostly hearsay evidence, extremely hostile.


An analysis of the provisions of the constitution, "compared with the usually accepted ideas of political organization."


Popular misconceptions about bolshevik Russia. An interview with Lenin, men and methods in Moscow, Moscow of to-day, industrial workers and peasants.


Have the mensheviki and the socialist-revolutionists united with the bolsheviki? (In Struggling Russia. N.Y. v. 1. p. 33-4. Apr. 5, 1919.)


The author is a member of the Supreme council of national economy.


The author, some time Professor of railroad economies and locomotives at the Polytechnic institution in Kiev and later in Warsaw, was formerly assistant Minister of ways of communication and that Ministry’s chief envoy to America. Now has charge of the administration of railroads in Russia.


Lore, Ludwig. Two years of soviet Russia. (In Class struggle. N.Y. v. 3. p. 355-65. Nov. 1919.)

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Ransome, Arthur. The textile industry under soviet control; from a Moscow diary. (In Soviet Russia. N.Y. v. i. p. 9-10. June 21, 1919.)

The development of the textile industry, with a view of local industrial organization.


A description of bolshevik propaganda in Germany.


Religious liberation in Russia.

Russian documents:

I. An appeal to the American people.

II. Red terror in bolshevist Russia.

III. Russian workingmen against the bolsheviki.

IV. Declaration of the Russian delegation in Yassy to the Allied governments.

(In Struggling Russia. N.Y. v. i. p. 27-32. March 29, 1919.)


Sokolov, Boris. The labor policy of the bolsheviki. (In Struggling Russia. N.Y. v. i. p. 648-50. Dec. 27, 1919.)

First article of a series. Very antagonistic.

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Tchaikovsky, Nicholas. Bolshevist power must be destroyed. (In Struggling Russia. N.Y. v. i. p. 20. March 29, 1919.)

Tchaikovsky, Nicholas. Two years of bolshevism. (In Struggling Russia. N.Y. v. i. p. 579-80. Nov. 29, 1919.)

"Bolshevism is passing through its last days in Russia."


By the wife of the president of the Far east republic.


The Far east soviet and all-Russian conference described.


Trotzky, Leon. Work, discipline, and order to save the socialist soviet republic. (In Class struggle. N.Y. v. 3. p. 366-82. Nov. 1919.)

An address at the city conference of the Russian communist party in Moscow, March 28, 1918.


A revolutionary overturn like Russia's is impossible in America without the cooperation of the production engineers.


"By first intention and by consistent aim bolshevism is a menace to the vested rights of property and of privilege."

W. D. Land question in the Russian revolution. (In Class struggle. N.Y. v. i. p. 143-60. March 1919.)


The soviet system as imperfect representation.

1920


Compares parliaments, soviets and guilds. Recommends thorough industrial organization before the government is socialized.


First of a series of six articles on Russia.

Incorporated in his book "Russian workers' republic."


First installment of an article reprinted from London weekly, "Justice." The author is a prominent Russian economist.


Included in his book "Bolshevism; practice and theory."
Entire number devoted to material on present-day Russia. Contains articles by Norman Hapgood, Boris L. T. Roustam Bek, Isaac McBride, John Foord, and an excellent exposition of political and economic organization by W. R. Humphries.


For further periodical references see Readers' guide and Public affairs information service.

Hungary
Suppression of soviet Hungary reported.
Synopsis of report of British labor delegation to Hungary.
From a visit during Bela Kun's administration.
A descriptive account of Miss Hunt's visit to Hungary, her interview with Bela Kun, and his explanation of the organization of the government.
A letter from Budapest describing conditions, and asserting that the workers still support the revolution.


For further periodical references see Readers' guide and Public affairs information service.

**Periodicals**


Ceased pub.

A magazine devoted to international socialism, which prints numerous articles on bolshevism.


Organ of the Supreme council of national economy.


A magazine of some 250 pages, printed simultaneously in Russian, English, French, and German. Organ of the third International.


Organ of the Central executive committee of the Russian soviet government.

Narodnoie Khozyaistvo. (National economy.) Semimonthly. Moscow. 1918-date.

Organ of the Supreme council of national economy.


Official organ of the bureau.


Published by Russian information bureau as anti-bolshevik propaganda.

See also the files of the Revolutionary age, and the Communist, which have suspended publication.

**Periodical Directories**

Clark, Evans. Magazines. (In Facts and fabrications about soviet Russia. 1920. p. 57-9.)


An exhaustive list of English, Russian and other papers dealing with Russia.
## ANARCHISM

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ANARCHISM

Anarchism as a modern social movement came into existence as a protest against the attempt to reorganize society by parliamentary action along lines advocated by Karl Marx and his followers. As advocated by its present adherents it stands for communal ownership of land and capital without State control and without obligation to work. It wishes to substitute for parliamentary machinery a community operated by all members of society on a voluntary cooperative basis.

While many of the ideas of anarchism were stated by Greek, Chinese and other philosophers of ancient times, as a distinct philosophical and political movement it dates only from 1850. The first prominent exponent of modern philosophical anarchism was Proudhon. Bakunin was the first great practical leader of the movement and Kropotkin has supported its theories in many scientific works.

The popular idea which associates anarchism with violence is largely due to crude and irresponsible individual attempts to overthrow existing institutions by force. The leading members of the movement desire to see their aims realized through widespread education.

The strongest support for the movement is found in the Latin countries; in Spain, Italy, France and to some extent in Russia.

For an impartial description of anarchism the reader is referred to Eltzbacher's "Anarchism." Kropotkin's and Bakunin's writings are the most authoritative books from an anarchistic point of view. A brilliant refutation of anarchism from the socialist standpoint is to be found in Bernard Shaw's "Impossibilities of Anarchism."
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliographies

Fabian society. London. Anarchism. (In What to read. Fabian tract no. 29. 2d ed. 1893. p. 28-9.)
Brief annotated list of older works.
Annotated bibliography. The article preceding the bibliography, p. 914-18, gives synopses of the most important works on anarchism.
Marot, Helen. Anarchism. (In Handbook of labor literature. 1899. p. 17-22.)
Annotated references on anarchism and communistic anarchy.

Definitions

Russell, Bertrand. Definition of anarchism. (In Proposed roads to freedom. 1919. p. 33.)

General

Contains classified quotations from Godwin, Proudhon, Stirner, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Tucker, and Tolstoi.
A philosophical analysis of the theories supporting the state, private property and law.
Expresses the opinion that socialism, achieved through political equality of classes, leads directly to anarchism.
Journalistic, laying emphasis on crimes of anarchists. Treats theory and contemporary anarchists.

Theories

Andrews, S. P. The science of society. Number 1, the true constitution of government in the sovereignty of the individual, as the final development of protestantism, democracy, and socialism. N.Y. T. L. Nichols. 1854. 214p.


An idealistic god, the product of man's imagination but transposed to appear the causation of the universe, is used to excuse some of the worst crimes of the state.


Biography of author by Hippolyte Havel.


An exposition of the gospel of anarchy. Explains methods of production and distribution after expropriation, and conservation of labor by scientific methods of agriculture.


Appendix gives statistics on industry and production to prove that workers are exploited through an inefficient and unjust economic system.


Mutual aid, an important principle in inter-species struggle for existence, is considered as the prime factor in social progress.


An anarchist's sketches of London and Chicago, with chapters on anarchism and communism.


Cooperation as a biological principle. Refutation of objections to anarchism on practical grounds.


A reply to Roosevelt's slogan which is used as title. The indifferent public is accused of murdering anarchists.

Most, Johann. Freie Gesellschaft. N.Y. Samich & Goldmann. 1884. 102p.

An idealistic plan for division of labor and distribution of wealth.
Exposes the laziness of a representative form of government and the danger of centralization. Anarchists stay proudly aloof from politics.

Proudhon, P. J. Qu’est-ce que la propriété? Paris. Garnier frères. 1848. 2 parts.
A refutation of various excuses for the institution of property. Philosophical and ethical discussion.

Asserts the inadequacy of general economic theory, and the harmful influence of developments of the industrial era. Labor is the major force which should "invert the actual formulas of society."


So-called evolutionists characterized as timorous and hypocritical. When evolution is rightly understood, it will not differ from the necessary revolution.

An expression of "unbridled egoism." The sense of moral obligation as the last form of superstition. Socialism by preaching good of all, effects the good of none.

Contains essays on land and labor, government, anarchy, methods of reform, etc. Certain portions of the longer articles omitted. Individual morality is Tolstoi's panacea.

Tolstoi's individualism makes his teaching adverse to the theory of communist anarchism.

Trusts condemned only as an extension of the monopolistic institution of private property.

Selections from his writings on philosophical anarchism. Advocates passive resistance. "Where freedom prevails, competition and cooperation are identical."

Includes constitution of the anarchists' club in Boston.
ANARCHISM

Theories—Contra


Authorities p. 357-73. A socialist's arraignment of anarchism and syndicalism. Treats Bakunin, Johann Most, the battle of Marx with Bakunin and "the newest anarchism," industrial unionism.


Anarchism considered as reaction and menace to working class movement.


Hostile statement of anarchist aims and history.


Individualist anarchism is essentially the laissez-faire policy, communist anarchism utopian, and majority rule with its attendant intolerance inevitable.


History


Trial of anarchists after the Haymarket episode.


Bibl. p. 198-200. Accounts of the debates between Marx and Bakunin, and of the international congresses where these took place.

Commons, J. R. The Chicago catastrophe. (In History of labour in the United States. 1918. v. 2. p. 386-94.)

History of the Haymarket bomb affair.

Commons, J. R., and others. From socialism to anarchism and syndicalism, 1876-1884. (In History of labour in the United States. 1918. v. 2. p. 269-300.)


Memorial pamphlet, containing biography of the well known Spanish anarchist and teacher.

Vizetelly, E. A. The anarchists. N.Y. John Lane co. 1911. 308p.
Rather hostile historical review. Emphasizes “propaganda by deed.”
Gives history with chapters on Proudhon and Stirner, the modern tendency of anarchism in Russia and relation of anarchism to science and politics.

Periodicals