

**MODERN SOCIAL  
MOVEMENTS,  
DESCRIPTIVE SUMMARIES  
AND BIBLIOGRAPHIES**

Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

ISBN 9780649097517

Modern social movements, descriptive summaries and bibliographies by Savel Zimand

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# MODERN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

DESCRIPTIVE SUMMARIES AND  
BIBLIOGRAPHIES

BY

SAVEL ZIMAND

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164169  
19/5/21

NEW YORK  
THE H. W. WILSON COMPANY

London: Grafton & Company

1921

## 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 staunchest 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