

THE LABOR LEADER. By Eli Ginzberg, assisted by Joseph Carwell. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948. Pp. xiv, 191. \$3.00.

This book is quite a contrast to the book of essays discussed above. The first part of this volume—through page 38—is devoted to a slight, but nevertheless interesting, analysis of leadership in various fields of human activity through the ages, with comments upon the dependence of causes and movements on the dynamic qualities of their leaders. From this beginning the reader is eased into a forty-page consideration of leadership in the American organized labor movement and, thence, into an account of the leaders of well-known unions, with some very interesting facts and figures, indeed. One gets the picture of a paternalistic system operated by periodically producing that which, if not everything, is everything else—money in the form of wage increases. And this system has in the past apparently been run with an iron hand on principles which, if not exactly democratic, are certainly characteristic of the concept of leadership.

The last chapter of this book is very good, and in its fifteen pages serves to put the labor leader on something of a spot. Although the author indicates that it is unfair to appraise any labor leader except in the pragmatic terms of how he has administered his union's affairs and what he has used its power to accomplish, he asserts that modern labor leaders in general have got to snap out of the bureaucratic tradition of the past and must indulge in a little statesmanship. He intimates that they control powerful monopolies which they use to achieve traditional ends—higher wages for less work, plus indefinite job security for their constituents and for themselves. He suggests that they will have to abandon qualities of militancy which have made their organizations strong and effective weapons for the purpose of forcing society to grant them favors, and will have to adapt themselves to long-range security programs involving guaranteed annual wages and profit-sharing based on willingness to cooperate in proposals to increase production and lower unit costs. As the author might be understood to imply, they will have to learn to pursue the service motive for the common good, so that unions will become actual instruments for social advancement and will no longer seem to be merely the means for improving the fortunes of another managerial class—union leaders.

The intervening part, consisting of ninety-odd pages, is an account of the inception and growth of a local union, illustrating in a practical case study the tasks of the international agents of an affiliated union, both in getting the local started and in developing its local leaders from very raw material. While this is a very interesting account in itself, I find it somewhat difficult to tie it in with the preceding and subsequent parts of the book, since it does not really take up in example form the kinds of leaders which have been previously discussed.

I am not sure what to say about this book in evaluating it. Perhaps when I say that I read it right through in one sitting and found it mildly informative, as well as quite entertaining, I indicate that I think it is pretty good. But I have seen the same sort of thing done in a manner which I thought more effective. At the same time, the author does succeed in combining a considerable amount of sympathy for and understanding of the organized labor movement with rather searching and critical comments on what labor leaders of the past have been up to and suggestions as to how they must change their tactics if they are going to be left in these positions of great economic power.

I suppose it is silly to add that I was somewhat annoyed to find Mr. Hutcheson's name mis-spelled as "Hutchinson," and to see a few statements which I regard as inaccurate concerning the provisions of the Wagner Act—such as the alleged requirement that 51 per cent of the employees in a bargaining unit be signed up with the union before

negotiations with it can begin. These are, to be sure, small things; but they detract from the quality of a book and interfere with its complete enjoyment.

C. O. GREGORY.

University of Chicago Law School.

EFFECTIVE LABOR ARBITRATION: THE IMPARTIAL CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE FULL-FASHIONED HOSIERY INDUSTRY. By Thomas Kennedy. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948. Pp. xi, 286. \$3.50.

Professor Kennedy's book is Number 34 of the Research Studies of the Industrial Research Department of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce of the University of Pennsylvania. The author served for a time as Deputy Impartial Chairman and later as Impartial Chairman under the Union-Industry National Agreement, and writes with the full understanding which that experience brought him.

The impartial chairmanship treated in the book is a mediation and arbitration system voluntarily established and maintained by the Full-Fashioned Hosiery Manufacturers of America, Inc., an association of hosiery manufacturers, and the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, an industrial union of hosiery workers. Under this system the parties agree to submit all problems, except changes in the general wage level, which arise at any time during the life of the contract under which they are operating, and which they cannot settle by negotiation, to a permanent impartial chairman for final and binding settlement. The book is a study of the 1,566 problems which were referred to the Impartial Chairman from the initiation of the system in 1929 to August, 1945. During this time six different persons served as Impartial Chairmen. The author classifies these problems according to types, and shows the attitude of the Impartial Chairman toward their solution.

The purposes of the study are stated¹ to be:

1. to present in an orderly and understandable fashion the procedures, techniques, and principles developed and tested by the Impartial Chairmanship of the full-fashioned hosiery industry.
2. to determine the factors and conditions which led to the adoption of these procedures, techniques, and principles and to analyze critically their effects on the economics and other phases of the industrial relations of the industry.
3. to discover what defects exist in the system as it now functions and to examine the possible remedies.

The industry, after a prosperous period in the early 1920's, during which large numbers of workmen learned the trade, became badly depressed toward the end of that decade. Competition had always been keen, with no recognized leading company in the industry to set prices; units of the industry were easily movable, and the low cost of shipping put each company in competition with every other, no matter where it was located. There were some non-union mills even in the Northeast where the union was strong, and there were non-union areas, principally in the South, where new mills were opened even when the established union mills in the other areas were operating part time.

In 1929 the president of the union of hosiery workers stated to its convention that the union had lost control of the industry, and that its ability to survive was in doubt. The union invited the management of all unionized mills to meet with it to devise means of defense. The spokesman for the owners said that at least 60 per cent of all hosiery-making machines were then being operated by non-union knitters and that non-

¹ P. 2.