

CHAPTER 2

Evolution of Labor-Management Relationships

Outline

- I. Historical perspective
 - a. Two interrelated dimensions:
 - i. relationships between labor and management organizations
 - ii. organizational characteristics of labor organizations.
 - b. Criteria for comparing the effectiveness of a labor organization:
 - i. the union's structural and financial stability
 - ii. its ability to work within the established political and economic system
 - iii. the presence of supportive or disruptive features in the social environment, such as mass media and legislation
 - iv. the ability of union leaders to identify and satisfy members' goals and interests
- II. 1869 to World War I
 - a. Brief overview of unions in the U.S. before 1869
 - i. Guilds, joint associations of employers and craftspeople, local markets, small firms
 - ii. Factory system in 1850s, improved transportation, larger markets, larger Firms
 - iii. Article I, Section 8 of U.S. Constitution grants Congress the right to pass laws regulating interstate commerce which includes labor laws
 - iv. Common law doctrine still in use today is the employment-at-will doctrine
 - v. The common law criminal conspiracy doctrine used by employers against unions was ended by the *Commonwealth v. Hunt* decision
 - vi. The courts continued to apply the civil conspiracy doctrine.
 - vii. A labor Injunction is a court order restricting certain activities in a labor dispute
 - viii. Many employers required their employees to sign yellow-dog contracts, which stipulated that employees may not join or organize a union
 - b. Application of antitrust legislation to labor unions
 - i. Sherman Antitrust Act (1890) – restricts power of corporations to engage in anti-competitive practices
 - ii. Loewe v. Lawlor case (Danbury Hatters) – union-organized boycott of Loewe and company was declared illegal
 - iii. Clayton Antitrust Act (1914) specifically allowed the existence of labor unions
 - iv. Interpretations of Clayton by Supreme Court watered-down its effectiveness as it became easier for employers to get labor injunctions
 - c. The Knights of Labor (KOL)
 - i. Goals included long-range economic and social reforms, which were greatly influenced by personal philosophy of Powderly
 - ii. Pyramid-style organizational structure with centralized authority resting at the top

- iii. Strategies included political actions, education, encouragement of cooperatives, and active avoidance of strikes
 - iv. The KOL failed because of faulty assumptions about:
 - 1. the reversibility of technological advancements
 - 2. the extent shared interests of employers and employees and among different types of employees
 - 3. the lack of protective legislation for unions
 - 4. the lack of leadership identification with members' interests
- d. The eight-hour workday movement and the Haymarket Riot (1886)
 - i. Samuel Gompers strongly advocated the eight-hour work day
 - ii. Violent aftermath (police and citizens killed) resulted in a backlash against organized labor which included the KOL
- e. The emergence of the American Federation of Labor (AFL)
 - i. Formed under Gompers' leadership from national unions expelled from the KOL
 - ii. Is not one big union; instead member unions join Federation for its services and retain their separate identities
 - iii. Goals included an emphasis on short-range material benefits (economic betterment), enhancement of the existing capitalist industrial system, and avoidance of long-term philosophical (social reform) commitments
 - iv. Strategies and tactics of the AFL
 - 1. included the use of the strike, involvement in the political arena
 - 2. the attainment of increased status for organized labor and collective bargaining
 - v. Organization of the AFL
 - 1. Exclusive jurisdiction for each craft or trade
 - 2. Decentralized authority through voluntary association
- f. The Homestead Incident (1892)
 - i. Violent confrontation over wages at the Carnegie Steel Works
 - ii. Although it represented a victory for management, the strike strengthened the AFL by demonstrating to employees the organization's concern for helping its members
- g. The Pullman Strike (1894)
 - i. Protest over unilateral wage cuts while prices for rent and food in the company-owned town remained the same
 - ii. The American Railway Union (independent from the AFL) faded out of existence owing to negative public opinion; the use of federal troops and injunctions; Pullman management resistance, and lack of support by the AFL
- h. The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)
 - i. Organized in 1905 with the objective of overthrowing the existing capitalistic system by any means possible
 - ii. Failed because of a lack of permanent membership and financial base, inability to appeal to members' interests, being identified with sabotage and violence, and alienation of the news media and government officials

III. World War I to World War II

- a. Union organizing after World War I: Problems and prospects
 - i. Post-war economic conditions led to unsuccessful strikes that weakened unions

- ii. Union membership declined in the 1920s due to aggressive counteractions by employers and organized labor's inability to overcome anti-union sentiment among potential union members
- b. Counteractions by employers
 - i. Open shop movement (American Plan)
 - ii. Blacklisting
 - iii. Industrial spies
 - iv. Mohawk Valley Formula
 - v. Paternalism
 - vi. Employee representation plan (ERP) or company union
- c. Labor's inability to overcome anti-union sentiment due to:
 - i. Good economic conditions in "Roaring" 1920s
 - ii. Corruption and racketeering in unions (sweetheart contracts)
 - iii. Infiltration by radicals and communists
- d. Rise of the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) and industrial unionism
 - i. AFL did not want to enroll semi-skilled employees. CIO broke away from the AFL to organize employees in mass production industries (steel, auto, electrical, etc.).
 - ii. CIO membership grew quickly owing to strong leadership, realistic goals (similar to AFL), effective use of the sit-down strike, passage of favorable legislation (the Wagner Act), and positive changes in employee attitudes towards union

IV. World War II to the Present

- a. Developments in organized labor since World War II
 - i. New collective bargaining issues (e.g., adjustments to technological change, employee benefits, inflation, and concession bargaining)
 - ii. Organization of public sector, white-collar, and service employees
 - iii. Merger of the AFL-CIO in 1955
- b. Formation of the Change to Win Federation
 - i. Voluntary departure of seven large national unions from the AFL-CIO
 - ii. Dispute over the allocation of resources for organizing activities and grass-roots direct political action
- c. Aspects of organized labor unchanged since World War II
 - i. Exclusive representation
 - ii. Collective bargaining agreements
 - iii. Government policies of non-intervention in labor relations
 - iv. Unions involvement in politics
 - v. Difficulty in achieving consensus among unions and among union members
 - vi. Continued pursuit of short-range economic and job security goals instead of long-range reform

Discussion Questions

1. Discuss the similarities and differences between the Knights of Labor (KOL) and the Industrial Workers of the World.

Both KOL and IWW adopted the “one big union” approach. They both focused too much on long-range political and economic changes in the society and not enough on the daily struggles of workers. They both agreed that the existing wage and profit system had to be changed.

But while the KOL stressed that employees and employers had common interests and appropriate reform could create peaceful and gradual change, IWW generally believed in the quick overthrow of the existing political and economic system with the workers taking over the means of production. In addition, IWW was the only union that officially endorsed sabotage as a legitimate weapon of worker protest.

2. Use the four criteria mentioned in the introduction of this chapter for evaluating the strength of a labor organization, and discuss why the AFL survived and the IWW faded into obscurity as labor organizations.

In many respects the IWW violated all the criteria of labor organization success as it:

- *had neither an adequate financial base (many members did not pay dues) nor a membership base (many members were transients, which did not permit the development of a stable leadership at the local level). Also its “one big union” approach created several factions along ideological and socio-demographic lines (e.g., ethnic, religious, and language differences).*
- *directly attacked the existing political and economic systems. Its denunciations of traditional religious beliefs and the war and its identification with violence generated much antipathy among the media. The organization's lack of interest in material benefits gave members little immediate indication of success, which would have probably been necessary to encourage the members to support the organization's future efforts.*

The AFL directly differed from the preceding characteristics of the IWW (the media was not especially enthusiastic about this organization either). The organizational characteristics of the AFL (exclusive jurisdiction and autonomy) helped to guarantee that participant unions could define and more immediately achieve their own bargaining goals.

3. Explain how the Haymarket Riot, Homestead strike, and Pullman strike helped as well as hurt the AFL.

All three incidents harmed the AFL to the extent of unfavorable publicity, although the AFL was only directly identified with one incident (Homestead) where at least some media accounts (and the courts) found the company more to blame than the employees. Indeed, Gompers demonstrated his concern for local union members at Homestead through financial contributions. The AFL, by remaining more or less in the background at Haymarket and Pullman, watched potential rivals (the KOL and ARU) disintegrate after the events. The Knights' demise after Haymarket was caused by an angry membership that thought they should have been more active in Haymarket (and its protest for an eight-hour day) and an

angry public that identified the Knights as being at least partially responsible for Haymarket's violence.

4. Discuss some employer tactics used to prevent or minimize union growth prior to the passage of the NLRA in 1935. Which, if any, of these tactics would be lawful today?

Tactics used by employers to prevent or minimize union growth prior to the passage of the NLRA in 1935 varied from aggressive opposition to labor (Open-shop movement, American Plan, Mohawk Valley Formula, blacklisting employees, violence during union organizing drives, etc.) to providing employees an alternative to unions (paternalism and employee representation plans). Tactics like open-shop movement and paternalism would still be legal today.

5. Discuss some key similarities and differences between AFL and the CIO.

Both were federations of unions. While AFL limited their membership to craft or skill-trade employees, the CIO focused on industrial employees.

1. *In your opinion, does having two different existing labor federations (AFL-CIO and Change to Win) strengthen or weaken the ability of organized labor to represent the interests of employees today?*

The Change to Win federation, although less formally structured than the AFL-CIO, still shares many of the same basic principles and philosophies as unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO. Member unions of the Change to Win federation are encouraged to devote 50 percent of their annual operating budget toward union organizing activities compared to a goal of 30 percent for AFL-CIO affiliated unions. The Change to Win federation also plans to spend less time and money working through the established political parties (principally the Democratic Party) and instead focus more resources on grass-roots direct political action by the member unions themselves.

Whether the formation of a new labor federation will spur union membership and political gains or as critics charge, further sow disunity and weaken the ranks of organized labor remains to be seen. CTW may have difficulty imposing policy and financial requirements on its member unions to support its organizing and political goals. Unions may turn to raiding the other group's other unions. The split may reduce overall union effectiveness in the political arena and in organizing.

2. *Some experts predict that in the future there are likely to be fewer but larger labor organizations. Discuss some advantages and disadvantages of the so called One Big Union approach to representing employees' interests.*
- *Strength in numbers—unions that are capable of causing significant disruptions in the global economy or that can exert strong effects on the political system will be paid attention to.*
 - *An obvious disadvantage of One Big Union is one similar to the KOL's assumption that all types of employers and employees share identical employment interests. Another disadvantage will be maintaining focus and discipline in an organization of the magnitude that would truly be One Big Union.*

Exploring the Web

History of the Labor Movement

1. Key People: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor, AFL-CIO
2. Labor Unions: Knights of Labor (KOL), Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)
3. Pinkertons: Public Broadcasting Service (PBS)
4. Pullman Strike: Chicago-Kent College of Law Web site, PBS Online NewsHour
5. Haymarket Riots: Digital Collection at the Chicago Historical Society

Students should use an internet search engine (e.g., Google) to locate the relevant web pages for these exercises. Specific URL address links for the exercises are not listed because they are rendered nonfunctional when link-associated web sites and pages are updated.

Suggested Readings and Term Paper Topics

1. **Analyze the tactics and "union organization" portrayed in Steinbeck's (1936) classic, *In Dubious Battle*. Were the tactics used by labor effective? Why or why not? Does the novel support or refute information in your textbook?**
2. **Analyze the role of "poetry" in the history of the labor movement. What are the major themes? What influence did these poems have?**

Possible references:

Chaplin, R. (1922). *Bars and shadows: The prison poems of Ralph Chaplin*. New York: Leonard Press.
Cole, J. K. (1918). *The poems and prose writings of James Kelly Cole*. Chicago: IWW Press.
Kinnell, G. (1991). *When one has lived a long time alone*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf
Oresick, P., & Coles, N. (1995). *For a living: The poetry of work*. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press.
Wayman, T. (Ed.) (1991). *Paperwork: Contemporary poems from the job*. Madeira Park, B.C. Canada: Harbour Publishing Co.

3. **Analyze one of the following "labor novels." How does it portray the labor movement? Labor unions? Is the portrayal accurate or biased? If biased, then how? If accurate, then what insights do you learn from this type of approach to studying unions that you do not learn from a text? How do the union activities correspond to or differ from the theories and concepts covered in the text and the class?**

Possible references:

Ashley, C. (1930). *The Rambling Kid*. London: Faber.
Conroy, J. (1933). *The Disinherited*. NY: Covici-Friede. Reprinted, 1978, Cambridge, Mass: Robert Bentley.
Garland, H. (1903). *Hesper*. New York: Harper. Reprinted 1974, St. Clair Shores, MI: Scholarly Press.
Gilden, K. B. (1989) *Between the hills and the sea*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.
McCaig, D. (1980). *ButtePolka*. New York: Rawson, Wade.
Nicholson, P.Y. (2004). *Labor's story in the United States*. Philadelphia : Temple University Press.

4. **Eugene V. Debs, leader of the American Railway Union became a socialist and even ran for the presidency of the U.S. in 1908 as the socialist candidate. Why did Debs**

**embrace socialism? Was socialism an appropriate solution for the problems Debs saw?
What role would labor play in Deb's vision of a socialist society?**

Possible references:

Coleman, M (1930). *Eugene V. Debs: A man unafraid*. New York: Greenberg.
Currie H. W. (1976). *Eugene V. Debs*. Boston: Twayne Publishers
Olssen, E. (1988). *The case of the Socialist Party that failed, or further reflections on the American Dream*. *Labor History*, 29, (4), 416-449.
Papke, D. R. (1999). *The Pullman case: The clash of labor and capital in industrial America*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.

- 5. Analyze the labor movement in EITHER (a) Wisconsin, or (b) Minnesota. You can use any time frame you prefer. What characteristics best describe this labor movement? What makes it different from most of the rest of the nation during this time period? What were its chief successes? Failures? How does it compare to the ideas covered in this course?**

Possible references:

Faue, E. (1991). *Community of suffering & struggle: Women, men, and the labor movement in Minneapolis, 1915-1945*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
Holter, D. (Ed.) (1999). *Workers and unions in Wisconsin: A labor history anthology*. Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
Ozanne, R. W. (1984). *The labor movement in Wisconsin: A history*. Madison, WI: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
Ross, C. (1977). *The Finn factor in American labor, culture, and society*. New York Mills, MN: Parta Printers.

- 6. Agree or disagree: Henry Ford I's philosophy of labor relations continues to be a model for industry.**

Possible references:

Crowther, S. and Ford, H. (1922). *My life and work*. NY: Doubleday.
Foust, J. C. (1997). Mass-produced reform: Henry Ford's Dearborn Independent. *American Journalism*, 14, 411-424.
Norwood, S. (1996). Ford's brass knuckles: Harry Bennett, the cult of muscularity, and antilabor terror, 1920-1945. *Labor History*, 37, 365-391.
Vorse, M. H. (1938). *Labor's new millions*. NY: Modern Age Books.
Wilson, Amy. (2003). Ford Motor battles, befriends labor; Founder bitterly opposed unions, but company was the birthplace of many worker victories. *Automotive News*. 77, 6044, 104.

- 7. Analyze the Lawrence strikes. What started the strikes? Who is to blame for the violence that followed? Which side do you support? Why?**

Possible references:

Arnold, Dexter (1996). Ethnic diversity and labor unity: Reflections on the Lowell textile strike of 1912. *Labor's Heritage*, 8,(2), 56-77.
Bedford, H. F. (1966). *Socialism and the workers in Massachusetts, 1889-1912*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
Cahn, W. (1980). *Lawrence Nineteen Twelve: The Bread and Roses Strike*. Phillipsburg, NJ: Pilgrim.
Yellen, S. (1936). *American labor struggles*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.

- 8. Analyze the role of "song" in the history of the labor movement. What are the major themes? What influence did these songs have?**

Possible references:

- Cohen, N. (1990). Occupational, labor, and union songs. *Journal of American Folklore*, 103, (410), 526-529.
- Halker, C. D. (1991). *For democracy, workers, and God: Labor song-poems and labor protest, 1865-1895*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- O'Donnell, J. C. (1992). "Join the union or you'll die": Songs relating to the labour union movement in Canada's coal mining communities. *Canadian Folklore Canadien [Canada]* 14(2): 113-136.
- Stavis, B., and Harmon, F. (Eds.) (1960). *The songs of Joe Hill*. New York: Oak Publications.

9. Agree or disagree: "Throughout the history of the labor movement, the biggest threat to labor has not come from employers but from radicals within the labor movement itself." Support your position.

Possible references:

- Grob, G. N. (1976). *Workers and utopia: A study of ideological conflict in the American labor movement*. N. Y.: Quadrangle.
- Perlman, S. (1922). *A history of trade unionism in the U.S.* Reprinted, 1980, Fairfield, N.J.: Kelley.
- De Caux, L. (1970). *Labor Radical: From the Wobblies to the CIO. A biography*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Salerno, S. (1989). *Red November, Black November: Culture and community in the Industrial Workers of the World*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

10. Analyze the role of theatre in the labor movement in American history.

Possible references:

- Chambers, A., & Ruskin, C. (Dec. 4, 1989). Actors son Cheyney Ryan brings migrant workers a theater that could change their lives. *People*, 175-177.
- Hyman, C. A. (1987). Workers on stage: an annotated bibliography of labor plays of the 1930s. *Performing arts resources*, 12, 171-195.
- Lanza, A. (1980). Teatro Operaio E "Labor Chautauquas" al Brookwood Labor College [Workers' Theater and "Labor Chautauquas" at Brookwood Labor College]. *Movimento Operaio e Socialista [Italy]*, 3, 199-220.
- Miles, D. (1986). *Something in common: An IWW bibliography*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- The theatre department of your university may contain published versions of some of the plays listed in bibliographies. Also see recent issues of the journal *Labor History*.

11. Women's groups have, on the whole, faced substantial difficulties in establishing and maintaining women's labor unions. One exception is the Association of Flight Attendants (AFA)/Airline Stewardess Association (ALSA). Why were they successful? What are their prospects for the future?

Possible references:

- Bielski, M. (2003). We Can't Eat Prestige: The Women Who Organized Harvard. *Journal of Labor Research*, 24,1 187-188.
- Cobble, D. S. (1999). "A spontaneous loss of enthusiasm": Workplace feminism and the transformation of women's service jobs in the 1970s. *International Labor and Working Class History*, 56: 23-44.
- Milkman, R. (Ed.) (1985). *Women, Work and Protest: A Century of U.S. Women's Labor History*. NY: Routledge and Kegan--Methuen.
- Nielsun, G.P. (1982). *From sky girl to flight attendant: Women and the making of a Union*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press
- Soldon, N C. (ed.) (1985). *The world of women's trade unionism: Comparative historical essays*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

- 12. Analyze the career of John L. Lewis, former leader of the United Mine Workers. What accounted for his successes and failures?**

Possible references:

Alinsky, S. (1970) *John L. Lewis: An unauthorized biography*. NY: Vintage Books.
Carnes, C. (1936). *John L. Lewis: Leader of labor*. NY: Robert Speller Publishing.
Dubofsky, M., & Van Tyne, W. (1977). *John L. Lewis: A biography*. NY: New York Times Book Co.

- 13. Selig Perlman and John R. Commons have written extensively on labor history and have formulated two similar theories to explain the rise of modern unions. Pick ONE of these authors. Critique a portion of his theory, explaining his ideas. With which parts of the theory do you agree? With which do you disagree? Support your opinions.**

Possible references:

Perlman, S. (1928) *A theory of the labor movement*. Reprinted, NY: Augustus M. Kelley, 1968.
Commons, J.R. et al (eds.) (1918) *History of labor in the United States*. Reprinted, NY: Augustus M. Kelley, 1966.
Commons, J.R (1924). *Legal foundations of capitalism*. NY: MacMillan.
Sommers, G. G (1963) (Ed). *Labor, management, and social policy: Essays in the Commons tradition*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

- 14. Please discuss ONE of the following topics:**

- a). How do Marxist and Neo-Marxist scholars interpret the history of the U. S. labor movement and the present industrial relations system? Do you agree or disagree with their major conclusions? Why?**
- b). Now that communism has collapsed in most of the industrialized world, what function will the ideology serve in the future (if any)? Is it still a viable ideology? Be sure to relate your answer to the labor movement.**

Possible references:

Braverman, H. (1974). *Labor and monopoly capital*. NY: Monthly Review Press.
Hyman, R. (1975). *Industrial relations: A Marxist introduction*. Plymouth, United Kingdom: Gower Press.
Marx, K., & Engels (1848). *The communist manifesto*. International publishers.
Wallich, P. & Corcoran, E. (Feb., 1991). Don't write off Marx. *Scientific American*, 264, 135-136.

- 15. Analyze the "Utopian" societies founded in the late 1800s and early 1900s. How did they deal with worker-manager relations? Were they successful? Why or why not?**

Possible references:

Roper, J. (1989). Utopianism, scientific and socialistic: Albert Chavannes and 'socioland'. *Journal of American Studies*, 23, 407-421.
Shor, F. (Winter, 1989). Contradictory tendencies in the emergence of American socialism and utopian Ruskin Colony of Tennessee. *Journal of Popular Culture*, 12, 21-27.
Stehle, J. F. (Nov. 29, 1989). How some communists became capitalists overnight. *The Wall Street Journal*, Vol. LXXI, No. 32, page A18, Cols. 3-6.

- 16. Write a paper on migrant labor and unions. You might address some or all of the following questions: Historically, what were the major issues facing migrant labor?**

Have they been resolved? What role have unions played in addressing migrant workers' concerns? What issues remain to be addressed concerning migrant workers today? What recommendations do you make?

Possible references:

Nelkin, D. (1971). *On the season: Aspects of the migrant labor system*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.
Levy, J. (1975). *Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa*. NY: W. W. Norton & Co.
Stuart, P. (Dec., 1992). Better future for migrant workers. *Personnel Journal*, 71, (12), 65-74.
Tienda, M., & Wilson, F. D. (1992). Migration and the earnings of Hispanic men. *American Sociological Review*, 57, (5), 661-678.

17. What factors led Samuel Gompers to create the American Federation of Labor? Why was he successful when the Knights of Labor had failed?

Possible references:

Kaufman, S. (1973). *Samuel Gompers and the origins of the AFL*. Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
Livesay, H. C. (1993). *Samuel Gompers and organized labor in America*. Waveland Press.
Wolman, L. (1975). *The growth of American trade unions, 1880-1923*. N.Y.: Arno Press
Gompers, S. (1925). *Seventy years of life and labor: An autobiography*. Reprinted, 1967, N. Y.: Kelley.

18. Analyze the life of activist and socialist "Mother Jones." What were her successes and failures? What factors do you think accounted for her successes and failures? What impact did she have upon organized labor? Why? Do you agree or disagree with her philosophy and the solutions she offered? Support your views.

Possible references:

Fetherling, D. (1974) *Mother Jones: The miners angel*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.
Foner, P. S. (Ed.) (1983). *Mother Jones Speaks: Collected writings and speeches*. New York: Monad Press.
Gorn, E. J. (2001). *Mother Jones: The most dangerous woman in America*. Hill & Wang.
Jones, M. (1925). *Autobiography of Mother Jones*. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., Publishers Reprinted, 1969, NY: Arno Press.

19. Analyze the life of activist Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. What were her successes and failures? What factors do you think accounted for her successes and failures? What impact did she have upon organized labor? Why? Do you agree or disagree with her philosophy and the solutions she offered? Support your views.

Possible references:

Baxandall, R. F. (Ed.) (1987) *Words on fire: The life and writing of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
Baxandall, R. F. (Jan-Feb, 1975). Elizabeth Gurley Flynn: The early years. *Radical America*, 97-115.
Corliss, L. (Ed.) (1968). *The trial of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn*. NY: Monthly Review Press
Flynn, E. G. (1973) *Rebel girl: An autobiography*. New York: International Publishers.

20. Agree or disagree: "The Anarchists were right all along." Be sure to relate your opinion to the labor movement.

Possible references:

Dubofsky, M. and Dulles, F.R. (2004). *Labor in America: A history*. 7th edition. Wheeling, Ill. : Harlan Davidson.
LaFargue, P., & Bracken, L. (translator) (1999) *The right to be lazy*. Fifth Season Press.
Edmundson, W. A. (1998). *Three anarchical fallacies: An essay on political authority*. Cambridge University Press.

McKinley, B. (1987). "A religion of the new time": Anarchist memorials to the Haymarket Martyrs, 1888-1917. *Labor History*, 386-400.
Russell, B. (1919). *Proposed Roads to Freedom: Socialism, Anarchism, and Syndicalism*. New York: H. Holt & Co. Reprinted as: *Roads to Freedom*. Winchester, MA: Allan & Unwin, 1966.

21. Analyze the life of activist Joe Hill. What were his successes and failures? What factors do you think accounted for his successes and failures? What impact did he have upon organized labor? Why? Do you agree or disagree with his philosophy and the solutions he offered? Support your views.

Possible References:

Foner, P. S. (1965). *The case for Joe Hill*. New York: International Publishers.
Ebner, M. H. (Winter, 1971). I never died: The case of Joe Hill v. the historians. *Labor History*, 12, 139-143.
Hampton, W. (1986). *Guerilla minstrels*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press
Smith, G. M. (1969). *Joe Hill*. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press

22. We all have heard the story of how Helen Keller learned to communicate. But few people know that she later communicated her opinions on the labor movement. What were her opinions? Do you agree or disagree with her views? Support your position.

Possible references:

Foner, P. S. (1966). *Helen Keller: Her socialist years; writings and speeches*. New York: International Publishers.
Keller, H. (March, 1918) In behalf of the I.W.W. *Liberator*, 1, 13. [Note: The I.W.W. is the Industrial Workers of the World union.]
Bindley, B (Jan 16, 1916). Helen Keller would be IWW's Joan of Arc. *New York Tribune*, Section 5, page 5

23. What role did violence serve in the history of U.S. labor? How was violence used by the labor movement? How was it used against the unions? How were the conditions and objectives of violence in the U.S. differ from or were similar to the violence of the European labor movement? How does the legacy of violence (or the lack thereof) shape U.S. labor-management relations today? Be sure to support your position.

Possible references:

Adamic, L. (1931). *Dynamite: The story of class violence in America*. New York: Viking. Reprinted: Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1959.
Adams, G. J. (1966). *Age of industrial violence, 1910-1915: The activities and findings of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations*. New York: Columbia University Press
Dreiser, T. et al. (1932). *Harlan miners speak: Report of terrorism in the Kentucky coalfields*. New York: Harcourt, Brace. Reprinted: New York: Da Capo Press, 1970.
Forster, A. (March, 1966). Violence on the fanatical left and right. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 364, 141-148
Nicholson, P.Y. (2004). *Labor's story in the United States*. Philadelphia : Temple University Press.

24. Analyze the career of "Big Bill" Haywood. What accounted for his successes? What accounted for his failures? Was he a dangerous radical or a visionary?

Possible references:

Haywood, W D. (1929) *Autobiography of William D. Haywood*. NY: International Publishers
Rayback, J. G. (1966). *A history of American labor*, revised ed. NY: Free Press.
Carlson, P. (1983). *Roughneck: The life and times of Big Bill Haywood*. NY: Norton.

Stephenson, C. & Asher, R (Eds., 1989). *Life and labor: Dimensions of working-class history*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press

25. Agree or disagree: "If it wasn't for the communists, factory workers still wouldn't be unionized today."

Possible references:

Barnes, J. (1994). *The changing face of U.S. politics: Working-class politics and the trade unions*. Pathfinder Press.
Dubofsky, M., & Van Tyne, W. (1977) *John L. Lewis: A biography*. NY: New York Times Book Co.
Keeran, R. (Summer, 1989). International workers order and the origins of the CIO. *Labor History*, 30, (3), 385-408.
Nicholson, P.Y. (2004). *Labor's story in the United States*. Philadelphia : Temple University Press.
Stephan-Norris, J, and Zeitlin, M. (1989). Who gets the bird? Or, how the communists won power and trusts in America's unions. *American Sociological Review*, 54, 503-523

26. Analyze the rise and fall of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW--"the Wobblies"). What factors gave birth to this organization? What factors accounted for its successes? What factors led to its demise? Do you believe that the IWW leaders should have been arrested during the "Red Scare"? Or do you believe that the IWW should have been destroyed earlier? (Another, related term paper topic: How does the "new" [modern] IWW compare to its predecessor?) Support your position.

Possible references:

Dubofsky, M. and Dulles, F.R. (2004). *Labor in America: A history*. 7th edition. Wheeling, Ill. : Harlan Davidson.
Dubofsky, M. (1969). *We shall be all: A history of the Industrial Workers of the World*. Chicago
Foner, P. S (Ed) (1981) *Fellow workers and friends: IWW Free-Speech Fights as told by participants*. Westport CT: Greenwood.
Miles, D. (1986). *Something in common: An IWW Bibliography*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
Nicholson, P.Y. (2004). *Labor's story in the United States*. Philadelphia : Temple University Press.
Salerno, S. (1989?). *Red November, Black November: Culture and Community in the Industrial Workers of the World*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

27. Who were the Molly Maguires? Were they common criminals? Or were they heroes of American labor?

Possible references:

Bimba, A. (1966). *The Molly Maguires*. NY: International Publishers.
Coleman, W. J. (1970). *The Molly Maguire riots*. NY: Arno and the New York Times Press.
Kenny, K. (1998). *Making sense of the Molly Maguires*. Oxford University Press.
Lewis, A. H. (1964). *Lament for the Molly Maguires*. NY: Harcourt, Brace, & World.

28. Analyze the role of labor during World War I. What position did the two major unions (e.g. AFL, IWW) take with regard to the conflict. Which was correct? Why? How did each seek to accomplish its goals?

Possible References:

Breen, W. J. (Spring, 1991). The mobilization of skilled labor in World War I: 'Voluntarism,' and the U.S. public service reserve. *Labor History*, 32, 253-273.
Dubofsky, M. and Dulles, F.R. (2004). *Labor in America: A history*. 7th edition. Wheeling, Ill. : Harlan Davidson.
Sherman, L. Y. (June 20, 1918). *The IWW and the War*. Congressional Record, 56, 6566-6569.

Steuben, J. (1949). *Labor in wartime*. NY: International Publishers.

Woehlke, W. V. (1918). *Union labor in peace and war*. San Francisco: Sunset Publishing House.

- 29. Analyze the "Red Scare" of the early 1920s, relating it to the labor movement. What accounted for the Red Scare? Was it appropriate for the times? What are the implications for American policy toward "radical" elements within unions today?**

Possible references:

Coben, S. (1991). *A Study in nativism: The American red scare of 1919-1920*. Irvington Publishers.

Dubofsky, M. and Dulles, F.R. (2004). *Labor in America: A history*. 7th edition. Wheeling, Ill. : Harlan Davidson.

Gutfeld, A. (1979). *Montana's agony: Years of war and hysteria, 1917-1921*. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press.

Jensen, J. (1968). *Price of vigilance*. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Levin, M. B. (1971). *Political hysteria in America: The democratic capacity for repression*. NY: Basic Books.

Murray, R. K. (1955). *Red Scare: A study in National Hysteria*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

- 30. What factors led to the formation and rise of the Knights of Labor? How did it differ from previous union confederations? How well did it achieve its objectives?**

Possible references:

Nicholson, P.Y. (2004). *Labor's story in the United States*. Philadelphia : Temple University Press.

McLaurin, M. A. (1978). *The Knights of Labor in the South*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Phelan, G. (2000). *Grand master workman: Terence Powderly and the Knights of Labor*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Rayback, J. G. (1966). *A History of American Labor*, second edition. NY: Free Press.

- 31. Analyze the role Upton Sinclair played in the labor movement, either directly in his life or in his writings. Do you agree or disagree with his views? Support your positions.**

Possible references:

Blotner, J. (1966). *The modern American political novel, 1900-1960*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Gompers, S. (April, 1914). Upton Sinclair's mental marksmanship. *AFL American Federationist*, 21, 293-302.

Simon, L. (Spring/Summer, 1989). Socialism at home: the case of Upton Sinclair. *New Jersey History*, 107, 49-57.

Sinclair, U. (1927). *Oil*. La Jolla, CA: [Dramatic Play] published by the author. Reprinted: Cambridge, MA: Robert Bentley, 1981.

- 32. Child labor is something that we think of as disappearing during the 1930s. But some say that child labor still exists in this country. Write a paper about the history of child labor in the U.S. and its present manifestations. What, if anything, can/should be done about this problem?**

Possible references:

Baland, J. M. (2000). Is child labor inefficient? *The Journal of Political Economy*, 108, 663-680.

Bartoletti, S. C. (1999). *Kids on strike!* New York: Houghton.

Greenhouse, S. (Aug. 6, 2000). Farm work by children tests labor laws. *New York Times*, pp.1, 12.

Kruse, D. L. (2000). Illegal child labor in the United States: Prevalence and characteristics. *Industrial & Labor Relations Review*, 54, 17-41.

Nicholson, P.Y. (2004). *Labor's story in the United States*. Philadelphia : Temple University Press.
Ratcliffe, C. (2004). The economics of work and family. *Industrial & Labor Relations Review*, 57, 2, 305-307.

- 33. Write a paper on the history of Chinese Labor prior to World War I (1914-1918) in the U.S. What were the unique issues involving this group? What were the responses from labor unions? What laws were passed? What caused these responses? Were these responses appropriate and effective?**

Possible references:

Asher, R., & Stephenson, C. (1990). *Labor divided: Race and ethnicity in United States labor struggles, 1835-1960*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
Gyory, A. (1998). *Closing the gate: Race, politics, and the Chinese Exclusion Act*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
Nicholson, P.Y. (2004). *Labor's story in the United States*. Philadelphia : Temple University Press.
Rosenberg, D. (1995). The IWW and organization of Asian workers in early 20th Century America. *Labor History*, 36, 77-87.
Saxton, A. (1971). *The indispensable enemy: Labor and the anti-Chinese movement in California*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Reprinted, 1995.

- 34. Generally, were Christian fundamentalists and evangelicals supportive of labor unions or opposed to labor unions prior to World War II? Did the views of the laity generally agree with or differ from those of the pastors and church leaders?**

Possible references:

Dubofsky, M. and Dulles, F.R. (2004). *Labor in America: A history*. 7th edition. Wheeling, Ill. : Harlan Davidson.
Fones-Wolf, E., & Fones-Wolf, K. (1998). Conversation at Bethlehem: Religion and union building in steel, 1930-1942. *Labor History*, 39, 381-395.
Halker, C. (1991). Jesus was a carpenter: Labor song-poets, labor protest, and true religion in gilded age America. *Labor History*, 32, 273-289.
Nicholson, P.Y. (2004). *Labor's story in the United States*. Philadelphia : Temple University Press.

- 35. Who was Covington Hall? What was his viewpoint? What role did he play in the history of the labor movement?**

Possible references:

Cook, B. A. (1977). Covington Hall and radical rural unionization in Louisiana, *Louisiana History*, 18, 227-238.
Roediger, D. R. (1985). Covington Hall: The poetry and politics of Southern nationalism and labour radicalism. *History Workshop Journal* [United Kingdom], 19, 162-168.
Winters, D. (1992). Covington Hall: The utopian vision of a "Wobbly" poet. *Labor's Heritage*, 4, 54-63.

- 36. What role have women of color played in the history of the labor movement?**

Possible references:

Asher, R., & Stephenson, C. (1990). *Labor divided: Race and ethnicity in United States labor struggles, 1835-1960*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
Dubofsky, M. and Dulles, F.R. (2004). *Labor in America: A history*. 7th edition. Wheeling, Ill. : Harlan Davidson.
DuBois, E. C. (1990). *Unequal sisters: A multicultural reader in U.S. women's history*. New York: Routledge.

Glen, E.N. (2002). *How race and gender shaped American citizenship and labor*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

Peffer, G. A. (1999). *If they don't bring their women here: Chinese female immigration before Exclusion*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Peffer, G. A. (1992). From under the sojourner's shadow: A historiographical study of Chinese female immigration to America, 1852-1882. *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 11, (3), 41-67.

37. Who were the Progressive Mine Workers of America? What were their positions on important labor issues? How did they differ from other coal mining unions?

Possible references:

Dubofsky, M. and Dulles, F.R. (2004). *Labor in America: A history*. 7th edition. Wheeling, Ill. : Harlan Davidson.

Fries, F. W. (1973). *Coal mining and union activities in Illinois* Glen Rock, NJ: Microfilming Corp. of America.

Hudson, H. D. (1952). *The Progressive Mine Workers of America: A study in rival unionism*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Keiser, J. H. (1969). The union miners cemetery at Mount Olive, Illinois. A spirit-thread of labor history. *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 62, 229-266.

Reed, D. & Battuello, J. (1940). *The case of Dave Reed and Jack Battuello*. Maryville, IL: Self-published.

38. What were the Virden riots? What caused them? Who was right?

Possible references:

Cary, L. L. (1975). Adolph Germer and the 1890s depression. *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 68, 337-343.

Hicken, V. (1980). Mine union radicalism in Macoupin and Montgomery counties. *Western Illinois Regional Studies*, 3, 173-191.

Keiser, J. H. (1969). The union miners cemetery at Mount Olive, Illinois. A spirit-thread of labor history. *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 62, 229-266.

Lewis, R. L. (1985). Job control and race relations in coal fields, 1870-1920. *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 12, 35-64.