Class, Work and Revolution



26th Annual North American Labor History

McGregor Conference Center
Wayne State University
October 21 - 23, 2004

Wayne State University

Department of History 3094 Faculty/Admin. Bldg. Detroit, MI 48202 U.S.A. www.cla.wayne.edu/history



Program Notes

Sponsors for the North American Labor History Conference
The Conference is sponsored by the College of Liberal Arts, the
College of Urban, Labor, and Metropolitan Affairs, the Department
of History, and the Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Working
Affairs, Wayne State University, and by the Labor and Working
Class History Association.

North American Labor History Conference Program Committee Janine Lanza, coordinator and chair; Catherine Bogosian, John Bukowczyk, Elizabeth Faue, Marc Kruman, Andrew Port, Aaron Retish, and Beth Bates.

Cover Art

Liberty Leading the People (July 28, 1830), Eugène Delacroix, Louvre Museum.

Book Display

Books on labor history and related topics are on sale in Room J of the McGregor Conference Center throughout the conference.

Extended Research Hours at the Reuther Library

Monday, October 18, 2004	11:00 a.m 6:45 p.m.
Tuesday, October 19, 2004	11:00 a.m 6:45 p.m.
Wednesday, October 20, 2004	9:00 a.m 4:45 p.m.
Thursday, October 21, 2004	9:00 a.m 6:45 p.m.
Friday, October 22, 2004	9:00 a.m 4:45 p.m.
Saturday, October 23, 2004	10:00 a.m 2:00 p.m.

Campus Parking

Participants driving to Wayne State University will find that we are conveniently located near all major freeways. Check our website at http://www.cla.wayne.edu/history for complete driving instructions. We encourage participants to use the student/guest parking structures while on campus. All parking structures are pay-on-entry; guest parking is \$3.00 - \$5.00 per day, depending on the lot chosen.

26th Annual North American Labor History Conference

Program

Thursday October 21, 2004

Registration and Coffee Hour 9:30 – 11:00 a.m., McGregor Lobby

Race and Labor Relations in the United States 11:00 a.m. – 1:00 p.m., McGregor B/C

Chair: Rosemary Feurer, Northern Illinois University

Still Working for Jim Crow: Working Conditions and Track Gang Workers in 1970s New Orleans Michael Mizell-Nelson, University of New Orleans

Organizing against Racism: the Politicization of Latino Steelworkers and Consciousness Transformation in the Midwest in the 1960s and 1970s

Carl Lindskoog, City University of New York

Warwork Across the Color Line: Class and Comradeship between Union and Confederate Soldiers, 1861-1865
Lawrence T. McDonnell, Independent Scholar, Taiwan

Commentator: Rosemary Feurer, Northern Illinois University

Workers and Political Movements 11:00 a.m. – 1:00 p.m., McGregor E

Chair: Jon Huibregtse, Framingham State College

White-Collar Proletarians or Rising Middle Class?: Politics and Class Relations in Chile, 1932-1973 J. Pablo Silva, Grinnell College Working Democracy: Labor's Struggle for Power in the New York City Council, 1936-1947 Daniel Prosterman, New York University

Militant Pragmatism: Milwaukee's Unemployed, the Socialist Party, and the Struggle for "Public Goods" in the Great Depression Zach Lutz, Northern Illinois University

The Problem of Organization in the Age of Deindustrialization 11:00 a.m. – 1:00 p.m., McGregor I

Chair: Christopher Johnson, Wayne State University

Keep the CIO Away and the Workers can go to Town Everyday: The Defeat of Operation Dixie and the Rhetoric of Deindustrialization in Anderson, SC Thomas Jessen Adams, University of Chicago

Organizing Revolution, Organizing Nothing: Considering the Failures of Union Organization among Stevedores in Durban, 1979-1991 Bernard Dubbeld, University of Chicago

Commentator: Lisa Kannenberg, College of Saint Rose

Anti-Unionism in the Twentieth Century United States 11:00 a.m. – 1:00 p.m., McGregor F/G

Chair: Elizabeth Fones-Wolf, West Virginia University

Inventing Americans against Union Control of Government: The Anti-Union Movement in the Public Sector, 1968-1981 Joseph A. McCartin, Georgetown University

Unions in the Public Imagination: Americans' Changing Attitudes Toward Organized Labor from 1900-1990 Lawrence Richards, Longwood University

"The Good Name of All of Labor": Organized Labor's Struggle to Respond to the Anti-Union Campaign of the 1940s David Witwer, Lycoming College

Commentator: Melvyn Dubofsky, SUNY Binghamton

Luncheon (On Your Own)

Documentary Showing

At the River I Stand

David Appleby, Allison Graham and Steven Ross, Directors

1:00 p.m., McGregor B/C

Women and Working Class Associations

Sponsored by the Labor and Working Class History Association 2:30 – 4:30 p.m., McGregor B/C

Chair: Rosanne Currarino, Queen's University

Respectable Resistance: The Boston Central Labor Union and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism, 1886-1895
Rob McGreevey, Brandeis University

Rose Schneiderman, Jewish Labor Activism, and Social Justice Feminism, 1911-1933 John McGuire, SUNY, Oneonta

The Scottish Connection: Ellen Dawson and the Myth of the Gastonia Strike of 1929 David Lee McMullen, University of Aberdeen and University of North Carolina, Charlotte

Commentator: Rosanne Currarino, Queen's University

Labor and the Politics of the Left 2:30 – 4:30 p.m., McGregor F/G

Chair: Michael Smith, Director, Walter P. Reuther Library

Different Shades of Red? The Social Basis of New Zealand and United States Communism Compared Kerry Taylor, Massey University

Confronting "Social Fascism" in the Unions: the Communist Party of Australia's Minority Movement in Queensland Beris Penrose, Independent Scholar, Australia Social Democracy Postponed: the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in British Columbia, 1941-1952 Ben Isitt, University of New Brunswick

Workshop on Transnationalizing Great Lakes History: Migrants and Industry

Sponsored by the Labor and Working Class History Association 2:30 – 4:30 p.m., McGregor e

Chair: Nancy Gabin, Purdue University

Panelists:

Nora Faires, Western Michigan University Ian Radforth, University of Toronto John L. Revitte, Michigan State University Dennis N. Valdes, Michigan State University

Globalization and the Impact on Labor Movement and Organization

2:30 - 4:30 p.m., McGregor i

Chair: Hilary Jones, Macalester University

Wars, Revolutions and Unionization: Union Growth Spurts in Historical Time

Gerald Friedman, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

The Rise of the Post-Socialist IT Class, Gender and Mobility Elena Gapova, Center for Gender Studies & European Humanities University, Minsk, Belarus

Challenges of Globalization to the Trade Union Movement in Africa Godson Anucha, Nigeria Civil Service Union/Nigeria Labor Congress

Conference Reception

5:00 – 6:00 p.m. Reuther Library Lobby Plenary Session 6:30 - 8:30 p.m., McGregor B/C

Trust, Solidarity and Collective Action Charles Tilly Joseph L. Buttenwieser Professor of Social Science Columbia University

Friday October 22, 2004

Registration and Coffee Hour 8:00 - 9:00 a.m., McGregor Lobby

Mass Media and the Working Class 9:00 – 11:00 a.m., McGregor B/C

Chair: Elizabeth Fones-Wolf, West Virginia University

Airing Opinions: Radio Broadcasting and the Working-Class, Hungary 1956 Gergely Baics, Northwestern University

Revolting Developments: The Ghadar Movement and India's Radical Diaspora Maia Ramnath, University of California, Santa Cruz

From Solidarity to Union Scabbing: Chicago Newspaper Workers from the Progressive Era to Taft-Hartley Jon Bekken, Albright College

Faith in the Revolution: Literature and Religion in the Russian Revolutionary Movement 9:00 – 11:00 a.m., McGregor E

Chair: Aaron Retish, Wayne State University

Knowledge and Revolution: Radical Workers and Revolutionary Literature in Late 19th Century Russia Deborah Pearl, Cleveland State University Russian Revolution, Socialists and the Ukrainian Evangelical Peasants in Late Imperial Russia, 1861-1905 Sergei Zhuk, Ball State University

Commentator: Aaron Retish, Wayne State University

The Place of Wildcat Strikes in Union Activity 9:00 – 11:00 a.m., McGregor F/G

Chair: Daniel Clark, Oakland University

Creating the "Graveyard of Unionism:" The Philadelphia General Strike and the Repression of Organized Labor James Wolfinger, DePaul University

"Wildcats" and "Agitators:" The Relationship Between Spontaneity and Leadership within Workplace Strike Activity R.R. Darlington, University of Salford

Hothead Troubles: 1960s-Era Wildcat Strike Culture in Canada Peter McInnis, St. Francis Xavier University

Commentator: Daniel Clark, Oakland University

Work and Regionalism in North America 9:00 – 11:00 a.m., McGregor I

Chair: Kathryn Beard, Wayne State University

Changes in the Social Organization of Maryland's Industrial Communities: A Preliminary Analysis Robert C. Chidester, University of Michigan

The Leadville Irish James P. Walsh, University of Colorado, Boulder

Masculinity, Technology and the State: Envisioning a Fisheries Workforce in Newfoundland, 1949-1970 Miriam Wright, University of Windsor

LAWCHA Annual Membership Meeting and Luncheon 11:15 a.m. – 12:45 p.m., McGregor L/M

James Green, University of Massachusetts at Boston President of LAWCHA, presiding

Michigan Labor Legacy Landmark in Detroit Tour 11:15 a.m. – 12:45 p.m.

Masculinity and American Popular Culture 1:00 – 3:00 p.m., McGregor B/C

Chair: Steven Meyer, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

I'm Going to Send an A6 Over Your Factory and Bomb It: Masculinity in Post-War American Corporate Culture Stephen Patnode, SUNY, Stonybrook

Killing a President's Killer: The Ideological Role of Popular Culture in the Execution of President McKinley's Assassin, 1901 Benjamin Pottruff, University of Toronto

The Policy is to Hire Young: Aging Men, Masculinity, and Age Discrimination in the Auto Industry, 1917-1939 Gregory Wood, University of Pittsburgh

France and its Revolutionary Past 1:00 – 3:00 p.m., McGregor F/G

Chair: Janine Lanza, Wayne State University

Revolutionary Politics and Social Class in France, 1793-1794: Radicalism and Terror in the Departments of Old Regime Languedoc Stephen Miller, University of Alabama, Birmingham

The Haitian Revolution and its Impact Jerome Teelucksingh, University of West Indies

Women's Labors as Tools of Revolution in the 1871 Paris Commune Pamela Stewart, Arizona State University Class Dynamics of Maritime Workers

Sponsored by the Labor and Working Class History Association 1:00 – 3:00 p.m., McGregor E

Chair: Jorge Chinea, Wayne State University

"Soldiers... Bred to the Sea": Marblehead, Massachusetts and the Maritime Origins of the American Revolution Christopher Magra, University of Pittsburgh

The Cost of British Naval Impressment in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World Denver Brunsman, Wayne State University

The Staging of Class as Cultural Theater in Argentina: Work, Identity and Collective Action on the Buenos Aires Waterfront, 1890s-1940s Geoffroy de Laforcade, Longwood University

Chinese Workers in War and Revolution

1:00 - 3:00 p.m., McGregor H

Chair: Steve Smith, University of Essex

Fishers in Troubled Waters: War and Revolution in the Zhoushan Archipelago, 1934-1952 Micah Muscolino, Harvard University

The Class Project and the Labor Movement in the Chongqing Arsenals, 1946-1949 Joshua Howard, University of Mississippi

"Red Silk": Production and Politics in the Yangzi Delta Silk Industry, 1949-1953

Robert Cliver, Harvard University

Commentator: Steve Smith, University of Essex

Labor and the Social Welfare State

1:00 - 3:00 p.m., McGregor I

Chair: Heidi Gottfried, Wayne State University

The Working Poor and Health Reform: Ending the Century of Silence? Alan Derickson, Pennsylvania State University

Do Unto Others: The Golden Rule Fund and Organized Labor in Worcester, Massachusetts, 1955-1965 Bruce Cohen, Worcester State College James Hanlan, Worcester Polytechnic Institute

Workers' Compensation Social Insurance or a Workers' Right: The Struggle of Injured Workers in Ontario, 1960-1985 Robert Storey, McMaster University

Labor and Political Action in Modern America 3:00 – 5:00 p.m., McGregor B/C

Chair: Dennis Deslippe, Franklin and Marshall College

Labor's New Star? AFSCME's Long Fight to Win the First State Public Sector Bargaining Law in Wisconsin in 1959 Joseph Slater, University of Toledo

Which Way is Left? Labor, Radicals, and Presidential Politics in 2000 and 2004

Martin Halpern, Henderson State University

The Soul of Socialism: American Citizenship and Christian Civilization in the Thought of Eugene Debs

Dave Burns, Northern Illinois University

The Legacy of Colonialism in Latin American Labor Relations 3:00 – 5:00 p.m., McGregor E

Chair: Jose Cuello, Wayne State University

Leaves of Change: Cuban Tobacco Workers and the Struggle Against Slavery and Spanish Imperial Rule, 1850s-1890s Evan Daniel, New School for Social Research Norteños in a Transitional Borderland: The Mexican Northeast and the Rise of Oil, Steel and Cotton, 1890-1930 Sonia Hernandez, University of Houston

Mexican and Puerto Rican Labor Migrants in the Post-World War II Era: A Comparative Perspective Lilia Fernandez, University of California, San Diego

Immigrants, Urbanism and Working Class Sensibilities 3:00 – 5:00 p.m., McGregor I

Chair: Franca lacovetta, University of Toronto

Anarchy in the Groves: Immigrant Anarchists, Outdoor Recreation, and Revolutionary Consciousness in America, 1880-1914 Tom Goyens, University of Leuven

High Schools and the Transformation of Working-Class Education: Metropolitan Chicago, 1920-1960 Joseph C. Bigott, Purdue University, Calumet

The Revolutionary Contagion: The Impact of the Russian Revolution on New Immigrant Workers in the U.S., 1917-1922 Thomas Mackaman, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Workshop on Transnationalizing Great Lakes History: Work and Leisure

Sponsored by the Labor and Working Class History Association 3:00 – 5:00 p.m., McGregor F/G

Chair: Lisa Fine, Michigan State University

Panelists:

Tobias Higbie, The Newberry Library Jane Nicholas, University of Waterloo Aaron Shapiro, University of Chicago

> Conference Reception 5:00 – 6:00 p.m., McGregor Lobby (Cash Bar)

Dinner and Plenary

Sponsored by the Labor and Working Class History Association 6:00 – 7:30 p.m., McGregor L/M

Warwork: Military Revolution, Class and the Colonial Condition Peter J. Way, Bowling Green State University

A Special Celebration of Women and Labor
Post-Plenary Gathering: Labor and Social Conscience
The Fourteenth Annual Bernard J. Firestone Memorial Tribute
Labor Poets 2004

Sponsored by the College of Urban, Labor and Metropolitan Affairs and the Center for Labor Studies, Wayne State University

The Scarab Club, 217 E. Farnsworth at John R. Street (behind the Detroit Institute of Arts)
FREE – Call (313) 8311250 or log onto
www.detroitpoetrynow.org for information and directions; free on-site parking.

7:30 p.m. until . . .

Hosted by WSU's and Springfed Arts-Metro Detroit Writers Director, M.L. Liebler

Featuring:

Anne Feeney, working class labor songwriter and performer

Maria Mazziotti Gillan, Italian American working class poet f

Lolita Hernandez, Detroit fiction writer of a new book of working class and labor stories

Ella Mae Singer, Detroit working class performance poet

Eleni Sikelianos, labor poet from Colorado

And more . . .

Saturday October 23, 2004

Registration and Coffee Hour 8:00 – 9:00 a.m., McGregor Lobby

Class and Race Behind Bars 9:00 – 11:00 a.m., McGregor B/C

Chair: Peter Rachleff, Macalester University

Overcoming Racism: The Lucasville Redemption
Staughton Lynd, labor activist and author, Lucasville: The Untold
Story of a Prison Uprising

White Surpemacy and the Struggle Against Prison Noel Ignatiev, Massachusetts College of Art

Beyond the Borders of Nationality Mumia Abu-Jamal, author, We Want Freedom: A Life in the Black Panther Party

Beyond the Factory: Class Identity and the Meaning of Work in Twentieth Century Ohio

Sponsored by the Labor and Working Class History Association 9:00-11:00 a.m., McGregor F/G

Chair: Heather Thompson, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

Sentiment and Safety: Railway Workers Confront Work and Unemployment during the Great Depression Scott E. Randolph, Purdue University

"We Just Want a Comfortable Life for Ourselves": The Chemical Century at Du Pont Toledo, 1945-1972 Steven T. Sheehan, University of Wisconsin, Fox Valley

Makin' the Vega, Killin' Time: Countercultures and Worker Resistance at the Lordstown Assembly Plant in 1972 Gregory M. Miller, University of Toledo High Stakes and Last Stands: Global Unionism in the 1976 Rubber Industry Strike John L. Woods, Purdue University

Commentator: Heather Thompson, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

Workers and Post-Revolutionary Societies: Theory and Case Studies

9:00 - 11:00 a.m., McGregor E

Chair: Paul LeBlanc, LaRoche College

Class, State and Revolution: the Class Nature of Revolution in Historical Perspective Berch Berberoglu, University of Nevada, Reno

Coolies, Empire and Nations Jayeeta Sharma, Carnegie Mellon University

Model Workers in the Maoist Era and in Market-Socialism China: From Class Struggle to Neo-Liberal Governmentality? Eric Florence, University of Liege

Commentator: Paul LeBlanc, LaRoche College

Labor and Masculinity: the Socializing Role of the Workplace $9:00-11:00\ a.m.$, McGregor I

Chair: Mark Lause, University of Cincinnati

To "Do A Man's Work": Engendering Boys' Labor in the Industrializing South
James D. Schmidt, Northern Illinois University

Honorable Workers, Honorable Men: Masculinized Assimilationist Desire in Workingmen's Rhetoric, 1827-1877 Gregory L. Kaster, Gustavus Adolphus College

Craft Capitalism and the "Self-Made Craftsworker": The Creation of a Masculine Social Form in Mid-nineteenth Century Hamilton Robert B. Kristofferson, Ontario York University

Conference Luncheon 11:15 a.m. – 1:00 p.m., McGregor L/M

Multimedia Presentation 11:15 a.m., McGregor B/C

American Revolutionary Martyr: Joe Hill A Multimedia Presentation Irwin Nack, William Patterson College

State Force, Repression and the Working Classes 1:00 – 3:00 p.m., McGregor E

Chair: Wythe Holt, Law School, University of Alabama

The State Constabulary Must Gol: The Response of the Working Class and Labor Movement to the Pennsylvania Department of State Police, 1905-1917
Gary Jones, Muhlenberg College

War, Revolution/Counter-Revolution and the Militarized Repression of Labor Movements: A Comparison of the United States and Czarist/ Soviet Russia, 1900-1925 Christian Erickson, Roosevelt University

"Honest Workers Should Rid Industry of the Labor Spy": The Hosiery Workers and their Fight against the Labor Spy Industry Jennifer D. Luff, College of William and Mary

Commentator: Wythe Holt, Law School, University of Alabama

The Relationship of Place and Work: the Case of Australia $1:00-3:00\ p.m.$, McGregor F/G

Chair: Shelton Stromquist, University of Iowa

Exploring the Role of the Construction of "Region" in Working Class Organization Frances Laneyrie and Raymond Markey, University of Wollongong The Role of Place in Labor-Capital Relations: the Experience of Brisbane, Australia, 1880-1900 Bradley Bowden, Griffith University

Commentator: Shelton Stromquist, University of Iowa

Workers and the Fight for Civil Rights 1:00 – 3:00 p.m., McGregor I

Chair: Catherine Bogosian, Wayne State University

"Canada Does Not Have the Same Jim Crow Problem as in the US:" The Council on Group Relations, UAW Canadian Region 7, and the Question of Racism in Windsor Ontario, 1940-1960 Brandi Lucier, McMaster University

"Absence makes the War Last Longer": Canada's Women War Workers and the State, 1942-1945 Jennifer Stephen, Laurentian University

"The Greatest Numbers...Will be Wage Earners:" Labor, Liberalism, and Disability Activism, 1942-1954
Audra Jennings, The Ohio State University

"Transcending": Honoring Workers with Public Art 1:00 – 3:00 p.m., McGregor B/C

Moderator: Michael Kerwin, Michigan Labor History Society, UAW Local 174

Panelists:

Gerald Bantom, President, Michigan Labor Legacy Landmark
Project Inc.; Vice-President International Union, UAW
David Barr, Artist and Sculptor, Transcending
Sergio de Giusti, Artist and Sculptor, Transcending
David Elsila, Co-coordinator, Labor Legacy Landmark; retired
editor, UAW Solidarity
Marilyn Wheaton, Former Director, Detroit Dept. of Cultural Affairs

Accommodations

Out-of-town participants are encouraged to stay at the Hotel St. Regis, located just north of campus in the New Center area. Participants who register before October 1, 2004 will be assured of the special institutional discount rate of \$85 per night for a single room and \$95 per night for a double room. Just indicate that you are attending the Labor History Conference when making your reservation to lock in this room rate. For reservations, contact:

Hotel St. Regis 3071 W. Grand Boulevard Detroit, Michigan, 48202, U.S.A.

Phone: 313/8733000 Fax: 313/8744251

Web: http://www.hotelstregisdetroit.com

Unfortunately, WSU cannot guarantee the institutional rate for hotel reservations made after October 1, 2004. Standard rates at the Hotel St. Regis are \$109 for a single room and \$119 for a double room (rates subject to change). Hotel reservations made after October 1 are not secure and will depend upon availability.

Call For Papers

NALHC 2005: Labor Solidarity, and Work Organizations will be held on October 20-22, 2005 at Wayne State University in Detroit. The 2005 conference marks several milestones in labor history, including the centenary of the IWW, the one-hundredth anniversary of the 1905 Russian Revolution, and the 60th anniversary of the end of World War II. We invite papers that explore the history, impact, and meaning of these events as well as the broader process of unionization and organization. Proposals for papers and panels (including 1-2 page abstracts and short c.v.s for each participant) should be sent to Prof. Janine Lanza, Coordinator, NALHC, Department of History, 3094 Faculty/Administration Bldg., Wayne State University, Detroit, MI 48202; email: ao1605@wayne.edu. Deadline: March 1st, 2005.

26th Annual North American Labor History Conference Wayne State University

Class, Work and Revolution October 21 - 23, 2004

Address: Affiliation: Registrations received before October 1, 2004 will lock in substantial savings. Regular Registration \$40.00 Student Registration \$10.00 (with student ID Late Registration (after 10/1/04) \$50.00 Friday Luncheon \$10.00 Friday Dinner \$15.00 Saturday Luncheon \$10.00 Request Vegetarian Meals Note: All meal reservations must be made no later than 10/18/200 Total: \$ Payment Method: Check Money Order Credit Card Circle One: Visa MasterCard Credit Card Number: Expiration Date: Name as it appears on card:	Name:				
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Please return this form with credit card information or check/ money order payable to Wayne State University, to: NALHC, Department of History, Wayne State University, 3094 Faculty/ Admin Bldg., Detroit, MI 48202, U.S.A.

Michigan Labor Legacy Landmark Tour FREE (if interested please circle)

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Elsila, David	Pg. 15	Kaster, Gregory L.	Pg. 13
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