

LAWCHA

The Labor and Working-Class History Association

NEWSLETTER 2013

LAWCHA MEMBERS AND
MORAL MONDAYS

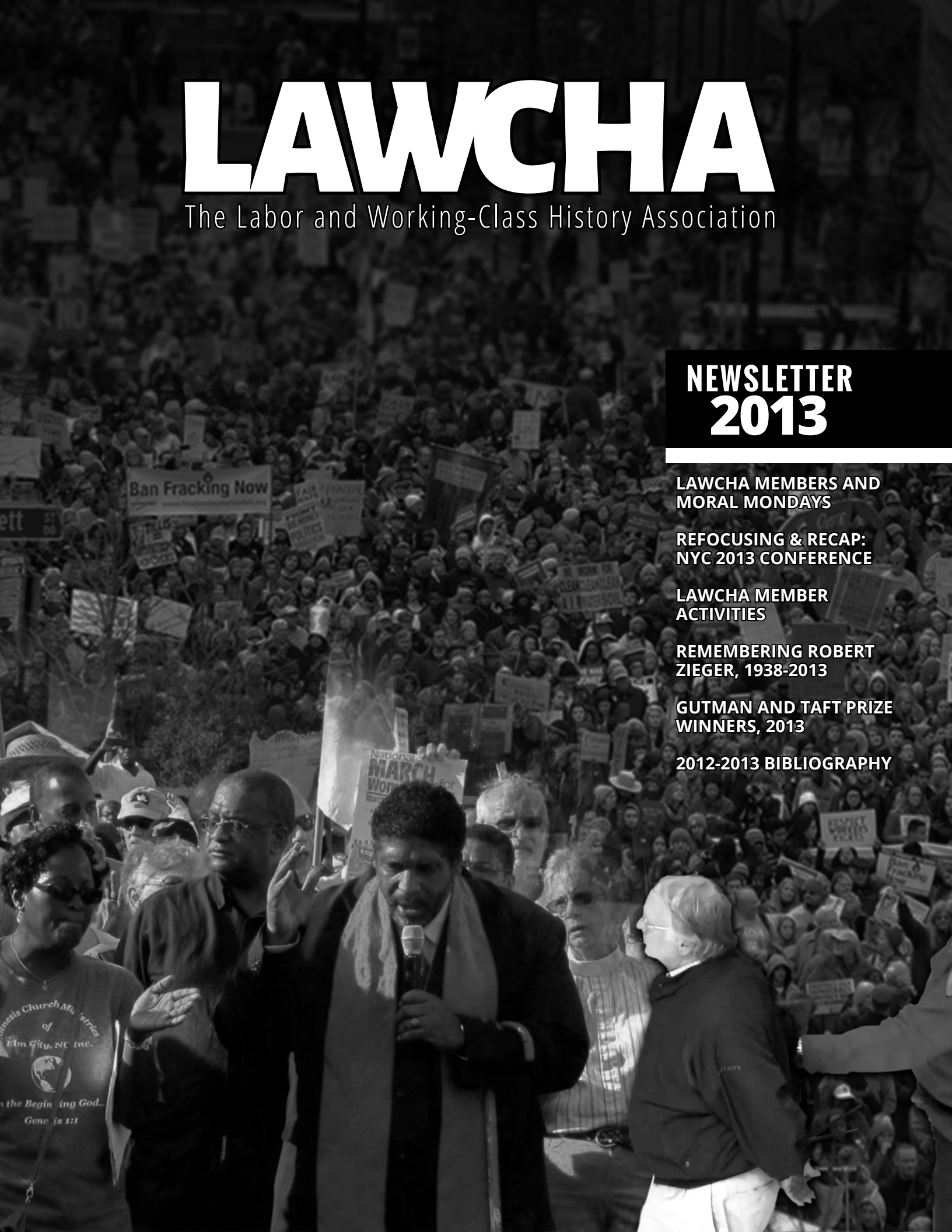
REFOCUSING & RECAP:
NYC 2013 CONFERENCE

LAWCHA MEMBER
ACTIVITIES

REMEMBERING ROBERT
ZIEGER, 1938-2013

GUTMAN AND TAFT PRIZE
WINNERS, 2013

2012-2013 BIBLIOGRAPHY



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LAWCHA Members Arrested in Moral Monday Protests

Ryan M. Poe, Duke University

The moment Republicans assumed unilateral control over North Carolina's state government in 2012, they made national news for their sweeping attacks on social programs, voting rights, reproductive healthcare, and public education. In response, activists, educators, workers, teachers, and students from all over the state began voicing their discontent on the lawn of the legislature in Raleigh. Moral Monday protests, as they became known, were organized by Reverend William Barber, President of the North Carolina NAACP, and other progressive clergy. By May of 2013, they had gathered support from grassroots groups and labor unions from across the state.

A number of academics, including several LAWCHA members, participated in the early Moral Monday protests. LAWCHA's first President, Jacquelyn Dowd Hall was one of the first arrested for civil disobedience on May 6, 2013, along with history professors William Chafe and Robert Korstad (pictured).

Current LAWCHA members have also been using their expertise to shape public policy debate. President Nancy MacLean has been working to recruit even more scholars to inform the conversation over public policy in North Carolina with expert knowledge from a variety of disciplines. Working closely with other LAWCHA members such as Lisa Levenstein and David Zonderman, Scholars for North Carolina's Future (SNCF) holds regular events addressing the issues pertaining (but not limited) to Moral Mondays.

What began as a weekly protest in one state has sparked a broad movement against right-wing attacks on workers, voting rights, and teachers across the South. The movement has spread to Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina. As recently as March 17, 2014, dozens of protestors were arrested in an Atlanta Moral Monday protest against the Georgia state legislature's regressive agenda.

Moral Mondays will continue until the right-wing legislative attack on working-class families ends. It has become, as Reverend Barber says, "a movement, not a moment." Its rallying cry sounds louder than ever: *Forward together, not one step back!*

Keep Up with Moral Mondays

North Carolina NAACP: <http://www.naacpn.org/>

Twitter: @MoralMondays

Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/MoralMonday>

Huffington Post Coverage: <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/news/moral-monday/>

Scholars for North Carolina's Future: <http://sites.duke.edu/sncf>



Moral Mondays - March on Raleigh - February 8, 2014.
Credit: United Workers (flickr, flickr.com/photos/unitedworkers/).



Rev. Dr. William Barber speaking at a Moral Monday rally.
Credit: twbuckner (flickr, flickr.com/photos/twbuckner/)



LAWCHA member and Duke Professor Robert Korstad being arrested, May 6, 2013.
Credit: NC NAACP (YouTube, youtube.com/watch?v=K2Sfb-5PNp4)

Refocusing LAWCHA after New York

Shelton Stromquist, LAWCHA Past President

Challenges and Opportunities

Thanks to the extraordinary efforts of a talented and diverse program committee, the New York conference, established a new threshold for the organization that creates both challenges and opportunities. The program had a remarkable diversity of sessions—more than 100 altogether—that brought together academics, trade unionists, community activists, public school teachers, and others. In sessions that ranged from the assaults on labor and the public sector to women's work in a global economy to organizing contingent labor in car washes and universities, participants debated contemporary crises and the meaning and relevance of historical cases. The energy and commitment that the more than 640 registered participants brought to those discussions was palpable. And the mix of backgrounds, current experience, and perspectives on the future of working people and their struggles generated remarkable connections.

Deserving of special thanks for the success of the conference is a core group of members of the program committee. Manny Ness helped build an impressive network of local support and wide-ranging sessions that tapped into community activist and trade union circles in the city. He also helped recruit a stellar group of participants in the two plenary sessions that bracketed the conference while managing innumerable details. Chris Michael took on considerable responsibility for catering, facilities, and other crucial local arrangements in New York. Ryan Poe, LAWCHA's executive assistant, managed online registration, program design, recruitment of volunteers, and many on-site logistics. Kim Phillips, past-president of LAWCHA and co-chair with Manny Ness of the program committee, facilitated valuable cooperation from Brooklyn College and secured funding for a number of key aspects of the conference—including facilities, program printing, and some of the catering. Many other folks—too numerous to mention—contributed their efforts in a multitude of ways—large and small to make the conference a success. They all deserve our abiding gratitude.

One benefit of the conference for LAWCHA was a quite unprecedented surge in membership. By the end of 2013 membership had risen to 702, 23% above the previous high of 570 in 2009 (interestingly, the year of our previous self-standing conference in Chicago) and 44% above 2012 levels. But, also significant is the fact that much of that growth in membership came from the activist community and from graduate students who were drawn to participate in the organization through the conference. These new members represent an opportunity and a challenge. The challenge is one that we have always faced—how to retain members who initially join the organization. The opportunity lies in building a program going forward that addresses their interests and needs.



Closing Plenary. Left to Right: Saket Soni, National Guest Workers Alliance, New Orleans Workers' Center for Racial Justice, and Immanuel Ness, Brooklyn College.

Credit: Ann and Shel Stromquist

Refocusing LAWCHA after New York

What We Have Been

Over the course of its 12 years, LAWCHA has been primarily an organization of academic historians. This is particularly true of our elected board of directors but also to a large extent our membership. Our meetings have had the form of academic conferences, usually hosted by universities or held in conjunction with national history conferences (OAH) or regional labor history associations (SLSA, PNWLHA, SWLSA). The exceptions have been self-standing national conferences, arguably our most successful, in Chicago (2009) and New York (2013). Each of these has had significant labor and community activist participation.

Beyond the conferences, aimed particularly at academics, we offer members an academic journal of high quality and a very high quality website (though this is also open to the wider public of nonmembers). We list members' academic and op-ed publications. More recently, in conjunction with the journal *Labor: Working Class History of the Americas*, we have instituted interactive features (LaborOnline, a teachers' blog, and tweets) that frequently address contemporary issues, as do the Action Alerts on the website. But beyond these benefits we offer little. And for those who can't or don't attend the academic conferences we provide little sense of belonging to a wider community of labor historians or labor activists.

Ways Forward—Alternatives

Keep on, keepin' on. We can certainly continue as an organization to maintain and even expand somewhat the work and focus that we currently have. Labor history as an academic sub-discipline is *not* suffering from the "crisis" or malaise that some in the recent past have seen. The conference program suggested the presence of an emerging cohort of younger scholars and graduate students who are moving the field in new and exciting directions. The development of new transnational and comparative directions

“The mix of backgrounds, current experience, and perspectives on the future of working people and their struggles generated remarkable connections.

LABORonline

March, 2014. LaborOnline features commentary on a host of issues, contemporary and historical, as well as "instant" dialogue and debate among readers and authors about the contents of LAWCHA's print journal, *Labor*.

- Bringing Humanity to Progressive Era Tragedies: Teaching Margaret Peterson Haddix's *Uprising*
by Randi Storch
- Department of Labor's List of Books that Shaped Work in America ignores critical books
by Mark Lause
- Connecting teachers struggles to the public good
by Rosemary Feurer
- Perspectives: The UAW Defeat in Chattanooga
from Various Authors
- Leftwing cartoons and comics offer unique view of mid 20th century
by Paul Buhle

LAWCHA.org/LaborOnline

is exciting, as is the increasing focus on informal sector and contingent labor. Strong interests in the intersections of race and gender with class are a further source of vitality.

But, it is likely, if we remain a national academic organization of the sort we have been, we will lose a significant share of the new members we have acquired this year and that many members, especially those who are not academics, will continue to feel marginalized in a largely academic organization.

One alternative (there are certainly others)—Local and state networks. As the organization has grown, some of us have perceived an opportunity to rethink the direction of the organization. It would be possible, in the current circumstances, to imagine *both* maintaining our identity as a national organization—with the current complement of our academically-oriented programs and building a new, decentralized structure to support programmatic activity at local and state levels. Such a structure, at least in theory, would provide

new points of access and involvement for members, many of whom are already active in their own communities. It would be through local networking that the intersection of labor history and

Refocusing LAWCHA after New York

current labor/community activism might most fruitfully be nurtured.

We have taken a few steps in this direction following the New York conference. First, the board appointed an ad hoc committee to investigate ways in which LAWCHA can provide more support to beleaguered public school teachers and public sector workers more generally. With resources generated by the conference, we have hired a graduate assistant to work with the committee in building contacts, assembling curriculum resources, and facilitating input from teachers and public workers. The focus initially is primarily on a single region—the Upper Midwest—with the prospect of expanding that work further.

Second, we have reorganized access to the membership list on the LAWCHA website so as to facilitate identification of members at the local and state level. Our hope is that by being able to easily contact LAWCHA members in a given city or state, members who want to initiate a local or statewide project—a conference, a lecture series, defense of a historic site, a campaign for labor history curriculum in the schools, a strike support activity—can easily reach out to others who might share that interest or be able to spread the word further.

Third, we want to continue to strengthen our relations with local groups that are already working on labor history projects of a public nature and to bring the publicity and networking

that a national organization can provide to such efforts. There is much important work that is already going on that we can support. And there is room for new efforts that need a spark to be ignited. These local activities provide opportunities for LAWCHA members to engage with each other and with other activists and academics. We need to find more ways to support and encourage this work.

Even as we encourage greater local activity, we must also recognize the importance of the global context in which we live and work (think: “Think globally; act locally”). Another feature of the New York conference was the significant participation of scholars and activists from outside the U.S.—46 participants from thirteen countries, including a session on domestic workers organizing in the Americas with activists from the Latin American and Caribbean Confederation of Household Workers.

These are opportunities that I hope we can seize in the months and years ahead and in the process build a stronger LAWCHA that is both visible as a national organization and vibrant at the local level where so much important work needs to be done.



We're on Facebook! Send us a Like
and join in on the activities:

facebook.com/groups/LAWCHA

Join LAWCHA

Want to contribute to the work of hundreds of scholars and activists across the country? Join the Labor and Working-Class History Association and receive a subscription to *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas*, our yearly newsletter, access to teaching resources and activist news, and connections to labor scholars from around the world.

LAWCHA.org/Join

Recap of the 2013 LAWCHA Conference

Eileen Boris, University of California, Santa Barbara



Working People Organizing, Past and Present

*This is an excerpt; the full report at LAWCHA website
<http://lawcha.org/wordpress/2013/06/14/lawcha-watch-recap-of-the-2013-national-conference/>*

How have working people developed solidarity and power to confront employers and the state, to struggle with each other and within their communities, to enhance rights and extend the arc of justice? How do we as scholars, educators, and labor activists assess strategies deployed in the past and the present? How do workers themselves measure the success of our social movements? Over 500 people came together in New York City in early June 2013 to wrestle with such questions. We explored the efficacy of past organizations, including unions, cooperatives, and mutual aid societies, and the promise of new structures being built by people of color, women, immigrants, and workers historically excluded from labor law and collective bargaining. Indeed, the presence of domestic workers, worker center organizers, occupiers and others outside of or loosely related to traditional trade unions marked an expanded house of labor as surely as did discussions of prison, home care, student, and creative workers widen the subject of labor history and labor organizing.

This conference report presents only a taste of the rich offerings served in the environs of the Brooklyn College Graduate Center for Worker Education, located just blocks away from the New York Stock Exchange in an urban landscape expressive of the contradictions of global capitalism.

In unprecedented numbers, the conference brought together scholars of labor, trade union

and community activists, and many participants who can claim all of these identities. Present were more than forty international scholars and activists from 17 countries, including leaders of domestic workers' organizing campaigns in Mexico and Central America. Activist scholars opened the conference with a plenary on "The Assault on Labor and the Public Sector: Strategies for Resistance in the Post-Election Environment," chaired by Alice Kessler-Harris (Columbia University). Frances Fox Piven (CUNY Graduate Center) argued that the crises that have undermined organized labor in the United States have not rendered workers powerless and that the most promising strategies for exercising power are emerging on the labor movement's periphery—in fast food, the retail sector, the Occupy movement, workers' centers, and so on. Richard Wolff (University of Massachusetts) proposed that the labor movement devote itself not only to collective bargaining but also to the establishment of enterprises owned and managed by the workers who make them run. Bill Fletcher, Jr. (Institute for Policy Studies) called for a reinvigorated political agenda, including labor initiatives with regard to tax structure, U.S. foreign policy, and the rights of the unemployed. Saket Soni (National Guestworker Alliance and New Orleans Workers' Center for Racial Justice) observed that new forms of corporate power call for new forms of organizing and offered examples of collective resistance among guest workers and other contingent employees. During the Q and A, the speakers stressed the labor movement's need for scholars who can contribute to worker education, to public discourse on labor issues, and to movement brainstorming with regard to strategy...

A number of panels highlighted contingent and precarious work. A roundtable on "Organizing Contingent Labor" historicized the presence of workers without steady employment and linked past struggles to present organizing... A very lively discussion debated the range and limits of worker centers, their relation to trade unions, the necessity of socialized wages, the problem of the

Recap of the 2013 LAWCHA Conference



Opening plenary at the 2013 LAWCHA Conference.
Left to right: Saket Soni, Richard Wolff, Frances Fox Piven, Bill Fletcher, Jr.
Credit: Ann and Shel Stromquist

capitalist state, and the scale necessary to win. An important session on contemporary warehouse organizing featured Marien Casillas-Pabellon, director of a labor center in Northern New Jersey and Louis Guida of Warehouse Workers United. Both emphasized the highly contingent nature of work in the giant warehouse and distribution centers now sited on the peripheries of virtually every major metropolitan region in North America. Layers of subcontractors, a return of the old patron system, and a virtual absence of an enforceable labor law make for a difficult, but not impossible, organizing climate...

A number of other panels addressed the situation of excluded and precarious workers, centering on private household workers and their fight for worker control in New York City, through the National Domestic Worker Alliance, and by way of the passage of a bill of rights and ratification of the ILO convention, “Decent Work for Domestic Workers.” One panel highlighted regional organizing in Latin America... Another one, organized by Peter Rachleff, featured Mark Nowak, Premilla Nadasen, and Susanna Rosenbaum on organizing strategies in New York, London, and Los Angeles among domestic workers. Nowak shared poetry dialogues that came out of workshops he conducted with Domestic Worker United and other worker organizations that underscored the power of spoken word and collective expression for worker resistance and community making. As Linda Burnham stressed again and again during the conference, telling their own stories and building that capacity is essential to

making a road for others to walk upon. Other sessions considered women workers in sex-segregated workplaces subject to sexual harassment, organizing day care, and fighting for respect as well as raises; evaluated the Equal Pay Act on its 50th anniversary; and explored writing biography of working-class women.

“Sex Work and the State” pushed for treating sex workers as workers rather than criminals or victims. Calling for an un-exceptionalized approach to sex work that situates it as labor, Heather Berg spoke about workers’ health in the adult film industry and the racialized and gendered discourses of risk attached to discussions of sexually transmitted disease. Kate D’Adamo called for an understanding of sex trafficking as a labor issue, and problematized legal frameworks that make workers more vulnerable in the name of ‘protecting’ them. Melissa Gira Grant explored the history of third party criminalization in prostitution and highlighted the ways in which the state and state agents (such as police officers) often emerge as the primary perpetrators of violence against sex workers. Samanta Majic looked at the institutional history of sex worker operated St. James Infirmary, a clinic that provides healthcare and community-building to workers often denied access to vital services. Gregor Gall closed the panel with a broad overview of sex worker organizing globally, discussing various drives to unionize as well as the features of sex work that make organizing a challenge...

“Working-Class Resistance to the Carceral State” utilized a range of sources to analyze the different spaces and scales at which working-class people are targeted for policing and imprisonment, and their efforts to resist such actions, revealing the diversity of research links between



Recap of the 2013 LAWCHA Conference

carceral studies and working-class history. Sarah Haley addressed imprisoned Black women in early 20th Century Georgia who resisted their exploitation in myriad ways including by burning down their prison camp; Amanda Hughett presented the relationship between imprisoned women and lesbian feminist activist allies on the outside to oppose unjust treatment in North Carolina prisons in the 1970s; and David Stein uncovered the forces influencing choices to invest federal governmental capacity in policing and imprisonment of street crime instead of funding for full employment and guaranteed income in the 1970s. The papers also made a broader argument about the necessity of studying the roles of imprisoned people in working-class history and 20th century political economy...

“Rights and Opportunities: Workers, Employers, and the Politics of Ideas” included Claire Goldstene on “Equal Opportunity Reconstituted: Samuel Gompers, the AFL, and the Corporate Economy,” and Amy Wallhermfechtel speaking on “The Constitutional Bases for Legal Challenges to Union Political Assessments.” Goldstene described the reaction of AFL President Samuel Gompers to tensions stemming from the late 19th century rise of the corporate economy. She noted how the union leader adjusted his ideals on rights through acceptance of a capitalist system reward-

ing merit with the embraced of the rhetoric of “equal opportunity.” This was part of the transition, Goldstene argued, from Gompers’ “producerist” to “consumerist” mindset. Wallhermfechtel portrayed another union-related transition in rights occurring in the second half of the 20th century, this time expressed through US Supreme Court cases relating to the right to political speech. She described how the Court changed its approach, from defending group rights of unions to more exclusive dependence on First Amendment rights to free speech from the 1960s through 2012.

“Comparative Labor History in the 20th Century: States, Unions, Struggles” offered an international panorama of class struggle and labor organizing. Godfrey Vincent outlined the history of worker organization and labor union activism in Trinidad and Tobago since the 1930s, describing the tension between revolutionary struggle and the realization of union political power. Continuing with the idea of unions and their political power, Michael Snodgrass spoke of the “the Golden Age of Charrismo,” as a union comparison to what has been called golden age in Mexico. From the 1940s through the 1980s the country experienced significant economic progress under relative political stability, although in the form of “Dictablanda,” or soft authoritarian rule of the



LAWCHA Closing Plenary, “Looking Forward: New Directions and Strategies for Labor.”

From Left to Right: John Wilhelm Past President, UNITE-HERE; Ed Ott Past President, New York Central Labor Council; Jaribu Hill Executive Director, Mississippi Workers’ Center for Human Rights; Erik Forman Jimmy John’s Workers Union, Industrial Workers of the World; Linda Burnham Research Director, National Domestic Workers Alliance; Elaine Bernard Executive Director, Labor and Worklife Program, Harvard Law School. The plenary was chaired by Ruth Milkman, CUNY Graduate Center and Murphy Institute for Worker Education.

Credit: Ann and Shel Stromquist

Recap of the 2013 LAWCHA Conference

Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). Union leaders practicing “charrismo sindical” served as strong political actors in their own right. Crossing the Atlantic, Tara Martin in “Worker Resistance in Times of Austerity—British Public Sector

Workers in 1979 and Today,” compared current union reaction to austerity to the so-called “Winter of Discontent” of 1978-79, which produced widespread strikes by public sector unionist against Labor Party anti-inflationary pay policies. The conservative media reacted by spinning the activism as “crisis,” leading eventually toward the victory of Margaret Thatcher in fall national elections. Finally, Aviva Chomsky analyzed community and work where coal is produced, comparing land, coal and identity in the Appalachian region of the United States and the Colombian Andean coal mining area...

The closing plenary, “Looking Forward: New Directions and Strategies for Labor,” held at the historic Cooper Union Great Hall, gave voice to new organizing possibilities facing working people. John Wilhelm, past president of UNITE-HERE, a union reinvigorated by the grassroots organizing of immigrant workers, expressed optimism that workers were figuring out new ways to organize themselves and in the process “inventing new structures of power.” A panel of labor and community activists, chaired by Ruth Milkman, professor of sociology at CCNY Graduate Center, examined what she described as new varieties of working class initiative. Ed Ott, past president of the New York Central Labor Council, argued that “no size fits all” when it comes to organizing models. “If you have the workers, everybody will deal with you.” Jaribu Hill, executive director of the Mississippi Workers Center for Human Rights, described struggles in Mississippi and across the South, which called into existence workers’ centers that could address the “whole life of the worker” and provide a space where new organizing could



Jocelyn Wills, Brooklyn College, presents her paper, “The Long History of Casino Capitalism and the Struggle to Organize Service Workers in the Gaming Industry”
Credit: Ann and Shel Stromquist

happen. Erik Foreman, from the Jimmy John’s Workers’ Union (IWW) offered a graphic first-hand account of the conditions workers at Starbucks and Jimmy John’s faced that led them to a different “organizing script” relying on collective action rather than a

bankrupt NLRB organizing process. Linda Burnham, research director for the National Domestic Workers’ Alliance, used the example of the campaign for a Domestic Workers Bill of Rights to illustrate how workers’ confidence that they can organize themselves and their willingness to build networks of community support outside a narrow collective bargaining framework could produce success. Finally, Elaine Bernard, executive director of the Labor and Worklife Program at Harvard Law School, ended with a call to look forward, take risks, and remember that new circumstances will bring about new forms of organizing.

I thank those who were able to contribute on such short notice. I have added to and edited reports offered by Heather Berg (UCSB), Jill Jensen (Penn State University), Nelson Lichtenstein (UCSB), Priscilla Murolo (Sarah Lawrence), Kit Smemo (UCSB), David Stein (USC), and Shel Stromquist (University of Iowa).

<http://lawcha.org/wordpress/2013/06/14/lawcha-watch-recap-of-the-2013-national-conference/>

For Better or Verse

Dear LAWCHA Members,

I wish to call the attention of labor historians to the collection of poems and songs by my uncle, Henry Foner, former president of the Fur and Leather Workers Union published by Labor Arts under the title, *For Better or Verse*. Many of them illuminate aspects of the labor movement over the past three-quarters of a century. The book contains words of praise from other troubadours of labor such as Pete Seeger Peter Yarrow. In a brief introduction, I wrote, “Old-timers will chuckle when they recall when they first heard these works, while a younger generation will gain a new appreciation of Henry’s multifaceted talents.”

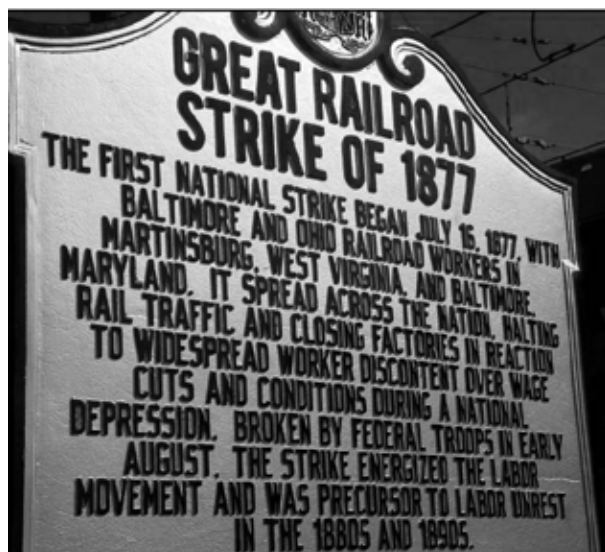
- Eric Foner

The brief book can be ordered from Labor Arts
for \$10 per copy, with discounts for multiple copies:

LaborArts.org/FonerBook

LAWCHA Members Engaged

Rosemary Feurer, Northern Illinois University



Monument to the Great Railroad Strike of 1877, Baltimore, Maryland

LAWCHA members were involved in the efforts to erect two notable historical markers this year. Bill Barry, former Director of Labor Studies at Community college of Baltimore County noticed



Monument to Tobacco Union Local 22, Winston-Salem, North Carolina

that there was only one labor history marker in Maryland, the one erected by Saul Schneiderman of Labor Heritage Foundation, to Mother Jones. So after speaking to a Maryland Occupy gathering in 2011, he applied for a marker to commemorate the 1877 Railroad strikes that started on July 16, 1877 against the B& O Railroad. He writes, "Every labor historian should consider a project like this: it sharpens our sense of history, builds public—and permanent—visibility with a marker and will be an occasion for focusing public resources on the workers' history of your area. The marker is stunning, and given that it is located near the city's baseball stadium, it will certainly raise public awareness of the strike." You can read more about the effort and process at LAWCHA.org/wordpress/2013/04/03/marker-to-1877-mass-strike-unveiled-in-maryland/

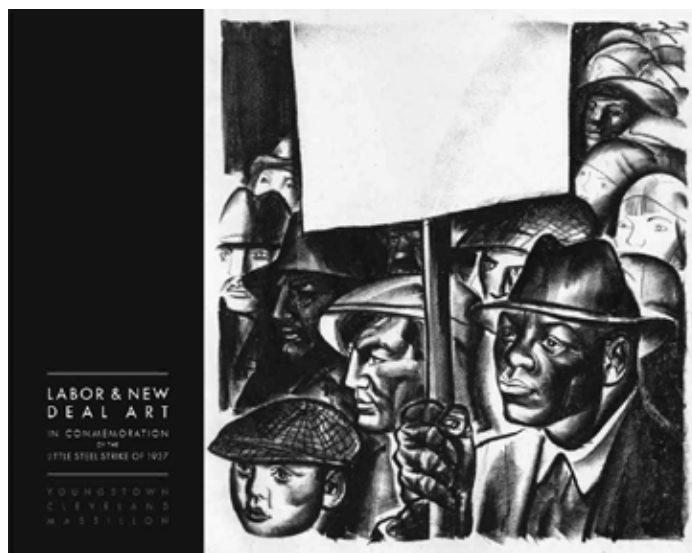
Another marker, in a much less labor-friendly state, was a notable achievement this year. The efforts of Local 22 of the Tobacco Workers Union-CIO in the 1930s and 1940s as documented by Robert Korstad in his book *Civil Rights Unionism*, is a remarkable story of the forging of community activism, political activism, democratic participation, with an aim for full emancipation and economic justice—all within the union movement, and years before the usual dating of the civil rights movement. This year a

marker commemorating the connection between unionism and civil rights struggle was placed near the plant. For more about this effort see LAWCHA.org/wordpress/2013/05/29/time-for-truth-and-reconciliation-by-the-afl-cio/

LAWCHA member Anthony Bonthius was involved a model collaboration between workers, unions and academics in Ohio. Tom Soddors, a retired Ohio truck driver, had started collecting New Deal era prints from around the Ohio Area. When he learned that Youngstown State University and the Massillon Museum were going to host a commemoration of the Little Steel Strike, he offered his collection, which provided half the material. The project also developed into a traveling exhibit funded by the Ohio Humanities Council and a book in which Bonthius was one of the contributors. You can learn more about this and about the book at LAWCHA.org/wordpress/2013/08/31/art-and-the-little-steel-strike-of-1937/

Former LAWCHA president Michael Honey has been giving singing lectures on his new book *John L. Handcox, the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, and African American Song*, which was published in 2013 as part of Palgrave Macmillan Oral History series. His edited book of Martin Luther King's labor speeches, *All Labor Has Dignity*, is now available in paperback from Beacon Press. Mike is currently directing the Center for the Study of Community and Society at the University of Washington Tacoma, which is recording oral histories of people in the region and collaborating on immigrant oral histories with the Center for the History of the New America at the University of Maryland.

LAWCHA member Jessie Ramey, whose book *Child Care in Black and White: Working Parents and the History of Orphanages* has won 3 prizes, has been deeply involved in supporting public school teachers in Pittsburgh. She has a terrific blog at <http://yinzercation.wordpress.com/>



Labor & New Deal Art, Commemorating the Little Steel Strike of 1937

What activities have you been involved in? We need you to let us know so we can alert others to the work of our members. Please send a note to rfeurer@niu.edu to let us know about your activities.

Remembering

Robert Zieger

1938-2013, Co-Founder of LAWCHA



LAWCHA mourns the loss of one of its founding members, Bob Zieger. Bob was one of LAWCHA's first ever board members and was with the organization since its founding in 1999. The following are excerpts of longer remembrances that can be found on the LAWCHA website, LAWCHA.org/wordpress/remembering-colleagues-and-compatriots/#Robert_Zieger,_1938-2013

Remembrance by Paul Ortiz

Dr. Robert Zieger, Distinguished Professor of History Emeritus at the University of Florida, passed away on March 6, 2013. Professor Zieger was one of the preeminent labor historians of the United States. He was a two-time recipient of the Philip Taft Labor History Book Award for the best book in labor history. He was a prolific writer and authored classic works including, *For Jobs and Freedom: Race and Labor in America since 1865*, *The CIO, 1935-1955*, and *America's Great War: World War I and the American Experience*. Bob was a spirited and rigorous historian who introduced countless scholars, students, union members, and community organizers to the field of labor history. He edited several key volumes in southern labor history including *Life and Labor in the New South* (2012) which presented some of the best new work in the field of southern labor studies.

Dr. Bob Zieger talked the talk, and he walked the walk. Bob was a longtime member and leader of the United Faculty of Florida, AFL-CIO. He was his union's delegate to the North Central Florida Central Labor Council for many years, and he gave the keynote address at the CLC's Annual Dinner in 2012. On the job, Dr. Zieger conducted scores of office visits beginning in the 1990s to encourage fellow faculty and instructors to join the United Faculty of Florida. His energy and knowledge of the labor history was an important element in a highly successful union drive on campus recently.

Paul Ortiz,
University of Florida

Remembrance by Bob Bussel

Of course, Bob will be remembered for his words. His books on the CIO, the twentieth-century American union movement, and race and labor are models of lucid prose, rigorous scholarship, and balanced treatment of complex historical issues... Repeatedly over the years, I have incorporated Bob's work in both my labor education and academic teaching. I often quote him verbatim; he said things so well that paraphrasing him simply fell short of the mark.

Bob also did not shy away from doing public work. He took his obligations as union member seriously and was willing to get his hands dirty doing both the large and small things unions need to remain effective institutions. He clearly relished his role as a labor council delegate from his faculty union, citing his services "as a rewarding experience from which I have learned much." This experience cemented his solidarity with those who in his words "fight the good fight, often in inhospitable circumstances."

Bob Bussel
*Labor Education and Research Center
University of Oregon*

Remembrance by Gilbert Gall

I knew Bob Zieger for 33 years, having first met him when I entered the Ph.D. program in Labor History at Wayne State University in 1980. Over the course of those years, he was always my teacher and mentor, and later my colleague when I was at Penn State University Labor Studies. But to me

Remembering Robert Zieger

at other times he was more: sometimes a father-figure, sometimes an older brother, and always a treasured friend.

His broad historical knowledge, careful scholarship, union activism, and tremendous network of labor history/labor movement contacts amazes me even to this day. Even more amazing, as other remembrances will show, he took the time and effort to personally help not only his Ph.D. students but many younger scholars. To so many of us, students formal and informal, he will always be remembered as one of our working class heroes.

Gilbert Gall,
Region Field Director
PSEA Southwestern Region

Remembrance by Michael Honey

Bob Zieger's untimely passing is a huge shock. Bob brought myself and many others into labor studies through the early North American Labor History conferences at Wayne State... He was open minded, humble, and always learning new things. A lot of people will miss him terribly, both for who he was and for what he did. Otto Olsen, my mentor and dissertation chair in graduate school at Northern Illinois University...wrote to me that Bob was "a workhorse in the local labor union movement, not only serving on a variety of boards and committees but doing the manual work of clearing up and putting chairs away after meetings. Like Otto himself, Bob merged his working-class family background and the spirit of Jimmy Higgins with intellectual dexterity and deep learning as a scholar..."

With great appreciation, we lift a toast to Bob and offer our deep condolences to Gay and to their family.

Michael Honey,
University of Washington Tacoma

Remembrance by Alex Lichtenstein

I first met Bob Zieger twenty-five years ago, when I was graduate student poking around the National Archives at the old Suitland, Maryland facility. I do not recall what we spoke about that day, or really even how we happened to encounter one another. But I remember clearly how open and friendly Bob, already an accomplished scholar, was to a student who had just barely begun work on a dissertation. And that brief encounter turned into a quarter-century of friendship, and, for me, mentorship.

This, I think, was absolutely typical of the man—maybe one of the least pretentious people I have ever met, either inside or outside of academia. Bob, of course, was the author of many fine books on a range of subjects, not all of them confined to labor history. He produced what remains the single best volume on the history of the CIO. He edited several important collections of essays on southern labor history which helped many younger scholars (including myself) break into the field. Those who had the benefit of his editorial eye know that he wielded an exceptionally merciless pen—and also know that their prose was made much the better for it. He was universally loved as a dedicated teacher of both undergraduates and graduate students. And he unfailingly served as an extraordinarily generous mentor for other scholars. Bob was someone who would never pull up the ladder once he had climbed it.

I invite other LAWCHA members to offer Gay and Robert Zieger, Jr. our condolences and to bid a sad farewell to Robert H. Zieger, a loving husband and father, a mentor, a comrade. But I am sure Bob would appreciate another sentiment as we contemplate his life well-lived: *don't mourn, organize!*

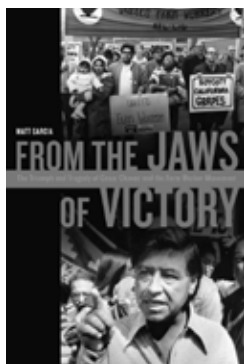
Alex Lichtenstein,
Indiana University

The Cornell University ILR School, in collaboration with LAWCHA, is pleased to announce the winners of the

2013

Philip Taft Labor History Award

for Best Book in American Labor and Working-Class History Published in 2012



Matt Garcia,

From the Jaws of Victory: The Triumph and Tragedy of Cesar Chavez and the Farmworker Movement

University of California Press



Kimberley Phillips,

War! What Is It Good For?: Black Freedom Struggles and the U.S. Military from World War II to Iraq

University of North Carolina Press



The Taft Labor History Prize Committee, made up of Ileen DeVault, Jeff Cowie, Thavolia Glymph, Laurie Green, and Seth Rockman is pleased to announce the winners of the 2013 prize for the best books in labor and working-class history published in 2012. The winners of this year's prize, in alphabetical order, are **Matt Garcia**, for ***From the Jaws of Victory: The Triumph and Tragedy of Cesar Chavez and the Farm Worker Movement***, published by University of California Press, and **Kimberley Phillips's** ***War! What Is It Good For?: Black Freedom Struggles and the U.S. Military from World War II to Iraq***, published by The University of North Carolina Press.

Matt Garcia's *From the Jaws of Victory* is a brave, if sobering, biography of a movement and its leader. A testament to Garcia's skill with oral histories, the book tells the UFW's story from inside the union, identifying a wider circle of organizers and an unsettling struggle to consolidate the gains of the grape boycott. Garcia does not shy away from criticizing the strategic choices of the movement's hallowed leader, but this volume is neither revisionism for

its own sake, nor a romantic lament for what might have been. Instead, Garcia brings together the "hope, triumph, and disappointment" that have characterized the quest for social justice in modern America.

Kimberley Phillips's *War! What Is It Good For?* uniquely grapples with blacks in the armed forces from both a race and class perspective, as both members of the military and as workers. Bookended by chapters on the better-known World War II and Vietnam wars, Phillips's middle chapters on black soldiers during the Cold War, particularly in the Korean War will forever change our understandings of this period. Phillips builds from there to consider the impact of African American experiences in U.S. wars on American culture and on the Black Freedom Movement. She emphasizes the ongoing importance of this multifaceted struggle in her epilogue by bringing her account all the way to Iraq. Phillips's groundbreaking work thus not only adds to, but in several ways changes, the conversation about African Americans in postwar America.

The Philip Taft Labor History Award for Best Book in 2013 will be announced at the OAH and LAWCHA Annual Meeting in Atlanta, April 9-13. For more information, including submission guidelines, please visit the Taft Award website: www.ilr.cornell.edu/taftaward/

The Labor and Working Class History Association (LAWCHA) announces the winner of the

2013

Herbert G. Gutman Prize

for Outstanding Dissertation in Labor and Working-Class History in 2012



Dr. Vilja Hulden,

Employers, Unite! **Organized Employer Reactions to the Labor Union** **Challenge in the Progressive Era**

University of Arizona

Advisor: David Gibbs

Dr. Hulden was the recipient of the seventh annual Herbert G. Gutman Prize for Outstanding Dissertation in Labor and Working-Class History for her dissertation, "Employers, Unite! Organized Employer Reactions to the Labor Union Challenge in the Progressive Era."

"Employers, Unite!" argues that the anti-union campaign of Progressive-Era organized employers molded in crucial ways the shape of labor relations in the United States, and that to understand the development of ideas about work, business, and labor unions, we need to understand how these employers gained and wielded political and societal power.

The prize is named in honor of the late **Herbert G. Gutman**, a pioneering labor historian in the U.S. and a founder of the University of Illinois Press's "Working Class in American History" Series. LAWCHA hopes that the spirit of Gutman's inquiry into labor and working-class history will live on in this prize. Winners receive a cash prize of \$500 from LAWCHA and a publishing contract with the University of Illinois Press.

Previous Winners. 2012 Marjorie Elizabeth Wood, "Emancipat-

ing the Child Laborer: Children, Freedom, and the Moral Boundaries of the Market in the United States, 1853-1938." (University of Chicago, Advisor: Thomas Holt). **2011** Jacob Remes, "Cities of Comrades: Urban Disasters and the Formation of the North American Progressive State." (Duke University, Advisor: Gunther Peck). **2010** Jessie B. Ramey, "A Childcare Crisis: Poor Black and White Families and Orphanages in Pittsburgh, 1878-1929" (Carnegie-Mellon University, Advisor: Tera W. Hunter). **2009** Michael Rose-now, "Injuries to All: The Rituals of Dying and the Politics of Death among United States Workers, 1877-1910" (University of Illinois, Advisor: James R. Barrett). **2008** Jarod Roll, "Road to the Promised Land: Rural Rebellion in the New Cotton South, 1890-1945" (Northwestern University, Advisor: Nancy Maclean).

The Gutman Prize Committee for the 2013 award consisted of Nelson Lichtenstein (University of California, Santa Barbara), Chair; Michael C. Pierce (University of Arkansas); and Heather Ann Thompson (Temple University).

The Gutman Prize for Outstanding Dissertation in Labor History for 2013 will be announced at the OAH and LAWCHA Annual Meeting in Atlanta, April 9-13. For more information, including submission guidelines, please visit the LAWCHA website: LAWCHA.org/wordpress/grants-prizes/



Announcing

The David Montgomery Award

Following a successful fundraising campaign launched after the 2012 Joint Organization of American Historians/LAWCHA meeting, the David Montgomery Award is now a reality. Beginning in 2014 the OAH & LAWCHA will present a cash award for the best book on a topic in American labor and working-class history. The award is given in recognition of David Montgomery's crucial role in pioneering new approaches to the study of working people and their history.

OAH.org/programs/awards/david-montgomery-award/

Labor History Bibliography, 2012-2013

Compiled by Rosemary Feurer, Northern Illinois University

This list can be found categorized by subject at <http://www.laborhistorylinks.org/booklist.html>
If we have left off a title please let us know: rfeurer@niu.edu. Thanks to Ileen DeVault for sharing the
Taft History Prize list of books as a starting point for these lists.

2012

- Adler, William M. *The Man Who Never Died: The Life, Times, and Legacy of Joe Hill, American Labor Icon*. Bloomsbury, 2012.
- Avrich, Paul, and Karen Avrich. *Sasha and Emma: The Anarchist Odyssey of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman*. Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Bale, Jeff, and Sarah Knopp. *Education and Capitalism: Struggles for Learning and Liberation*. Haymarket Books, 2012.
- Barajas, Frank P. *Curious Unions Mexican American Workers and Resistance in Oxnard, California, 1898-1961*. University of Nebraska Press, 2012.
- Bardacke, Frank. *Trampling out the Vintage: Cesar Chavez and the Two Souls of the United Farm Workers*. Verso, 2012.
- Barrett, James R. *The Irish Way: Becoming American in the Multiethnic City*. Penguin Press, 2012.
- Bates, Beth Tompkins. *The Making of Black Detroit in the Age of Henry Ford*. University of North Carolina Press, 2012.
- Bauer, William J. *We Were All like Migrant Workers Here: Work, Community, and Memory on California's Round*. University of North Carolina Press, 2012.
- Benson, Peter. *Tobacco Capitalism: Growers, Migrant Workers, and the Changing Face of a Global Industry*. Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Berebitsky, Julie. *Sex and the Office: A History of Gender, Power, and Desire*. Yale University Press, 2012.
- Berman, David R. *Politics, Labor, and the War on Big Business the Path of Reform in Arizona, 1890-1920*. University Press of Colorado, 2012.
- Boris, Eileen, and Jennifer Klein. *Caring for America: Home Health Workers in the Shadow of the Welfare State*. Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Burns, David. *The Life and Death of the Radical Historical Jesus*. Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Calhoun, Craig. *The Roots of Radicalism: Tradition, the Public Sphere and Early Nineteenth-Century Social Movements*. University of Chicago Press, 2012.
- Chang, Kornel S. *Pacific Connections: The Making of the U.S.-Canadian Borderlands*. University of California Press, 2012.
- Cohen, Rich. *The Fish That Ate the Whale: The Life and Times of America's Banana King*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012.
- Curl, John, and John Curl. *For All the People: Uncovering the Hidden History of Cooperation, Cooperative Movements, and Communalism in America*. Updated edition. PM Press, 2012.
- Davey, Joseph Dillon. *The Shrinking American Middle Class: The Social and Cultural Implications of Growing Inequality*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Delegard, Kirsten. *Battling Miss Bolshevik: The Origins of Female Conservatism in the United States*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012.
- Deslippe, Dennis. *Protesting Affirmative Action: The Struggle over Equality after the Civil Rights Revolution*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012.
- Endicott, Stephen Lyon. *Raising the Workers' Flag. ; the Workers' Unity League of Canada, 1930-1936*. University of Toronto Press, 2012.
- Fletcher, Bill. *"They're Bankrupting Us!": And 20 Other Myths about Unions*. Beacon Press, 2012.
- Frederickson, Mary E. *Looking South: Race, Gender, and the Transformation of Labor from Reconstruction to Globalization*. University Press of Florida, 2012.
- Gagnon, Michael J. *Transition to an Industrial South Athens, Georgia, 1830-1870*. Louisiana State University Press, 2012.
- García, Matt. *From the Jaws of Victory: The Triumph and Tragedy of Cesar Chavez and the Farm Worker Movement*. University of California Press, 2012.
- Garcia, Ruben J. *Marginal Workers How Legal Fault Lines Divide Workers and Leave Them without Protection*. New York University Press, 2012.
- Gellman, Erik S. *Death Blow to Jim Crow: The National Negro Congress and the Rise of Militant Civil Rights*. University of North Carolina Press, 2012.
- Gindin, Sam, and Leo Panitch. *The Making of Global Capitalism: The Political Economy Of American Empire*. Verso, 2012.
- Gitlin, Todd. *Occupy Nation: The Roots, the Spirit, and the Promise of Occupy Wall Street*. itbooks, 2012.
- Green, Hardy. *The Company Town: The Industrial Edens and Satanic Mills That Shaped the American Economy*. Basic Books, 2012.
- Guglielmo, Jennifer. *Living the Revolution: Italian Women's Resistance and Radicalism in New York City, 1880-1945*. Univ Of North Carolina Press, 2012.
- Hall, Randal L. *Mountains on the Market: Industry, the Environment, and the South*. University Press of Kentucky, 2012.
- Jentz, John B, and Schneirov. *Chicago in the Age of Capital Class, Politics, and Democracy during the Civil War and Reconstruction*. University of Illinois Press, 2012.

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- Jones, Thai. *More Powerful than Dynamite: Radicals, Plutocrats, Progressives, and New York's Year of Anarchy*. Walker & Co., 2012.
- Kahl, Andrew W. *The Land Was Ours: African American Beaches from Jim Crow to the Sunbelt South*. Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Kantrowitz, Stephen David. *More than Freedom: Fighting for Black Citizenship in a White Republic, 1829-1889*. Penguin Press, 2012.
- Katz, Daniel, and Richard A Greenwald. *Labor Rising: The Past and Future of Working People in America*. New Press, 2012.
- Knight, Frederick C. *Working the Diaspora: The Impact of African Labor on the Anglo-American World, 1650-1850*. New York University Press, 2012.
- Laslett, John H. M. *Sunshine Was Never Enough Los Angeles Workers, 1880-2010*. University of California Press, 2012.
- Levy, Jonathan. *Freaks of Fortune: The Emerging World of Capitalism and Risk in America*. Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Lichtenstein, Nelson, and Elizabeth Tandy Shermer. *The Right and Labor in America: Politics, Ideology, and Imagination*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012.
- McAlevey, Jane. *Raising Expectations (and Raising Hell): My Decade Fighting for the Labor Movement*. Verso, 2012.
- Mckiernan-González, John Raymond. *Fevered Measures: Public Health and Race at the Texas-Mexico Border, 1848-1942*. Duke University Press, 2012.
- McTaggart, Ursula. *Guerrillas in the Industrial Jungle: Radicalism's Primitive and Industrial Rhetoric*. State University of New York Press, 2012.
- Messer-Kruse, Timothy. *The Haymarket Conspiracy: Transatlantic Anarchist Networks (Working Class in American History)*. University of Illinois Press, 2012.
- Metz, Holly. *Killing the Poormaster: A Saga of Poverty, Corruption, and Murder in the Great Depression*. Chicago Review Press, 2012.
- Miller, Vivien M. L. *Hard Labor and Hard Time Florida's "Sunshine Prison" and Chain Gangs*. University Press of Florida, 2012.
- Mitchell, Daniel J. B., ed. *Public Jobs and Political Agendas: The Public Sector in an Era of Economic Stress*. Cornell University Press, 2012.
- Mitchell, Don. *They Saved the Crops Labor, Landscape, and the Struggle over Industrial Farming in Bracero-Era California*. University of Georgia Press, 2012.
- Newsinger, John. *Fighting Back: The American Working Class in the 1930s*. Bookmarks Publications, 2012.
- Nichols, John. *Uprising: How Wisconsin Renewed the Politics of Protest, from Madison to Wall Street*. Nation Books, 2012.
- Olson, Karen. *Wives of Steel: Voices of Women from the Sparrows Point Steelmaking Communities*. Penn State Univ. Press, 2012.
- Patrias, Carmela. *Jobs and Justice: Fighting Discrimination in Wartime Canada, 1939-1945*. University of Toronto Press, 2012.
- Perrillo, Jonna. *Uncivil Rights: Teachers, Unions, and Race in the Battle for School Equity*. University of Chicago Press, 2012.
- Pittenger, Mark. *Class Unknown: Undercover Investigations of American Work and Poverty from the Gilded Age to the Present*. New York University Press, 2012.
- Quirke, Carol. *Eyes on Labor: News Photography and America's Working Class*. Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Rediker, Marcus. *The Amistad Rebellion: An Atlantic Odyssey of Slavery and Freedom*. Viking, 2012.
- Reich, Adam D. *With God on Our Side: The Struggle for Workers' Rights in a Catholic Hospital*. Cornell University Press, 2012.
- Rhomberg, Chris. *The Broken Table: The Detroit Newspaper Strike and the State of American Labor*. Russell Sage Foundation, 2012.
- Roediger, David R. and Franklin Rosemont. *Haymarket Scrapbook*. 25th anniversary ed. AK, 2012.
- Roediger, David R. and Elizabeth D. Esch. *The Production of Difference: Race and the Management of Labor in U.S. History*. Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Skotnes, Andor. *A New Deal for All?: Race and Class Struggles in Depression-Era Baltimore*. Duke University Press, 2012.
- Slucki, David S. *The International Jewish Labor Bund after 1945 toward a Global History*. Rutgers University Press, 2012.
- Smith, Abbott Emerson. *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776*. University of North Carolina Press, 2012.
- Snow, Thad, and Bonnie Stepenoff. *From Missouri: An American Farmer Looks Back*. University of Missouri Press, 2012.
- Stainback, Kevin, and Donald Tomaskovic-Devey. *Documenting Desegregation: Racial and Gender Segregation in Private Sector Employment since the Civil Rights Act*. Russell Sage Foundation, 2012.
- Van Wormer, Katherine S, David W Jackson, and Sudduth. *The Maid Narratives Black Domestic and White Families in the Jim Crow South*. LSU Press, 2012.
- West, Emily. *Family or Freedom People of Color in the Antebellum South*. University Press of Kentucky, 2012.
- Williams, Carol. *Indigenous Women and Work: From Labor to Activism*. University of Illinois Press, 2012.
- Wood, Gregory. *Retiring Men: Manhood, Labor, and Growing Old in America, 1900-1960*. University Press of America, 2012.
- Yates, Michael. *Wisconsin Uprising Labor Fights Back*. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, 2012.
- Zaborney, John J. *Slaves for Hire Renting Enslaved Laborers in Antebellum Virginia*. Louisiana State University Press, 2012.
- Zieger, Robert H. *Life and Labor in the New New South*. University Press of Florida, 2012. Contributors include Jane Berger, Michael Bess, Robert Bussel, Robert Chase, David Ciscel, Michael Dennis, Tami Friedman, Michael Honey, Max Krochmal, Timothy Minchin, Bruce Nissen, and Michael Pierce.

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- Allen, Robert L. *The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: C. L. Dellums and the Fight for Fair Treatment and Civil Rights, 1925-1978*. Paradigm Publishers 2013.
- Bacon, David. *The Right to Stay Home: How US Policy Drives Mexican Migration*, Beacon, 2013.
- Buhle, Paul. *Marxism in the United States: A History of the American Left*. Revised and Updated. Verso, 2013.
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- Goethem, Geert van, and Robert Anthony Waters. *American Labor's Global Ambassadors: The International History of the AFL-CIO during the Cold War, 2013*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. Forward by Marcel van der Linden.
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- Ramey, Jessie B. *Child Care in Black and White: Working Parents and the History of Orphanages*. University of Illinois Press, 2013.
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- Ross, Stephanie, and Larry Savage. *Public Sector Unions in the Age of Austerity*. Fernwood Publishing, 2013.
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- Vinel, Jean-Christian. *The Employee a Political History*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
- Hayden, Rene, Anthony E. Kaye, Kate Masur, Steven F. Miller, Susan E. O'Donovan, eds. *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867: Series 3, Volume 2: Land and Labor, 1866-1867*. University of North Carolina Press, 2013.
- Weir, Robert E. *Workers in America a Historical Encyclopedia*. Revised and expanded. ABC-CLIO, 2013.
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2011 Addendum

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