The Labor Relations Process 11th edition Holley Solutions Manual

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CHAPTER 2

The History of Labor–Management Relations

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. A labor organization's structural and financial stability
      ii. Its ability to work within the established political and economic system, particularly the wage system
      iii. The degree to which the broader social environment, such as laws, media, and public opinion, is supportive or opposed to a labor organization's goals and tactics
      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:

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1. The halting and 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. The use of striking as a viable collective bargaining tactic
      2. Increased involvement in the political arena
      3. To enhance the public status and reputation of organized labor and the collective bargaining process
   v. Organization of the AFL
      1. Exclusive union 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. Red Scare gives reason to pass criminal syndicalism laws and Sedition laws, such as the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918

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
   iii. Recognition strikes lead to passage of the Railway Labor Act

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b. Counteractions by employers
    i. Open shop movement (American Plan)
    ii. Blacklisting
    iii. Industrial spies
    iv. Mohawk Valley Formula
    v. Employer paternalism
    vi. Employee representation plan (ERP) or company union
    vii. Use of scrip payments
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 political 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 Unions directed efforts toward job security in the face of technological advances, new types of benefits, and wages tied to fluctuations of economic cycles, such as cost-of –living adjustments
    ii. Organization of women, minorities, and professionals in the public and private sector service industries
    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
    iii. Recent movements to reunite the labor movement
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

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Discussion Questions

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

   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. Select an existing national union and use the four criteria mentioned in the introduction of this chapter for evaluating the strengths of that labor organization. Using the same criteria, discuss why the AFL survived and the IWW faded into obscurity.

   Answers will vary. 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 denouncements 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. In addition, the IWW had no reservations about advocating the use of any method that would result in the destruction of capitalism, as well as some IWW leaders saw the union as an early step towards a communist society. This resulted in the Red Scare, the fear that a communist revolution would happen in the United States, and the passage of criminal syndicalism laws and Sedition laws.*

   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

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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 membership growth prior to the passage of the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act in 1935. Which, if any, of these tactics would be lawful today? What anti-union tactics are used 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 the 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.

6. 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? Support your position.

   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.

7. 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.

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- *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. The Pinkertons: Public Broadcasting Service (PBS)
4. Pullman Strike: Chicago-Kent College of Law Web site, PBS Online NewsHour
5. Haymarket Riot: 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 unions' 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.

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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.

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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 bibilographies. 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.

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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: Gowering Press.
Marx, K., & Engels (1848). *The communist manifesto*. International publishers.
Wallich, P. & Corcoran, E. (Feb., 1991). Don't write off Marx. *Scientific American*, 264, 135136.

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.

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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) *MotherJones: 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: ArnoPress.

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.

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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
Srnith, 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 did 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: Glouchester, 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.

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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?

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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?

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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?

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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 there 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.

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CHAPTER 2 The History of Labor–Management Relations

TRUE/FALSE

1. A labor organization's structural and financial stability is not important to assess its strength or success.

2. Before 1800, and unions as we know them today, small guilds began to press concerns benefiting employees and employers alike.

3. A labor injunction is a court order allowing certain activities in conjunction with a labor dispute.

4. The Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 was passed to regulate the anti-competitive practices of large corporations.

5. The Knights of Labor (KOL) was first formed as a secret society in 1869 so that its members would not be fired for participating in a labor organization.

6. One of the most important reforms desired by employees in the late 1800s was the eight-hour workday.

7. The Red Scare was a general concern that a communist revolution would happen in the U.S.

8. The National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act) listed unfair employer practices as well as similar issues by the unions.

9. One of the influences contributing to the AFL-CIO merger was the recognition of the effectiveness of union raiding.

10. Organized labor remains an influential economic and social movement in U.S. society in spite of its small representation of the total labor force.

MULTIPLE CHOICE

11. Relationships between labor and management organizations and organizational characteristics of labor organizations are:
    a. Political disciplines.
    b. Union tactics designed to preserve membership.
    c. Interrelated historical dimensions about the workings of organized labor.
    d. Factors of unions prior to 1800.

12. One reason why employers would require employees to sign a yellow-dog contract was to:
    a. Send a strong signal that a union would not be tolerated at the company.
    b. Encourage the organization of a labor union.
    c. Secure fair wages and good benefits.
    d. Adopt an eight-hour work day.

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13. Which of the following is *not* one of the strategies used by the Knights of Labor, founded in 1869?
    a. Actively avoiding the use of strikes.
    b. Creating a new political party.
    c. Educating members and citizens as to the perceived evils of the existing industrial system.
    d. Encouraging the creation of producer and consumer cooperatives.

14. The Pullman Strike of 1894 assumed significance because:
    a. It promoted the use of railroads as a better mode of transportation.
    b. The Pullman company sold more railroad cars.
    c. It excluded minority groups from joining the union.
    d. It progressed from a nationwide strike in one industry to nearly involving all industries.

15. Which of the following is *not* one of the lessons learned through the actions and subsequent failure of the Industrial Workers of the World?
    a. A union should not advocate or endorse sabotage and violence.
    b. A union must balance its members short-term material interests with its long-term political and philosophical goals.
    c. A union can achieve financial stability, even if its members are transient or itinerant workers who are not required to pay mandatory dues.
    d. A union should create and take advantage of opportunities to enhance a positive image through the news media.

16. The Red Scare, a concern about communist activities in the U.S., which spawned criminal syndicalism laws and Sedition laws, came to life as a result of:
    a. The Pullman Strike.
    b. William "Big Bill" Haywood's leadership.
    c. Lack of permanent membership and financial base in the IWW.
    d. The opposition to World War I and the Soviet revolution of 1917.

17. An employee representation plan, or company union, differed from independent unions in the following respects except:
    a. The employer typically controlled the type of subjects discussed.
    b. ERPs involved multiple locations.
    c. ERPs/ did not engage in economic pressure tactics such as strikes or boycotts.
    d. Independent unions had more autonomy than ERPs.

18. Which of the following tactics used to prevent union growth was rendered illegal by the passage of the National Labor Relations Act of 1935?
    a. Creating company unions.
    b. Employees were granted a legal right to form or join unions.
    c. The right to bargain collectively.
    d. Engage in acts for mutual aid or protection.

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19. Which of the following was *not* a result of the AFL-CIO merger?
    a. The creation of the largest trade union federation in the world.
    b. The continued reduction of union raiding.
    c. A reduction of the influence of union locals within the national unions.
    d. A tremendous increase in union membership, and therefore, political influence.

20. In 2005, several national unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO voluntarily chose to leave in order to form a new federation of national unions called the:
    a. International Brotherhood of Teamsters.
    b. Change to Win Federation.
    c. American Railroad Workers.
    d. UNITE-HERE.

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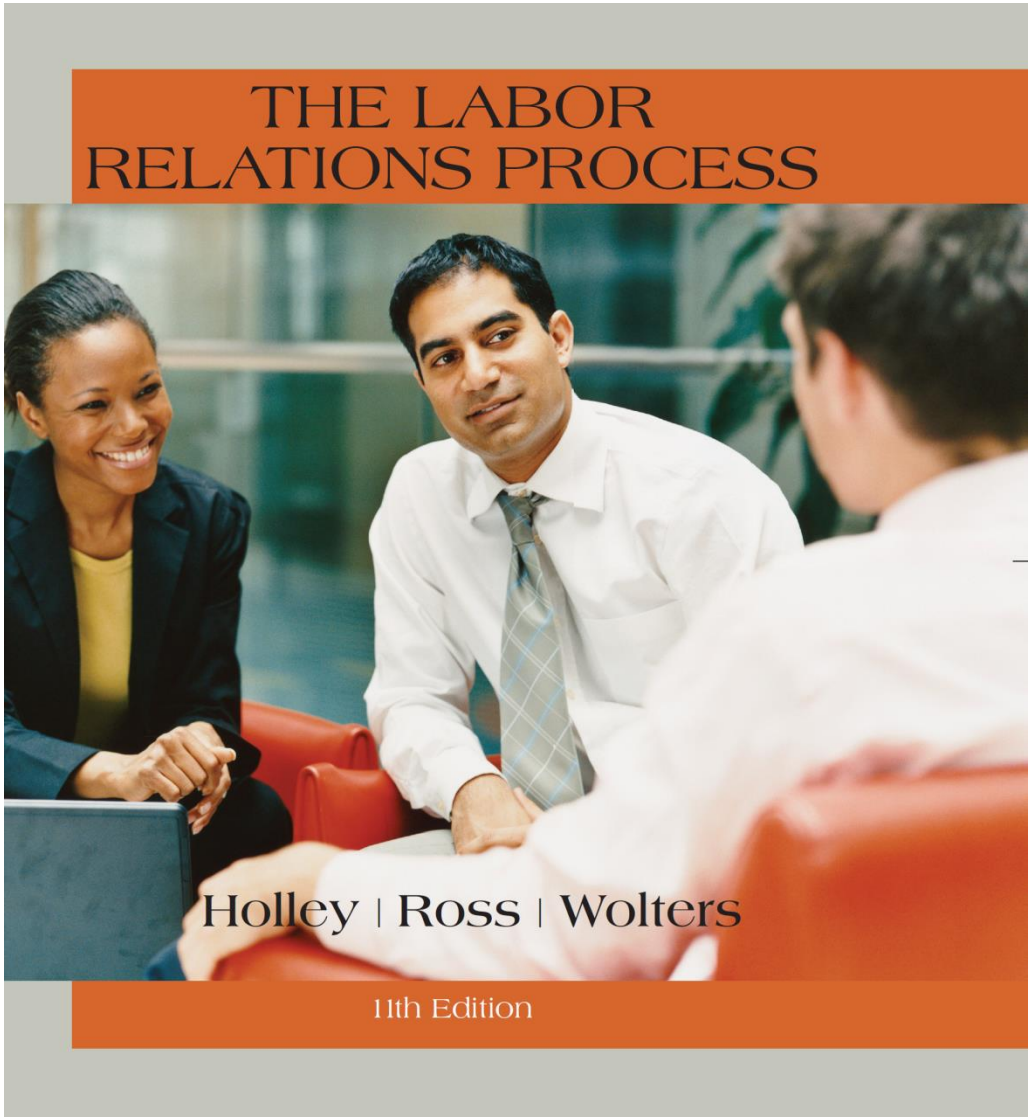

Chapter 2

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Historical Perspective

- Two interrelated dimensions:
  - Relationships between labor and management organizations
  - Organizational characteristics of labor organizations

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Criteria for Comparing the Effectiveness of a Labor Organization

- The union's structural and financial stability
- The ability to work within the political and economic system
- The presence of mass media and legislation
- The ability of union leaders to identify and satisfy members' goals and interests

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1869 to World War I

- The Industrial Revolution (1850s)
  - Markets and firms expanded due to:
    - New mass-production technologies—factory systems
    - Improved road and rail transportation systems
  - Effects on workers
    - Increased competition created pressures on employers to minimize labor costs through lower wages.
    - Demand was principally for low or semi-skilled workers.
    - Employers unconcerned about working conditions or benefits.
    - Few laws were available to protect workers.

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Legal Interpretations Involving Labor-Management Relationships (1806-1931)

- Basis for the Legal System
  - Protection of employers' tangible property rights
  - Protection of employers' intangible rights to do business and make a profit
- Criminal Conspiracy Doctrine
  - Common law interpretation held that it was illegal for workers to join together to pressure employers for better wages or working conditions.
  - Cordwainers case upheld criminal conspiracy.

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Legal Interpretations…(1806-1931) (cont'd)

- Civil Conspiracy Doctrine
  - Legal justification was that employees who acted in concert (unlawful means) could inflict harm on other parties even if the employees' cause was just (lawful ends).
  - *Commonwealth v. Hunt* (1842) ended the use of criminal conspiracy but left in place civil conspiracy.
  - Courts continued to use jury trials and injunctions to prevent concerted acts and the organization of workers.

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Legal Interpretations…(1806-1931) (cont'd)

- Breach of Contract and the Use of the Labor Injunction
  - The concept that labor disputes constituted interference in contracts between employers and employees.
  - Yellow dog contracts
    - Employment contracts requiring an employee to refrain from all union activities or be subject to dismissal.
  - Courts issued labor injunctions to stop the concerted activities of employees.
  - Common law doctrine still in use today is employment-at-will

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Legal Interpretations…(1806-1931) (cont'd)

- Application of Antitrust Legislation to Unions
  - Sherman Antitrust Act (1890)
    - Originally intended to prevent the restraint of trade by regulating business monopolies.
  - Danbury Hatters (*Loewe v. Lawlor*) case
    - Supreme Court ruled that the labor organization's use of the boycott was an illegal restraint of trade.
    - Individual union members held liable for damages.
    - Unions supported Clayton Act (1914)—labor no longer considered a commodity and injunctions were limited to prevent injury to property.

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1869 to World War I (cont'd)

- The Knights of Labor (KOL), 1869-1917
  - Founded as a secret society (to protect members from discharge for union activities)
  - First union with a national base of membership
    - Adopted a One Big Union" philosophy
    - Accepted both employees and employers
  - First union to win concessions from employers
  - Focused on social and economic reforms
    - Reducing mass-production's adverse impact on workers
    - Fostering the moral betterment of workers and society

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1869 to World War I (cont'd)

- Strategies of the Knights of Labor (KOL)
  - Political action by voting workers
  - Encouragement of producer and consumer cooperatives (employee-owned establishments)
  - Use of voluntary arbitration and avoidance of strikes to obtain its goals
  - A preference for education of workers over economic pressure tactics (job actions—strikes and boycotts)

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1869 to World War I (cont'd)

- Reasons for the KOL's Failure and Demise
  - Assumption that technological advancement could be stopped and possibly reversed
  - Overestimation of the shared interests of employees and employers
  - Overestimation of interests shared in common by all workers
  - Lack of legal protection from employers discharging workers for engaging in union activities
  - Inability of KOL leadership to identify with rank and file membership goals

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1869 to World War I (cont'd)

- The 8-Hour Workday Movement and the Haymarket Riot (1886)
  - Movement's purpose for reducing 10-hour day to 8-hour day was to increase overall employment.
  - Seven policemen were killed by a bomb explosion at a mass meeting of movement supporters in Chicago.
    - Rioting ensued in which several striking workers were killed and hundreds were wounded.
    - Eight alleged riot leaders were "tried" and four were hanged.
  - The violence turned public opinion against the KOL and labor movement.

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1869 to World War I (cont'd)

- The American Federation of Labor (AFL), 1886
  - Formed by skilled craft unions expelled from the KOL
  - A federation of unions that each independently represented a unique skilled craft or occupation
    - Decentralized authority to national and local unions
    - Adopted the principle of *exclusive jurisdiction*
    - Endorsed the use of economic pressure tactics
    - Favored the pursuit of equitable treatment and economic betterment for workers (*business unionism*)
    - Utilized a "pure and simple" approach to unionism within the capitalist system; did not adopt a social reform agenda
    - Focused on collective bargaining to settle labor disputes

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1869 to World War I (cont'd)

- Strategies and Tactics of the AFL
  - The use of strikes and other economic pressures to attain union goals
  - Active involvement in the political arena without forming a political party
  - Improving the image of organized labor and collective bargaining

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1869 to World War I (cont'd)

- The Homestead Incident (July 6, 1892)
  - The lockout of employees at the Carnegie Steel Works in Homestead, Pennsylvania.
    - Pinkerton detectives and unionized workers clashed violently until National Guard troops secured the town.
    - Management maintained the lockout, breaking the strike after five months.
    - The company's success bolstered the anti-union efforts of other employers.
    - The press faulted the company for provoking the incident.
    - Unions gained status and public sympathy for their cause.

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1869 to World War I (cont'd)

- The Pullman Strike (1894)
  - American Railway Union (ARU)
    - Struck the national railroads to put pressure on the Pullman company to reach an agreement with the union.
  - Railroad Owners
    - Placed federal mail on the trains and obtained an injunction prohibiting the union from interfering with the trains.
    - Had federal troops protect trains and strikebreakers.
  - The strike failed and Eugene Debs, president of the ARU, was sent to jail for violating the injunction.

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1869 to World War I (cont'd)

- The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)
  - Initial goal was to overthrow the capitalist system by any means necessary.
  - Wanted to remove any societal aspect or group that supported capitalism.
  - Believed that the AFL had sold out to capitalism.
  - Failed to establish an effective organization.
    - Lack of permanent membership and financial base
    - Inability to satisfy members' interests
    - Identification with sabotage and violence
    - Alienation of the news media and government officials

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World War I to World War II

- Union Organizing after WWI: Problems and Prospects
  - Recognition of labor's power during wartime:
    - To guarantee uninterrupted war production, government contracts enforced union standards.
    - Congress restricted immigration to reduce the labor supply.
  - Post-war problems for unions:
    - Poor economic conditions
    - Failed national strike in the steel industry
    - Lack of organizing success
    - Aggressive employer opposition to unions

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World War I to World War II (cont'd)

- Counteractions by Employers
  - Open Shop Movement (American Plan)
    - Employees did not have to be or become members of a union to get or keep a job.
    - Mohawk Valley Formula for an open shop.
    - **Closed Shop**
      - An agreement requiring that an individual must be a member of the union before being hired by the employer.
  - Other actions
    - Hiring spies to ferret out union supporters for blacklisting
    - Offering increased benefits
    - Establishing company unions (employee representation plan)

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World War I to World War II (cont'd)

- Factors Contributing to Labor's Inability to Overcome Antiunion Sentiment
  - Employees' reluctance to join unions and forfeit their paychecks
  - Unions' image as corrupt organizations controlled by socialists, radicals, and communists
    - The V technique used to dominate union meetings
  - Union leadership that negotiated *sweetheart contracts* to line their own pockets

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World War I to World War II (cont'd)

- Rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and Industrial Unionism
  - Production workers were becoming an increasingly larger percentage of the labor force.
  - Most AFL unions resisted inclusion of production workers in their unions and the AFL.
  - AFL unions expelled for dual unionism (in support of industrial unions) form the CIO under the leadership of John L. Lewis.

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World War I to World War II (cont'd)

- Factors Accounting for the CIO's Success as a Labor Organization
  - Strong leadership
  - Realistic goals
  - Effective use of sit-down strikes
  - Passage of the National Labor Relations Act (1935)
  - Changes in employee attitudes toward independent unions

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World War II to the Present

- During WWII
  - Unions pledged no strikes during the war.
  - The imposition of wage and controls ("Little Steel Formula") limited wage increases but prices increased.
  - Wartime strikes resulted in strong negative public sentiment toward unions.
  - Unions' postwar economic demands (full employment and wage increases) were strongly reinforced with numerous strikes.

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World War II to the Present (cont'd)

- Developments in Organized Labor Since WWII
  - Increased concern over collective-bargaining issues
    - Guarantees of job security
    - Employee benefits
      - Health-care cost shifting (higher deductibles, co-payments and increased premiums)
  - Real wage protection from inflation
    - Wage concession bargaining demands of management
      - Two-tier pay plans for current and new employees
      - Lump sum performance payments

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World War II to the Present (cont'd)

- Developments in Organized Labor Since WWII
  - Organizing drives aimed at white-collar and public-sector employees
    - Increased attention to large groups of government workers
  - Merger of the AFL and CIO
    - Death of long-time presidents of both unions
    - Recognition of the ineffectiveness of union raiding
    - Sharing of common goals to influence the political environment

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World War II to the Present (cont'd)

- Formation of the Change to Win Federation
  - Several national unions left the AFL-CIO to form a new federation called the Change to Win federation.
    - Dispute over extent of resources to be devoted to organizing new union members.
    - CTW still shares same basic principles and philosophies as unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO.
    - CTW will spend less time and money on political parties and more on grassroots organizing.

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World War II to the Present (cont'd)

- Aspects of Organized Labor Unchanged Since WWII
  - The principle of exclusive representation
  - The concept of collective bargaining
  - The use of grievance procedures and arbitration
  - Non-intervention by the government
  - Continued involvement in the political process
  - Difficulty in maintaining consensus among member unions
  - Pursuit of short-term economic and job security goals

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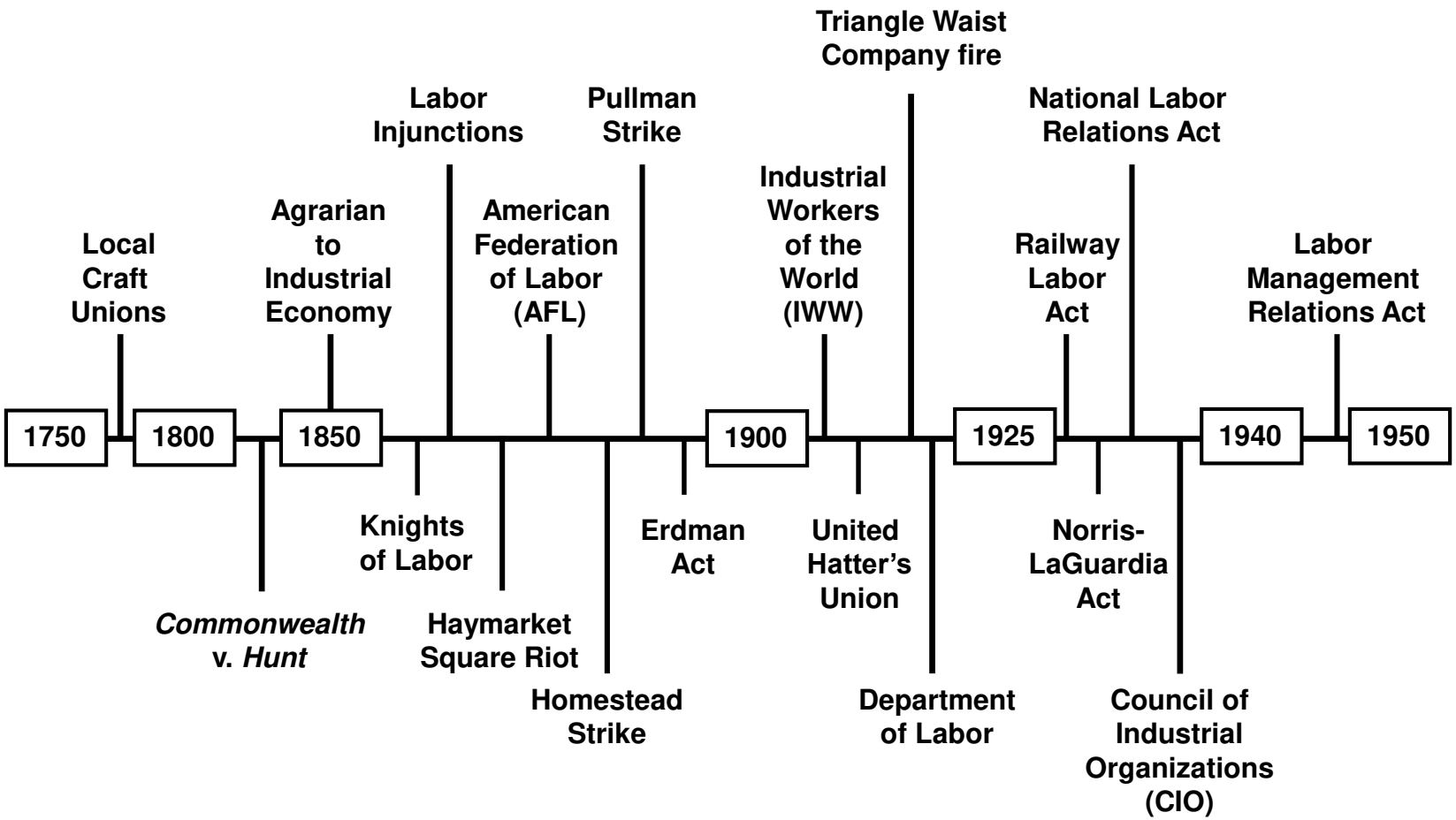
U.S Labor History Time Line



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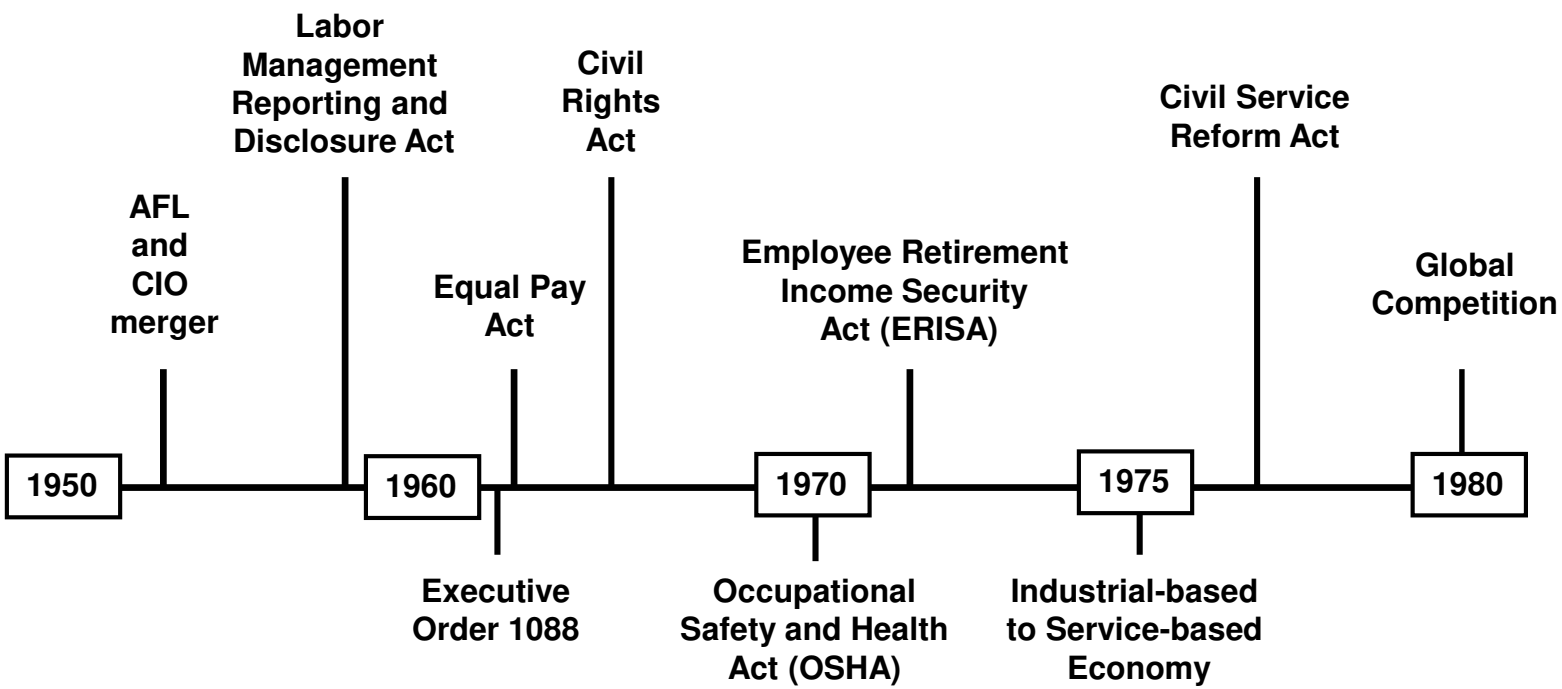
U.S Labor History Time Line (cont'd)



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Key Terms

- U.S. Constitution
- Common law
- Employment-at-will (EAW) doctrine
- Criminal conspiracy doctrine
- *Commonwealth v. Hunt* (1842)
- Civil conspiracy doctrine
- Labor injunction
- Yellow-dog contract
- Sherman Antitrust Act
- *Loewe v. Lawlor*
- Danbury Hatters
- Clayton Antitrust Act
- Knights of Labor (KOL)
- Terence Powderly
- One Big Union
- Haymarket Riot
- American Federation of Labor (AFL)
- Samuel Gompers
- Pure and simple unionism
- Exclusive union jurisdiction
- Decentralized authority
- Homestead Incident
- Pullman Strike
- Socialism
- Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)
- William "Big Bill" Haywood
- Communist society
- Red Scare
- Criminal syndicalism laws
- Sedition laws
- Recognition strikes
- Open-shop movement
- American Plan
- Industrial spies
- Blacklisted
- Mohawk Valley Formula
- Paternalism
- Employee representation plan
- Company union
- Scrip
- Sweetheart contract
- V technique
- Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)
- John L. Lewis
- Sit-down strike
- National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) of 1935
- Byrnes Act of 1936
- Concession bargaining
- AFL-CIO
- Change to Win federation

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