

# **REDS OR RACKETS?**



**THE MAKING OF  
RADICAL AND  
CONSERVATIVE  
UNIONS ON THE  
WATERFRONT**

**HOWARD KIMELDORF**

# Reds Or Rackets

**David Scott Witwer**



## **Reds Or Rackets:**

**Reds or Rackets?** Howard Kimeldorf, 1988-11-04 Why is the American working class different For generations scholars and activists alike have wrestled with this question with an eye to explaining why workers in the United States are not more like their radicalized European counterparts Approaching the question from a different angle Reds or Rackets provides a fascinating examination of the American labor movement from the inside out as it were by analyzing the divergent sources of radicalism and conservatism within it Kimeldorf focuses on the political contrast between East and West Coast longshoremen from World War I through the early years of the Cold War when the difference between the two unions was greatest He explores the politics of the West Coast union that developed into a hot bed of working class insurgency and contrasts it with the conservative and racket ridden East Coast longshoreman s union Two unions based in the same industry as different as night and day The question posed by Kimeldorf is why Why reds on one coast and racketeers on the other To answer this question Kimeldorf provides a systematic comparison of the two unions illuminating the political consequences of occupational recruitment industry structure mobilization strategies and industrial conflict during this period In doing so Reds or Rackets sheds new light on the structural and historical bases of radical and conservative unionism More than a comparative study of two unions Reds or Rackets is an exploration of the dynamics of trade unionism sources of membership loyalty and neglected aspects of working class consciousness It is an incisive and valuable study that will appeal to historians social scientists and anyone interested in understanding the political trajectory of twentieth century American labor

Waterfront Workers Calvin Winslow, 1998 Few work settings can compete with the waterfront for a long rich history of multi ethnic and multiracial interaction Here five scholars focus on the complex relationships involved in this intersection of race class and ethnicity Opens up some of the most significant questions in American labor and social history including the struggle for control at the workplace and even more important the relationship between black and white workers and among various ethnic groups on the docks David Brundage author of The Making of Western Labor Radicalism Denver s Organized Workers 1878 1905 A volume in the series The Working Class in American History edited by David Brody Alice Kessler Harris David Montgomery and Sean Wilentz

**Sunshine Was Never Enough** John H. M. Laslett, 2014-03-26 Delving beneath Southern California s popular image as a sunny frontier of leisure and ease this book tells the dynamic story of the life and labor of Los Angeles s large working class In a sweeping narrative that takes into account more than a century of labor history John H M Laslett acknowledges the advantages Southern California s climate open spaces and bucolic character offered to generations of newcomers At the same time he demonstrates that in terms of wages hours and conditions of work L A differed very little from America s other industrial cities Both fast paced and sophisticated Sunshine Was Never Enough shows how labor in all its guises blue and white collar industrial agricultural and high tech shaped the neighborhoods economic policies racial attitudes and class perceptions of the City of Angels Laslett explains how until the 1930s many of L A

s workers were under the thumb of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association This conservative organization kept wages low suppressed trade unions and made L A into the open shop capital of America By contrast now at a time when the AFL CIO is at its lowest ebb a young generation of Mexican and African American organizers has infused the L A movement with renewed strength These stories of the men and women who pumped oil loaded ships in San Pedro harbor built movie sets assembled aircraft and in more recent times cleaned hotels and washed cars is a little known but vital part of Los Angeles history

The Southern Key Michael Goldfield,2020-01-23 The golden key to understanding the last 75 years of American political development the eminent labor relations scholar Michael Goldfield argues lies in the contests between labor and capital in the American South during the 1930s and 1940s Labor agitation and unionization efforts in the South in the New Deal era were extensive and bitterly fought and ranged across all of the major industries of the region In *The Southern Key* Goldfield charts the rise of labor activism in each and then examines how and why labor organizers struggled so mightily in the region Drawing from meticulous and unprecedented archival material and detailed data on four core industries textiles timber coal mining and steel he argues that much of what is important in American politics and society today was largely shaped by the successes and failures of the labor movements of the 1930s and 1940s Most notably Goldfield shows how the broad based failure to organize the South during this period made it what it is today He contends that this early defeat for labor unions not only contributed to the exploitation of race and right wing demagoguery in the South but has also led to a decline in unionization growing economic inequality and an inability to confront and dismantle white supremacy throughout the US A sweeping account of Southern political economy in the New Deal era *The Southern Key* challenges the established historiography to tell a tale of race radicalism and betrayal that will reshape our understanding of why America developed so differently from other advanced industrial nations over the course of the last century

**Waterfront Revolts** Colin John Davis,2003 Davis also documents struggles by New York black and Hispanic longshoremen against union and employer discrimination and shows how the wildcat strikes in both ports altered the balance of power and facilitated the establishment of viable oppositional movements Addressing questions of why dockworkers were such influential and explosive forces in the postwar industrial arena *Waterfront Revolts* reveals how workers and trade unions directly influenced cold war politics the economy and culture even across geographical borders Jacket

*Dock Workers* Sam Davies,Colin J. Davis,David de Vries,Lex Heerma van Voss,Lidewij Hesselink,Klaus Weinhauer,2017-09-29 Workers who loaded and unloaded ships have formed a distinctive occupational group over the past two centuries As trade expanded so the numbers of dock labourers increased and became concentrated in the major ports of the world This ambitious two volume project goes beyond existing individual studies of dock workers to develop a genuinely comparative international perspective over a long historical period Volume 1 contains studies of 22 major ports worldwide Built around an agreed framework of issues these port studies examine the type of workers who dominated dock labour their race class and ethnicity the working conditions of dockers and

the role of government as employer arbitrator and supporter The studies also detail how dockers organized their labour patterns of strike action and involvement in political organizations The structure of the port city is also outlined and descriptions given of the waterside environment These areas of investigation form the basis for a series of 11 thematic studies which comprise Volume 2 Drawing on the information provided in the port studies these essays identify important aspects and recurring themes and explain how and why particular cases diverge from the rest The final chapter of the book synthesizes the various approaches taken to offer a model which suggests several configurations of dock labour and presents suggestions for future research This major scholarly achievement represents the most sustained attempt to date to provide a comparative international history of dock labour An annotated bibliography completes this essential reference work

**Dockworker Power** Peter Cole, 2018-12-30 Philip Taft Labor History Book Award Labor and Working Class History Association LAWCHA and the Cornell ILR School 2019 A Black Perspectives Best Black History Book of 2018 Dockworkers have power Often missed in commentary on today's globalizing economy workers in the world's ports can harness their role at a strategic choke point to promote their labor rights and social justice causes Peter Cole brings such overlooked experiences to light in an eye opening comparative study of Durban South Africa and the San Francisco Bay Area California Path breaking research reveals how unions effected lasting change in some of the most far reaching struggles of modern times First dockworkers in each city drew on longstanding radical traditions to promote racial equality Second they persevered when a new technology container ships sent a shockwave of layoffs through the industry Finally their commitment to black internationalism and leftist politics sparked transnational work stoppages to protest apartheid and authoritarianism Dockworker Power not only brings to light surprising parallels in the experiences of dockers half a world away from each other It also offers a new perspective on how workers can change their conditions and world

**Divided We Stand** Bruce Nelson, 2021-03-09 Divided We Stand is a study of how class and race have intersected in American society above all in the making and remaking of the American working class in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Focusing mainly on longshoremen in the ports of New York New Orleans and Los Angeles and on steelworkers in many of the nation's steel towns it examines how European immigrants became American and white in the crucible of the industrial workplace and the ethnic and working class neighborhood As workers organized on the job especially during the overlapping CIO and civil rights eras in the middle third of the twentieth century trade unions became a vital arena in which old and new immigrants and black migrants forged new alliances and identities and tested the limits not only of class solidarity but of American democracy The most volatile force in this regard was the civil rights movement As it crested in the 1950s and 60s the Movement confronted unions anew with the question Which side are you on This book demonstrates the complex ways in which labor organizations answered that question and the complex relationships between union leaders and diverse rank and file constituencies in addressing it Divided We Stand includes vivid examples of white working class agency in the

construction of racially discriminatory employment structures But Nelson is less concerned with racism as such than with the concrete historical circumstances in which racialized class identities emerged and developed This leads him to a detailed and often fascinating consideration of white working class ethnicity but also to a careful analysis of black workers their conditions of work their aspirations and identities their struggles for equality Making its case with passion and clarity *Divided We Stand* will be a compelling and controversial book

**Many Are the Crimes** Ellen Schrecker, 1998 Offers an analysis of the McCarthy phenomenon tracing the machinations of anticommunism in creating a culture of fear and suspicion

**Corruption and Reform in the Teamsters Union** David Scott Witwer, 2003 Almost since its creation at the close of the nineteenth century the Teamsters Union has had recurring problems with corruption This book is the first in depth historical study of the forces that have contributed to the Teamsters troubled past as well as the various mechanisms the union has employed from top down directives to grass roots measures to combat the spread of corruption Arguing that the Teamsters Union was by its very nature especially vulnerable to certain forms of corruption David Witwer charts the process by which organized crime came to play a significant role in sectors of the union from low level involvements of the 1930s to suspicions of mob ties among the union s upper echelons beginning in the 1950s Witwer includes a detailed account of the links forged between the mafia and union head Jimmy Hoffa as well as the highly revealing McLellan Committee investigation that first brought these links to light David Witwer is a former employee of the New York County District Attorney s Office and the U S Attorney s Office Drawing on hundreds of hours of tapes of activities and conversations in the offices of corrupt union officials he brings his experience and insight to bear on the union s history considering the subject from a range of perspectives that include the rank and file the Teamster leadership and the criminal element He also examines the persistent efforts of labor opponents to capitalize on the union s unsavory reputation fanning the flames of crises of corruption in order to influence popular and legislative opinion

**Under the Iron Heel** Ahmed White, 2024-02-13 2022 International Labor History Association Book of the Year A dramatic deeply researched account of how legal repression and vigilantism brought down the Wobblies and how the destruction of their union haunts us to this day In 1917 the Industrial Workers of the World was rapidly gaining strength and members Within a decade this radical union was effectively destroyed the victim of the most remarkable campaign of legal repression and vigilantism in American history *Under the Iron Heel* is the first comprehensive account of this campaign Founded in 1905 the IWW offered to the millions of workers aggrieved by industrial capitalism the promise of a better world But its growth coinciding with World War I and the Russian Revolution and driven by uncompromising militancy was seen by powerful capitalists and government officials as an existential threat that had to be eliminated In *Under the Iron Heel* Ahmed White documents the torrent of legal persecution and extralegal sometimes lethal violence that shattered the IWW In so doing he reveals the remarkable courage of those who faced this campaign lays bare the origins of the profoundly unequal and conflicted nation we know today and uncovers disturbing truths about the law

political repression and the limits of free speech and association in class society *White Ethnic New York* Joshua M. Zeitz, 2011-09-01 Historians of postwar American politics often identify race as a driving force in the dynamically shifting political culture Joshua Zeitz instead places religion and ethnicity at the fore arguing that ethnic conflict among Irish Catholics Italian Catholics and Jews in New York City had a decisive impact on the shape of liberal politics long before black white racial identity politics entered the political lexicon Understanding ethnicity as an intersection of class national origins and religion Zeitz demonstrates that the white ethnic populations of New York had significantly diverging views on authority and dissent community and individuality secularism and spirituality and obligation and entitlement New York Jews came from Eastern European traditions that valued dissent and encouraged political agitation their Irish and Italian Catholic neighbors tended to value commitment to order deference to authority and allegiance to church and community Zeitz argues that these distinctions ultimately helped fracture the liberal coalition of the Roosevelt era as many Catholics bolted a Democratic Party increasingly focused on individual liberties and many dissent minded Jews moved on to the antiliberal New Left

**Civil Rights Unionism** Robert Rodgers Korstad, 2003 Recovering an important moment in early civil rights activism Korstad chronicles the rise and fall of the union that represented thousands of African American tobacco factory workers in Winston Salem N C in the first half of the 20th century A Renegade Union Lisa Phillips, 2012-12-30 Dedicated to organizing workers from diverse racial ethnic and religious backgrounds many of whom were considered unorganizable by other unions the progressive New York City based labor union District 65 counted among its 30 000 members retail clerks office workers warehouse workers and wholesale workers In this book Lisa Phillips presents a distinctive study of District 65 and its efforts to secure economic equality for minority workers in sales and processing jobs in small low end shops and warehouses throughout the city Phillips shows how organizers fought tirelessly to achieve better hours and higher wages for unskilled unrepresented workers and to destigmatize the kind of work they performed Closely examining the strategies employed by District 65 from the 1930s through the early Cold War years Phillips assesses the impact of the McCarthy era on the union s quest for economic equality across divisions of race ethnicity and skill Though their stories have been overshadowed by those of auto steel and electrical workers who forced American manufacturing giants to unionize the District 65 workers believed their union provided them with an opportunity to re value their work the result of an economy inclining toward fewer manufacturing jobs and more low wage service and processing jobs Phillips recounts how District 65 first broke with the CIO over the latter s hostility to left oriented politics and organizing agendas then rejoined to facilitate alliances with the NAACP In telling the story of District 65 and detailing community organizing efforts during the first part of the Cold War and under the AFL CIO umbrella A Renegade Union continues to revise the history of the left led unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations

Labor and Capital in the Age of Globalization Berch Berberoglu, 2002 Ten contributions from scholars and activists discuss the political economy of the labor process in the age of global capitalism examining how the global economy

effects ordinary people in the workplace Topics include for example the struggle for control at the point of production the division of labor along racial lines in U S agriculture and women and resistance in the transnational labor force Editor Berberoglu teaches sociology at the U of Nevada Reno Annotation copyrighted by Book News Inc Portland OR *Harry Bridges* Robert W. Cherny, 2023-01-10 Winner of a Silver Medal from the Independent Publisher Book Awards Won Honorable Mention for 2023 ILHA Book of the Year International Labor History Association The iconic leader of one of America's most powerful unions Harry Bridges put an indelible stamp on the twentieth century labor movement Robert Cherny's monumental biography tells the life story of the figure who built the International Longshore and Warehouse Union ILWU into a labor powerhouse that still represents almost 30 000 workers An Australian immigrant Bridges worked the Pacific Coast docks His militant unionism placed him at the center of the 1934 West Coast Waterfront Strike and spurred him to expand his organizing activities to warehouse laborers and Hawaiian sugar and pineapple workers Cherny examines the overall effectiveness of Bridges as a union leader and the decisions and traits that made him effective Cherny also details the price paid by Bridges as the US government repeatedly prosecuted him for his left wing politics Drawing on personal interviews with Bridges and years of exhaustive research Harry Bridges places an extraordinary individual and the ILWU within the epic history of twentieth century labor radicalism *Metropolis* Robert Zecker, 2007-12-30 Ever since the rise of mass culture the idea of The City has played a central role in the nation's imagined landscape While some writers depict the city as a site of pleasure and enjoyment the thrills provided there are still generally of an illicit nature and it is this darker strain of urban fiction one that illuminates many of the larger fears and anxieties of America at large that this book addresses From The Wire's Baltimore to Martin Scorsese's New York from the Newark of Philip Roth and The Sopranos to Jeffrey Eugenides's Detroit The City is everywhere and everywhere proclaiming on the rise and Around 1900 writers for Harper's Century and other magazines took middle class Americans on safari through Little Italy and the Jewish Lower East Side Later at the dawn of the talkies one of the most popular genres was the gangster film through which the city was often portrayed as a powerful force that sent poor souls to their doom With the urban disturbances of the 1960s popular culture took another look at the city and decided that from Detroit to Watts to Harlem the problem had a different face Blaxploitation classics such as Shaft and Fort Apache the Bronx as well as police and crime films of the 60s and 70s offered a cinematic exclamation point to the famous Daily News headline Ford to New York Drop Dead Later filmmakers offered a more nuanced view of the city with Scorsese and Coppola paying homage to an old neighborhood of wise guys and goodfellas and Woody Allen offering the city as a home of urban aesthetes Meanwhile on television crime shows from The Streets of San Francisco to NYPD Blue Cops and all the CSI programs have for decades rooted their separate identities in the crime ridden city itself Yesterday's foreign threat to the body politic is today's jaded suburbanite and this work also considers the current development of the cyber city where urban exiles use their computers to re imagine the cities of their youth as safe warm places where we never



locked our doors The City continues to thrill and repulse and even the Internet once again reduces the mean streets to a titillating story arc      *Radical Unionism in the Midwest, 1900-1950* Rosemary Feurer, 2006 In *Radical Unionism in the Midwest 1900 1950* Rosemary Feurer examines the fierce battles between Midwestern electrical workers and bitterly anti union electrical and metal industry companies during the 1930s and 40s Organized as District 8 of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers UE and led by open Communist William Sentner workers developed a style of unionism designed to confront corporate power and to be a force for social transformation in their community and nation Feurer studies District 8 through a long lens establishing early twentieth century contexts for these conflicts Exploring the role of radicals in local movement formation Feurer argues for a civic unionism that could connect community and union concerns to build solidarity and contest the political economy District 8 s spirited unionism included plant occupations in St Louis and Iowa campaigns to democratize economic planning and local strategies for national bargaining that were depicted as a Communist conspiracy by a corporate influenced Congressional committee in Evansville Indiana District 8 was destroyed through reactionary networks and the anti Communist backlash of the mid twentieth century but Feurer argues that its history tells another side of the labor movement s formation in the 1930s and 40s and can inform current struggles against corporate power in the modern global economy A website with more photographs and documents is available at [www.radicalunionism.niu.edu](http://www.radicalunionism.niu.edu)      **21st**

**Century Sociology: A Reference Handbook** Clifton D. Bryant, Dennis L. Peck, 2007 Publisher Description      *The Encyclopedia of Strikes in American History* Aaron Brenner, Benjamin Day, Immanuel Ness, 2015-01-28 Strikes have been part of American labor relations from colonial days to the present reflecting the widespread class conflict that has run throughout the nation s history Against employers and their goons against the police the National Guard local state and national officials against racist vigilantes against their union leaders and against each other American workers have walked off the job for higher wages better benefits bargaining rights legislation job control and just plain dignity At times their actions have motivated groundbreaking legislation defining new rights for all citizens at other times they have led to loss of workers lives This comprehensive encyclopedia is the first detailed collection of historical research on strikes in America To provide the analytical tools for understanding strikes the volume includes two types of essays those focused on an industry or economic sector and those focused on a theme Each industry essay introduces a group of workers and their employers and places them in their economic political and community contexts The essay then describes the industry s various strikes including the main issues involved and outcomes achieved and assesses the impact of the strikes on the industry over time Thematic essays address questions that can only be answered by looking at a variety of strikes across industries groups of workers and time such as why the number of strikes has declined since the 1970s or why there was a strike wave in 1946 The contributors include historians sociologists anthropologists and philosophers as well as current and past activists from unions and other social movement organizations Photos a Topic Finder a bibliography and name and subject indexes add to the works appeal

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## **Table of Contents Reds Or Rackets**

1. Understanding the eBook Reds Or Rackets
  - The Rise of Digital Reading Reds Or Rackets
  - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Reds Or Rackets
  - Exploring Different Genres
  - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
  - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
  - Popular eBook Platforms
  - Features to Look for in an Reds Or Rackets
  - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Reds Or Rackets
  - Personalized Recommendations
  - Reds Or Rackets User Reviews and Ratings
  - Reds Or Rackets and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing Reds Or Rackets Free and Paid eBooks
  - Reds Or Rackets Public Domain eBooks
  - Reds Or Rackets eBook Subscription Services

- Reds Or Rackets Budget-Friendly Options
- 6. Navigating Reds Or Rackets eBook Formats
  - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
  - Reds Or Rackets Compatibility with Devices
  - Reds Or Rackets Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
  - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Reds Or Rackets
  - Highlighting and Note-Taking Reds Or Rackets
  - Interactive Elements Reds Or Rackets
- 8. Staying Engaged with Reds Or Rackets
  - Joining Online Reading Communities
  - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
  - Following Authors and Publishers Reds Or Rackets
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Reds Or Rackets
  - Benefits of a Digital Library
  - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Reds Or Rackets
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
  - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
  - Minimizing Distractions
  - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Reds Or Rackets
  - Setting Reading Goals Reds Or Rackets
  - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Reds Or Rackets
  - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Reds Or Rackets
  - Distinguishing Credible Sources
- 13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
  - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
  - Exploring Educational eBooks
- 14. Embracing eBook Trends

- Integration of Multimedia Elements
- Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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