The 2019 Commerford Awards

By Jane LaTour

The worthy recipients of the 33rd annual John Commerford Labor Education Awards gathered with others to be feted on December 5th in the auditorium of SEIU Local 32BJ. Paul Cole accepted the award given to the American Labor Studies Center and Miriam Frank was honored for her lifelong dedication to labor scholarship and activism. The reception got off to a solemn start as the moderator, Keith Danish, called for a moment of silence in tribute to Hector Figueroa, former head of 32BJ. The much beloved leader died unexpectedly in July 2019. 32BJ’s Deputy Chief of Staff Kate Ferranti welcomed the group and noted that Hector was “always a supporter of the NYHLA.”

1830s inspiration

Who was John Commerford and why does the labor history association invoke his legacy every year? NYLHA President Irwin Yellowitz described the contributions of Commerford, a New York labor leader and skilled worker in the 1830s who made it his mission to educate others about working conditions.

“Organizing in America has always been problematic. John Commerford was a labor leader who believed in education for all,” he said.

Rachel Caro-Perez, a poet, theater artist, and a member of Actors Equity, gave a rousing rendition of Sam Cooke’s classic anthem, A Change is Gonna Come.

“Political Muscle’ is not the first strategy that comes to mind in the particular case of a mild mannered retired educator and labor leader whose brainchild is the American Labor Studies Center. And yet, to quote a few lines of a 2013 article in the Berkshire Eagle: “Laundress Kate Mullany’s claim to fame is to have led, at age 25, an 1864 strike by the all-female workforce that washed detachable linen collars at a Troy factory. ALSC Director Paul Cole used political muscle to get the home where Mullany lived in Troy designated a National Historic Site.” The article outlined the many barriers that had to be overcome, in achieving this goal. The homestead is now the location for the American Labor Studies Center. “It took Paul Cole to imagine what this should look like and to include an extraordinary variety of outreach strategies to make it happen – political muscle being only one of many,” said Bernstein.

Upstate inspiration

Paul Cole began his acceptance of the award by introducing his wife, Lynn. Then, his passion for the work took over. Cole described the many projects they have put in place as part of the two missions: promotion of labor education in grades K-12; and restoring the Mullany House. He noted that the ALSC’s website had over 11,000 visitors last year, and that it offers lesson plans aimed at teachers and unions.

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Two Bernard Bellush Prizes in 2019

By Kyle Friend

Since 2012, the New York Labor History Association has awarded the Bernard Bellush prize to authors of graduate-level research papers that bring to light the stories of working people fighting for justice. The NYLHA is pleased to provide here a brief overview of the 2019 award winners – Henry Himes and Ryan Driskell Tate.

“The USWA’s Path to Private Security: The Postwar Retiree Crisis, Politics, and Postwar Communism” by Henry Himes, West Virginia University.

When surveying the extensive body of scholarship on the intersection of unions and the creation of the public-private welfare state, Himes found a glaring deficiency. The United Steelworkers of America (USWA) – a union he justifiably describes as “arguably one of the most dynamic and influential industrial unions of the twentieth century” – was largely left out.

Postwar backlash

That’s why his essay, which focuses on the USWA amid the backdrop of a postwar conservative backlash, is such a vital piece of the ever-growing world of labor scholarship. As Republicans came into legislative power via the election of 1946, Himes writes, they signed into law the notorious Taft-Hartley Act over President Harry Truman’s veto. Given the anti-labor animus creeping throughout federal and state-level legislatures across the nation, the USWA made an influential strategic calculation: use their economic power to win private forms of security, rather than double-down on the push for a more expansive welfare state.

This calculation was brought about, in part, by the postwar retiree crisis faced by steelworkers across the nation. Employers like Inland Steel and U.S. Steel were driving steelworkers into retirement at age 65, forcing retirees to make ends meet on a limited Social Security payment, which still left them treading in postwar poverty. At subsequent USWA conventions, in 1946 and 1948, it became clear to USWA President Philip Murray that his union would need to balance retirees’ reality and that era’s delicate political economy.

Himes’ exceptional paper goes further into the micro-level cost-and-benefit analysis undertaken by USWA leaders and members, with a particular emphasis on the tradeoffs made by refusing to fight Taft-Hartley’s anti-communist provisions. Himes concludes that “USWA leaders were very cognizant and empathetic to the concerns and demands of steelworkers at the district and local level, and that the immediate security needs of steelworkers came to overshadow the union’s effort to defy Taft-Hartley.”

“Hard Hat Cowboys: Energy Workers in the 1970s and Labor’s Last Stand in the American West” by Ryan Driskell Tate, Rutgers University.

The other award-winning paper provides a timely look into the coal mines of Montana, Wyoming, and North Dakota. In his essay, Tate details the evolution of coal mining in a region responsible for less than one percent of all American coal mined in 1960, and the boom that propelled those states into producing more than half of the nation’s coal by the mid-1990s. “Today,” he writes, “the region’s strip mines and power plants rank among the largest carbon polluters on the planet.”

The bulk of his research centers around the 1970s – a decade that brought to American workers a shift in labor relations, as union density and wages began to decline at a slow, but alarmingly steady, pace. Tate notes that coal companies deliberately decided to build their sprawling energy complexes in the region, given the lack of union power and, thus, the opportunity to squeeze more profits from working people.

Union-free stronghold

In response, energy workers in the region – who largely worked in the very same unsafe conditions that spurred the creation of mineworker unions in Appalachia more than a generation before – attempted to organize. Ruthless opposition from mine owners, which included instances of violence hurled at union supporters, defeated the United Mine Workers of America-led “Western Campaign,” and developed the Powder River Basin as the coal industry’s first union-free stronghold, unshackled from the supposed limitations of unionized mines in Appalachia.

In sum, Tate says, “[t]he coal industry’s defeat of the United Mine Workers of America, and concerted efforts to gouge class politics from the region, solidified the workers’ embrace, not of unionism, or class consciousness, but of extractivism as a political identity.” The planet – and the working people toiling in western mines – have yet to recover.

Triangle Fire Commemoration

March 25
11:30-1 PM
Washington Place & Greene Street
ALL ARE WELCOME!
Eugene Victor Debs: The Revolutionist

By Jane LaTour

On Christmas Day, 1921, as Eugene Debs walked away from the Atlanta Penitentiary that had just released him after serving his sentence for vocal opposition to our entry into World War I, he turned back toward the massive façade and extended his arm in a farewell salute to the thousands of his fellow prisoners at the windows, watching his departure. The famous photo of that moment captures all of Debs’ humanity. This is the opening shot of the new 55-minute documentary, The Revolutionist: Eugene V. Debs, produced for Indiana Public Television.

Socialism revisited

The NYLHA co-sponsored a film showing on October 29, 2019, along with the Amalgamated Bank, the American Life Insurance Company, Workers United, and the New York City Central Labor Council. The film, narrated by the actor Danny Glover, succeeds in its mission: to reacquaint viewers with someone who has been deliberately written out of history, and to draw as clear as possible parallels with our time and the time of Debs. A lively discussion with an informed and engaged audience followed the film screening, led by Noel Beasley, retired president of Workers United, and President of the Debs Foundation, and Kim Jacobs, who co-wrote and co-produced the film. NYLHA board member Gail Malmgreen, an expert on Debs, gave the film high marks. “It’s complicated history. The great thing the film does is to show what a great soul he was. He was a Christ figure who didn’t have anything to do with religion. A few generations ago, labor leaders, especially in New York City, would have known who Debs was. He emanated something that was so universal. The only figure who is akin to Debs is Martin Luther King, Jr. That’s what the film does,” she said.

Discussion focused on the suitability of the title; the decisions made about what to include in the film, given time constraints as it is aimed at classrooms, union halls, and public television; and the hot topics of class and socialism, in our current political environment. Supplementary materials are available on the Debs Foundation website, including a 30-page study guide; a timeline of biographical events in Debs’ life; and an interview with the historian Paul Buhle, who was interviewed for the film.

Marvin Miller: Union Man, Now a Baseball Immortal

By Keith Danish

On December 8, 2019, the “Modern Baseball Era Committee” of Baseball’s Hall of Fame announced that Marvin Miller had received (barely) enough votes and will be inducted, posthumously, into the Hall next July. Miller, who died in 2012, never threw a pitch or swung a bat on a Major League ballfield, but he was widely recognized as one of the most influential persons in baseball history, in his role as Executive Director of the Major League Baseball Players Association (the “Players Union”) from 1966 to 1982.

From submission to power

Baseball evolved from a sport to a business in the mid – 19th Century, but it would take another century for the players to build solidarity and obtain a fair share of the revenue generated by our “National Pastime”, improved pensions and working conditions, and a right to arbitrate salary and grievances. They were guided and mentored by Marvin, a real “Union Man” with a solid background as an economist/negotiator for machinists, auto workers and steelworkers. He overcame the initial wariness of the players, won their trust, got them the first Collective Bargaining Agreement for a union of pro athletes, and helped them eliminate the “Reserve Clause” that had bound them to a single team and fortified the owners’ traditional “take it or leave it” negotiating posture. Baseball would never be the same, but after a turbulent era of strikes and lockouts, the sport achieved much higher revenue and attendance levels. The baseball establishment now had to share power with the players, and would express their resentment by keeping Marvin Miller out of the Hall of Fame until almost eight years after his passing.

Current ballplayers such as Bryce Harper ($330 million, 13 years, Phillies), Gerrit Cole ($324 million, 9 years, Yankees), and Stephen Strasburg ($245 million, 7 years, Nationals), should thank Marvin’s spirit for laying the foundation for their mega-deals, but even journeymen can appreciate how the minimum salary advanced from $6,000 in 1967 to $563,500 for the 2020 season, with the median salary being $1.4 million in 2019.

The New York Labor History Association was honored when Marvin Miller with Curt Flood – Free at last

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By Jane LaTour

PHILOINE FRIED, beloved board member and a founder of the New York Labor History Association, died at her home in Chelsea on Dec. 15, 2019, at age 102. Philoine was actively taking part in the things that she loved up to the end of her long life. She continued to read; and to take classes at Penn South, where she lived. She attended the NYLHA events in 2019, coming to the screening of the Debs’ film in October, and the Commerford awards on December 5. In May, Philoine was the recipient of a Clara Lemlich Award, and was profiled in the Summer/Fall issue of the Work History News by Brooklyn College journalism major Shanika Carlies. “I was born with a trade union spoon in my mouth,” she told Carlies.

A life for labor

The daughter (one of two) of Bessie Abramowitz and Sidney Hillman, Philoine made numerous contributions to the labor movement and to preserving its history. The mother of two sons, Michael and Geoffrey, a grandmother and great-grandmother, she was predeceased by her husband, Milton. She loved to tell stories about her parents, her ancestors, and her earlier years. One story goes, that Philoine attended New York University at the same time as David Dubinsky’s daughter, and the two young women decided to have lunch together every other week to show that “there could be labor peace.”

She told another story about her mother: Bessie was one of ten children. She was 15 when she decided to leave Russia on her own, to avoid the fate of being “matched” in marriage. One day she took Philoine and her young grandchildren to see Zero Mostel in Fiddler on the Roof. Philoine was mortified when, as the song “Matchmaker, Matchmaker” was in progress, Bessie jumped up, pointed to the stage, and said: “That was me. But I refused. I left my home.” Telling the story years later, Philoine was filled with pride.

Philoine’s pass to visit the Roosevelt White House.

The story of Bessie and Philoine’s other ancestors was beautifully captured in, A Power Among Them: Bessie Abramowitz and the Making of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, by Karen Pastorello (2004).

NYLHA President Irwin Yellowitz’s friendship with Philoine extended back decades. As he recalled, he knew her from when he joined the labor history association in the late 1970s. “She always was welcoming to me, and when I retired from City College and from the Professional Staff Congress and had more time available, she encouraged me to become more active in the NYLHA. I always respected her good sense and commitment to the labor movement, as it is, and as it should be. It was my pleasure to work with her over so many years,” said Yellowitz.

Professor Paul Mishler paid tribute to Philoine from his post at Indiana University, South Bend: “Philoine has now entered history, our labor history. Raise our voices, raise our banners. There is much work to be done.” Dr. James Benton, who recently interviewed Philoine for his forthcoming book about the garment industry, wrote from Georgetown: “I’m sad, and yet thankful that Philoine lived such a long and productive life. May her memory be a blessing.”

Bessie Abramowitz Hillman (2nd from R.) rallying for the clothing workers.

Philoine Fried – Of Blessed Memory

Philoine Fried – a loving presence
The Bernhardt Labor Journalism Prize in 2019 was awarded to independent journalist Jaeah J. Lee, for “The Real Cost of Working in the House of Mouse,” which appeared in September 2018, in Topic Magazine (online). Lee went deep into a neglected story, albeit one that was in plain sight, to expose the conditions of Disney workers. While Americans have had a long love affair with Mickey and the other beloved Disney characters, the facts of how these workers struggle to survive in theme parks have been a well-kept secret. Spending time and listening, asking questions, and documenting their stories in a lengthy and fascinating piece was the winning formula for Ms. Lee.

The 5th annual awards ceremony at New York University on October 16 was co-sponsored by LaborArts, the Metro Labor Communications Council, the New York City Central Labor Council, and Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, NYU. Shannon O’Neill, the new director of Tamiment, spoke about her gratitude to the family of Debra Bernhardt, all of whom were present, to the NYLHA, and to the events staff. “The text of Ordinary People. Extraordinary Lives is all about the working class and a culture of solidarity. Debra demonstrated the way that archives could be in the service of movement building,” she said. The book, co-authored by Bernhardt and Rachel Bernstein, is about to be re-issued in a 20th Anniversary paperback in May.

Making history visible

Sonia Bernhardt Bloom offered the tribute to her mother. She recalled a presentation on “a person who made a difference” as an 8-year-old, “so here I am again 15 years later, giving it another try.” Sonia spoke about one of the lasting contributions her mother made with the successful campaign to designate Union Square as a National Historic Landmark. “For me, the plaque that she placed there in 1997 is a telling example of the work she dedicated herself to, in the preservation and recognition of workers’ lives. My mother delved into making that history visible.” (An online exhibit about Debra’s work, “Making History Personal,” is available at LaborArts.org, and the plaque, memorializing the first Labor Day on Sept. 5, 1882, is on view at Union Square.)

Journalism in challenging times

In presenting the prize to Ms. Lee, Tamiment’s Michael Koncewicz, called the Disneyland story “a powerful piece. It does a fantastic job of contextualizing the struggles of individual workers whose lives are connected to the broader social trends of the last 40 to 50 years.”

The panel discussion, “Labor Journalism – The Next Generation,” featured three journalists: Kim Kelly, whose op-ed labor column, No Class, appears in Teen Vogue; Alex Press, a member of the Newspaper Guild, an editor at Jacobin, and a freelance writer; and Jaeah Lee, a freelance writer and 2018 Pen America award winner. All three of the accomplished journalists described their “origin stories” – how they discovered the wonderful world of labor journalism. Their work is available online, including “House of Mouse,” and is well worth the search.

Rachel Bernstein moderated the program, which attracted a large audience of young people. She noted the gap between the present and an earlier epoch when labor got much more attention: Harry Bernstein, Rachel’s father, was a labor reporter for the Los Angeles Times. His career spanned six decades, and during that time, front-page stories and billboards carried news of major developments in labor. “Harry saw to it that labor got fair play,” she said.

The young freelance journalists of today labor in a much more fractured and difficult environment, where writing about labor presents challenges, from finding venues to publish their stories to earning enough income to survive. They each stressed the importance of this work. “The working class is a large part of the population, but is not so visible,” said Alex Press. Kim Kelly spoke about the importance of history: “You need to know where you come from to know where we are going.” Jaeah Lee spoke about Disneyland as “a microcosm that exposes the stagnant wages, with not enough income to cover basic expenses, no benefits, and other alarming findings.” Thanks to the work of fearless and diligent reporters, these stories are being documented, and labor history is being included.
When the workers take a notion

By Jane LaToue / Reporting by: Joshua Barnett

On October 10, 2019, the NYLHA joined with the Harry Van Arsdale Jr. School of Labor Studies to host a book talk by Peter Cole, author of Dockworker Power: Race and Activism in Durban and the San Francisco Bay Area, part of the Working Class in American History series. Cole, who previously wrote about interracial unity in Philadelphia, examines the global evolution of dockworker organizing in his newest book.

A look at some of the experiences of dockworkers in the two locations showed similarities: the impact of technology; the primacy of being port cities; the dangerous nature of the work; the hiring based on favoritism, and that dockworkers comprised the first global industry. The fact that “time is money” and that ships must sail on time put power in the workers’ hands. The nature of the work favored the formation of an identity, and the distance between the bosses and the workers created a real sense of “us versus them.” Slowdowns could be effective on the docks.

Harry Bridges, future leader of the West Coast longshore union, was a sailor from Australia, someone who knew poverty and oppression firsthand and saw it as he sailed the world. The first big strike by the union he headed, the International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union (ILWU), initiated the hiring hall for dockworkers, and the election of dispatchers, along with other measures to even out the perks that flowed from seniority.

While the ILWU experienced racial divisions in various locals, specifically in LA and Portland, Oregon, and the distance between the bosses and the workers created a real sense of “us versus them.” Slowdowns could be effective on the docks.

In Durban, South Africa, all of the workers were black. They lived in all-male hostels. Strikes were banned. However, informal organizing and socializing occurred and the tactic of not showing up for work became a weapon. Dockers downed their tools. They experienced massive repression during the 1960s, but the dockworkers’ struggle was resurgent in the 1970s. This led to the Durban strike in 1973, where the anti-apartheid struggle was launched.

Published by the University of Illinois Press, Dockworker Power won the Phillip Taft Labor History Book Award in 2019. See the LAWCHA website to read an interview with the author. In a review, Jacobin magazine wrote that, “Peter Cole has done us a great service in his comparative history. He has demonstrated that the social and political context of unions is important in determining their course of struggle, and he has highlighted the great impact that dockers have had on social justice struggles.”
Water is the elemental basis of life

Last May, the Workers Unite Film Festival program sponsored by the New York Labor History Association featured a documentary, The Devil We Know, by director Stephanie Sowechtig, about the crisis in Parkersburg, West Virginia, where the DuPont Corporation’s chemicals polluted the drinking water. The story first appeared in a lengthy 2016 New York Times Magazine article by Nathaniel Rich, “The Lawyer Who Became DuPont’s Worst Nightmare.”

Now, that lawyer is the central character in the film, Dark Waters. The actor Mark Ruffalo gives a compelling performance as the corporate lawyer who waged a twenty-year fight and finally turned the tables on the corporate polluter (and the town’s major employer). DuPont was finally held accountable by jury trials, paying off individual plaintiffs, before agreeing to a settlement for thousands of other claims.

As the text on the screen at the film’s conclusion states, PFOA, the toxic chemical that was used to make Teflon, the non-stick pans, among other products, is now polluting water on a global scale – and “is in the blood of ninety-nine percent of life on Earth,” while thousands of chemicals are unregulated.

This is just one environmental crisis that the Trump administration refuses to adequately address. The most recent attempt to pass legislation to regulate PFOA and PFAS, what are now called the “forever chemicals,” was weakened by those Republicans who are staunch opponents of stricter environmental regulations. Dark Waters is a must-see movie. Rotten Tomatoes’ critics consensus agrees: “The film powerfully relays a real-life tale of infuriating malfeasance, honoring the victims and laying blame squarely at the feet of the perpetrators.”

–By Jane LaTour

The 2019 Commerford Awards

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exhibits, such as baseball’s “Hardball and Handshakes,” films and labor history projects. He spoke about the growing acceptance of the need to offer labor education, adding that the Boy Scouts in Buffalo now offer a Labor Merit Badge. “While there are 91 National Historic Sites, there is only one that doesn’t focus on the rich and famous, but on a young Irish immigrant, Kate Mullany,” he said. The House is also listed on the New York State Women’s Heritage Trail. (See www.katemullanyhhs.org for more information.)

Activist on many fronts

Jon Bloom, NYLHA board member and director of the Workers Defense League, presented the award to Miriam Frank. He described how about 40 years ago, this person had arrived at Tamiment from Detroit, and how she knew everyone – meaning “OUR people – the budding labor historians, union activists, labor archivists, labor educators, documentary filmmakers.” He described Tamiment as “literally a history workshop, full of elves.” Bloom described the many contributions of Miriam, including the pamphlet, Pride at Work: Organizing for Gay Rights in Unions, (the little book that ignited something,” in Miriam’s words), and her 2014 book, Out in the Union: A Labor History of Queer People, published by Temple University Press. Bloom described it as a book “full of romance, and seriousness, and exuberance, and fun.”

The exuberant Dr. Frank then took the stage to accept her award. She entitled her remarks, “The Queer Angle on Maintaining Union Power in Open Shop America;” the significant and lasting queer alliances that have been nationally effective and the collaborations among queer union members that have improved labor relations at the bargaining table, during grievance processes, and in the guardianship of basic civil rights.”

Miriam addressed the concerns and contributions of transgender union members and argued for strong support of these trade unionists: “A central principle of the labor movement, ‘an injury to one is an injury to all,’ was how one union leader led his campaign of support. Resistance, Reconciliation, Innovation, Solidarity. Our jobs are more than what our bodies do…Without solidarity in the ranks and wise leadership by our own elected representatives we are poorly served and not properly represented,” she said. Shanika Carlyles closed the program with a poem by Maya Angelou. Thank you to all of the members of the Commerford Committee and to the Reception Patrons.
The New York Labor History Association was founded in 1976 to bring together New Yorkers interested in the history of working people, their organizations, and their struggles for a better life and a more just society. Too often this history is left out of textbooks and classroom education. We organize discussion panels and conferences, book talks and movie nights. We celebrate long-time activists and new labor journalists. Learn more about us at newyorklaborhistory.org — and if you’re not a member yet, please join us!

Like us on Facebook / New York Labor History Association