

WE WILL NOT STRIKE: THE BLACK REVOLT IN THE CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION

by

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## Abstract

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In the 1960s, black teachers in Chicago were systematically discriminated against by the school system's Board of Education. The Board used a subjective oral exam to deny the vast majority of African-American educators certification. Although many uncertified black teachers taught full time at Chicago Public Schools, they were paid significantly less and were vulnerable to arbitrary transfer and termination. The Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) claimed to represent uncertified teachers, but severely limited their ability to vote on contracts and in union elections. Union leaders also relegated the demands of uncertified black teachers, prioritizing the concerns of certified white teachers and non-educational support staff.

Both certified and uncertified black teachers rebelled against the Board of Education and the union in the late 1960s. Black teachers drew from the tactical traditions of black unionists in the first half of the twentieth century (strikebreaking, wildcat strikes, and all-black organization) to ultimately force the CTU to prioritize the grievances of black educators in 1969. Furthermore, the labor activism of black teachers in these years embodies the junction between a number of trends in black unionism: migration into the public sector, the expansion of black caucuses, and heightened militancy. In light of this convergence, historiographical conceptions of "the long seventies" should be revised to emphasize the catalytic role of black workers.

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

“A doctor who flunks his state medical exam, or a lawyer who doesn't pass the state bar exam cannot practice,” stated full-time substitute teacher Lonnie Hubbard when interviewed by a local newspaper in December 1967. “But in Chicago, a teacher who does not pass the written and oral [exams] can teach and, in fact, [they] do teach.” He continued, “We are teaching in the most difficult schools and are doing a commendable job. That's why we should be certified.”<sup>1</sup> Hubbard was African American like the vast majority of full-time basis substitutes (FTBs) employed by Chicago Public Schools (CPS). Black public-school teachers in Chicago, substitutes and certified alike, accused the Chicago Board of Education of discriminating against black applicants through its certification exams. Between 1961 and 1968, African Americans made up more than eighty percent of all FTBs in Chicago.<sup>2</sup> After years of unsuccessfully petitioning and lobbying the Board for changes to its certification criteria, black FTBs engaged in direct action to compel it to end its practice of race-based job segregation. They held public protests, organized sick-ins, and went on strike to win their demands.

Like other African-American workers who held union membership in the 1960s—and in decades previous for that matter—black FTBs had to challenge their union local, in addition to the Board of Education, because of its complacency on the question of job segregation.<sup>3</sup> The Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) was, and continues to be, the collective bargaining agent of public-school teachers in Chicago. The CTU welcomed FTBs into its ranks but classified them as “active associate members.” The designation gave FTBs less than full democratic rights in the organization. The CTU leadership also consistently refused to make a priority of their grievances. By the late 1960s, black FTBs had grown fed up with their marginalization in the CTU. Tired of being “sold down the

river” every time the Board and the CTU negotiated, they targeted the union in their direct action campaign for certification. When black FTBs went on strike they did so in direct defiance of the CTU leadership. The union, which had secured collective bargaining rights in 1966, had a contract in place when the FTB struggle quickened in 1967. This effectively made FTB work stoppages wildcat strikes. And when the CTU itself went on strike in May 1969—its first official industrial action—black FTBs encouraged all black teachers to report to work and keep majority-black schools open. Wildcats and strikebreaking, two seemingly contradictory actions, were deployed against the union by its most marginalized constituents.<sup>4</sup>

The complicity of organized labor in maintaining job segregation across most U.S. industries was not lost on contemporary critics. Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), concluded in 1961: “Discriminatory racial practices by trade unions are not simply isolated or occasional expressions of local bias against colored workers, but rather...a continuation of the institutionalized patterns of anti-Negro employment practices that is traditional with large sections of organized labor and industrial management.” Decades of U.S. labor scholarship validate Hill's assertion that organized labor had been a chief obstacle to African-American entry into a variety of trades and occupations before the 1970s. Even when black workers held membership in the mostly integrated locals of the relatively progressive Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)—prior to its merger with the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in 1955—they often faced relegation and marginalization. Although nowhere near as discriminatory as the racially exclusionist AFL, and keeping in mind that during the 1930s and 1940s “some [CIO locals] improved their racial policies, while the racial policies of others deteriorated,” the CIO's project of

interracial industrial unionism had a limited impact on the occupational opportunities afforded to African Americans.<sup>5</sup>

Black workers resisted their subaltern status within the labor movement in a variety of ways in the twentieth century. Often forced by necessity, all-black organizing and direct action proved to be common characteristics of the contentious relationship between African Americans and organized labor. The 1960s in particular saw the rapid growth of rank-and-file black caucuses wherever integrated locals admitted large numbers of African Americans. And when black workers found themselves excluded outright from local trade unions, many did not shy away from strikebreaking to demonstrate the imperative of their inclusion. Black FTBs' struggle in Chicago proved no different. In order to achieve racial equality in the workplace, they had to face off against the racism of both their employer and their union. Striking and strikebreaking, they fought for union democracy and equality at work.

Chicago's black teachers of the late 1960s (certified and uncertified alike) can be historiographically placed into a number of historical narratives. The “long movement” conceptualization of the civil rights movement, for instance, allows for post-Reconstruction black labor struggles to be considered a significant component of the fight for African-American rights and economic advancement.<sup>6</sup> Black teacher activism at CPS certainly qualifies as a latter phase of the long civil rights movement. This study's temporal space, however, has been more popularly associated with the rise of Black Power. Some historians argue against the long movement paradigm, claiming it “collapses periodization schemas, erases conceptual differences between waves of the [Black Liberation Movement], and blurs regional distinctions in the African American experience.” Such historians of African-American history—along with a number of labor scholars—tend to interpret the Black Power ideologies and tactics of the late 1960s and



early 1970s as a distinct response to both white supremacist reaction and the perceived conservatism of the popular civil rights movement, as opposed to seeing Black Power as a continuation and further development of the struggle for black equality. Particularly in labor histories, it is not uncommon to find one chapter on organized labor and the civil rights movement, and one chapter on, say, “Black Power vs. Union Power” or “Black Power in the Unions.” Not entirely inaccurate, this conceptualization of Black Power envisions a black revolt in organized labor that either used direct action in attempts to secure greater influence in the unions, or—in response to white supremacy in the labor movement—embraced separatism and pursued all-black institutional and community power.<sup>7</sup> Black teachers, perhaps more than other black workers in the 1960s and 1970s, stood at the center of the tension between Black Power and organized labor. The 1968 Ocean Hill-Brownsville controversy in New York City, for instance, best exemplified the conflict between black community control and unionized teachers. Other community-control projects also faced resistance from teacher unions who feared “the movement’s frontal attack on [teachers’] due process rights.”<sup>8</sup> Scholars of black labor have also written on African-American workers and their struggles for inclusion in and community control of local construction industries.<sup>9</sup>

Less developed, however, is the integration of black workers into U.S. labor history’s “long seventies” narrative. This temporal scheme (1965-1981) reveals a labor era characterized by wildcat strikes and heightened worker militancy. The long seventies saw the rank-and-file memberships of union locals across the country employ a variety of tactics to both wrestle away organizational control from their corrupt and complacent leaderships, and effectively negotiate directly with management through direct action. Teamster locals disaffiliated from their international in disgust over corruption, launched wildcat strikes, and sought the unseating of conservative and crooked union leaders.

Teachers across the country—many under threat of arrest—went on strike over pay and collective bargaining rights. Public-sector workers of all types organized to demand union recognition and better wages, often striking in states that prohibited public-sector work stoppages. Like Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), the Miners for Democracy (MFD) caucus waged an insurgent struggle for power within the United Mine Workers (UMW). Similar rank-and-file formations emerged to give voice and direction to increasingly militant workers throughout the 1960s and 1970s. The Midwest's auto-industry, in particular, hosted various competing reform caucuses—some revolutionary ones as well. These struggles, on occasion, faced election rigging and sometimes even intimidation and violence from old-guard unionists. But even when reform caucuses failed to win local and national leadership elections, the militant efforts of the rank-and-file pushed incumbent union leaders to take more confrontational stances in negotiations with employers.<sup>10</sup> And although labor historians of this period openly acknowledge the stimulating impact of the popular civil rights movement on the U.S. labor movement (and include the radical black revolt in the auto-industry in their conceptualizations of the long seventies), few substantially incorporate the black union activism of the 1960s.<sup>11</sup>

The remainder of this study is broken up into three chapters and a conclusion that progressively narrow in temporal and spatial scope. They aim to highlight the confluence of particular trends in African-American labor history, and propose that black teachers in Chicago embodied that junction by instigating a campaign in pursuit of quality education for black children and an end to job segregation in CPS. Furthermore, this study intends to prompt further investigation into African-American labor activism during the 1960s and 1970s. Local black labor struggles that challenged both union leaderships and employers should be regarded as the opening salvo of the long seventies' "rank-and-file rebellion."

Chapter two synthesizes twentieth-century African-American-labor historiography and proposes that not only was job segregation one of the most significant barriers to African-American economic advancement, but it proved to be one of the most important grievances of black unionists and non-unionists alike. It spurred the rapid growth and militancy of black labor caucuses in the 1960s, which typified the subsequent grassroots revolts of the long seventies. Included in this chapter will be a discussion on the historical function of strikebreaking for black workers. Furthermore, the chapter will discuss the migration of African Americans into the public sector. Although the United States could be described as being in a general state of upheaval by the 1960s, the militancy and expansion of black labor activism coincided with a period of struggle in the public sector for union recognition. It is likely that the popular civil rights movement did more than just “diffuse” into other social movements. After all, black workers who found public-sector employment carried their experiences and militancy into a segment of the labor movement that had just started to engage in wildcat strikes and mass demonstrations to secure collective bargaining.

Chapter three examines the socio-economic context experienced by African Americans in Chicago, Illinois during the 1960s. It briefly discusses the history of segregation, civil rights activism, and public education in Chicago. The majority of the chapter, however, will discuss the history of the Chicago Teachers Union and black student activism in the public school system. This chapter intends to detail the contextual environment in which black FTBs and certified teachers decided to launch their direct action campaign.

Chapter four will focus on the experiences of Chicago's black teachers in the 1960s, and the FTBs' struggle against the Board of Education and the CTU. It will demonstrate that black teachers drew from black-labor traditions of the past

(strikebreaking and all-black organization) when formulating strategies and tactics to secure racial justice in certification and better quality education for African-American students. Chapter four will be followed by a brief conclusion, which will engage with British economist Guy Standing's theory of the precariat. Although considered to be a more recent consequence of "labor market flexibility" over the last few decades, the class category of precariat has its predecessor in some categories of black workers prior to federal enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. African Americans had little to no job security. They faced limited access to apprenticeship programs, and often found themselves discriminated against in promotion. Many of the class characteristics Standing assigns to the precariat of today can be assigned to the black FTBs at CPS, as well as other black workers before the 1970s.<sup>12</sup>

As for sources, in addition to African-American and U.S. labor historiographies, this study primarily makes use of the Chicago Teachers Union Collection—located at the Chicago Historical Society—and the Chicago-based black newspaper *The Chicago Defender*. The CTU deposited a number of files exclusively concerned with the question of full-time substitutes and their place in the union. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the relevant documents mention virtually nothing about race until 1968. Present in the collection's boxes are letters written by CTU presidents John M. Fewkes (1937-1941, 1947-1966) and John E. Desmond (1966-1972) to full-time substitutes resigning, or threatening to resign, their membership in the union. Their correspondences read like form letters, reminding the intended reader what the union had done for substitutes, never mentioning race. The letters written by the resigning members, however, are not in the collection. It stands to reason though that many of the letters' authors were African American, and they were resigning in protest of the leadership's unwillingness to fight for a change in the Board of Education's certification policies and their subordinate status in the union.

In addition to the CTU Collection, the Timuel D. Black Jr. and Red Squad Collections (both kept at the Chicago Historical Society) proved particularly useful in exploring the more explicit ideological connections between the black struggle for equality and the CTU. Timuel D. Black Jr. was a long-time civil rights activist and public school teacher in Chicago. As President of the Chicago Chapter of the Negro American Labor Council, and an influential leader of the Teachers Committee for Quality Education, Black deposited a plethora of his personal documents, many dealing with the FTBs' struggle with the CTU and the Board of Education, at the Chicago Historical Society. His collection includes dozens of speeches he made to the Board of Education on behalf of black educators and substitutes, as well as reports he composed on the conditions of black schools in Chicago.

Supplementing the CTU and Timuel D. Black Jr. collections are the files of Chicago's political police: the Red Squad. A subsection of the police department's Intelligence Division, also known as the Industrial Unit or Radical Squad, this police unit used surveillance, infiltration, and intimidation to monitor and disrupt groups and individuals considered subversive. By the 1960s, the Red Squad's scope of operations included surveillance of local civil rights organizations and black labor activists. Two federal lawsuits in the 1980s, instigated by the American Civil Liberties Union and the Alliance to End Repression, compelled the Chicago Police Department to deposit the Red Squad Records at the Chicago Historical Society. Although the police had destroyed 105,000 individual and 1,300 organizational files in 1974 upon learning they would be sued for unlawful spying, there remain dozens of police reports from the 1960s on various black labor formations in and around the CTU.<sup>13</sup>

This study also draws from interviews conducted by the author with three retired members of the CTU. Retired classroom teachers George Schmidt, Cathaline Carter, and

Howard Heathe were gracious enough to share their experiences as members of the union and educators in Chicago Public Schools. Although all three of them taught in the aftermath of the FTB revolt, their interviews shed much light on the racial dynamic in the schools, especially between teachers. The interviews were secured through the considerate efforts of Deborah A. Pope and the CTU's Caucus of Rank-and-file Educators (CORE).

This study is also indebted to the scholarship of Dionne A. Danns and John F. Lyons. Danns' *Something Better for Our Children: Black Organizing in Chicago Public Schools, 1963-1971* (2003) and Lyon's *Teachers and Reform: Chicago Public Education, 1929-1970* (2008) proved indispensable to this project in large part due to the dozens of interviews both authors conducted during the course of their research. If Danns and Lyons ever choose to publish transcripts of their interviews, they would be an invaluable source for historians of African-American labor in the 1960s and 1970s. As Chapter 4 will demonstrate, African-American teachers disagreed on some aims and tactics. They joined different all-black formations, and some participated in interracial caucuses. Their two-front struggle against the Board of Education and the CTU for racial justice in employment was hardly uniform in any sense. Transcripts of Danns' and Lyons' interviews would reveal competing visions of labor and race relations among the union's various factions in greater detail.

Like the Ocean Hill-Brownsville affair, black unionists in the CTU had to choose between loyalty to the union or loyalty to the local black community. Even without community control as a factor in the FTB dispute, black educators found themselves divided on the actions necessary to compel the union to fight for them. Disunity in strategy and tactics did not preclude victory in Chicago for FTBs. When the CTU went on strike in May 1969, just under half of the city's African-American educators reported for

work. Although not every strikebreaker could be counted as a protester in opposition to the union's policies (some simply could not afford to go on strike), most refused to support the work stoppage as part of a deliberate plan to make the CTU actually fight for them. After a three-day strike, which only around seventy-five percent of the school system's workforce participated in, the CTU leadership returned to its membership with a contract that afforded FTBs automatic certification after three years of satisfactory service.<sup>14</sup>

## Chapter 2

### Black Workers and Organized Labor: Strikebreaking, the Black Caucus Movement, and the Long Seventies

“The pattern of union responsibility for job discrimination against Negroes is not limited to any one area of the country or to some few industries or union jurisdictions,” wrote NAACP Labor Secretary Herbert Hill in 1961. He continued, “[It] involves many unions in a wide variety of occupations in manufacturing industries, skilled crafts, railroads and maritime trades.” He had been tasked by the NAACP with drafting a report evaluating the AFL-CIO's efforts to combat racism in its ranks. When the AFL and CIO merged in 1955 to form the AFL-CIO, the new labor federation announced it would make eliminating racism in its locals a top priority. Hill's damning review revealed that very little had been done. He accused it of tolerating the exclusion of African Americans from a number of industries, racially segregated locals, separate racial seniority lines in negotiated contracts, and the exclusion of blacks from union-controlled apprenticeship programs.<sup>1</sup>

Although some union locals proved more hospitable to African Americans than others—and in the case of some segregated AFL locals in particular industries, actually offered “skilled” black unionists considerable negotiating power—race-based wage differentials, job segregation, and hostility from white unionists characterized the experience of many African Americans in organized labor.<sup>2</sup> Recalling his time in a CIO shop at the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. plant in Memphis during the 1940s and 1950s, Clarence Coe commented, “Once they got [the local] set up and got that thing working, the white leadership just wasn't going to support you in job equality or equal pay.” The CIO local preserved separate racial seniority lines at the plant, despite the protest of black workers who had more experience on the job than many whites. Black workers at



the plant had to wait for a black vacancy in order to advance, while more-junior white hires advanced faster because Firestone allocated most of the more desirable jobs to whites. "Just certain areas they wouldn't support you in," Coe remembered. "When we first started getting raises for instance, they would give us percentage raises...Whoever had the higher wage would always do better. And whites just moved plumb out of sight of where we were. When I was makin' twelve dollars an hour at the plant, they were making twenty dollars." At Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. in Ohio, steelworker James Trevathan recalled his unionized mill to be "about fifty-fifty Black and white...They had one department there called 'the die room,' where they made all the dies. They worked in nice warm conditions, shirt sleeves in the wintertime, clean, and good money. There were never any Blacks in there." And when Trevathan passed an aptitude test to enter the company's machinist shop, the employment office and the white machinists tried to talk him out, claiming that the work would be too hard for him because of the math involved. Trevathan entered the shop anyway. For his first few weeks as a machinist his white coworkers and supervisors did not allow him to work. They instructed him to sit in a chair and wait for his shift to end. The company and union eventually took action because three days of work had backed up. "Looking back, the union helped only when it was backed into a corner," commented Trevathan. "Sometimes they would reach out and make a couple of Blacks shop stewards, or grievance people, but these Blacks were well-chosen. They did what they were told. No, the union wasn't nothing to rave about." Steelworker Ed Mann remembered Youngstown very similarly: "The only Blacks I can recall in a skilled trade during my early years in the mill were bricklayers. There were none in the shops. No electricians...Even in the Black departments, the top job was usually held by a white man."<sup>3</sup>

Like other black unionists, black members of the United Automobile Workers (UAW) endured marginalization in the very locals they helped build. Union-negotiated contracts in Detroit established race-based seniority lines that limited job opportunities for African Americans. And although the union leadership made a well-intentioned push for building an interracial working-class culture among its members through interracial picnics, field trips, and union-sponsored leisure activities, it acquiesced to Jim Crow in the North. It invited all local members to participate in its recreational events, but did nothing when private facilities (bowling alleys, cruises to Bob-Lo Island, and supper clubs) discriminated against its black members. Black UAW staffers also received inferior treatment from the national leadership. Black staffers and organizers did not receive offices with phones or any furniture, and they protested their cynical, token use by the leadership as “firemen’ to ‘put out interracial fires.” The leadership seemed to only provide black staffers and organizers with assignments when the assignment had a “sharp racial issue.” The UAW designated African-American staffers like George Holloway of Tennessee to lead the charge on desegregating union halls, often putting them in direct danger. Holloway received a blow from a metal chain in the late 1950s when helping another UAW staffer announce the desegregation of a Memphis union hall.<sup>4</sup>

In contrast, most craft-unions in the American Federation of Labor (AFL) embraced organizational segregation prior to the 1950s. Being composed primarily of white “skilled workers” and artisans, the AFL reflected the racial customs of most of the nation. AFL unions were notorious for the wholesale exclusion of blacks in trades they controlled. And where black workers were in fact granted AFL affiliation, it was in segregated locals. The black locals, as could be expected, held little to no influence in the greater AFL.<sup>5</sup>

Not unlike the CIO, which split from it in 1935 to pursue industrial unionism, the AFL national leadership professed a class-wide labor mission without regard for race. Under Samuel Gompers, the AFL officially began to allow for all-black locals to affiliate to it in 1902. The virtually meaningless gesture continued to allow for lower bodies to effectively stifle and veto the affiliation of most black locals until the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters won official recognition as a charter member in 1935. Describing the AFL's commitment to local autonomy, Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris once wrote, "Craft autonomy became so sacred a doctrine in the [AFL] that a union might judge a whole class of workers ineligible for membership without the Federation interfering." Agreeing with Selig Perlman's analysis of the AFL (organizational preoccupation with establishing "group control" over limited "job opportunities"), Spero and Harris asserted that a combination of the AFL's commitment to craft unionism with wide-spread traditional racism resulted in the near wholesale exclusion of African Americans from the "skilled trades." But as the scholarship of Ernest Obadele-Starks demonstrates, some black craft unions successfully leveraged their trade skills in the South where they made up significant labor niches of some variety. Even without AFL affiliation, they could successfully negotiate better pay and job control in some local industries.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, AFL exclusion of African Americans generally kept blacks out of many industries, especially in the North and Midwest. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in the early twentieth century had but one black member in its organization. Unionized white plumbers in Philadelphia, New York City, and Chicago prevented blacks from practicing the trade outside of their own segregated neighborhoods—meanwhile, in Charleston, West Virginia, "Negro plumbers because of keen competition enjoy[ed] the same rights, privileges, wage scale and work conditions

as white union plumbers, without belonging to the union.”<sup>7</sup> Through control over apprenticeship programs, and effective veto power over black membership at the local level, AFL unions managed to monopolize the more lucrative trades in urban areas.<sup>8</sup>

African Americans were well aware of the AFL's role in denying them entry into many trades, but they also found themselves at times crowded out of “unskilled” positions by organized and unorganized white workers. During the Great Depression, for instance, unemployed whites in both the North and the South used violence and intimidation to force African Americans to leave their jobs so that they could take them.<sup>9</sup> Although many black workers believed in the principles of trade unionism, organized labor gave them few reasons to support its labor struggles. Because most unions excluded blacks as a matter of course, many African Americans employed strikebreaking as a means of economic survival. Labor historian Philip S. Foner asserted that “virtually the only means by which [African Americans] could challenge the monopoly of foreign immigrants in the developing mass-production industries, even as unskilled workers, was by strikebreaking.” He further contended that many African Americans managed to penetrate the iron, steel, and meatpacking industries for the first time by crossing picket lines. Foner's assertion is complimented by David R. Roediger and other more recent scholars of whiteness studies. Roediger's scholarship suggest that most ethnic-white Americans became white in part by embracing white supremacy through active participation in anti-black activism, violence, and discrimination. Aside from some locals of the Industrial Workers of the World, black workers had few allies among “native” or ethnic-white workers.<sup>10</sup>

Scholars disagree on the extent of and impetus behind African-American strikebreaking before the Second World War.<sup>11</sup> Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris argued in 1931 that white labor leaders exaggerated the degree to which employers

broke strikes by recruiting black workers, and that any gains made by African Americans as a whole in penetrating certain industries were minimal (the vast majority of African Americans were replaced as soon as the strike ended). They claimed that newspapers “printed exaggerated accounts of imported Negroes taking the places of white men,” and that white labor leaders and workers “singled out [black strikebreakers] for special violence and abuse” even though an overall greater number of ethnic and “native” whites replaced strikers. William M. Tuttle Jr.'s study of Chicago's labor market between 1894 and 1919, however, describes “twenty-five years of conflict between blacks and whites in the labor market,” the consequence of the use of black strikebreakers in the stockyards in 1894. By 1905, black workers in Chicago were seen by white workers as a “scab race.” Subsequent labor strife and strikebreaking by African Americans, Tuttle asserts, culminated in the race riot of 1919. At least in Chicago, Tuttle describes the use of black strikebreakers by employers to be sizable. He also notes that many were black strikebreakers were imported from the South, and many had “a total ignorance of strikes and unions.” Furthermore, Tuttle suggests that many African Americans managed to secure permanent positions and “received promotions into more highly skilled fields which had not previously been open to them.” Historians Philip S. Foner and William H. Harris also credit black advances made in the mining, meatpacking, and steel industries to strikebreaking.<sup>12</sup>

Not all African-American workers engaged in strikebreaking, however, and those that did had varying motivations. Many did so simply for an opportunity to earn a better living, even for a short period of time. In other cases, they did so as a means of economic survival.<sup>13</sup> While African-American workers received less pay than the striking workers they replaced in most cases, their compensation exceeded that which they would earn in “Negro jobs.” In addition to this reality, for many union-minded black workers it seemed

that labor solidarity between blacks and whites was not a realistic prospect. If white unionists and the organizations that they helped steer would not challenge discrimination in hiring—or their own racist beliefs—what incentives did black workers have to honor their picket lines? In his study of black strikebreaking, “African-American Strikebreaking from the Civil War to the New Deal,” economist and African-American studies scholar Warren C. Whatley observed that ninety-three percent of the time black workers broke strikes in specific industries prior to 1910—iron, steel, meatpacking, coal mining, railroad, and longshore—and after 1910, black strikebreaking spread to a variety of other industries. Whatley asserted that the racism of white workers made black workers far more inclined to break strikes in the early twentieth century, especially when the union on strike excluded black members (Spero and Harris, however, do well to emphasize the widespread strikebreaking by “native” and foreign white workers). Whatley argued further that “broad-based [African-American] community support for strikebreaking evolved as a pragmatic response to the opportunities and resources available to each African-American community.” In cities like Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland, black communities debated whether or not black workers should cross a particular picket line. A fairly consistent tendency emerged in these debates, which Whatley described as “a new militancy among African-American workers that [came] to look more and more like an institutionalized, broadly supported threat of strikebreaking.”<sup>14</sup>

This tendency found a more formal expression at the Urban League's 1918 convention. Whatley found that a number of attending delegates argued for the organization to actively encourage black workers to strikebreak. Although not always under operating the direction of civil rights organizations like the Urban League, thousands of African-American workers deliberately crossed white picket lines during the Great Steel Strike of 1919, the Chicago Stockyard Strike of 1921, and the 1927

Pennsylvania Miner's Strike. In 1924, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) sent a letter to the AFL that plainly stated the predicament that organized labor faced if it continued to discriminate against black workers: "Negro labor in the main is outside the ranks of organized labor, and the reason is, first, that white union labor does not want black labor...We face a crisis in inter-racial labor conditions; the continued and determined race prejudice of white labor...is giving black labor tremendous advantage. The Negro is entering the ranks of semi-skilled and skilled labor and he is entering mainly and necessarily as a 'scab.' He will soon be in a position to break any strike when he can gain economic advantage for himself."<sup>15</sup>

Although perhaps not in the mainstream of black unionism, strikebreaking became for many black workers a labor tactic used to punish white-dominated labor unions for their racism. The vast majority of unions had already placed racial solidarity above that of working-class unity by excluding African Americans. In kind, many would-be black unionists developed a practical labor tradition that demonstrated the necessity of their inclusion. They protested their exclusion by crossing picket lines. And while the American labor movement has produced numerous and celebrated instances of interracial working-class unity in struggle throughout its history, they were not too common until the 1930s.

In contrast to the AFL and other unions committed to the outright exclusion of African Americans, a relatively strong commitment to racial inclusivity made the CIO appear progressive in its early years. Hundreds of thousands of black workers joined the industrial-union federation in the late 1930s and the 1940s. Its Steel Workers Organizing Committee took in thousands of militant African-American steelworkers in the South, empowering them to direct their locals and hiring some as staff and organizers. But as Robin D. G. Kelley writes, "[The] active, sometimes aggressive presence of blacks [in

unionized steelwork] caused resentment from some rank-and-file members and provoked accusations of Communism from several corners.” In the South in particular, conservative white workers conflated interracial unionism and communism. And where African Americans constituted the majority of a local's membership, “skilled white workers (at first) saw the union as a threat to their occupational status.” Nevertheless, the formative years of the CIO were largely shaped by the grassroots of the labor movement, both black and white, which embraced the concept of industrial unionism. Divisions in skill, trade, and race—in theory—had to be mitigated to enable the CIO to expand its power, and that of its constituent unions. Accordingly, the CIO took in African Americans at an unprecedented rate, inadvertently broadening the front in the black struggle for equality.<sup>16</sup>

The Second World War exposed the real limits of the CIO for black workers. The onset of the war led to a production boom that largely ended the devastating economic crisis that prompted the labor upheavals of the 1930s. As grassroots militancy declined in the 1940s, the CIO charted a conservative course that disillusioned many black unionists. According to economic historian Robert Brenner, the CIO underwent “an accelerated...process of trade union bureaucratization.” Local and national labor leaderships attempted to “stabilize” the CIO's new position by pursuing state-sanctioned collective bargaining through lobbying for legislation by fostering a political relationship with the Democratic Party. Labor leaders in both the AFL and the CIO wanted to prove that they could be responsible partners in national labor relations. For instance, the CIO leadership enthusiastically supported the war-time no-strike pledge, disciplining members and locals who broke it. While the CIO had publicly declared itself against segregation and racial discrimination, once the war began, it did virtually nothing to challenge discriminatory hiring or integrate locals. The political culture of the CIO at the time subordinated the grievances of its members for the sake of “labor unity,” war patriotism,



and organizational growth. As a result, a substantial percentage of black members remained stuck in menial, unskilled, lower-paying jobs across the country after the war.<sup>17</sup>

By the 1960s, organized labor in the United States served as both an arena and an instrument of the civil rights movement. It also functioned as a significant obstacle. More than 500,000 African Americans had joined the CIO by 1945. Union membership provided black workers with significantly higher pay and a greater measure of job security in the aftermath of the Great Depression. But despite the CIO's push for greater organizational racial inclusivity, the majority of its constituent unions refused to challenge racially discriminatory hiring practices, which allowed both employers and some CIO locals to restrict black employment to menial, unskilled, and lower-paying jobs. This dynamic persisted well into the 1960s. Although union wages increased for blacks and whites alike, black-labor historian Michael K. Honey observed that securing union contracts without fighting job segregation actually exacerbated racial income inequality.<sup>18</sup> Despite the significant material gains won by black unionists through the CIO, the federation failed to become a substantial vehicle for racial equality and civil rights in the economic sphere. That task fell to the rank-and-file formations of black unionists that organized against job segregation and white domination of organized labor in the 1960s.

Thus in the immediate postwar decade, organized labor continued to function as an obstruction to the expansion of black job opportunities. The 1955 merger of the AFL and the CIO alarmed many African Americans. The CIO, politically and numerically weakened by its association with and subsequent expulsion of communist-led unions, allowed the larger and more conservative AFL to have seventy-five percent of the seats on the new organization's executive council, as well as its presidency. Ever the progressives, CIO delegates at the merger convention vowed that challenging racism would be a top priority for the new AFL-CIO. Convention delegates passed a resolution

saying as much, but as Herbert Hill's 1961 report on the AFL-CIO makes clear, little if anything changed in the years following the merger. Hill described the organization's new Civil Rights Department as an attempt to "create a 'liberal' public relations image rather than attack the broad pattern of [anti-black] practices within affiliated unions." The AFL-CIO, Hill claimed, "contribute[s] to an explanation of why Negroes constitute a permanently depressed economic group in American society." Hill credited any advancements made by black unionists to external pressure from civil rights organizations, like the NAACP, and the intervention of the U.S. Department of Justice.<sup>19</sup>

Although organized labor did not make a serious effort to combat job segregation in the 1950s, it did lend considerable financial and political support to the burgeoning civil rights movement. Many unions pledged money to local campaigns and participated in demonstrations. Tens of thousands of union members are estimated to have attended the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, despite the disapproval of the AFL-CIO Executive Council. The labor federation did, however, support civil rights legislation in the 1960s. In addition, some AFL-CIO affiliates, like the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), of which the CTU held membership, expelled lily-white Southern locals for refusing to admit black members.<sup>20</sup>

Teacher unions in particular took a very early stand in support of the long civil rights movement. The AFT had African Americans on its National Executive Council as early as the 1930s. Having a measure of black leadership, in conjunction with the expulsion of its segregated locals, gave the AFT a very progressive appearance. Historian Marjorie Murphy maintains that moderate white leaders in the AFT had to take increasingly progressive stands on racial equality in order to head off a growing left-wing influence over its locals. In fact, just prior to the expulsion of its intransigent Southern locals, the AFT expelled a number of "communist-led" locals. Whatever their initial

motives, Murphy asserts that AFT leaders were committed to the civil rights movement by the 1960s. The organization voiced support for sit-ins in Greensboro, North Carolina, and fought to re-open public schools that had been shut down in Virginia to avoid desegregation. The AFT demanded the schools be re-opened on the basis that “seventeen hundred black children were being denied an education.” AFT locals passed resolutions in support of the Freedom Riders, and the national organization provided buses for the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Both the AFT and the National Education Association (NEA), the other major labor federation of teachers in the country, stood firmly in favor of the desegregating public schools.<sup>21</sup>

The popular civil rights movement achieved a significant victory a year after the March on Washington in the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Although the portions of the legislation dealing with racial discrimination in employment were more like “statements of intent that demanded an enormous effort of enforcement,” rather than effective law in the private sector, public-sector employment started to provide some new opportunities for African Americans. The public sector, for the most part, complied with the Civil Rights Act to a greater extent than the private sector. Public employment was expanding in the mid 1960s, and many college-educated African Americans managed to secure managerial, technical, and professional occupations in state, federal, and municipal agencies. Most blacks without a college education, however, remained in low-paying jobs like custodial work, postal service, and sanitation. Wages remained low for most of these workers because of local bans on public-sector unionism.<sup>22</sup>

Despite the hardships faced by poorly-paid black workers in the public sector, a growing number of blacks acquired public employment in the 1960s. Sociologist Robert L. Boyd argues that structural socio-economic factors (racism in hiring by the private sector, geographic segregation, and greater enforcement against discrimination in the

public sector) “channeled” African Americans into public employment. Black and white representation in the public sector in 1960 was nearly equal, at thirteen percent and twelve percent respectively. By 1980, the number of African-American public employees increased by sixty-two percent, while the total number of African-American workers grew by only twenty-seven percent.<sup>23</sup>

At the same time that African Americans migrated into the public sector, public-sector unionists began to campaign for collective bargaining in earnest. Union membership in the public sector quadrupled between the mid 1960s and early 1970s. Federal employees had limited bargaining power since 1962, but the upsurge in public-sector unionism did not commence until a few years later when state and municipal workers across the country rose up in protest. On September 3, 1968, *The New York Times* ran an article detailing the apparent rise in militancy among public-sector workers. AFT and NEA officials were predicting that tens of thousands of teachers would be going out on strike before the end of the year in Chicago, New York City, Detroit, Duluth, Pittsburgh, Toledo, Madison, and St. Louis. The article asserted, “The surge of teacher militancy is part of a broader manifestation of discontent among public employes [*sic*] generally.” A member of the National Labor Relations Board observed that nearly 5,000 workers were joining public-sector unions a week. Teachers, municipal workers, state clerks, sanitation workers, firefighters, and postal workers grew increasingly frustrated as they found their negotiating ability limited by statutes. Some locals defied the law by engaging in wildcat strikes, while others pursued more moderate forms of protest like picketing and lobbying legislatures.<sup>24</sup>

The most consistently militant group of public employees in the late 1960s were teachers. According to Marjorie Murphy, forty collective bargaining elections occurred between 1961 and 1965. The AFT's membership tripled over the course of the 1960s.

Teacher strike activity erupted in 1966, peaking in 1967 at 105 recorded strikes. In September of 1968, dozens of teacher strikes over salary disputes and union recognition delayed the start of school for tens of thousands of students across the country. Although the number of teacher strikes dipped in 1968, Murphy wrote, “the number of idle teaching days rose to an all-time high of 2,190,000.” The strikes themselves were also lasting longer.<sup>25</sup>

The 1968 strike of black sanitation workers in Memphis demanded union recognition and better working conditions and pay. One striker, Taylor Rogers, recalled that their American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Workers (AFSCME) local grew from 1,700 members to 7,000 in the aftermath of the strike: “We got [workers at the] fire commission, city court clerks, auto inspection stations, both city and county school boards...All of them come [sic] under the umbrella of [AFSCME Local] 1733.” Local 1733 became the largest union in Memphis. Historian Michael K. Honey claims the strike, led by black workers, “to some degree had revived a dormant labor movement in Memphis. [Their] success also paved the way to public employee union organizing in other parts of the South and the country.” AFSCME grew to become the sixth largest AFL-CIO affiliate over the course of the 1960s, “achieving a remarkable organizing rate of 1,000 new members daily by 1969.” Public-sector organizing has proven to be an on-going boon for organized labor as a whole, overtaking private-sector unionization rates in the 1970s, maintaining increases in membership when private-sector organizing sharply declined after 1976, and becoming the bastion of organized labor in the present.<sup>26</sup>

Explanations as to why public-sector unionism expanded in the 1960s vary. Collective bargaining rights for public employees were first granted in Wisconsin in 1959, although the legislation still prohibited strikes. The state's public-sector unions had a strong lobby in the state's capital, and they managed to secure union recognition. Just

three years later, President John F. Kennedy signed Executive Order 10988, which allowed federal employees to bargain collectively. In light of these events, public-sector workers may have become emboldened to press for their own rights to organize. Marjorie Murphy identifies the illegal 1962 strike of half of New York City's teachers as a breakthrough that galvanized public-sector workers. The strike was successful, and teachers managed to avoid reprisals. Murphy points out that the strike received national attention. She writes, "News of the strike 'crippling' schools was a banner headline in the *New York Times*. Hundreds of thousands of other teachers and public employees in other parts of the country looked to the New York strike as an important precedent."<sup>27</sup> Other scholars point to the popular civil rights movement as a social impetus to other struggles. Social movement theorists and some labor historians appreciate the dynamic relationship between organized labor, the civil rights movement, and the other new social movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s. They credit the popular phase of the civil rights movement with "diffusing" militancy to old (organized labor) and new movements (LGBT, Chicano, and women's liberation, etc.), demonstrating the power of collective action to compel social or economic change. Labor historian Kim Moody asserts, "There can be no question that rank-and-file initiatives within the unions were not only inspired by the example of the black movement, but were directly strengthened by the disproportionate role in most of them of black and Latino workers, especially as the struggle for black liberation maintained momentum into the later 1960s." Larry Isaac and Lars Christiansen's 2002 study on the relationship between the black movement and other struggles in fact proposed that "the civil rights movement generated greater militancy revitalization among public sector labor than among its private sector counterparts."<sup>28</sup>

A partial explanation for the upsurge in public-employee labor activism in the 1960s is the migration of African Americans into the public sector. At the very least

hundreds of thousands of black workers participated the civil rights movement in some manner between 1955 and 1968. The March on Washington alone drew in more than 200,000 participants, most of them black. Just two months prior to the march, a similar Freedom March in Detroit drew in more than 150,000 participants, including local leaders and members of the UAW. The empowering experience of living in an atmosphere of collective action, of being part of a mass movement, likely gave tremendous confidence to black workers. Just like white unionists, they had been organizing and challenging their employers for decades, but the social context of the 1960s was considerably different. There had not been a mass rising of African Americans, resisting and protesting their conditions, on the scale of the popular civil rights movement since the Civil War. They carried their experiences and confidence into the growing public sector, where federal enforcement of the Civil Rights Act exceeded that of the private sector. As William H. Harris put it, “the United States government had become aggressively anti-racist.” Alongside white public-sector workers, who wanted their own rights as workers, they called for collective bargaining rights, better pay, and better working conditions. Although racial antagonisms and inequalities persisted in the public-sector unions, they would go on to become the most robust and racially diverse segment of organized labor in the United States.<sup>29</sup>

But union recognition on its own did not challenge racial discrimination in hiring, nor did it compel all white unionists to fight for the long civil rights movement. African Americans had to organize themselves inside of their unions in order to pressure it to represent them by addressing their grievances. Although black rank-and-file caucuses can be found in almost any decade of the twentieth century, a distinct upsurge in militant black-unionist organizing and direct action occurred in the 1960s. African-American workers built new caucuses and organizations within integrated unions. They challenged

union leaders on the lack of black representation in leadership positions and negotiation committees. They charged some with being complicit in maintaining job segregation, or being outright racist. Often regarded as “Black Power unionism” by scholars, black workers brought the civil rights movement into organized labor. Rather than offering ancillary support through financial contributions, lobbying for civil rights legislation, or participating in marches, organized labor was pressed from within to reform its own practices of racial discrimination.<sup>30</sup>

Unfortunately, some scholars of the long seventies do not afford the “black caucus movement” the significance it warrants. Blacks began to build their own caucuses and activist groups, and engaged in the direct action that characterized the long seventies (wildcat strikes), years prior to its “high point” in 1971.<sup>31</sup> And if further studies of public-sector unionism reveal an overrepresentation of blacks in the militant organizing of the 1960s, then the long seventies owes its impetus in large part to the struggles of black unionists. By comparison, scholars of African-American history and black labor regard the caucus and direct-action movement of black workers as a distinct manifestation or spillover of the Black Power movement. It would be inaccurate to claim that variants of “Black Power ideology” did not have a significant impact on young African-American workers in the late 1960s, but confining an analysis of black unionism in this era to black concerns over black welfare and representation effectively limits the opportunities to concretely situate black unionism as the link between the civil rights movement and the revitalization of the labor movement as a whole in the 1960s.<sup>32</sup>

In spite of the activities of black unionists, many unions experienced a crisis of leadership over the course of the long seventies. The complacency of many union leaders in the face of work speedups and layoffs irritated white workers as well as black. With labor leaders “dragging [their] heels in mounting a defense,” rank-and-file unionists



engaged in wildcats and sought to replace corrupt or autocratic incumbent leaderships with reform caucuses. What resulted was “the most sustained period of worker militancy in the United States since the Second World War.” Workers started to blame their unions as much as they blamed employers for poor working conditions and inadequate pay. Miners, postal workers, teachers, teamsters, steelworkers, autoworkers, and longshoremen were just some of the groups that launched wildcat strikes, pushed their union leaders to strike, or caucused to reform their union. Demanding greater union democracy and better contracts, they often took militant action to achieve their aims. By the end of the long seventies, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics logged just under 5,000 different work stoppages involving at least 1,000 workers between 1965 and 1981. Millions of workers participated. And the statistics do not even reflect the departmental wildcat strikes in the auto-industry, where several hundreds workers in a particular factory department (often black) would walk off the job for a few hours over an insult from a foreman or a safety concern, not returning until a UAW shop steward could actually convince the striking workers that he would pursue the particular grievance. This type of militancy, however, was far more typical of African-American unionists in the early years of the long seventies.<sup>33</sup>

As the false promises of interracial unionism became apparent to African Americans in the late 1950s, a growing number of black unionists organized formal black caucuses or unsanctioned action groups within their locals. It was clear to them that in most cases they held second-class membership in their labor organizations, and they were not adequately represented in leadership bodies. Even within fully integrated unions, like the UAW and the AFT, whites maintained control over the vast majority of local leaderships well into the late 1960s. Issues like racial discrimination in hiring, and racist abuse by coworkers and management, did not become negotiating priorities until

then. The black caucus movement swept through organized labor in the 1960s. In 1964, black steelworkers organized the National Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers. They pressed the United Steelworkers of America (USW) for black mandatory representation on national leadership bodies and full integration of union staff at all levels. On the question of electing black representation to union leadership, Philip S. Foner succinctly wrote, "The issue of black representation [where they did not make up an absolute majority] ultimately [depended] on the white voters' choice of a black candidate over a white one." Union acceptance of some measure of affirmative action became necessary. Black steelworkers were not the only ones organizing in their unions. Dozens of African-American police associations were springing up by 1968, with the more militant ones campaigning for policing reforms like raising hiring standards and the adoption of "community policing." Black caucuses also formed in both the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the National Maritime Union (NMU) in 1967. In addition to Concerned FTBs, Chicago was home to the Afro-American Patrolmen's League, Concerned Black Coaches, and Concerned Transit Workers (CTW) of the Amalgamated Transit Union's Local 241. Shortly after CTW emerged, the Rank-and-file Committee for a Democratic Union surfaced in New York City. By 1974, some of the biggest unions had national black caucuses. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, National Education Association, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and American Federation of Teachers all had nationwide black caucuses. Black police officers too established the National Black Police Association in in the early 1970s. Ultimately, many of these black labor formations met in Chicago in 1972 to found the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) in order to pressure white labor leaders to take black unionists more seriously and share power at the national and local levels.<sup>34</sup>

Struggling from within, however, did not appeal to some black unionists. The 1960s also yielded a “separatist” tendency in some unions. A number of African-American shipyard workers in Maryland split from the USW in 1968 because the union refused to fight against Bethlehem Steel Company's racism in hiring and promotions. The black unionists established the Shipyard Workers for Job Equality. They emerged alongside all-black construction unions, which peppered organized labor in the Northeast and Midwest since at least 1967. Black community activist groups aided them in shutting down lily-white construction projects, while also trying to secure control over urban renewal programs in Newark, Seattle, Chicago, San Francisco, and Detroit. In New York City, some members of the Rank-and-file Committee for a Democratic Union also tried to organize an independent black union, splitting away from Transport Workers Union of America. African-American subway conductor Joseph Carnegie said, “For the first time, nearly 20,000 black transit workers have the opportunity to be involved in a struggle in which their numerical strength can decide whether transit workers will be represented by a union in which they have no real voice or whether we will be represented by an independent union that is not tied to management and the rotten, racist power structure of this city.”<sup>35</sup>

The most notorious of break-away black unions, and perhaps the most militant, was the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) in Detroit. A small group of radical black auto-workers and working-class intellectuals founded an anti-capitalist movement in the heart of the U.S. automotive industry. By the late 1960s, African-Americans made up more than half of the workforce at many Chrysler plants in Michigan. In contrast whites made up more than 90% of company foremen, superintendents, medical staff, skilled tradesmen, and hired trade apprentices. All Chrysler plant employees—black and white—endured compulsory overtime, wage theft, work

speedups, sham grievance procedures, and company neglect of health and safety problems, but black workers also faced the institutional racism found in other industries across the country.<sup>36</sup>

DRUM activists led a series of wildcat strikes between 1968 and 1973, which thousands of auto-workers participated in. Though most workers at the plants did not fully embrace the black nationalism and Marxism of the DRUM leadership, the militancy and initiative they showed prompted thousands of their co-workers to action, and inspired thousands more auto-workers across the country. After 1968, “RUMs” spread to Ford and General Motors factories throughout Michigan. Similar formations sprung up in New Jersey and New York. All affiliates adopted DRUM's strategic outlook: the employers were exploiting them, and their union—the UAW—was complicit. Wildcats became a regular feature of working in the auto industry, so much so that workers joked that “an optimist is a Dodge worker who brings his lunch box to work.” Pay parity existed under the UAW, but the union did little to challenge job segregation and the casual racism of white foremen and managers. Despite its radical left-wing rhetoric, the movement reflected a general trend in black unionism that understood organized labor as an impediment to further progress.<sup>37</sup>

The early years of the long seventies yielded mixed results for African-American workers. More than 2,500,000 black workers held union membership by 1970, effectively overrepresenting the black population in organized labor. Philip S. Foner writes, “By sheer numerical strength, black power in the unions...brought more blacks into policy-making positions on both international and local levels.” The growing number of black public-sector workers effectively gave African Americans greater social power in the public sector in particular. Many unions conceded to demands around job segregation and on-the-job racism, but unfortunately, seniority-lines—a mainstay of organized labor—

delayed promotion and work opportunities for many black workers. Although the civil rights movement in organized labor had made significant progress since the 1930s, the persistent concentration of black workers in lower-paying jobs—in conjunction with higher levels of black unemployment—left many black workers with a precarious economic existence.<sup>38</sup>

### Chapter 3

#### Black Workers and Chicago: Chicago Public Schools and Black Labor Activism in the 1960s

This study in part argues for the diffusion of militancy through social contact. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the popular civil rights movement encouraged African-American workers to organize black caucuses and engage in direct action in order to combat job segregation and other forms of racial discrimination in organized labor. Furthermore, the chapter suggests that the migration of African Americans into the public sector is a likely explanation for the upsurge in public-sector militancy in the mid and late 1960s. It follows that in order to fully understand the black revolt in the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU), surveying the civil rights activism, and racial dynamic of the school system, in Chicago is necessary.

Black FTBs and certified teachers resorted to direct action in a particular social context. Black students and their parents had been picketing and boycotting some inner-city schools in earnest since 1963. Protesting the quality of education at their schools, and demanding the resignations of certain racist white principals, black communities targeted CPS during the popular phase of the civil rights movement. By the late 1960s, black students were spontaneously protesting their schools, walking out in the hundreds over a wide variety of grievances. At the same time, black labor activism was also intensifying in the city. African-American transit workers and construction workers waged struggles against the city's labor unions over representation in leadership and discrimination in hiring, respectively. Thus the obstacles faced by black educators were reflected outside of CPS as well.<sup>1</sup>

The racial dynamic of Chicago (between black and white at least) was primarily shaped by the great migrations of north-bound African Americans from the South.

Between 1916 and 1919, 50,000 Southern blacks settled in Chicago, nearly doubling the black population. They crammed into the city's South Side Black Belt, where the vast majority of African-American residents resided. Small black "colonies"—as historian Arnold R. Hirsch referred to them—on the West Side also grew, and new ones appeared. The black population nearly doubled again over the course of the 1920s, rising to more than 120,000. African Americans continued to migrate to the city, moving into the segregated black parts of town and effectively pushing their geographic boundaries. By 1940 seventy-five percent of all black residents lived in ninety-percent black neighborhoods. Almost fifty percent of all blacks lived in *ninety-eight percent* black neighborhoods. The migration intensified during and immediately after the Second World War, adding an additional 210,000 African-American residents. Although the previously existing geographic boundaries of racial segregation were essentially "shattered" by the influx of Southern blacks, they were "renewed and strengthened" by government-sponsored urban redevelopment (the razing of poorer black neighborhoods and the erection of housing projects) and restrictive covenants. In 1960, Chicago had a black population of approximately 812,000—nearly twenty-three percent of the city's inhabitants.<sup>2</sup>

Mostly confined to the densely populated West Side and South Side Black Belt, the African-American community was plagued by overcrowding. It also initially faced stiff resistance from whites in matters of employment. Like much of the country, organized labor initially froze most blacks out of many industries and trades. Large employers often did not hire blacks, relying instead on a steady stream of laborers from Southern and Eastern Europe. They did, however, use them to break strikes, effectively aggravating an already racially tense atmosphere. Historian William Tuttle Jr. even claims that the 1919 Chicago Race Riot was precipitated by labor market conflict. Through strikebreaking

many black workers managed to penetrate a number of industries in the city, including meatpacking and steel, but it was not until the late 1930s when the CIO began to organize blacks in earnest that their occupational opportunities expanded. But despite efforts at interracial unionism, discrimination in hiring and job segregation remained the status quo until the 1960s. Even in civil service, blacks found themselves discriminated against. Although nominally a meritocratic occupational field, racist civil servants with the authority to hire appointed temporary replacements and continuously renewed them. Others simply hired whites over blacks, regardless of their civil-servant exam scores. And when blacks were hired by the city, they were often passed over for promotion.<sup>3</sup>

Black teachers fared little better in the city's school system. The Board of Education hired few of them before the 1940s, and only permitted them to teach elementary school. The Board also barred black teachers from enrolling in the school system's apprenticeship program at Normal College. But as the black population of the city continued to grow, CPS hired more and more African-American teachers to teach in the all-black schools of the West Side and the Black Belt. The majority of black teachers were hired as substitutes, and CPS's Substitute Bureau made sure to document their race in order to send them only to black schools. According to historian Dionne Danna, "Until the late 1940s, the greatest obstacle Black educators faced in acquiring permanent teaching positions were white principals." The Board of Education hired teachers and assigned them to schools, but principals could reject assignments arbitrarily. With few prospects for advancements, and tenuous job security, black teachers in Chicago suffered job segregation alongside hundreds of thousands of other black workers in more blue-collar occupations.<sup>4</sup>

Although it effectively afforded most blacks only second-class rights in the organization, the CTU encouraged to African Americans to join it. Founded in 1938, the



CTU represented approximately two-thirds of the city's teachers from its inception, making it the biggest teachers union in the United States. An affiliate of the relatively progressive American Federation of Teachers (AFT), it never had a formal or informal ban on black membership like other unions. Substitutes, however, could not be full members. And when the Board of Education established new certification procedures (the oral and written exams) in 1947, the CTU designated all substitutes “active associate members” of the union. Dues owed by associate members were halved, but they could not vote on contracts or in leadership elections. As a result, most African-American teachers (certified or not) did not join the CTU until the 1960s. Teacher certification and assignments could, however, be easily attained by having the right connections. In fact, the majority of black teachers certified in the 1930s and 1940s owed their appointments to sympathetic principals and the political clout of friends and relatives.<sup>5</sup>

Despite subsequent reforms to hiring, various forms of patronage persisted into the 1970s. Cathaline Carter, for instance, was hired as an English teacher at a white high school in 1970. She had graduated from Chicago State University, and scored very well on the written portion of her certification exam. Reacting to a federal court order mandating the integration of faculty and an end to race-based teaching assignments, the Board of Education moved to pre-select certain black teachers to work in white schools. Before her oral interview, one of the white examiners met with her and coached her on how to answer certain questions. Carter had not even applied for an assigned position, but found out a week later that she had been certified and assigned to a white school on the southwest side of Chicago. Her assignment was largely based on white references from her days at Chicago State University and the help of a white principal who spoke in her favor. He and the helpful examiner were friends. Although forced to make such assignments, the Board of Education sought to preserve control over who they placed

where. Patronage, however, was not the only way a black educator could win a teaching assignment. White principals often stood as their schools' immediate gatekeepers in terms of hiring. In all-black schools in all-black neighborhoods, community members pressured principals to hire more African Americans as teachers. On the other hand, the power of the school principals also served as agents of racial discrimination.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, all teachers in Chicago faced a number of challenges on the job. The city could hardly keep up with population growth (and hardly tried when it came to African Americans), so overcrowding was common in both black and white schools. The CTU, like many other unions across the country, also faced increased scrutiny from government agencies during the 1950s. McCarthyism stifled teacher autonomy in the classroom, and led to numerous indirect dismissals. Uncertified teachers, black and white, who were accused of being communists found their individual contracts discontinued. The CTU did little if anything for them. However, although the Board of Education did not officially recognize the CTU as its employees' sole bargaining agent until 1966, it negotiated a number of work-related issues with it. A fairly "open-door" policy existed for the most part, and the union was able to secure a number of raises without going out on strike (although they sometimes threatened to), as well as guarantees on tenure and transfers. Teachers considered transfer, or "re-assignment," a punitive measure taken by the Board to try to compel an employee to resign. It had been the chief method of disciplining teachers without outright firing them for decades. Although FTBs enjoyed periodic increases in pay because of the union, all substitutes fell outside of any accommodation reached on transfers, leaving the mostly-black FTBs particularly vulnerable to arbitrary discipline at the hands of vindictive or racist principals.<sup>7</sup>

The CTU's relatively civil relationship with the Board of Education largely began when it hired Benjamin C. Willis as General Superintendent of CPS in 1953. Under Willis,

teacher salaries went up, CPS hired much needed additional staff (nurses, social workers, and clerks), the city built more schools, and class sizes went down. The mostly-white CTU membership supported Willis's tenure, defending him against some of his biggest critics: African Americans. Fewer infrastructure dollars and additional staff were going to all-black schools than they required to relieve the oppressive overcrowding. Willis, an opponent of busing and "coerced integration," denied segregation even existed, claiming that "children [just] went to the schools in their own neighborhoods." The NAACP and other black civil rights organizations called for him to resign in the early 1960s, but the intransigent superintendent continued to largely ignore the plight of the city's black children. Willis had of course inherited the problem. The Board of Education had relied on "de facto" housing segregation to manipulate student assignments for decades, thus preserving "lily-white" schools. As more and more African Americans migrated to Chicago from the South, the Board packed their children into increasingly populated inner-city schools while some white schools remained under capacity. To deal with the situation, the Board instituted "double shift assignments" at overcrowded schools. Students attended school for only three to four hours a day. Two "shifts" of students existed, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. Danna cites one African-American parent who asserted that "his son was in the seventh grade and had never gone to a full day of school." The maintenance of segregation exacerbated the problem. The Board built additional schools, but it could not (or refused to) keep up with the growing black population. Claiming poverty, the Board subsequently opened schools in two housing projects: the Robert Taylor and Washington Park Homes, both situated within the South Side Black Belt. According to parents and students, the housing-project schools were staffed by undertrained and indifferent teachers, and the classrooms were deplorable, with poor lighting and temperature. Residents of the two housing projects issued a press

release stating, "The total educational environment of the pupils forced to attend these schools is intolerable. The psychological impact on these children because of their total isolation from contact with any environment other than that of a Chicago Housing Project will have untold immediate and long-range effect, since these grades (first through fourth) are the most impressionable years."<sup>8</sup>

Unsurprisingly, when the Chicago Freedom Movement began in the mid 1960s, job access and education reform got significant attention from civil rights activists. Although housing segregation is popularly remembered as the focus of the movement, education and job segregation received the attention of many local activists. Almost 400,000 students participated in boycotts organized by the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCO) between 1963 and 1965. They were supported by their parents and other black community activists. Although the school system managed to resist desegregation for some years, African-American communities successfully ousted more than a dozen white principals from their posts by mobilizing demonstrations and student boycotts. Black parents and students resented the treatment they received from many white principals, school administrators, and teachers. Some principals, according to parents, "believed in the genetic inferiority of Blacks." Plenty of them refused to meet with black parents. Of those parents, Dionne Danna writes, "They no longer wanted education for second-class citizenship, but first-rate education that would adequately provide their children with better life chances." White teachers and principals, however, were unenthusiastic about the civil rights movement "entering" their schools. They blamed the movement for "stirring up violence" and disorder in the school system. Black students, on the other hand, accused them of disciplining black students more frequently and severely than whites. African-American teachers largely supported their

black students. Many of them participated had even in the Freedom Day Boycotts of 1963 and 1964.<sup>9</sup>

Relations between white and black teachers in Chicago varied considerably. There were certainly plenty of liberal whites that respected their black colleagues, but many more held racist beliefs reflective of the 1960s and earlier. African-American teachers sometimes taught at all-white schools, never making up more than five percent of the faculty. White principals and teachers often treated them with disdain. So too did parents of their students. At some all-black schools, young white teachers did their best to provide quality instruction and support for their students. These teachers supported the civil rights movement and cared about their pupils. Other white teachers, newer ones, saw their time at inner-city schools as a steppingstone to tenure. As soon as they qualified for a transfer, they would leave for a white school. Dionne Danna observed, "The results of the transfer policy was that students who needed good teachers often ended up with unsympathetic teachers who did not stay or even want to stay at their schools very long..., the inadequate education Black children received was due in part to their education being seen more as a career stepping stone for white teachers, instead of an opportunity for their educational development." This dynamic put them at odds with black teachers who were committed to providing a stable and supportive educational environment.<sup>10</sup>

Civil rights activists in Chicago agitating around education, or anything else for that matter, faced stiff resistance from the city's mayor, Richard J. Daley. The mayor had consolidated control over a political machine that by 1965 ultimately rested on maintaining segregation, especially in the city's public schools. As more African Americans pushed the boundaries, more white residents moved out of the city to the suburbs, shrinking Daley's electoral base and Chicago's tax revenue. Protesters in

Chicago were often met with arrest or violence from white residents. Calls for desegregation solicited outrage from whites. In turn, Daley stressed that no forced integration would be necessary since Chicago had a “neighborhood school” policy.<sup>11</sup>

By the mid 1960s, CTU support for Superintendent Willis began to wane. The rank-and-file of the union, black and white, were pushing the leadership to struggle for collective bargaining rights after Willis had resisted them on salary and benefit demands. They organized large demonstrations against the Board of Education and lobbied the state legislature. In 1965 the CTU voted to authorize a strike over recognition by the Board. Mayor Daley intervened in the negotiations and instructed his loyalists on the Board to acquiesce, hoping to incorporate the union into his political machine. The CTU became the sole bargaining agent for Chicago teachers in April 1966, and Daley managed to temporarily avert further disorder at Chicago Public Schools.<sup>12</sup>

Union recognition did little good for African-American students though. High-school students in particular continued to organize well into the late 1960s and early 1970s. Fed up with their learning conditions, and influenced by the Chicago Freedom Movement, black high-school students organized their own walkouts, boycotts, and sit-ins. Unlike the previous mass boycotts, student organizers formed their own organizations and drafted their own unique demands. They demanded the immediate ousting of racist faculty and administrators, requesting that they be replaced with African Americans. Afro-American history clubs in the city's schools served as centers of debate and preparation for direct action. Many of the boycotts started as spontaneous walkouts in response to confrontations with bigoted school employees. Others were more organized and targeted unfair disciplinary policies. Some student leaders drafted various manifestos that called for black history to be taught in all-black schools, better food, insurance for student athletes, building repairs, and even more homework. African-

American communities and teachers largely supported the students. Some black FTBs and certified teachers honored student picket lines and supported their pupils in others ways. And when FTBs resorted to strikes and demonstrations, their black students returned the support.<sup>13</sup>

Black students endured numerous inequities in the school system. Not only did they have to learn in jam-packed facilities, but they suffered racist abuse from some white teachers and principals. Dionne Danna wrote about one black student who “mentioned to [a] teacher that he wanted to attend Harvard University after he graduated. The teacher suggested that was just wishful thinking on his part. [The student] did not bother to tell the teacher that his brother...was attending Harvard at the time.” Another student in Danna’s study of black high-school activism recalled a teacher who would “grin at [them] and call [them] nice colored boys and girls.” In addition to some white teachers’ prejudice, black students detested disciplinary models like “Operation Snatch,” that attempted to catch students loitering in the halls during class. According to Danna, once a bell rang to signal the beginning of a class period, any teacher that saw a student in the halls could grab the student and place him in the closest classroom. “The snatch would be considered a ‘cut.’”<sup>14</sup>

On October 14, 1968, black high-school students launched a city-wide boycott in which up to 35,000 students participated. The action was supported by community organizations like the Chicago Urban League, the Caucus for Inner-City Principals, and the Black Teachers Caucus, as well as by many black parents and other civil rights formations. The scale of the boycott forced Superintendent Willis’s successor, James F. Redmond, to respond to some of the students’ demands. At a press conference, Redmond agreed to expand black history courses, hire additional assistant principals, add more technical and vocational courses, and acquire funds for building repairs and

athlete insurance. His announcements at the press conference did little to dissuade students from protesting though. They continued to organize sit-ins and walkouts until for another couple of years. Caught in the middle of these episodes, black teachers often gave their moral support to the student movement.<sup>15</sup>

Student activism was not the only black activism occurring in the late 1960s though. Sixty-one black organizations joined forces in 1968 to form the Coalition for United Community Action (CUCA). Their aim was to desegregate the city's construction industry, which had barred African Americans from many important apprentice programs for decades. The city's black population was suffering from high unemployment by the late 1960s, in part due to the fact that many jobs left for the suburbs with white residents. Black male unemployment stood at almost thirty-one percent in 1969. One immediate obstruction to black employment was the racial unity between white unions and contractors in the construction industry. Their tacit agreement essentially denied blacks access to skilled construction jobs, and even training. The city's Washburne Trade School, an institution controlled by the local AFL unions, did not even admit a single African American until 1960. The following year they admitted twenty-six black apprentices, a token number considering the school since 2,682 positions existed at the school in 1961. Organizations like the NAACP and the Negro American Labor Council (NALC) sued for integration, while the Chicago Urban League tried to establish its own training programs for black construction workers. By the mid 1960s, little progress had been made.<sup>16</sup>

When CUCA was founded, the coalition decided to aggressively pursue a direct action strategy. They started to picket construction projects where no African Americans were employed. The pickets then escalated into sit-ins at job sites and the city's Building Trades Council office. Historian Erik S. Gellman has called CUCA "the national vanguard



of construction trade activism, and for good reason. His study on their activities revealed that they shut down twenty-four federally funded construction sites in 1969 (\$80 million in contracts). Police often stood idly by as protestors shutdown job site after job site. In black neighborhoods, however, Gellman notes that police officers quickly arrested protest leaders and shutdown assemblies.<sup>17</sup>

Despite occasional arrests, and minor skirmishes with white unionists, CUCA's militant tactics produced some positive results. In early 1970, Mayor Daley negotiated a deal between the black labor activists, the Building Trades Council (local construction unions), and the Building Construction Employers Association. The agreement called for the immediate employment of 1,000 "qualified minority journeymen" on city construction projects. Those 1,000 black workers were also required to join the appropriate labor union. Another 2,000 were admitted to either the Washburne Trade School, or on-the-job training programs.<sup>18</sup>

While most of the black activists involved in the construction industry campaign were not unionists, black transit workers in the city were. In a similar vein, they too had to face off against their local union. African-American transit workers made up sixty percent of the membership of Local 241 of the Amalgamated Transit Union. The union's leadership, however, had been all-white since the founding of the local, and black workers suspected that leadership elections were being manipulated somehow. In effect, they were, but constitutionally. Mostly-white retirees retained voting rights in the local. In response, African-American bus drivers formed the caucus Concerned Transit Workers. They subsequently launched a wildcat strike in July of 1968, demanding an end to all-white leadership and improved working conditions. More wildcat strikes materialized in the following months, some even garnering the support and participation white unionists. White members joined in on the basis of the caucus's demands around working

conditions. In addition to demanding black leadership and the end of retiree voting rights, strikers demanded better scheduling, an end to “split shifts,” and the replacement of unsafe equipment and vehicles. While asserting their right to black representation in the leadership, black unionists also maintained that it was “fighting for all bus drivers.” Philip S. Foner quoted one black transit worker who said “This is one time that black men are leading white men. They know that what benefits us benefits them. The union isn't representing them any better than it is representing us.”<sup>19</sup>

Mayor Daley intervened in the dispute, negotiating a compromise between Concerned Transit Workers, the union, and the Chicago Transit Authority. The union, for its part, agreed to elevate particular black unionists to leadership positions in the local. Part of the deal negotiated by Daley also had the Chicago Transit Authority agree in principle to negotiating further with the union over particular workplace demands surrounding vehicle safety. Once Concerned Transit Workers demobilized though, the transit authority reneged on its promise. The union, in turn, refused to push the matter any further, instead organizing trial committees to discipline the leaders of the wildcat strikes. Disillusioned with their capacity to reform their union, black transit workers began to campaign for a collective bargaining election so they could form their own union. Retirees of Local 241 were not allowed to vote. It was in this context of breakaway unions, school boycotts, and city race politics, that black FTBs challenged the job segregation at Chicago Public Schools, taking on the teachers union and the Board of Education.<sup>20</sup>

## Chapter 4

### Black Teachers Revolt: The FTB Struggle for Certification

When black FTB Lonnie Hubbard pointed out the hypocrisy of the Chicago Board of Education's teacher certification policy, which placed mostly-black educators who had not passed the certification exams in schools with full-time, long-term assignments but awarded them significantly less pay, the Board and its appointed examiners defended their practice. Vice Chairman of the Board of Examiners Richard H. Sanders claimed fulfilling the FTBs' demand of automatic certification after two years of satisfactory performance "would result in the overall deterioration of quality education in the city." He added, "The purpose of having a Board of Examiners is to professionally select qualified teachers and to bar the unfit. Because a teacher does not pass the non-written test doesn't mean that he will never be able to teach. It just means that at this time he is not ready to become a tenure teacher."<sup>1</sup> The significance of tenure cannot be understated in the case of FTBs. Without certification, they were regarded by CPS as temporary employees. The CTU did as well, in its own way. It classified them as "active associate members," denying them participation in elections for the organization's major offices. No FTB could hold anyone one of those offices either. FTBs and "day-to-day" substitutes (*actual* temporary employees, often retirees) effectively held second-class membership in the union. Although they paid lower dues, the Board of Education placed *all* substitutes on an inferior pay scale than "assigned teachers" and restricted their raises. FTBs, however, most of whom remained at the same school with the same class assignment for up to years, were particularly vulnerable to arbitrary transfers—a teacher grievance as old as CPS. At both ends of the labor struggle, they were subaltern.<sup>2</sup>

African Americans made up more than eighty percent of all FTBs in Chicago between 1961 and 1968.<sup>3</sup> Like many other employers in decades previous, the Chicago

Board of Education racialized employment by systematically failing the vast majority of black teachers who took the required certification exams. As mentioned earlier in this study, some black teachers who had white sponsors could secure certification. But in the majority of cases the certification exam served as a fail-safe mechanism for excluding black teachers from tenured positions. Many passed the written portion, but an “oral exam”—conducted by the Board of Examiners—was graded so arbitrarily that it allowed for systematic discrimination against black test takers. Certification, of course, was not necessary to teach at CPS. The Board of Education hired thousands of black FTBs. Part of a segregated school system, most black teachers taught black students in some of the most impoverished neighborhoods in Chicago for less pay than the vast majority of white teachers. With tenuous job security, FTBs could be transferred at will by vindictive principals with little cause. John F. Lyons explains, “By employing as FTBs those who had never taken or who had failed the certification exam, the Board of Education and the superintendent showed no confidence in the certification exams in determining the ability to teach.” The certification exam effectively maintained job segregation, keeping thousands of black educators especially vulnerable and on a lower pay scale.<sup>4</sup>

In the early 1960s, black FTBs began to demand that the CTU compel the Board of Education to alter the certification process. Although most black teachers chose not to join the CTU before 1969 (an interesting fact to consider since the 1969 contract met the FTBs' demand), the union did negotiate for pay raises and benefits for FTBs since the late 1950s. CTU President John M. Fewkes issued no shortage of memos informing FTBs of how hard the union had been fighting for their interests. Nevertheless, FTBs felt that satisfactory teaching experience alone should warrant certification. There were also a number of FTBs who had been punitively transferred by the Board who wanted to be re-assigned. The CTU leadership responded to the substitutes' grievances by organizing

a silent demonstration. Fewkes asked substitutes to attend a Board of Education meeting on February 23, 1961. He also implored school delegates to encourage certified teachers to show up. Fewkes, however, did not want the “protest” to appear confrontational. He insisted that those in attendance not bring any handbills, banners, or placards. He claimed that any outbursts or visible signs of protest would “only detract from the force and dignity of [their] presence.”<sup>5</sup>

The Board of Education refused to alter certification rules, but conceded to a pay increase in 1962. However, the Board delayed the raise by months and excluded FTBs with less than three years of experience. Despite the raise, FTBs understood they were being frozen out of certification. They believed the CTU could be doing more for them. They also resented their second-class membership status in the union. By 1964, some FTBs were dropping out of the union in protest. There seemed to be little else to do at the time.<sup>6</sup>

Black FTBs found themselves severely restricted, and in some ways insulted, by the CTU's constitution. It granted particular democratic rights to members with certain job classifications. Truant officers, certified classroom teachers, and playground teachers received full membership in the organization. All working substitutes and retirees were active associate members. Active associate members paid twenty dollars a year in dues while full members paid thirty. For the purposes of organizational representation, active associate members were divided between retirees and substitutes. The CTU designated each group a “functional group,” which mandated certain representational rights. Each functional group received one representative in the CTU's House of Representatives per hundred active associate members. These representatives had full voting rights in the body, but no active associate member could run for any wider union office, nor could they vote in those elections. Instead, the functional groups received token representation on

the CTU's Executive Board. The constitution afforded each functional group one seat on the Executive Board, but that member could not vote on any of that body's decisions. Furthermore, the functional groups could only formally meet when called upon to do so by the President of the CTU. At such meetings, the constitution stated that the union's president, or the president's appointee, would preside.<sup>7</sup> The CTU allowed FTBs virtually no democratic participation, and constrained their ability to organize through official channels or bodies. They could, however, organize informal bodies and caucus.

Like other informal reform formations in the CTU, FTBs organized to affect change in CPS and in the union. FTBs eventually organized a successful petition drive to force a referendum on their membership. Scheduled for March 23, 1965, the referendum prompted union members to decide whether or not FTBs should be granted full membership. As associate members, FTBs could not actually vote in the referendum. They relied on an alliance with a caucus called the United Teachers Committee (UTC). Established by a twenty-two-year-old substitute named James Chiakulas in 1962, the UTC drew in young educators who were frustrated with the seemingly complacent leadership. The group's primary objectives, despite its founder's classification as a substitute, were to pressure Fewkes into aggressively pursuing collective bargaining rights and greater participation in managing the public school system. The UTC sustained itself through soliciting dues from its supporters, which numbered in the hundreds, at one point maintaining its own office and newspaper. Historian John F. Lyons asserts, however, that the caucus avoided "controversial and divisive issues such as civil rights...[and] concentrated all its energies on gaining collective bargaining." Nevertheless, the UTC campaigned for the referendum. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the UTC's conservatism on civil rights, race did not figure into Yes-vote arguments. The UTC argued for reclassifying substitutes as full members on the basis of increased revenue for

the CTU (associate members would end up paying fifty percent more in dues) and the principle of union democracy. Both of these points, however, the UTC tied to strengthening the power of the union in the pursuit of collective bargaining. Racial justice may have figured into personal discussions and lobbying efforts between CTU members, but it did not appear in UTC literature.<sup>8</sup>

UTC member Fred Dietz wrote for the measure's proponents in *Chicago Union Teacher*—the CTU's newspaper—a month before the referendum, arguing that a Yes-vote would end de facto Board control of the union's prerogative over membership status. “No other employer dictates to a union the qualifications for membership within that union,” wrote Dietz. He estimated that the CTU would take in \$50,000 a year in additional revenue, and stressed that most substitutes taught full-time in the most “difficult” schools, “holding down the same class day after day with the same problems and responsibilities as the assigned classroom teacher.”<sup>9</sup>

The absence of race in the UTC's arguments for reclassifying FTBs suggests the civil rights movement had yet to really penetrate the CTU. The struggle was intensifying in the city (the movement for open housing began in 1965), as well as in Chicago Public Schools, where school boycotts by African-American students in 1963 and 1964 shook the Board of Education into embracing some reforms to address the racial inequality in its school system. Chicago's black teachers were integral to these efforts. Many white CTU members also participated in the civil rights movement as individuals—James Chiakulas, for instance, supported the movement and was a close associate of civil rights activist Al Raby. The CTU, as an organization, demonstrated support by sponsoring civil rights rallies in the city. But aside from the occasional resolution and tiny financial donations to the cause, it did little to exercise the power it had to advance civil rights within its own organization. In fact, the leadership opposed granting FTBs full membership in the union.

Democratic rights in the hands of thousands of FTBs could bolster opposition caucuses like the UTC. The arguments made by the UTC for strengthening the union through increasing democracy certainly implied benefits for thousands of African-American teachers, but ironically, taking up the civil rights cause in the CTU would likely have offended the sensibilities of many conservative white teachers. One contribution to the debate brought up the question of race, but it technically came from outside the CTU. Timuel D. Black, an African-American high-school social studies teacher and full member of the union, authored a letter on behalf of the Chicago chapter of the Negro American Labor Council. He pointed out that the majority of FTBs were black but neglected to address the origins and implications of the situation. He merely suggested a No-vote would leave black educators wondering if they should remain in the CTU.<sup>10</sup>

Opponents of the measure mostly argued against it by disparaging substitutes. Leaflets and flyers in opposition circulated in the months before the referendum. They claimed the majority of substitutes were “transients” who were largely uninterested in making a career of teaching. “KEEP YOUR UNION PROFESSIONAL,” read one flyer. Another pointed out that all major leadership bodies (the Policies Committee, Executive Board, and House of Representatives) were opposed to reclassifying FTBs, and had voted down the proposal the previous December. The referendum was therefore lambasted as irresponsible and costly to the union. One particular flyer, issued by the Committee for Continued Union Progress, reasoned that since FTBs numbered in the thousands “it is quite possible that a non-certificated teacher may be elected President of our Chicago Teachers Union in the foreseeable future. Because a substitute lacks tenure status, it is conceivable that enough pressure may be applied by the Board of Education to control his decisions pertaining to the Union.” In a blatant scare tactic, and bizarre leap of logic, the flyer flipped the UTC's argument regarding Board control over CTU



membership status and suggested that FTBs' real vulnerability as second-class workers would be a liability if they came into power in the CTU.<sup>11</sup>

Alongside Fred Dietz's February plea for a Yes-vote, *Chicago Union Teacher* ran an unsigned case for a No-vote. The bulk of the article stressed that substitutes were already well represented by the CTU, and they enjoyed virtually all the benefits and protections held by certified assigned teachers. The article conceded that long-time FTBs who had taught satisfactorily for a number of years should probably be granted full membership in the union, but then stated that the language of the referendum was "too broad and would destroy the Union's professional approach to membership." The article also argued that any increased revenue in dues that would occur "would not repay the Union for lowering its professional standards."<sup>12</sup>

Professionalism had always featured prominently in teachers' understanding of their occupation and their unions. Historian Marjorie Murphy contends that professionalization was hoisted upon public educators by Progressive Era proponents of school system centralization. "Professionalization became a tool for totally reshaping the lines of authority in school administrations, for weeding out those of less desirable ethnic and social origins through requirements for higher education," wrote Murphy in *Blackboard Unions: The AFT & The NEA, 1900-1980* (1990). Many teachers, after initially resisting increased education requirements, embraced the idea of professionalism. Higher standards, status, and sometimes pay, they thought distinguished them from blue-collar workers. Murphy contends, however, that the concept of professionalism "effectively paralyzed and then slowed the unionization of teachers."<sup>13</sup>

Organizational standards and professionalism surfaced as the basis for a No-vote. The hypocrisy of the argument, however, was pointed out by Fred Dietz in *Chicago Union Teacher*. No-vote flyers and assertions about professionalism, standards, and

education, did not cast any doubt on the legitimacy and desirability of the Board of Education's certification exams. To be a *real* teacher and full member of the union, according to opponents of the measure, substitutes had to prove they were really qualified professional classroom teachers by passing the exams. Uncertified substitutes were not professional classroom teachers, so they should not have full membership in the CTU. But, Fred Dietz pointed out, "We have within our Union a group who are not classroom teachers and whose requirements for employment does not call for a college degree. This is the playground teachers group...They have full membership privileges and no one would seriously question their right to full membership." Playground teachers monitored students outside during recess in the city's elementary schools, and served a variety of other on-campus functions. Along with truancy officers, they enjoyed full membership in the CTU. They could run and vote for major offices in the union without ever setting foot in a classroom. The contradiction must have been evidently clear to every working substitute at the time.<sup>14</sup>

For his part, Fewkes urged the membership to vote against the measure, at one point claiming in a union meeting that a Yes-vote would be "dangerous." He wrote letters to school delegates and the general membership, citing high turnover of substitutes as a valid reason for their associate member status. He emphasized that the CTU "alone fought to improve their salary and other working conditions." Fewkes also attacked the UTC, which was circulating a second petition to have the membership formally declare the union as the exclusive collective bargaining agent of Chicago teachers. Acknowledging that everyone in the union wanted it to have exclusive bargaining rights, he urged members not to sign the petition. He then called the UTC "irresponsible" and implored members to let the union's "House of Representatives determine such timing and strategy."<sup>15</sup>

Except for a six-year period in the 1940s, John M. Fewkes had held the CTU presidency since the organization was formed in 1937. Winning every union election he ran in, Fewkes eschewed rank-and-file mobilization. He advocated a labor culture of cooperation with the Board of Education. He was very religious and patriotic, maintaining strong support from the majority of members. Although a sizable minority of teachers (UTC) detested his conservatism in leadership, his hardline stance against a merit pay system of raises—as well as a friendly relationship with Mayor Daley—kept him in power. By no means a friend of the civil rights movement, Fewkes had argued against expelling segregated AFT locals in 1956. According to John F. Lyons, “Fewkes used every opportunity to deny that there was a deliberate policy of segregated schooling in Chicago, defended the neighborhood school policy, argued against transferring students, and remained silent on the issue of a segregated teaching force.” Furthermore, he condemned civil rights protests directed at the schools, blaming them for creating a breakdown in student discipline at black schools. His opposition to the referendum fell in line with his political practice on race. There were likely many white teachers that agreed wholeheartedly.<sup>16</sup>

The Board of Education may have also used intimidation to influence the outcome of the referendum. In the weeks before the vote, CTU delegates and representatives reported receiving phone calls at their schools from individuals claiming to be CTU staff. The teachers left their classrooms to take the calls and the imposters would attempt to get their home phone numbers and addresses. At the time, there were no actual union staffers needing or attempting to secure numbers or addresses. Fewkes sent a letter to all of the school system's principals requesting that they protect their teachers from harassment by denying the callers any information about them. Intimidation and retaliation were not unheard of in Chicago Public Schools. Setting aside

the CTU's own efforts to purge itself of radical leftists prior to the 1960s, teachers of all political stripes—especially those without union membership—were vulnerable to punitive transfers. Forced “re-assignment,” considered by many teachers as a way to compel them to resign, was the chief method of disciplining or getting rid of teachers without outright firing them with cause. Transferring a teacher, especially one who spent years at a particular school, complicated their professional and private lives considerably. Depending on where a teacher was transferred, their commute to work could quintuple. A number of schools had bad reputations for violence against teachers by students. Marjorie Murphy actually identified involuntary transfers as the longest-standing grievance of Chicago teachers.<sup>17</sup>

With both the union leadership and the Board of Education in opposition, the CTU held the referendum on March 23, 1965. Opponents of measure won decisively: 2,275 for the motion, 5,217 against. Fewkes hailed the results as support for the leadership's position on the question. He stated, “The union has always represented the substitutes before the Board of Education and we hope they will become career teachers and regular members of the union.” In the official press release announcing the results, he also wrote, “Chicago Teachers Union hopes that substitutes will become qualified career teachers and regular members of our professional organization.” The No-vote, in conjunction with Fewkes's snide comments about substitutes becoming career teachers, prompted even more FTBs to resign their union membership. Just two weeks after the referendum, Fewkes sent a letter to all active associate members to assure them that the union was taking their grievances seriously. After listing off the benefits the leadership secured for substitutes in previous years, Fewkes asserted that a Yes-vote would have denied them representational privileges as a “functional group.” He then announced the

formation of a steering committee to draft a “substitutes program” for the CTU to pursue in negotiations with the Board.<sup>18</sup>

Fewkes retired from the CTU in 1966. His successor—John Desmond—subsequently presided over a period of rapid change for the union. After years of negotiations and law suits, an appellate court ruled in November 1966 that Chicago's teachers could bargain collectively with the Board of Education. The CTU became the sole bargaining agent for employees of Chicago Public Schools. Desmond then pushed the leadership bodies to grant FTBs full membership in the union. He promised FTBs that the next round of negotiations would address a number of their grievances, but changing the certification requirements would not be one of them.<sup>19</sup>

The following year, FTBs and their supporters started to reframe their struggle in terms of race. No longer simply an internal union matter, the issue became a larger black-community struggle and reflected the increasingly militant atmosphere of CPS. As discussed earlier in this study, black students had been protesting their educational conditions since the early 1960s. Supported by their parents and local civil rights organizations, African-American youth protested against racist teachers and principals by organizing boycotts and demonstrations on campuses. They demanded a greater quality of public schooling than they were receiving, courses in black history, more technical and vocational training, insurance for athletes, and more black teachers and administrators in majority-black schools.<sup>20</sup> In this spatial and political context, black teachers—certified and FTBs—launched a two-front struggle against their employer and their union. Drawing from the militant black-labor tactics of the early twentieth century, black teachers engaged in wildcat strikes, all-black labor organizing, and strikebreaking to win their demands.

The turning point in the development of the FTB struggle, the shift to direct action, occurred in late 1967. The catalyst was the punitive transfer of an African-American teacher named Owen Lawson. Lawson taught social studies at Englewood High School. Popular among his students at the ninety-nine percent-black school, he also participated in the school's Afro-American History Club. The club met twice a week before school, and Lawson was known to regularly deliver lectures. On November 16, a Thursday, his white principal, Thomas Van Dam, informed him that he was being dismissed from Englewood because he did not turn in his reports on time and was absent once from a lunchroom-duty shift. Van Dam ordered him to report to the Personnel Department the following Monday for re-assignment. African-American parents, students, and teachers, however, suspected that he was being transferred because the principal perceived "black power overtones" in his club lectures and history classes. Upon hearing of the pending transfer, students spontaneously organized small demonstrations at Englewood demanding that Lawson keep his assignment. Parents, teachers, and civil rights activists planned for a meeting the next day to organize a response to Van Dam's decision.<sup>21</sup>

On November 20, the following Monday, parents and community members met with Van Dam and District Superintendent Michael R. Fortino at Englewood High School. They demanded that Lawson be reinstated, a black principal be hired for the school, and for black history to be included in the curriculum. As many as 300 students had already decided to boycott the school that day. They picketed the property with signs calling for Van Dam to resign, as some of their parents arrived to meet with the principal. In the meeting, Van Dam said that the sole reason Lawson was being re-assigned was because of his poor administrative performance. When he refused to reinstate Lawson, parents and community members stormed out of District Superintendent Fortino's office.<sup>22</sup>

The following day, the student boycott grew. Around one-third of Englewood's 2,850 attendees cut class that day. Hundreds of them picketed the school—700 at the height of the demonstration. “Riot helmeted” police arrived on the scene a couple of hours into the protest. Students reportedly responded by throwing rocks at the police and the school building. Police officers proceeded to then arrest as many as twenty-two of the young protesters. Principal Van Dam closed the school early because of the clashes. Another likely motive for ending the school day early was the shortage of teachers. FTBs executed an organized “sick-in” that day, leaving the school's administration scrambling to combine classes and monitor the kids in attendance. *Chicago Daily Defender* reported that “the percentage of teachers out on the 'sick-in' was very high.”<sup>23</sup>

The sick-in marked a new stage in the FTB struggle. Resorting to what amounted to a planned work stoppage, 1,300 out of 6,000 FTBs decided to essentially strike without authorization or direction from the CTU. The sources consulted for this study do not reveal exactly how many of the FTBs who called in sick were union members, but it is likely that all those with membership participated in the sick-in. The vast majority participated to some degree in the local civil rights movement, and most supported their students' actions. Superintendent Redmond, upon hearing of the work stoppage, cancelled a negotiating meeting with CTU leaders over a pay increase. CTU President John E. Desmond, for his part, tried to save face by suggesting that the FTB sick-in might help negotiations by demonstrating how serious FTBs were. The FTBs, however, intended to make it clear to the CTU that it had become an obstacle to their struggle.<sup>24</sup>

Some months before the sick-in, around 1,000 FTBs organized themselves and formed the virtually all-black group Concerned FTBs. When Lawson was removed from Englewood, the group sprung into action and organized the sick-in. Acting in their own interests as FTBs, the organization had earlier petitioned both the Board of Education

and the CTU in its own name. By the time Lawson had been dismissed, they had held demonstrations protesting the Board's certification practices. 300 FTBs showed up to one such protest in October. Rallying outside the Board of Education's offices, FTBs picketed against certification requirements and also voiced resentment against the CTU for not prioritizing FTB demands in negotiations with the Board.<sup>25</sup>

Concerned FTBs was not the only black grouping in the CTU. In 1966, black certified teachers and FTBs formed the Black Teachers Caucus (BTC) to campaign for improvements to black education and the interests of black educators from within the union. There was also the Teachers Committee for Quality Education (TCQE), which advocated for FTB certification, the hiring of more black staff at the public schools and union offices, and a progressive state income tax to finance public education in Illinois. About 500 strong, the TCQE lobbied the Board of Education and also argued for the improvement of black schools and substantial African-American community control of all-black schools. The TCQE was led by labor and civil rights activist Timuel D. Black. Black believed in the racial integration of society, and—unlike the BTC—included white teachers in his organization. Similar to the black caucuses in other industries, these groups sought to end job segregation. They also aimed to improve education for African-American students in Chicago.<sup>26</sup>

A week after the student boycott and arrests at Englewood High School, Owen Lawson spoke at a news conference. He stated, "I was fired because I was a black teacher in a black school teaching black children black pride." He rejected the administrative-incompetence accusation, and asserted that Van Dam charged him with using "95 percent of his class time" to teach "Afro-American history" without observing a single one of his classes. Englewood students continued to protest, even leading a contingent to Van Dam's private home. The press conference drew a number of



community members and students. Even members of a local gang, the Disciples, showed up to show Lawson their support. Russ Meek, a black nationalist associated with the Chicago Organization for Afro-American Unity, also attended. Speaking to a *Chicago Daily Defender* reporter, Meek said, “The firing of Owen Lawson is a slap at the entire black community. And black youth should rise up in massive and substantial protest.”<sup>27</sup>

On December 6, Concerned FTBs launched a second sick-in. Lonnie M. Hubbard, a Concerned FTBs leader, claimed around 3,000 FTBs participated in the sick-in, which lasted two days. A core of 300 met prior and reached out to their colleagues. They demanded the reinstatement of Owen Lawson, but also raised their grievances as FTBs. Concerned FTBs demanded that they be certified after two years of “satisfactory service.” CTU President John Desmond labeled the action a “wildcat,” while the Board of Education played down the number of FTBs that did not show up for work. Superintendent Redmond retaliated by docking all absent FTBs’ pay for days missed, with the exception of those that could produce a doctor’s note. Hubbard accused the Board of using the pay-gap between FTBs and certified teachers to mitigate its budget deficit. “School janitors and cafeteria workers outearn [*sic*] the typical FTB after five years service,” commented Hubbard. “In many cases it would make sense for a prospective teacher to apply for one of those non-professional jobs.” Lawson’s dismissal was enough to provoke immediate action, but the mobilization—in the context of community and student boycotts—managed to sustain itself and transformed into a fighting campaign.<sup>28</sup>

The sick-ins complicated matters for the CTU leadership, which was in the midst of contract negotiations with the Board over salary scales and benefits. The union had actually been seriously considering strike action. Concerned FTBs met with Desmond. The union leader promised them that they would be included in the negotiations if they called off further sick-ins. Concerned FTBs agreed “so [CTU] could have full strength in

negotiations with the board and the mayor.” Desmond and other union leaders made FTB raises a top-five demand by the end of the year, but it would not press for changes to certification practices. When negotiations seemed like they would produce a settlement in early January of 1968, Concerned FTBs announced it would stage a walkout. After asserting that all FTBs would have honored the strike (had it been called), the chairman of the Concerned FTBs—James B. McQuirter—said the group would strike unless “our certification demands are met, regardless of a [CTU] back-to-work order.” Desmond asserted that the FTBs would not receive union support in the event of a walkout. The CTU House of Representatives voted in favor of averting a strike on January 7. The Board promised across-the-board pay increases and assistance in lobbying the Illinois General Assembly for more funding. In a bulletin to members outlining the contract, the CTU mentioned the FTBs' raises and stated, “The first meeting between the Union and the General Superintendent of Schools will be Tuesday, January 9, regarding certification requirements.”<sup>29</sup>

Practically admitting that certification was never really on the table during negotiations, the CTU hoped the FTBs would be pacified by the raise. The substitutes were not deterred. They continued to plan their action. On January 16, 1968, the Concerned FTBs led other substitutes in a strike for certification. Unfortunately for the group, the strike did not attract as many participants as its leaders expected. The Board of Education also managed to fill many absences with “day-to-day subs,” psychologists, teacher aides, nurses, supervisors, and Board office staff. FTBs stayed on the picket line for ten days, but their numbers thinned after the first three days. Fewer than 2,000 (one-third of all FTBs) spent at least one day out. Tom Smith, a member of Concerned FTBs, accused white principals and the Board of Education of using intimidation to dampen the strike. With no tenure, FTBs were especially vulnerable to transfer and termination. Smith

said “certain principals threatened nonstrikers with loss of their jobs if they joined the strikers.” By the last day of the work stoppage, only a few hundred FTBs remained on strike.<sup>30</sup>

Black support for the strike was strong, but many could not go through with a work stoppage. Just like black students, parents, and community members, quality education loomed large as a central demand of the civil rights movement. African-American children were suffering racial abuse all over the country for a chance at the educational opportunities promised by integration. Many black teachers felt their first responsibility was to the black children under their tutelage. Although Concerned FTBs also struggled for educational improvements in black schools, the organization felt that a work stoppage would compel the CTU to take its grievances seriously.<sup>31</sup>

The sick-ins and winter strike did not secure certification under the circumstances desired by FTBs. They did, however, result in a one-time arrangement between the CTU and the Board. Over the summer of 1968, the Board of Education authorized a special qualifying certification exam to be held. The exam omitted the oral component as a concession to the FTBs. The Board of Examiner's oral exam had come to be identified by FTBs as the primary mechanism by which CPS discriminated against African Americans. The majority of black teachers met the school system's hiring requirements of a bachelor's degree and eighteen hours of education coursework. But when it came to the certification exam, the vast majority failed the oral component.<sup>32</sup>

The qualifying oral exam had been under scrutiny by black educators in Chicago for years. It largely amounted to a face-to-face interview with a member of the Board of Examiners and Board of Education officials. The Board claimed that the exam consisted of an evaluation of a candidate's “personality, scholarship, and general fitness to teach.” Black teachers accused the oral exam of being culturally biased at best, and outright

racist at worst. Black women were expected to straighten their hair for the exam, or else they would be penalized. Men, on the other hand, were penalized for appearing too confident. No matter how many African Americans the Board failed, it continued to claim that the written and oral tests were not biased. FTB Tom Smith commented, “Proper use of the English language is one of the things they are graded on, and since most of the FTBs are black and most of the examiners white, I guess there is some discrepancy in what they feel is proper English.” Some African-American educators, however, felt differently. The Board of Education had recently appointed an African American to the Board of Examiners, and he defended the certification process. Older black teachers who held certification—having acquired it at a time when African Americans had even fewer opportunities—also defended the process, alongside many resentful white teachers. They felt that the exams were basically fair, and those who failed them were just not ready to become a certified teacher. The problem with that reasoning is that the majority of FTBs taught full-time already. Many from the South had taught for years. Some even had Ph.D.s but could not pass the oral exam, according to John F. Lyons, “because the Board of Examiners thought they had 'unprofessional' black southern accents, were politically unsuitable, or exuded a confident manner deemed threatening to the white examiners.” One black educator, speaking with a *Chicago Daily Defender* reporter, called the certification process “the perpetuation of an established quota system.”<sup>33</sup>

The special summer certification exam omitted the oral component as a concession to FTBs. 714 out of 2,381 FTBs passed the test, but far fewer actually received a classroom assignment. In lieu of the oral component, the Board of Examiners required more letters of recommendation from principals and administrators. Understood by some black teachers to be a cynical maneuver by the Board of Education, the added requirement effectively disqualified most teachers that participated in the sick-ins and

strike, as well as those that supported student actions. By the end of the summer of 1968, several FTBs had active lawsuits against the Board of Examination. One FTB, biology teacher Neva Howard (a graduate student of Educational Administration at Chicago's Roosevelt University, where she had also received her bachelor's degree in biology), investigated the exam upon learning she had failed by eight points. After meeting with a number of Board of Education representatives, she had found that the time allotted to take the exam was reduced out of proportion to the number of questions. Furthermore, she discovered that the first portion of the exam was weighted against the other two. While a wrong answer on the exam would usually penalize the test-taker 0.25 points, the special exam had a penalty of 0.75 points in its first section. Commenting on the exam, she said, "This special FTB Certification examination objective was apparently aimed at failure instead of certification of the individual in terms of the candidate's actual performance." FTBs essentially had less time to take an exam that was scored in a manner to make passing more difficult. Howard wrote letters to the union leadership, seeking assistance in challenging the legitimacy of the test. The union made appointments with her but then cancelled them, all the while assuring her that they will handle her grievance. TCQE wrote the leadership on her behalf as well, pointing out that a number of black applicants also believed the special certification exam was deliberately altered to allow only a small portion of test-takers to pass. After being largely ignored for months, Neva Howard wrote to Desmond, accusing the union of "collusion with the Chicago Board of Education [and] Board of Examiners." Rather than continuing to proceed through CTU channels, Howard decided to take the matter to the Illinois Fair Employment Practices Commission, charging the Board of Education with racial discrimination.<sup>34</sup>

That fall, the CTU started negotiating the union's 1969 contract with the Board of Education. According to CTU President John E. Desmond, across-the-board pay increases, educational improvements (smaller class sizes, more teacher aides in inner-city schools, and in-service training for new employees), *and* revision of certification requirements. FTBs' activism and industrial action had forced the union leadership to raise their primary demand. The Board, however, pleaded poverty in order to resist nearly all of the union's contract positions. When negotiations broke down, Desmond and the CTU leadership decided to prepare for a strike. Responding to conservative factions of white teachers, Desmond prioritized general salary adjustments and educational improvements over FTB certification. Even with its negotiating team's revised priorities, the union faced an intransigent Board. By January 1969, the CTU had even backpedaled on educational improvements to no avail.<sup>35</sup>

A strike appeared increasingly likely. Black teachers—certified and FTB alike—felt betrayed by the union once again. The Black Teachers Caucus (BTC), led by radical black nationalist Bobby E. Wright (who later became a prominent theorist in African-American psychology), called on its members not to renew their union membership or cooperate with white labor groups. To the BTC, the CTU, Board of Education, and city government were in cahoots to preserve white supremacy in Chicago Public Schools. They were “through with the white liberals,” and instructed their members to no longer discuss BTC activities with whites. James McQuirter of Concerned FTBs also had had enough. At the end of December 1968, he announced plans to build a new union: United Educational Employees of Chicago.<sup>36</sup>

Despite all of the CTU's pronouncements about fighting for all its members and their students, the negotiating team abandoned the FTBs and the improvements needed by inner-city schools. The vast majority of black teachers and community members, if

they were not already, became completely disillusioned with the CTU. So too did another formation in the union, the Teachers Action Committee (TAC). Founded in 1965 by CTU organizer Charles Skibbens and classroom teacher Richard J. Holland, TAC focused its efforts on winning collective bargaining rights. TAC became more militant by 1969 and stood in solidarity with African-American teachers and students. As a CTU strike seemed increasingly likely, TAC, BTC, TCQE, and Concerned FTBs resolved to undermine any potential work stoppage. TAC members said they would only go out on strike “if Desmond would agree to give highest priority...to educational improvements, with reduction of class size at the top of the list.” Bobby Wright, leader of the BTC, asserted that if the CTU called a strike, “all black teachers will remain on their jobs teaching black children...all black schools will stay open.”<sup>37</sup>

By all accounts the black caucus movement in the CTU enjoyed considerable support from the city's black educators and community members, but it suffered from a noticeable lack of black female leadership. A review of *The Chicago Defender's* reporting, as well as the two published histories written about blacks and CPS in the 1960s (Lyons' *Teachers and Reform* and Danna's *Something Better for Our Children*), indicate that black men made up the vast majority of spokespersons and leaders in the revolt against the CTU. In an interview John F. Lyons, BTC treasurer Grady Jordan commented on the gender diversity of the black teachers' movement: “We felt that...black men got to come to the forefront. Black women had carried the fight for all these years and we got to come to the forefront and assume our responsibilities.” Based on his interviews, Lyons ascertained that the caucuses, but the BTC especially, alienated African-American women, and that “African American men teachers [*sic*] built the organizations to be led and dominated by black men.” Lyons notes, however, that at least one black woman,

certified elementary-school teacher and CTU representative Mattie Hopkins, barged into an all-male BTC meeting and demanded she be allowed to join.<sup>38</sup>

Nevertheless, black female support for the caucuses was likely very high. Although the historical record left little documentation on female participation in the caucuses at the leadership level, black women made up most of the faculty at the most overcrowded and violent schools in the 1960s: elementary schools. Eighty-six percent of elementary-school teachers were women in the late 1960s, when elementary-school teachers made up sixty-one percent of all teachers in the city. Addressing the financial and spatial needs of all-black schools would certainly have disproportionately benefitted black female educators. The FTB dilemma, in contrast, seems to have disproportionately impacted black male teachers. According to Lyons, fewer African-American men passed the certification exam than African-American women. And while there had been black female principals in Chicago as early as 1928, the first African-American man was not appointed principal until 1948. Lyons further adds that “examiners...considered black males troublesome and threatening, while they saw black women as more controllable and malleable.” Reflecting the male chauvinism that was prevalent in many civil rights and Black Power organizations, black male teachers—incensed by their lack of opportunity to advance as educators at CPS—likely crowded out black women out of leadership roles in the caucuses. A further dimension to the question of gender is added by a list of demands made by the group Concerned Parents of Parker High School—an all-black school located on the northeast fringes of the city's Black Belt. Supporting their children, who had launched a boycott over overcrowding, some parents issued their own list of demands to the administration. One demand called for the “appointment of two assistant principals, black and male attuned to the needs of the black student.” Another read, “Fill counseling vacancies with competent counselors preferably black men.” The



demands were signed by the chairman of the group, Mrs. Exzene Effort. The specificity of the staff-related demands likely stemmed from some association with the BTC. Lyons notes that the BTC helped organize some of the black Concerned Parents groups that sprung up in the late 1960s. Despite the BTC's efforts to advocate for black male employment at CPS and male-control of the black teacher activist groups, the majority of black female educators supported the struggle on the basis of ending job segregation and improving education in black neighborhoods.<sup>39</sup>

By the end of 1968, the CTU leadership found itself constrained in contract negotiations. Conservative white teachers demanded a raise, but liberals and black members threatened to split and strikebreak for the sake of black students and teachers. The Board of Education, for its part, proclaimed that there was no money to meet any of the union's demands. In fact, the Board threatened the union with budget cuts and layoffs. They claimed that as many as 7,000 teachers could lose their jobs. In early 1969, the CTU informed its members that a pay cut may be necessary in the contract to avoid layoffs. On January 6, 1969, the CTU held a mass meeting of its membership. Desmond read out the most recent contract proposal. His report was met with heckling by white and black teachers alike. Black teachers, however, staged a walkout. The contract proposal held few improvements for inner-city schools, and only offered ambiguous cosmetic changes to certification rules. At a press conference, black teachers charged the CTU leadership with "blatant racism" for ignoring [their] demands." Meanwhile, white union members voted down the contract, forcing the CTU House of Representatives to begin preparations for a strike."<sup>40</sup>

Desmond returned to the negotiating table the following week, coming back with a new proposal: a six-month extension of the 1968 contract, some educational improvements for inner-city schools, but no pay increase. Black and white teachers—for

different reasons—disapproved of the proposal, but a majority agreed to the six-month extension. The potential CTU strike was postponed, although the BTC considered organizing its own.<sup>41</sup>

The following month, Superintendent James F. Redmond surprised all parties by announcing that revisions to certification procedures would be made. The oral examination for FTBs with one year of “satisfactory” experience would be eliminated, and teachers could retake the exam as many times as necessary. Backtracking on previous comments about the budget, Redmond claimed that the certification of potentially thousands of FTBs (who would end up receiving a substantial pay increase) would not impact the budget. He denied that the CTU or any other groups had any impact on the Board of Education's decision. FTBs, however, did not believe the concession was enough. They wanted the Board to rehire dozens of fired FTBs who were terminated because of their participation in the sick-ins and wildcat strike. They also still wanted punitively transferred FTBs like Owen Lawson re-assigned to their old schools. Timuel D. Black, representing the TCQE, expressed his caucus's frustration with the Board's concession. He wrote to Superintendent Redmond about how elimination of the oral exam was inadequate. TCQE, like virtually all FTBs, wanted automatic certification—with no examination of any kind—after two years of teaching experience in Chicago Public Schools.<sup>42</sup>

Come April, the Board of Education's budget woes came to the forefront of labor relations. Without additional revenue authorized by the Illinois General Assembly, the Board claimed it would have to layoff 7,300 teachers and cut back on school programs. Per Board rules, FTBs and other substitutes would be terminated first, making black educators especially vulnerable. The CTU responded by threatening a strike, but black teachers viewed the threat “as a 'stunt' to bolster Desmond's chances of being elected to

another term as union president.” The CTU resolved to organize demonstrations against the cuts, but many black teachers refused to participate. According to *The Chicago Defender*, “[Black teachers] maintain that unless the black community gets 53 percent of the school budget to match the 53 percent of black student population, they will oppose any demonstrations by the union, including a strike.” The African-American community rallied behind the teachers. Civil rights activist and high-school history teacher Roy Stell declared at a press conference, “We will not march at the Board of Education...as CTU President John Desmond has urged and we will not strike in June or demonstrate at Springfield.” TCQE, however, did opt to lobby the state legislature for a graduated income tax to shore up Chicago's education finances.<sup>43</sup>

Some African Americans viewed the prospective budget cuts as a way for the Board to dump thousands of black FTBs before future concessions were made. Redmond denied any potential bias in the layoffs. “It is exceedingly unfortunate that [a] large number of FTBs are black,” said Redmond, “but this was no planned action by the Board. Those with less tenure or those who are the last to come will be the first to go and this includes all temporary teachers and provisionally certificated personnel as well.”<sup>44</sup>

James McQuirter's plans for a breakaway union gathered steam. On May 6, 1969, the Teachers Division (a coalition of the existing black labor formations in Chicago Public Schools, except for the BTC) of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's (SCLC) Operation Breadbasket announced that it led 500 black teachers willing to stage a mass withdrawal from the CTU in protest of the union's “racist actions.” Although the mass action did not happen, dozens of black teachers had resigned their union membership over the previous month to join McQuirter's new union. His United Educational Employees of Chicago ultimately floundered in 1970, but the project reflected the frustration of black unionists who believed the CTU valued white members over black

teachers and fifty-three percent of the school system's students. The BTC, on the other hand, influenced by black nationalism since its founding, understood this since its founding. Many of its members let their membership lapse, but they kept their distance from Operation Breadbasket, which they felt was too moderate.<sup>45</sup>

As the six-month extension of the 1968 contract neared its end, the CTU and the Board of Education reached an impasse. Under pressure from its membership, the CTU demanded no layoffs and a small across-the-board pay increase. The Board refused, so the CTU leadership set a strike date: May 22. The membership voted on May 10 to strike. Black members participated in the strike vote, and the vast majority voted in favor. However, many of the black groups declared they would not honor the strike at all-black schools. Operation Breadbasket, the BTC, McQuirter's United Educational Employees of Chicago, Concerned FTBs, Concerned Black Coaches, and the TCQE endorsed the threat of strikebreaking. They claimed their members would keep all-black schools open. They even put out a call to black college students to help staff any black schools impacted by the impending strike.<sup>46</sup> Each of these groups felt that the CTU no longer best represented its members. For those primarily concerned with FTB certification, the CTU leadership and many of its white members were complacent in, if not supportive of, job segregation. Just a few years ago they had felt threatened by the prospect of granting FTBs full democratic participation in their organization. Now they continued to refuse to prioritize the expansion of their own ranks, if it meant demanding certification for the mostly-black FTBs. For those primarily concerned with the improvement of black education, the union was prioritizing individual material interests over the needs of those its members were supposed to be committed to providing a quality education. While all of these labor formations were in fact in favor of both goals, the most significant common ground between them—with the exception of the breakaway union—was their

understanding of the CTU as an immediate obstacle. An obstacle, however, that could also be used to advance their struggles.

The day before the strike was due to begin, Mayor Richard J. Daley had held a meeting with the Board of Education and CTU leaders in an attempt to avoid a strike. Daley intervened multiple times in the past, often “single-handedly” ending impasses between the two sides. On this occasion, however, the mayor could not resolve the dispute. After more than twelve hours of discussion, the negotiations collapsed. With a two-to-one vote to strike, Desmond could not accept the Board's final proposal, which hinged on additional state funding. The CTU went on its first “official” strike on May 22, 1969. It lasted two days.<sup>47</sup>

Black teachers and staff faced a crossroads. For months their organizations had been threatening to strikebreak, but eleventh-hour agreements between the CTU and the Board of Education averted work stoppages for years. The black labor formations in the union refused to strike. Although there are no accurate numbers of how many of these formations' members went to work, John F. Lyons wrote that around three-quarters of the school system's workforce went on strike. This number included fifty-five percent of African-American teachers. At a press conference, David Harrison—co-chairman of the Teacher Division of Operation Breadbasket—said, “We are not against unionism, but we cannot support the Chicago Teachers Union in this strike since the union has been racist in dealing with problems of the black community. We feel that the picket lines are a furthermore indication of the union's failure to work for the needs of the black community.” Although it is likely that many strikebreakers—black and white—went to work because they could not afford not to, the influence of the black caucuses and activist groups over black unionists was substantial. There are further ambiguities as to the motivation to strikebreak. As far as the larger African-American community was

concerned, the education of black students was *the* priority. To black Chicagoans, the CTU—like countless other unions—was a racist institution that stood in the way of the long civil rights movement and the educational well-being of their children. Various community groups supported the strikebreakers, circulating flyers around their neighborhood that urged black parents to send their kids to school. The black caucuses, while committed to their communities and students, were also committed to trade unionism. They were committed to ending job segregation in Chicago Public Schools. While some did split from the CTU, the vast majority stayed in the union out of principle.<sup>48</sup>

The first day of the strike John E. Desmond resumed negotiations at City Hall with the Board of Education with Mayor Daley as mediator. Earlier in the day, Redmond had ordered all schools closed for the week. Teachers reporting to work were to attend training seminars at their schools. Strikebreaking black teachers ignored the order and held class as they planned. The CTU leadership and the Board of Education, however, reached a tentative agreement late that evening. The governor of Illinois came through and apportioned additional funding to Chicago Public Schools. Desmond told the press, “This is the best we can get and we will be happy with it.” The proposed contract included a pay raise (two-thirds of what the CTU asked for), no layoffs for a year, no reductions in educational programs, guarantees of reduced class sizes, and automatic FTB certification after three years of satisfactory service. On May 25, 1969, the CTU voted to accept the contract and end its strike. 9,776 voted for the contract while 585 opposed it. Approximately 7,000 members did not participate in the vote.<sup>49</sup>

While Desmond took credit for winning FTB certification, the result was in fact achieved by the militancy and direct action of black teachers. Their wildcat strike, and then their deliberate defiance of the CTU's official strike, likely convinced Mayor Daley that shoring up the CTU's own control over its black members would best serve his

political machine. Maintaining the confidence of the city's white voters meant maintaining labor peace at CPS, which in turn required acquiescing to the FTBs' demands. Presiding over the contract negotiations, Daley instructed the Board of Education to agree to FTB certification in order to put an end to the renegade black teachers' movement. For his part, John F. Lyons contends that "the CTU prodded the board and Mayor Daley to give in to the demands of the Concerned FTBs" in order to thwart McQuirter's attempt to form a breakaway union. Lyon's explanation may be true, but Desmond must have known that his union still commanded the allegiance of more than half of the school system's African-American teachers based on the first day's strike figures. The United Educational Employees of Chicago was probably never a very big threat to the CTU itself. It is possible that Desmond did not push harder, if at all, for FTB certification, even in the face of strikebreaking. Whether or not Desmond fought hard for the FTBs, or Daley feared an electoral challenge based on "chaos" at CPS, black educators did the most for their own cause by challenging their own union at the same time they struggled against the Board.<sup>50</sup>

## Chapter 5

### Conclusion

The black rebellion within the CTU resulted in a radical change in pay for African-American teachers. In 1968, FTBs made less than five-year-veteran “school janitors and cafeteria workers,” but the 1969 contract made the newly certified educators some of the highest paid teachers in the entire country. Annual starting-pay for a certified teacher with a bachelors degree increased by \$1,000 to an annual \$8,350. Detroit, the previous year's leader in teacher pay, compensated new teachers with a \$7,500 annual salary. Los Angeles followed at \$7,210, and then San Francisco at \$6,820.<sup>1</sup> The CTU had managed to negotiate successive raises over the previous years without resorting to industrial action until May 1969, due in part to Mayor Richard J. Daley's politically-motivated interventions. At the moment when both the civil rights movement and the CTU were putting pressure on the mayor, he acquiesced to both again.<sup>2</sup>

Some months after the contract was signed, Concerned FTBs disbanded. The BTC followed suit the next year. The CTU took no disciplinary action against any members that did not strike. And while black students and parents' disdain for the CTU lingered for years, black unionists rallied and continued to fight for educational improvements from within the union. When the CTU went on strike again in 1971, ninety percent of black educators walked the picket lines. That strike defended CTU from layoffs, and won educational improvements like reduced class sizes. The union subsequently elected more black teachers into leadership positions. Moreover, the CTU and black communities pressured the Board of Education to adopt tailored curricula in black schools to include African-American history and literature, a longstanding demand of black students and community members.<sup>3</sup>



Although black teachers won significant educational reforms in Chicago, and black unionists all over the country won a greater say in organized labor, substantial racial inequality in terms of pay and job access persist to this day. Civil rights legislation established some measure of federal redress when racial discrimination in hiring or promotion occurs, but the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) has suffered from backlogs for decades, largely due to Reagan Era budget cuts. In 1994, it took up to nineteen months for an EEOC investigator to look at someone's case. As a result, "workers, frustrated by the long wait..., give up, or they and their witness disappear, or their employers go out of business so there is no one to sue." Today, some twenty years later, backlogs still prevent workers from receiving justice in anything resembling a timely fashion. According to *The Wall Street Journal* from this April, "the number of cases awaiting resolution for three years or more exceeded 30,000 for the fifth time in the past decade." Still, racial discrimination in hiring and promotion today likely does not exist to the extent that it had prior to the 1970s because of the struggles and sacrifices of black workers who challenged their employers and organized labor.<sup>4</sup>

The impact of job segregation on black economic advancement prior to the 1970s cannot be understated. It exacerbated income inequality, even as the labor movement secured increased pay for black unionists. Substantial job diversity and upward economic mobility did not reach many African-American communities until the 1963 Civil Rights Act and the expansion of the public sector. Most black workers in the twentieth century faced near constant economic insecurity. "Last hired, first fired" continues to this day to be somewhat of an American truism for blacks, but in many unionized industries it was a contractual fact. Organized labor's belated acceptance of black unionists as full and equal members placed many at the end of seniority lines, leaving them vulnerable to layoffs during periods of economic downturn. It is with this

reality in mind that this study will briefly engage with economist Guy Standing's book *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*.<sup>5</sup>

Standing argues that neoliberal economics and “globalization” has produced a growing social class, global in scope: the precariat. The growth of this class in the United States, he claims, is primarily the result of employers' demands for “labor market flexibility” (the ability to fire at will and pay employees less to shore-up profits in the face of low consumer demand) over the previous decades. A corresponding political movement pursued the rolling back of state welfare, leaving more and more American workers with less job security than they enjoyed previously. Standing writes, “In essence, the flexibility advocated by the brash neo-classical economists meant systematically making employees more insecure.” This precariat is not the working-class, proletariat. By Standing's definition, the proletariat is characterized by “long-term, stable, fixed-hour jobs with established routes of advancement, subject to unionization and collective bargaining.” He defines the precariat as a social class that lacks most of the seven forms of “labour-related security” established by international trade unions and social-democratic parties after the Second World War:

“1. *Labour market security* – Adequate income-earning opportunities...

“2. *Employment security* – Protection against arbitrary dismissal, regulations on hiring and firing, imposition of costs on employers for failing to adhere to rules and so on.

“3. *Job security* – Ability and opportunity to retain a niche in employment, plus barriers to skill dilution, and opportunities for 'upward' mobility in terms of status and income.

“4. *Work security* – Protection against accidents and illness at work, through, for example, safety and health regulations, limits on working time...

“5. *Skill reproduction security* – Opportunity to gain skills, through apprenticeships, employment training and so on, as well as opportunity to make use of competencies.

“6. *Income security* – Assurance of an adequate stable income, protected through, for example, minimum wage machinery, wage indexation, comprehensive social security, progressive taxation to reduce inequality and to supplement low incomes.

“7. *Representation security* – Possessing a collective voice in the labor market, through, for example, independent trade unions, with a right to strike.”<sup>6</sup>

As discussed earlier in this study, organized labor impeded many black workers from enjoying a number of the “securities” outlined above. Organized labor alone did not obstruct African Americans from economic advancement (plenty of employers and white supremacist groups were happy to do so), but its increasing power in the labor market over the course of the twentieth century placed concrete limits on job access and skill acquisition in many urban areas. The Washburne Trade School in Chicago, for instance, served as a bulwark against integration of the city's construction industry.

“Representation security” too proved tenuous for blacks in integrated trade unions. Many of the characteristics of the precariat, as outlined by Guy Standing, are true of African-American workers of the past. The black FTBs, in particular, found themselves especially vulnerable to punitive transfers or termination, all the while enduring unequal pay for doing the same job as mostly-white certified teachers. To be black in the United States often meant to endure a precarious economic existence. In attempting to understand the socio-economic basis for many millennials' lack of class-based politics, he neglects to reflect on the socio-economic characteristics of marginalized groups in the past. Facing similar economic prospects, black workers made up a significant portion of the country's precariat before the rise of neoliberalism. Although neoliberalism has been forcing greater numbers of workers into the ranks of the precariat, it is a class with a much older past.

It is ahistorical to compare black workers before the 1970s to a newly theorized social class that owes its existence to economic and political forces of subsequent decades, but scholars of neoliberal economics and “globalization” would do well to consult labor and race-centered histories when analyzing supposedly new phenomena. Developments in migration studies, for instance, challenge the distinctiveness on which scholars like Guy Standing base their analyses of “globalization” and its socio-economic

repercussions. The precariat is not new to the United States, it has just been whitened in recent decades, perhaps making it more noticeable.

In addition to challenging Standing's narrow temporal conceptualization of the precariat, this study also fashions a tentative bridge between labor historiographies. The overlaps between "civil rights" unionism, "Black Power" unionism, the upsurge in public-sector organizing, and the rank-and-file revolt of the long seventies, demands further investigation by historians and sociologists alike. While this study has relied on the notion of diffusion to argue for an increase in militancy in the labor movement in the early years of the long seventies—with black unionists in the vanguard—more micro-studies of black labor activism (both inside and outside of organized labor) are necessary to fully understand the social and political power of the black labor revolt.

This study ultimately puts forward a narrative that places militant black workers at the center of a rapidly changing American workforce: African-American shifts into the public sector, the reform movements in organized labor, the breakdown of job segregation, and the expansion of public employment. What has been understood as part of the Black Power movement is largely neglected from the perspective of U.S. labor history. This is unfortunate, considering its relevance is currently being renewed by the present militancy of young black activists today and the continued lack of militancy among American unionists.

## NOTES

### Chapter 1 Notes

<sup>1</sup> David Potter, "Distorted Strike Figures Cited: Teacher Sick-In Leader Raps Board," *The Chicago Defender*, December 9, 1967.

<sup>2</sup> John F. Lyons, *Teachers and Reform: Chicago Public Education, 1929-1970* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2008), 176; Dionne A. Danna, *Something Better for Our Children: Black Organizing in Chicago Public Schools, 1963-1971* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 107; Faith C. Christmas, "Black Teachers Label Their Union 'Racist,'" *Chicago Daily Defender*, January 9, 1969. Lyons asserts that "about 90 percent" of FTBs were black by 1963; he cites a lengthy report written by then-education professor Robert J. Havighurst of the University of Chicago—*The Public Schools of Chicago: A Survey for the Board of Education of the City of Chicago* (1964). Danna also provides a similar figure via a 1999 interview with former-FTB and black educator Harold Charles. It is likely, however, that this percentage declined by the late 1960s because of a supposed influx in staffing of white members of the Urban Teacher Corps. One FTB described them as "young, white men with draft deferments and no educational background."

<sup>3</sup> Herbert Hill, "Racism Within Organized Labor: A Report of Five Years of the AFL-CIO, 1955-1960," *The Journal of Negro Education*, 30 (Spring 1961): 109-118. Hill accused the AFL-CIO of tacitly condoning many of its locals' efforts to exclude blacks from the skilled trades and the construction industry. He also claimed it had done little to challenge hiring and promotion discrimination in contract negotiations. For numerous examples of organized labor's complicity in racial job segregation, see Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619-1981*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: International Publishers, 1982); William H. Harris, *The Harder We Run: Black Workers Since the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); and Michael K. Honey, *Black Workers Remember: An Oral History of Segregation, Unionism, and the Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> "Sub Teachers Angered By Strike Settlement: Group May Mobilize For Own Walkout," *Chicago Daily Defender*, January 9, 1968; "Teachers To 'Work' In Strike," *Chicago Daily Defender*, May 17, 1969.

<sup>5</sup> Hill, "Racism Within Organized Labor," 109-118; Michael Goldfield, "Race and the CIO: The Possibilities for Racial Egalitarianism during the 1930s and 1940s," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 44 (Fall 1993): 1-32.

<sup>6</sup> Adam Fairclough, "Historians and the Civil Rights Movement," *Journal of American Studies*, 24 (December 1990): 387-398; Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *The Journal of American History*, 91 (March 2005): 1233-1263.

<sup>7</sup> Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua and Clarence Lang, "The 'Long Movement' as Vampire: Temporal and Spatial Fallacies in Recent Black Freedom Studies," *The Journal of*

*African American History*, 92 (Spring 2007): 265. Chapter organization in the following books distinguish between organized labor's relationship with the popular civil rights movement and its relationship with Black Power: "Civil Rights: The Contest for Leadership" and "Black Power v. Union Power: The Crisis of Race" in Marjorie Murphy, *Blackboard Unions: The AFT & The NEA, 1900-1980* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); "The Negro Labor Alliance" and "Black Power in the Unions" in Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*; "The Campaign for Collective Bargaining and the Civil Rights Movement" and "Teacher Power and Black Power Reform the Public Education System" in Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*; and "We Both Got Militant: Union Teachers Versus Black Power During the Era of Community Control" in Dana Goldstein, *The Teacher Wars: A History of America's Most Embattled Profession* (New York: Doubleday, 2014).

<sup>8</sup> For more on the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Strike, see Jerald E. Podair, *The Strike That Changed New York: Blacks, Whites, and the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), and Wendell Pritchett, *Brownsville, Brooklyn: Blacks, Jews, and the Changing Face of the Ghetto* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002). For more on opposition to community control outside of New York City, see Marjorie Murphy, "Militancy in Many Forms: Teachers Strikes and Urban Insurrection, 1967-74," *Rebel Rank and File*, 241-244; Allan C. Ornstein, "Administrative/Community Organization of Metropolitan Schools," *The Phi Delta Kappan*, 54 (June 1973): 668-674; Goldstein, *The Teacher Wars*, 133-163.

<sup>9</sup> David Goldberg and Trevor Griffey, eds., *Black Power at Work: Community Control, Affirmative Action, and the Construction Industry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010).

<sup>10</sup> Cal Winslow, "Overview: The Rebellion from Below, 1965-1981," *Rebel Rank and File*, 1-4; Dan La Botz, *Rank-and-File Rebellion: Teamsters for a Democratic Union* (New York: Verso Books, 1990), 19-41; "Teacher Strikes Across Nation Delaying School for Thousands," *The New York Times*, September 5, 1968; Joseph A. Loftus, "Rising Militancy Noted in Public Employees," *The New York Times*, September 3, 1968; Robert Shaffer, "Public Employee Unionism: A Neglected Social Movement of the 1960s," *The History Teacher*, 44 (August 2011): 489-508; Paul J. Nyden, "Rank-and-File Movements in the United Mine Workers of America, Early 1960s-Early 1980s," *Rebel Rank and File*, 173-174; A.C. Jones, "Rank-and-File Opposition in the UAW During the Long 1970s," *Rebel Rank and File*, 289-298.

<sup>11</sup> Most of the contributors to *Rebel Rank and File* acknowledge and incorporate African Americans into their essays. Unfortunately, they significantly underemphasize the scale of "the black caucus movement." Framed more as a precursor, black labor activism in *Rebel Rank and File* is treated more as either a component of the long civil rights movement or work-place Black Power. Furthermore, the collection of essays makes no mention of the black struggle to end discrimination in the construction industry. The only significant treatment given to black labor activism in *Rebel Rank and File* is Kieran Taylor's "American Petrograd: Detroit and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers."

<sup>12</sup> Guy Standing, *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*, revised edition (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 8-18.

<sup>13</sup> Frank Donner, *Protectors of Privilege: Red Squads and Police Repression in Urban America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 92-93.

<sup>14</sup> Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 200-202.

## Chapter 2 Notes

<sup>1</sup> Hill, "Racism Within Organized Labor," 109-110.

<sup>2</sup> Ernest Obadele-Starks, "Black Texans and Theater Craft Unionism: The Struggle for Racial Equality," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 106 (April 2003): 533; Ernest Obadele-Starks, *Black Unionism in the Industrial South* (College Station: Texas A&M University, 2000), 49-52; Adam Fairclough, *Better Day Coming: Blacks and Equality, 1890-2000* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002), 147-148. Commenting on the CIO's attempts at interracial unionism, Fairclough asserts, "Whites remained hostile to associating with blacks outside the factory gate, and they were reluctant to embrace the wider cause of black civil rights. In the face of white conservatism and prejudice, the CIO unions often compromised their egalitarian principles."

<sup>3</sup> Honey, *Black Workers Remember*, 140-141; Alice Lynd and Staughton Lynd, eds., *Rank & File: Personal Histories by Working-Class Organizers* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2011), 353-354, 371-374.

<sup>4</sup> David M. Lewis-Colman, *Race Against Liberalism: Black Workers and the UAW in Detroit* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 18-24; Honey, *Black Workers Remember*, 162-165.

<sup>5</sup> Obadele-Starks, *Black Unionism in the Industrial South*, 33-36.

<sup>6</sup> Ira De A. Reid for the Department of Research and Investigations of the National Urban League, *Negro Membership in American Labor Unions* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 25-32; Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris, *The Black Worker: The Negro and the Labor Movement* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), 53-56; Obadele-Starks, "Black Texans and Theater Craft Unionism," 533; Obadele-Starks, *Black Unionism in the Industrial South*, 49-52.

<sup>7</sup> Reid, *Negro Membership in American Labor Unions*, 38.

<sup>8</sup> Harris, *The Harder We Run*, 45.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 103-104.

- <sup>10</sup> Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 123; David R. Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 119-130.
- <sup>11</sup> World War II serves as an appropriate historical reference point in the evaluation of African-American strikebreaking. As discussed earlier in this study, more than 500,000 black workers joined the ranks of the CIO by the end of the war. This number does not even include the estimated 81,658 unionized African Americans in segregated AFL affiliates and independent black unions in the late 1920s, an estimate that surely grew in the following decades. A considerable number of "union-conscious" blacks effectively stood outside of the potential pool of recruitable strikebreakers by the early 1940s. The subsequent "Negro-Labor Alliance" further dissuaded African Americans from crossing picket lines, except of course in the case of hate strikes. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 232; Reid, *Negro Membership in American Labor Unions*, 101-103; Lewis-Coleman, *Race Against Liberalism*, 15-16.
- <sup>12</sup> Spero and Harris, *The Black Worker*, 128-132; William M. Tuttle Jr., "Labor Conflict and Racial Violence: The Black Worker in Chicago, 1894-1919," *Labor History*, 10 (June 1969): 410-411, 426; Harris, *The Harder We Run*, 20-22; Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 123.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>14</sup> Warren C. Whatley, "African-American Strikebreaking from the Civil War to the New Deal," *Social Science History*, 17 (Winter 1993): 526-529, 544-550.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid., 544-550.
- <sup>16</sup> Robin D. G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 142-143, 148; Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 237; Honey, *Southern Labor and Black Civil Rights*, 285-286.
- <sup>17</sup> Robert Brenner, "The Political Economy of the Rank-and-File Rebellion," *Rebel Rank and File*, 40-45; Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 232-233, 269-274; Honey, *Southern Labor and Black Civil Rights*, 212-213.
- <sup>18</sup> Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 232; Michael K. Honey, *Southern Labor and Black Civil Rights: Organizing Memphis Workers* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1993), 280-288; William A. Sundstrom, "Last Hired, First Fired? Unemployment and Urban Black Workers During the Great Depression," *The Journal of Economic History*, 52 (June 1992): 415-429.
- <sup>19</sup> Harris, *The Harder We Run*, 140-141; Hill, "Racism Within Organized Labor," 109-110, 117-118.



- <sup>20</sup> Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 151; Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 349-350.
- <sup>21</sup> Murphy, *Blackboard Unions*, 196-200, 206-208.
- <sup>22</sup> Fairclough, *Better Day Coming*, 282; Michael K. Brown, *Whitewashing Race: The Myth of a Color-Blind Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 73-74; Honey, *Black Workers Remember*, 290.
- <sup>23</sup> Robert L. Boyd, "The Allocation of Black Workers into the Public Sector," *Sociological Focus*, 27 (February 1994): 35-51.
- <sup>24</sup> Richard B. Freeman, "Unionism Comes to the Public Sector," *Journal of Economic Literature*, 24 (March 1986): 44-49; Joseph A. Loftus, "Rising Militancy in Public Employees," *The New York Times*, September 3, 1968.
- <sup>25</sup> Murphy, *Blackboard Unions*, 220, 224(n); Robert Shaffer, "Public Employee Unionism: A Neglected Social Movement of the 1960s," *The History Teacher*, 44 (August 2011): 491; "Teacher Strikes Across Nation Delaying School for Thousands," *The New York Times*, September 5, 1968.
- <sup>26</sup> Honey, *Black Workers Remember*, 301-302, 319-320; Shaffer, "Public Employee Unionism," 491-492; Eric Arnesen, ed., *Encyclopedia of U.S. Labor and Working-Class History, Vol. 1* (London: Routledge, 2006), 86.
- <sup>27</sup> Murphy, *Blackboard Unions*, 214-218.
- <sup>28</sup> Larry Isaac and Lars Christiansen, "How the Civil Rights Movement Revitalized Labor Militancy," *American Sociological Review*, 67 (October 2002): 722-746; Kim Moody, "Understanding the Rank-and-File Rebellion of the Long 1970s," *Rebel Rank and File*, 144-145.
- <sup>29</sup> Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 347-350; Harris, *The Harder We Run*, 149; U.S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Union Affiliation of Employed Wage and Salary Workers by Selected Characteristics*. Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014.  
<http://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/union2.pdf>.
- <sup>30</sup> Harris, *The Harder We Run*, 138-142, 159-163.
- <sup>31</sup> Cal Winslow, "Overview: The Rebellion from Below, 1965-1981," *Rebel Rank and File*, 10-11; Philip F. Rubio, *There's Always Work at the Post Office: African American Postal Workers and the Fight for Jobs, Justice, and Equality* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 249. According to Cal Winslow in *Rebel Rank and File*, the strike wave that lasted the duration of the long seventies reached a numerical and

qualitative peak in 1971. 4,200,000 work days were “lost” in New York City alone in 1971. Winslow also points to the national wildcat strike of postal workers as an important benchmark of strength and militancy. However, he does not mention that African Americans were vastly overrepresented in postal work in the North and Midwest. Furthermore, he neglects to point out that the biggest work stoppages in the wildcat strike occurred in “cities with the largest concentrations of black postal workers.”

- <sup>32</sup> Harris, *The Harder We Run*, 160. William H. Harris writes, “Black workers, particularly those in trade unions, were prepared to employ ‘Black Power’ tactics...” As raised in Ch. 1, note 7, a number of labor histories have assigned names like “Black Power in the Unions” to chapters concerning this topic.
- <sup>33</sup> Moody, “Understanding the Rank-and-File Rebellion of the Long 1970s,” 105-107; Winslow, “Overview: The Rebellion from Below, 1965-1981,” 7-12; U.S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Major Work Stoppages in 2014, Table 1*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015. <http://bls.gov/news.release/pdf/wkstp.pdf>. Dan Georgakas and Marvin Surkin, *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying: A Study in Urban Revolution*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2012), 227-231.
- <sup>34</sup> Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 397-407; W. Marvin Dulaney, *Black Police in America* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996), 72-80; Harris, *The Harder We Run*, 165-168.
- <sup>35</sup> Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 408-410; Julia Rabig, “‘The Laboratory of Democracy’: Construction Industry Racism in Newark and the Limits of Liberalism,” *Black Power at Work*, 49-51; Trevor Griffey, “From Jobs to Power: The United Construction Workers Association and Title VII Community Organizing in the 1970s,” *Black Power at Work*, 161-164; Damon Stetson, “Negro Members Are Challenging Union Leaders,” *The New York Times*, June 29, 1969.
- <sup>36</sup> Georgakas and Surkin, *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying*, 20-28, 88-89; Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 413; League of Revolutionary Black Workers, *Finally Got the News*, Documentary filmed and edited by Stewart Bird, Rene Lichtman, and Peter Gessner (Detroit: Black Star Productions, 1970), <http://wearemany.org/v/finally-got-news>; For more on DRUM and the League of Revolutionary Black workers, see James A. Geschwender, *Class, Race, and Worker Insurgency: The League of Revolutionary Black Workers* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977); and Ahmed Shawkī, *Black Liberation and Socialism* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2005).
- <sup>37</sup> Georgakas and Surkin, *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying*, 189-193; Damon Stetson, “Negro Members Are Challenging Union Leaders,” *New York Times*, June 29, 1969; Staughton Lynd and Alice Lynd, eds., *The New Rank and File* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 206-207.
- <sup>38</sup> Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 423-426.

## Chapter 3 Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Dionne A. Danna, "Chicago High School Students' Movement for Quality Public Education, 1966-1971," *The Journal of African American History*, 88 (Spring 2003): 139-140; Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 402-404; Erik S. Gellman, "The Stone Wall Behind: The Chicago Coalition for United Community Action and Labor's Overseers, 1968-1973," *Black Power at Work*, 112-133.
- <sup>2</sup> Allan H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 130; Arnold R. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-17.
- <sup>3</sup> Tuttle, "Labor Conflict and Racial Violence," 410-411, 426; Spear, *Black Chicago*, 34-36.
- <sup>4</sup> Herrick, *The Chicago Schools*, 246-248; Danna, *Something Better for Our Children*, 15-16.
- <sup>5</sup> Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 44; Herrick, *The Chicago Schools*, 281.
- <sup>6</sup> Cathaline Carter, interview with the author, May 27, 2015. Carter was not well received when she was first assigned to an all-white school in the southwest side of Chicago in 1970. Her white principal marked her and other black teachers at his school tardy for showing up ten minutes before classes started, but did not do the same to white teachers who arrived at the same time. About a year later, that principal warmed up to black faculty and dropped the inequitable treatment of black teachers. Carter and other black teachers, however, continued to receive racial abuse from white teachers, students, and parents, particularly when black enrollment at her school grew past ten percent in 1973. Police officers often had to escort black teachers back and forth from their cars.
- <sup>7</sup> Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 80, 130-134; Murphy, *Blackboard Unions*, 10, 42-43.
- <sup>8</sup> Herrick, *The Chicago Schools*, 307-315, 330-331; Danna, "Something Better for Our Children," 21-22; Press Release by Tenants Committee for Better Education of the Robert Taylor Homes and Washington Park Homes, n.d., box 63, folder 6, CTU Collection, CHS.
- <sup>9</sup> Danna, "Chicago High School Students' Movement," 139-140; Danna, *Something Better for Our Children*, 69-71, 93-95; Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 146-148.
- <sup>10</sup> Cathaline Carter, interview with the author, May 27, 2015; George Schmidt, interview with the author, May 23, 2015; Howard Heathe, interview with the author, May 21, 2015; Danna, *Something Better for Our Children*, 16-17.

- <sup>11</sup> Paul Kleppner, *Chicago Divided: The Making of a Black Mayor* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1985), 53-54; Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 137-140; Fairclough, *Better Day Coming*, 300-304.
- <sup>12</sup> Herrick, *The Chicago Schools*, 331-332; Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 166-169.
- <sup>13</sup> Danns, "Chicago High School Students' Movement," 141-146.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 145-148.
- <sup>16</sup> Gellman, "The Stone Wall Behind," 112-116.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 121-123.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.
- <sup>19</sup> Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 399-404; "Speech on the League of Revolutionary Black Workers," *Workers Advocate Supplement*, 1, January 15, 1985; "L' Unit Backs CTA Strikers," *The Chicago Tribune*, September 6, 1968.
- <sup>20</sup> Foner *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 402-404; "Dissident Bus Drivers Open Campaign for Union," *The Chicago Tribune*, September 4, 1968.

## Chapter 4 Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Potter, "Distorted Strike Figures Cited," *The Chicago Defender*, December 9, 1967.
- <sup>2</sup> Internal memo, "Excerpts from Constitution and By-Laws Affecting Chicago Teachers Union Associate Members," September 24, 1963, box 37, folder 2, CTU Collection, CHS; Murphy, *Blackboard Unions*, 10, 42-43.
- <sup>3</sup> See previous note: Ch. 1, n. 2.
- <sup>4</sup> Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 176-178, 191.
- <sup>5</sup> Letter from John M. Fewkes to Active Associate Members, April 5, 1965, box 37, folder 2, CTU Collection, CHS; Letter from John M. Fewkes to substitute teachers and school delegates, February 17, 1961, box 37, folder 2, CTU Collection, CHS. In this instance, the leadership's tactical decision aligned with the conservatism that ultimately prevailed over the grass-roots militancy of the 1930s and 1940s. By the mid 1950s, after most labor militants and radicals were expelled from the AFL-CIO, worker militancy acquiesced to post-war economic expansion. A labor aristocracy of

progressives and pragmatics consolidated control over the AFL-CIO and the UAW. Granted public-sector labor activism faced different obstacles than organized labor in the private sector (outright legal prohibition of strikes and collective bargaining), nevertheless, both capitulated to a labor culture that eschewed militancy and direct action until the mid-1960s.

- <sup>6</sup> Letter from John M. Fewkes to William G. Caples, January 19, 1962, box 37, folder 2, CTU Collection, CHS; Letter from John M. Fewkes to Berta Steene, June 3, 1964, box 37, folder 2, CTU Collection, CHS.
- <sup>7</sup> Internal memo, "Excerpts from Constitution and By-Laws Affecting Chicago Teachers Union Associate Members," September 24, 1963, box 37, folder 2, CTU Collection, CHS.
- <sup>8</sup> Lyons's characterization of the UTC is largely based on an interview he conducted with James Chiakulas, May 16, 2001; Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 165; United Teachers Committee pamphlet, *The Spark*, Issue No. 3, November 1964, box 37, folder 3, CTU Collection, CHS.
- <sup>9</sup> *Chicago Union Teacher*, February 1965, box 37, folder 2, CTU Collection, CHS.
- <sup>10</sup> Dionne Danns, "Chicago High School Students' Movement for Quality Public Education, 1966-1971," *The Journal of African American History*, 88 (Spring 2003): 139; Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 165; Brochure for Illinois Rally for Civil Rights on Soldier Field, June 21, 1964, box 1, folder 5, Timuel D. Black Jr. Collection, CHS; Notes on cash contributions through June 12, 1964 for Illinois Rally for Civil Rights, n.d., box 1, folder 5, Timuel D. Black Jr. Collection, CHS; Letter from Timuel D. Black to CTU membership, March 1965, box 37, folder 3, CTU Collection, CHS.
- <sup>11</sup> Various Vote-No flyers, March 1965, box 37, folder 3, CTU Collection, CHS; *Chicago Union Teacher*, February 1965, box 37, folder 2, CTU Collection, CHS; Vote-No flyer by Committee for Continued Union Progress, March 1965, box 37, folder 2, CTU Collection, CHS.
- <sup>12</sup> *Chicago Union Teacher*, February 1965, box 37, folder 2, CTU Collection, CHS.
- <sup>13</sup> Murphy, *Blackboard Unions*, 1, 23.
- <sup>14</sup> *Chicago Union Teacher*, February 1965, box 37, folder 2, CTU Collection, CHS.
- <sup>15</sup> United Teachers Committee pamphlet, *The Spark*, Issue No. 3, November 1964, box 37, folder 3, CTU Collection, CHS; Letter from John M. Fewkes to CTU delegates, November 18, 1964, box 37, folder 2, CTU Collection, CHS; Letter from John M. Fewkes to CTU delegates, March 16, 1965, box 37, folder 2, CTU Collection.

- <sup>16</sup> Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 151-153; Kenan Heise, "John M. Fewkes, 91, Teachers Union Founder," *Chicago Tribune*, July 25, 1992.
- <sup>17</sup> Letter from John M. Fewkes to all principals, March 15, 1965, box 37, folder 3, CTU Collection, CHS; George Schmidt, interview with the author, May 23, 2015; Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 80, 134; Murphy, *Blackboard Unions*, 10, 42-43.
- <sup>18</sup> CTU Press Release, March 25, 1965, box 37, folder 2, CTU Collection, CHS; D. J. R. Bruckner, "Teachers OK Voting Limit On Substitutes," *Chicago Sun-Times*, March 26, 1965, 31; Letter from John M. Fewkes to active associate members, April 5, 1965, box 37, folder 2, CTU Collection, CHS.
- <sup>19</sup> Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 178; Danna, "Something Better for Our Children," 164-165.
- <sup>20</sup> Danna, "Chicago High School Students' Movement for Quality Public Education," 138-148.
- <sup>21</sup> Dave Potter, "Englewood High School Protest Expected Today," *Chicago Daily Defender*, November 20, 1967; Dave Potter, "Englewood Pupils Protest Axing Of History Teacher," *Chicago Daily Defender*, November 21, 1967.
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid.; Danna, "Something Better for Our Children," 147.
- <sup>23</sup> "Violence At Englewood High!" *Chicago Daily Defender*, November 22, 1967.
- <sup>24</sup> Danna, *Something Better for Our Children*, 109.
- <sup>25</sup> Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 178; "Substitutes Suffer Inequality," *West Side Torch*, November 16, 1967, newspaper clipping, box 218, file 1094 – Full Time Basis Substitutes, 1968-1969, Red Squad Collection, CHS.
- <sup>26</sup> Born in Birmingham, Alabama in 1918, Timuel D. Black Jr. moved to Chicago as a child and graduated from DuSable High School in 1937. He received his Bachelor's Degree from Roosevelt University, and his Master's from the University of Chicago. He continued his studies at the University of Chicago, pursuing a Ph.D. in education while teaching social studies in the city. Although Black finished all of his coursework, he did not receive a doctorate because of a dispute over his dissertation topic. He left the university in 1958, and continued to teach social studies in Chicago Public Schools. Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 185-188; Curriculum Vitae of Timuel D. Black Jr., n.d., box 295, Timuel D. Black file, Red Squad Collection, CHS. For more on Timuel D. Black, see Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 159-160.
- <sup>27</sup> Dave Potter, "Englewood Teacher Raps Charges: Calls Firing Price for Black Pride," *Chicago Daily Defender*, November 29, 1967.

- <sup>28</sup> Dave Potter, "Distorted Strike Figures Cited: Teacher Sick-In Leader Raps Board," *The Chicago Defender*, December 9, 1967.
- <sup>29</sup> "Substitutes to Walk Out Over Certification," *Chicago American*, January 9, 1968, newspaper clipping, box 218, file 1094 – Full Time Basis Substitutes, Red Squad Collection, CHS; Summary of Chicago Teachers Union, notes, December 1967, box 54, folder 7, CTU Collection, CHS; "Sub Teachers Angered By Strike Settlement," *Chicago Daily Defender*, January 9, 1968; Letter from John E. Desmond to delegates and union members, January 9, 1968, box 54, folder 18, CTU Collection, CHS.
- <sup>30</sup> Danns, *Something Better for Our Children*, 110; "FTB Leader Calls Strike 'Big, Historic Success,'" *Chicago Daily Defender*, January 17, 1968; "Subs Vow 'Guerilla War,'" *Chicago Sun-Times*, January 19, 1968, newspaper clipping, box 218, file 1094 – Full Time Basis Substitutes, 1968-1969, Red Squad Collection, CHS; Henry De Zutter, "Two sides disagree on impact: All schools open, substitute teachers start strike," *Chicago Daily News*, January 16, 1968, newspaper clipping, box 218, file 1094 – Full Time Basis Substitutes, Red Squad Collection, CHS; "FTBs Charge Intimidation," *Chicago Sun-Times*, January 20, 1968, box 218, file 1094 – Full Time Basis Substitutes, 1968-1969, Red Squad Collection, CHS.
- <sup>31</sup> Herrick, *The Chicago Schools*, 376; Howard Heathe, interview with the author, May 21, 2015.
- <sup>32</sup> Danns, *Something Better for Our Children*, 110; "Won't Close Schools: Redmond," *Chicago Daily Defender*, January 15, 1968.
- <sup>33</sup> Dave Potter, "Distorted Strike Figures Cited," *The Chicago Defender*, December 9, 1967; Cathaline Carter, interview with the author, May 27, 2015; Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 176-178, 191; Ted Pearson, "Teacher Subs Suspend Strike In Chicago, Await Talk Results," *The Worker*, February 4, 1968, newspaper clipping, box 218, file 1094 – Full Time Basis Substitutes, Red Squad Collection, CHS; Faith C. Christmas, "FTBs Making Slow But Sure Progress Here," *Chicago Daily Defender*, December 28, 1968.
- <sup>34</sup> Bob Hunter, "No Bias in Teacher's Exam: Black Official," *Chicago Daily Defender*, August 13, 1968; Betty Washington, "Ex-Teacher Wins Battle for Hearing Before FEPC," *Chicago Daily Defender*, June 26, 1968; Statement of Concern presented to the Board of Examiners by Timuel D. Black, June 1968, box 3, folder 6, Timuel D. Black Jr. Collection, CHS; Letter from Neva Howard to John Desmond, October 19, 1968, box 3, folder 6, Timuel D. Black Jr. Collection, CHS; Letter from John E. Desmond to Neva Howard, October 30, 1968, box 3, folder 6, Timuel D. Black Jr. Collection, CHS; Letter from Neva Howard to John Desmond, February 8, 1969, box 3, folder 6, Timuel D. Black Jr. Collection, CHS; Letter from Timuel D. Black to John Desmond, December 18, 1968, box 3, folder 6, Timuel D. Black Jr. Collection, CHS; Letter from Neva Howard to O. T. Wilson, February 18, 1969, box 3, folder 6, Timuel

D. Black Jr. Collection, CHS; Charge of Unfair Employment Practice application by Neva Howard, January 1969, box 3, folder 6, Timuel D. Black Jr. Collection, CHS.

- <sup>35</sup> Faith C. Christmas, "Teachers Union Seeks Revision of Hiring Rules," *Chicago Daily Defender*, November 21, 1968; Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 197.
- <sup>36</sup> Interview report by Intelligence Division of Chicago Police Department, November 12, 1968, box 230, file 1133 – Black Teachers Caucus, 1968-1970, Red Squad Collection, CHS; Black Teachers Caucus bulletin, *Chicago Union Teacher*, October 1968, newspaper clipping, box 230, file 1133 – Black Teachers Caucus, 1968-1970, Red Squad Collection, CHS; Black Teachers Caucus newsletter, October 21, 1968, box 230, file 1133 – Black Teachers Caucus, 1968-1970, Red Squad Collection, CHS; Faith C. Christmas, "FTBs Making Slow But Sure Progress Here," *Chicago Daily Defender*, December 28, 1968.
- <sup>37</sup> Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 168; "We Won't Strike, Say Black Teachers: No Improvements Seen," *Chicago Daily Defender*, December 16, 1968; Faith C. Christmas, "Black Teachers Will Defy Strike," *Chicago Daily Defender*, January 6, 1969.
- <sup>38</sup> Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 186-188.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 155, 186-188; Herrick, *The Chicago Schools*, 406; Letter from Parker High School Faculty Advisory Committee to parents, March 27, 1969, box 3, folder 2, Timuel D. Black Jr. Collection, CHS.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*; Faith C. Christmas, "Black Teachers Label Their Union 'Racist,'" *Chicago Daily Defender*, January 9, 1969.
- <sup>41</sup> Faith C. Christmas, "Black Teachers Are Urged: Nix Board's New Contract," *Chicago Daily Defender*, January 18, 1969; "Threaten Black Teacher's Strike Over Pay Issue," *Chicago Daily Defender*, January 23, 1969.
- <sup>42</sup> Faith C. Christmas, "FTBs Win Victory in School Board Row," *Chicago Daily Defender*, February 12, 1969; "FTBs Fights Firing," *Roosevelt Torch*, April 14, 1969, newspaper clipping, box 218, file 1094 – Full Time Basis Substitutes, Red Squad Collection, CHS; Letter from Timuel Black Jr. to General Superintendent James F. Redmond, February 24, 1969, box 3, folder 6, Timuel D. Black Jr. Collection, CHS.
- <sup>43</sup> Faith C. Christmas, "Education Budget Cuts Threaten 1,900 Black Teachers," *Chicago Daily Defender*, April 26, 1969; CTU notice to delegates and faculty members, April 10, 1969, box 63, folder 4, CTU Collection, CHS; "Blacks Hit CTU Plan to Picket," *Chicago Daily Defender*, April 21, 1969; "State Taxes: Pro and Con," *Chicago Sun-Times*, March 6, 1969, newspaper clipping, box 295, file – Black, Timuel Dixon Jr., 1966-1969, Red Squad Collection, CHS.



- <sup>44</sup> Faith C. Christmas, "Redmond: No Bias in School Cuts," *Chicago Daily Defender*, May 10, 1969.
- <sup>45</sup> Faith C. Christmas, "Black Teachers Protest CTU Racism: They Plan Union of Their Own," *Chicago Daily Defender*, May 7, 1969; Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 188.
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid., 199; "Teachers to 'Work' In Strike," *Chicago Daily Defender*, May 17, 1969; Lee D. Jenkins, "Black Prep Coaches Refuse to Strike," *Chicago Daily Defender*, May 21, 1969; "Black Schools Won't Close," *Chicago Daily Defender*, May 21, 1969.
- <sup>47</sup> Donald Janson, "Daley Seeks to Avert a Teachers' Strike Today," *The New York Times*, May 22, 1969.
- <sup>48</sup> Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 200-202; Faith C. Christmas, "Black Pupils Can Attend School Today," *Chicago Daily Defender*, May 22, 1969.
- <sup>49</sup> Donald Janson, "Teachers' Strike Halted in Chicago: Tentative Pact Reached—Classes Resume Monday," *The New York Times*, May 23, 1969; "Teacher's Strike Settled: Everybody Happy Except the Kids," *Chicago Daily Defender*, May 24, 1969; Donald Janson, "Chicago Teachers Union to Vote On Offer for a Strike Settlement," *The New York Times*, May 24, 1969; "Chicago Teachers Union Votes to End Its Strike," *The New York Times*, May 26, 1969.
- <sup>50</sup> Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 203-205.

## Chapter 5 Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Dave Potter, "Distorted Strike Figures Cited: Teacher Sick-In Leader Raps Board," *The Chicago Defender*, December 9, 1967; Donald Janson, "Chicago Teachers Union to Vote On Offer for a Strike Settlement," *The New York Times*, May 24, 1969.
- <sup>2</sup> Lyons, *Teachers and Reform*, 209.
- <sup>3</sup> Ibid., 203-205.
- <sup>4</sup> Peter T. Kilborn, "Backlog of Cases is Overwhelming Jobs-Bias Agency," *The New York Times*, November 26, 1994; Joe Palazzolo, "In Federal Courts, the Civil Cases Pile Up," *The Wall Street Journal*, April 6, 2015.
- <sup>5</sup> Honey, *Southern Labor and Black Civil Rights*, 280-288; Brown, *Whitewashing Race*, 73-74; James S. Rogers, "Last Hired, First Fired Layoffs and Title VII," *Harvard Law Review* (1975) 1544-1570.
- <sup>6</sup> Standing, *The Precariat*, 1-17.

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