



COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL

DU 1^{ER} AU 3 • FEVRIER • 2023

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Le **Sud des États-Unis** au cœur des enjeux politiques américains :



CLASSE RACE & ESPACES

au prisme de l'œuvre de **Michael Goldfield**

MERCREDI : Maison de la Recherche - Sorbonne Nouvelle
VENDREDI : 4 rue des Irlandais - Paris 5^{ème} - Salle Athéna

JEUDI : Salle des thèses - Université Paris-Est Créteil
UPEC Campus Centre

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WEDNESDAY

FEBRUARY 1, 5PM-7PM

Maison de la
Recherche de la
Sorbonne Nouvelle,

4 rue des Irlandais,
Paris, Salle Athéna,
RDC (Métro 10 Cardinal
Lemoine / RER B
Luxembourg)

CONFERENCE-DEBATE:

Luttes sociales et luttes féministes aux USA / The Fight
for Workers' Rights & Women's Rights in the US Today

Keynote:

- Michael Goldfield and Cody R. Melcher

Round-Table:

- Donna Kesselman (UPEC-IMAGER)
- Elizabeth Faue (Wayne State University)
- James Cohen (Sorbonne Nouvelle-CREW)
- Fanny Gallot (UPEC-CRHEC)
- Christen Bryson (Sorbonne Nouvelle-CREW)
- Émilien Julliard (CNRS-IDHE.S)



THURSDAY

FEBRUARY 2, 9AM-5:30PM

Université
Paris-Est Créteil

Salle des Thèses, Bât
P CMC (Métro ligne 8,
Créteil-Université)

9:00-9:45 INTRODUCTION

Cody R. Melcher, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Loyola University

“On Michael Goldfield”

For the past 7 years, Michael Goldfield has been my mentor, co-author, and friend. As his final student and advisee, I would like to present a short biography of Goldfield, beginning with his “career” as a civil rights activist and labor agitator. Goldfield’s activism profoundly influenced his academic career and trajectory, so I believe this background is necessary to understanding his intellectual oeuvre. After briefly describing the thrust of his research, focusing especially on *The Southern Key*, for which I conducted extensive research (portions of which we co-authored together and published in various journals and encyclopedias), I plan on focusing on Goldfield’s method. Specifically, I would like to focus on Mike’s commitment to revolutionary Marxism, while still grounding his research in rigorous quantitative and qualitative methods. While many American Marxists dutifully reject any notion of methodological positivism in their work--often describing it as “bourgeois”--Mike’s work bludgeons anti-Marxist claims using mainstream methods. Most importantly, for me, Mike’s work illustrates that work that challenges the status quo--work that contributes to radical emancipation--can be, and ought to be, scientifically rigorous.

9:45- 11:15 PANEL 1: REFRAMING SOUTHERN NARRATIVES

Dan Labotz, Teacher, School of Labor and Urban Studies, CUNY

“Using Michael Goldfield’s Approach to Examine the Latino Southwest”

Michael Goldfield’s approach to the American South and its history of race, labor, and politics has provided an extremely useful way to think about American history, one that has had an impact on historians, as well as on labor and social movement activists. He argues that we should: 1) focus on the South and its political economy as key to comprehending American history; 2) understand Black worker militancy and white racism, to grasp the failure of interracial unionism in the South; 3) understand the negative part played by the national labor bureaucracy of the AFL and CIO; 4) analyze the Communist Party’s role in the failure to organize the South; and, 5) understand the reactionary influence of the Democratic Party. Doing these five things, he demonstrates, provides a key that answers many of the larger questions of American history and the issues faced by America’s working people.

I will demonstrate that Goldfield’s approach might also be applied to another important region, the Southwest, and to another group of workers, Mexican and Mexican American workers from the 1930s to the 1980s. For three hundred years, the South was the most important region in shaping America, and white racism against Black people could be called the central issue of our society. Yet the Southwest—made up of the territory taken from Mexico between 1836 and 1854: Texas, California, Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah and Colorado—with its minerals, oil, agriculture, fishing, shipping, and later aircraft and film industries became increasingly important. The Southwest had its own racial system and racially divided labor movement where the labor bureaucracy and the Communist Party also played problematic roles and where the Democratic Party also played a conservative part. Mexican, Mexican American, and later Latin American immigrants faced a racially divided labor movement and society. Still these miners, railroad workers, construction workers, stevedores, and farm workers carried out important labor struggles from the 1890s to the 1930s and again in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as major fights over civil rights and political representation throughout the region—though they often failed.

One can argue that the failure to organize Latino workers in the immediate post-war period contributed to the rise of rightwing politicians such as Barry Goldwater of Arizona, Ronald Reagan of California, and George H.W. Bush and George W. Bush of Texas, among others. The eventual success of unionization of Latinos in the region, together with continued immigration--today Latinos make up about 40% of both Texas and California, and 19% of the national population—changed the balance of forces. By the 2000s, Latinos had become a powerful presence in labor and politics.

I will use Goldfield's approach in this paper to examine the place of Latinos in the Southwest and to demonstrate how it provides us with another key, one that can also unlock doors that lead to a greater understanding of American history at large.

Matthew Nichter, Associate Professor of Sociology, Rollins College, Orlando

“The Lost Opportunity Thesis and the Sociology of the Civil Rights Movement”

Mike Goldfield is a prominent defender of the “lost opportunity thesis,” which maintains that an alliance of leftist, labor, and antiracist organizations was poised to remake the U.S. South during the 1930s and 1940s (Marable 1984; Korstad & Lichtenstein 1988; Hall 2005). Supporters of this thesis differ in their assessments of why this burgeoning alliance failed to achieve its full potential. Some scholars have argued that the extraordinary ferocity of the anti-Communist backlash during the early years of the Cold War was the key reason for the collapse of the burgeoning labor-leftist-civil rights alliance. In his most recent book, Goldfield (2020) argues forcefully that the ideologies of movement leaders – the tepid liberalism and outright conservatism of CIO officers, and the subservience of the Communist Party USA to the Soviet Union's foreign policy demands – prevented the labor-leftist-civil rights alliance from overcoming the formidable external obstacles arrayed against it.

In my presentation, I will argue that the lost opportunity thesis poses a serious challenge to extant sociological analyses of the civil rights movement (McAdam 1982, 1999; Morris 1984; Piven and Cloward 1977; Bloom 1987, 2019). Yet strangely, sociologists have remained aloof from the historians' debate over the lost opportunity thesis. In part, this is because the quantitative datasets that sociologists have compiled to test their analyses find very little antiracist protest prior to the mid-1950s (McAdam 1982; Jenkins et al. 1999). I argue

that this body of quantitative research suffers from serious methodological shortcomings, including an arbitrary exclusion of anti-racist protests sponsored by labor unions and socialist groups. Correcting for these deficiencies, I present new quantitative data that is broadly consistent with the lost opportunity thesis.

11:30-1:00 PANEL 2 MOBILIZING WORKERS: LABOR & RACE

Charles Post, Graduate Center-CUNY

“The World War II ‘No-Strike Pledge’, anti-Black “Hate Strikes” and Racial Divisions in the CIO”

Michael Goldfield has recast the discussion of race and class in the United State, high lighting the historic conflicts within the US labor movement between those who accommodated white racism and those who championed anti-racist politics. Goldfield tends to see the Communist Party providing a fairly consistent anti-racist alternative within the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). However, Goldfield does not analyze the impact of the CP’s support for the World War II “no strike-pledge” on racial divisions within the CIO. Specifically, he does not address the roots of the “hate-strikes,” aimed at excluding African-American workers from certain jobs that shook US war industry in 1942-1943.

This paper will argue that the “no-strike pledge” undermined workers’ capacity for collective struggle against capital and provided a fertile environment for racist hate strikes. Evidence is strong that “hate-strikes” were most frequent in those unions and locals where their leadership—both the “center” and CP led “left”—defended the “pledge” and undermined strikes around wages and working conditions. The relative absence of “hate strikes” in the Akron rubber industry is analyzed as the result of the opposition of most of the local United Rubber Workers (URW) leaders to the “pledge.”

Anissa Khamkham, Doctoral candidate, Université Toulouse-Jean Jaurès-CAS

“Organize the South!”: Black Workers for Justice and Black Political Power in North Carolina, 1980s-1990s”

This paper will examine the re-appropriation of electoral politics in the 1980s and 1990s by Black Workers for Justice (BWFJ) – a radical grassroots black labor organization founded in Rocky Mount, North Carolina in 1982. The organization

was at the forefront of black labor organizing in the state from the 1980s on, in a context of renewed activism to resist the rampant deindustrialization and extremely anti-union environment of the state. BWFJ saw the achievement of black political power through both increased unionization and electoral representation thanks to voting power at the local, state and national level as necessary for the emancipation of the black working class in the South and therefore as an integral part of the black freedom movement. The articulation of race, class and the specificity of the South was very much at the center of their work as they saw organizing southern black workers as the key to black liberation in the country at large and one of the unachieved goals of the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Studying the history of the organization can help to better understand the evolution of the long black freedom movement in North Carolina in the 1980s and 1990s at the intersection of the history of the labor movement, black politics and voting rights activism in that state. Using some of the organization's archives, its newspaper and interviews with members of the organization, this paper will explore BWFJ's efforts to achieve political representation at various levels and to create an independent political platform for black workers, thereby contributing to the conference's reflections on both the articulation of class, race and space in the US South and the history of the interactions between labor, social and political movements in the South.

Kalilou Barry, Doctoral candidate, UPEC-IMAGER

“Not just a class issue! The dynamics of organizing at Amazon Minnesota and Staten Island warehouses”

The labor question seems to be back on the political and social agenda in the United States (Huret, Lichtenstein and Vinel, 2020: 2)¹. The Covid-19 pandemic and the subsequent “Great Resignation” have served as a reminder of the extent of economic inequalities and the “triumph of injustice” in the country and the dissatisfaction of American workers with their jobs (Piketty, 2013; Saez and Zucman, 2019)². On the social and labor front, decades of violation of workers' rights, deterioration of working conditions, and widespread low-wage and precarious employment have led to a resurgence of workplace conflict in many industries across the country.

In the Amazon warehouses, the online retail giant whose profits reached more

1 Romain Huret, Nelson Lichtenstein and Jean-Christian Vinel, ed. 2020. *Capitalism Contested: The New Deal and Its Legacies*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

2 Thomas Piketty. 2013. *Le Capital au XXI^e siècle*. Paris: Editions du Seuil; Emmanuel Saez and Gabriel Zucman. 2019. *The Triumph of Injustice: How the Rich Dodge Taxes and How to Make Them Pay*. W.W. Norton & Company.

than 220 percent during the pandemic, workers stood up to denounce poor working conditions and demand greater protection and social justice. While labor issues (wages, working conditions, social protection) have been at the center of these labor insurgencies at Amazon, in its Minnesota and Staten Island warehouses however, cultural issues also seemed to have been essential elements in mobilizing the workers and structuring the fights against the online giant.

In this paper, we propose to critically review the mobilizations of Amazon employees in its Minnesota and Staten Island warehouses to see how the articulation of labor issues with cultural issues (Minnesota) and the development of a strategy attentive to the cultural and ethnic diversity of the workforce (Staten Island) structured the mobilizations and led to their ultimate success. Ultimately, we argue that the articulation of labor issues with various other worker concerns is essential in the organization of multiracial and multinational workplaces such as Amazon warehouses.

2:30-4:00 PANEL 3 INTERACTIONS AND INTERSECTIONS, PART (I)

Marie Ménard, Doctoral candidate, UPEC-IMAGER

“Resisting Despite the Odds: the Case of the Oklahoma Teacher Walkout of 2018”

En 2018, la mise en grève des personnels de l'éducation publique dans l'Oklahoma, la Virginie Occidentale et le Kentucky ont étonné plus d'un observateur. Ces Etats des Appalaches, rattachés au Sud par leurs caractéristiques culturelles, économiques et politiques par Goldfield (Goldfield 2020) ont en commun d'avoir été récemment gagnées par le Parti Républicain (Blanc, 2019). L'Oklahoma est particulièrement conservateur, tant sur le droit des femmes que vis-à-vis du syndicalisme. Dans ce contexte, la mobilisation des enseignantes, groupe professionnel à très forte majorité féminine (Murphy 1993, Ingersoll 2021), est donc improbable à plusieurs égards (Collovald, Mathieu 2009). La mobilisation, préparée depuis 2015 par les syndicats ne s'est d'ailleurs pas déroulée de manière classique puisque ce “walk-out” était organisé dans le but d'obtenir du Parlement local de l'Oklahoma le vote de lois augmentant le budget de l'éducation publique (K-12). Plutôt que des piquets de grève et une négociation menée avec les employeurs contractuels des enseignantes (les school boards) elle a consisté en l'occupation du bâtiment du Capitole d'Oklahoma-City (Parlement de l'Oklahoma) pendant dix jours sur le

temps scolaire. Cette occupation avait pour objectif de déployer un exercice de lobbying auprès des éludes locaux et de créer une attention médiatique particulière autour de la condition des enseignantes.

Dans ce papier, on s'interrogera sur la particularité de la forme prise par la mobilisation dans l'Oklahoma, en analysant la manière dont celle-ci a pu être informée par les caractéristiques législatives (*right-to-work*) économiques (désinvestissement de l'éducation publique, précarisation des enseignantes) et politiques (antisyndicalisme, ultra-majorité républicaine influencé par les groupes évangélistes blancs) de l'Oklahoma. On se concentrera plus particulièrement sur trois aspects atypiques. Le premier est le contournement de l'interdiction de grève. Parce que les risques encourus pas les enseignantes (perte de salaire, licenciement) étaient trop importants par rapport à l'engagement syndical global de leurs membres, les branches locales des syndicats de la NEA et de l'AFT ont dû composer avec les institutions scolaires locales (les "school boards") pour permettre aux enseignantes de quitter la classe sans être officiellement en grève, se retrouvant de facto dépendant de ces institutions pour décider des stratégies de luttes. Le second aspect est la remise en question de la légitimité syndicale avant, pendant et après la mobilisation, puisque l'organisation de la grève est passée par des réseaux non-traditionnels, sous la forme de groupes Facebook revendiquant une base plus "démocratique" et défiant l'autorité des leaderships syndicaux (Blanc, 2021). Le dernier aspect, qui constitue à moyen terme une continuité de l'affaiblissement syndical, est l'entrée en masse d'enseignantes comme élues dans le Parlement d'Etat, comme stratégie la plus efficace pour défendre l'école publique et donc faire valoir des intérêts corporatistes.

La communication suivante s'inscrit dans un travail de comparaison socio historique à l'échelle régionale, entre Chicago et Oklahoma-City dans le cadre d'une thèse de doctorat. Les données mobilisées pour ce papier seront principalement de nature qualitative consistant en 20 entretiens semi-directifs avec des enseignantes de l'Oklahoma ayant participé à la grève de 2018 et aux profils variés : syndiquées ou non, leaders syndicaux (AFT, NEA), représentantes à la chambre d'État etc.

Jody Noll, lecturer of history, Georgia State University.

“Claiming Power: Race, Gender, and the Successes of the 1968 Statewide Florida Teachers’ Strike”

On February 16, 1968 over 35,000 Florida teachers submitted their letters of resignation. This mass resignation created the first statewide teacher strike in the United States. Facing monumental backlash from politicians, the mainstream media, and many within the public, Florida’s teachers stood resolute in their mission to gain increased educational funding, collective bargaining rights, and societal respect for an oft demeaned gendered profession. As an integrated work stoppage in a still segregated school system, black and white teachers came together and won a crucial victory for public sector employees across the state by forcing the legislature to provide them with the state constitutionally protected right to collectively bargain in a severely anti-union state.

The labor movement during the 1960s and 1970s has frequently been described as a period of decline where industrial unions lost power and membership at a rapid rate. However, this declension narrative tells only part of the story of the labor movement during this period. This paper argues that by examining the 1968 statewide Florida teacher strike, it becomes clear that while industrial labor declined, public sector unionism created new avenues of labor power within the South and across the United States.

It was no accident that Florida helped lead the charge within this movement. In fact, it was the racial dynamics of the South and segregation that created a unique situation of diversity in the teacher ranks. While the rest of the country’s teacher’s population remained mostly white, du jour segregation in the South demanded a large black teacher population to teach in the segregated black schools. Once Florida’s teachers recognized the power of integrating their union, the Florida Education Association, in 1965, they created a powerful force of integrated voices to fight for their profession.

As these black and white teachers came together to voice their concerns over the future of education and the teaching profession in Florida, they also incorporated a feminist ethos that exhibited the possibilities of intersectionality within the public sector labor movement. As a predominantly feminine profession, the act of going on strike fought against the deferential comportment expected of women. These teachers also sought more explicit ways to fight against gendered perceptions of the teaching profession by equating teaching

and its societal importance with other more “manly” professions that used highly qualified college educated workers, such as engineers, businessman, and doctors.

While the Florida strike has been overshadowed by the myriad events that occurred in during the tumultuous year of 1968, it remains an important aspect of southern labor history. By gaining collective bargaining rights, Florida’s teachers helped kick off a wave of public sector militancy across the country and helped reshape the labor movement during the 1960s and 1970s.

Tristan Pinet-Le Bras, Doctoral candidate, EHESS-CENA

« For better or for worse, you are opinion-makers in the community ». Pour une histoire politique des disc-jockeys de “radios noires” (1940-1970 »

The American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA) is the union that represents most of the radio employees - outside engineering and management. When the profession of disc-jockey (DJ) arose in the 1940s, it came under the jurisdiction of AFTRA. However, the union was born in the 1930s when African Americans were mostly excluded from the industry. While the 1940s & 1950s saw AFTRA achieving a status of power within industrial relations, the following decade became more problematic. Because it did not pay attention to black workers at that time, an alternate organization emerged from the black DJs in 1955: NATRA (National Association of Television & Radio Announcers). AFTRA finally got interested in organizing black radios in 1968, when NATRA was going big. However, in the meantime, black DJs had become increasingly politicized. Most black radios were white-owned but relied on black talents to target african american communities. By the 1960s, black DJs used their position to shift from money-making to community-organizing and started to challenge their management, following a path that the black film industry had experienced in its own way. However, black activism on radio, despite some success in the late 60s and early 70s, found its limitations in the face of massive white ownership of stations. The alliance between AFTRA and NATRA never materialized and this historical experience raises the question of what could have been different if white and black workers had united to outweigh owners. To support this inquiry, I will rely on AFTRA’s archives; on the National Association of Broadcasters’ archives (a trade association for owners and managers) and on the African American Archives of Music and Culture which holds oral history collections commenting NATRA’s legacy, since the association has left no records.

4.15-5:30 PANEL 3 INTERACTIONS AND INTERSECTIONS, PART (II)

Augustus Wood, Assistant Professor, School of Labor and Employment Relations, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

“Get the Pharaoh Off the Community’s Back!': Interracial Class Struggle, Social Movements, and Repression Under Gentrification in Neo-colonial Atlanta, 1966-2015”

My paper focuses on overlooked dimensions of class conflict and Black working-class voices and social movements in the struggle against gentrification and the development of the contemporary city. Using Atlanta as a case study, I establish intraracial class struggle as central to gentrification and urban redevelopment in general. As Black working-class Atlantans marshaled neighborhood social movements, community networks, and their understanding of Black Power to seize autonomy and control over their labor and living spaces, the emerging Black managerial and ruling classes openly defended their pro-growth and capitalist interests by declaring war on Atlanta’s Black majority. Thus, I challenge the perception of a homogenous and predominantly upwardly mobile Black Atlanta community. I also assert that Atlanta’s transformation into the global tourist and finance epicenter in the Southern United States resulted in decreased resources—particularly public space, labor, and power—that rendered Black working-class residents unable to sustain resistance and social movements against seizure of productive labor, public access to resources, and finally displacement from the central city. Therefore, gentrification positioned low-income Black bodies and spaces as superfluous and expendable commodities for urban market interests.

This new alignment ripped the city’s geographic, social, and economic landscape apart, and restitched it to benefit those on top as those on the bottom plummeted through the gaping hole in the municipal safety net. By the beginning of the 2010s, Atlanta elites authorized the demolition of all 14,000 of the city’s federally subsidized housing units, exposing over 68,000 people each year to inadequate housing or homelessness, and resettling over 100,000 predominantly low-income Black families into hyper segregated, underserved, and highly surveilled, far-flung suburbs surrounding the core city. Gentrification, as a form of structural violence against low-income urbanities, served as the main strategy of neoliberalization and accrued surplus profits at the expense of the African American majority’s capacity to live, work, and organize for

change in Atlanta. Working-class communities mounted successful social movements for community control of social institutions, fair labor and housing conditions, and self-help defense against police brutality during the Black Power Era. However, as Black elites gained more control over the city, these victories in low-income Black neighborhoods decreased over time because of weakened sustainability.

Using previously disregarded Black working-class voices, archival sources, newspapers, community meeting notes, Atlanta Chamber of Commerce documents, and author-conducted oral history interviews, my paper moves the understanding of gentrification from a one-sided, top-down, real estate-driven process to a contested, racial class-driven, public-private partnership—highlighting the coeval nature between urban redevelopment and racial oppression. I argue that the class interests of the Black petty bourgeoisie aligned with the capitalist class in the creation of an internal neo-colonial domination of low-income Black Atlantans—extinguishing their power for autonomy and decision making in Atlanta. More clearly, this paper operates as a critique of the political economy of Black Atlanta.

**Matthew Stanley, Associate Professor of history,
University of Arkansas.**

“Where Are the Workers?: The Class Question in Civil War Memory Studies and the Political Economy of Blue-Gray Reunion”

This essay examines the relationship between labor conflict, anti-Black violence, civic boosterism, and sectional reconciliation in southern Indiana during the 1890s. Using the connections Evansville’s 1899 coal strike and the city’s national Blue-Gray Reunion as a case study, I explore how white southern Indianans reshaped longstanding impulses of racial exclusion north of the Ohio River to organize themselves (and others) into both class and racial categories. This process involved, among other things, white trade unionists co-opting and facilitating a middle-class driven narrative about African Americans and “public disorder”; white workers perpetuating stereotypes about the so-called inferiority of “cheap” (especially Black) southern labor; and professional class whites classing and dehumanizing workers, Black and white, as social “others,” all against the backdrop of reunion between Union and Confederate veterans. Decades-long alternating and interrelated warnings of “race war” and “class war” helped propel regional elites toward Blue-Gray reunion that was meant to foster commercial harmony between Evansville and the New South. They also provoked anxieties among white workers—anxieties both rooted in and uncoupled from direct in material interests—that were part and parcel of anti-Black lynchings and expulsions, culminating in Evansville’s 1903 “race riot.”



FRIDAY

FEBRUARY 3, 9:30PM-5PM

**Maison de la
Recherche de la
Sorbonne Nouvelle,**

**4 rue des Irlandais,
Paris, Salle Athéna,
RDC (Métro 10 Cardinal
Lemoine / RER B
Luxembourg)**

9:30-11:00 PANEL 4 (RE)DEFINING / (RE)THINKING THE SOUTH, PART (I)

**Toni-Michelle Travis, Professor Emerita George
Mason University**

“Northern Virginia (NOVA) vs. The Rest of Virginia (ROVA)”

Once one leaves northern Virginia the confederate flag, a relic of the Civil War is often seen displayed on trucks, in stores, and on houses. The Civil War (1861-1865) is not in the minds of “Real Virginians”, those who are not from northern Virginia.

Northern Virginia (NOVA) has become the economic engine of the state. Through happenstance, rather than a coordinated plan between Richmond, northern Virginia, private enterprise, and the federal government NOVA’s population has exploded because of developments in transportation, information technology, and higher education.

From 1957 when George Mason University opened as a two year college of the University of Virginia, and Dulles International Airport opened in 1962 to today the growth of NOVA has been a major blow to southern traditions in race, education, and labor.

This study shows the contrast between the old, segregated Virginia run by Harry Byrd with higher education for the few, and an agricultural economy with today's northern Virginia with a university of over 30,000 students, a vibrant IT industry, and in-migration of non-southern workers and immigrants who collectively challenge southern tradition.

Manuel Bocquier, doctoral candidate, (EHESS, Mondes Américains, CENA / Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne)

“Segregation and Music Selling: Rethinking Southern Distinctiveness through Consumption”

This presentation analyzes the racialization of music consumption in the South during the Interwar period. It shows how the consumption of music challenges the social and political construction of the South as a distinctive region in the US. I focus on old-time music and race music which were racially promoted as authentic cultural practices of the white and black southern rural populations, respectively, in the 1920s. Historians have shown that these musical categories were defined along racial lines and separately targeted to these populations by record companies. Recent works studied how these musical categories were part of a larger cultural production that distinguished the South from the rest of the country. Shifting the focus to the consumers' perspective, I study how old time music and race music were sold and bought both by white and black consumers, in the South, but also in the North, in rural areas as well as in cities. Through the study of record store owners' accounts in the press, advertisements published in local newspapers, and archives of specific record stores, I show that the southern exceptionalism promoted by old time music and race music does not stand up to the analysis of consumption practices. Further, it questions the distinction between North and South during the Depression and the New Deal. First, the targeting of white and black consumers developed in the commercialization of old time music and race music was in fact part of larger marketing strategies based on the regional, racial, and ethnic identification of all consumers, notably immigrants. Challenging the distinction between northern and southern practices of segregation, I then study spaces of consumption where both black and white consumers could buy old-time music and race music, while reinforcing racial hierarchies.

11:15-12:15 PANEL 4 (RE)DEFINING / (RE) THINKING THE SOUTH, PART (II)

Esther Cyna, Associate Professor of American studies,
USVQ-CHCSC

“The Legacy of Jim Crow in School Finance: A Southern Story?”

How has racial oppression shaped funding for public schooling in the South? This paper seeks to trace the history of school finance in a way that highlights the relationship between segregationist laws in the early decades of the twentieth century and contemporary school finance policies.

This paper will center the question of money to study the legacy of segregation in public education in the South of the United States during the twentieth century. The politics of public education funding intersect questions of wealth, race and capitalism, and this paper will therefore address the main themes of the conference. School funding involves political decision-making at the school district, county and state levels, as well as district-wide and countywide voting. Individual states establish their own school funding schemes and formulae, by determining which proportion of school budgets will come from state or local funds, and states also structure governance between the different scales of education policymaking. School finance policies include resource allocation within a district, but also referenda about school bonds and tax rates, and district-line drawing.

In the early twentieth century, oppressive and segregationist Jim Crow rules dominated and structured every aspect of life in Southern states. Although the dynamics of racial segregation, fiscal isolation and discriminatory funding schemes that I examine in this research find echoes nationally, the South remains somewhat exceptional in the overtness of the inheritance of slavery and Jim Crow. Taking examples from several states, this paper will ask whether racism in the allocation of school resources is unique to the South, and will highlight potential regional differences.

My research on North Carolina shows that the theft of Black resources through school finance mechanisms advantaged White communities, and that racial dispossession relied on the overrepresentation of White people in positions of political power, enforced by disenfranchisement schemes. This foundational injustice persisted beyond the abolition of slavery, the legal death of Jim Crow, and the victories of the civil rights movement. These practices lasted into the late

twentieth century, and some persisted to this day, still hindering the opportunities of people of color, and undermining their wealth. Yet the relationship between the history of legal segregation and school finance has been obscured in the literature by the impact of the Brown decision, and the developments in desegregation law that followed. While the 1968 Green school desegregation case pressed school districts in the nation to eliminate racial discrimination “root and branch,” school finance was one of the forgotten branches of this poisonous tree. Discrimination in school funding endures as one of the many remnants of Jim Crow, one that still actively shapes unequal opportunities for millions of children. This paper will set this story in the larger context of the South, to provide a regional and national perspective on this history.

Nicolas Raulin, Ph.D in American studies, EHESS-CENA

“A Return Home or a Yankee Invasion? The Reverse Migration to the South and to Atlanta since the 1970s and the Regionalization of the Black Identity”

This paper addresses the practices of regional boundary making performed by African Americans in the context of the reverse black migration to the South that has been happening since the 1970s. It more specifically looks at the way the South began to be portrayed in the 1970s as an ancestral motherland that ought to be reclaimed by black Americans: through diasporic discourses presenting the South as the natural home of all African Americans regardless of their ancestry and their place of birth in the country, influential black leaders like Julian Bond, John Lewis or Atlanta mayor Maynard Jackson Jr. promoted a reverse migration to the region, with Atlanta standing as the urban epicenter of that project. Indeed, at the same time, the Georgian capital was nicknamed the “New Black Mecca” and depicted as a haven for the black middle class. In the last three decades of the 20th century, Atlanta indeed became the southern metro area where the most important number of black migrants from the non-South have moved to: the oral history interviews conducted with them reveal that they were not particularly responsive to the diasporic discourse of the black elite but rather tried to take advantage of the economic development of the metro area where they could capitalize on their degrees and skills. In spite of the discourses presenting the South and Atlanta in particular as their homeland, their interactions with the local black middle class reveal tensions. Regional identity and origins were then used as a means to discriminate against newcomers whose presence was not always welcomed. In conclusion, this paper shows how black migration to the South and to Atlanta has participated in granting new meaning to the region.

2:00-3:30 PANEL 5 IMAGINING ANOTHER CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT: COUNTERFACTUAL ANALYSES

**Olivier Maheo, Post-Doctoral Researcher, TEMOS,
CNRS-Université Le Mans, ANR ReIRAc.**

L'United Steel Workers of America, Africans-Americans, and mccarthyism, 1945-1955

Nous proposons d'aborder du point de vue d'un historien la période charnière, qui entre 1945 et 1955, voit les syndicats états-uniens adopter les logiques mises en œuvre dans le cadre de la Guerre froide, qui au niveau syndical prennent la forme de l'article du Taft-Hartley Act, qui exige un serment de « non-communisme ». Ils se lancent dans une chasse aux sorcières contre celles et ceux de leurs propres membres qui ont des liens avec la gauche marxiste, à commencer par le Parti communiste américain.

Ellen Schrecker, Robert Korstadt, Nelson Lichstenstein ont démontré à quel point ces années ont été cruciales dans le devenir du mouvement syndical, le privant de forces vives, mais surtout d'une politique à même de rassembler les salariés par-delà la ligne de couleur. Les rares succès de syndicalisation ont été obtenus dans le Sud, lorsque les militants syndicaux ont d'abord rallié des ouvriers Africains-Américains. Il s'agissait le plus souvent des syndicats animés par la gauche radicale, celle qui précisément se trouve menacée puis mise à l'écart au sein du CIO dès 1946.

Nous faisons l'hypothèse que ce virage politique en rupture avec le rooseveltisme est un élément essentiel pour comprendre l'échec syndical au sein de la minorité noire. Cette politique, comme le démontre Goldfield, a été lourde de conséquence, et à ce titre il est intéressant de se pencher de plus près sur ce moment.

Nous proposons de nous concentrer sur le cas du syndicat de la métallurgie, L'United Steel Workers of America, et de montrer comment il sacrifia des sections parmi les plus actives, pertes et profits du ralliement au consensus libéral. Pour ce faire nous nous appuyerons sur de riches archives de l'USWA que nous avons pu collecter en 2022 dans les collections spéciales Eberly Family Special Collections Library, de Penn State University.

Robert R. Korstad, Professor Emeritus of Public Policy and History, Duke University

Revisiting “Opportunities Found and Lost”: Labor and Social Reform Movements in the 1940s US South

In 1988, Nelson Lichtenstein and I published, “Opportunities Found and Lost: Labor, Radicals, and the Early Civil Rights Movement.” Based on our research in Detroit, Michigan and Winston-Salem, North Carolina, we viewed the decade of the 1940s as more than just a precursor to the better-known transformations of the 1950s and 1960s. We argued instead that the modern civil rights era in the US began in the early 1940s “when the social structure of black America took on an increasingly proletarian, urban character.” As thousands of these new workers joined unions, especially the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), “they were in the vanguard of efforts to transform race relations.” I expanded this argument in my book, *Civil Rights Unionism*.

This analysis of labor and civil rights in the 1940s quickly became the subject of critical discussion. Several important community studies bolstered our argument, and it has been carried forward in books and articles documenting what has been dubbed the “Long Civil Rights Movement.” Critics, however, suggested that this scholarship exaggerated the possibilities for progressive reform in the postwar era. Such counterfactuals are difficult to debate, but my confidence in our argument received a boost when I read *South Africa’s 1940s: Worlds of Possibilities*. This collection of essays brought together a range of research on the decade before the National Party took power in 1948 and imposed the system of racial segregation known as apartheid. The book argued that this outcome was not preordained by the events of the war years. Rather “alternative worlds of possibilities were plausibly, if not equally, on offer.” The parallels between these developments in South Africa and the course of the New Deal in the U.S. reinforced my sense that aligning civil rights unionism more closely with social welfare reform in the United States would strengthen the argument for the possibilities of the 1940s.

My paper will look specifically at a wide range of social policies proposed by progressive southerners in Congress or loosely associated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW). The SCHW was a bi-racial coalition of labor unionists, civil rights activists, and southern New Dealers that saw a strong labor movement and the reenfranchisement of the southern poor as the keys to reforming the South and a reformed South as central to the survival and expansion of the New Deal.

The proposals put forth by the SCHW's newspaper, *The Southern Patriot*, brought together the latest statistics on the South's shortcomings. Charts and graphs illustrated how far the region trailed the rest of the nation on indices such as per capita income, educational spending, agricultural productivity, housing conditions, and political inclusiveness. In each case, the *Southern Patriot* outlined a political and policy agenda that would lift the South out of this mire. The only question was whether politicians had the will to move forward.

Comparing notes with the scholars who contributed to *South Africa's 1940s* helped me see that the various strands of reform in the post-World War II U.S.—labor, civil rights, and social welfare—must be studied together. For these interweaving strands shaped and sometimes supported each other, and the potential represented by that mutual reinforcement accounts for much of the ferocity and comprehensiveness of the conservative opposition.

3:45-5:00 ROUND TABLE “WHAT IF”

Brian Kelly, Reader in US History, Queen's University Belfast

Reassessing America's 'Great Missed Opportunity'. Du Bois, Reconstruction and the Limits of Bourgeois Reform in the US

This paper, resting on an affirmation of Goldfield's assertion that “white supremacy and issues of race are at the center of every critical turning point in American political history”, explores that premise through a critical reappraisal of what is arguably the most profound and influential masterwork in a materialist historiography of the United States: WEB Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction in America, 1850-1880*. Treating the tumultuous struggles around slave emancipation as a formative episode in US labour history, the paper explores the intersection of race and class in a number of distinct crop cultures and demographic settings across the former Confederacy: the rice fields of lowcountry South Carolina; the sugar plantations of southern Louisiana, the cotton belt of northern Georgia and upcountry South Carolina; and the docks of Charleston, Savannah and New Orleans. In particular the paper offers a critical and sympathetic reassessment of three key aspects of Du Bois's work on Reconstruction: his understanding of white labouring class investment in white supremacy; *Black Reconstruction's* appraisal of the Republican Party and the class character of the state regimes it upheld after emancipation; and its assertions about northern capital's complicity in the restoration of white

power. The paper concludes with a retrospective appreciation of Eugene Genovese's insistence that Reconstruction represented 'America's great missed opportunity' to move beyond white supremacy, and with an attempt to gauge the historical costs and long-term implications of Reconstruction's violent demise.

**Bryan D. Palmer, Professor, Canadian Studies,
Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.**

What if the Communist Party was not Stalinist? The Case of the Black Belt Nation

Michael Goldfield's writing on race, labor and politics, and the significance of the South in this constellation of determinative forces in structuring American development in the 20th century, constitutes an impressive and influential body of writing. The Communist Party figures centrally in Goldfield's oeuvre, especially with respect to its anti-racist activism. Like many other scholars, Goldfield accepts that the Communist Party's orientation towards race in the 1930s and 1940s, as developed in the Black Belt Nation thesis, was poorly formulated. He appreciates that the creation of an African American nation in the Black Belt of the American South was neither feasible nor particularly Marxist in its theoretical premises. Yet, like many scholars sensitive to the weight of black oppression and the centrality of struggles against racism, he concludes that endorsing the Black Belt Nation and advocating black self-determination established that the Communist Party was serious about struggling against racism.

This paper commences with the kind of counterfactual premise that Goldfield's work has often productively utilized, albeit posed with respect to the Communist Party. What if the Communist Party was not Stalinist?

From this question flows brief commentary on the impact of the CP's shift in line from the Third Period to the Popular Front, and how that affected industrial organizing, the central issue in Goldfield's *The Southern Key*. Just what might have been accomplished in the South had the Communist Party, operating as it did on the basis, at least in part, of Stalinist directive, followed a different course? The suggestion is that the gains that Goldfield rightly attributes to Communist organizers could well have been much greater if the Party did not follow the path it did, which represented, whatever the nuances of local organizing and particular experiences, an adaptation to Stalinist shifts away from 1920s Leninist understandings, in which united front practices in the trade unions were favored.

More centrally, the adaptation to Stalin's writings on the national question evident in the emergence of the Black Belt Nation thesis in 1928 structured the Communist Party's approach to race in particular ways. What if the anti-racist struggle in the South had not been saddled with this conceptual baggage? What if an alternative understanding of how to conceptualize the struggle for black equality outside of parameters bounded by national self-determination was developed? Given that the conceptualization of the Black Belt Nation thesis and the move to an ultraleft, sectarian Third Period stance happened at roughly the same time, what were the contradictions inherent in these developments (a cross-class nationalist approach to race/a class against class approach to labor) and how did they hamper effective anti-racist work in anti-lynching campaigns, the mobilization around the frame-up of the Scottsboro Boys, unemployed struggles, or organizing mass production industries? If the Black Belt Nation thesis resonated in the 1930s as proof that the Communist Party was serious about addressing race, was another orientation possible and could it have been more productive?

In raising the counterfactual question of "what if the Communist Party was not Stalinist?" new insights can be developed along lines already pursued by Goldfield. A perspective emerges about what a Communist Party could have been. As with his writing as a whole, conventional wisdoms can be challenged, assumptions revised, and the possibilities present in the historical past explored imaginatively. This is the spirit that has always animated Goldfield's stimulating scholarship.

Mary Anne Trasciatti, Professor of Rhetoric and Public Advocacy and Director of Labor Studies, Hofstra University :

The Intersectional Politics of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

On April 24, 1952, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, acting as her own counsel, introduced herself to the jury that would decide whether her membership in the CPUSA automatically made her guilty of violating the Smith Act, which made it a crime to advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. She began her introduction by claiming her Irish identity. "I am an American of Irish descent. My father, Thomas Flynn, was born in Maine. My mother, Anne Gurley, was born in Galway, Ireland. I was born in Concord, New Hampshire, 62 years ago." Her comments illustrate the indissoluble connection between Flynn's Irishness and her politics. Unlike the many Irish Americans who sought to transcend outsider status by participating in the exclusion and oppression of Black Americans, often

as machine politicians or police officers, Flynn refused to adopt the privileges of a racialized society in order to succeed in a brutal economic system. Throughout her activist career, first, as a Wobbly agitator, then, as a founding member of the ACLU, and, ultimately, as a leader of the Communist Party of the United States, she identified with and drew inspiration from the struggle to liberate Ireland from England's imperial rule and build a more free and just society along socialist principles. In this paper, I focus on Flynn's years in the CPUSA and consider how Irish nationalism provided a foundation from which sprung her advocacy for free expression and her resistance to class, sex, and race-based injustices. The project contributes to a growing literature on the Irish left in the U.S. and suggests a key role for Irish American radicals, especially, but not only, Irish American Communists, in the development of intersectional politics.

Alex Callinicos, Emeritus Professor of European Studies, King's College.

Tracing the genealogy and implications of the concept of racial capitalism

In an extremely distinguished body of writing Mike Goldfield has explored the relationship between 'race', class, and capitalism in the context of the recent history of the United States. His work, pursued for decades, now intersects with the influence the problematic of racial capitalism now exercises in contemporary critical writing.

In this paper I seek to explore this problematic by returning it to its origins in the so-called 'Revisionist' school of South African Marxist historians, who sought in the 1960s and 1970s to demonstrate that the apartheid system of racial domination and segregation was not, as liberal ideologists and scholars argued, dysfunctional to the development of capitalism in the region, but actually promoted it. This is the background to the apparent coining of the expression 'racial capitalism' by the trade union organiser David Hemson and the scholar-activist Martin Legassick in 1976. The subsequent history of the concept involves a process of generalization, above all in Cedric Robinson's *Black Marxism* (1983), in which the symbiosis of racism and capitalism becomes, not specific to the South African case (or even closely comparable cases, eg the US South central to Goldfield's work), but universal, a structural feature of the modern world system. I wish critically to probe this generalization, drawing on the rethinking of the relationship between apartheid and capitalism by Harold Wolpe, one of the leading South African 'Revisionists', in *Race, Class, and the Apartheid State* (1988). The theme of this paper is highly pertinent to the exploration of epistemological paradigms that this conference seeks to encourage.

**5:00 KEYNOTE MICHAEL GOLDFIELD,
PROFESSOR EMERITUS, WAYNE STATE
UNIVERSITY**

BIOGRAPHY

SPEAKERS

KALILOU BARRY

Doctoral candidate

UPEC-IMAGER

Kalilou Barry is a doctoral candidate at Paris-Est Créteil University (IMAGER research center). His research focuses on the dynamics of organization of African low-wage workers in New York City and the D.C. metropolitan area.

MANUEL BOCQUIER

Doctorate candidate

EHESS, Mondes Américains, CENA / Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne

I am a Phd candidate in history at the EHESS, under the supervision of historian Romain Huret and anthropologist Sara Le Menestrel. My work focuses on the segregation of 'old-time music' and 'race music' in the Twenties and Thirties in the United States. I study the role of consumers, listeners, dancers, and spectators in this process. I also am a teaching assistant at Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne Université.

CHRISTEN BRYSON

Associate Professor

Sorbonne Nouvelle

Christen Bryson is an Associate Professor of American Studies in the English Department at the Sorbonne Nouvelle. Her research has dealt primarily with the American family during the postwar era. She is interested in the ways in which the white, heterosexual, middle-class nuclear family has come to represent traditional conceptions of American family life.

As part of this research, she has attempted to frame the 1950s within a long historical perspective, tracing the antecedents of the "breadwinning father/husband" and "caretaking mother/wife" to the late 19th century. She looks at these roles as expressed during the 1950s as a sort of zenith of long historical trends that ultimately contributed to the social, political, and cultural transformations of this era. Her current work is turning towards the legacies of feminism and conservatism on women and mothers.

ALEX CALLINICOS

Emeritus Professor of European Studies

King's College London

- Junior Research Fellow in Contemporary Social Thought, St Peter's College, Oxford, 1979-81
- Taught Politics and Philosophy at the University of York 1981-2005 (Personal Chair)
- Professor of European Studies, King's College, London 2005-20
- Editor of *International Socialism* 2009-20
- *Selected relevant publications:*
- (with John Rogers) *Southern Africa after Soweto* (London: Pluto, 1977)
- *Southern Africa after Zimbabwe* (London: Pluto, 1981)
- *South Africa between Reform and Revolution* (London: Bookmarks, 1988)
- (edited) *Between Apartheid and Capitalism: Conversations with South African Socialists* (London: Bookmarks, 1992)
- 'Reform and Revolution in South Africa: A Reply to John Saul', *New Left Review*, 1/195 (1992), pp. 111-15
- 'Social Democratic Dreams or Class Struggle Realism? A Reply to Enoch Godongwana', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 16.6 (1992), pp. 64-7
- *Race and Class* (London: Bookmarks, 1993)
- *Theories and Narratives: Reflections on the Philosophy of History* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995)
- 'Wonders Taken for Signs: Homi Bhabha's Postcolonialism', *Transformation*, 1 (1995), pp. 98-112
- 'South Africa after Apartheid', *International Socialism*, 2.70 (1996), pp. 3-46
- *Social Theory: A Historical Introduction* (Cambridge: Polity, 1999)
- *Imperialism and Global Political Economy* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009)
- (Edited with Stathis Kouvelakis and Lucia Pradella) *The Routledge Handbook of Marxism and Post-Marxism* (New York & London: Routledge, 2021)
- Review of Nicola Ginsburgh, *Class, Work and Whiteness: Race and Settler Colonialism in Southern Rhodesia, 1919-79*, *Review of African Political Economy*, 48:168 (2021), pp. 315-320

JAMES COHEN

Professeur

Sorbonne Nouvelle-CREW

James Cohen est professeur au Département du monde anglophone de la Sorbonne Nouvelle et enseigne également à l'Institut des hautes études du monde anglophone. Politiste de formation, il travaille sur la politique aux Etats-Unis, notamment les minorités ethnoraciales et l'immigration, ainsi que sur les relations internationales dans les Amériques. Son dernier livre porte sur les mouvements anti-immigrés aux Etats-Unis. Il prépare un ouvrage sur le néolibéralisme et la relation coloniale entre Porto Rico et les Etats-Unis.

James Cohen is a professor in the Department of Anglophone Studies at the Sorbonne Nouvelle and also teaches at the Institute of Advance Studies of Latin America. He is a political scientist by training and works on questions of domestic U.S. politics, in particular ethno-racial minorities and immigration, as well as international relations in the Americas. His most recent book is about anti-immigrant movements in the U.S. and he is currently working on neoliberalism and the U.S.-Puerto Rico colonial relationship.

CÉCILE COQUET-MOKOKO

Professeure de Civilisation des Etats-Unis

UVSQ

Cécile Coquet-Mokoko is a professor of US cultural history, African American Studies and Gender Studies at the University of Versailles-St Quentin (greater Paris area), where she was hired in September 2019 after teaching African American Studies for 18 years at the University of Tours (Loire Valley.) She has specialized in African American Studies since the 1990s, when she completed her PhD under the supervision of Professor Geneviève Fabre in 1998. The book that came out of her doctoral research on the poetics of call-and-response in African American folk sermons was published in French in 2000. Since then, her publications have borne on race and gender relations in the USA from the 19th century to the present, particularly in the Deep South. Her comparative sociological study of interracial couples in the American South and France (the result of 10 years of fieldwork) was published by Routledge in May 2020.

ESTHER CYNA

Associate Professor of American studies

USVQ-CHCSC

Esther Cyna est maîtresse de conférences en civilisation américaine à l'université de Versailles-Saint-Quentin- USVQ-CHCSC et spécialiste de l'histoire de l'éducation. Elle a effectué une thèse en cotutelle entre l'Université Sorbonne Nouvelle et l'Université de Columbia, aux États-Unis, sur l'histoire raciale du financement des écoles publiques en Caroline du Nord, soutenue en 2021.

Esther Cyna is assistant teacher in American studies and the history of U.S. education at université de Versailles-Saint-Quentin- USVQ-CHCSC. She completed her Ph.D. in 2021 at the Sorbonne Nouvelle University and at Teachers College, Columbia University. Her dissertation examined the racial history of public school funding in North Carolina.

BARRY EIDLIN

Associate Professor of sociology

McGill

Barry Eidlin is Associate Professor of Sociology at McGill University. He is a comparative historical sociologist interested in the study of class, politics, social movements, and social change. He is the author of *Labor and the Class Idea in the United States and Canada* (Cambridge University Press, 2018). It explains why, despite many socio-economic similarities, unions have weakened much more in the US than in Canada. Other research has been published in the *American Sociological Review*, *Politics & Society*, *Labor Studies Journal*, *Political Power and Social Theory*, and *Labor History*, among other venues. Writing for broader audiences has appeared in the *Washington Post*, *The Globe and Mail*, *La Presse*, and *Jacobin*, among other venues, and he comments regularly in various media outlets on labor politics and policy. Prior to embarking on his academic career, he spent several years as a union organizer, mainly with Teamsters for a Democratic Union.

Barry Eidlin est professeur agrégé de sociologie à l'université McGill. Il utilise des méthodes comparatives et historiques pour se pencher sur des questions de classes sociales, de la politique, des mouvements sociaux, et du changement social plus généralement. Il est l'auteur de *Labor and the Class Idea in the United States and Canada*, qui est paru chez les presses universitaires de Cambridge en 2018. Ce livre explique pourquoi, malgré les similarités socio-économiques entre les deux pays,

les syndicats ont vu un déclin beaucoup plus important aux États-Unis par rapport au Canada. D'autres recherches ont été publiées dans des revues scientifiques telles que *American Sociological Review*, *Politics & Society*, *Labor Studies Journal*, *Political Power and Social Theory*, et *Labor History*, parmi d'autres. Des textes visés au publics plus larges ont paru dans le *Washington Post*, le *Globe and Mail*, *La Presse*, et *Jacobin*, parmi d'autres, et il commente régulièrement dans divers médias sur des questions liées au monde du travail et aux mouvements ouvriers. Avant d'entamer sa formation académique, il a travaillé pendant plusieurs années dans le mouvement syndical, surtout avec Teamsters for a Democratic Union (Les Teamsters pour un syndicat démocratique).

ELIZABETH FAUE

Professor

Wayne State University

Elizabeth Faue is professor of history and department chair at Wayne State University in Detroit. Known for her work exploring gender, labor, and working-class experience, she is the author of *Rethinking the American Labor Movement* (2017) and *Community of Suffering and Struggle: Women, Men, and the Labor Movement in Minneapolis, 1915-1945* (1991), among other works. She coordinated the North American Labor History Conference between 1991 and 2003 and served as labor network representative of the Social Science History Association between 2015 and 2019. Her current project is "Work and the Body Politic: Gender, Workplace Risk, and the Health of Democracy."

FANNY GALLOT

Maîtresse de Conférences

UPEC

Fanny Gallot, historienne, est membre du Centre de recherche en histoire européenne comparée (CRHEC), elle enseigne à l'ESPE de Créteil. Ses recherches portent sur l'histoire du travail qu'elle tente d'envisager dans une perspective intersectionnelle, l'histoire du syndicalisme et des féminismes. Elle a publié *En découdre. Comment les ouvrières ont révolutionné le travail et la société* (La Découverte, 2015) et participé à la coordination de « Prolétaires de tous les pays, qui lave vos chaussettes ! », *Le genre de l'engagement dans les années 1968*, avec Ludivine Bantigny et Fanny Bugnon (PUR, 2017). En relation avec ses enseignements, elle mène également des recherches en éducation, notamment autour des questions de discriminations ethno-raciales et de genre.

MATHIEU HOCQUELET

Sociologist, Center for Studies and Research on Qualifications

Marseille

Mathieu Hocquelet is a contract researcher at the Centre d'Études et de Recherches sur les Qualifications (Céreq) and teaches at the IFCS / Training Institute for Health Executives (Aix-Marseille University - AP-HM). As a labor sociologist interested in labor-intensive industries (retail, logistics, hospitals), his work focuses on transformations of the labor process and conflictuality (working and employment conditions, digital, ecological dynamics and value chains) in France and the United States. Between 2013 and 2018, he notably conducted two postdoctoral ethnographic researches on workers' organization, focusing on *Organization United for Respect at Walmart* near union strongholds (EHESS, Maurice Halbwachs Center) and *Fight for \$15* in the South (Marie Skłodowska-Curie COFUND fellow, John F. Kennedy Institute for North American Studies, Berlin).

ÉMILIE JULLIARD

Chargé de recherche
CNRS-IDHE.S

«Émilien Julliard est chargé de recherche CNRS en sociologie au sein du laboratoire IDHE.S. Il est spécialiste du syndicalisme, des politiques sociales et du travail en France et aux États-Unis. Il a soutenu une thèse à l'EHESS sur les transformations du syndicalisme états-unien depuis les mouvements sociaux des années 1960. Il mène actuellement des recherches sur l'action publique face à l'essor des plateformes numériques de travail et développe une sociologie politique des prélèvements sociaux.

Il a récemment publié (avec Sarah Abdelnour) «Le droit du travail bousculé par les plateformes numériques: fin ou renouveau du salariat ?», in Vincent-Arnaud Chappe, Jean-Philippe Tonneau, *Le droit du travail en sociologue*, Paris, Presses des Mines, 2022, et (avec Karim Fertikh), «La drôle de guerre froide de Robert Michels», *Genèses*, n°116, 2019.»

BRIAN KELLY

Reader in US History

Queen's University Belfast

Brian Kelly is Reader in US History at Queen's University Belfast, in Northern Ireland, and former director of the *After Slavery Project*. Interested primarily in the complex relationship between race and class in the 19th and 20th century United States, his first book—*Race, Class and Power in the Alabama Coalfields* (Illinois, 2001)—won a number of awards, including the HL Mitchell Prize for the best book in [US] Southern labor history and the Isaac and Tamara Deutscher Memorial Prize for the best and most innovative work in Marxist historiography. In the years since his published work ranges temporally from antebellum labor abolition through to Reconstruction-era labor militancy, black workers and race leadership at the nadir, and onward to the celebrated 1968 Memphis sanitation strike. In recent years his focus on the formative struggles that accompanied slave emancipation has generated a substantial body of scholarship on the intellectual legacy of the prominent scholar-activist W. E. B. Du Bois. Kelly is completing a study tentatively titled *False Dawn: War and Emancipation in Black-Majority South Carolina*.

DONNA KESSELMAN

Professeure de civilisation américaine

UPEC-IMAGER

Donna Kesselman is Professor at Paris University at Créteil (UPEC) where she teaches American studies and is member of IMAGER (EA 3958) research laboratory. She is an associate researcher at LISE (Laboratoire Interdisciplinaire pour la Sociologie Economique, UMR 3320-CNRS-CNAM). Her research focuses on political institutions and on work, employment and industrial relations.

She has widely published on both contemporary issues and rooted in historical perspective, since her PhD in US labor history, and approached from a comparative perspective, between the United States, France, the European Union, and in the Americas, notably Brazil. She managed an international ANR grant on employment grey zones, explored from a theoretical perspective and applied to contemporary labor market transformations, notably digital platform work. A recent book she co-edited, and contributed to, mobilizes the “work and employment grey zone” concept to seize the dynamics entailed by the emerging figure of the Uber driver: *Les travailleurs des plateformes numériques : regards interdisciplinaires*, coedited with Rodrigo Carelli, Patrick Cingolani, Buenos Aires, Editions Teseo, 2022.

<https://www.teseopress.com/lestravailleursdesplateformesnumeriques/>

ANISSA KHAMKHAM

Doctoral candidate

CAS Toulouse

Anissa Khamkham is a 4th-year PhD student in American Studies at Université Toulouse Jean Jaurès under the supervision of Anne Stefani and Caroline Rolland-Diamond and currently a teaching fellow at Université Sorbonne Nouvelle. Her dissertation focuses on the history of the black freedom movement in North Carolina and is entitled : « From Protest to Politics – Grassroots Activism and Electoral Politics in the Black Freedom Movement in North Carolina, 1965-1990 ».

ROBERT R. KORSTAD

Professor Emeritus of Public Policy and History

Duke University

Robert Korstad is Emeritus Professor of Public Policy and History at Duke University where he taught from 1989-2020. He received his B.A. and PhD from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. His research interests include twentieth century U. S. history, labor history, African American history, and contemporary social policy. He is the past president and current co-president of the Southern Labor Studies Association.

His publications include: *Fragile Democracy: The Struggle Over Race and Voting Rights in North Carolina* (coauthor, University of North Carolina Press, 2020); *To Right These Wrongs: The North Carolina Fund and the Battle to End Poverty and Inequality in 1960s America* (coauthor, University of North Carolina Press, 2010); *Civil Rights Unionism: Tobacco Workers and the Struggle for Democracy in the Mid-Twentieth-Century South* (University of North Carolina Press, 2003); *Remembering Jim Crow: African Americans Talk About Life in the Segregated South* (coeditor, The New Press, 2001); *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World* (coauthor, University of North Carolina Press, revised edition, 2000).

His books have received the following prizes: North Caroliniana Society Book Award, 2010, North Caroliniana Society for *To Right These Wrongs*; Phillip Taft Labor History Award, Co-winner, 2004, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University for *Civil Rights Unionism*; H. L. Mitchell Award, 2004, Southern Historical Association for *Civil Rights Unionism*; Charles

S. Sydnor Award, 2004, Southern Historical Association for *Civil Rights Unionism*; Liberty Legacy Foundation Award, Co-winner 2004, Organization of American Historians for *Civil Rights Unionism*; Lillian Smith Book Award, 2002, Southern Regional Council for *Remembering Jim Crow*; Cary McWilliams Award, 2002, *MultiCultural Review* for *Remembering Jim Crow*; Albert J. Beveridge Award, 1988, American Historical Association for *Like A Family*; Merle Curti Award, Co-winner 1988, Organization of American Historians for *Like A Family*; and the Phillip Taft Labor History Award, 1988, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University for *Like A Family*.

DAN LABOTZ

Teacher

School of Labor and Urban Studies City University of New York, Retired

Education:

- Centro de Investigaciones Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS)– Mexico City – 1995-1997 – Visiting Researcher with Fulbright Fellowship
- University of Cincinnati – Cincinnati, Ohio – 1992-1998 – Ph.D. in U.S. History
- University of Cincinnati – Cincinnati, Ohio – 1990 – 1992 – M.A. in U.S. History
- San Diego State College – San Diego, California – B.A. in English Literature

Teaching:

- School of Labor and Urban Studies, City University of New York, 2017-19. Retired.

Fellowships, Honors

- Fulbright Fellowship in Residence for Ph.D. dissertation research in Mexico, 1995-96.
- Taft Fellowship of the University of Cincinnati for dissertation research, 1996-97.
- Fund for Investigative Journalism, two grants for study of labor in Indonesia 1999 and 2000.

Books:

- *Riding with the Revolution: The American Left and the Mexican Revolution* – awaiting publication by Brill in 2022.
- *Trotsky in Tijuana*. Serge Press, 2020. (A novel.)

- Le nouveau populisme américain : Résistances et alternatives face à Trump : Paris: Syllepse, May 2018
- The Nicaraguan Revolution: What Went Wrong? Leiden: Brill, 2016; Haymarket 2018.
- A Vision from the Heartland: Socialism for the 21st Century. Cincinnati: Buckeye Socialist Press, 2010.
- César Chávez and La Causa. New York: Pearson Longman, 2005.
- Made in Indonesia: Indonesian Workers Since Suharto. Boston: South End Press, 2001.
- Democracy in Mexico: Peasant Rebellion and Political Reform. Boston: South End Press, 1995.
- Mask of Democracy: Labor Suppression in Mexico Today. Boston: South End Press, 1992.
- The Troublemaker's Handbook: How to Fight Back Where your Work and Win! Detroit: Labor Notes, 1991.
- Edward L. Doheny: Petroleum, Power & Politics in the U.S. & Mexico. New York: Praeger, 1991.
- Rank and File Rebellion: Teamsters for a Democratic Union. New York: Verso, 1990.
- The Crisis of Mexican Labor. New York: Praeger, 1988.

HÉLÈNE LE DANTEC-LOWRY

Professeure emerita, Civilisation américaine

Sorbonne Nouvelle-CREW

Hélène Le Dantec-Lowry is Professor emerita of American Studies at Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, in Paris, France. She specializes in African American History and Women's History. In 2010, she published a study of the discourse on African American Families throughout American history, *De l'esclave au président. Discours sur les familles noires aux États-Unis* (Éditions du CNRS). More recently, she co-edited *Generations of Social Movements: Remembering the Left in the US and France*, with A. Ivof (Routledge, 2016).

As part a collaborative three-year research project, "Writing From the Margins: African American Historians", she also co-edited *Writing History from the Margins: African Americans and the Quest for Freedom* (Routledge,

2017), with C. Bourhis-Mariotti and C. Parfait, and *Histoire en marges. Les périphéries de l'histoire globale*, with M. Renault, M.-J. Rossignol et P Vermeren (Presses Universitaires François Rabelais, 2018).

She was Editor-in-Chief (for History) of the *Revue Française d'Etudes Américaines (French Journal of American Studies)* from 2013 to 2019), and served as the head of the Center for Research on the United States (CRAN) at Université Sorbonne Nouvelle (2010-19).

OLIVIER MAHEO

**Post Doctoral researcher, TEMOS
CNRS-Université Le Mans, ANR ReIRAcE.**

Olivier Maheo est actuellement post-doctorant au laboratoire TEMOS Temps, Mondes, Sociétés - CNRS UMR 9016, et membre associé de l'équipe CREW (Sorbonne Nouvelle). Il a soutenu son doctorat en 2018 en histoire états-unienne, à propos des tensions au sein du Black Freedom Movement. Il mène des recherches sur les usages du passé et les contre-récits de la race à partir du cas africain-américain. Au sein de l'Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent, UMR 8244, Il a organisé avec Pauline Peretz et Vincent Guigueno le colloque international, « Raconter et exposer les minorités. Médiations muséales en France et en Amérique du Nord » en partenariat avec le Musée du Quai Branly, en avril 2022. Actuellement il mène des recherches dans le cadre du projet Religion, Lignages, Race, soutenu par l'ANR, au sein du laboratoire TEMOS, UMR 9016, CNRS-Le Mans.

Olivier Maheo is currently a post-doctoral fellow at the TEMOS, Temps, Mondes, Sociétés research team – CNRS-UMR 9016, and an associate member of the CREW (Sorbonne Nouvelle). He defended his PhD in 2018 in American history, about the tensions within the Black Freedom Movement. He conducts research on the uses of the past and counter-narratives of race from the African-American case. With the Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent, UMR 8244, he organized with Pauline Peretz and Vincent Guigueno the international conference, “Telling and exhibiting minorities in France and North America: minorities and their museum mediations” in partnership with the Musée du Quai Branly, in April 2022. He is currently conducting research as part of the ANR-supported project RELRACE, Religion, Lignages, Race, within the TEMOS laboratory, UMR 9016, CNRS-Le Mans.

GUILLAUME MARCHE

Professeur

UPEC-IMAGER

Guillaume Marche est professeur de civilisation des États-Unis à l'Université Paris-Est Créteil. Ses recherches portent sur les mouvements sociaux contemporains aux États-Unis (en particulier le mouvement LGBTQ), les identités sexuelles, la subjectivité et le rapport entre le culturel et le politique. Ses travaux récents concernent également les formes infrapolitiques d'intervention dans les espaces publics à San Francisco (graffitis, mur peints, végétalisation, théâtralité LGBTQ, nudité), ainsi que l'usage des biographies et des mémoires de militant·es LGBTQ dans la sociologie des mouvements sociaux. Il est l'auteur de *La militance LGBT aux États-Unis. Sexualité et subjectivité* (Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2017). Il est directeur de l'équipe de recherche IMAGER (Institut des Mondes Anglophone, Germanique et Roman – UR 3958).

Guillaume Marche is a professor of North American studies at the University of Paris-Est Creteil (France). His publications deal with contemporary social movements in the United States – mainly the LGBTQ movement. His research focusses on sexual identities, subjectivity, and the interplay between the cultural and political dimensions of collective mobilization.

His recent research also addresses infrapolitical forms of intervention in public spaces in San Francisco – e.g. graffiti, murals, urban greening, LGBTQ theatricality, public nudity – and the use of biographies and memoirs of militancy in social movement sociology. He is the author of *Sexuality, Subjectivity, and LGBTQ Militancy in the United States* (Amsterdam University Press, 2019). He is the director of the research working group “IMAGER” (Institute for the study of English-, German-, and Romance language-speaking spheres) at the University of Paris-Est Creteil.

CODY R. MELCHER

Assistant Professor of Sociology

Loyola University

Cody R. Melcher, PhD. is an assistant professor of sociology at Loyola University New Orleans. His research focuses broadly on the role of race and class in American public opinion. His work has been published in Political

Behavior, Ethnic and Racial Studies, Labor: Studies in Working-Class History, Critical Sociology, Dialectical Anthropology, and elsewhere.

MARIE MÉNARD

Doctoral candidate

UPEC-IMAGER

Marie A. Menard, doctorante en troisième année sous la direction de Donna Kesselman (UPEC) et Christian Azaïs (CNAM).

JODY NOLL

Lecturer of history

Georgia State University

Jody Noll is a lecturer of history at Georgia State University. His manuscript on the 1968 statewide Florida teacher strike is under advance contract with LSU Press' Making the Modern South series under the editorship of David Goldfield. His article in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, "'We are Not Hired Help:' The 1968 Statewide Florida Teacher Strike and the Formation of Modern Florida," won the 2018 Arthur W. Thompson Award by the Florida Historical Society for best scholarly article on Florida History. He has been awarded numerous grants and fellowships to support his research and writing through organizations such as the Organization of American Historians and the Southern Labor Studies Association. He has also published in other forums such as the *Tampa Bay Times* and *History News Network*.

BRYAN D. PALMER

Professor Emeritus

Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.

A historian of labour and the left, Bryan D. Palmer is a past editor of the Canadian journal, *LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL*, and a member of the Royal Society of Canada. He has published extensively in the fields of Canadian labour history, the history of American Communism/Trotskyism, and on questions of historiography and theory. He is on the editorial boards of a number of scholarly journals, including *AMERICAN COMMUNIST HISTORY*. His award-winning monographs include *DREAMING OF WHAT MIGHT BE: THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR IN ONTARIO, 1880-1900* (coauthored with Gregory S. Kealey, 1982); *JAMES P. CANNON AND THE*

ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY LEFT, 1890-1928 (2007); and *TORONTO'S POOR: A REBELLIOUS HISTORY* (co-authored, Gaetan Heroux, 2016).

His most recent book appeared in 2021 in the Historical Materialism Book Series with Brill, *JAMES P. CANNON AND THE EMERGENCE OF TROTSKYISM IN THE UNITED STATES, 1928-1938*. Palmer received his PhD from the State University of New York at Binghamton in 1977, and subsequently taught at Queen's University, McGill University, Simon Fraser University, and Trent University, where he was the Canadian Research Chair in Canadian Studies from 2000-2015. He also served as a Visiting Professor at Beijing Normal University and Duke University. Currently retired, he remains active in research and publication and is currently completing the third and final volume of his studies of James P. Cannon and American Trotskyism, as well as a book tentatively titled, *CAPITALISM & COLONIALISM: A HISTORY OF CANADA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY*.

PAULINE PERETZ,

**Membre senior de l'Institut Universitaire de France-
Maîtresse de conférences HDR en histoire contemporaine,
Directrice adjointe de l'Institut d'histoire du
temps présent**

Université Paris 8 Vincennes Saint Denis

Elle est membre de la rédaction en chef de la *Vie des idées*, et l'auteure de *Une armée noire. Fort Huachuca, Arizona* (1941-1945) (Le Seuil, 2022), *Let My People Go. The Transnational Politics of Soviet Jewish Emigration During the Cold War* (Transaction Publishers, 2015), *Au prêt sur gage* (« Raconter la vie », Seuil, 2014), *Le dossier secret de l'Affaire Dreyfus* (avec Pierre Gervais et Pierre Stutin, Alma 2012), et a dirigé *L'Amérique post-raciale ?* (PUF/Vie des idées, 2013) et *New York. Histoire, Promenades, Anthologie, Dictionnaire* (« Bouquins », Robert Laffont, 2009).

TRISTAN PINET-LE BRAS

Doctoral candidate

Mondes Américains, EHESS

Ph.D candidate in history at l'École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), my dissertation deals with the history of disc-jockeys from the late 1940s to the late 1970s.

I am looking at the social and political consequences of the development of black-oriented radios in that period, particularly in regard to the redefinition of race relations. My main sources are from radio owners, managers, but also unions and specific disc-jockeys.

CHARLES POST

Graduate

Center-City University of New York (CUNY)

Charles Post teaches sociology at the City University of New York. He is a long time socialist active in his faculty union at the City University of New York. Post is the author of *The American Road to Capitalism* (2011) and numerous articles on class, race and the labor movement. He is currently working on a book on the United Rubber Workers during and after the Second World War.

MATTHEW NICTER

Associate Professor of Sociology

Rollins College, Orlando, Florida

Matthew Nichter is Associate Professor of Sociology and Coordinator of African & African-American Studies at Rollins College in Orlando, Florida. He received his B.A. from Brown University and his M.S. and Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Nichter's research focuses on the evolving relationship between the African-American freedom struggle, the labor movement, and the socialist movement. His article "Did Emmett Till Die in Vain? Organized Labor Says No!" in the journal *Labor* received the 2022 Russo-Linkon award from the Working-Class Studies Association.

NICOLAS RAULIN

Doctoral Student

EHESS-CENA

Nicolas Raulin is a Ph.D. student at the EHESS and works on the reverse migration of African Americans to the South of the US since the 1970s. His research focuses on the metropolitan area of Atlanta, Georgia where he spent 6 months as a Fulbright scholar at the University of Emory. He has taught American studies classes as a Research and Teaching Assistant at the university of Lyon 3 and is currently teaching English at the University of Nantes in the department of sociology.

MATTHEW STANLEY

**Associate professor of history
University of Arkansas.**

Matthew E. Stanley is an associate professor of history at the University of Arkansas, where he holds the Alumni Endowed Chair. Stanley is the author or editor of three books, including the recent *Grand Army of Labor: Workers, Veterans, and the Meaning of the Civil War* (Illinois, 2021). His first book, *The Loyal West: Civil War and Reunion in Middle America* (Illinois, 2017), won the 2018 Wiley-Silver Prize for best first book in Civil War history. Stanley has also written for various non-academic publications, including *Dissent*, *Counterpunch*, *Socialist Worker*, *International Socialist Review*, and *Jacobin*.

ANNE STEFANI,

**Professeure en civilisation américaine
Université Toulouse-Jean Jaurès-CAS**

Anne Stefani is Professor of U.S. History and American Studies at Toulouse – Jean Jaurès University. She is a specialist of the segregated South and the long civil rights movement. Her research focuses more specifically on white southern women. Her book, *Unlikely Dissenters: White Southern Women in the Fight for Racial Justice, 1920-1970* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015) explores the intersection of gender, race, and regional identity in the southern United States. Her latest publications probe the interconnected dynamics of race, history, and memory in contemporary American culture.

MARY ANNE TRASCIATTI,

**Professor of Rhetoric and Public Advocacy and Director of Labor Studies
Hofstra University**

Mary Anne Trasciatti is Professor of Rhetoric and Director of Labor Studies at Hofstra University. She is completing a book on the civil liberties activism of radical labor organizer Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and is co-editor of two recent anthologies: *Talking to the Girls: Intimate and Political Essays on the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire* (New Village Press, 2022) and *Where Are the Workers?: Labor's Stories at Museums and Historical Sites* (Univ. of Illinois Press, 2022).

TONI-MICHELLE TRAVIS

Professor Emerita

George Mason University

Toni-Michelle C. Travis taught American and Virginia politics at George Mason University for thirty-five years. She was a fellow at the Rothermere American Institute at Oxford. For four years she hosted Capital Region Roundtable, a public affairs talk show on cable television. She is the co-author of three books and was the editor of the Almanac of Virginia Politics. Her Ph.D. is from the University of Chicago.

JEAN-CHRISTIAN VINEL,

Professor of American history

Université Paris Cité.

He specializes in 20th century labor and political history. He is currently at work on a book entitled “Reaction at Work: The Right, Labor and the Making of the New Gilded Age” (under contract with Oxford UP). His previous publications include *The Employee: A Political History* (Penn, 2013, paperback 2020); *Capitalism Contested: the New Deal and Its Legacies*, with Romain Huret and Nelson Lichtenstein, eds (Penn, 2020) and *La grève en exil? Syndicalisme et démocratie aux Etats-Unis et en Europe Occidentale* (Arbre Bleu éditions, 2014).

AUGUSTUS WOOD

Assistant Professor

School of Labor and Employment Relations, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Augustus Wood is an Assistant Professor in the School of Labor and Employment Relations at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He specializes in political economy, social movements, and working class labor in African American Urban History.

