

**Read the article entitled
‘Why did Henry Ford
increase the minimum
wage’.**

**What is your opinion about
his decision? What does it
tell you about Ford?**

Jazz Age?

Or

Depression Blues?

**On the information sheet, put
a number in each of the boxes.**

**When you put the information
onto the see-saw, you will
need to explain in each of the
boxes why that factor would
have made the 1920s a positive
or negative period for workers.**

Jazz Age- positive changes for workers



Depression Blues- negative changes for workers

Jazz Age?

Or

Depression Blues?

**Read through FDR's
inaugural address to
the American people,
March 1933.**



**Highlight anything in
there that would
have been well-
received by workers /
trade unions, and
annotate why
alongside.**

Go through the pack of sources / details about the New Deal.

Firstly, sort them into two piles: positive and negative.



Then, in each individual pile, organise them in terms of the **QUALITY** of evidence: which of the details would allow you to make the strongest arguments?



Now, using the blank pieces of paper provided, identify three lines of argument about the impact of the New Deal for workers. Do this for both sides, using the available evidence.

For example, “The New Deal delivered both material and political advantages for the workers in America.”

“The New Deal was an artificial recovery that could not sustain significant improvements for the majority of American workers.”

**Identify the three pieces
of evidence that best
supports each of these
arguments and write
them / summarise them
on the argument sheet.**

**What is your
interpretation of
the New Deal for
workers thus far?**

*Mr. Roosevelt is the only man we ever
had in the White House who would
understand that my boss is a
sonofabitch.*

North Carolina mill worker (c. 1935)

FDR's response to crisis

Number of bills sent to Congress by President Roosevelt during the First Hundred Days: 15

Number of those bills passed by Congress: 15



Harry Hopkins and the Works Progress Administration 1935-38

"I believe the days of letting people live in misery, of being rock-bottom destitute, of children being hungry, of moralizing about rugged individualism in the light of modern facts - I believe those days are over in America. They have gone, and we are going forward in full belief that our economic system does not have to force people to live in miserable squalor in dirty houses, half fed, half clothed, and lacking decent medical care."



**3 million
employed by
WPA 1935-38**

**Built
highways,
public
buildings,
bridges,
parks.**



Harold Ickes and the Public Works Administration

**Spent \$5 billion
1933-39
On long term
infrastructure projects.**



"Many billions of dollars could properly be spent in the United States on permanent improvements. Such spending would not only help us out of the depression, it would do much for the health, well-being and prosperity of the people. I refuse to believe that providing an adequate water supply for a municipality or putting in a sewage system is a wasteful expenditure of money. Any money spent in such fashion as to make our people healthier and happier human beings is not only a good social investment, it is sound from a strictly financial point of view. I can think of no better investment, for instance, than money paid out to provide education and to safeguard the health of the people."

New Deal statistics

Population of the United States in 1930: 123 million

Population of the United States in 1940: 132 million

Unemployment rate in 1929: 3.2%

Unemployment rate in 1932: 24.2%

Unemployment rate in 1935: 20.1%

Unemployment rate in 1937: 14.3%

Unemployment rate in 1939: 19.0%

Unemployment in the USA

- 1929: 2.6 million
- 1933: 15 million
- 1935: 11 million
- 1937: 8.3 million
- 1938: 10.5 million
- 1939: 9.2 million
- 1940: 8 million

America's Gross National Product 1928 to 1939

1928: \$100 billion

1933: \$55 billion

1939: \$85 billion

Amount of consumer goods bought 1928 to 1939

1928: \$80 billion

1933: \$45 billion

1939: \$65 billion

Private investment in industry

1928: \$15 billion

1933: \$2 billion

1939: \$10 billion

Workers in unions

Percentage of non-agricultural workers in labour unions, 1930: 11.6%

Percentage of non-agricultural workers in labour unions, 1937: 22.6%

Percentage of non-agricultural workers in labour unions, 1945: 35.5%

GNP per capita

United States GNP per capita in 1929: \$847

United States GNP per capita in 1933: \$442

United States GNP per capita in 1937: \$701

United States GNP per capita in 1941: \$934

FDR's second inaugural address 1937

But here is the challenge to our democracy: In this nation I see tens of millions of its citizens - a substantial part of its whole population - who at this very moment are denied the greater part of what the very lowest standards of today call the necessities of life...

I see millions denied education, recreation, and the opportunity to better their lot and the lot of their children.

I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished...

The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little.

**What is your
interpretation of
the New Deal for
workers thus far?**

**Read through the information
about the Ford Massacre of
1932.**

**What does this tell you about
the changing attitudes of
wealthy employers caused by
the Great Depression?**







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**Now read through the
information about the Battle of
the Overpass, 1937.**

**What (if anything) has changed
in the five years since the New
Deal started?**

What seems to be the most important theme in changing the position of workers?

Federal Government

Presidential action

Economic change

Supreme Court

Solidarity and consolidation

Union actions and behaviour

“Clearly, all this calls for a reappraisal of values. A mere builder of more industrial plants, a creator of more railroad systems, an organizer of more corporations, is as likely to be a danger as a help....Our task is not discovery, or exploitation of natural resources, or necessarily producing more goods. It is the soberer, less dramatic business of administering resources and plants already in hand, of seeking to re-establish foreign markets for our surplus production, of meeting the problem of underconsumption, of adjusting production to consumption, of distributing wealth and products more equitably, of adapting existing economic organizations to the service of the people.”

- *FDR describing his beliefs about economic recovery in 1932*

To what extent do you think FDR was successful in achieving this?

“Administering resources... already at hand”

Evidence	To what extent does the evidence support / challenge FDR's aim?	To what extent was this positive / negative for workers?

"Adjusting production to consumption"

Evidence	To what extent does the evidence support / challenge FDR's aim?	To what extent was this positive / negative for workers?

“Distributing wealth and products more equitably”

Evidence	To what extent does the evidence support / challenge FDR's aim?	To what extent was this positive / negative for workers?

“Adapting existing economic organisations to the service of the people”

Evidence	To what extent does the evidence support / challenge FDR's aim?	To what extent was this positive / negative for workers?

In your groups, choose ONE of these interpretations to test together.

Firstly, identify the overall interpretation of the source. Then, apply supporting evidence to the claims on the left hand side, and challenging evidence to the claims on the other.

Evaluate the interpretations in BOTH of the two passages and explain which you think is more convincing as an explanation of the New Deal upon labour rights and trade unions.

(30 marks)

Roosevelt's populism was a means to harness the support of labour for his attempt to save US capitalism, not as the basis for a challenge to it.

Working class America grew in confidence during the New Deal years, making good use of pro-union laws to further their own struggles and strikes. A strike wave in 1933 fed into massive eruptions of class struggle in cities such as Minneapolis. Workers controlled essential supplies and formed a militia to defend themselves from police attacks.

The strikes... paved the way for the birth of the Congress of Industrial Organisations (CIO) – which recruited across industries as opposed to the narrow, craft union approach of the more conservative American Federation of Labour. Terrified of the new militancy among workers, some sections of big business broke from supporting the president. In response, the Democrats were forced to run on a pro-labour platform.

Roosevelt had no intention of implementing pro-labour policies, refusing to act against strike breaking and violence against workers by the police and National Guard. Militant tactics were abandoned and the great upsurge of class struggle ended with the bosses resurgent, locking out workers in the steel industry.

By 1937 US production had finally recovered to its pre-1929 levels, but it had done so through the increased productivity of the existing workforce – 14 percent of the workforce remained unemployed. Later that year, the entire economy fell back into a slump. Roosevelt had failed to deliver the US economy from the Great Depression.

The New Deal proved to be a brief period of mild reforms granted under pressure of militant mass action by organised workers. While the New Deal itself may have failed to deliver US workers from poverty, it was nevertheless part of a process in which workers' willingness to fight back was revived.

Jonny Jones, Did the New Deal benefit US Workers?

How successful were the public works and relief programs at achieving their goals? On the surface they were wildly successful. The works programs marshalled resources that put millions of people to work during the worst and longest depression in American history. Many of the roads, buildings, post offices, and public works built by these agencies in every county in America are still in place or renovated versions of the original projects bear their stamp.

On a more cynical level, the programs succeeded by helping Roosevelt and Democratic congressmen remain in office. In 1938 WPA administrator Harry Hopkins allegedly declared to friends that “we shall tax and tax and spend and spend and elect and elect.” Hopkins claimed that he had never made such a statement, but plenty of contemporaries considered it to be the underlying truth. Millions of Americans could claim that the Roosevelt administration had provided them with funds, a work relief job, or in-kind benefits during their time of need, a fact that was easily remembered on Election Day.

Price Fishback, *The New Deal*, 2009

The Taft-Hartley Act, 1947

"To promote the full flow of commerce, to prescribe the legitimate rights of both employees and employers in their relations affecting commerce, to provide orderly and peaceful procedures for preventing the interference by either with the legitimate rights of the other, to protect the rights of individual employees in their relations with labor organizations whose activities affect commerce, to define and proscribe practices on the part of labor and management which affect commerce and are inimical to the general welfare, and to protect the rights of the public in connection with labor disputes affecting commerce."

The amendments enacted in Taft–Hartley added a list of prohibited actions, or unfair labour practices, on the part of unions to the NLRA, which had previously only prohibited unfair labour practices committed by employers.

The Taft–Hartley Act prohibited solidarity or political strikes, secondary boycotts, secondary and mass picketing, closed shops, and monetary donations by unions to federal political campaigns. It also required union officers to sign non-communist proclamations with the government.

Why would the American government respond to the end of the Second World War with the above act?



National War Labour Board established to adjudicate in wage disputes.
Industrial wages increased by 70% during WW2.

How could this detail help us understand why the Taft-Hartley Act was introduced?

Strikes and Union Membership 1931–46.

Year	Number of Strikes	Number of Workers involved	Union Membership	% of workforce
1930	637	182,975	3,401,000	11.6
1935	2,014	1,117,213	3,584,000	13.2
1937	4,470	1,860,621	-	-
1940	-	-	8,717,000	26.9
1945	-	-	14,322,000	35.5
1946	4,985	4,600,000	-	-

Source: *US Bureau of Labor Statistics*

There was a significant increase in Union membership during the Second World War, from 26.9% in 1940 to 35.5% in 1945.

How could this detail help us understand why the Taft-Hartley Act was introduced?

Strikes and Union Membership 1931–46.

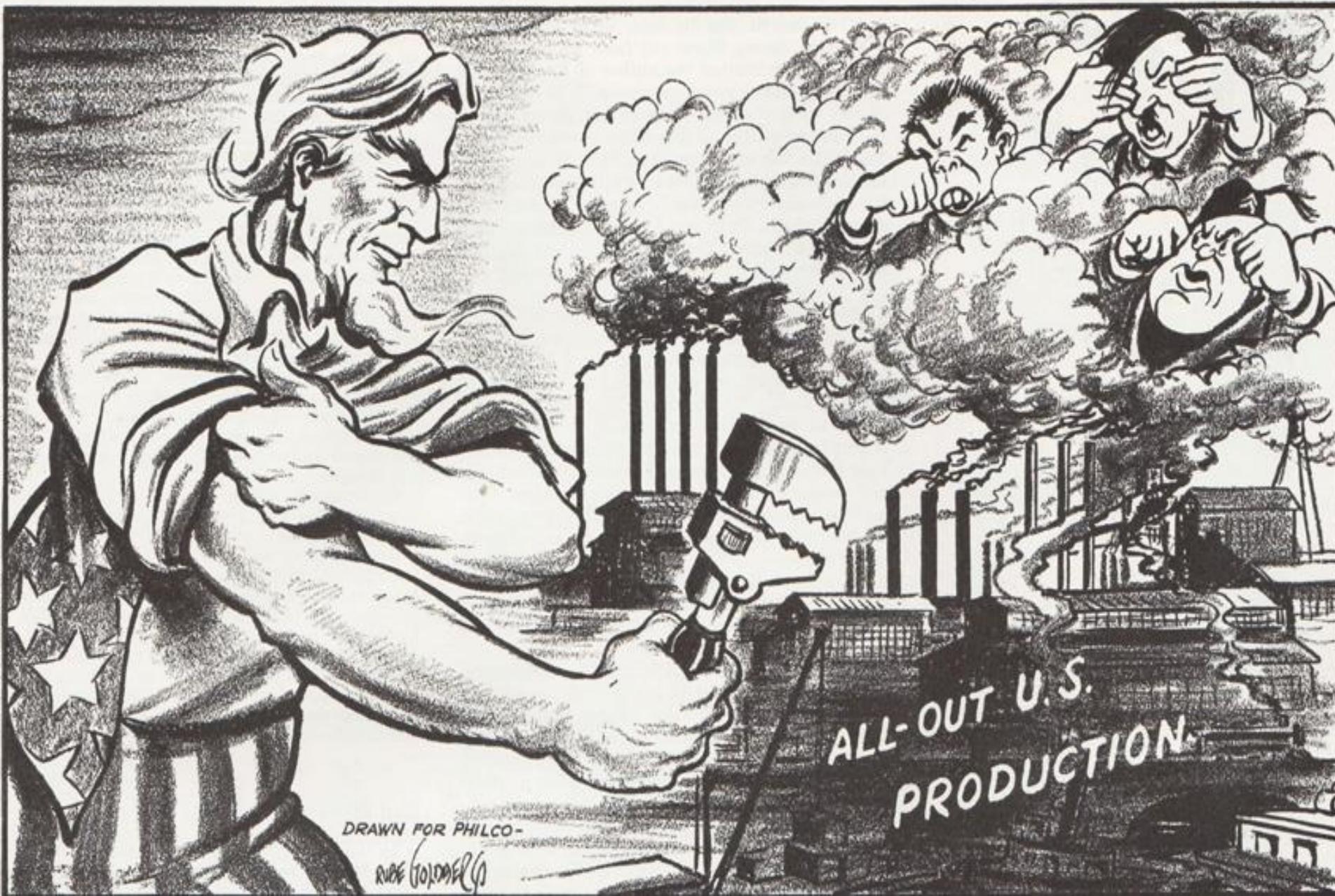
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Source: *US Bureau of Labor Statistics*

There was a significant wave of strike action across the USA in 1946, with vast numbers of striking workers in comparison with the previous two decades.

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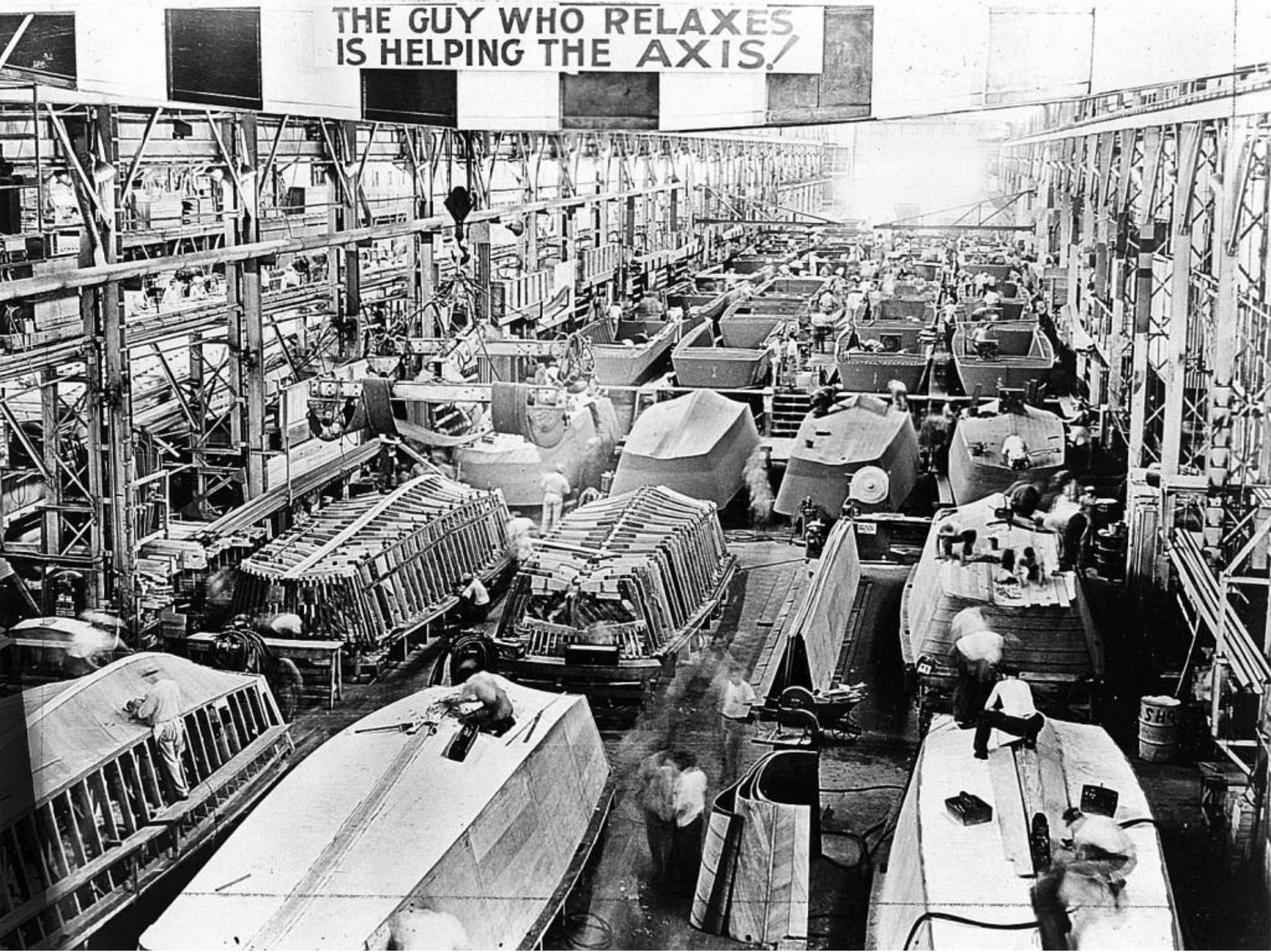
“Smoke gets in their Eyes!”



DRAWN FOR PHILCO-

RUBE GOLDBERG

THE GUY WHO RELAXES
IS HELPING THE AXIS!



**Read through pages 6 and 7 of
the narrative summary of
1918-1945.**

**Use the information to explain
how each of the different
factors led to an anti-Union
backlash in the early 1950s.**

American support for European Allies	Increasing aggression of the CIO and AFL in the late 30s / early 40s	Increase in non-unionised minorities (women and blacks) working in factories	The creation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee
Stagnant wages in a time of price inflation	<p>Why was there an anti-union backlash after WW2?</p> <pre> graph TD A[Stagnant wages in a time of price inflation] --> D[Why was there an anti-union backlash after WW2?] B[Increasing aggression of the CIO and AFL in the late 30s / early 40s] --> D C[Increase in non-unionised minorities (women and blacks) working in factories] --> D D[Negative reactions amongst unions to reduced safety standards that would allow higher production] --> D E[Creation of the Smith-Connally Act, 1943] --> D F[UMWA cast as unpatriotic for striking] --> D G[Substantial drop in demand at war's end] --> D </pre>	Negative reactions amongst unions to reduced safety standards that would allow higher production	
Creation of the Smith-Connally Act, 1943	UMWA cast as unpatriotic for striking	Substantial drop in demand at war's end	SUMMARY

1954:
35%

Between 1950 and 1960, the **GNP** rose from \$318 billion to \$488 billion.

By the end of the 1950s:

- 60% of American families owned their own homes
- 75% owned cars
- 87% owned at least one television

The average workers income, adjusted for inflation, was 35% higher than in 1945 and 200% higher than in the 1920s.

Scientific advancements were made and new technologies introduced:

- The number of hours and workers needed to produce a car fell by 50%
- The first nuclear plant opened in 1957.
- By the 1960s more than 30,000 main frame computers were being used by banks and insurance companies.

By 1960, around 35 million (20% of population) lived below the poverty line.

One-third of the poor lived in depressed rural areas where two million migrant farm workers lived in extreme poverty.

Half the housing in Harlem pre-dated 1900 and was in slum conditions. A dozen people often shared a single derelict, small apartment.

Harlem's rates of illiteracy, infant deaths, narcotics use and crime were significantly above national averages.

Which of these themes do you feel is the most significant in helping us understand labour relations in the US? Why?

Federal Government

Presidential action

Economic change

Supreme Court

Solidarity and consolidation

The wars

Union actions and behaviour

“By the 1950s most observers agreed that Taft-Hartley was no more disastrous for workers than the Wagner Act had been for employers. What ordinarily mattered most in labor relations was not government laws such as Taft-Hartley, but the relative power of unions and management in the economic marketplace. Where unions were strong they usually managed all right; when they were weak, new laws did them little additional harm.”

- *Historian James T Patterson, summarising the impact of Taft-Hartley*

Do you agree? What examples do we have?

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“What ordinarily mattered most in labor relations was not government laws such as Taft-Hartley, but the relative power of unions and management in the economic marketplace.”

-James T Patterson

We are going to take an overview of the 50s and 60s to try and determine the extent to which this statement is accurate.

Using the textbooks, we will be looking at different elements of life in the 50s and 60s before reaching a judgement about the impact of three themes: union behaviour, governmental action or economic change that most impacted upon workers in America.

In each column, explain what impact each of the different events had in supporting / challenging the importance of the different themes.

"What ordinarily mattered most in labor relations was not government laws such as Taft-Hartley, but the relative power of unions and management in the economic marketplace."

-James T Patterson

	The strength of Unions had the greatest impact upon workers' lives	The Federal Government and Presidents had the greatest impact upon workers' lives	Changes in the economy had the greatest impact upon workers' lives	Conclusion: which theme had the greatest impact upon this area? Why?
Changes in standards of living				
Technological change				
The merger of the AFL and the CIO				
Persistent poverty				
Minorities in the workplace				

“What ordinarily mattered most in labor relations was not government laws such as Taft-Hartley, but the relative power of unions and management in the economic marketplace.”

-James T Patterson

In the conclusions that you write in your essays, you have to be able to evaluate the impact of different themes in order to reach a conclusion. This means accepting that there is validity to each theme, but identifying why your chosen theme is of greater importance.

Write a conclusion to the following question:

“The improving lives of most working Americans in the 1950s and 1960s was primarily caused by the strength of the Trade Union Movement.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?

**“Unions were in decline before
Reagan’s presidency.”**

AGREE

DISAGREE

Assess the view that unions were in decline before Reagan's presidency (1981-89).

Using the pack of sources on each row, write a paragraph that supports each of the lines of enquiry in front of you.

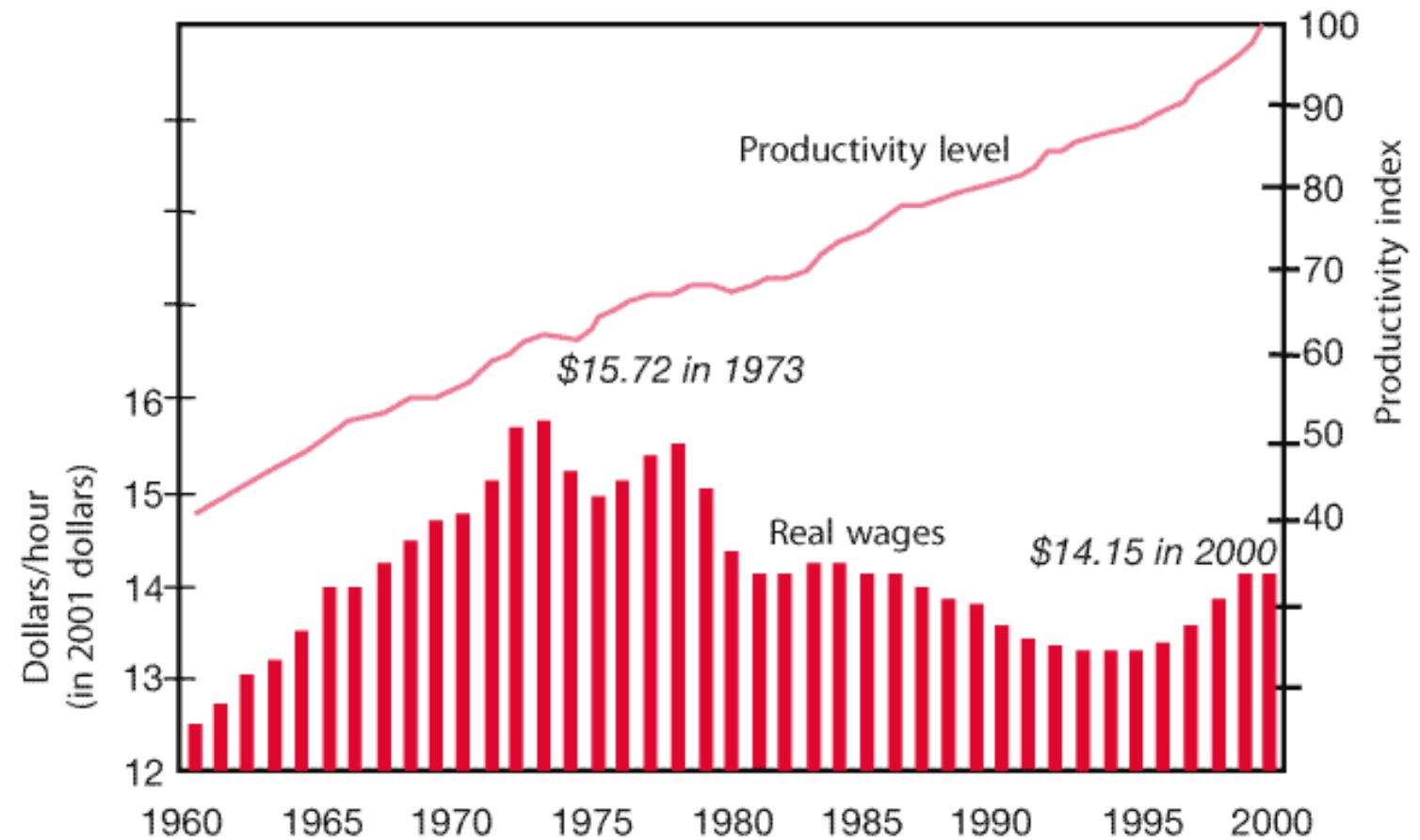
Assess the view that unions were in decline before Reagan's presidency (1981-89).

Rising wages and an increased standard of living were fundamental in causing a long-term decline of union strength. They were simply considered unnecessary by the majority.

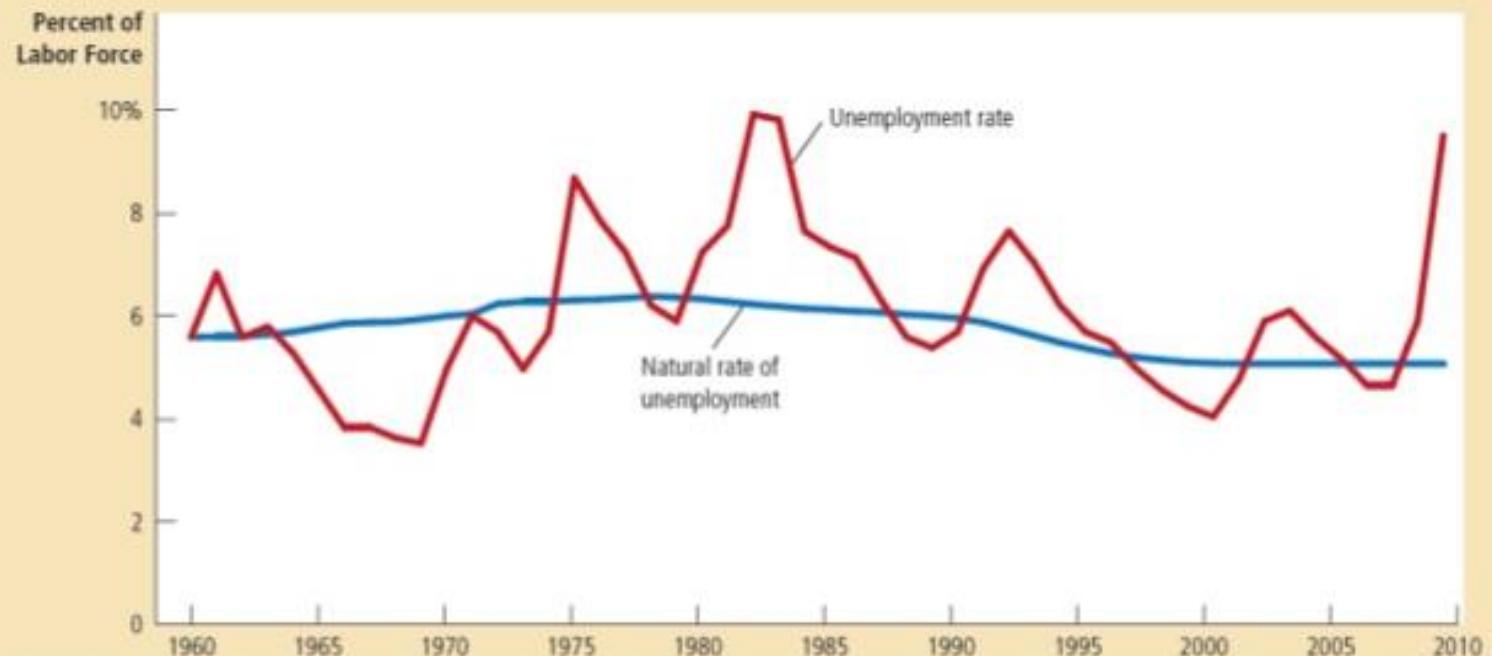
There was a decline in union membership was patchy, and mostly focused in the private sector rather than the public sector. This reflected the changing structure of the US economy rather than any decline in the effectiveness of unions.

After peaking in the mid-1950s, trade union membership declined in the 1960s and dropped significantly in the 1970s. This was primarily a consequence of substantial legislative change ensuring that the 'safety net' for workers remained in place.

The 1960s showed the first signs of the relationship/association between the organised labour and the Democratic Party deteriorating. This was a side effect of a lack of governmental focus on workers as a result of Civil Rights issues and the war in Vietnam.



Unemployment Rate since 1960



This graph uses annual data on the U.S. unemployment rate to show the percentage of the labor force without a job. The natural rate of unemployment is the normal level of unemployment around which the unemployment rate fluctuates.

Trade Union membership 1970–90.

Year	Number of Members	% of workforce
1970	19,381,000	27.3
1975	19,611,000	25.5
1980	19,843,000	21.9
1985	16,996,000	18.0
1990	16,740,000	16.1

**Strikes involving 1,000+ workers only
1970–92.**

Year	Number of strikes	Number of workers taking strike action
1970	381	2,468,000
1975	235	965,000
1980	187	795,000
1985	54	324,000
1990	44	185,000
1992	35	362,000

To what extent did the Democrats abandon workers?

How far did Carter help workers?

Changing political attitudes and policies

In the closing decades of the century, organised labour could no longer rely on the same level of support from politicians as they had done previously. They had been traditional supporters of the Democrats who had appreciated this close association since, when union membership was high, it usually guaranteed them the working-class vote. However, by the late 1970s, as membership declined and the unions could no longer claim to represent the masses, their value to the Democrats diminished. Without political support, the power of organised labour was significantly reduced.

This is not to say that the period was devoid of labour-related legislation. In 1970, for example, Richard Nixon's policy of Affirmative Action (see page 86) did benefit black and immigrant workers as well as those from other ethnic groups by challenging discrimination in employment. In addition, the **Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970** did establish health and safety regulations in the workplace. This was an achievement, as the labour unions were successful in ensuring that the responsibility for setting standards for health and safety rested with the Department of Labor not an independent board that might be swayed by employers. In 1977, **President Jimmy Carter** (Democrat) and Congress established the hourly minimum wage at \$2.65. However, by 1978, the attempts by the AFL-CIO to persuade Carter to introduce reforms to the National Labor Relations Act (1935) failed – a reflection of the extent to which the Democrats were more interested in gaining the support of employers rather than the workers.

The changing composition of the workforce

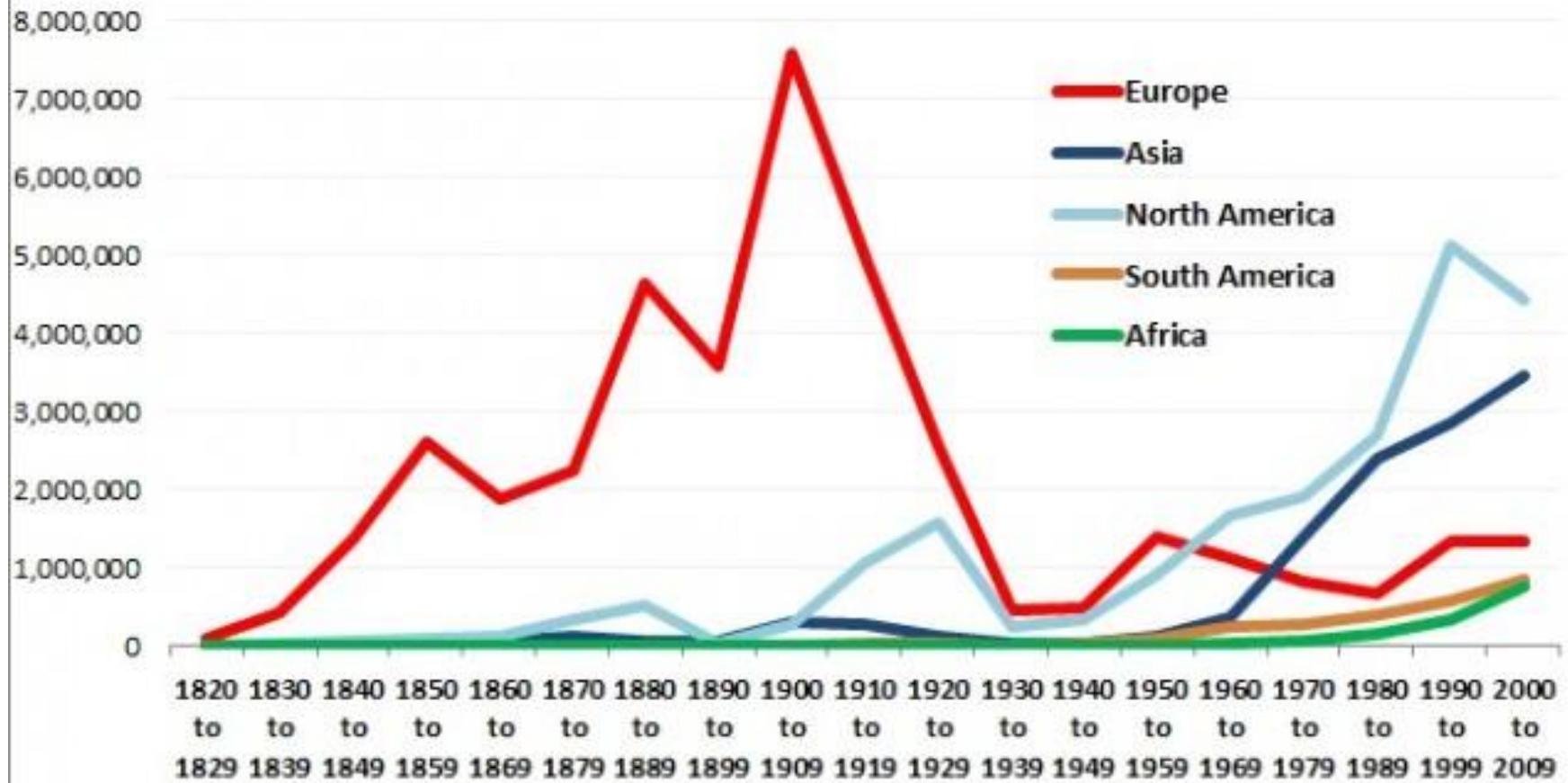
Economic change resulted in the greater dispersal and fragmentation of the workforce which was not conducive to the promotion of solidarity. The movement and relocation of industry meant that the concentration of large numbers of workers in one place of work generally became a thing of the past. This made trade union organisation and recruitment more difficult. The outcome of reductions in productivity resulted in larger numbers of unskilled workers being employed either as casual or part-time labour. The service economy employed increasing numbers of female workers who were generally low paid, part-time and for the most part (though not exclusively) uninterested in union membership.

The unskilled workforce was also divided culturally and ethnically. Existing immigrants, Hispanic and African-American workers were augmented by a **new wave of immigrants from Asia** in the closing decades of the century, the majority of whom were unskilled and prepared to work for low wages. This only served to exacerbate long established divisions in the labour movement, especially within previously exclusively white trade unions. Given that these workers were either not interested in union membership, or were prepared to work for employers

who operated non-unionised business concerns, the influence of the trade unions was clearly limited.

The marked change in the composition of the workforce by the 1980s was the continuing growth in the number of white-collar workers to meet the needs of high tech industry and the reduction of blue-collar workers effectively made redundant by increased automation. This accelerated the trend that had begun in the 1960s so that, by 1980, there were 50.5 million white-collar workers compared with 30.5 million in 1960. Unlike blue-collar workers, white-collar workers were less well disposed to trade union membership. Many benefited from generous welfare schemes provided by their employers and so were more inclined towards supporting them rather than embarking on union action.

Immigrants to US by origin, 1820 - 2009



The propensity on the part of employers to keep their businesses buoyant as they faced competition and the reduction of profits, inevitably increased their determination to gain the upper hand in their dealings with the unions. The fact that some businesses were unionised and others not, was in itself an issue for them in a competitive arena. Non-unionised firms had greater flexibility when it came to the negotiation of wage levels. This kept production costs lower, potentially increased profit margins and enabled them to be more competitive. These circumstances put them at an advantage in comparison to owners of unionised firms. There was, therefore, an increasing tendency for employers to flout the law in their dealings with workers by denying them their rights, particularly in relation to wage agreements as well as working hours and conditions.

This trend was encouraged when it became clear that employers could get away with it. Whilst there were increasingly isolated examples of industrial action, workers generally failed to protest. Complaints that were made about unfair practices to the National Labor Relations Board (see page 128) were processed so slowly that this gave a clear signal to employers that they could risk

pushing at the boundaries of the laws that were intended to protect workers rights. By the late 1970s, the elected membership of the NLRB had fewer union leaders in its ranks than in earlier times, itself indicative of their waning influence. Consequently, it showed itself less well disposed to meet union demands. Moreover, in this new climate that accommodated the interests of employers before those of workers, employment lawyers and advisers emerged to help employers circumvent the law, which they frequently did without challenge. By the 1980s, there was no doubt that the 'balance of power' had swung away from the labour unions and in favour of the employers. There can be little doubt that the outcome of the Air Traffic Controllers' Strike in 1981 must have provided further encouragement to other employers.

Assess the view that unions were in decline before Reagan's presidency (1981-89).

Which of these is more significant:

Reduced number of large scale strikes

VS

Decline in membership of unions as a percentage of the population

Assess the view that unions were in decline before Reagan's presidency (1981-89).

Which of these is more significant:

Increased immigration to the USA from Asia and Latin America

VS

Decline in membership of unions as a percentage of the population

Assess the view that unions were in decline before Reagan's presidency (1981-89).

Which of these is more significant:

Union membership remaining static

VS

Increased government action on issues typically associated with unionism (ie, 1970 Occupational Safety and Health Act)

Assess the view that unions were in decline before Reagan's presidency (1981-89).

Which of these is more significant:

Stagnation of real wages against productivity

VS

Increased government action on issues typically associated with unionism (ie, 1970 Occupational Safety and Health Act)

In what ways was the PATCO Strike significant?



October 20, 1980

Dear Mr. Poli:

I have been thoroughly briefed by members of my staff as to the deplorable state of our nation's air traffic control system. They have told me that too few people working unreasonable hours with obsolete equipment has placed the nation's air travelers in unwarranted danger. In an area so clearly related to public safety the Carter administration has failed to act responsibly.

You can rest assured that if I am elected President, I will take whatever steps are necessary to provide our air traffic controllers with the most modern equipment available and to adjust staff levels and work days so that they are commensurate with achieving a maximum degree of public safety. . .

I pledge to you that my administration will work very closely with you to bring about a spirit of cooperation between the President and the air traffic controllers. . .

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

Source A: A letter from presidential candidate Ronald Reagan to Bob Poli, leader of PATCO (the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organisation).

What do you think is the significance of this letter?

**Read through the three sources
in front of you.**

- 1) Why did Patco go on strike?
- 2) *Why did the government react the way it did?*
- 3) What reasons help explain why the strike failed?

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Source A: A letter from presidential candidate Ronald Reagan to Bob Poli, leader of PATCO (the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organisation).

By threatening to fire and replace striking workers, Reagan had not only ended the gentleman's agreement to overlook the Taft-Hartley rule forbidding federal employees from striking, an agreement that had endured a postal-worker strike, in 1970, and earlier work slowdowns from patco itself, he had legitimized termination as a response to labor disputes, dealing a critical blow to labor worldwide.

After the President read his prepared statement, he was joined at the lectern by Secretary of Transportation Drew Lewis, someone for whom the controllers seemed to reserve a special hatred because his "bad cop" attitude made the others seem reasonable, and Attorney General William French Smith, who informed the media that they intended "to initiate criminal proceedings against those who have violated the law." Key figures in the strike would be arrested and jailed. "How soon would these criminal proceedings be initiated?" one of the journalists among the press corps asked. "Probably by noon today," was the answer...

Patco viewed the strike as an unfortunate escalation of negotiations toward a long-term agreement with their bosses, the federal government. Of course, the controllers hoped that their actions, debilitating air traffic worldwide at an expense of millions per day, would cause Reagan to meet their demands, pacify them quickly, and kindly invite them back to work. They'd hoped the strike would pass like a brief tantrum. After the strike began, they would have accepted even token concessions to get them back to the bargaining table. Nonetheless, they were prepared to go "the distance," even though no one knew what that meant.

Reagan, just eight months into his first term in office, treated the strike as a challenge to his authority. By his deadline, August 5th, only thirteen hundred striking controllers had returned to their posts. The President made good on his threat, fired the truant eleven thousand three hundred and forty-five controllers, and banned them from federal employment for life. (Bill Clinton lifted the ban in 1993.)

Source B: Extract from *The Cost of Defying the President* by Gregory Pardlo, February 12 2017

The strike caused a massive disruption of the air traffic system. However, the government was able to keep control of the skies. Supervisors filled the positions of striking workers, and military controllers assisted the supervisors. Union authorities referred to these temporary workers as scab workers. Surprisingly, the temporary workers were able to handle most of the workload left behind by those on strike. Their success in covering the work played a large part in breaking the strike. Union actions also contributed to the strike's failure. The PATCO leaders were unable to properly explain their goals and reasons for the strike to the public. The public simply did not understand the issues that the union felt were important. Additionally, President Reagan held many press conferences and was able to shift public sentiment away from the air traffic controllers. The strike failed to gain support. No other unions joined the strike, and no national government offices offered support. In the end, PATCO members were unable to defend themselves against the government, the courts, law enforcement and, most importantly, the public.

Source C: Extract from a case study from *Thinkingeconomics.net* on the Patco strike

NY Times: The Strike That Busted Unions

1. Why did PATCO strike?
2. What was Reagan's response?
3. What was his justification?
4. How was PATCO's treatment a break from previous policy?
5. How did Reagan's handling set a new precedent?

**Using what you've
read, build the
argument for the two
interpretations of the
Patco strike you've
been given.**

<p>Reagan was unjustified in his treatment of PATCO, he had supported them in return for their endorsement in 1980 only to treat them with contempt and disrespect a year later. Reagan had been willing to negotiate a pay rise and shorter hours prior to the union taking industrial action and his hard-line stance during the strike was petty and dishonest. He fired workers employed by his own government simply to send an intimidating message to the Soviets; American workers were used as props in Reagan's international showmanship. Reagan's administration made no effort to discuss or bargain with PATCO, a precedent stretching back to the Gilded Age. His treatment of the strikers was a clear case of executive over-reach and issuing a lifetime employment ban was excessive punishment for the crime. In an attempt to punish one union for breaking the law, he had set a dangerous new precedent. Given the cost of parachuting in the military to cover dismissed strikers and setting up fast-track training, the President could have saved money by negotiating a pay rise.</p>	<p>Reagan was right and fair in his handling of PATCO, the President had been elected on the promise of supporting middle America and the public was under no illusion that a Republican would be cosy with unions. Reagan had been happy to negotiate with PATCO and he felt aggrieved when they reneged and took strike action. Reagan was a 'law and order' politician and PATCO had broken the law; the President had threatened to take action against government employees striking and so he had to take action. Reagan could not afford to be bullied by unions at the height of the Cold War, a message had to be sent in order to set the tone of a presidency the Soviets saw as amateur and inexperienced. The smooth running of air traffic control was essential to America's economy and security and therefore the administration could not afford to be held hostage by PATCO. Unions lacked public sympathy and the PATCO strike was Reagan's opportunity to be the man of the people.</p>	<p>Reagan had no choice but to break the strike. Given the weak economy and the criminal action Reagan had to follow through on his word.</p>	<p>The PATCO strike did need to be dealt with but the President handled it poorly. Reagan was right to tackle the strike but his methods and stance were misguided and wrong.</p>
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The Republican Party

The president

Overconfident unions

The economy

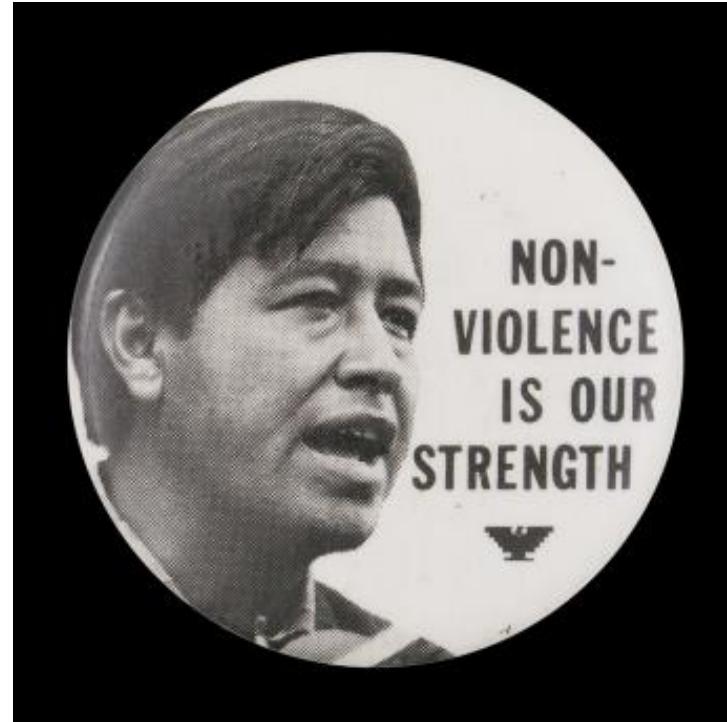
*How did two of the above factors combine
to help reduce the power of unions in
America after 1980?*

**What defined the spirit
of radicalism in 1960s
America?**

In what ways might the spirit of 1960s radical politics have effected the trade union movement?

Read the potted biography of Cesar Chavez.

To what extent was he a radical in the mould of other militants in 1960s society?



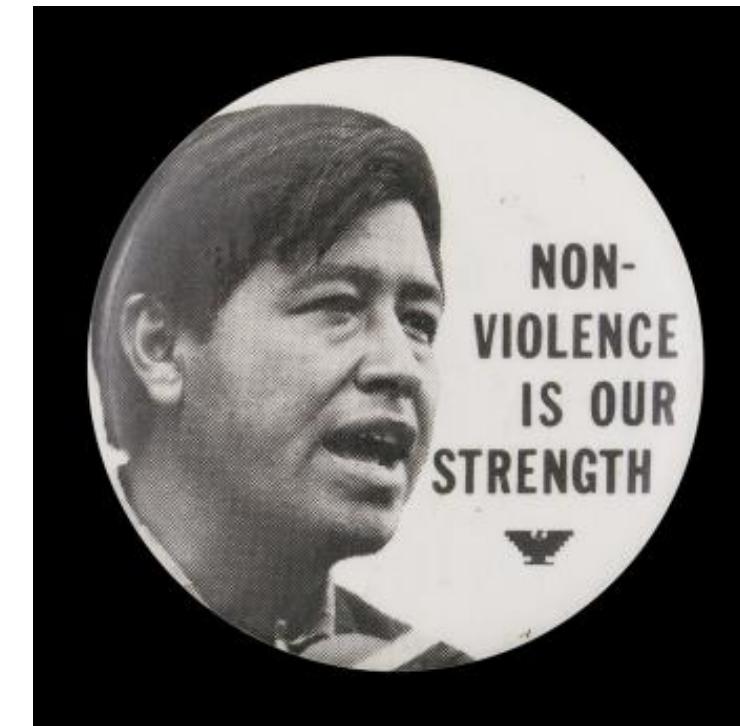
Who was Cesar Chavez?

What union did he found?

In what ways was he successful?

What protest techniques did he use?

To what extent can his work be seen as similar to other radical political groups of the 1960s?



What was the impact of radical groups upon the trade union movement?

	What were the aims of this group of radicals?	Examples of radical unions in this field	What did they achieve?	Key Events	Key Figures
Black Power					
Radical Feminism					

	African Americans	Native Americans	Women	Organised Labour	Overall view of the decade (analysis)	Extent of progress made (evaluation)
1860s						
1870s						
1880s						

	African Americans	Native Americans	Women	Organised Labour	Overall view of the decade (analysis)	Extent of progress made (evaluation)
1890s						
1900s						
1910s						

	African Americans	Native Americans	Women	Organised Labour	Overall view of the decade (analysis)	Extent of progress made (evaluation)
1920s						
1930s						
1940s						

	African Americans	Native Americans	Women	Organised Labour	Overall view of the decade (analysis)	Extent of progress made (evaluation)
1950s						Extent of progress made (evaluation)
1960s						
1970s						

	African Americans	Native Americans	Women	Organised Labour	Overall view of the decade (analysis)	Extent of progress made (evaluation)
KEY TURNING POINTS						
1980s						