

Forging Rivals

The three decades after the end of World War II saw the rise and fall of a particular version of liberalism in which the state committed itself to promoting a modest form of economic egalitarianism while simultaneously embracing ethnic, racial, and religious pluralism. But by the mid-1970s, postwar liberalism was in a shambles. While its commitment to pluralism remained, its economic policies had been abandoned, and the Democratic Party, its primary political vehicle, was collapsing. Reuel Schiller attributes this demise to the legal architecture of postwar liberalism, arguing that postwar liberalism's goals of advancing economic egalitarianism and promoting pluralism ultimately conflicted with each other. Through the use of specific historical examples, Schiller demonstrates that postwar liberalism was riddled with legal and institutional contradictions that undermined progressive politics in the mid-twentieth-century United States.

Reuel Schiller is a professor of law at the University of California, Hastings College of the Law, where he teaches American legal history, labor law, and administrative law.





Cambridge Historical Studies in American Law and Society

Series Editor

Christopher Tomlins, University of California, Berkeley

Previously Published in the Series:

Ely Aaronson, From Slave Abuse to Hate Crime: The Criminalization of Racial Violence in American History

Stuart Chinn, Recalibrating Reform: The Limits of Political Change

Ajay K. Mehrotra, Making the Modern American Fiscal State

Yvonne Pitts, Family, Law, and Inheritance in America: A Social and Legal History of Nineteenth-Century Kentucky

David M. Rabban, Law's History

Kunal M. Parker, Common Law, History, and Democracy in America, 1790–1900 Steven Wilf, Law's Imagined Republic

James D. Schmidt, Industrial Violence and the Legal Origins of Child Labor

Rebecca M. McLennan, The Crisis of Imprisonment: Protest, Politics, and the Making of the American Penal State, 1776–1941

Tony A. Freyer, Antitrust and Global Capitalism, 1930-2004

Davison Douglas, Jim Crow Moves North

Andrew Wender Cohen, The Racketeer's Progress

Michael Willrich, City of Courts: Socializing Justice in Progressive Era Chicago Barbara Young Welke, Recasting American Liberty: Gender, Race, Law, and the Railroad Revolution, 1865–1920

Michael Vorenberg, Final Freedom: The Civil War, the Abolition of Slavery, and the Thirteenth Amendment

Robert J. Steinfeld, Coercion, Contract, and Free Labor in the Nineteenth Century David M. Rabban, Free Speech in Its Forgotten Years

Jenny Wahl, The Bondsman's Burden: An Economic Analysis of the Common Law of Southern Slavery

Michael Grossberg, A Judgment for Solomon: The d'Hauteville Case and Legal Experience in the Antebellum South





Forging Rivals

Race, Class, Law, and the Collapse of Postwar Liberalism

REUEL SCHILLER

University of California, Hastings College of the Law





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107628335

© Reuel Schiller 2015

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2015

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data Schiller, Reuel Edward.

Forging rivals : race, class, law, and the collapse of postwar liberalism / Reuel Schiller.

pages cm. – (Cambridge historical studies in American law and society)
Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-I-IO7-0I226-4 (hardback) – ISBN 978-I-IO7-62833-5 (paperback)
 Discrimination in employment – California – History – 20th century – Case studies.
 Civil rights movements – California – History – 20th century – Case studies.
 Labor unions – California – History – 20th century – Case studies.
 Labor laws – United States – History – 20th century.
 Liberalism – United States – History – 20th century.
 United States – Politics and government – 20th century.
 United States – Race relations – History – 20th century.
 Title.

HD4903.5.U58S27 2014 331.13′30979409045-dc23 2014043433

> ISBN 978-1-107-01226-4 Hardback ISBN 978-1-107-62833-5 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For Jane
"You take away the breath I was keeping for sunrise."

—Pete Townshend



There was something mysterious and smug in the way he spoke, as though he had everything figured out – whatever he was talking about. Look at this very most certain white man, I thought. He didn't even realize that I was afraid and yet he speaks so confidently. I got to my feet, "I'm sorry," I said, "I have a job and I'm not interested in anyone's grievances but my own ... "

"But you were concerned with that old couple," he said with narrowed eyes. "Are they relatives of yours?"

"Sure, we're both black," I said, beginning to laugh.

He smiled, his eyes intense upon my face.

"Seriously, are they your relatives?"

"Sure, we were burned in the same oven," I said.

The effect was electric. "Why do you fellows always talk in terms of race!" he snapped, his eyes blazing.

"What other terms do you know?" I said, puzzled.

- Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (1952)



Contents

Acknowledgments		page xi
	Introduction: Legal History and the Death of	
	Postwar Liberalism	I
Ι	Forging Postwar Liberalism	13
2	Ed Rainbow's Problem	48
3	The Phony Commission	81
4	A Tale of Two Propositions	120
5	1966: A Terrible Year for George Johns	158
6	"The Day of the Minstrel Show Is Over"	193
7	Forging Rivals, Shattering Liberalism	220
List of Abbreviations for Archival Sources		257
Notes		261
Index		327





Acknowledgments

I've always liked reading acknowledgments. Not only do they provide an interesting window into the intellectual provenance of the author, but they are frequently the only part of a book where the author's voice projects clearly, unencumbered by the norms of professional, "academic" writing. Unfortunately, acknowledgments have developed norms of their own: a certain order in which people are thanked, the repetition of certain words of heartfelt gratitude. I'm sure I will fall into this pattern as well, but there is one rule of acknowledgments that I'd like to break. I am not going to thank my family last. I am going to thank them first.

Without the love and support of Jane Williams, and our children, Naomi and Asa, I doubt this book would have been written. My family is the nurturing medium in which I live my life, and whatever successes I've had stem from them. I have no doubt that the presence of Jane, Naomi, and Asa in my life slowed down the writing of *Forging Rivals*, and thank goodness it did. It's painful enough knowing how much time this project has taken away from time spent with the three of them. I wouldn't want to imagine a world in which it had taken away more.

My parents, Hillel and Barbara Schiller, and my brother, Thomas, have had a less direct, but no less important impact on this book. I was fortunate to be raised in a family where a love of history, a commitment to frank discussion, and skepticism of received wisdom were the



Acknowledgments

xii

norm. I like to think that the true genesis of this book lies around my childhood dining room table.

I have received an enormous amount of advice, support, and encouragement as I've written *Forging Rivals*, and it is a pleasure to recognize the people who have been so helpful. Chris Tomlins heads this list. I shudder at the thought of trying to write *Forging Rivals* without his thoughtful reading of the manuscript, his incisive, tactful editing of it, and his confidence in the entire project. I could not have asked for more in an editor. My friends and colleagues Bill Dodge and Joan Williams both read the entire manuscript and provided me with penetrating comments. Similarly useful critiques have been provided by others who have read large chunks of the manuscript: R. B. Bernstein, Eileen Boris, Joe Grodin, Laura Kalman, Michael Klarman, Nelson Lichtenstein, Deborah Malamud, Bill Nelson, Karen Tani, and a pair of anonymous readers for Cambridge University Press. Dan Ernst not only read large parts of the manuscript, but encouraged me to write it in the first place. I owe him particular thanks.

I've had the privilege of presenting parts of the manuscript, in various stages of readiness, at a variety of institutions: New York University School of Law; the University of Oregon School of Law; the University of Virginia School of Law; the Center for the Study of Work, Labor, and Democracy at the University of California, Santa Barbara; the Nihon University School of Law; the Bay Area Labor History Workshop; the University of California, Davis, School of Law; and, of course, my home institution, the University of California, Hastings College of the Law. My thanks to the participants in these colloquia for their thoughtful comments and to the people who invited me to enjoy their intellectual hospitality: Bill Nelson and Dan Hulsebosch, Stuart Chinn and Tom Lininger, Risa Goluboff, Nelson Lichtenstein, Yasuo Fukuda, Darien Shanske, and Catherine Powell. I also had the pleasure of presenting a chapter at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. My thanks to Chris Agee for organizing the panel, and to Jim Gregory for his comments.

I've had the benefit of bouncing the ideas that animate this book off the minds of a number of creative thinkers. They include Brian Balogh, Ash Bhagwat, Mark Brilliant, Bill Gould, Beth Hillman, Bill Issel, Evan Lee, Sophia Lee, David Levine, Michael Salerno, and Harry Scheiber. Five people who were participants in the events that the book



Acknowledgments

xiii

chronicles agreed to discuss those events with me: Marion Francois, Ken Hecht, Ed Howden, the late Walter Johnson, and Ed Steinman. I am deeply indebted to each of them for allowing me to peer into their lives. I know that Ed Howden does not fully agree with my assessment of the San Francisco Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity. It has nonetheless been a privilege to discuss mid-century San Francisco politics with him, and it's a pleasure to acknowledge him and the enormous contributions he has made to advancing the cause of civil rights in California.

Chuck McCurdy, Nelson Lichtenstein, Bill Nelson, and Mike Klarman have guided my career and this project from the very beginning of both. All four men have been ceaselessly generous with their time and their support. Even more important, each has shown me, by example, how to be a teacher and a scholar. While I doubt I have been able to achieve the high standards that they have set, I am aware of how lucky I've been to have such mentors. I am also delighted to be able to call them my friends. There are other historians who were not involved in the project, but who have also left a deep impact on my intellectual growth: Robin Chapman Stacey, Robert Stacey, and Melvin Patrick Ely. John Boswell and Victor Marchioro also belong on this list, and it deeply saddens me that neither is alive to hear how much their teaching and mentorship influenced my life.

Forging Rivals could not have been written without institutional and financial support from the University of California, Hastings College of the Law. This project has lasted through the tenure of a host of generous administrators at UC Hastings. These include Deans Mary Kay Kane, Leo Martinez, Nell Newton, and Frank Wu; Academic Deans Leo Martinez, Shauna Marshall, and Beth Hillman; and Research Deans Evan Lee and Bill Dodge. It's a pleasure to be able to thank them all. Additionally, Hastings was able to provide me with financial support for this project through the Chip Robertson Fund, the Nagin Fund, and the UC Hastings Foundation. I am grateful to these donors not only for the financial support they have given my project, but also for helping to sustain a vibrant intellectual environment at UC Hastings. I also received exceptionally generous institutional support from the Institute for Legal Research at the University of California, Berkeley, School of Law. For several summers and a sabbatical semester, the Institute has been my home away from home. It's a peaceful, quiet



xiv

Acknowledgments

place that has been exceptionally conducive to research and writing. Harry Scheiber, who runs the Institute, has been a gracious host, and Karen Chin, Toni Mendicino, and Anhara Alexander have made my stays there free from hassles.

A number of librarians were integral to the writing of this book. First and foremost were Chuck Marcus at UC Hastings, and Catherine Powell at the Labor Archives and Research Center at San Francisco State University. Both have been unstintingly generous in their help and their willingness to respond to even the most picayune and unreasonable requests. I also owe a debt of gratitude to librarians at the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley; the California Historical Society; the manuscripts and archives division of the New York Public Library; the San Francisco Public Library (both the government documents librarians, and the librarians at the San Francisco History Collection); and the Pollak Library at Cal State, Fullerton. Archivists at the National Archives and Records Administration in San Bruno, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, and the Marin County Superior Court have also been extremely helpful, as has Bill Van Niekerken, who manages the photo archive at the San Francisco Chronicle. Thanks also to Dave Curran for putting me in touch with Bill.

Instrumental to the completion of this book were my exceptionally talented research assistants at UC Hastings: John Beard, Charles Belle, Nedda Black, Kate Feng, Kevin Knestrick, Linda Lam, Jennifer Wells, and Julie Zong. Thanks also to Hannah Breslau for taking the cover photograph.

I'd also like to thank the folks at Cambridge University Press and Newgen Knowledge Works for shepherding the book through the production process with a minimum of pain (and a maximum of competence): Diane Aronson, Dana Bricken, Ramesh Karunakaran, and Ami Naramor. Thanks also to Deborah Gershenowitz at Cambridge for her support of this entire project.

Tom McCarthy, the director of scholarly publications at UC Hastings, volunteered to copyedit the entire manuscript, an offer I greedily took him up on. He continues to refuse any kind of payment for this selfless act. I have also subjected him to an endless barrage of picayune questions more appropriately addressed to the *Chicago Manual of Style* than to a living, sentient human being. Of course



Acknowledgments

xv

neither Tom nor any of the other generous people mentioned in these acknowledgments is responsible for errors of thought or prose that remain in the text, but I know there would surely be more such errors without their help.

A portion of Chapter 4 appeared in The Right and Labor in America: Politics, Ideology, and Imagination, edited by Nelson Lichtenstein and Elizabeth Tandy Shermer. My thanks to the University of Pennsylvania Press for permission to reprint this material and to Nelson and Elizabeth for their great editorial work. A portion of Chapter 6 was previously published as "The Emporium Capwell Case: Race, Labor Law, and the Crisis of Post-War Liberalism" in volume 25 of the Berkeley Journal of Employment and Labor Law. Some of the text of that piece appeared as part of a coauthored chapter of Labor Law Stories entitled "The Story of Emporium Capwell: Civil Rights, Collective Action, and the Constraints of Union Power." My thanks to the Berkeley Journal of Labor and Employment Law and to Foundation Press for permission to reprint this material. My thanks also to Laura Cooper and Catherine Fisk, who edited Labor Law Stories, and to Marion Crain and Calvin William Sharpe, who were my coauthors on the Labor Law Stories chapter. Though I benefited tremendously from discussing the Emporium Capwell case with Marion and Calvin, the material in this volume that also happens to appear in Labor Law Stories was written entirely by me.

Here's an advantage of thanking your family at the beginning of the acknowledgments. You can thank them again at the end. Naomi and Asa make my life complicated, crazy, and enormously joyful. If they eventually read *Forging Rivals*, I look forward to their penetrating critiques. The luckiest moment in my life was meeting Jane, nearly three decades ago, and one of the joys of writing this book was the knowledge that I would be able to dedicate it to her. It is a delight to finally be able to do so.