

I
L
W
C
H

LABOR AND THE MILITARY

ISSUE EDITORS

Joshua B. Freeman

Geoffrey Field



Number 80
Fall 2011

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

INTERNATIONAL LABOR AND WORKING-CLASS HISTORY

Founded by
Robert F. Wheeler

SENIOR EDITORS

Carolyn Brown
Rutgers University

Jennifer Klein
Yale University

Peter Winn
Tufts University

ASSOCIATE EDITOR

Marcel van der Linden
*International Institute of Social
History, Amsterdam*

REVIEW EDITOR

Kate Brown
*University of Maryland,
Baltimore*

MANAGING EDITOR

Allison Miller
Rutgers University

Vanessa Holden
Rutgers University

EDITORIAL BOARD

Dorothy Sue Cobble
Rutgers University

Michael Denning
Yale University

Geoffrey Field
Purchase College, SUNY

Joshua Freeman
CUNY Graduate Center

Michael Hanagan
Vassar College

Thomas Miller Klubock
University of Virginia

David Montgomery
Yale University

Mae Ngai
Columbia University

Mary Nolan
New York University

Prasannan Parthasarathi
Boston College

Judith Stein
City College, CUNY

Renqiu Yu
Purchase College, SUNY

EDITORS EMERITUS

Helmut Gruber
Polytechnic University

Ira Katznelson
Columbia University

Louise A. Tilly
*New School for Social
Research*

International Labor and Working-Class History (ISSN 0147-5479) is published twice yearly, in the spring and the fall, by Cambridge University Press for the editors of *ILWCH*. Additional support is provided by Rutgers University. Annual subscription rates for Numbers 79 and 80 (2011): Institutional subscription rates, print and online: US\$146.00 in the USA, Canada, and Mexico; UK £89.00 + VAT elsewhere. Institutional subscription rate, online only: US \$122.00 in the USA, Canada, and Mexico; UK £73.00 + VAT elsewhere. Individual subscription rate, print only: US \$126.00 in the USA, Canada, and Mexico; UK £76.00 + VAT elsewhere. Individual subscription rate, print only: US \$50.00 in the USA, Canada, and Mexico; UK £31.00 + VAT elsewhere. Prices include surface postage. *International Labor and Working-Class History* is indexed in ABC-CLIO; Alternative Press Index; American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies; America: History and Life; Arts and Humanities Citation Index; Current Contents: Arts and Humanities; Historical Abstracts; Left Index; Middle East: Abstracts and Index; and Sociological Abstracts.

Editorial Office: Manuscripts, editorial correspondence, and books for review should be addressed to Managing Editor, *ILWCH*, Rutgers University, 50 Labor Center Way, New Brunswick, NJ 08901, USA, or via e-mail: ilwch@work.rutgers.edu

Publishing, Subscription, and Advertising Offices: Cambridge University Press, 32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA. Tel: 1-800-872-7423. Fax: 1-212-337-5959; or Cambridge University Press, The Edinburgh Building, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK. Tel: +44(0) 223 325806. Fax: +44(0)223 315052. E-mail: journals_marketing@cambridge.org. See also <http://www.cambridge.org>.

Copyright © 2011 International Labor and Working-Class History, Inc. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, in any form or by any means, electronic, photocopying or otherwise, without permission in writing from Cambridge University Press. Photocopying information for users in the USA: The Item-Fee Code for this publication (ISSN 0147-5479/11 \$15.00) indicates that copying for internal or personal use beyond that permitted by Sec. 107 or 108 of the US Copyright Law is authorized for duly registered with the Copyright Clearance Center (CCC) Transaction Reporting Service, provided that the appropriate remittance of \$15.00 per article is paid directly to: CCC, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923. Specific written permission must be obtained for all other copying.

The Board of Consulting Editors may be found immediately following the contents. See the back inside cover of the journal for information concerning submissions to the journal.

Cover Image: Richard Jansen, "Natives Unloading Ship," gouche on paper, 1944. Courtesy of the Army Art Collection, U.S. Army Center of Military History.

Senior Editors' Note	
<i>Carolyn Brown, Jennifer Klein, and Peter Winn</i>	1

SPECIAL FEATURE: LABOR AND THE MILITARY

Introduction	
<i>Joshua B. Freeman and Geoffrey Field</i>	3
Constructing Roads, Washing Feet, and Cutting Cane for the <i>Patria</i> : Building Bolivia with Military Labor, 1900–1975	
<i>Elizabeth Shesko</i>	6
“The Army is a Service, Not a Job”: Unionization, Employment, and the Meaning of Military Service in the Late-Twentieth Century United States	
<i>Jennifer Mittelstadt</i>	29
Making the Household, Making the State: Colonial Military Communities and Labor in German East Africa	
<i>Michelle Moyd</i>	53
Wars of Civilization: The US Army Contemplates Wounded Knee, the Pullman Strike, and the Philippine Insurrection	
<i>Priscilla Murolo</i>	77
Militarism, Empire, and Labor Relations: The Case of Brice P. Disque	
<i>Joshua B. Freeman</i>	103
“Civilians in Uniform”: Class and Politics in the British Armed Forces, 1939–1945	
<i>Geoffrey Field</i>	121

SCHOLARLY CONTROVERSY: LABOR RIGHTS AS HUMAN RIGHTS?

Probing the Limits of Rights Discourse in the Obama Era: A Crossroads for Labor and Liberalism	
<i>Joseph A. McCartin</i>	148

RESPONDANTS

<i>Lance Compa</i>	161
<i>Gay Seidman</i>	169
<i>Richard McIntyre</i>	176
<i>Joseph A. McCartin Replies</i>	184

REPORTS FROM THE FIELD

- Workers and Egypt's January 25 Revolution
Joel Beinin 189
- Chants Democratic in Wisconsin
Chad Alan Goldberg 197

REVIEW ESSAY

- A Revival of Labor and Social Protest Research in France:
Recent Scholarship on May 1968
Keith Mann 203

ARTICLE

- From Geneva to the Americas: The International Labor Organization and
Inter-American Social Security Standards, 1936–1948
Jill Jensen 215

- CONTRIBUTORS** 241

BOARD OF CONSULTING EDITORS

Risto Alapuro
University of Helsinki

Kathryn Amdur
Emory University

Eric Arnesen
University of Illinois, Chicago

Touraj Atabaki
*International Institute of Social History,
Amsterdam*

Joel Beinin
Stanford University

Gerd Callesen
*Arbejderbevaegelsens Bibliotek og Arkiv,
Copenhagen*

Jane Caplan
St. Antony's College, Oxford

Frederick Cooper
New York University

Jefferson Cowie
Cornell University

Patrizia Dogliani
University of Bologna

Geoff Eley
University of Michigan

Elizabeth Faue
Wayne State University

Paulo Fontes
Fundação Getúlio Vargas

John French
Duke University

Patrick Fridenson
*Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences
Sociales*

Wendy Z. Goldman
Carnegie Mellon University

Andrew Gordon
Harvard University

Linda Gordon
New York University

Rick Halpern
University of Toronto

Victoria Hattam
New School for Social Research

William P. Jones
*University of Wisconsin,
Madison*

Don Kalb
Central European University

Linda Kerber
University of Iowa

Neville Kirk
Manchester Metro University

Deborah Levenson-Estrada
Boston College

Bruce Levine
*University of Illinois,
Champaign-Urbana*

Earl Lewis
Emory University

Nelson Lichtenstein
*University California, Santa
Barbara*

Alf Luedtke
Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte

Mary Jo Maynes
University of Minnesota

Gwendolyn Mink
Smith College

Mary Nash
University of Barcelona

Silke Neunsinger
*Labour Movement Archives
and Library, Sweden*

Elizabeth Perry
Harvard University

Anson Rabinbach
Princeton University

Pamela Radcliff
*University of California,
San Diego*

Dilip Simeon
*Association of Indian Labour
Historians*

Barbara Weinstein
New York University

