



#### To Carina

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# The Minneapolis Truckers' Strike of 1934

**Keith Christensen** 



**GAME TURN** HAS BEEN A PASSION PROJECT about the Minneapolis Truckers' Strike of 1934. I am one of many who feel inspired by the story and see its continued value. I am in good company commemorating this important event that won the right to unionize. I see it as more than labor history, it's what democracy can look like. It remains a model for change.

I first learned about the strike while living in New York City. After I started working with Mike Alewitz on his Pathfinder Mural in the late 1980s, he introduced me to *Teamster Rebellion* that told the story of these amazing workers who organized so brilliantly, bravely and effectively. As a transplanted Minnesotan I was drawn immediately to the local relevance. It was beyond compelling. Thanks Mike.

Many others have influenced and aided the project as well. I have a long list to share. From the beginning Peter Rachleff and Beth Cleary have offered the necessary and I think excellent context for artwork about a labor strike at the East Side Freedom Library. They have been more than encouraging.

The Remember 1934 collective have been my comrades in promoting the history and more importantly the relevance to today. Dave Riehle is the labor historian who personifies selfless commitment to cause. He's also the foremost expert on the strike so I've been fortunate to have had time with him and learn so much. David Sundeen and Linda Leighton shared their perspective as descendants with warmth and generosity. Gladys McKenzie has been a dynamo as she has lead the way with the descendant's oral history project. Gregory Poferl helped with proofreading and encouragement. The many others who were amazing to learn from and with include Randy Furst, Chris Sierres, Dan Ganley, Bob Kolstad, Linnea Sommer, Mike Wilkerson, Kristin Dooley, Jason Evans, Colleen Casey, Kieran Fraizer Knutson, Lisa Luinenburg, Jeff Pilacinski, Jim McGuire, John Hanson et al.

The theory for the approach to having the map photographs made by local residents stems from the work of Paulo Friere. His book *Education for Critical Consciousness* (1969) calls for democracy through "experiences in participation".

Primary historical sources have been the work of Brian Palmer, *Revolutionary Teamsters* (2014), William Millikan, *A Union Against Unions* (2001), Charles Rumford Walker's *American City* (1937), Mary Wingerd, *Claiming the City* (2001) and of course Farrell Dobbs, *Teamster Rebellion* (1972). The film *Labor's Turning Point* (1981), produced by Martin Duffy remains an important touchpoint for anyone interested in the strike as it was for me. The Minnesota Historical Society has been a great resource for documents, interviews and photographs. Also Workday Minnesota, a project of the Labor Education Service at the University of Minnesota, is an important community site for the strike (www.workdayminnesota.org).

Bo Jakobsson has been the amazing table engineer-designer-producer-welder-installer. Union workers at 7 Corners Print & Promo printed the gameboard on the large table top as well as managed all the custom elements for the installation; Paul Bengston was a pleasure to work with. Hart Hornor has been my able primary proofreader and word use advisor. Bill Gorcica and Laurie Leich introduced me to the game Sequence (developed by Douglas Reuter in 1982) that has been a major influence for the project. Kirstin Wiegmann and Jessica Fiala at Forecast gave me great counsel while the project was developed.

My wife Carina assisted in many ways, serving as My most perceptive critic and firmest supporter. Sons Jakob and Stellan have been my reason for being and so encourage me always. My colleagues and students at St. Cloud State University have been great co-learners for me. I'm grateful to friends and family who helped in many ways, we are more than ourselves. Thanks Lee, Carol, Dwight, Polly, April, Rick, Mona, Kortland, Marty, Ann, Paulina, Sofia, Mats, Dan, Magret, Casper and Owen.



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### **Introduction**

**THE GAME TURN PROJECT** is about the Minneapolis Truckers' Strike of 1934. It was conceived as a game in order to make it interactive and socially engaging. The elements of the project are a boardgame, cards, a book documenting the project as well as maps and a table that contains it. The project is installed at the East Side Freedom Library in St. Paul which holds a substantial labor archive. The custom designed table with banner is intended to signify it is more than a game. *It is.* The intent of this project is to convey the history in an accessible way, to show this story is usable today.

The relevance of the strike is made tangible with a map that shows the results of local community participation. Residents of the area were invited to play the game, learn about the strike and then make photographs in the district that interpreted some of the themes of the game. These included categories such as problems, solutions and context. The results were arranged on the map that shows scenes in the precise East St. Paul locations.

#### How

The project was funded by a Minnesota State Arts Board Artist Initiative Grant. It developed from my work as a public artist focused on social and political issues. The game format stems from my interest in games as a potent way to communicate. I have also taught game design and have made creative work involving games. Above all else I came to the project through my own self-identity as a part of the progressive movement. I'm the son of the working class and a union advocate. That led me to enthusiastically participate with the Remember 1934 collective, which has commemorated the strike for many years. I've learned much from the group and felt encouraged by its members.

#### Why

There are three main reasons for this project about a specific history conveyed through a game. One, the strike was important because it was a successful effort to make democratic change. Two, a game analogy is relevant. A game's strategy and social interaction clearly relates to how the strikers acted. Three, the outcome of the strike, much like a game, was uncertain. Just because your cause is right doesn't mean you will win. You need to act strategically and be organized in order to gain an effective result.

I welcome people to see that making social change demands creativity, strategy and understanding. The story is game-like. I hope it's meaningful as history and enjoyable as play.



## ON STRIKE!

### MINNEAPOLIS GOES UNION

(Conversations Between the Past and the Present)

#### BY PETER RACHLEFF

HIS YEAR marks the 83rd anniversary of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters' strikes. These strikes changed the course of history and the lives of tens of thousands of working people. They transformed Minneapolis from one of the country's most notorious anti-union citadels into a "union town." The story of this



Top: Local 574 Women's Auxilliary serving strikers at the commissary Below: Button worn by strikers

transformation still resonates with the challenges faced by working women and men in 2017.

In the late 19th century a vibrant and diverse labor movement surged in Minneapolis. Its native-born and immigrant members encompassed flour millers and

barrel makers, railroad engineers, firemen, brakemen, and track workers, garment workers and laundresses, horse and wagon drivers, building trades craftsmen, skilled machinists and shop workers. They were affiliated with the Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor, the railroad

brotherhoods, the Teamsters, and the American Railway Union. They participated in the Great Northern Railroad and Pullman strikes of 1894 and the organization of producers' cooperatives. In the early 20th century, many of them took part in the creation of

the Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialist Party, and they challenged some of the biggest businessmen in the United States, including James J. Hill, Andrew Carnegie, and Charles Pillsbury.

But bankers, businessmen, and their political representatives launched a powerful counter-offensive to regain control of their workplaces and their city. The core of their strategy to eliminate unions was a double-blacklist (a

refusal to hire union members and a refusal to extend loans to employers who bargained with unions). They created a new organization with a slippery rhetorical name – the "Citizens' Alliance" – not only to implement their strategy but also to spin it as a defense of individ-

ual independence. Their effectiveness won them the accolades of the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Civic Federation, Chambers of Commerce, and employers' organizations across the country. Minneapolis became an icon of non-unionism.

The Citizens' Alliance's success was devastating not just for unions but also for working men and women. Over the course of the 1910s and 1920s, workers were disciplined, fired, and blacklisted at the whim of employers. Although productivity rose with the introduction of new modes of work organization and new



technologies, wages lagged. Workers struggled to support their families, let alone find economic security. And when workers organized to challenge the Citizens' Alliance, such as the election of Socialist trade unionist Thomas Van Lear to the mayoralty in 1917, the state provided resources, such as the Public Safety Commission, to limit and roll back their gains. The reign of the Citizens' Alliance seemed untouchable, despite

the establishment of the Farmer Labor Party in 1924, the crash of the national economy in 1929, the election of Floyd B. Olson as governor in 1930, and the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt to the presidency in 1932.

And then, in the winter of 1934, a small group of experienced, dedicated labor activists began to change the course of history. Several of them had been working in the city's coal yards, earning miserable wages for handling and delivering the coal that Minneapolitans used to heat their homes, apart-

ments, and businesses. Members of the seventy-five member Teamsters Local 574, they initiated a strike on February 7 which spread within three hours to 65 of the city's 67 coal yards. They organized "inside" (warehouse and coal yards) and "outside" (drivers and helpers) workers together in an industrial strategy, and they ignored both the New Deal's weak labor board system and the cautious advice of the Teamsters' leadership. They relied on cruising pickets, who shut the entire industry in the midst of a cold snap. Two days later, the coal employers offered the union a settlement and the strike ended. An estimated 3,000 trucking and warehouse workers signed up to join Local 574.

In May, Local 574 called a larger strike, all across the city's market district. Again, they linked inside and outside workers, ignored the weak mechanisms of the government labor board, and relied on cruising pickets. Activists had built an impressive infrastructure – a



Police confronting strikers during the May strike



Local 574 strike headquarters

rented garage as a strike headquarters from which mobile pickets could be dispatched; a soup kitchen and an infirmary, fully staffed by volunteers, many from the newly organized women's auxiliary; a "committee of 100," mostly stewards from individual shops and warehouses, to make key decisions for the union; a committee of the unemployed, not only to prevent strike-breaking but also to advocate for those

without jobs; a network of farmers to bring food for strikers and their families. They had also secured the support of other unions and the Central Labor Council. The strike, which lasted ten days, revolved around control of the streets. Despite police violence, the roving pickets were effective, and on May 25, employers offered an agreement, which the union accepted.

The ink had hardly dried on the agreement, however, when employers began to violate its terms. Over 700 complaints of discrimination

were logged in June and early July. On July 17, Local 574 renewed its strike. This time, there were more than 10,000 participants, while 35,000 other workers engaged in a sympathy strike. The union mobilized its resources, adding a new weapon, a daily strike bulletin (the first ever in the U.S.) which they called The Organizer. Once again, control over the streets was central to the effectiveness of the strike and, once again, there was violence, even the deaths on both sides. 100,000 union members and sympathizers took part in a funeral procession for striker Henry Ness. The dispatch of the National Guard and the arrests and imprisonment of many union leaders could not bring the strike to an end. With pressure exerted by President Roosevelt and his emissaries, the Citizens' Alliance finally yielded on August 21, and employers were ordered to hold union elections, almost all of which ended in victories for Local 574 and the negotiation of collective bargaining





contracts. This broke the more than two decades' reign of the Citizens' Alliance.

Here begins the story of Minneapolis' transformation into a "union town." Some 10,000 truck drivers, helpers, warehouse workers, coal heavers, and other

unskilled workers not only won substantial raises, but they also got seniority provisions and a grievance procedure, both of which held a promise of justice in the workplace itself. Their defeat of the Citizens' Alliance and their success inspired other workers that they, too, could organize and improve their work lives, while their newly bargained wages and benefits pushed employers to raise their offers to their own workers. Rankand-file teamsters' participation in the strikes and their continuing participation in the life of the union gave them a new awareness of their class position, in contrast with employers and in solidarity with other workers. Their experiences also fueled their sense of their own capacity and power. They

shared their new consciousness with their family members, their neighbors, and other workers. They also embodied it in expressions of solidarity, from support for the women workers in the Strutwear Knitting strike a year later to the building of an interstate network of trucking workers, from Fargo to Omaha. Workers' activism in Minneapolis was becoming a rising tide which was lifting all boats, to use a later metaphor. Minneapolis had become a "union town."

This situation persisted for, perhaps, half a century, for two generations. It was normal for workers throughout the local economy to earn a living wage, or more, to enjoy healthcare benefits, vacations, and pensions, to gain access to easier assignments as their seniority grew, to expect a safe workplace, and to be treated respectfully on the job. This was especially true in unionized workplaces, but non-union employers felt pressure to provide similar conditions. It was not a labor paradise; workers still worked hard and often felt they deserved a larger share of the wealth they created. But many were able to buy cars and homes, send

their children to college, and expect to enjoy their retirement years.

This changed abruptly in the 1980s and 1990s. Employers closed plants and exported manufacturing jobs abroad. They reorganized work through out-sourcing

and sub-contracting. They chipped away at benefits, then wages, then unionization itself. While legislatures and judges weakened workers rights to picket, employers threatened those who still dared to strike with permanent replacement. The unionized cohort of the working class no longer enjoyed economic security, their ability to improve their own conditions was greatly diminished, and, increasingly, their role as trendsetters for all workers faded. By the turn of the 21st century, Minneapolis could no longer be called a "union town."

But workers' situations have not simply deteriorated; they have changed. Immigrants play an increased role in the economy and are more vocal, visible, and significant in the labor movement. Similarly,

public employees, white collar workers, retail, service, and fast food workers have come to the fore. Like the coal yard workers in 1934 and so many others, these workers want to be paid a living wage, to be treated with respect, and to look forward to an improved life. 2014 is a great time for them to look back at 1934, to learn how a wide range of workers changed the course of history, and to consider how they might change this course themselves. Minneapolis can be a "union town" again.



The strike newspaper's agreement announcement

An earlier version of the article was previously published by The Twin Cities Daily Planet, July 17, 2014 www.tcdailyplanet.net/strike-minneapolis-teamsters-80th-anniversary/

Peter Rachleff is the founding co-executive director of the ESFL. He taught labor, African American, and immigration history for more than thirty years, primarily at Macalester College and Metropolitan State University. Peter's publications include Hard-Pressed in the Heartland: The Hormel Strike and the Future of the Labor Movement



## HONORING THE FALLEN

## A worker historian shares the story of Bloody Friday

#### BY DAVID RIEHLE

building behind you—the one with the tower and the clock. That was then and is now City Hall and police headquarters. They drove directly down Third Street to this intersection. At 2:00 PM the walls of this brick canyon echoed with the sound of gunshots. When it was over, 67 men lay on this pavement with big, ugly holes in their bodies, with limbs and internal organs torn apart, Forty-year-old Henry Ness, with a wife and two children, died the next day. John Belor died on August 1st. Let us pause now for a moment of silence and reflection.

We have come together today to honor our working class soldiers of 1934, to honor their sacrifice, to say to our union brothers and sisters and to this community at large that we stand here on hallowed ground. This is our working class Gettysburg.

We meet here to celebrate the triumph of life over death, of freedom over oppression, and comradeship and solidarity over isolation and fear.

The employers thought they would break Local 574 with terror and bloodshed. They were wrong.

The citizens of this city rose up in their tens of thousands and repudiated this evil assault on innocent working men, fighting with their bare hands to win a better life for themselves and their families.

Seventy years ago on this very day, July 24, 100,000 residents of Minneapolis turned out for Henry Ness' funeral and followed his body to Crystal Lake Cemetery on the north side of this city.

Henry Ness did not die in vain. One month later the strike was won. Seven years later the truckers had tripled their wages. Millions of dollars that would have gone into the bank accounts of the employers went instead to working class families.

For three generations we have stood on the shoulders of these men and women of 1934, our grandparents, uncles, aunts, neighbors and friends, and we have lived better lives because of their sacrifices.

Now today, the employers want to take it all back. Make no mistake about it; they intend to push us back to the poverty of our grandparents and great-grandparents.

But it is within our power—within your power to say "No!" to say as they said in 1934 that by uniting, organizing and fighting for justice that we can build a better world, a world of abundance, free of oppression, violence and scarcity.

The people who fought this great strike were young, like most of you. Like most of you they had never been in a union before. They are speaking to you today, not as old people, but as they were then, full of energy and the conquering spirit of youth.

Look around you at this pavement and think about it as it was on Bloody Friday. Sixty-seven fallen human forms, in agony, with life's blood draining out of them.

Now think about these silent forms today rising

from the pavement and reaching their hands out to you. Their struggle was not for a day, a year or a decade. It was for all time, as all great struggles of working people are and must be.

Behind: Dave Riehle pointing to the street where Bloody Friday occurred.

Reach our your hands to them and let the torch be passed.

Take an oath tonight that you will unite as they did, not in fear, but in confidence and exhilaration in the joy of struggle, and go forward to build a better world for our class, for working people.

We will not forget our martyrs of 1934 and we do not forgive their attackers, or those who stood behind them and gave the orders.

They made Minneapolis a union town. SWEAR THAT YOU WILL KEEP IT THAT WAY.

These remarks were presented July 24, 2004. It was at the One Day In July, Remembering 1934, When Minneapolis became a Union Town. The event attracted several hundred participants. David Riehle is Local Chairman of United Transportation Union Local 650 and a labor historian.



#### **PARTICIPANTS**

## **Faces Then and There**

#### Who were the actors in the story?

The following photographs show many of the strike participants, those who were opposed to it, and some in between. Many more were involved than included in this list. In some cases photos of significant figures weren't available. The intent of this project was to focus on the narrow time frame of the 1934 strike. People are complex and the times were volatile so it is not surprising that some changed their perspective and views. For example Max Shachtman and James

Cannon worked closely with as strike leaders. Both were leading international Marxist theorists and wrote effectively for *The Organizer*. Later they had a falling out and became rivals. Many others stayed life comrades and friends as evidenced by their participation in the anniversary events. A large number of the leaders were later convicted together in the first Smith Act Trials of 1940 and were imprisoned. The lives of many were affected by the strike and the times continued to change them later.



Vincent R. Dunne Strike leader



**Carl Skoglund**Strike leader



Farrell Dobbs
Strike leader



Marvel Scholl
Strike leader of Women's Auxiliary



**John Belor**Strike participant and martyr



**Henry Ness**Strike participant and martyr



**Max Shachtman** Strike advisor, Marxist theorist, and writer of the Local 547's newspaper The Organizer



**James Cannon** National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and major advisor to the strike leadership



**Bill Brown** Strike leader



**Harry DeBoer** Strike leader



**Grant Dunne** Strike leader



**Miles Dunne** Strike leader



Strike leader



**Emanuel "Happy" Holstein** Strike leader



**Carlos Hudson** Strike newspaper *The Organizer* editor





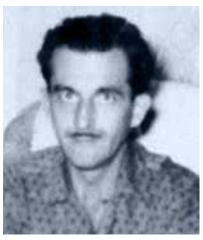
**Meridel Le Seuer**Strike witness and author



**Moe Hork** Strike participant



**Chester Johnson**Strike participant



**Harry Horazak** Strike participant



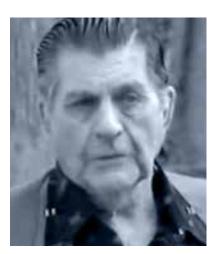
**Jake Cooper**Strike participant



**Leone Sunde**Local 574 Women's Auxilliary participant



**John Hanson** Strike participant



**Shaun (Jack) Maloney** Strike participant

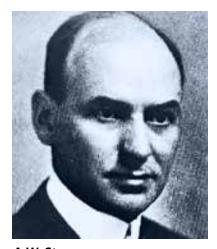




**Governor Floyd Olson** Negotiated for settlement



**President Franklin Roosevelt**Pressured for the settlement but later prosecuted the strike leaders



**A.W. Strong**President of the Citizens Alliance



**Bill Dunne**US Communist leader who opposed the strike leaders (and brother of the other three Dunnes involved with the strike)



**A.G. Bainbridge**Minneapolis Mayor



**C. Arthur Lyman**Businessman and Citizens Alliance member killed during the Battle of Deputies Run



**Michael Johannes**Minneapolis Chief of Police



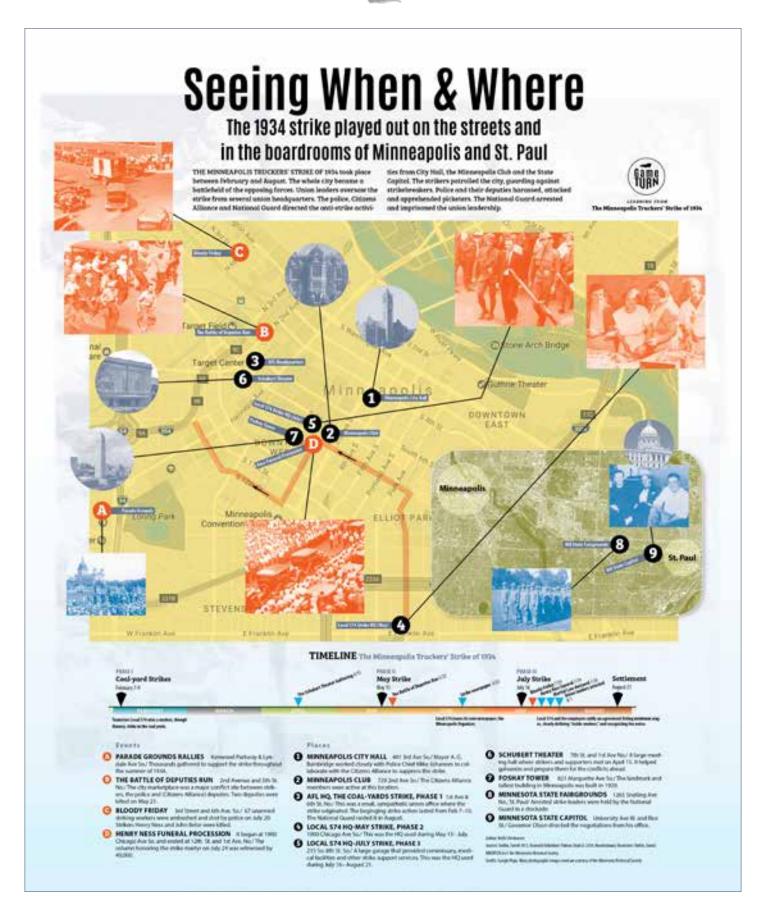
**Daniel Tobin**President of Teamsters



**Father Francis J. Haas** Negotiator for strike settlement











## **The Game**

## The art project's goal is to tell the important story of the 1934 Truckers' Strike in Minneapolis through game experience.

It's usable history and very relevant today. The project aspires to help players learn about some of the political and social issues of the times. The project includes maps and a small book that documents the game components, historical background, drawings, process and the East Side Freedom Library, its context. It also shares some of the commemorative events that the Remember 1934 collective has accomplished.





### **Guidelines**

## GAME TURN IS DERIVED from an Appalachian card game called One-Eyed Jack. The game is strategic with some elements

of chance. It challenges players to make connections between images, text and color. Choices are made within an increasing amount of complexity. Game play involves strategy, competition, cooperation, bluffing and hopefully some laughter.

#### **SET-UP**

**Players:** 2-4 (individual and teams) **Equipment:** Gameboard, chips,

and cards

**Gameboard:** The board has 100 spaces; 2 spaces each of the card images (92), 4 Free Use spaces, and 4 Obstacle spaces

#### **Cards**

- There are 54 different picture cards
- There are 3 Free Use, 3 Obstacle cards and 2 Replace cards
  Cards are in 6 categories:
- BACKGROUND (6 cards): historical factors that led up to the strike
- CONTEXT (8 cards): relevant issues and factors in 1934
- EVENTS (8 cards): specific incidents and aspects of the strike
- PROBLEMS (8 cards): specific challenges and opposition
- SOLUTIONS (8 cards): innovations, attributes and methods
- PROS & CONS (8 cards): complexities and contradictions of various factors and individuals involved

#### **PREPARATION**

- Set up gameboard
- Deal cards (7 for two players, 6 for more players)
- Cut cards: lowest number deals
- Play to win



#### **TO WIN**

A player or team makes a chain of chips:
5 chips of the same color in a straight line (any direction).
Variation: to complete two chain series

#### **RULES**

- Starting with the dealer, moving clockwise, each player selects a card of their choice from their hand and places it face up on a discard pile (each player has a discard pile)
- Each player places a chip on a matching space on the gameboard
- Free Use cards can be used on the Free Use space. Also each player can use 1 Free Use card as a replacement for any other card
- Obstacle cards can be used on the Obstacle space. Also each player can use 1 Obstacle card to take away

another's chip (but not replace it)

- Replace cards can be used to replace any other chip with the player's chip
- A player making more than one chain connection may use any chip on the first sequence to make another chain
- Once a connected chain has been achieved it cannot be broken

#### **Dead card**

If you hold a card in your hand that does not have an open spot (because both spots representing the card are covered by a chip) you are holding a dead card. You may turn it in for a new card. When it is your turn, place the dead card on your discard pile and take another card. Then begin your normal play

#### Loss of card

If you forget to pick up a card after your play you are not allowed to take one later (yes you have to pay attention). You forfeit the right to have the full amount of cards. You will be at a disadvantage

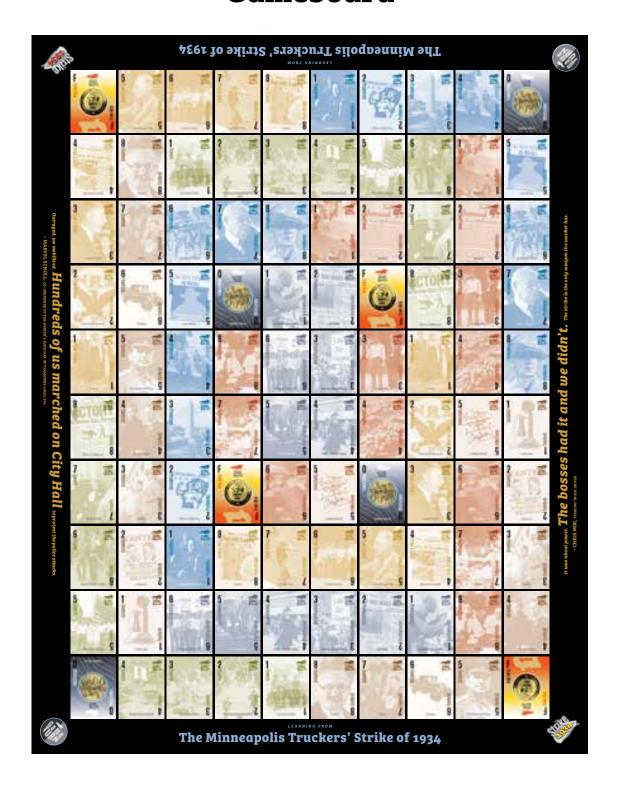
#### **Table talk**

Strategy and game play hints not allowed





## Gameboard



The gameboard design is composed of 100 card images. These make the spaces that the chips are placed on. They are color-coded to distinguish the various

categories. The objective of the game is to make a straight line sequence of five chips. Learning about the strike is incidental.





### Cards



## LEARNING FROM The Minneapolis Truckers' Strike of 1934

THE GAME TURN PROJECT By Keith Christensen, 2017

THE PURPOSE OF THE GAME is to help players learn about the strike through play and conversation.

#### Objective

For individuals or teams. A player can win the game by scoring two sequences of 5 chips before their opponent does. Please see game instructions for details.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

The project stems from the collective work of Remember 1934 that commemorates and promotes understanding of the continued relevance of the strike that made Minneapolis a union town.

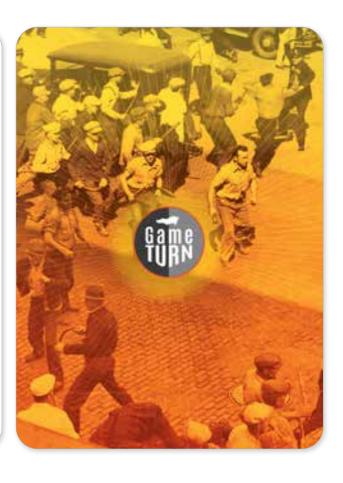
The game is roughly based on the card game, One Eyed Jack and influenced by Sequence, created by Doug Reuter (1982).

Many photographic images used are courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.





Keith Christensen is a fiscal year 2016 recipient of an Artist Initiative grant from the Minnesota State Arts Board. This activity is made possible by the voters of Minnesota through a grant from the Minnesota State Arts Board, thanks to a legislative appropriation from the arts and cultural heritage fund.



#### There are 54 cards in

the deck. 46 are text and images. Each of these cards identifies a topic of the strike history. These are organized in 6 categories: Context, Background, Pros & Cons, Events, Problems and Solutions. The intention of the card design is to convey the information in a grouping to help players easily understand that the topics are related. For example the Events category has the Battle of Deputies Run as well as

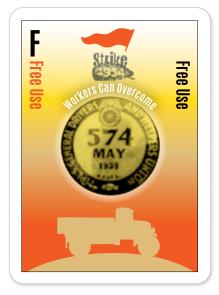


the Bloody Friday scenes both in color green. The Problems category shows the Police, Red-baiting and Union Bureaucrats in blue. These are obviously simplistic and not intended to convey the complexities. It is a starting point in learning about this subject. There are also 8 cards that aren't conveying specific information. These are the Free Use, Obstacles and Replace cards. These are meant to be dynamic game elements that animate the play.

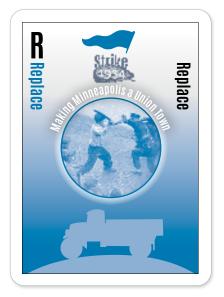




















## Chance

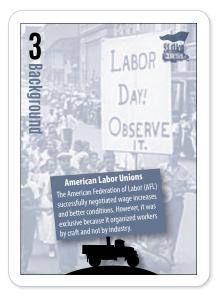
Free Use, Obstacles and Replace cards let players compete in more dynamic level of play. The other cards are restricted to the corresponding board images while these can be utilized in various ways. This allows for more creative strategies and moves.

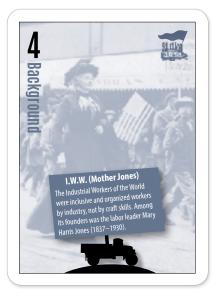














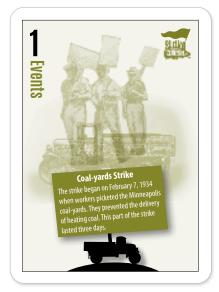


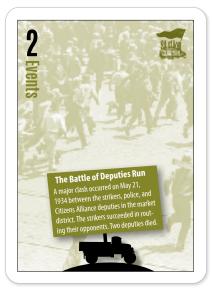
### **Background**

The category shares some of the relevant history leading up to the 1934 strike. The previous Streetcar Strike in 1917 still had an impact. Many in the strike leadership had their start with the I.W.W. And the Palmer Raids set the stage of suppression of dissent that continued.



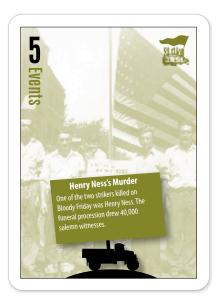






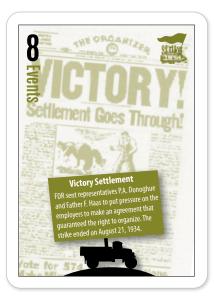












## **Events**

There were many moments during the strike that affected how it played out. Many smaller skirmishes fed into the larger ones. Some of the events weren't of a single time, such as the negotiations that had many iterations. And the Women's Auxiliary was an ongoing force that supported many aspects of the strike.





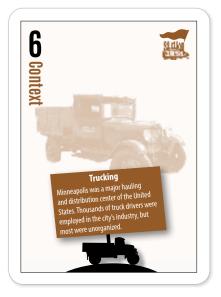
















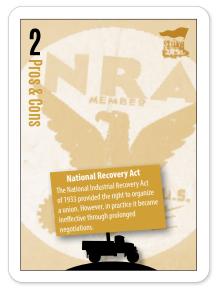
## **Context**

What was happening in 1934 in areas of technology, culture and politics influenced the strike. The larger environment affected how the strikers were motivated, acted and saw their role in the world. The conflict between Stalin and Trotsky was acted out in Minneapolis. Swing music filled the air and Hitler was their common nightmare.





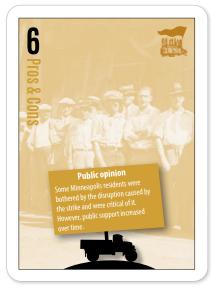
















## **Pros & Cons**

The relationships the strikers had to other players associated with the strike were often complicated. The Governor was a supporter of unions but became a "frenemy" as the pressure mounted. The strike had to deal also with the internal challenges to maintain discipline. And strikers had to keep a wary eye on public opinion, which could change rapidly.





















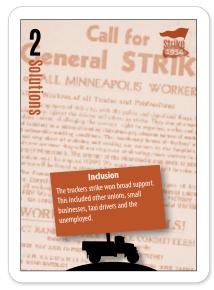
### **Problems**

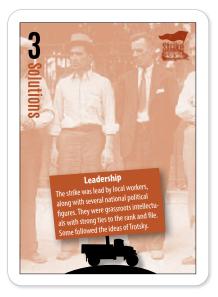
The opposition to the strike had many forms. The Citizens Alliance was the most threatening and effective as a "Union Against Unions." The union bureaucrats were also a big hurdle to overcome. They also faced logistic challenges like maintaining control of the larger city area.

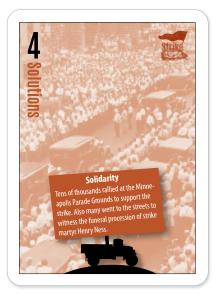








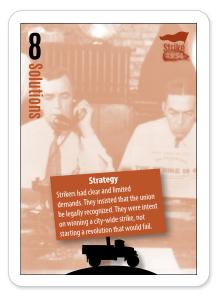












## **Solutions**

The remarkable innovations and strengths of the strikers were what gained final success. They were self-reliant as well as skeptical. The strikers were unified, disciplined, aggressive and they had effective leaders.



## Pieces of the Whole

The drawings were interpretations of the source photos. They were an attempt to isolate the different parts of the story and allow for personal expression that photos can't provide. Finally, they were brought together in a collage expressing the complexity of the strike. The outcome is what it is, a visual experience more than a literal depiction. Not exactly illustration, more like a dwelling on iconic images. Layering on. Taking away. Exploring meaning.

Perhaps the value of the collage imagery in this context is that it can help us understand that history is not static. The relevance of the past to the present is as

uncertain and dynamic as the drawings that are made from them. History is a contested concept and never set. Perceptions change depending on the present. Drawings can have a life of their own. A game about history adds more complexities because the meaning comes from players interacting with each other. The game player's goal is to win. Hopefully the process of art making and game play can help us see some of the shifting and relevant sides of history. And at this point it can be useful and helpful to change the conditions today and those to come. And as in the case of the Minneapolis strike, to make things better.



Behind: Strike fighter
Botton: 1934 Ford Truck













Top: Arrest of V.R. Dunne Botton: Striker

Top: National Guardsman
Botton: Police and deputy











Top: Arrest of striker Botton: Destitute



Top: Woman at commissary Botton: Flight











Top: Game Turn Collage Left: Farmers Right: Fight



#### EAST SIDE FREEDOM LIBARY

## A New Center for Labor History

BY FRED MELO

VER THE PAST three years, the East Side Freedom Library has taken shape as a nationally significant center for the preservation, celebration, and teaching of labor history. Its volunteer activists the husband-andwife have filled the nooks of this historic Carnegie Library on Greenbrier Street with as many as 15,000 items. Many are books from local authors, immigrant narratives such as the official Hmong Archives, and Minnesota's labor history.

There's also work space for a Karen refugee weaving group, art retreats, author talks, films and two separate meditation circles.

The 8,000-square-foot structure, which dates to 1917, even hosts children's singalongs and "Solidarity Saturdays," where seasoned labor activists can meet immigrant rights activists, artists, and students. Indeed, the idea of being a "crossroads" where people can meet across historical eras, generations, and ethnic boundaries is the core idea of the Freedom Library. In the eyes of founders Peter Rachleff and Beth Cleary, these are all working people and it is important for them to tell, listen, and learn from each others' stories.

"There has never been a more important time to be building these kinds of bridges than now," said co-executive director Peter Rachleff two months ago. "Saturday we had a workshop in the morning for







Top: The ESFL building Middle: Participants in the library. Bottom: Beth Cleary and Peter Rachleff

kids doing History Day projects, followed by a children's story hour for younger kids. And that afternoon we had Karen teenagers doing digital storytelling, with five-minute videos kids did at Washington Technology Magnet School."

The calendar for the rest of the week included two author talks, a discussion about labor's influence on progressive politics in Richmond, Califor-

nia, and a presentation on school funding from the St. Paul Federation of Teachers.

It's all part of a new role for the former Arlington Hills Library, and an unusual addition to the Payne-Phalen neighborhood. For more than a century and a half, immigrants have come to this neighborhood, built churches and orga-

nizations, and constructed their communities. Their stories have been similar, whether they came from Sweden in the 1850s or Burma in the 2010s. But they have rarely known each others' stories, or the stories of their impact on Minnesota history.

Now the Freedom Library will be the home for Keith Christensen's "Game Turn." What better place to innovate in the teaching of labor history by using a newly designed game?

This article was adapted by Peter Rachleff from an article by Fred Melo which appeared in the *Saint Paul Pioneer Press* in March 2017.



## **Designing Play**



THE GAME DEVELOPMENT included playing with numerous people who gave invaluable feedback on the game play and content. The question for the designer was how to make it accessible and yet meaningful as a way to tell the story. The issues included design consideration for an effective use of type, color and image use. The goal was to make the game engaging and playful. Also it was to try and make the learning

about the history incidental, not forced. The conversations generated new ideas for the design. The process was iterative, meaning that it changed continuously. The card format was originally square as indicated in the pictures above. It changed to be more vertical and so became more efficient. The experiences showed that playing the game was more accessible when it related to other card games they already understood.







## **Producing Play**







Bo Jacobsson welding the game table



The staff at 7 Corners Printing with printed table top; Rene Becker, Paula O'Conner, Pete Joseph, Paul Bengston

Table and components installed at the East Side Freedom Library, May 27, 2017

**THE GAME WAS MADE** for the East Side Freedom Library, which serves as a labor and an immigrant studies archive. It also is a community center for mixed use. The game project's challenge was to be presentable for use as a game as well as serve as a kind of history information vehicle. The expectation was that some would play the game and others would just want to read and view it. The installation concept was to express the character and drama of the

history. The table was made to hold the game, a banner envelops the table, and large maps are attached. A drawer was made to hold the cards, chips and the book documentation. The process involved collaboration with many others. Artisan Bo Jacobsson was a major contributor who fabricated the metal table. The union staff at 7 Corners Printing provided the custom printing on the table as well as the cards, banners, maps, and chips.



#### **EAST SIDE FREEDOM LIBARY**

### **Producing Play** (continued)





Game inauguration: May 27, 2017 at the East Side Freedom Library. Participants included Linda Leighton, David Sundeen, Dan Ganley, Rosa Maria de la Cueva Peterson, Stellan Christensen, Kortland Burns and others not identified



## 1934

## Looking Back to Go Forward



Reenactment readings from actors conveyed the words of strikers of 1934







Left: Marching Teamster Local 120 members commemorated the strike // Middle: The street festival committee prepared the site and activities; Colleen Casey, Lisa Luinenburg, Bob Kolstad, David Sundeen, Jeff Pilacinski, Jim McGuire, David Riehle// Right: Viewing the poster and photographic images that were hung on the building walls

**REMEMBER 1934** IS A COLLECTIVE working to commemorate the hard work and sacrifice of workers who fought to overcome oppression and made Minneapolis a union town. The group includes a diverse array of workers, union members, retirees, teachers, students,

artists and progressives. It has organized street festivals, picnic gatherings, labor history walking tours, and oral histories of descendants. It has also written, designed and installed a commemorative plaque and held an unveiling event for it.





**Evening performance by Brother Ali** 





Poster design by Kristin Dooley

Top middle: Art installation, sculptural images by Holly Krig, signs by Keith Christensen

Middle photo: Holly Krig and Kieren Frazier Knutson

Bottom middle: Brochure distributors Jakob and Stellan Christensen









Ricardo Levins Morales and colleagues for Northland Poster Collective

The collective has organized street fests at the site of the Bloody Friday incident in Minneapolis' North Loop. These have been held every five years on the anniversary July 22, 1934. The street fests have included participants performing living history and reading from memoirs of the 1934 era. The all-day event has included musical groups, performers and speeches. Political posters, memorabilia and books were presented and exchanged. Musicians included Paul Metsa, Larry Long, I Self Devine, The Strike, and Brother Ali. Installation art and enlarged newspaper articles from 1934 as well as historical photographs have made a supportive visual environment.









Activist Abdul Kulane honored the strike and shared the problems of St. Cloud Somali workers





Bottom: David Sundeen with crowd Right: Poster by Keith Christensen







## WE SUPPORT LOCAL 574, DOWN WITH THE CITIZENS' ALLIANCE!

- Call for General Strike of all Minneapolis Workers

We were getting 90 cents a ton for hauling coal and we wanted a dollar...

we were working hard and starving to death.

- Harry Pfaff, Local 574 Driver

# The confrontation was about power.

Bosses had it, and we didn't. The strike is the only weapon.

- CHRIS MOE, Striker

## 47 men lay on improvised cots,

bodies riddled with bullet wounds.

MARVEL SCHOLL, the Strike's Women's Auxiliary





For many years

## a common laborer in this city was nothing more than a serf.

-ED RYAN, Policeman

## Don't fail me now, boys.

- HENRY NESS, Local 574, mortally wounded striker

#### DOWN WITH POLICE TERROF AGAINST WORKERS!

\_ Call for General Strike of all Minneanolis Workers

I could be fired at any time without recourse at the employer's whim.

## Something had to be done

to improve the situation, and that's why I joined the union.

— FARRELL DOBBS, Local 574 Driver

### Outraged.

the women's auxiliary mobilized. Hundreds of us marched on City Hall to

protest the police attacks

— Marvel Scholl, Local 574 Women's Auxiliary



Posters with quotes of strikers











Top: Sack races
Left: Spanish version flyer for the event
Middle: Randy Furst, Larry Long at the
picnic recognizing descendants
Left: David Sundeen, Kathy Sundeen
and Linda Leighton with plaque



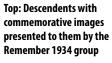
Every five years **REMEMBER 1934** has organized picnics commemorating the strike anniversary. These have been held at Minnehaha Park in South Minneapolis. In earlier years participants in the strike came and spoke about their experiences. There have been student history projects presented about the strike, potato sack races for children, music, and historical documentation. Speakers have included descendants, activists and historians.











Left: Picnic gathering

Left bottom: Cherrene Horazak









Top: Author of *Revolutionary Teamsters*, Brian Palmer speaking to the gathering

Left: Brian Palmer with Keith Christensen

Right: Author of *A Union Against Unions*, William Millikan

39



### **Commemorative Plaque**

2015







On July 18, 2015 a commemorative plaque was installed by **REMEMBER 1934** at the site of Bloody Friday. It was installed on the old Sherwin-Williams Paint Company building that was present in 1934. The event honored the sacrifices of the fallen and celebrated the legacy of the strike. Teamster Local 120 members, descendants, musicians, speakers and community folks attended.



Top: The building at 701 3rd Street North where the plaque is installed

Middle: Keith Christensen, Bob Kolstad, Mei-Ling Anderson (Minneapolis City Planner) and David Riehle receiving the Minneapolis Heritage Preservation Commission approval to install the plaque

Bottom: Gail Martinson and Nadine Ness (The grandaughters of Henry Ness)



Top: 1935 photograph taken commemorating the death of Henry Ness, a striker killed on Bloody Friday at the site

**Below: Commemorative plaque installed** 





Top: Doug Drews and David Riehle installing plaque

Bottom: Mildred Johnson (widow of striker Chester Johnson) in front of plaque. She was the oldest living participant in the strike



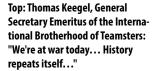




Strike descendants with photos of their relatives by the plaque







Middle: Ben Egerman and Emmett Doyle

Right: Bob Kolstad serving as MC of the plaque dedication







Top: The gathering at the plaque dedication
Left: Building owner
Cliff Bruber (site host of the plaque) with Keith
Christensen





Top: Local 120 Teamster truck parked for backdrop use at the plaque unveiling Below: Heart of a Tinman,

Polly Nelson and Dwight
Christensen





### **Credits**

Design, artwork and photographs by Keith Christensen or as indicated Many photographic images used are courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society

Additional photographs: East Side Freedom Library, Carina Jacobsson, Unknown internet sources (historical)

Some participant images are from *Labor's Turning Point*, The film was produced by Martin Duffy (the revised version was produced by Randy Croce). See: www.minneapolis1934.org

Proofreading: Hart Hornor, Dave Riehle, Bill Gorcica, Gregory Poferl

Printing: 7 Corners Printing

Metal work: Bo Jacobsson





Keith Christensen is a fiscal year 2016 recipient of an Artist Initiative grant from the Minnesota State Arts Board. This activity is made possible by the voters of Minnesota through a grant from the Minnesota State Arts Board, thanks to a legislative appropriation from the arts and cultural heritage fund.



turning point in labor history. The Minneapolis Truckers' Strike of 1934 was a monumental battle for the right to unionize. AND THEY WON. The book documents the game elements including the game board and cards. It provides background information on the strike including an overview, a map of key locations as well as a collection of portraits that identify participants. The game was installed at the East Side Freedom Library in St. Paul and the reader is informed of this institution's relevance and role as a labor archive. The game was extended by local residents who played the game and learned of the strike. Later they took discerning photos of the neighborhood that related to the game. Their pictures and comments are documented on a map. Another dimension of the strike is explored in interpretive drawings. The project also shares some of the ongoing efforts of the Remember 1934 collective that continues to commemorate the strike.