

AHMED WHITE

James E. Jones, Jr. Professor of Law

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EMPLOYMENT

PROFESSOR OF LAW, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN SCHOOL OF LAW, August 2024 – present;
Courses and Seminars: Labor Law; Employment Law; Seminars: Class and Law

PROFESSOR OF LAW, UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO AT SCHOOL OF LAW, August 2000 – 2024;
Courses and Seminars: Labor Law; Criminal Law; Employment Law; Seminars: Class and Law;
Forced Labor; Transportation Labor Law; Comparative Labor Law

VISITING ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF LAW, VILLANOVA UNIVERSITY, Spring 2005
Course and Seminar: Criminal Law; Race and Law

VISITING ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF LAW, NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, January 1999 – May
2000; Courses: Labor Law; Employment Law

LEGISLATIVE ANALYST, LOUISIANA STATE SENATE, April 1997 - December 1998

RESEARCH FELLOW, YLS PROGRAM IN CIVIL LIABILITY, September 1994 - December 1996

EDUCATION

YALE LAW SCHOOL

J.D., 1994; Essays Editor, Volume 103, YALE LAW JOURNAL

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY AND A&M

B.A., Political Science, *summa cum laude*, 1991; Commencement Marshall of Spring Class

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

UNDER THE IRON HEEL: THE WOBBLIES AND THE CAPITALIST WAR ON RADICAL WORKERS (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2022)

Winner, International Labor History Association Book of the Year Award (shared), 2022; Richard A. Lester Prize, Outstanding Book of the Year, 2022, Princeton University Section on Labor

Reviewed in: Choice: Current Reviews for Academic Libraries; Journal of Arizona History; Labor: Studies in Working Class History (twice); *Labour/Travail* (twice); The Nation; Pacific Historical Review; *Le mouvement social*

THE LAST GREAT STRIKE: LITTLE STEEL, THE CIO, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR LABOR RIGHTS IN NEW DEAL AMERICA, (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016)

Reviewed in: Library Journal; Labour History; Labour History Review; History News Network; Ohio History; International Socialist Review; Michigan Historical Review; Communist History; Socialist Worker; Socialist History; World Socialist Web Site; Counterpunch)

MAJOR ARTICLES

Law, Labor, and the Hard Edge of Progressivism: the Legal Repression of Radical Unionism and the American Labor Movement's Long Decline, 42 BERKELEY JOURNAL OF EMPLOYMENT AND LABOR LAW 165 (1921)

Its Own Dubious Battle: The Impossible Defense of an Effective Right to Strike, 2018 WISCONSIN LAW REVIEW 1665-1131 (2018)

My Co-Worker, My Enemy: Solidarity, Workplace Control, and the Class Politics of Title VII, 63 BUFFALO LAW REVIEW 1061-1140 (2015)

Workers Disarmed: The Campaign against Mass Picketing and the Dilemma of Liberal Labor Rights, 49 HARVARD CIVIL RIGHTS-CIVIL LIBERTIES LAW REVIEW 59-123 (2014)

Industrial Terrorism and the Unmaking of New Deal Labor Law 11 NEVADA LAW JOURNAL 561628 (2011)

The Sit-Down Strikes and the Limits of Liberal Labor Law, 40 SETON HALL LAW REVIEW 1-81 (2010)

The Concept of “Less Eligibility” and the Social Function of Prison Violence in Class Society, 56 BUFFALO LAW REVIEW 737-820 (2008)

The Crime of Staging an Effective Strike and the Enduring Role of Criminal Law in Modern Labor Relations, 11 WORKINGUSA: THE JOURNAL OF LABOR & SOCIETY 23-44 (2008) (peer reviewed)

The Crime of Economic Radicalism: Criminal Syndicalism Laws and the Repression of the Industrial Workers of the World, 1917-1927, 85 OREGON LAW REVIEW 649-770 (2006)

The Juridical Structure of Habitual Offender Laws and the Jurisprudence of Authoritarian Social Control, 37 UNIVERSITY OF TOLEDO LAW REVIEW 705-745 (2006)

Capitalism, Social Marginality, and the Rule of Law’s Uncertain Fate in Modern Society, 37 ARIZONA STATE LAW JOURNAL 759-830 (2005)

Mutiny, Shipboard Strikes, and the Supreme Court’s Subversion of New Deal Labor Law, 25 BERKELEY JOURNAL OF EMPLOYMENT & LABOR LAW 275-350 (2004)

A Different Kind of Labor Law: Vagrancy Law and the Regulation of Harvest Labor, 1913-1924, 75 UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO LAW REVIEW 667-743 (2004)

The Rule of Law and the Limits of Criminal Justice: The Private Prison in Jurisprudential Perspective, 38 AMERICAN CRIMINAL LAW REVIEW 111-146 (2001)

Victims’ Rights, Rule of Law, and the Threat to Liberal Jurisprudence, 87 KENTUCKY LAW JOURNAL 357-415 (1999)

SHORT ARTICLES, CHAPTERS, AND REVIEWS

Marxism, Labour and Employment Law, and the Limits of Legal Reform in Class Society, a chapter in RESEARCH HANDBOOK ON LAW AND MARXISM (2021)

The Memorial Day Massacre, a chapter in THE OXFORD RESEARCH ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN HISTORY (2020)

The Crime of Radical Industrial Unionism, 31 EMPLOYEE RESPONSIBILITIES AND RIGHTS JOURNAL 225-237 (2019)

The Labor Movement and the Dilemma of Direct Confrontation, 29 EMPLOYEE RESPONSIBILITIES & RIGHTS JOURNAL 39-50 (2017).

Review of, FREE MARKETS, UNFREE LABOR: PRIVATE GOVERNMENT: HOW EMPLOYERS RULE OUR LIVES (AND WHY WE DON'T TALK ABOUT IT), by Elizabeth Anderson et al., (Princeton 2017) in 26 NEW LABOR FORUM 91-94 (2017).

Review of, WE'RE GOING TO RUN THIS CITY: WINNIPEG'S POLITICAL LEFT AFTER THE GENERAL STRIKE, by Stephen Epp-Koop (University of Manitoba 2015) in 14 LABOR: STUDIES IN WORKING CLASS HISTORY 105-06 (2016)

The Open Shop Tested: The Great Steel Strike of 1919, a chapter in AMERICAN LABOR STRUGGLES AND LABOR LAW HISTORIES, pp. 147-58 (Ken Casebeer ed., Carolina Academic Press 2011).

The Duty to Obey: Sit-Down at Sea, or Mutiny, a chapter in AMERICAN LABOR STRUGGLES AND LABOR LAW HISTORIES, pp. 303-320 (Ken Casebeer ed., Carolina Academic Press 2011) (reworking of the article, *The Crime of Staging an Economic Radicalism*, described above).

Review of BOOKS ON TRIAL: RED SCARE IN THE HEARTLAND by Shirley A. Wiegand & Wayne A. Wiegand (University of Oklahoma 2007) 19 GREAT PLAINS RESEARCH 138-39 (2009)

Max Weber and the Uncertainties of Categorical Comparative Law chapter in RETHINKING THE MASTERS OF COMPARATIVE LAW, pp. 40-57 (Annelise Riles ed., Hart 2001)

WORKS IN PROGRESS

INTO A DARKER NIGHT: THE BIG STRIKE, THE STRUGGLE FOR COAL UNIONISM, AND THE ORIGINS OF LABOR'S DECLINE (book-length manuscript, in development)

THE SEDITIOUS HAND OF FRATERNITY: COMMUNISTS, RADICAL UNIONS, AND REPRESSION IN EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY AMERICA (book-length manuscript, in development)

RECENT INTERVIEWS, POSTS, AND JOURNALISTIC WRITING

Steel and the Soul of Capitalism (interview), JACOBIN, May 4, 2024, [Steel and the Soul of Capitalism \(jacobin.com\)](https://jacobin.com)

America's Last Violent Strike has been Largely Forgotten (interview), April 14, 2024, [America's Last Violent Strike Has Been Wrongly Forgotten \(jacobin.com\)](https://jacobin.com)

Labor History Book Talks, GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY LABOR HISTORY RESEARCH CENTER, October 2023, <https://vimeo.com/879513103?share=copy>

“A surge in strikes”: Labor Expert Breaks Down Why Labor Disputes Are Sweeping the Nation, 9NEWS-KUSA DENVER TELEVISION, September 2023, <https://www.9news.com/article/news/local/why-labor-disputes-sweeping-nation/73-834bb7ac-f2ba-4022-8b76-fe48b1f03b96>

Ahmed White on Under the Iron Heel, PEACE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, KZFR RADIO, Chico, California, September 2023, <https://kzfr.org/broadcasts/35120>

Ahmed White’s Under the Iron Heel, SOUND OF IDEAS, WCPN RADIO, Cleveland, August 2023, <https://www.ideastream.org/show/sound-of-ideas/2023-09-05/why-do-some-businesses-succeed-and-others-fail-within-their-first-decade>

Ahmed White and talks Under the Iron Heel, MY LABOR RADIO, WELT Radio, Fort Wayne, Indiana, July 2023, <https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/ahmed-white-mlr-7-26-23/id1480993483?i=1000622211790>

Ahmed White and Under the Iron Heel, BUILDING BRIDGES, PACIFICA-WBAI RADIO, New York, July 2023, <https://www.wbai.org/archive/program/episode/?id=42507>

Ahmed White’s Under the Iron Heel, LIFE EVERYWHERE: ART, MEDIA, AND CULTURE, podcast, July 2023, <https://albavolunteer.org/2023/04/17477/>

Capitalism, Poverty, Solidarity: Ahmed White, Under the Iron Heel, WRITERS VOICE, NATIONAL WRITERS UNION, podcast, July 2023, <https://www.writersvoice.net/2023/08/capitalism-poverty-solidarity-ahmed-white-under-the-iron-heel-nikhil-goyal-live-to-see-the-day/>

US Government Repression of Radical Wobblies Union Offers Lessons of Hope and Warning for Today’s Labor Activists, BETWEEN THE LINES, WPKN RADIO, July 2023, <https://btionline.org/us-government-repression-of-radical-wobblies-union-offers-lessons-of-hope-and-warning-for-todays-labor-activists/>

The War on the Industrial Workers of the World, AGAINST THE GRAIN WITH SASHA LILLEY, PACIFICA-KPFA, San Francisco, June 2023, <https://kpfa.org/program/against-the-grain/page/6/>

Ahmed White’s Under the Iron Heel, The Progressive Forum, KPFT RADIO, Houston, June 2023

Ahmed White Talks Under the Iron Heel, CONVERSATIONS LIVE, syndicated podcast, June 2023, <https://www.blogtalkradio.com/conversationslive/2023/06/19/author-ahmed-white-talks-under-the-iron-heel-on-conversationslive-1>

Ahmed White’s Under the Iron Heel, ON THE BOOKSHELF, WTBF RADIO, Troy, Alabama, June 2023

Why the People in Power Feared the Wobblies, THE JEFFERSON EXCHANGE, JEFFERSON PUBLIC RADIO, syndicated, June 2023, <https://www.ijpr.org/show/the-jefferson-exchange/2023-08-25/mon-9-25-why-the-people-in-power-feared-the-wobblies-and-their-view-of-labor-relations>

Ahmed White and Under the Iron Heel, ACTIVIST RADIO, WVKR RADIO, Poughkeepsie, New York, June 2023, https://www.facebook.com/classwars/?locale=hi_IN

Ahmed White and Under the Iron Heel, HOWARD MONROE AND THE MORNING SHOW, WVLY/WTCS RADIO, Wheeling, West Virginia, May 2023

Ahmed White's Under the Iron Heel, TALK WORLD RADIO, Syndicated, May 2023

Ahmed White and Under the Iron Heel, THE WORLD OF WORK WITH SHEP COHEN, WDVR RADIO, Newark, May 2023, <https://wdvrfm.org/the-world-of-work>

Ahmed White on the IWW, TALK THE TALK, WHMP RADIO, Amherst, Massachusetts, May 2023, <https://soundcloud.com/whmp/talk-the-talk-may-25-2023>

Ahmed White talks Under the Iron Heel, THE MORNING SHOW, WGTD RADIO, Kenosha, Wisconsin, May 2023, <https://radiopublic.com/wgtds-the-morning-show-with-greg-G3djPv/s1l6f62e>

Law Professor Ahmed White on Under the Iron Heel, LEONARD LOPATE AT LARGE, WBAI RADIO-PACIFICA, New York City, May 2023, <https://soundcloud.com/leonard-lopate/law-professor-ahmed-white>

Ahmed White on the IWW, WADE'S WORLD, KABF RADIO, New Orleans, May 2023, <https://acornradio.org/page/4/>

Ahmed White's Under the Iron Heel, BOOKNOTES WITH BRIAN LAMB, podcast, <https://www.c-span.org/podcasts/subpage/?series=booknotesplus&episode=75ece718-e5e1-11ed-a3fb-cb25a10b735c>

Ahmed White on the Little Steel Strike, THE RICK SMITH SHOW, WHYL RADIO, syndicated, April 2023, <https://www.thericksmithshow.com/news/littlesteelstrike/>

Courage Unexcelled in U.S. History, KEEPING DEMOCRACY ALIVE WITH BURT COHEN, THE PROGRESSIVE RADIO NETWORK, April 2023, <https://keepingdemocracyalive.com/courage-unexcelled-in-us-history/>

Radio With a View, WMBR RADIO, Cambridge, Massachusetts, April 2023, <https://www.trackblaster.org/wmbr/playlist.php?id=49080>

Randi Storch Interviews Ahmed White on his book, Under the Iron Heel, LaborOnline, March 2023, <https://www.lawcha.org/2023/03/15/ahmed-white-on-under-the-iron-heel/>

Under the Iron Heel: Repressing the IWW, TALES FROM THE REUTHER ARCHIVES PODCAST, February 2023, <https://reutherlib.blubrry.net/2023/02/27/under-the-iron-heel-repressing-the-iww-and-free-speech/>

What the Early 20th-Century War on Radical Workers Tells Us About the Struggle Between Labor and Capital in America Today, LITERARY HUB, December 2022, <https://lithub.com/what-the-early-20th-century-war-on-radical-workers-tells-us-about-the-struggle-between-labor-and-capital-in-america-today/>

The Author's Corner with Ahmed White, CURRENT, November 2022, <https://currentpub.com/2022/11/03/the-authors-corner-with-ahmed-white/>

Ahmed White's Under the Iron Heel, NEW BOOKS NETWORK, October 2022, <https://newbooksnetwork.com/under-the-iron-heel>

How the American Government Crushed the IWW, LAWYERS, GUNS, AND MONEY, October 2022, <https://www.lawyersgunsmoneyblog.com/2022/10/lgm-podcast-violence-and-the-iww>

The Early IWW's Unionism Was So Effective that Capitalists Decided it Had to Be Smashed, JACOBIN MAGAZINE, September 2022, <https://jacobin.com/2022/09/iww-persecution-criminalization-union-capitalists>

Capital's War on the Working Class with Prof. Chad Pearson and Prof. Ahmed White, GREEN & RED: PODCASTS FOR SCRAPPY RADICALS, June 2022, <https://anchor.fm/greenandred/episodes/Capitals-war-on-the-working-class-w-Prof--Chad-Pearson-and-Prof--Ahmed-White-GR-168-e1kgk4n>

A Historical Analysis of Mass Picketing and its Impact, VALLEY LABOR REPORT, February 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z2cm8XS0JMQ>

100 Years Ago, the First Red Scare Tried to Destroy the Left, JACOBIN MAGAZINE, December 2019, <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2019/12/red-scare-industrial-workers-of-the-worldiww>

The Red Scare and Radical Unionism, LAW AND WORKING CLASS HISTORY (online), November 2019, <http://www.lawcha.org/2019/11/29/the-red-scare-and-radicalunionism/>

REPRESENTATIVE LECTURES, COLLOQUIA, AND PRESENTATIONS

Annual Mother Jones Dinner, Springfield, Illinois, October 2023, delivered a keynote lecture on the repression of the IWW and lessons for labor today

Australian and New Zealand Law and History Association: Online Meet the Author Event, June 2023, discussed my book, *Under the Iron Heel*

National Academy of Arbitrators Conference, Denver, May 2023, participated in a panel on a “New Breed of Organizers”

Public Readings and Discussions of my book, UNDER THE IRON HEEL, April through July 2016, in-person in Denver and Boulder, and remotely in more than twenty venues nationwide.

Law and Society Conference, July 2022, Lisbon, Roundtable on Labour, Democracy and Capitalism (online)

Labor and Working Class History Association, June 2020, Roundtable on Michael Goldfield’s THE SOUTHERN KEY (online)

Rocky Mountain Labor and Employment Relations Association, Fall Conference, September 2019, presented a talk titled *Progressivism, Antiradicalism, and the Origins of Modern Labor Law*

Rothgerber Conference, University of Colorado School of Law, April 2019, participant in a panel on national injunctions

Harvard Law School, Labor and Worklife Center, January 2019, participant in roundtable on crime and workplace law

Law and Society Conference, Toronto, June 2018, panelist on future of the right to strike; reader and commentator in “author meets readers” discussion of Rebecca Zietlow’s THE FORGOTTEN EMANCIPATOR

Thirteenth Amendment and Economic Justice Symposium, UNLV, March 2018, commentator on panel on the Thirteenth Amendment and the carceral state

Cleveland Labor Festival, Co-Keynote Lecture, October 2017, presented a public lecture on the labor repression and the Industrial Workers of the World

Law and Society Conference, Mexico City, June 2017, participated in “author meets readers” discussion of my book, THE LAST GREAT STRIKE

Class Crits Conference, Chicago, October 2016, panelist on opening panel discussion on the working class and the 2016 election

Public Readings and Discussions of my book, *THE LAST GREAT STRIKE*, April through July 2016, in Denver, Chicago, Cleveland, Youngstown, and Massillon, Ohio

Association of American Law Schools, Midyear Conference, Orlando, June 2015, Workshop on Next Generation Issues in Sex, Gender and the Law, presented aspects of the article, *My Coworker-My Enemy: Solidarity, Workplace Control, and the Class Politics of Title VII*

Baldy Lecture Series, SUNY-Buffalo School of Law, October 2016, presented aspects of the draft, *Its Own Dubious Battle: The Impossible Defense of an Effective Right to Strike*

Cleveland Labor Festival, Co-Keynote Lecture, February 2013, presented a public lecture on the history of the “Little Steel” Strike in Ohio.

Class Crits Conference 2012, University of Wisconsin School of Law, November 2012, presented aspects of the draft, *The “Little Steel” Strike, the Struggle for Labor Rights, and the Limits of the New Deal*

Loyola Los Angeles School of Law Colloquium Series, February 2011, presented aspects of the draft, *The “Little Steel” Strike, the Struggle for Labor Rights, and the Limits of the New Deal*

Center for Working Class Studies, SUNY-Stony Brook, How Class Works Conference, June 2010, presented aspects of the draft, *The “Little Steel” Strike, the Struggle for Labor Rights, and the Limits of the New Deal*

University of Nevada-Las Vegas School of Law Colloquium Series, January 2010, presented aspects of the draft, *The “Little Steel” Strike, the Struggle for Labor Rights, and the Limits of the New Deal*

University of Colorado School of Law, Austin Scott Lecture, October 2009, presented a distinguished public lecture based on aspects of the draft, *The “Little Steel” Strike, the Struggle for Labor Rights, and the Limits of the New Deal*

University of Santa Clara Law School, Center for Social Justice and Public Service, October 2007, presented a lecture based on previously published article, *Capitalism, Social Marginality, and the Rule of Law’s Uncertain Fate in Modern Society*

Hofstra Law School Colloquium Series, October 2006, presented a draft of the article, *The Crime of Economic Radicalism: Criminal Syndicalism Laws and the Repression of the Industrial Workers of the World, 1917-1927*

University of Arizona School of Law Colloquium Series, February 2006, presented a draft of the article, *The Crime of Economic Radicalism: Criminal Syndicalism Laws and the Repression of the Industrial Workers of the World, 1917-1927*

Rutgers-Newark Law School Workshop Series, March 2005, presented a draft of the article, *The Juridical Structure of Habitual Offender Laws and the Jurisprudence of Authoritarian Social Control*

Emory Law School Colloquium Series, March 2004, presented a draft of the article, *Mutiny, Shipboard Strikes, and the Supreme Court's Subversion of New Deal Labor Law*

University of Colorado Law School Workshop Series, October 2003, presented draft of the article, *Mutiny, Shipboard Strikes, and the Supreme Court's Subversion of New Deal Labor Law*

University of Minnesota Law School, Patte Lecture (colloquium), October 2002, presented draft of the article, *A Different Kind of Labor Law: Vagrancy Law and the Regulation of Harvest Labor, 1913-1924*

University of Colorado Law School Colloquium Series, October 2002, presented draft of the article, *A Different Kind of Labor Law: Vagrancy Law and the Regulation of Harvest Labor, 1913-1924*

Northwestern University Law School, Conference on the Masters of Comparative Law, April 2000, presented a draft of a book chapter, *Max Weber and the Uncertainties of Categorical Comparative Law*

ACADEMIC SERVICE

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN SCHOOL OF LAW

Faculty Appointments Committee, Fall 2024-25

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO SCHOOL OF LAW

Faculty Evaluation Committee, 2016-17, 2023 to present

Rules Revision Committee, 2023 to present

Committee on Academic and Student Affairs, 2000-01, 2005-06, 2010-11, 2018-20

Acting Associate Dean for Research, Spring, 2018

Faculty Appointments Committee, Fall 2004, 2006-07, Spring 2018

Associate Dean for Research, 2011-14

Policy Management and Budget Committee, 2011-14

Chair, Faculty Evaluation Committee, 2009-10

Acting Assistant Dean for Research, Fall 2008

Admissions Committee, 2003-04, 2007-08

Self-Study Committee, 2001-02

Faculty Co-Sponsor, University of Colorado National Lawyers Guild, 2002-13, 2018-19

Faculty Sponsor, University of Colorado Black Law Students Association, 2005-07

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO AT BOULDER (CAMPUS AND SYSTEM)

Boulder Faculty Assembly Committee on Faculty Affairs, 2016 to present

Chair, Boulder Faculty Assembly Administrator Appraisal Committee, 2018-20

Member, Boulder Faculty Assembly, Executive Committee, 2009-11, 2018-21

Campus Representative to University Faculty Council, 2016-2018

Co-Chair, Boulder Faculty Assembly Grievance Advisory Committee, 2016-17

Boulder Faculty Assembly Faculty Affairs Committee, 2016-present

Law School Dean Search Committee, 2002-03, 2015-16

Vice Chair, Boulder Faculty Assembly, 2009-10, 2010-11

Chair, Boulder Faculty Assembly Bylaws Committee, 2010-11

Law School Representative to Boulder Faculty Assembly, 2007-10, 2010-13

HONORS AND AWARDS

DISCIPLINE-WIDE

International Labor History Association, Book of the Year (shared), 2022

Richard A. Lester Prize, Outstanding Book of the Year, 2022, Princeton University Section on Labor

At UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO

Austin Scott Lecture, 2009

Jules Milstein Faculty Scholarship Award, 2016

Gilbert Goldstein Faculty Research Fellowship, 2017

Gordon Gamm Faculty Scholarship Award, 2021

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Louisiana Bar Association (licensed to practice in Louisiana); American Bar Association; National Lawyers Guild; Sam Cary Bar Association; American Association of University Professors; Law and Working Class History Association; Southern Labor History Association

FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Spoken and Written French

OTHER INTERESTS

Running; Carpentry; Painting; Hiking; Snowshoeing; Wilderness Canoeing