



CURRICULUM SUMMARY
110th SESSION
THE HARVARD TRADE UNION PROGRAM
JANUARY 9 – FEBRUARY 10, 2023

The Harvard Trade Union Program is an intensive 5-week session designed to extend to trade union leaders the same advanced education that the University offers to executive-level individuals in business and government. It is designed to equip participants with the skills and practical tools essential for the management and leadership of their unions, as well as providing a unique opportunity to explore key issues for the labor movement in a rich academic and cultural environment away from the day-to-day pressures of work.

The curriculum is organized by an interdisciplinary team of Harvard and outside faculty and taught as a series of thematically related seminars and cases. The themes include negotiations, capital strategies, leadership, community relations, history, economics, organizing, and legal issues. The seminars feature exchanges with innovative practitioners and analysts in a variety of fields and are designed to alert the participants to new developments. The diverse selection of seminars provides an opportunity for participants to meet a variety of Harvard faculty, their guests from neighboring universities, and senior labor leaders to discuss selected topics of concern to labor on the world of work.

The program also sponsors three university-wide public forums named after academics and labor leaders who have been important to the program and the labor movement. They include the Jerry Wurf Memorial Forum, John T. Dunlop Memorial Forum and the James Green Memorial Forum on Labor History.

CORE COURSES

The HTUP program has five core courses that form the basis for what is important for the participants to learn and take away from the program. These courses are given approximately once a week so the topics can be dealt with in more depth. The core courses include:

- Strategic Choices for Labor Union Leaders
- Leadership
- Themes in U.S. Labor History
- Capital Strategies for Labor
- Negotiations and Labor Relations

STRATEGIC CHOICES FOR LABOR UNION LEADERS

David Weil

Ash Institute for Democracy, Harvard Kennedy School, and
Heller School for Social Policy & Management, Brandeis University
email: davweil61@gmail.com

Labor unions face daunting challenges in the economic, legal, political, and technological environment surrounding them in their efforts to represent, protect, and advance the interests of working people. The premise of this course is that unions can respond to the many challenges they face proactively. This puts much of the responsibility for the future of labor unions into the hands of present and future leaders and on their ability to shape the policies, programs, and strategies to fit the needs of workers they represent while adapting to the realities posed by the external environment.

If labor unions—and the labor movement—are to survive as vital forces, they will do so because their leaders creatively adjust to the many changes occurring in the private and public sectors and become responsive to the needs and aspirations of workers (particularly those not already organized). In many cases, this requires unions to shake off past ways of doing business as well as changing the ways they have structured themselves to undertake their activities.

This course presents a framework to guide union leaders in making choices about their union's strategies and organization. By discussing different aspects affecting a union's *strategic leverage* (markets, technology, worker attitudes) and *organizational capacity* (structure, people, internal systems), it also offers leaders an approach to making strategic choices as a core part of their daily work and responsibilities. I also hope that the framing in this class will help HTUP participants integrate and apply the larger curriculum to the strategic challenges facing their labor organizations.

Wednesday, January 11 - 8:30-10am- "Facing the Storm: A First Discussion of Strategic Choices"

Wednesday, January 18 - 8:30-10am- "Strategic Planning and Strategic Choice"

Wednesday, January 25 - 8:30-10am- "What Drives Strategic Leverage?"

Wednesday, February 1 - 8:30-10am- "Building Organizational Capacity"

Wednesday, February 8 - 8:30-10am- "Strategic Choice in Action and Over Time"

LEADERSHIP

THEORY: THE STUDY OF LEADERSHIP, ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Julie Batilana, Alan L. Gleitsman Professor of Social Innovation, Harvard Kennedy School
Joseph C. Wilson Professor of Business Administration, Harvard Business School

Bill Cole, Senior Research Associate,
Labor & Worklife Program, Harvard Law School

Gautam Mukunda, Fellow,
Harvard Kennedy School Center for Public Leadership

John “Jack” Trumbour, Research Director,
Labor & Worklife Program, Harvard Law School

Leadership and Organizational Change will focus on the importance of leadership and its function in forging a common sense of purpose for the union and in leading the organization in an increasingly challenging environment. Participants will examine the role of union leaders and the process of leading organizational development and transformation in terms of creating an organization that is not afraid to take initiative, that encourages the widest possible participation in all its activities, that seeks to unite members in common cause to influence the environment in which they work. Using readings from both management organizational change literature and articles on union transformation, this course will explore the challenge of union organizational transformation.

Wednesday, January 11 - 1:00-2:30 pm "Becoming Effective Change Makers" Julie Battilana

Tuesday, January 17 - 10:30-12:00 pm “Leadership and Democratic Decision-Making - A Simulation”
Jack Trumbour

Monday, January 30 - 8:30 -10:00 am "Leaders and Followers: Engaging Union Members" - Part 1 Bill Cole

Tuesday, January 31 - 8:30 -10:00 am "Leaders and Followers: Engaging Union Members" - Part 2 Bill Cole

Monday, January 30 - 1:00-2:30 pm “Dangerous Mines: Saving Lives through Leadership” Gautam Makunda

Monday, February 6 - 10:30-12:00 pm “Indispensable: When Leaders Really Matter” Gautam Makunda

PRACTICE: “LEADING WITH LABOR’S VALUES”

Marcy Goldstein-Gelb, Co-executive Director,
National Council for Occupational Safety and Health

Anneta Argyres, Director of the Labor Extension Program
University of Massachusetts – Boston

Nancy Luc, Deputy Director
Building Pathways

Leading with Labor's Values will provide an opportunity for participants to explore their own values, those they consider to be "labor's values," and approaches to leading a union organization consistent with those values. Participants will examine the role of union leaders and the relationships with and among the union's stakeholders -- members, officers, staff, and others -- and ways for everyone to work together effectively to achieve the union's goals. Using readings from both management organizational change literature and articles on union transformation, this course will explore the challenge of union organizational transformation. This course will encourage each participant to synthesize the material in the program and create an individual “Leadership in Action” Plan.

Wednesday, January 11 3:00-4:30 pm - "Leading with Labor's Values"

Friday, January 20 10:30-12:00 pm - "Breaking Barriers"

Friday, January 27 10:30-12:00 pm - "Engaging Members"

Friday, February 3 10:30-12:00 pm - "Staff Expectations"

Thursday, February 9 1:00-2:30 pm "Putting it all together - “Leadership in Action” plans pt. 1"

Thursday, February 9 3:00-4:30 pm "Putting it all together - “Leadership in Action” plans pt. 2"

THEMES IN U.S. LABOR HISTORY

Mark Erlich, Wertheim Fellow,
Labor & Worklife Program, Harvard Law School

There are many ways to look at the history of the US working class and its organized trade union movement. Like any history, it has been the subject of much debate, some of which we will address. The course will introduce “history” as a living, breathing entity, subject to constant conflict and revision.

This class will address the question, “How did we, the US trade union movement, get to where we are today?” It will look at several periods of upsurge and retreat in the history of the US trade union movement, and conclude with the current period of setbacks since 1980. It will address two underlying issues of contention in the US movement: Who is in the House of Labor? And, what is the goal of the labor movement?

Wednesday, January 11 - 10:30-12:00 pm "Early America Through the Progressive Era"
Wednesday, January 18 - 10:30-12:00 pm "Great Depression, New Deal, Birth of the CIO"
Wednesday, January 25 - 10:30-12:00 pm "Post WWII “Social Contract”"
Wednesday, February 1 - 10:30-12:00 pm "Economic Transformation and the Decline of Unions"
Wednesday, February 8 - 10:30-12:00 pm "Gig Economy. Automation, and the Future of Work"

CAPITAL STRATEGIES FOR LABOR

Vonda Brunsting, Program Manager,
Initiative for Responsible Investment, Harvard University

Christopher Mackin, Lecturer,
Rutgers University School of Management and Labor Relations

David H. Webber, Professor of Law,
Boston University School of Law

Capital Strategies for Labor explores new roles that labor has adopted to influence the investment of pension funds, the conduct of corporate policy, and in select cases the ownership and management of enterprises. We begin by setting a historical and contemporary context for these initiatives. We then hear from David Webber, including selections from his book *The Rise of the Working-Class Shareholder* (Harvard University Press, 2018), and from leading experts who are actively implementing these strategies both in the economy at large and in the workplace.

Tuesday, January 10 - 3:00-4:30 pm "New Roles for Labor: Creating and Managing Wealth: Introduction to Capital Strategies"
Tuesday, January 17 - 3:00-4:30 pm "Taking Control of Our Money and Resisting the Attack on Pensions" David Webber
Monday, January 23 - 3:00-4:30 pm "Climate Change and a Just Transition" Vonda Brunsting
Tuesday, January 24 - 3:00-4:30 pm "ESG, Anti-ESG, And the Legal Battle Over Worker Pensions" David Webber
Monday, January 30 - 3:00-4:30 pm "Enterprise Strategies: ESOP’s, Cooperatives and Democratic Ownership” Christopher Mackin
Tuesday, January 31 - 3:00-4:30 pm "Global Capital Strategies" Vonda Brunsting

NEGOTIATIONS AND LABOR RELATIONS

Florrie Darwin, Lecturer on Law, Harvard Law School and
Senior Research Associate, Labor & Worklife Program, Harvard Law School

Arnold Zack, Arbitrator

Negotiations are a pervasive part of modern life. There are **internal** negotiations with colleagues at work or in union settings, as well as with superiors and support staff. There are also **external** negotiations with management in union-related matters, with customers, and with professionals, attorneys, and government regulators. Negotiation is a crucial professional and personal skill. In some sense, most people at certain points negotiate in daily life. This course will explore why negotiations so often fail, deals that should be made are not made, disputes are protracted, relationships are damaged, and money and time are wasted. But in practical terms, this exercise will strive to make participants better negotiators and avert some of these less than optimal outcomes.

Grievance arbitration is not the panacea it once was for resolving work place disputes. It is getting more expensive, takes longer, and is more often run by the lawyers. The rise of statutory issues and “*Gilmer*” type systems also raise new problems for unions. (Gilmer refers to a case used to enforce mandatory arbitration, many times set up in a manner unfavorable to workers.) The course will explore the rise of alternative dispute resolution (ADR) systems in employment and the risks and opportunities it provides for the union movement.

Readings will be drawn from *Discipline and Discharge*, Arnold Zack, and from *Mediation and Arbitration of Employment Disputes*, John T. Dunlop and Arnold Zack.

Thursday, January 12 - 8:30-4:30 pm "Negotiations Workshop" Florrie Darwin

Friday, January 13 - 8:30-4:30 pm "Negotiations Workshop" Florrie Darwin

Thursday, February 2 - 8:30 -10:00 am “The genesis and place of labor arbitration.” Arnold Zack

2023 HARVARD TRADE UNION PUBLIC FORUMS

Wednesday, February 1 5:30-7:00 PM

James Green Memorial Forum

"Labor Power and Strategy"

John Womack Jr.,

Robert Woods Bliss Professor of Latin American History and
Economics, emeritus, Harvard University,

and

Peter Olney,

former Organizing Director,

International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU).

Tuesday, February 7, 5:30-7:00 pm

Jerry Wurf Memorial Forum

*"Progress, Challenges, and Opportunities Still Ahead
for Labor during the Biden-Harris Administration."*

Pronita Gupta

The Center for Law and Social Policy (CLASP)

Friday, February 3, 12:30-2:00 pm

John T. Dunlop Memorial Forum

"Labor Agenda for the 110th Congress"

The Honorable Robert C. "Bobby" Scott

US Representative, VA 3rd District

Committee on Education and Labor

Friday, February 10, 11am – 1:30 pm

HARVARD TRADE UNION PROGRAM GRADUATION

Loeb House, Harvard Yard, 17 Quincy St, Cambridge, MA 02138

Guest Speaker: Steven Greenhouse,

Journalist and former New York Times reporter

THEMATIC CURRICULUM AREAS

In addition to the core curriculum classes, the HTUP has six thematic curriculum areas. The classes in this area are primarily individual classes so the participants can experience a variety of topics and experts. The thematic curriculum areas include:

- Current Legal Issues
- Economic Issues
- Negotiations and Labor Relations
- Union Organizing and Capacity Building
- Labor History
- Public Sector

CURRENT LEGAL ISSUES

Isabelle Ferreras - **“Firms as Political Entities 1&2”**

Terri Gerstein - **"The Role of States and Localities in Advancing and Enforcing Workers' Rights"**

Thomas Kohler - **"The Genesis and Meaning of the Union's Duty of Fair Representation"**

Benjamin Sachs and Sharon Block - **"Current Labor Law Issues"**

Emily Spieler - **"Special Challenges Confronting Trade Unions"**

Tova Wang - **"The Persistent Problem of Low Voter Turnout: re-imagining increasing participation"**

ECONOMIC ISSUES

Barry Bluestone - **“Understanding the Nuts and Bolts of U.S. Economic Growth” I-III**

Richard Freeman - **"America Works"**

Stephanie Luce - **"Worker Power and the State of the Labor Market."**

NEGOTIATIONS AND LABOR RELATIONS

David Cutler - **"What's Up with Health Care?"**

Thomas Kochan - **"The Upsurge in Worker Organizing and Activism: Flash in the Pan or a Transformational Moment?"**

Spy Denomme-Welch and Larry Savage - **"Indigenizing and Decolonizing our Unions and our Workplaces."**

UNION ORGANIZING AND CAPACITY BUILDING

Debbie Berkowitz - **"Advocating for safe workplaces --including improving state and local policies"**
Elaine Bernard - **"Learning from each other: Unions and labor relations in the US, Canada and New Zealand"**
KB Brower - **"Bargaining for the Common Good: Building Union and Community Partnerships to Win Bigger"**
Abel Cano - **"Public Narrative Workshop"**
Joel Cutcher-Gershenfeld - **"New Strategies for Worker Voice"**
Bill Fletcher - **"Attack on Democracy"**
Marshall Ganz - **"Leadership, Organizing, and Action"**
Henry Garrido - **"Privatization and Corruption – Learning to Follow the Money Trail"**
Cathy Gourley - **"The Empathic Power of Film to Personalize the Political."**
Tolle Graham - **"Council for Occupational Safety and Health (COSH) Training"**
HUCTW Panel (Carrie Barbash, President, HUCTW and HUCTW past Presidents: Tasha Williams, Adrienne Landau, and Donene Williams) - **"The Story of the Harvard Union of Clerical and Technical Workers"**
Tom Juravich - **"A Participatory Approach to Conducting Strategic corporate research"**
Darlene Lombos - **"Building a United Front with Community Partners"**
Vicki O'Leary - **"How Trade Unionists Become Upstanders"**
Keturah Raabe - **"Preparing the Table – Strategies for Forward Progress in Equity, Diversity, Inclusion and Belonging" Part 1&2**
Kris Rondeau - **"Six Important Things Before Breakfast: strong and happy at home"**

Labor History

Avi Chomsky - **"Settler Colonialism, Immigration, and Labor in the United States"**
Bill Fletcher - **"Race to Labor, 1&2"**
William B. Gould IV - **"For Labor to Build Upon: Wars Depression and Pandemic"**
John Trumbour – **"Tour of Harvard"**
Rick Wartzman - **"Still Broke: Walmart's Remarkable Transformation and the Limits of Socially Conscious Capitalism."**
John Womack Jr. and Peter Olney - **"Labor Power and Strategy"**

Public Sector

Will Jones – **"Essential Workers: Public Service and the Dignity of Labor"**
Pronita Gupta - **"Progress, Challenges, and Opportunities Still Ahead for Labor during the Biden-Harris Administration."**
Jennifer Zelnick - **"Privatization, Covid-19, and employment security in the USA"**

HARVARD TRADE UNION PROGRAM FACULTY 2023

Core Faculty:

Elaine Bernard, *Harvard Law School*
Sharon Block, *Harvard Law School*
Barry Bluestone, *Northeastern University*
Vonda Brunsting, *Harvard Law School*
Mark Erlich, *Harvard Law School*
Richard Freeman, *Harvard University*
Marcy Goldstein-Gelb, *National Council for Occupational Safety and Health*
Christopher Mackin, *Ownership Associates Inc.*
Benjamin Sachs, *Harvard Law School*
John Trumbour, *Harvard Law School*
David H. Webber, *Boston University School of Law*
David Weil, *Brandeis University*

Harvard University Faculty:

Julie Battilana, *Harvard Business School and Harvard Kennedy School*
Sharon Block, *Harvard Law School*
David Cutler, *Harvard University*
Florrie Darwin, *Harvard Law School*
Richard Freeman, *Harvard University*
Marshall Ganz, *Harvard Kennedy School*
Gautam Makunda, *Harvard Kennedy School*
Richard Parker, *Harvard Kennedy School*
Benjamin Sachs, *Harvard Law School*
John Womack Jr., *Emeritus, Harvard University.*

PROGRAM FACULTY 2023:

Annetta Argyres, *University of Massachusetts – Boston*
Carrie Barbash, *President, HUCTW*
Debbie Berkowitz, *Worker Health and Safety Program Director, National Employment Law Project (NELP)*
KB Brower, *Bargaining for the Common Good*
Bill Cole, *LWP Fellow, Harvard Law School*
Abel Rey Cano, *Leadership Coach & Trainer*
Avi Chomsky, *Professor, Salem State University*
Joel Cutcher-Gershenfeld, *Professor, Heller School for Social Policy and Management*
Spy Dénomme-Welch (Algonquin-Anishnaabe) *Associate Professor and Canada Research Chair Western University*
Isabelle Ferreras, *Professor, University of Louvain, Belgium*
Bill Fletcher, *Author*
Henry Garrido, *Executive Director, AFSCME DC 37*
Terri Gerstein, *LWP Fellow, Harvard Law School*
Cathy Gourley, *Curriculum Writer, The Film Foundation*
Tolle Graham, *Massachusetts COSH*
William B. Gould IV, *Professor of Law, Emeritus, at Stanford Law School*
Pronita Gupta, *The Center for Law and Social Policy (CLASP)*
William Jones, *Professor, University of Minnesota Twin Cities*

Tom Juravich, *Labor Center, University of Massachusetts Amherst*
Thomas Kochan, *George Maverick Bunker Professor, Sloan School of Management, M.I.T.*
Thomas Kohler, *Boston College Law School*
Adrienne Landau, *past President, HUCTW*
Darlene Lombos, *Vice President, Greater Boston Labor Council*
Nancy Luc, *Building Pathways*
Stephanie Luce, *Professor of Labor Studies, CUNY School of Labor and Urban Studies*
Vicki L O'Leary, *General Organizer, Ironworkers International Union*
Peter Olney, *former Organizing Director, International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU)*
Keturah Raabe, *The Raabe Group, LLC*
Kris Rondeau, *AFSCME*
Larry Savage, *Professor, Labour Studies, Brock University*
Emily Spieler, *Professor, Northeastern University Law School*
Tova Wang, *Fellow, Harvard Kennedy School of Government*
Rick Wartzman, *Director, KH Moon Center for a Functioning Society at the Drucker Institute, a part of Claremont Graduate University.*
Donene Williams, *past President, HUCTW*
Tasha Williams, *past President, HUCTW*
Arnold Zack, *Arbitrator*
Jennifer Zelnick, *Touro College Graduate School of Social Work*