

A Short History of the Harvard Trade Union Program 1942-2022



A member of the Women's Trade Union League and a union card-carrying member of the American Newspaper Guild, Eleanor Roosevelt as First Lady became a strong advocate for worker education programs during the 1930s and 1940s.

The Labor Education “Experiment”

During the founding era of the Harvard Trade Union Program, it was commonly called “an experiment.” For much of the early twentieth century, workers’ educational movements had themselves greeted the idea of study at elite universities with skepticism and sometimes derision.

At the turn of the century, Great Britain had pioneered one of these efforts, with the founding of Ruskin College near Oxford University in 1899. Though neither controlled nor financed by Oxford University, Ruskin College sent some workers to the university to attend lectures, and others could undergo the exam for the University Diploma in Economics and Political Science. Fred Bramley (1874-1925), the Secretary General of the British Trades Union Congress (TUC), warned the Ruskin College principal not to expect much from his medieval neighbors: “Oxford is a center in which university training has been the monopoly of the sons of the rich.” J. Ramsay MacDonald (1866-1937), the first Labour Party Prime Minister, once equated the venerable university with rank whoredom: “Oxford is a painted lady of whom labor can expect nothing” [Marius Hansome would later reply in *World Workers’ Educational Movements* (1931): “This opinion, be it noted, did not deter MacDonald from sending his own son to become educated in that institution.”]

In 1903, Albert Mansbridge started the Organisation for the Education of Working Men, which would be re-named the Workers’ Educational Association (WEA) in 1905. This British organization soon developed vigorous educational branches in Australia (1913), New Zealand (1915), and Canada (1917). Influential British figures in the WEA, among them economic historian R.H. Tawney, political journalist H.N. Brailsford, and political theorist Harold Laski, promoted worker education in the United States as contributing editors to a major organ of opinion, *The New Republic*. In 1919, the Boston Central Trade

Union Council started the Boston Trade Union College, which included faculty from Harvard, MIT, and other Boston universities. Stationed at Harvard between 1916 and 1920, Harold Laski delivered lectures at the Boston Trade Union College in the early years before taking a lifelong post at the London School of Economics. Harvard Law School dean Roscoe Pound also provided a course on law in the Boston labor program. Laski and Pound shared the idea that the field of law needed to be infused with insights from the social sciences.

In 1921, worker education in the United States took a great leap forward with the establishment of the Workers’ Education Bureau (WEB) of America based in New York City, along with the founding of the Brookwood Labor College in Katonah, New York and the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry. Women played a significant role in the rise of worker education in the United States through vehicles such as the Women’s Trade Union League (WTUL) founded in 1903 and active until 1950. As will be seen later on, the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union also sought expanded labor education in the United States.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal early on promoted worker education partly as a means of putting unemployed teachers back to work as well as helping workers to become better citizens and trade unionists. In 1934, in response to the Great Depression, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)

gave support for 16 educational training units targeting teachers planning to carry out worker education projects, with one of the programs based at the Harvard Summer School. Esther L. Swensen, who led the Affiliated Summer Schools for Workers at Bryn Mawr and Barnard Colleges, helped coordinate the Harvard effort to train teachers in worker education. As a member of the Women's Trade Union League, Eleanor Roosevelt worked closely with one of the founders of the Affiliated Schools for Workers, Hilda Worthington Smith. A former dean at Bryn Mawr, Smith persuaded FERA director Harry Hopkins to put significant effort into worker education after she had learned that some European governments funded worker schools. According to historian Brigid O'Farrell in her biography of Eleanor Roosevelt called *She Was One of Us*, "By the spring of 1935, almost 45,000 men and women were attending 1,800 classes taught by 480 instructors in 570 communities."

Certain political currents greeted the news with outrage. Headlines shrieked in the *Washington Herald* (24 February 1935) that "Reds Rule FERA Schools." Soon Congressman Martin Dies, Jr. and the early version of the House Un-American Activities Committee made accusations that the worker education programs were dens of subversion. The outcry probably contributed to the closure of the Brookwood Labor College in 1937, as well other labor education efforts. Despite the backlash from anti-New Deal forces against labor education, the labor movement grew in tremendous spurts during the FDR years. Labor leaders found themselves so busy with the demands of organizing millions of new members that labor education may have indeed suffered from temporary neglect in the late 1930s. In 1933, there were 2.6 million union members in the United States; a full decade later, 12.8 million workers carried union cards in 1943.



Hope Mendoza Schecter, HTUP Class of 1948, ILGWU member.

With the Ruskin experiment at Oxford several decades old and various New Deal efforts having borne fruit in the face of adversity, Harvard University proposed a new approach to labor education. In fall 1942, Harvard and labor union officials announced what was first called "the Harvard University Trade Union Fellowship Plan." Initially designed to bring 15 labor leaders to Harvard for nine months, the Plan had several unusual features, including no formal academic requirements such as a high school diploma. According to a Harvard statement at the time, "[the] more important qualifications are general intelligence, capacity for leadership, and devotion to the labor movement."

Indeed labor unions would select the fellows to insure that the recipients are people "who have proven their ability to serve the labor movement."

Labor unions greeted the news with high hopes. Kenneth Taylor, Secretary-Treasurer of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, called the Plan "very, very good – if the men don't come out of there with a Harvard accent." In fact, Robert J. Watt, the former Secretary of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor and a reputed socialist, had first floated the plan in spring 1941. Watt had previously taught at the Harvard Summer School program for worker education. Sumner H. Slichter, Lamont University Professor at Harvard and one of the most influential economists of his era, then

played a crucial role in galvanizing support throughout the university.

Slichter and his academic allies stressed several themes. In the first place, 1941 had been a year of escalating strikes and labor unrest. The intensifying international crisis called attention to the need for higher productivity via more harmonious labor-management relations. In late September 1942, labor union officials and Harvard educators announced the Harvard Trade Union Fellowship Plan as "a momentous first step in the direction of better American labor-management relations." Paul H. Buck, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, told the *Christian Science Monitor* (23 September 1942) that he hoped the program would

contribute to bringing labor and industry together in the eventual aftermath of World War II. In formulating the early curriculum, Harvard investigators fanned out throughout the land during a two-month period, “gathering background information on scores of strikes, some routine, some spectacular, and including the Allis-Chalmers layoff of defense production workers in 1941,” explained the correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Secondly, labor unions had grown in complexity, a reality conveyed by Fannia Cohn, Secretary of the Educational Department of the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union: “The trade union no longer confines itself to purely trade union problems: it is entering the fields of banking, insurance, health work, research, building, co-operative housing, etc.” The ILGWU had a strong presence in the Harvard Trade Union Fellowship Plan of the 1940s, including several women: Bernice (Taylor) Segal, Frances DiMartino, Maxine Rose Mungal, Hope Mendoza, and Gertrude Van Nort. While overall the HTUP had only a few women, these female pioneers were a courageous reminder that in most of Harvard University, women were flatly locked out, denied the right to admission.

Finally, the proponents of the program noted that labor had surged in power during the New Deal. According to Walter Galenson, a leading labor scholar who taught in the Trade Union Program before moving to the University of California/Berkeley: “Some of the leading statesmen of the AFL were high in New Deal counsels... The fact that a dozen American trade unionists had ready access to the president of the United States, that they could call upon him in an emergency, was a critical element in organizing success.” Between 1934 and 1939, union density had spurt from 11.5 percent of the U.S. workforce to 27.6 percent. After a mild slide, the spurt resumed in the war years between 1942 and 1945, with unionization advancing from 25 percent to 34.2 percent of the workforce. Donald K. David, Dean of Harvard’s Graduate School of Business, openly conceded in September 1942 that the Fellowship Plan represented “recognition of the

major role labor is playing in the world today.”

Thus Dean David and the Harvard Business School decided to host the program. A segment of the HBS leadership of the era understood that the institution had been training an army of MBAs who would hold senior management positions in heavily unionized manufacturing industries, such as steel and automobiles. It would be important that HBS faculty and key students understood the role of unions in an advanced economy. During the 1950s, union leaders participated in joint classes with corporate managers in the Advanced Management Program. The assistant secretary-treasurer of the International Association of Machinists M.R. Stearns explained in 1955 that the labor leaders had a difficult challenge in seeking to enlighten



Archibald Cox (left), special procecurator in the Watergate case, taught Labor Law at the HTUP in the 50’s. He is pictured here with Elliot Richardson waiting for the start of Senate Judiciary Committee hearings in 1973.

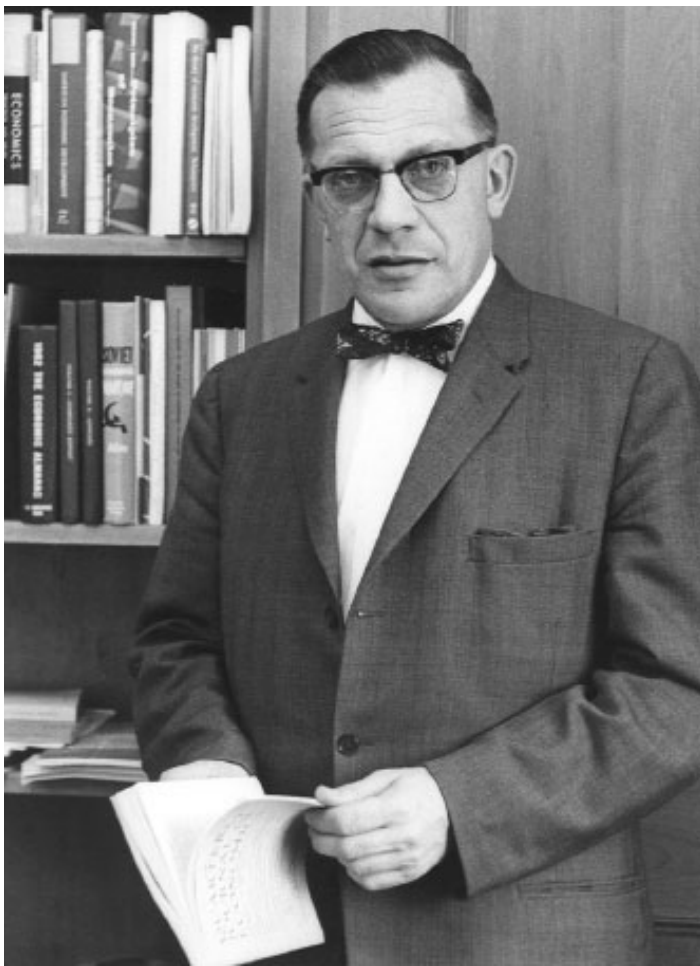
corporate managers about the working reality of most unions: “We were told that many of these top management men had never before met a labor official. From some of the questions asked about the ‘goon squad’ tactics of labor, etc., I am sure that all they knew about labor was what they read in our reactionary papers.”

In other words, there was a certain expectation that the labor leaders would deliver valuable knowledge to the professoriate, research fellows, and the rest of the Harvard community. During the 1990s, former U.S. Secretary of Labor Robert Reich expressed this notion of academic reciprocity more graphically when he

joked that this was the one program in which the faculty should pay for the privilege of teaching in it. According to Reich, the instructors often gathered in so much knowledge from the union leaders that it was not always so clear who was the pupil in the arrangement.

Curriculum Reform over the Decades and Internationalization

One of the first major debates over the program surrounded its nine-month length. Several labor leaders expressed that the long session had afforded them the opportunity to achieve intellectual growth and mastery of new skills. However, other unions judged that it was not possible to lose key leaders for so long a period.



Economist John T. Dunlop, taught for the HTUP beyond its 60th anniversary. He was also Secretary of Labor for the Ford administration.

Certain prospective students feared that they would lose influence within their unions if they were gone for most of the year. Enrollments dropped. A major turning point came with the U.S. Congress's passage of the Taft-Hartley bill in 1948. Explicitly designed to curtail the gains unions had achieved during the New Deal era, Taft-Hartley put labor leaders on a heightened state of alert. Serving as a regional director for the United Steel Workers of America, William Donovan regretted in a letter to Harvard officials that he simply could not "spare one of his staff." Fannia Cohn of the ILGWU also started to throw her weight behind proposals for a more compact training program.

Breaking with the formula of a nine-month fellowship that had prevailed from 1942-1948, Harvard switched to a single annual session of 13 weeks in 1948 and then to two annual sessions of 13 weeks by 1952. Despite lingering resistance before the TUP's advisory committee from Frank Fenton of the AFL and Harold Ulrich of the Brotherhood of Rail Clerks, the change went through and soon met with success. The new

intensive session of 13 weeks featured these courses and faculty by the mid-1950s:

"International Labor Problems" – Taught by Clinton S. Golden (1888-1961), a former eastern regional director for the Steel Workers, a key figure in the now defunct Brookwood Labor College, and the TUP Executive Director from 1950-1955, this course sought to "acquaint union representatives with the labor movements of other countries and their role in fostering international cooperation." In the climate of the early cold war, Golden took up the challenges confronting "Labor Attachés to the various U.S. Embassies abroad and as Labor Advisers to foreign economic and technical aid missions and in other capacities." He had served as Chief of the Labor Division of the American Mission for Aid to Greece. Co-author of *The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy* (1942) and co-editor of *Causes of Industrial Peace under Collective Bargaining* (1955), he also addressed the "ever increasing importance of the International Labor Organization, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions in preserving and fostering freedom throughout the world...."

"Problems in Labor Relations" – Exploring unionization and labor relations at the plant level, James J. Healy, the director of the Trade Union Program from 1942-1950, brought corporate elites from the Advanced Management Program at the Harvard Business School into the classes with the union members. His course sought to explain "the social, psychological, and interpersonal" ways in which unions transform the workplace.

"Economic Analysis" – Stanley Jacks provided both basic economics and a presentation of the shortcomings of many commonly cited labor, business, and government indices.

"Labor Law" – Harvard Law School professor Archibald Cox handled the intricacies of the legal system for the program and developed a reputation as the nation's top expert on labor law. Formerly a clerk for the legendary judge Learned Hand and chair of Harry Truman's Wage Stabilization Board, Cox later became the Solicitor General for JFK and then the lawyer in some of the most important cases on civil rights to be heard by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Appointed Special Prosecutor during Watergate, Cox found himself sacked by Richard Nixon in the legendary “Saturday Night Massacre,” orders implemented by a then obscure federal judge named Robert Bork

“Arbitration” – Saul Wallen presented the history of arbitration and even served as an arbitrator in class as he had the trade unionists prepare cases based on real problems in their various industries.

“Methods of Wage Determination” – Economist Donald J. White explained the methods for job evaluation, wage increases, and pension plans. Later a popular dean at Boston College, White also happened to be a leading expert on the fishing industry.

“American Labor History” – Economist John T. Dunlop delivered this instruction, but soon switched in the late 1950s to teaching “Administration and Organization.” Joseph P. O’Donnell (see below) then provided the course on “Labor History.” One of the founding fathers of the HTUP, Dunlop rose to prominence during World War II as a staff member of the National War Labor Board where he worked with such major figures as Clark Kerr (later the first Chancellor of the University of California Berkeley and then the twelfth president of the University of California system) and Benjamin Aaron (future director of the Institute of Industrial Relations at UCLA, more recently renamed the Institute for Research on Labor and Employment). Dunlop taught in the HTUP beyond its sixtieth anniversary until his death in 2003. General editor of a distinguished library of books on industrial relations for Harvard University Press during the 1950s and 1960s, he shaped the field of industrial relations in the United States. Dunlop went on to become U.S. Secretary of Labor in the Ford Administration.

“Accounting and Analysis of Financial Statements” – Arthur W. Hanson showed labor leaders how to decode accounting reports, including income statements, balance sheets, and operating statements. He showed the tricks with depreciation and how accounting principles could be brought to bear in negotiations.

“Parliamentary Procedure” and “Public Speaking” – Roswell Atwood taught labor leaders how they could be more persuasive as well as better ways of conducting meetings. In an essay for *Labor Age* (April 1922), Clinton Golden had criticized unions for leaders who

“do not understand the rudiments of parliamentary law. Recording secretaries fail to keep an understandable record of the activities of the local union. Important communications, resolutions, and petitions are often ignored because of the inability of the secretary, intelligently and effectively to perform his duties.” When Golden took over leadership of the HTUP, he made better performance of procedural democracy a priority.

“Contemporary Labor Problems” – A course presided over by Joseph O’Donnell, who served as Executive Director of the HTUP from 1955 to 1983, it gave students the chance to debate and discuss the latest issues in the labor movement. A member of the Catholic Labor Guild who would later in the 1960s receive the prestigious Cardinal Cushing Award, O’Donnell had himself been a student in the HTUP Class of 1950. Sociologically the U.S. trade union movement had many Catholic leaders, and the HTUP was one of the few institutions at Harvard run by someone from that faith tradition. In marked contrast, for the first 355 years of Harvard’s history (till 1991), all of the University’s presidents were White Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPs).

“Collective Bargaining Seminars” – A weekly afternoon seminar hosted by Sumner Slichter, it brought many of the nation’s most powerful labor leaders to Harvard, including in the first half of the 1950s: Walter Reuther, president of the CIO and the United Automobile, Aircraft, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Michael J. Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union of America; O.A. Knight, president of the Oil Workers International Union; and David McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers of America.

The internationalization of the Harvard Trade Union Program became perhaps the most momentous change during the 1950s. Trade unionists from Europe, Asia, Australia, and then Africa and Latin America arrived, many of whom received help from the AFL-CIO and the U.S. State Department. The HTUP’s tradition of sponsoring talks by leading U.S. labor leaders sometimes had a dramatic influence on the international students. David Halberstam in *The Reckoning* (1986) told the story of Ichiro Shioji, HTUP Class of 1960 who went on to lead the Nissan



Richard B. Freeman, Faculty Co-Director, Labor and Worklife Program at Harvard Law School & Herbert Ascherman Chair in Economics, Harvard University



Benjamin Sachs, Faculty Co-Director, Labor and Worklife Program at Harvard Law School & Professor of Law.



Elaine Bernard, Executive Director, Labor and Worklife Program, Harvard Law School, from 1989-2017

autoworkers. According to Halberstam:

While he was at Harvard, Walter Reuther came to make a speech, and Shioji was awed. Reuther was his great hero. A small hall had been set aside for Reuther's speech, and it soon became apparent that it was much too small, and people soon scurried around and managed to get access to the Harvard gymnasium. The entire Harvard gym was filled with students... The idea that a labor leader had so broad a following struck him forcefully. No one in Japan had a following like that.

After Reuther's presentation, Shioji met the UAW leader at the reception, and they became good friends. Halberstam continues:

That summer, after leaving Harvard, Shioji went to Detroit and stayed with the UAW people at Solidarity House, and the Americans became his friends – Reuther and Leonard Woodcock and Pat Greathouse and Doug Fraser... They were the top people in the union, and they had all treated him as an equal... When he returned to Japan his confidence was greater; he was now a good friend – an equal – of the most important labor leaders in the world.

The Trade Union Program continued to thrive in the decades ahead. Besides Shioji of Japan, it could claim among its alumni the leaders of some of the most powerful U.S. unions and labor federations (i.e., Gerald McEntee, president of AFSCME from 1981 to 2012; John J. Flynn and James Boland, presidents of the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers; John Lyons Jr., president of the Iron Workers; Harold A. Schaitberger and Edward A. Kelly, General Presidents of the International Association

of Fire Fighters; Michael E. Monroe, president of the International Union of Painters and Allied Trades; Thomas J. Scotto and Michael Palladino, presidents of the Detectives' Endowment Association; Carolyn Doggett, Executive Director of the California Teachers' Association; Russ Burns, Business Manager of the International Union of Operating Engineers Local 3; and closer to home, Robert Haynes and Steven Tolman, presidents of the Massachusetts AFL-CIO), as well as some international political leaders of note (Ankur Henrik Jorgensen, Prime Minister of Denmark, and Barrie Unsworth, Premier of New South Wales) and major international labor officials (i.e., Mark Lennon, Secretary, Unions NSW Australia, and later President of the Australian Labor Party, NSW Branch; Tony Sheldon, National Secretary, Transport Workers Union Australia; Jo-Ann Davidson, National Secretary, Flight Attendants Association of Australia; Erin Polaczuk, National Secretary of PSA, New Zealand's largest union; Paul Nowak, incoming General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress UK; Manuel Cortes, General Secretary, Transport Salaried Staff Association UK; Simon Weller, National Organiser of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen; Nancy Hutchison, Secretary Treasurer, Ontario Federation of Labour; Bert Blundon, president of the National Union of Public and General Employees NUPGE, Canada; Jason MacLean, president of the Nova Scotia Government and General Employees Union and subsequently Secretary-Treasurer of NUPGE; and Stephanie Smith, President, British Columbia Government and Service Employees' Union).

Time of Troubles and the Program's Resurgence

But by the early 1980s, the program finally began to enter into a time of troubles. The U.S. labor

movement had continued its slow but largely uninterrupted decline in density since the mid-1950s. Throughout the 1980s, the Reagan Administration adopted a much more combative posture towards unions. Many influential theorists of management such as Peter Drucker began declaring that unions were dinosaurs, the fossilized remnants of an industrial stage of development that was giving way to a post-industrial epoch.

This atmosphere undoubtedly influenced the new leadership of the Harvard Business School, the institution that for decades had hosted the program. HBS came to recognize that relatively few MBAs were going into manufacturing and other industries with a heavy union presence. Harvard MBAs increasingly gravitated into financial services, consulting, and high-tech; that is to say, those sectors conspicuous for the absence of unions. The Business School no longer saw a rationale for the program, and its leadership politely asked it to move elsewhere. HBS chose to keep much of the program's endowment, however, a circumstance that became a major financial challenge for those seeking to save the HTUP enterprise.

By the late 1980s, the program began to find a new direction and vitality, developments signaled by the appointment of a new Executive Director Elaine Bernard. Previously the director of the Labour Program at Simon Fraser University in Canada and president of the New Democratic Party of British Columbia, she tightened the program to an intensive ten-week and then six-week session. With Bernard working closely with faculty co-directors Richard Freeman, generally regarded as the nation's premier labor economist, and Paul Weiler, the emerging doyen of sports, entertainment, and labor law, this team expanded a whole series of conferences, seminars, and workshops on issues of special concern to the labor movement in both the United States and abroad. The

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HTUP developed a summer training institute for AFSCME funded by the Jerry Wurf Memorial Fund. The Mellon Foundation in the mid-1990s supported a whole range of explorations into societies undergoing rapid political and economic transitions. The Ford Foundation

provided the means to develop programs on myriad topics: global labor standards; work and family issues; and the future of manufacturing. The HTUP hosted the annual African American Labor Leaders' Economic Summit, which regularly brought some of the nation's most distinguished Black labor leaders to Harvard. All of these activities led to the creation of a new, more ambitious enterprise, the Labor and Worklife Program at Harvard Law School (see below).

The Founding of the Labor & Worklife Program, and The HTUP in the Twenty-first Century

The Harvard Trade Union Program underwent an historic transformation. Seeking to meet the challenges of labor education for the twenty-first century, the HTUP in 2002 became part of a broader institution for understanding labor issues, the Labor & Worklife Program at Harvard Law School.

The Labor & Worklife Program (LWP) is Harvard University's forum for research and teaching



Paul Weiler. Faculty Co-Director Emeritus, Labor and Worklife Program at Harvard Law School & Professor of Law.

on the world of work and its implications for society. Current faculty co-directors Richard Freeman and HLS Professor Benjamin Sachs continue to pursue research agendas in the social sciences and legal thought that tackle pressing challenges for workers and the labor movement. A vehicle for delivering valuable lessons and sustained inquiry into the social questions of our time, the LWP seeks to build upon the heritage of the Harvard Trade Union Program.

The LWP came together at a time in which Labor Studies programs faced sustained attack. In the early 2000s, the University

of Wisconsin Madison shuttered its once legendary programs in Industrial Relations. Starting in 2004 and then for five consecutive years, California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger sought to eliminate funding for two of the nation's best Labor Studies programs at UCLA and the University of California Berkeley. Despite failing in his efforts, Schwarzenegger inspired many other politicians to step up their assaults on labor education. The Labor & Worklife Program at Harvard swam against these stormy and punishing currents, but it was propelled forward by renewing the HTUP's principles and practices. There remains the legacy of John T. Dunlop, whose problem-solving ethos has been carried on by HTUP core faculty such as David Weil. Head of the Wage & Hour Division of the U.S. Department of Labor in 2014 and then in 2017 named Dean of the Heller School for Social Policy and Management at Brandeis University, Weil produced one of the major analyses of the plight of workers in the United States, *The Fissured Workplace: Why Work Became So Bad for So Many and What Can be Done to Improve It* (Harvard University Press, 2014). Wilma Liebman, an LWP Fellow and former chair of the National Labor Relations Board, succeeded Weil as chair of the Dunlop Commission on Agricultural Labor. In his will, Dunlop left funding for the LWP to continue efforts at problem-solving on many aspects of labor. Along with the Jacob Wertheim Fellowship for the Betterment of Industrial Relationships and the Jerry Wurf Memorial Fund, the Dunlop support continues to advance scholarship and educational activity on behalf of labor.

In the first decades of the twenty-first century, the LWP developed projects and initiatives on a range of topics including labor's capital stewardship; the future of the science and engineering workforce; the societal implications of disruptive technologies such as nanotechnology, robotics, and artificial intelligence (AI); and the rise of China in the global economy and its impact on workers.

The LWP continues programs on workers and the labor movement under the following funding sources, agencies, and banners:

- The Jerry Wurf Memorial Fund -- Founded in 1982 and celebrating its 35th anniversary, the Wurf Fund was established in memory of Jerry Wurf, the

late President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). Its income is used to initiate programs and activities that "reflect Jerry Wurf's belief in the dignity of work, and his commitment to improving the quality of lives of working people...." In partnership with the LWP and AFSCME, the Wurf Fund has supported the Union Scholars Program since 2003. During the summer, the Union Scholars Program brings undergraduate juniors and seniors to Harvard in order to learn about the labor movement as well as participate in initiatives to help workers. Wurf scholarships have also assisted AFSCME labor leaders in attending the HTUP, as well as enabling government administrators to study in the Harvard Kennedy School of Government's program for Senior Executives in State and Local Government. The Jerry Wurf Memorial Forum has brought leading figures to Harvard including Sweden's Prime Minister Olof Palme, former U.S. Vice President Al Gore, historian Brigid O'Farrell, future Member of Congress Jamie Raskin, civil rights leader Reverend James Lawson, president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists William Lucy, and former executive director of Jobs with Justice Sarita Gupta.

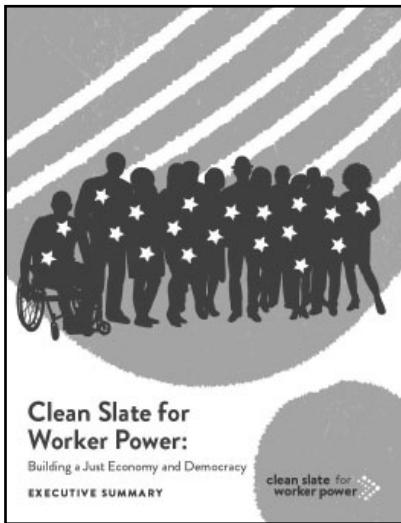
- The Payroll Fraud and Underground Economy Project -- In December 2004, the LWP issued a seminal report on the "Social and Economic Costs of Employee Misclassification in Construction" in Massachusetts. The study was one of the first of its kind in the country to analyze the impacts of the growing trend among construction and other employers to classify their workers as "independent contractors" instead of "employees." The Payroll Fraud and Underground Economy Project builds on the study from 2004 in order to provide new research approaches better able to detect the presence of classification fraud versus the legitimate use of independent contractors. It is helping to develop strategies for enforcement agencies on best practices to address payroll fraud.

- Labor Organization Innovation (LOI) Initiative -- Coordinated by Rukmini Reddy with support from the National Education Association, the LWP is confronting disruptive change for labor unions by "fundamentally rethinking the nature and operations of unions. The key is to transform, rather than reform, the institution." LOI received major momentum by the uprisings of teachers in red state USA from January to May 2018.

Dissident educational workers signaled that the old ways of confronting power could no longer stand as a model for overcoming the degradation of working conditions in many school districts throughout the land.

- **State and Local Enforcement Project** – Seeking to catalyze “state and local action to protect and advance workers’ rights,” the State and Local Enforcement Project engages government actors, State Attorneys General, and labor agencies. Led by Terri Gerstein, this project has shown pathways to helping workers even when Washington gridlock blocks the mildest of legislative remedies to the long-term erosion of worker power in the USA.

- **Clean Slate for Worker Power project** – An ambitious effort to provide a new vision and lodestar for labor law reform in the USA, the Clean Slate project has brought labor communities, practitioners, and scholars from around the globe to find a new legal architecture for industrial relations that might transform prospects for workers in the new economy. Led by LWP Executive Director Sharon Block and LWP Faculty Co-Director Benjamin Sachs, Clean Slate remains a central focus of LWP research initiatives.



The Clean Slate project explains its mission as follows:

what would labor law look like if, starting from a clean slate, it was designed to empower working people to build a truly equitable American democracy and a genuinely equitable American economy.

The project started from the premise that we face dual crises of inequality – economic and political – that spring from a single cause: the concentration

of power in the hands of a small minority. In addition, we grounded the project in two related beliefs:

that we cannot fix our crises of inequality, either economic or political, without a strong labor movement and

that we cannot have a strong labor movement without reforming labor law.

<https://www.cleanslateworkerpower.org/about>

Meanwhile, the 80th anniversary of the HTUP remains a time of transition. The program faced many disruptions from the global Covid pandemic of 2020 and 2021, though many labor leaders engaged the HTUP remotely by participating in a new series of online workshops created by HTUP director Alida Castillo on the labor movement’s response to a variety of threats to democracy and worker solidarity. In 2023, the HTUP will return to in-person programming as well as some thematic innovations in the curriculum designed to address new crises confronting workers: global pandemics, climate change, and an Age of Finance dominated by behemoths such as BlackRock, a firm with an incredible \$9 trillion portfolio under management.

Designed during World War II and the early cold war, the Harvard Trade Union Program has continued to evolve. The program’s ongoing reformation is rendering it more responsive to the changing needs of the contemporary labor movement.

John Trumpbour
Research Director,
Labor & Worklife Program at Harvard Law School