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DISSENT



GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
Kalmanovitz Initiative
for Labor and the Working Poor



IN DEFENSE OF THE PUBLIC SQUARE

May 1-2, 2015

SPEAKERS

REV. WILLIAM BARBER

Dr. William J. Barber II was born in Indianapolis in 1963, two days after the March on Washington for jobs and freedom. Today, he is president of the North Carolina NAACP and convener of the Historic Thousands on Jones Street (HKonJ) Peoples Assembly Coalition, a broad alliance of more than 140 progressive organizations and over 2 million members, which champions a 14-point anti-racism, anti-poverty, anti-war agenda. Dr. Barber and this coalition aided in the passage of the Racial Justice Act of 2009, which allowed death row inmates to appeal their sentences on the grounds of racial bias in the court system; and successfully advocated for voting reforms such as same-day registration and early voting, re-framed marriage equality as a civil rights issue and helped mobilize black churches to support a ballot initiative in 2012. In pursuit of progressive policies, and in defense of the poor, Dr. Barber also has mobilized the Forward Together Moral Monday Movement, a multi-racial, multi-generational movement of thousands, for protests at the North Carolina General Assembly and around the state. Hundreds, including Dr. Barber himself, have also engaged in non-violent civil disobedience to expose the regressive agenda of many North Carolina politicians.

Dr. Barber has served as the Executive Director of the North Carolina Human Relations Commission, as an adjunct instructor at North Carolina Wesleyan, North Carolina Central University and Duke Divinity School, and as a trustee on the boards of two colleges. He is a Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) Mel King Community Fellow for Community and Economic CoLab. Dr. Barber was re-elected to the NAACP National Board in 2011 and appointed National NAACP Chair of the Legislative Political Action Committee. Under his leadership, the NAACP developed a new 21st Century voter registration/voter participation system. In North Carolina this system registered more than 442,000 new voters and provided access to 1.5 million voters.

Dr. Barber has written one book, entitled "Preaching Through Unexpected Pain," and several articles and is currently working on his second book. He has been featured on CNN, MSNBC, the New York Times, Crisis Magazine, and has spoken, preached and lectured around the country. Dr. Barber lives in Goldsboro, where for 20 years he has pastored at Greenleaf Christian Church which itself devoted significant resources and attention to meet the needs of the surrounding community. Dr. Barber graduated Cum Laude from North Carolina Central University (NCCU) in Durham, N.C., with a B.A. in Political Science. He also earned a Master of Divinity degree from Duke University, where he was a Benjamin Mays Fellow and a Dean's scholar Doctorate from Drew University in Madison, NJ, with a concentration in Public Policy and Pastoral Care. He was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters from NC.U. In addition, North Carolina governor, Beverly Purdue, presented Dr. Barber with the Order of the Long Leaf Pine, North Carolina's highest citizenship award.

CRAIG BECKER

Craig Becker is General Counsel to the American Federation of Labor & Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). Before assuming that position, he was a Member of the National Labor Relations Board having been appointed by President Obama in March 2010 and serving until January 2012. Before joining the Board, he served as Associate General Counsel to both the Service Employees International Union and the AFL-CIO.

Becker graduated summa cum laude from Yale College in 1978 and received his J.D. in 1981 from Yale Law School where he was an Editor of the Yale Law Journal. After law school he clerked for the Honorable Donald P. Lay, Chief Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit and then became a partner in a Washington, D.C. law firm that was counsel to the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. He was a Professor of Law at the UCLA School of Law between 1989 and 1994 and has also taught at the University of Chicago and Georgetown Law Schools. He has published numerous articles on labor and employment law in scholarly journals as well as in the popular press and has argued labor and employment cases in virtually every federal court of appeals and before the United States Supreme Court.

E.J. DIONNE

E.J. Dionne, Jr. is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, a syndicated columnist for the *Washington Post*, and university professor in the Foundations of Democracy and Culture at Georgetown University. A nationally known and respected commentator on politics, Dionne appears weekly on National Public Radio and regularly on MSNBC. He is a regular contributor to NBC's *Meet the Press*. He has also appeared on *News Hour with Jim Lehrer* and other PBS programs. Dionne began his career with *New York Times*, where he spent fourteen years reporting on state and local government, national politics, and from around the world, including stints in Paris, Rome, and Beirut. In 1990, Dionne joined the *Washington Post* as a reporter, covering national politics and began writing his column in 1993. His best-selling book, *Why Americans Hate Politics*, was published in 1991. The book won the *Los Angeles Times* book prize, and was a National Book Award nominee. He is the author and editor or co-editor of a number of other books and volumes. His latest book is *Our Divided Political Heart: The Battle for the American Idea in an Age of Discontent*, published Spring 2012 by Bloomsbury USA. Dionne has received numerous awards, including the American Political Science Association's Carey McWilliams Award to honor a major journalistic contribution to the understanding of politics. Dionne grew up in Fall River, MA. He graduated summa cum laude with a B.A. from Harvard University in 1973 and received his doctorate from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes Scholar.

MARION WRIGHT EDELMAN

Marian Wright Edelman, founder and president of the Children's Defense Fund (CDF), has been an advocate for disadvantaged Americans for her entire professional life. Under her leadership, CDF has become the nation's strongest voice for children and families. The Children's Defense Fund's Leave No Child Behind® mission is to ensure every child a Healthy Start, a Head Start, a Fair Start, a Safe Start, and a Moral Start in life and successful passage to adulthood with the help of caring families and communities. Edelman, a graduate of Spelman College and Yale Law School, began her career in the mid-60s when, as the first black woman admitted to the Mississippi Bar, she directed the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund office in Jackson, Mississippi. In 1968, she moved to Washington, D.C., as counsel for the Poor People's Campaign that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. began organizing before his death. She founded the Washington Research Project, a public interest law firm and the parent body of the Children's Defense Fund. For two years she served as the Director of the Center for Law and Education at Harvard University and in 1973 began CDF. Edelman served on the Board of Trustees of Spelman College which she chaired from 1976 to 1987 and was the first woman elected by alumni as a member of the Yale University Corporation on which she served from 1971 to 1977.

Edelman has received over a hundred honorary degrees and many awards including the Albert Schweitzer Humanitarian Prize, the Heinz Award, and a MacArthur Foundation Prize Fellowship. In 2000, she received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian award, and the Robert F. Kennedy Lifetime Achievement Award for her writings. She is a board member of the Robin Hood Foundation and the Association to Benefit Children, and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the American Philosophical Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences.

MARY KAY HENRY

Mary Kay Henry serves as International President of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), which unites 2 million workers in healthcare, public and property services. Henry has devoted her life to helping North America's workers form unions and strengthen their voice at work about the quality of the goods and services they provide, and the quality of care they are able to deliver. Since joining SEIU's staff in 1979, Henry has stood side by side with nursing home workers in Fresno, CA, who fought for time to treat seniors with the dignity and respect they deserve, and suburban janitors in the Twin Cities, who wanted full-time work to support their families on a living wage. She has also worked with California state employees who sought to cut out waste and inefficiency from government, and

registered nurses in Seattle, who wanted a partnership with management to improve the cost and quality of care throughout the state.

Henry was elected to SEIU's International Executive Board in 1996 and as an International Executive Vice President in 2004. In her role as International Executive Vice President, Henry served as the union's chief healthcare strategist and led efforts to build a stronger voice for healthcare workers and enact historic healthcare reforms. More than a million healthcare workers nationwide, including registered nurses, technicians, doctors, and hospital and clinic workers are now united in SEIU Healthcare.

In 2010, Henry was unanimously elected International President and became the first woman to lead SEIU. Under her leadership, SEIU members have joined together on the job to win better wages and benefits and build better communities; while fighting for a more just society and an economy that works for all of people, not just corporations and the wealthy. Henry's commitment to confront income inequality and social injustice is embodied in the historic "Fight for 15" movement and in SEIU's continued dedication to holding politicians accountable to working families, and achieving justice for immigrants and communities across our country.

ROBERT KUTTNER

Robert Kuttner is co-founder and co-editor of *The American Prospect*, and professor at Brandeis University's Heller School. His latest book is *Debtors' Prison: The Politics of Austerity Versus Possibility*. He writes columns for *The Huffington Post*, *The Boston Globe* and the *New York Times* international edition. He has also taught at Boston University, The University of Massachusetts, the University of Oregon, and at Harvard's Institute of Politics. For most of his career, he has been an economics journalist. Kuttner is co-founder and co-editor of *The American Prospect* magazine, and is also currently a senior fellow at the think-tank Demos. He was a longtime columnist for *BusinessWeek*, and continues to write columns for *Huffington Post*, *The Boston Globe*, and *The New York Times* international edition. He was a founder of the Economic Policy Institute and serves on its board.

Kuttner is author of ten books, including the 2008 New York Times bestseller, *Obama's Challenge: American's Economic Crisis and the Power of a Transformative Presidency*. His best-known earlier book is *Everything for Sale: the Virtues and Limits of Markets* (1997). Kuttner's other writing has appeared in numerous national journals of opinion. He has contributed major articles to *The New England Journal of Medicine* as a national policy correspondent. His other positions have included national staff writer and columnist on *The Washington Post*, chief investigator of the U.S. Senate Banking Committee, executive director of President Carter's National Commission on Neighborhoods, and economics editor of *The New Republic*. Kuttner is the recipient of many honors and awards. Kuttner was educated at Oberlin College (A.B), The London School of Economics, and the University of California at Berkeley (M.A). He holds an honorary doctorate from Swarthmore College.

JEFF MADRICK

Jeff Madrick is director of the Bernard L. Schwartz Rediscovering Government Initiative at the Century Foundation, where he is a Senior Fellow; editor of *Challenge Magazine*; and visiting professor of humanities at The Cooper Union. He is a regular contributor to *The New York Review of Books*, and a former economics columnist for *The New York Times*. Madrick is the author of a number of books. His latest book, *Seven Bad Ideas*, was published in September 2014. His previous book, the best-selling *Age of Greed*, was published in 2011. His 2009 book, *The Case for Big Government*, received a 2009 PEN Galbraith Non-Fiction Award. He has written for many other national publications over the years Madrick gives many speeches and makes frequent public appearances. He has also served as a policy consultant and speech writer for Sen. Edward M. Kennedy and other U.S. legislators. Madrick is a fellow of the World Policy Institute and is a member of the board of The Center for Economic and Policy Research. From the 1970s to the 1990s, Madrick had several positions in journalism, including serving as Wall Street editor of *Money Magazine*, finance editor of *Business Week Magazine* and an NBC News reporter and commentator. His awards included an Emmy and a Page One Award.

DOUGLAS MCADAM

Doug McAdam is The Ray Lyman Wilbur Professor of Sociology at Stanford University and the former Director of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. He is the author or co-author of 18 books and some 85 other publications in the area of political sociology, with a special emphasis on race in the U.S., American politics, and the study of social movements and "contentious politics." Among his best known works are *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*, a new edition of which was published in 1999, *Freedom Summer*

(1988), which was awarded the 1990 C. Wright Mills Award as well as being a finalist for the American Sociological Association's best book prize for 1991 and *Dynamics of Contention* (2001) with Sid Tarrow and Charles Tilly. His most recent book (with Karina Kloos), and the one most relevant to the theme of the conference, is *Deeply Divided: Racial Politics and Social Movements in Postwar America*. It was published last fall. He was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2002.

JOSEPH MCCARTIN

Joseph McCartin is Director of the Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor at Georgetown University. He is an expert on U.S. labor, social and political history. His research and writing focuses on the intersection of labor organization, politics, and public policy. His current research interests concern the recent past and present state of collective bargaining in the private and public sectors. McCartin has published numerous books, including most recently: *Collision Course: Ronald Reagan, the Air Traffic Controllers, and the Strike that Changed America* that traces the decline of organized labor in the U.S. since the 1960s, using the 1981 PATCO strike of air traffic controllers as its narrative focus. Other books include *American Labor: A Documentary Collection* (with Melvyn Dubofsky) and *Labor's Great War: The Struggle for Industrial Democracy and the Origins of Modern American Labor Relations, 1912-21*. McCartin has also published numerous articles including: "Public Sector Labor Under Assault: How to Combat the Scapegoating of Organized Labor,"; "Context Matters More: A Response to Joe Burns' 'Labor's Economic Weapons: Learning from Labor History'"; "Beyond Human Rights: Understanding and Addressing the Attack on Public Sector Unions"; "Details, Details: Unions, Affirmative Action, and the Deslippe Thesis"; "Convenient Scapegoats: Public Workers Under Assault." McCartin has a Ph.D. from the State University of New York at Binghamton, an M.A. from the State University of New York at Binghamton, and an A.B. College of the Holy Cross in History

DEBORAH MEIER

Deborah Meier is senior scholar at New York University's Steinhardt School of Education. She has spent more than four decades working in public education as a teacher, principal, writer, advocate, and ranks among the most acclaimed leaders of the school reform movement in the U.S. She started her work as an early childhood teacher in Chicago after graduating from the U of Chicago.

Meier's family moved to NYC in the late 60s where she worked as a Kindergarten teacher in Central Harlem. For the next 20 years, Meier helped revitalize public schools in New York City's East Harlem District 4. In 1974, she founded Central Park Elementary School, a highly successful public school of choice that served predominantly local African American and Hispanic families. During the next dozen years, Meier opened two other Central Park elementary schools in District 4 as well as an acclaimed secondary school, while also supporting and directing the development of similar schools throughout NYC. During the 90s she also served as an Urban Fellow at the Annenberg Institute. In 1995 Meier moved to Boston to start Mission Hill, a K-8 school in Roxbury. These schools were part of a network Meier created that helped initiate new small schools, both elementary and secondary, both in NYC and Boston. She also helped found the Coalition of Essential Schools, in the 1980s, under the leadership of Ted Sizer. At Coalition schools, Meier helped foster democratic community, giving teachers greater autonomy in the running of a school, giving parents a voice in what happens to their children in schools, and promoting intergenerational connections. She has always been a proponent of active, project-based learning, and of graduation through a series of exhibitions of high quality work. Meier is the author of many books and articles, including *The Power of Their Ideas, Lessons to America from a Small School in Harlem, and In Schools we Trust*. She is an outspoken critic of state-mandated curriculum and high stakes standardized testing and has written extensively on their unreliability and class/race biases. She is on the board of the Coalition of Essential Schools, FairTest, Save Our Schools, Center for Collaborative Education and the Association for Union Democracy. She is also on the editorial board of *The Nation*, *The Harvard Education Letter*, and *Dissent* magazines. In 1987 she received a MacArthur "genius" Award for her work in public education.

PEDRO NOGUERA

Pedro Noguera is the Peter L. Agnew Professor of Education at New York University. Noguera is a sociologist whose scholarship and research focuses on the ways in which schools are influenced by social and economic conditions, as well as by demographic trends in local, regional and global contexts. Noguera holds faculty appointments in the departments of Teaching and Learning and Humanities and Social Sciences at the Steinhardt School of Culture, Education and Development. He also serves as an affiliated faculty member in NYU's Department of Sociology. Noguera is the Executive Director of the Metropolitan Center for Research on Equity and the Transformation of

Schools. From 2008-2011, he was an appointee of the Governor of New York to the State University of New York (SUNY) Board of Trustees and in 2014 he was elected to the National Academy of Education.

Noguera received his bachelors' degree in Sociology and History and a teaching credential from Brown University in 1981, his masters' degree in Sociology from Brown in 1982 and his doctorate in Sociology from the University of California at Berkeley in 1989. He was a classroom teacher in public schools in Providence, RI and Oakland, CA and continues to work with schools nationally and internationally as a researcher and advisor. He has held tenured faculty appointments at the Harvard Graduate School of Education (2000-2003), where he was named the Judith K. Dimon Professor of Communities and Schools and at the University of California, Berkeley (1990-2000), where he was also the Director of the Institute for the Study of Social Change.

Noguera has published over 200 research and scholarly articles, monographs, research reports and editorials on topics such as urban school reform, education policy, conditions that promote student achievement, the role of education in community development, youth violence, and race and ethnic relations in American society. He is the author of several books on public education, race, equity and research, including *The Trouble With Black Boys...and Other Reflections on Race, Equity and the Future of Public Education* (Wiley and Sons, 2008), and *Creating the Opportunity to Learn: Moving from Research to Practice to Close the Achievement Gap* with A. Wade Boykin (ASCD, 2011). His most recent book is *Schooling for Resilience: Improving the Life Trajectories of African American and Latino Boys* (Harvard Education Press 2014) with Edward Fergus and Margary Martin. Noguera appears as a regular commentator on educational and has received numerous awards.

JOHN POWELL

John Powell is a Professor of Law, a Professor of African American Studies and Ethnic Studies, University of California, Berkeley and holds the Robert D. Haas Chancellor's Chair in Equity and Inclusion and is Director of the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society Powell is an internationally recognized expert in the areas of civil rights and civil liberties and a wide range of issues including race, structural racism, ethnicity, housing, poverty, and democracy. He is the Executive Director of the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society, which supports research to generate specific prescriptions for changes in policy and practice that address disparities related to race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, disability, and socioeconomics in California and nationwide. He was recently the Executive Director of the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity at The Ohio State University and held the Gregory H. Williams Chair in Civil Rights & Civil Liberties at the Moritz College of Law.

Powell has written extensively on a wide variety of issues including structural racism, racial justice and regionalism, and concentrated poverty and urban sprawl. He is the author of several books, including his most recent work, *Racing to Justice: Transforming our Concepts of Self and Other to Build an Inclusive Society*. Previously, Powell founded and directed the Institute on Race and Poverty at the University of Minnesota. He also served as Director of Legal Services in Miami, Florida and was National Legal Director of the American Civil Liberties Union. He is one of the co-founders of the Poverty & Race Research Action Council and serves on the board of several national organizations. Powell has taught at numerous law schools including Harvard and Columbia University.

LEE SAUNDERS

Lee Saunders is the president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), AFL-CIO, which represents 1.6 million members. He was elected at the union's 40th International Convention in June 2012. Saunders, the first African American to serve as AFSCME's president, was previously elected secretary-treasurer at the union's 39th International Convention in July 2010.

Saunders grew up in a union household in Cleveland, Ohio. This inspired him to join the Ohio Civil Service Employees Association (OCSEA) when he began working for the Ohio Bureau of Employment Services in 1975. Saunders began his career with AFSCME in 1978 as a labor economist. He has served as assistant director of Research and Collective Bargaining Services, director of Community Action and deputy director of Organizing and Field Services. Saunders also served as executive assistant to the president of AFSCME and was responsible for managing what is acknowledged to be one of the most effective political and legislative operations in the history of the American labor movement. Building on ideas generated by local unions, Saunders has championed AFSCME's Next Wave initiative to encourage and develop the next generation of union leadership. He has also developed and supported programs that foster diversity and promote increased member participation within the union.

Saunders has served as administrator of a number of AFSCME councils and large local unions across the country. For nearly four years, he served as administrator of AFSCME District Council 37, New York City's largest public employee union, representing 125,000 members. In that capacity, he restored the fiscal health, integrity and good name of the council and its 56 affiliated local unions. He serves as a Vice president of the AFL-CIO Executive Council; he also serves as chair of its Political Committee. He is an at-large member of the Democratic National Committee, treasurer of the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, president of Working America, and chairman of the board of Americans United for Change. Saunders received a Master of Arts degree from Ohio State University in 1974, a year after earning his Bachelor of Arts degree from Ohio University. In 2002, the College of New Rochelle awarded him an honorary doctorate degree in Humane Letters.

TINA TRUJILLO

Tina Trujillo is an Assistant Professor at the University of California, Berkeley's Graduate School of Education. She earned her Ph.D. in Education from UCLA and her M.A. in Education from the University of Colorado, Boulder. She is a former urban public school teacher, school reform coach, and educational evaluator. Trujillo uses tools from political science and critical policy studies to study the political dimensions of urban district reform, the instructional and democratic consequences of policies and reforms for students of color and English Learners, and trends in urban educational leadership. Her recent research examines the instructional and political implications of private intermediary organizations as technical assistance providers for public school districts. Another project looks at the ways in which Teach For America is defining the project to redress educational equity, and how the organization influences patterns in school leadership, reform, and policy. She also writes about the implications of federal accountability policies for the provision of democratic, equitable schooling. Her work is published in a range of journals, including the *American Educational Research Journal*, *Teachers College Record*, *Educational Policy*, *Journal of Educational Administration*, and *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*.

RANDI WEINGARTEN

Randi Weingarten is president of the 1.6 million-member American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, which represents teachers; paraprofessionals and school-related personnel; higher education faculty and staff; nurses and other healthcare professionals; local, state and federal government employees; and early childhood educators. She is also president of the Albert Shanker Institute. Prior to her election as AFT president, Weingarten served for 12 years as president of the United Federation of Teachers, representing approximately 200,000 educators in the New York City public school system, as well as home child care providers and other workers in health, law and education

In 2012-13, Weingarten served on an education reform commission convened by New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo, which made a series of recommendations to improve teaching and learning. She was appointed to the Equity and Excellence Commission, a federal advisory committee chartered by Congress to examine and make recommendations concerning the disparities in educational opportunities that give rise to the achievement gap. For 10 years, while president of the UFT, Weingarten chaired New York City's Municipal Labor Committee, an umbrella organization for the city's 100-plus public sector unions, including those representing higher education and other public service employees. As chair of the MLC, she coordinated labor negotiations and bargaining for benefits on behalf of the MLC unions' 365,000 members.

From 1986 to 1998, Weingarten served as counsel to UFT president Sandra Feldman, taking a lead role in contract negotiations and enforcement. A teacher of history at Clara Barton High School in Brooklyn's Crown Heights neighborhood from 1991 to 1997, Weingarten helped her students win several state and national awards debating constitutional issues. Weingarten's column "What Matters Most" appears in the *New York Times*. You can follow her on Twitter at @rweingarten or on Facebook. Weingarten holds degrees from Cornell University's School of Industrial and Labor Relations and the Cardozo School of Law.