





# THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT AT A CROSSROADS:

New Thinking, New Organizing, New Strategies

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# **PANELISTS**

### PAUL BOOTH

Paul Booth is executive assistant to the President at the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). He was an activist and leader in the early student movement. Before joining AFSCME, he was the research director for the United Packinghouse Workers. Booth also worked with Saul Alinsky to form Citizens Action Program. He joined AFSCME in 1974 as the International union representative for Illinois. He helped organize the Illinois state employees there, a campaign that led to the founding of Council 31. He worked for Council 31 and then returned to the International union as an International union area director. In 1988, Booth became AFSCME's organizing director. He laid the foundation for AFSCME-United Nurses of America and AFSCME Corrections United. Booth then became assistant, and later executive assistant, to the president. He has served as AFSCME's liaison to the American labor movement and aided in the foundation of Jobs with Justice and American Rights at Work.

# MARK BRENNER

Mark Brenner is Director of Labor Notes, a 35 year old project dedicated to "putting the movement back in the labor movement. He has written widely on labor organizing, union democracy, and economic policy, regularly appearing as a commentator on media outlets such as FOX News, CNBC, Al Jazeera, NPR, and Pacifica. Before joining the staff at Labor Notes, he spent a decade working with living wage campaigns around the country, and is co-author of the books *A Measure* of Fairness, and How to Jump Start Your Union: Lessons from the Chicago Teachers. Brenner joined the staff in September 2005. Before coming to Labor Notes, he worked at the University of Massachusetts, where he spent several years working with living wage campaigns around the country, as well as playing a leading role in his union. Mark currently covers SEIU, longshoremen, and logistics workers. He works out the East Coast office in Brooklyn.

# **ELIZABETH BUNN**

Elizabeth Bunn has been Director of Organizing for the AFL-CIO since February 2010. Prior to coming to the AFL-CIO, she was Secretary-Treasurer of the International Union, UAW, the highest post held by a woman in UAW history. In additional to her financial duties, Bunn ran the UAW's non-manufacturing organizing initiatives. In that capacity, she secured bargaining rights for more than 18,000 academic student employees at both public and private universities, supervised the successful representation elections of thousands of gaming employees. She was also responsible for the organizing and bargaining of thousands of public employees. As Organizing Director of the AFL-CIO, she has worked with affiliated unions to build their organizing capacity. Under the leadership of President Trumka, the Organizing Department has accelerated global campaign initiatives, partnering with the global labor movement to counteract the power of multi-national corporations and to address the effects of the unlimited mobility of capital. The Department has also strengthened the federation's relationships with community allies in support of organizing and has worked to assist the hundreds of thousands of workers outside the scope of traditional labor laws as they engage in self-organizing to build power in creative, non-traditional ways. Ms. Bunn is a member of the National Writers' Union, Local 1981, UAW.

### LEO CASEY

Leo Casey is the Executive Director of the Albert Shanker Institute. Previously he served as Vice President from Academic High Schools for the United Federation of Teachers (UFT). After a stint in political organizing, Casey began his teaching career at Clara Barton High School in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn. He has a long history of union involvement, including work as a United Farm Worker's organizer and participation in the first unionization drive of graduate teaching assistants in Canada and served as Vice President of the Graduate Student Union at the University of Toronto and on the executive of the Ontario Federation of Students. Casey has won several awards for his teaching, and was named national Social Studies Teacher of the Year for the *American Teacher Awards* in 1992.

#### **CATHERINE FISK**

Catherine Fisk is the Chancellor's Professor of Law and Co-Director, Center in Law, Society and Culture at the University of California at Irvine School of Law. Fisk teaches and writes on the law of the workplace, legal history, civil rights and the legal profession. She is the author of dozens of articles and four books, including the prize-winning *Working Knowledge: Employee Innovation and the Rise of the Corporate Intellectual Property, 1800-1930*, and *Labor Law in the Contemporary Workplace*. Her research focuses on workers at both the high end and the low end of the wage spectrum. She has written on union organizing among low-wage and immigrant workers, among other issues. Prior to joining the founding faculty of UC Irvine School of Law, Fisk was a chaired professor at Duke Law School, and was on the faculty of the University of Southern California Gould School of Law and Loyola Law School in Los Angeles.

#### **TEFERE GEBRE**

Tefere Gebre is the Executive Vice President of the AFL-CIO. From 1997 to 1999, He was Director of Governmental Relation for Laborers Local 270. He has also worked for the statewide labor movement when he served as the Southern California Political Director of the California Labor Federation. He served as the Executive Director of Frontlash, the youth and college arm of the AFL-CIO. After serving as Political Director of the Orange County Labor Federation he became Executive Director for the federation in 2008, doubling the political capacity of the labor movement in Orange County. In 2008 and every year thereafter, the federation was honored as one of the highest performing labor councils and singled out as an "agent for change" by the California Labor Federation. In 2012, the federation created and took on the first ever, ten week leader initiative program at local schools to educate parents and students on city government, boards and commissions, public speaking, civic engagement and policy change while also giving participants an understanding that work connects us all. Before joining the labor movement, Tefere worked for then-Speaker of the California State Assembly, Willie L. Brown Jr. He was the first African American and first immigrant elected to lead the California Young Democrats.

### **MARCELLE GRAIR**

Marcelle Grair, a native of Cleveland, Ohio and 2013 graduate of Spelman College in Atlanta, is a National Organizer with United Students Against Sweastshops (USAS). During her time at Spelman, she was a Regional Organizer for USAS and helped start a USAS chapter in the Atlanta University Center. As a Regional Organizer, she worked alongside Georgia unions and built student groups to help support Georgia school workers fighting to get the Georgia Department of Labor to reinstate unemployment benefits. Marcelle coordinates USAS' domestic campaigns including: new organizing, contract fights, living wage, anti-privatization, and solidarity campaigns such as the Fast Food Campaign.

#### STEVEN GREENHOUSE

At the end of 2014, Steven Greenhouse closed his 31-year reporting career at the New York Times. For 19 of those years, he was labor and workplace reporter. He began at the Times in 1983 as a business reporter, covering the steel industry. He later served as the paper's Midwest business correspondent, based in Chicago, and then as its European economics correspondent, based in Paris, from 1987 to 1992, covering everything from the European Union to the downfall of Communism in Eastern Europe. He next covered economics in the Washington Bureau for two years and then the State Department and diplomacy for two years. Greenhouse began covering labor in 1996, writing about a range of subjects including child labor, the horrible housing conditions for farm workers, Walmart's policy of "locking in" its workers at night, and industrial disasters in Bangladesh that killed hundreds of workers. He has won several journalism prizes and is the author of "The Big Squeeze: Tough Times for the American Worker", that won the Sidney Hillman Prize for Best Nonfiction Book in 2009. He is working on a second book.

# **PRASI GUPTA**

Prasi Gupta is the Deputy Director of the National Guestworker Alliance, where he co-leads national campaigns on labor and human rights for guestworkers and for the broader contingent workforce. The National Guestworker Alliance (NGA) is a membership-based organization dedicated to defending the rights of guestworkers and all workers in guestworker industries, and for just migration and work. Previously, Gupta was the Public Policy and Civic Engagement Fellow for the San Francisco Foundation, where he managed over \$1 million in grants to Bay Area civic activist organizations. For more

than 11 years, he served the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees International Union (AFSCME) in different capacities, including as Western Region Education Coordinator for the union's Education and Leadership Training department. He had begun his career as a union organizer, spending years leading three state wide organizing campaigns with the University of Maryland workers, New Mexico state employees, and family child care providers in California. He also worked as a fellow for the United States Student Association (USSA) and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR) before becoming an organizer for the national office of Jobs with Justice. He serves on the board of Mobilize the Immigrant Vote.

# **SARITA GUPTA**

Sarita Gupta is the executive director of Jobs With Justice. She is a nationally recognized expert on the economic and political issues affecting working people across all industries, particularly low-wage workers. Gupta was named one of the 19 Young Activists Changing America by Bill Moyers and has appeared in *The Wall Street Journal, Bloomberg, Politico*, and *The Hill*, as well as on MSNBC, the former Current TV (now Al Jazeera America), and several international television news programs. She writes regularly for *The Huffington Post, The Hill*, and Bill Moyers. Gupta began her career as a community activist and grassroots organizer and was president of the United States Student Association. She has held several leadership positions at Chicago Jobs With Justice and with the national Jobs With Justice organization, Gupta also serves as co-director of Caring Across Generations, a national coalition of 200 advocacy organizations working together for quality care and support and a dignified quality of life for all Americans. She also serves on several boards of directors for progressive groups and as received a number of achievement awards.

### **SARA HOROWITZ**

Sara Horowitz is founder and Executive Director of Freelancers Union – and CEO of the social-purpose Freelancers Insurance Company (FIC). A MacArthur Foundation "Genius" fellow, she has been a leading voice for the emerging economy, recognizing the vital role independent workers play in our networked, interconnected world. Today, about one-third of the workforce are 'independent workers.' With a membership of more than a quarter million nationwide, Freelancers Union is building a new form of unionism through creative, cooperative, market-based solutions to pressing social problems. She has been recognized for her achievements by a wide variety of organizations. In 1995, she founded the nonprofit Working Today, which brings freelancers together to create power in markets and in politics. That led to the creation of the nonprofit Freelancers Union in 2003, which promotes the needs of the independent workforce through advocacy, education, and services. In 2008, Horowitz launched FIC, a social-purpose business wholly owned by Freelancers Union, whose mission it is to provide independent workers with high-quality, affordable, and portable health insurance. FIC now insures close to 25,000 New Yorkers with revenues approaching \$100 million. FIC is a Certified B Corporation™, having met high standards of social and environmental performance, transparency, and accountability. Horowitz has appeared in *The New York Times, Wall Street Journal, The Economist, Wired,* and *Fast Company*; PBS's *NOW* and *NewsHour*; and National Public Radio's *Talk of the Nation* and *All Things Considered*.

### **GERRY HUDSON**

Gerry Hudson has been the International Executive Vice President of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) since 2004. He came to SEIU in 1978 from the Hebrew Home for the Aged in Riverdale, N.Y., where he was a member of SEIU Local 144. Elected as executive vice president for the former-District 1199 in 1989, Hudson spent more than a dozen years supervising 1199 New York's political action, education, publications, and cultural affairs departments. During his tenure with 1199NY, Hudson coordinated the merger of the 30,000-member Local 144 into SEIU/1199. He also founded the 1199 School for Social Change -- a former alternative school in the Bronx -- and served in a variety of other union capacities. Hudson also leads SEIU's, political program. Earlier in his career, he was political director of the New York State Democratic Party and helped lead the union's campaigns in support of Jesse Jackson's presidential efforts in New York and the successful New York City mayoral campaign of David Dinkins. He played an instrumental role in the election of H. Carl McCall, the first African American controller in New York State.

# RICHARD D. KAHLENBERG

Richard D. Kahlenberg has been called "the intellectual father of the economic integration movement" in K-12 schooling, and "arguably the nation's chief proponent of class-based affirmative action in higher education admissions." He is also an authority on teachers' unions, private school vouchers, charter schools, turnaround school efforts, labor organizing and inequality in higher education. Kahlenberg is the author of six books, including: Why Labor Organizing Should Be a Civil Right: Rebuilding a Middle-Class Democracy by Enhancing Worker Voice (with Moshe Marvit) and Tough Liberal: Albert Shanker and the Battles Over Schools, Unions, Race and Democracy. Kahlenberg also is the editor of ten Century Foundation books. His articles have been published in The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Wall Street Journal, The New Republic, and elsewhere. He has appeared on ABC, CBS, CNN, FOX, C-SPAN, MSNBC, and NPR. Previously, Kahlenberg was a Fellow at the Center for National Policy, a visiting associate professor of constitutional law at George Washington University, and a legislative assistant to Senator Charles S. Robb (D-VA). He serves on the advisory board of the Pell

Institute, the Albert Shanker Institute and the Research Advisory Panel of the National Coalition for School Diversity. He is the winner of the William A. Kaplin Award for Excellence in Higher Education Law and Policy Scholarship.

#### ALEXANDRA LESCAZE

Alexandra Lescaze is the Executive Director of the Sidney Hillman Foundation whose programs honor and foster excellence in journalism in service of the common good. She is also an award-winning documentary filmmaker. Her first film, <u>Where Do You Stand? Stories from An American Mill</u>, told the story of the 25-year effort of North Carolina textile workers to organize a union in the face of modernization and globalization. Her latest film, <u>All of Me</u>, about a group of women who undergo weight-loss surgery, premiered on PBS' *Independent Lens* in 2014.

# **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 current research interests concern the recent past and present state of collective bargaining in the private and public sectors. He teaches courses in 20th Century U.S. Labor History, U.S. since 1945, America Between the Wars, Modern U.S. State and Society, and 20th Century U.S. Social History. 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."

#### HAROLD MEYERSON

Since August of 2002, Harold Meyerson has been Editor-at-Large of *The American Prospect*, the Washington-based magazine founded by Robert Reich, Robert Kuttner and Paul Starr in 1990. He is one of the magazine's chief political writers and editors. He joined the *Prospect* in August 2001 as Executive Editor. In March of 2003, Meyerson became a regular *Washington Post* op-ed columnist. His weekly column usually appears on Wednesdays, and is reprinted in numerous newspapers in the U.S. and abroad. Meyerson was also Columnist-at-Large for the *L.A. Weekly*, the nation's largest metropolitan weekly, where he served as executive editor from 1989 through 2001. Over the years, his *Weekly* column has won numerous awards. Meyerson's articles on politics, labor, the economy, foreign policy and American culture have also appeared in *The New Yorker, The Atlantic, The New Republic, The Nation, The New Statesman;* the op-ed, commentary and book review sections of *The New York Times* and *The Los Angeles Times*, and in many other publications. He is a member of the editorial board of *Dissent.* In 1987-8, he was a regular commentator in *The Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, and from the late '70s through the mid-'80s, he was a political consultant for a range of progressive causes and candidates. From 1991 through 1995, Meyerson hosted the weekly show "Real Politics" on radio station KCRW. He is a frequent guest on television and radio talk shows. Meyerson sits on the board of the Albert Shanker Institute.

### KAREN NUSSBAUM

Karen Nussbaum currently heads Working America, the community affairs affiliate of the AFL-CIO. She is an activist, labor leader, and founder of 9to5, a pioneering labor organization for female clerical workers. She also served as Director of the Women's Bureau of the Labor Department during the Clinton Administration, and as the head of the Working Women's Department of the AFL-CIO from 1996-2001. Nussbaum dropped out of the University of Chicago after a year and a half in order to move to Boston and devote herself to the anti-Vietnam movement. During this time she began supporting herself as a clerical worker at Harvard University, an experience that opened her eyes to the inequities and privations faced by middle and lower income working women throughout the U.S. By 1973, she and several colleagues had formed "9to5," an organization that sought to address these issues and forged a union for female office workers in 1975. In contrast to many labor organizations, 9to5 focused on the plight of "mainstream working women," many of whom were performing the same work as men but for lower pay. Within a few years the organization had gained national attention and, in 1981, it joined with the SEIU to form a partnership called District 925. Nussbaum served as director of District 925 from 1981 to 1993 when she stepped down to join the Clinton Administration. She held the position of director of the Department of Labor Women's Issues—the highest ranking position devoted to women's issues in the government—for three years before joining the AFL-CIO.

### **THOMAS E. PEREZ**

Thomas E. Perez is U.S. Secretary of Labor. Prior to being sworn in Labor Secretary in July, 2013, he was assistant attorney general for civil rights at the U.S. Department of Justice, leading the same division where he worked for a decade as a career federal employee beginning in the late 1980s. From 2002 until 2006, he was a member of the Montgomery County Council. He was later appointed secretary of Maryland's Department of Labor, Licensing and Regulation. He was a law professor for six years at the University Of Maryland School Of Law and was a part-time professor at the George Washington School of Public Health.

# MARY CATHRYN RICKER

Mary Cathryn Ricker has been the executive vice president of the American Federation of Teachers since 2014. Ricker served as president of the Saint Paul (Minn.) Federation of Teachers (SPFT) since 2005, as an AFT vice president since 2012, and a member of the AFT K-12 Teachers program and policy council since 2006. As president of the SPFT, Ricker has championed innovative, teacher-built solutions that improve teaching and learning as well as strengthen public education. In addition to being a National Board Certified middle school English teacher, Ricker serves on the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards board of directors. Her teaching and leadership skills have been recognized with a number of other honors. Ricker has taught in classrooms in St. Cloud and Saint Paul, Minn.; Camas, Wash.; and Seoul, South Korea. She also represented the AFT and the SPFT abroad in Finland, Germany, Mexico and the Middle East. Ricker serves on the Education Minnesota governing board and is the past president of the Education Minnesota Foundation for Teaching and Learning. She has served as a member of the boards of TakeAction Minnesota, the Saint Paul Regional Labor Federation, the Saint Paul Public Schools Foundation and the Twin Cities Generation Next. In 2012, Ricker was selected to co-chair the Minnesota Department of Education Teacher Evaluation Work Group, and she has served on the department's Education Finance Working Group since 2011.

### **DAVID ROLF**

David Rolf is the President of SEIU 775, the fastest growing union in the Northwest representing home care and nursing home workers in Washington state and Montana. He has led some of the largest organizing efforts since the 1930s. From 1995-1999 he led the successful organization of 75,000 home care aides in Los Angeles. He led the historic campaigns to win a \$15 living wage ordinance in SeaTac in 2013 and for a citywide \$15 minimum wage in Seattle in 2014. The *American Prospect* calls him "the most successful union organizer of the last 15 years." Since founding SEIU 775 in 2002, Rolf has led its growth from 1,600 to 43,000, He is the founder and Chair of the SEIU Healthcare Training Partnership, a 501 (c) (3) school that enrolls 40,000 students a year in basic and continuing education programs leading to the Certified Home Care Aide credential as well as advanced apprenticeship programs; it is the largest long-term care sector workforce development institution in the country. He was founder and Chair of the SEIU 775 Health Benefits Trust, which provides health benefits to tens of thousands of home care aides in Washington State and Montana. Rolf is an International Vice President of the Service Employees International Union and serves on many SEIU committees. He is also chair of the SEIU Home Care Council, representing half a million home care workers throughout the U.S. and Canada. Rolf has served on numerous governmental boards, committees and advisory bodies as an appointed advisor to elected political leaders. He is the author of recent articles on the need for labor innovation that have appeared in *Democracy Journal*, the *American Prospect, Spotlight on Poverty and Prosperity*, the *Aspen Journal of Ideas*, and the *Nation*.

# **SEJAL PARIKH**

Sejal Parikh has served as Working Washington's fast food campaign director since the first Seattle fast food strikes. In that role, she was responsible for coordinating strategic mobilization, policy, and communications efforts which culminated in the historic vote to pass the nation's first citywide \$15 minimum wage law. She was also closely involved with Working Washington's landmark effort to organize workers and raise standards at Sea-Tac Airport. Previously, Sejal led corporate accountability campaigns which helped close a state tax loophole benefitting JP Morgan Chase, and pressured Amazon to drop out of ALEC and improve working conditions at its warehouses. Before joining Working Washington, Sejal developed policy that expanded health care access for homecare workers in Montana, and provided volunteer legislative support for a national cancer advocacy group.

# **DAN SCHLADEMAN**

Dan Schlademan is Director of Making Change at Walmart, UFCW, an innovative global campaign to hold the largest employer in the world accountable to its workers and communities. MCAW plays a key role in supporting the Organization United for Respect @ Walmart (OUR Walmart), which is the national organization being built by Walmart workers.. He has been a labor organizer for more than 20 years. A pioneer in developing and field-testing new labor organizing strategies, Schlademan has led some of the labor movement's most successful organizing campaigns of the past decade. Earlier, Schlademan led organizing and member engagement strategies in several roles at SEIU Local 1, the largest property services union in the Midwest. As a Vice President and Organizing Director, Schlademan helped thousands of once lowwage property service workers in suburban Chicago in winning their first union contract after a successful two-week strike

in 2000. As the director of the Houston Justice for Janitors campaign, Schlademan led one of the most successful large-scale union organizing drives in the South in recent years. Confronting a right-to-work environment and establishing rights for immigrant workers, many who are undocumented, Schlademan helped workers win union representation, healthcare and better jobs for more than 5,000 janitors after a successful four-week strike. At the start of his career, Schlademan worked for the Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

### **IESSICA SMITH**

Jessica Smith, Chief of Staff for the American Federation of Teachers, is the Assistant to the President for the Research and Strategic Initiatives Department; she joined the American Federation of Teachers staff in May 2004. From 2004 – 2012, Jessica worked as a deputy director in the AFT Organization and Field Services Department. Prior to joining the AFT staff, she worked for the Seafarers International Union for 17 years.

#### **CRISTIAN TZINTZUN**

Cristina Tzintzún is the Executive Director of Workers Defense Project (WDP), a statewide, membership-based workers' rights organization that is winning better working conditions for Texans. At WDP, Tzintzún has spearheaded efforts to ensure safe and dignified jobs for the nearly 900,000 construction workers that labor in the state. Her work has led to a federal investigation by OSHA into Texas' deadly construction industry, the passage a statewide wage theft law, and better, safer jobs for thousands of low-wage workers in Austin and Travis County. She has been named "Hero of the New South" by Southern Living Magazine and won the national Trabajadora Community Leader award from the National Labor Council for Latin American Advancement. Her work has been covered in *the New York Times, National Public Radio, Univision*, and *USA Today*.

# **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. The AFT champions fairness; democracy; economic opportunity; and high-quality public education, healthcare and public services for students, their families and communities. 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.

### **RICH YESELSON**

For 23 years, Rich Yeselson worked as a strategic researcher and campaigner for, among others, the Industrial Union Dept. of the AFL-CIO, UNITE HERE, and Change to Win. Among the campaigns he worked on was the Steelworker's winning fight against Ravenswood Aluminum, then controlled by the infamous fugitive from American justice, Marc Rich. Since 2012, Yeselson has been a free lance writer and been interviewed regarding labor, history, and politics for a number of publications including *The American Prospect, The New Republic, Salon, Dissent, The Nation, Bloomberg View* and *Democracy*. His 2013 essay for *Democracy*, "Fortress Unionism" was widely discussed, admired, and reviled in labor circles.