

# BUILDING BRIDGES

Newsletter of The Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies • University of Washington • Volume 9 • Fall 2002

## MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIR

— *Michael Honey*

The Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies' annual gathering this October comes at a critical time. War or peace, repression or freedom to speak and organize, impoverishment or progress, hang in the balance.

As Georgetown University Law Professor David Cole explained at an all-campus conference we helped to sponsor last spring (see article, page 4), the Bush Administration's denial of civil liberties in its war on terror may also undermine the right of workers to negotiate freely, and to strike if necessary. While Harry Bridges' International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) struggles to maintain union jobs and benefits on the waterfront, ship owners and their business and government allies want to use the "war" to weaken this powerful union. Solidarity with the ILWU remains critical to union survival (See Michael Honey's *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* op-ed piece, page 9).

Corporations everywhere are using economic hard times to demand more "efficiency" and "competitiveness," which means more profits at workers' expense. Like the longshore workers

on the docks, workers in the International Association of Machinists are in a battle with Boeing, which has moved headquarters from Seattle to Chicago and terminated some 30,000 Puget Sound employees. It now wants to outsource even more of its jobs to non-union workers and to pay union workers fewer pension and health care benefits. Solidarity with Boeing workers also remains a watchword for unions in the Pacific Northwest.

Those of us who work for wages may be separated by workplace and professional boundaries, but the state budget crisis illustrates how all our fates are tied together. Public employees, like other workers and consumers, are caught in the whiplash of the nation's disordered priorities. A dysfunctional system of tax cuts for the wealthy and increased military spending, combined with a loss of federal funds for social needs, has shifted heavy tax burdens to workers and state governments. This economy for the rich has nearly decimated higher education. State workers and public employees, like workers in the private sector, are in a difficult fight for the right to organize for better wages and working conditions.

University faculty and graduate students, underpaid home health care workers, and all state employees gained new bargaining rights as the result of union lobbying and laws passed in the Washington legislature last year (see article, page 15). Although we

## Annual Awards Banquet

The Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies will host its Annual Awards Banquet, announcing scholarships, research grants, and prizes for students who have shown a commitment to labor studies. In a spirit of all-campus fellowship, the Center invites all campus faculty, staff, and students to participate and to enjoy food, refreshments, presentations, and entertainment!

**Friday, October 11  
5:30–7:30 PM  
UW Faculty Club**

serve the public, university employees do not abandon our rights to organize or improve our conditions when we walk on campus. Along with our annual party, this year the HBCLS is sponsoring a faculty seminar and conference for all university workers to discuss the status of unions on campus.

We also continue to emphasize, as Harry Bridges did, that the fate of union rights and civil liberties is tied to the battle against racism and discrimination in all its forms. Our Spring Speaker Series, on crossing racial, ethnic, gender, and national boundaries to build strong labor and social justice movements, drew good crowds. The historic struggle for the right to organize, linked to the crucial framework of diversity and inclusion, will be the theme of the Pacific Northwest Labor History Association's annual conference on May 2–4, 2003 (see article, page 14).

In cooperation with the PNLHA,  
*continued on page 2* ➤



*From left; Margaret Levi, Bridges Chair Emeritus; Michael Honey, Bridges Chair; and David Olson, Bridges Chair Emeritus at the ILWU rally*

➤ *continued from page 1*

we will feature one of the most vital labor scholars of our era, Yale Professor Emeritus David Montgomery, in major lectures in Seattle and Tacoma on the history of struggles by U.S. workers to organize. The Montgomery lectures continue a long HBCLS tradition of bringing renowned labor scholars to the three campuses of the University of Washington. The work of the many UW scholars associated with the

*We also continue to emphasize, as Harry Bridges did, that the fate of union rights and civil liberties is tied to the battle against racism and discrimination in all its forms.*

HBCLS also continues to produce top-notch, prize-winning studies of value to the world community of labor studies. Both UW and visiting faculty papers are available through our Center (see a listing of Working Papers and Occasional Papers on the HBCLS Web site).

It remains up to us to continue involving young people and students intellectually and alerting them to the challenges before us all. A number of students will receive awards at this year's annual event, as they do annually. These include the Martin and Anne Jugum Scholarships and student paper prizes.

Through the generous donation of Michael Sweeney, we have also begun another new scholarship for students interested in labor studies.

Through our scholarly work and our relationships with students, unions, and the community, we continue promoting labor studies in a way that responds to the demands of the present while honoring our history. This makes labor studies

a political field of study, as it should be. Scholarship can become marginalized when scholars become too detached or fail to connect particular research to the larger picture. What makes labor studies nearly unique in academia is that it combines wide-ranging and rigorous scholarship with close attachments to social justice movements.

That is why people like Alice McGrath, Jean Gundlach, and many other donors place their hard-earned savings into the Harry Bridges endowment. We currently have the only labor studies chair in the U.S. privately endowed by donations of individual workers and labor supporters. State funding goes to business schools at every campus. Yet the only state-funded Labor Center, at Evergreen State College, with which we proudly work, gets little state funding and is continuously threatened by budget cuts.

By increasing our Harry Bridges endowment, we create dedicated funds that cannot be cut by any administration or legislature, funds that can be used to offer labor studies to new generations of scholars, students, unions, and the larger public. In so doing, we expand society's space for an informed discussion of labor's past and the burning issues of the present.

Join us! To be sure to get on, or stay on, our newsletter mailing list, please mail back the form at the end of this newsletter. And donate if you can. We now have available a pamphlet explaining the various ways you can put your money to work to support the Harry Bridges Chair and Center for Labor Studies through trust funds and donations. Think of such support as part of your gift to the continuing struggle for a better world.

Martin Luther King taught us that "we are all bound together in a mutual garment of destiny." We do our best to reflect this bond in our scholarship and teaching. We also know that our time here is limited, and we must try to make the most of it. ■

## **LIVING IN AMERICA: HUNGER IN WASHINGTON STATE**

— *Michael Honey*

Government statistics now show that one in eight Washington state families do not always have dinner and one in twenty suffer hunger daily. According to the Center on Hunger and Poverty report released August 15, 2002, people suffer hunger and unemployment in Oregon and Washington more than in any other states, based largely on low wages and high living costs for the working poor. Only massive use of food banks keeps the lid on hunger in the Northwest.

These findings may also have something to do with the shrinking of the labor movement in this region. According to the Census Bureau 27.1% of Washington's workers belonged to unions in 1983, 20.7% in 1999, and 18.2% in 2000.

Perhaps hunger also has to do with Washington's regressive tax system, which allows people in the top 20% income bracket to pay less than the national average in taxes. While working class and poor people all pay high state sales tax, Bill Gates and others with great wealth pay no state income tax.

How can we eliminate hunger? Labor and community organizing, jobs creation, and a progressive tax system would be good starters. ■



*Sharon Walker at Paul Robeson  
Memorial Concert*

# BROWN BAG LUNCH SERIES RETURNS

— Sharon Walker

Speaking at a brown bag lunch sponsored by the Bridges Center in June, native Guatemalans Ricardo Mérida and Raúl Nájera gave firsthand accounts of the disastrous impact of American economic and political policies on Guatemalan life. Their account of labor and community organizing in the face of genocide brought new light to the undeniable link between the United States and Guatemalan injustice.

Mérida, a member of an electrical workers union, described the plight facing Guatemalan workers by American building contractors. Paid half the wages of North Americans, the Guatemalan workers are given no toilets, no place to eat, and no place to wash. In April 1999, Mérida and his fellow union members were fired and blacklisted for union organizing. Two years later, the Guatemalan Supreme Court ruled employers must give them back pay and their jobs, but this ruling has not been enforced.

As happened to many others, Raúl Nájera's mother, grandmother, aunt, and uncle were kidnapped and murdered by covert military forces, forcing Nájera and his remaining family to flee to México. Upon his return to Guatemala 13 years later, he organized



H.I.J.O.S., a youth collective created to publicize and preserve the history of the victims of government repression and to demand punishment of the military elite responsible for some of the worst crimes in Latin American history, in which entire Mayan villages were destroyed and the inhabitants

***"We will not forget,  
forgive, or reconcile  
until there is justice."***

killed. Nájera pointed out that in April 1999, the U.N. Truth Commission reported that the U.S. government and private companies kept pressure on Guatemala to maintain its unbalanced socio-economic structure. According to the commission's report, the U.S. trained Guatemalan personnel at the

U.S. Army School of the Americas and continued to support the Guatemalan government despite knowledge of the genocide taking place.

H.I.J.O.S. uses music and theatre to honor the disappeared and to speak out against the militarization of society, stating, "We will not forget, forgive, or reconcile until there is justice."

The personal stories of Mérida and Nájera give a human face to statistics and fact-finding reports. Both men urged North Americans to demand that U.S. and Canadian governments pressure the Guatemalan government to enforce labor laws and stop mistreating indigenous Mayans. They cautioned that letter-writing campaigns through Amnesty International and other human rights groups are only a first step. In the face of globalization, global labor solidarity is even more critical. ■

## DIVERGENT PATHS BOOK LAUNCH

To launch the publication of *Divergent Paths: Economic Mobility in the New American Labor Market* by Annette Bernhardt, Martina Morris, Mark S. Handcock, and Marc A. Scott, the Bridges Center hosted a reception in June. Two of the book's authors from the University of Washington—Martina Morris, Blumstein-Jordan Professor of Sociology and Statistics, and Mark S. Handcock, Professor of Statistics and Sociology in the Center for Statistics and the Social Sciences—were in attendance at the lively event.

The promise of upward mobility, the notion that everyone has the chance to get ahead, is one of this country's most cherished ideals, a hallmark of the American Dream. But in today's volatile labor market, the tradition of upward mobility for all may be a thing of the past. *Divergent Paths* examines the prospects for upward mobility of workers in this new economic landscape. Based on an innovative comparison of the fortunes of two generations of young, white men over the course of their careers, *Divergent Paths* documents the divide between the upwardly mobile and the growing number of workers caught in the low-wage trap. ■



# RIGHTS AND TERROR:

## ALL POWERS REVISITED SYMPOSIUM — James Gregory

In early April, the HBCLS co-sponsored “Rights and Terror: All Powers Revisited,” a four-day symposium that examined issues of civil liberties in the aftermath of 9/11. Designed to stimulate discussion about the changes in the law and political climate following the September attack, the symposium combined historical and contemporary analysis in a variety of formats.

Mark Jenkins’ play, *All Powers Necessary and Convenient*, provided the centerpiece of the symposium. Focusing on the story of the Canwell Committee Hearings and the McCarthy era persecution of six UW faculty members accused of Communist ties, the acclaimed play was first performed in 1998. It seemed then to be a work of history, an intriguing look at events that were not likely to be repeated. Now, in a very different context, the audiences who came to see the three new performances had to

wonder whether the past was about to repeat itself. Is there a danger that we may start a new McCarthy era?

This was the prevailing question for many of the symposium events.

David Cole, Georgetown law professor and constitutional law expert, delivered a riveting keynote address, “Enemy Aliens: How Sacrificing the Rights of Immigrants Will Come Back to Haunt Us All.” While providing an historical perspective of how the denial of rights to immigrants has in the past interacted with the changing rights of all citizens, Cole also reviewed the dismal story of secret detentions and wholesale abrogation of the right to trial in the wake of 9/11. “Will the courts stand up against these injustices?” he asked. If the past is any guide, he believes the courts will not intervene as long as the sense of crisis prevails. Only much later will they try to set things right.

Other highlights of the four-day program included the following panel discussions:

- War On Campus: UW Students and Faculty Respond
- Civil Liberties Since 9/11: Views from the Community
- In the Aftermath
- Legacy of McCarthyism

The latter featured members of the Labor Studies faculty, including Richard Kirkendall, Michael McCann, and Margaret Levi. James Gregory helped plan the conference and moderated the opening night keynote session. Center Director Kristina Anderson was also involved in the planning and logistics. The UW Drama Department and the Walter Simpson Humanities Center were the other major sponsors of the event. Thanks to them all! ■

## BRIDGES CENTER AND EVERGREEN STATE CO-SPONSOR CLASS ON ORGANIZING

— *Amelia Kalant and Peter Kardas*

Reviving a program that had been part of the Evergreen State College Labor Center for many years, the Bridges Center and Evergreen’s Labor Center offered a class on union and community organizing this past winter quarter at the UW Tacoma campus. The class was co-taught by Amelia Kalant, Labor Studies adjunct faculty at UW Tacoma, and Peter Kardas, director of Evergreen’s Labor Center. Among the topics covered were the following:

- Organizing vs. servicing models of unionism
- Rank-and-file organizing and the connection to formal union structures
- The nuts and bolts of organizing campaigns
- Anti-union tactics and strategies of employers
- Organizing in immigrant communities
- Race and the union movement
- The union response to globalization

The class also offered several guest speakers, including organizers and staff from the Laborers’ Union, SEIU, and H.E.R.E

Many of the students in the class either were or still are active in unions or community organizations. While all the participants gained a great deal from their books and the guest speakers, they probably learned the most from each other’s experiences and insights. Those who were new to unions heard from those who were shop stewards. Union activists learned about community organizing not only in Seattle, but also in developing nations. And perhaps most importantly, an important conversation was started about racism and sexism, as everyone faced the question of how to build solidarity and move progressive political thought and action forward.

For more information about the class and Evergreen’s Labor Center, contact Peter Kardas at [kardasp@evergreen.edu](mailto:kardasp@evergreen.edu) ■

# GRASS ROOTS ORGANIZING WEEKEND (GROW) 2002

— Kristina Anderson, Randy Nuñez, Jacob Carton

This year's GROW training expanded to include both a greater diversity and larger number of participants, increasing from 18 last year to over 30 in 2002. Student leaders who attended focused on a variety of issues, ranging from racism to the environment, labor, educational access, and global



*GROW participants role-play taking on a CEO at a board meeting.*

justice. Participants included leaders in organizations such as MeCHA, the Black Student Union, Native American Student Union, Students for Fair Trade, Seattle Young People's Project, and the Filipino American Student Alliance. They came from Seattle Central, Shoreline, and Bellevue Community Colleges, from Seattle University, UW, and OMA High School.

Due to the diversity of experience and backgrounds, the actual training was of especially high quality. Students shared and learned from each other's experiences organizing in a wide range of campuses and communities. These experiences grounded the training in real-life examples. A panel discussion of organizers included King County Council member Larry Gossett, and activist Hop Hopkins also helped relate on-campus struggles to off-campus campaigns.

By supporting unions that organize on campus, protesting against undemocratic global trade, and seeking educational access for others, students display a capacity for creativity and commitment that fosters positive activism in our communities. Sessions on "Understanding the Relations of Power" provided students with an analysis that can lead to long-term social change on our campuses and in our communities. The GROW training focused on the tools of "Direct Action Organizing" to ensure lasting change through an interactive, hands-on learning environment.

The national trainers who facilitated remarked on how lively the training was. They noted that each day ended

with lingering discussions, and they often had to cut off the role-plays, debates, and networking to keep to the schedule. Everyone came away ready to apply their new skills and to build an area-wide network of student activists who attended the training.

The weekend nurtured a discussion of how to build a more cohesive student movement. Our future work in building this network will be an important step in strengthening the student/youth movement. This GROW training was a great success, and we are looking forward to making it available to even more students in the future. ■



*From left: Larry Gossett, Hop Hopkins, and Randy Nuñez share experiences of student, community, and electoral activism.*

## NEW STUDIES IN AMERICAN SLAVERY

The Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies co-sponsored the "New Studies in American Slavery" conference at the University of Washington on May 24, 2002. Stephanie Camp, former Bridges Center Standing Committee member, gathered together some of the most exciting young scholars working in the field. This one-day symposium discussed the new ways that slavery is being studied and the

implications of these studies on politics and the study of race, race relations, and labor in contemporary society. The conversation covered cultural and linguistic terms, and gender, sexuality, and global connections in the history and study of American slavery.

For more information, contact Stephanie Camp in the Department of History at [stcamp@u.washington.edu](mailto:stcamp@u.washington.edu). ■

# WOMEN OF COLOR CONFERENCE AT EVERGREEN STATE'S TACOMA CAMPUS



*Evelyn Hu-DeHart*

A special collaboration between the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies and the Labor Center at the Evergreen State College, with the support of the King County Labor Council, culminated on March 1-2 in a conference entitled "Women of Color in Labor and Community Struggles." The conference, held at the Evergreen State College secondary campus in Tacoma, was designed to highlight the many barriers that still exist for women of color in union and community organizing. Participants addressed difficult issues concerning how to break down racial, ethnic, and gender barriers to make unions and community organizations more inclusive and to give women of color a greater voice.

Because the percentage of people of color is relatively low in the Pacific Northwest, organizers were unsure how well such a conference would turn out. To their great satisfaction,

170 people registered for the two-day event, a majority of them women and people of color. This multi-cultural group included many faculty and students, but equally as many trade unionists and community activists.

Dr. Sharon Harley, grant director of the National Center for African-American Women's Labor Studies at the University of Maryland, opened the conference Friday night with her keynote address, "Culture and Politics of Black Women's Labor Struggles." Evelyn Hu-DeHart followed Dr.

Harley with a discussion on the work life for women of color in the U.S. Both presented in an historical vein, but conference participants immediately related the themes and issues to their own life experiences and studies. This wonderful fusion of scholars and community residents provided for lively discourse that night, which carried over into the sessions the following day.

Saturday morning witnessed a panel of experts from around the U.S. discussing topics of local and trans-national interest. Dr. Harley, Maria Ontiveros, Seung-Kyung Kim, Lynn Bolles, and Francile Wilson provided keen insights into a variety of issues concerning the struggles of African-American, Central American, Caribbean, Asian, and Native American women working in the U.S. Comments from the audience in breakout sessions picked up on the major themes and turned them into dialogues about local and personal struggles.

In the afternoon, more workshops led by local scholars, activists, and unionists went into greater depth on a variety of fronts, including:

- Changing the Color and Gender of the Labor Movement
- How to Build a True Labor and Community Coalition
- Race, Labor, Gender, and Poverty
- Immigrant Women Changing the Workplace

The workshops were followed by breakout sessions in which participants shared experiences and developed strategies. These were followed by a final plenary session. Throughout the two days, wonderful comradeship, stimulating discussion, and great food were shared by all! ■

## NEWEST BRIDGES CENTER WEB SITE RESOURCE: COMMUNISM IN WASHINGTON STATE PROJECT

— James Gregory

The Bridges Center is pleased to announce its latest Web-based resource: “Communism in Washington State—History and Memory Project,” (<http://faculty.washington.edu/gregoryj/cpproject/>).

Coordinated by Professor James Gregory, the Communism in Washington State Project is a valuable resource for anyone interested in the history of labor and radicalism in the Pacific Northwest. The site also offers an example of exciting, original research being done by undergraduates in labor studies courses at the University of Washington.

The Communist Party made a larger impact on Washington than almost any other state. “There are forty-seven states in the Union, and the Soviet of Washington,” Postmaster General James Farley joked in 1936. The remark, for all its hyperbole, had some foundation in historical reality. At various critical junctures, the influential party helped to shape both the state’s labor movement and its Democratic Party.

This Web project provides the most complete account of the history of the Communist Party in one state ever assembled. It also offers historical essays that explore decade by decade the party’s organizational history from

1919 to 2002. It includes more than 200 photographs, cartoons, and other illustrations—making it the most extensive online collection of visual materials relating to the history of American Communism. In addition, the “Video Memories” section makes use of the new video capacities of the Internet. Excerpts from video interviews with long-time members of the Communist Party can be seen and heard online. Other features of the site include a timeline, a Who’s Who, and dozens of other resources and links for further research into the history of this important movement.

The Communism in Washington State Project began as History 498, a research class taught by Professor Gregory in winter 2002, in which students conducted interviews, wrote essays, and gathered the photographic and archival materials. This is the fourth in a continuing series of Web-based resources that the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies has developed to explore labor history in the Pacific Northwest. It joins the Seattle General Strike Project, the Labor Press Project, and the WTO History Project, all of which can also be found at the center’s Web site: <http://depts.washington.edu/pcls/>. ■

## APPRECIATION FROM PARENTS OF A JUGUM SCHOLAR

Dear Dr. Honey:

Three years ago, our son, Eric Stowe, was awarded the Martin and Anne Jugum Scholarship, and we wish to express our gratitude, once again, for the positive effects this recognition has had. Eric viewed the scholarship as much more than just a financial incentive to continue his education, realizing the responsibility he had to prove it was well deserved.

While it was evident that Eric’s academic journey was progressing well, this scholarship credited his efforts and provided further motivation for him to excel. We believe having had the Jugum Scholarship certainly helped with his selection for the Davis-Putter Scholarship, and eventually with his selection for a fellowship with the MLK Papers Project at Stanford as well.

Eric graduated with honors in June 2001, served his fellowship at Stanford that summer, and continued as a UW graduate student last fall.

The Center for Labor Studies recognized Eric’s activism by awarding him the Jugum Scholarship. We wish to recognize the Center for its role in our son’s academic success. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,  
Neal and Suzan Stowe



Image from “Communism in Washington State” Web site

### **Other Web-Based Research Projects**

To date, the Bridges Center has also sponsored or co-sponsored three other Web-based research projects derived from local labor interests or labor studies courses taught at the University of Washington:

#### **Seattle General Strike Project**

<http://faculty.washington.edu/gregoryj/strike/strikehome.htm>

#### **Labor Press Project**

<http://faculty.washington.edu/gregoryj/laborpress/>

#### **WTO History Project**

<http://depts.washington.edu/wtohist/>

# LIVING WAGE PROJECT

— *Erich Steinman*

A research project led by Bridges Chair Emeriti, David Olson and Margaret Levi, focusing on the living wage movement in the U.S. is underway at the Bridges Center. Funded by a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation, the “Living Wage Project” will examine the political and economic implications of living wage campaigns. These campaigns generally advocate establishing a base wage rate (above the minimum wage) for employees working on local, publicly funded contracts. The core idea advanced by the movement is that individuals who work for the public should not be living in poverty, but should at least be earning a living wage.

The current living wage effort in Washington state is just one of many such campaigns, and it follows scores of successful efforts in cities, counties,

and states across the country. As described in a chapter generated by the project for *The Encyclopedia of American Social Movements* (M.E. Sharpe, forthcoming): “Living wage campaigns have captured the imagination of organizations that represent low-wage workers. They have succeeded in establishing more than 80 governmental ordinances, and the movement has spread to universities, involving a growing cohort of students in local labor solidarity struggles for the first time in decades.” Another exciting element of the living wage movement is its demonstration of the possibility and importance of coalitions among labor, community, and religious organizations. Most of the successful campaigns have featured such coalitions. In many places, new

working relationships are being developed that could facilitate cooperative organizing efforts in the future.

In late September, a small group of leading national scholars of the living wage movement gathered with members of the Center’s Living Wage Project for a working meeting at the UW. This group of sociologists and political scientists are analyzing the strategies and political effects of successful campaigns and identifying an agenda for future research. A subsequent conference in January 2003 will bring to the UW economists who have analyzed the effects of living wage ordinances for a working meeting on that topic. Individuals who are interested in the Living Wage Project can email the project research assistant, Erich Steinman, at [ewstein@u.washington.edu](mailto:ewstein@u.washington.edu). ■

## STATE LEGISLATION PASSED:

### GSEAC/UAW FILES FOR UNION CERTIFICATION

— *Brian Mellow*

The University of Washington has repeatedly promised that it would recognize the GSEAC/UAW union if there were a statutory framework in place which guaranteed collective bargaining rights for academic student employees. At a GPSS meeting in May 2001, President McCormick said that upon passage of such legislation he would “cheerfully recognize and begin bargaining with GSEAC/UAW” because a majority of the members had chosen collective bargaining.

State legislation passed in March 2002, and GSEAC/UAW immediately filed for union certification. If the

University had indeed kept their word, GSEAC should have been certified to start bargaining by April. However, the University has backed off from their previous position and is now exploiting the new statutory framework to find ways to prolong the process. In particular, they have manufactured a host of new issues that

have forced GSEAC members into lengthy and expensive hearings with the Public Employment Relations Commission (PERC). This could potentially delay actual bargaining until winter 2003.

Because of the new challenges that the University has raised, as well as their legal team’s lack of availability, the hearings have now dragged into October. GSEAC has sent another letter to President McCormick, urging him to stop these stalling and regressive tactics so that they can begin bargaining as soon as possible. Like other employees on campus, GSEAC deserves a seat at the table, especially in this time of budget crisis. ■



*University of Washington President Richard McCormick accepts Grinch Award*

# HARD-WON LABOR RIGHTS ARE WELL WORTH PROTECTING

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[The following article by Harry Bridges Chair Michael Honey was originally published on the op-ed page of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Friday, August 23, 2002.]

Nothing is more fundamental to America's conception of itself than the freedom of speech and assembly. Unions, declared illegal in the early years of the republic, have fought for those rights for three centuries. But unionists have still not entirely won the most basic right: to organize at the workplace and to protest bad conditions by refusing to work.

Ever since President Reagan terminated 11,000 striking air traffic controllers, existing unions have been under attack and workers organizing on the job have faced harassment and firing. The worker's right to freedom of speech and action, won in the Wagner Act of 1935, has been nearly shredded.

The new political context makes the weakening of labor rights even more alarming. After 20 years of smashing unions and massive profit taking by CEOs, followed by tax cutting that has turned government surpluses into deficits, workers are fighting back. But we will now undoubtedly be told that some unions are too strong and we can't afford their demands.

Most worrisome, the Bush administration seems to have the International Longshore and Warehouse Union, and perhaps other unions, in its sights. Not since Reagan has anyone threatened such a bold attack on unions as we are hearing about during ILWU negotiations for a new contract with shippers. Abrogating the right to strike through federal intervention, breaking up the unified bargaining pattern of ILWU contracts, or simply making unionists work at the point of a gun all seem to

be government options if ILWU workers are locked out by employers or go on strike.

The administration's threat to use the law or troops to abort a longshore strike before it even happens—justified, as is everything else, in the name of “homeland security”—effectively undercuts collective bargaining. It comes in the wake of chilling police violence against people protesting the programs of global economic elites in Seattle, Genoa, Washington, D.C., and Toronto.

A successful attack on the ILWU, we can be sure, would be another heavy blow to the entire American labor movement and add a frightening new element to the president's increasingly anti-democratic “war on terror.”

The struggles of this particular union are especially important. In the 1930s civil war over the battle for worker rights, police shot down longshore workers in San Francisco when they organized and went on strike.

Yet, under the leadership of Harry Bridges, the ILWU turned abused and poverty-stricken workers considered “wharf rats” into proud, well-paid workers.

Its success opened up the right of workers to organize throughout the West Coast region. The ILWU subsequently helped employers modernize the waterfronts, maintained an independent stance toward government and, sustained worker democracy within its own ranks. It is a powerful union, and its members do very well as a result.

Those gains can be wiped out, however. The government and even the AFL-CIO itself nearly destroyed the ILWU by persecuting it during the Communist scare and trying for some 20 years to deport Bridges as a subversive. The ILWU not only survived, but also became one of the strongest unions in America. It is too strong for

the taste of George Bush.

I don't speak for unions, only for myself. But I think people today will not be silent in the face of attacks on union rights, as too many were when Reagan destroyed the air controller's union. Already, thousands of us have joined in demonstrations all over the West Coast to support the ILWU's right to free collective bargaining without government interference.

In the Pacific Northwest—home to the free-speech fights of the Industrial Workers of the World (“Wobblies”) in Spokane, Centralia and Everett, to the Seattle General Strike of 1919, and to the massive WTO protest of 1999—people are especially aware that upholding labor rights is at the heart of maintaining and expanding democracy.

What happens on the waterfront, at Boeing, or at any number of other labor hotspots is important to all of us. Whether one belongs to a union or agrees or disagrees with a particular strike, it is in the interest of the great majority of us to protect hard-won labor rights.

Martin Luther King Jr. explained that there is no such thing as partial freedom: Either you have it or you don't. As he told us, the right to organize is “the right to protest for right.”

If the government undercuts that right by chopping down one individual or group, the rest of us will ultimately pay the price in lost liberties. King died to protect labor rights, in a worker's strike for union recognition and better conditions in Memphis. As we approach Labor Day, we should remember that we can't afford to lose our labor rights, for without them we may also lose our freedom of thought, speech, political action, and other democratic rights. ■

## BRIDGES CHAIR TEACHES SPECIAL COURSE ON LABOR HISTORY AND CIVIL RIGHTS

— Sharon Walker

In spring quarter 2002, Professor Michael Honey, the Harry Bridges Chair, taught a special course sponsored by the UW History Department—Comparative Labor History: Labor and the Civil Rights Movement. The class, which complemented the Bridges Center's Spring 2002 Speakers Series "Breaking the Barriers: Building Multi-Cultural Labor, Community, and Civil Rights Movements", gave students the opportunity to participate in diverse discussions about the changing face of labor and the close relationship between labor rights and civil rights.

An important aspect of the class was the time frame itself. A once-a-week, evening class allowed many working students to experience lecturers they would normally miss. As one student put it, "So many fantastic lecturers grace the UW, it's a pleasure to be able to see some of them and accomplish class work at the same time." Meeting for a 3 1/2 hour period may bring thoughts of sore bottoms and yawning to some, but not if you have ever had a class with Professor

Honey. There were no boring lectures here. His own engaging teaching style, plus numerous guest lecturers, and several films riveted student attention and promoted class discussion.



*Spring Speaker Series audience views "A Fight in the Fields"*

Amplifying their ideas in papers and classroom discussions, students had an opportunity to reflect upon labor's past and offer their thoughts about its future. Diverse readings and individual research papers allowed students to focus on specific aspects of labor and civil rights that personally interested them. Their papers

addressed everything from ways of enforcing labor laws on behalf of casino workers on American Indian reservations to labor rights and labor organizing among Palestinians in the occupied territories. Some students chose to look at the historical struggles of the ILWU, while others looked at the various uses of prison labor. Presentations allowed students the opportunity to learn from each other about diverse aspects of labor and civil rights and to benefit from individual, research-based learning.

By the time the course came to an end, many students left with a new awareness and interest in labor. One student commented, "This class has secured my desire to go into labor law. I feel I can truly make a difference in the field.

Perspective is everything, and this class has added one more picture to my worldview." With the demographics of U.S. labor changing so quickly, and multi-culturalism in the labor movement becoming no longer a choice but a necessity, such courses help us both learn about the past and prepare for the changes yet to come. ■

## HBCLS SPRING SPEAKER SERIES: EXPANDING THE BOUNDARIES OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

As part of the Spring Speaker Series co-sponsored by the Bridges Center and the UW History Department, United Farm Workers of America (UFWA) attorney Lupe Gamboa and UW American Ethnic Studies professors Elizabeth Salas and Erasmo Gamboa, combined to present a rich history of latina and latino farm workers.

While the labor movement has been in existence for over 100 years, it has only been since the mid-20th century that unions have begun to include workers of color. An important step in this process happened when Latino farm workers in the 1960s used nonviolent

tactics and tireless organizing to bring national attention to their campaign for decent wages and safe working conditions. The struggles and successes of the UFWA continue to inspire social justice campaigns around the world.

Erasmo Gamboa, UW professor of American Ethnic Studies and a specialist in the social, labor, and immigration history of Mexicans, Chicanos, and Latinos in the Northwest, provided historical background on the UFWA movement. "Above all," said Gamboa, "the farm workers' efforts reminded the world's wealthiest nation that the plight of agricultural laborers had not

changed appreciably since Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*."

UFWA attorney and activist Lupe Gamboa also pointed out that, "No other worker would be expected to live under the same conditions," but because this work force is mostly Latino, he said, "it's allright somehow." Avidly involved in current Washington State farm worker struggles, Gamboa shared his wide range of experiences fighting for improved working conditions.

UW professor Elizabeth Salas focused her talk on the biography of Dolores Huerta and her considerable, if under-recognized, impact on the success of the United Farm Workers. "Huerta remains a marginalized activist in both Chicano and Chicana studies," Salas said. ■

## WONG SPEAKS ON HISTORY OF MULTI-CULTURAL ORGANIZING

Kent Wong, director of the UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education and president of the United Association for Labor Education, contributed to the Spring Speaker Series with his presentation on “Breaking Barriers to Change: Creating a Strong Labor, Immigrant, and Community Movement through Multi-Cultural Organizing.”

Professor Wong chronicled the history of multi-culturalism within the U.S. labor movement—from attempts at multi-cultural organizing between



*Kent Wong*

Japanese and Mexican immigrants as early as 1903 to the more successful Filipino and Mexican collaboration that gave birth to the United Farm Workers in 1965, and from the rise of cross-cultural organizing in the early 20th century to the more recent formation of organizations within the AFL-CIO to advance agendas for immigrant rights.

In Wong’s view, the AFL-CIO’s historically racist outlook, its stance against immigrant rights, and its acqui-

escence toward government policies concerning these issues, have led to the recent calls for change coming from more marginalized unions with large immigrant memberships such as the garment workers, the farm workers, the service employees unions, and the hotel and restaurant workers. Because of the sheer number of workers in these unions and the support they have garnered, the AFL-CIO has recently taken a more conciliatory, at times even progressive, stance regarding immigrant workers and their rights. According to Wong, “In February of 2000, the American labor movement did an historical 180-degree turn and changed their position. Their position now calls for blanket amnesty and legalization for all undocumented workers living in the U.S. It calls for the repeal of employer sanctions...and for an aggressive defense of immigrant rights. This was a major change...and has brought such hope within immigrant communities.”

Although anti-immigrant and racist attitudes and practices still exist in the larger labor movement, the emergence of new groups within the AFL-CIO, such as the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance (of which Wong served as founding president), and the stunning victories of campaigns such as Justice for Janitors (during which Wong worked as staff attorney for the Service Employees International Union 660, which represents 40,000 Los Angeles County workers) have helped reshape how immigrant labor is viewed by the public at large and within the labor movement itself. ■

## MOON-HO JUNG ON ASIAN-AMERICAN WORKERS

In another of the Spring Speaker Series, UW assistant professor of history Moon-Ho Jung, gave a talk on “The Struggles of Asian-American Workers.” Professor Wong’s scholarship focuses on the social, political, and cultural history of Asian Americans and on the evolving



*Moon-Ho Jung*

dynamics of race, ethnicity, class, and gender within the U.S. and between

## BILL FLETCHER, JR., ON RACIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE

Bill Fletcher, Jr., also spoke as part of the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies Spring Speaker Series by presenting “Struggles for Racial and Economic Justice in a Global Context” at the U.W. Ethnic Cultural Center. While in Seattle, he also gave a talk on “Globalization and Militarization: How U.S. Policy Impacts Workers Here and Around the Globe” at the King County Labor Council in an education series that the council co-sponsored with the Bridges Center.

Fletcher is now President of TransAfrica, which is dedicated to building coalitions with African freedom movements, and he is well-known as a labor organizer, writer, and educator. Most recently, he served as special assistant to John Sweeney, president of the AFL-CIO. A graduate of Harvard and a veteran of many organizing drives, he is widely published in a variety of newspapers, magazines, and online publications. ■



*Bill Fletcher, Jr.*

nations within the Americas. On this evening, he provided a broad, historical overview of Asian-American labor migrations and labor struggles.

Professor Wong is currently working on a book entitled *Coolies and Cane: Race Labor and Sugar Production in the Age of Emancipation*, a pioneering study of Chinese labor migration to a region more commonly associated with African-American workers. ■

# BEYOND THE BOYCOTT:

## THE FUTURE OF WORKER-CONSUMER ALLIANCES

— Webster S. Walker

On January 26, the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies brought together more than a hundred people for “Beyond the Boycott: The Future of Worker-Consumer Alliances.” Panelists and participants in this exciting all-day conference at the University of Washington shared stories and strategies from the trenches of various movements for worker empowerment, fair trade, and global justice.

Is the old-fashioned consumer boycott still a useful tool for supporting worker struggles? How have alliances between workers and consumers



Dan Jacoby

changed over the years to meet the challenges of trans-national capital and shifting social realities? Can new kinds of worker-consumer alliances help expand and protect workers’ rights in today’s rapidly globalizing world?

In addressing these questions, the conference highlighted one of the essential roles played by the Bridges Center: to bring together “dream teams” of labor historians, consumer advocates, student activists, progressive academics, and union organizers to share and challenge their practices in response to the compelling issues of our day.

The keynote speaker for Beyond the

Boycott was Dana Frank, Professor of American Studies at UC Santa Cruz and author of *Buy American: The Untold Story of Economic Nationalism*. Frank set the tone for the

whole day by emphasizing that the goal of consumer and other solidarity efforts must be to “help workers empower themselves” to raise their own living standards, wages, and working conditions. She posed the question of whether middle class consumers,

who have the most power in the marketplace, can use their middle class privilege to transform systems that deny workers’ rights—if these are the same systems that grant middle class consumers their privileges in the first place. Grounding her presentation in solid historical research, Frank asserted that divisions of class, race, nationality, and gender have often been replicated in worker-consumer alliances, noting for example that the Union



David Friebroth

Label movement of the early 20th century began with “white label” efforts by white unions to maintain their segregation.

Professor Frank also emphasized the importance of changes in the legal framework for alliances, noting that the U.S. Supreme Court at one time restricted the use of boycotts as an illegal “restraint of trade,” while the Taft-Hartley bill and the National Labor Relations Act of the 1940s outlawed the use of “secondary boycotts” against retailers. She closed by citing Zapatista spokesperson Marcos’ assertion that the point is “not to seek



Beyond the Boycott panelists

power, but to open a democratic space” for people to exercise their own power. “Given democracy,” Frank stated, “people will never agree to their own oppression.”

Harry Bridges Center Director Kristina Anderson echoed this theme of worker empowerment in a panel discussion on “Political Tensions Within and Between Campaigns.” Relating her own experience in the student anti-sweatshop movement Anderson noted that U.S. students who are seeking to improve working conditions for apparel workers outside the U.S. have ended up deciding that their primary purpose should be to help apparel workers win the right to organize. Given the right to organize, workers in different contexts around the world can articulate and fight for their own needs, rather than have stu-



*Dana Frank*

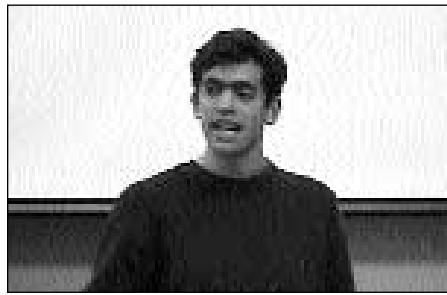
dents in the U.S. attempt to develop specific corporate codes of conduct or living wage standards.

Another panelist, Jeff Ballinger, the founder of Press for Change, which started the Nike campaign, pointed out the synergy that this choice by students has had for workers organizing on campuses inside the U.S. Quoting a campus union organizer, Ballinger said, "It really helps to have 100 students chanting under the University president's window, "Labor rights are human rights!"

Lupe Gamboa, Vice President of the Washington State United Farm Workers, recounted the historic importance of the storied grape boycott of



*Hillary Abel*



*Jeremy Simer*

the 1960s and 1970s led by Cesar Chavez, which helped farmworkers win Union contracts with the same growers who had violently put down other standard organizing tactics. Gamboa noted, however, that the great success of the grape boycott had sev-

***Given the right  
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for their own needs.***

eral downsides, including a loss of focus on organizing in the fields and an unwillingness to develop fresh tactics. The UFW is now moving in new directions, including developing a "Fair Trade Apple" campaign inspired by the early successes of the Fair Trade Coffee movement.

Indeed, one panel was devoted to "Fair Trade Coffee Campaigns," while another looked at "International Labor Standards and Monitoring" as a counter to the free trade hegemony embodied in the WTO system. The final panel focused on "How to Evaluate a Campaign." There is no way in this brief report to do justice to all the contributors, or to convey the energy that was in the room.

For readers who missed the conference, the Harry Bridges Center did record the events of the day on digital videotape. Please inquire with the Center if you are interested in arranging to view the recording of this conference. ■

## **NEWEST DISTINGUISHED SUPPORTER OF LABOR STUDIES, TRYEE SCOTT**

Tyree Scott has been designated as this year's Distinguished Supporter of Labor Studies by the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies. Tyree has worked tirelessly and with great imagination for social justice for all working people. He may have done more than any one person in our region to open up hiring for women and racial and ethnic minorities in the trades as the result of his daring and innovative direct action tactics in the 1970s. His pioneering work led to the founding of the Labor Law Employment Office (LELO), which continues to work for equality and justice. Tyree serves on the HBCLS Visiting Committee, and many of us in the labor education and organizing community call on him often. We thank him for his wisdom, humility, and generosity of spirit. Past distinguished supporters include William Gerberding, Ron Judd, Rick Bender, and Bob Duggan. ■



*Tyree Scott*

# PACIFIC NORTHWEST LABOR HISTORY ASSOCIATION ANNUAL CONFERENCE SET FOR MAY 2003

Nothing is more fundamental to America's conception of itself than freedom. This includes the freedom to speak one's mind, associate with others, organize, walk off the job together when conditions are oppressive, and participate in the larger democratic process. Throughout American history, urban workers, immigrants, people of color, and industrial, agricultural, and longshore workers have been at the forefront of asserting these rights. Unions, once deemed illegal by the government, have fought over three centuries to organize, both in the community and on the job, to participate politically, and, if necessary, to strike in order to seek a better life. The Pacific Northwest—home of the IWW "Wobblies," the Seattle General Strike, and most recently the massive WTO protest—has always been at the forefront of exercising, as Martin Luther King stated, "the right to protest for right."

These basic freedoms are more than ever under attack. From the brutal assaults on WTO protesters to the current "war on terror," we are in one of the most dangerous periods in our history, in which the government could void fundamental rights of workers and citizens in the name of "homeland security." This year's PNLHA conference, "The Right to Organize: Civil Liberties, Democracy, and the Labor Movement," will examine history so that we may better understand the present and continue the struggle for economic justice and democratic rights for all.

This year's keynote address will be given by David Montgomery, the "dean" of American labor history, professor emeritus at Yale University, former president of the Organization of American Historians, an international lecturer, and one of the most renowned and widely published labor

historians of our era. Also planned is a major cultural event on labor's struggle for democratic rights, as portrayed in word and song.

The PNLHA seeks papers, musical and artistic productions, films, roundtables, and other presentations that examine the historical legacy of labor struggles and protest movements as part of the struggle for an expanded

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to strike in order to  
seek a better life.*

democracy. Special attention will be given to the struggles of ethnic, immigrant, and racial minorities, the political left, unions, and global movements for economic justice as they relate to labor history and current issues.

Please send proposals to the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies at [pcls@u.washington.edu](mailto:pcls@u.washington.edu) or by mail at Box 353560, Seattle, WA 98195 ■

## WORDS FROM AN ILWU VETERAN

ILWU veteran Del Castle was out on the picket lines in 2000 supporting the most recent Seattle newspaper strike. He remembers also being on the picket lines during the news strike in 1934. When recently asked about the current state of labor issues, he offered the following perspective and advice (excerpted from "The Rusty Hook," Seattle ILWU and Pacific Coast Pensioners Association, summer 2002):

"Looking to the future, we realize the corporations scheme daily...even hourly, and in a thousand ways to rob the public, the U.S. treasury by tax evasion, and workers of their wages. We need to support with real energy our ILWU organizing campaign if our future is to be secured. We have to build our union in order to survive. It is no stronger than its membership. Adding to our membership is adding to our strength.

"We must also pay attention to the ballot box. The U.S. government under the Bush Republican administration, the Congress with its Republican House and tag-along Democrats, plus Supreme Court connivance, pass and enforce anti-labor laws. They can steal presidential elections. The whole mess needs a thorough house cleaning. It is time to wake up, smell the rot, and support and vote for pro-labor candidates!" ■

# MICHAEL HONEY TESTIFIES IN OLYMPIA

[The following is an excerpt from the testimony given by Michael Honey before the Washington House of Representatives Commerce and Labor Committee, chaired by Representative Steve Conway, January 21, 2002, on faculty collective bargaining legislation].

My name is Michael Honey. I am a faculty member at the University of Washington, Tacoma, and the Harry Bridges Chair of Labor Studies at the University of Washington. I and other faculty at our campus belong to the American Association of University Professors, an association which, at some campuses, serves as a collective bargaining unit...

You might remember that Martin Luther King, Jr., died in Memphis supporting the right of workers to join a

union and to have that union be recognized by their employer. The mayor of Memphis claimed that public employees could join a union if they wanted, but that state law did not require him to recognize and bargain with it. Because of this failure in the state law, the Memphis sanitation strike dragged on for six weeks. The city government never would have recognized the sanitation workers union if Dr. King's death had not forced the federal government to intervene. Dr. King's death should have established that labor rights are also civil and constitutional rights, and should be protected by law.

These are our rights too. Faculty members work for a living just like everyone else. We are not a class apart, nor are we managers...

We should honor King's full legacy

by upholding labor rights as citizenship rights for every employee of this state. The State of Washington should pass appropriate legislation to protect the right of faculty members, including full- and part-time instructors, lecturers, tenure-track faculty, and graduate students, to engage in collective bargaining if they so desire. Like any other person who is employed, we who teach have the right to join a union, and that right should be recognized and protected by state law.

Jim Gregory, president of the UW American Association of University Professors and a Standing Committee member of the Bridges Center, also testified, along with other faculty advocates. The bill passed and Governor Gary Locke signed it into law. ■

## UNIONS ON CAMPUS

The Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies at the University of Washington will host a two-day conference, October 11–12, about unions at the University of Washington campus. The conference will bring together faculty, staff, students, and graduate students to discuss issues affecting university employees, both at the UW and nationally.

The conference goal is not only to hear the stories of workers on campus, but also to provide useful information about the following topics:

- The effects of new legislation
- Solidarity and inter-union activity
- Organizing without the law
- Resource allocation at the UW
- Anatomy of an organizing campaign
- Collective bargaining

The two days of meetings are intended to help build a foundation for future collaborative work between campus unions and faculty and stu-

dent organizations. There are now about 10,000 union members employed by the UW. This is an unprecedented and timely gathering, insofar as three bills passed last spring in Olympia now enable faculty, graduate students, and state employees to collectively bargain for the first time.

The Friday afternoon session will consider the current state of various types of unions and faculty organizations across the U.S. It will focus particular attention on the state of faculty organizations and conditions at the UW.

Friday evening at the UW Faculty Club (5:30–7:30 PM), the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies will host its Annual Award Banquet to announce the recipients of scholarships, research grants, and prizes for students who have shown a commitment to labor studies. In a spirit of all-campus fellowship, the Center is inviting all campus faculty, staff, and students to participate and enjoy the food, refreshments, presentations, and entertainment.

On Saturday, the Bridges Center in

conjunction with campus unions and community organizations will hold a full day of workshops, presentations, and plenary discussions on the issues affecting campus workers today. A Workers' Rights Board, consisting of public officials, will also hold a hearing concerning grievances and conditions of employment at the UW.

This event comes at a time of labor activism at campuses around the country. Many feel that labor relations at the UW do not always reflect the core values of the institution. Some complain of increasing anti-labor and anti-union sentiment. Others are concerned about the loss of the UW's reputation for fairness and respect in relation to employees and students, and about shifting campus priorities in a time of budget cuts. The two days of discussion will allow people to communicate across boundaries of workplace and discipline, and help create a new climate for improving working conditions and teaching at the UW campus and on campuses throughout the U.S. ■

# NEW COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND STAFF

Welcome to our new Standing Committee members, Ellis Goldberg, James Gregory, and Moon-Ho Jung, our new staff members, Kristina Anderson and Sharon Walker, and our new Visiting Committee members, Kim Cook and Joe Wenzl.

## STANDING COMMITTEE

### **Ellis Goldberg**

Professor Goldberg joined the UW Political Science department in 1985 and specializes in the study of Middle Eastern politics. His most recent book is an edited collection of essays, *The Social History of Labor in the Middle East* (Westview Press, 1996). He is presently working on a book on international trade and the political economy of Egypt in the first half of the 20th century. He teaches courses in Middle Eastern and comparative politics.

### **James Gregory**

Professor Gregory joined the UW History Department in 1993 and has served twice before on the Bridges Center Standing Committee. He specializes in 19th and 20th century U.S. social history, with an emphasis on race, class, and gender. His book, *American Exodus: The Dust Bowl Migration and Okie Culture in California* (Oxford University Press,

1991), is a classic in its field. He teaches several labor history classes and has coordinated three Web-based research projects on labor history with his students: the Seattle General Strike Project, the Labor Press Project, and most recently the Communism in Washington State Project.

### **Moon-Ho Jung**

Professor Jung joined the UW History Department last fall. His courses center on the evolving dynamics of race, ethnicity, class, gender, and nation within the U.S. and between nations within the Americas, he also specializes in the social, political, cultural, and intellectual history of Asian Americans. His upcoming book, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor and Sugar Production in Louisiana, 1852-1877*, is a path-breaking study of Chinese labor migration to a region more commonly associated with African-American workers and offers new insights on issues of race and class construction in the 19th century.

## STAFF

### **Kristina Anderson**

Kristina became director of the Bridges Center in 2001 and has led it through an expansion of conferences and curricula focusing on diversity and anti-racism in the labor movement. She has overseen the Bridges Center's expanded use of computer and digital technology and the publication of a range of new resources. She also helped to initiate the Bridges Center's involvement in Grass Roots Organizing Work Training and has strengthened its ties to undergraduate students.

### **Sharon Walker**

Sharon Walker, the undergraduate assistant, graduated from the UW in June 2002 with a degree in Communications. Sharon has helped with conference and event planning throughout the year. She hopes to attend the Daniel Evans School of Public Affairs in Fall 2003.

## VISITING COMMITTEE

### **Joe Wenzl**

Joe currently serves on the Pacific Coast Labor Relations Committee for the International Longshore & Warehouse Union and has been a member of ILWU Local 19 for 22 years. Joe is a third generation longshoreman—his great uncle was a charter member of Local 19—and he is proud of the union tradition in his family. He also has family attending and working at the UW. Joe says it is an honor and privilege to be associated with the Bridges Center, especially since it is named for the founder of the ILWU, Harry Bridges. He also thinks it

is important for labor people to be involved in the academic world to give it a fresh perspective and also to remind people that the university was built by working people.

### **Kim Cook**

Kim is the President of Service Employees International Union Local 925, a statewide public sector local that includes over 4000 support staff at the UW and 4000 classified employees in K-12. Kim is an experienced organizer, having been active in the labor movement for 18 years. SEIU 925 has worked closely with the Bridges Center for years on labor issues and activism on campus.

## NEW OCCASIONAL AND WORKING PAPERS

Moon Ho-Jung's paper on "Asian American Labor Struggles" is now available as an occasional paper from the HBCLS for \$5. Other talks from the Spring Speaker Series on multi-cultural labor organizing by Bill Fletcher and Kent Wong, along with interviews with them by Mike Honey, will be available soon as working papers, as will interviews with Tyree Scott and Lupe Gamboa. Check Occasional and Working Papers on the HBCLS Web site.

# FACULTY UPDATES

## **Charles Bergquist**

During the last several years, Charles Bergquist, Bridges Chair Emeritus, has devoted much of his research, teaching, and public speaking to analysis of the deepening crisis in Colombia, where unionists have been murdered by the hundreds in recent years. His *Violence in Colombia, 1990-2000*, published in 2001 by Scholarly Resources, provides the best analysis of the crisis available in English. For the last three years, Bergquist has offered UW students a course on Colombian history, often bringing important Colombian scholars and political figures to campus to lecture on the current situation. Last year he participated in conferences on Colombia at UC Berkeley and the University of Arizona. This year he will lecture at the University of Calgary, University of London, and National University of Colombia in Bogota.

## **Michael Forman**

Bridges Center faculty affiliate from UW Tacoma Michael Forman published "Social Rights or Social Capital? The Labor Movement and the Language of Capital," in S. McLean, D. Schultz, and M. Steger, (ed.), *Social Capital: Critical Perspectives on Community and Bowling Alone*, New York University Press, 2002. He is also an academic advisor to the Washington Human Rights Education Integration Project, a teacher-initiated effort to introduce human rights standards into the K-12 curriculum in Washington State.

## **Michael Honey**

Michael Honey's book, *Black Workers Remember: An Oral History of Segregation, Unionism, and the Freedom Struggle* (University of California Press, 1999), was recently

published in paperback. The book has won a Washington Writer's Award, the Murry Morgan Award and awards from the Southern Historical Association and the Southern Regional Council. He is currently working on a book for W.W. Norton about Martin Luther King, black workers, and the Memphis sanitation strike.

Honey's article, "Racism, Organized Labor, and the Black Freedom Struggle," will appear in the first issue (spring 2003) of *Contours*, a new journal published by Duke University on experiences in the African diaspora.

## **Moon-Ho Jung**

Moon-Ho Jung, assistant professor of history at the UW, is currently working on a book entitled *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor and Sugar Production in the Age of Emancipation*, in which he offers new insights on issues of race and class construction in the 19th century by focusing on Chinese labor migration to a region more commonly associated with African-American workers. Professor Jung believes that "Perhaps more than ever, in this age of globalization, we need to be reminded of the broad visions and struggles forged by Asian-American workers since the 19th century. They were not only affected by the global movements of capital and labor, but they also struggled to make sense of their place in the world and to fight for something better—in the U.S. and in Asia."

## **Margaret Levi**

Former HBCLS chair Margaret Levi has written several articles and presented at a variety of forums in the past year. Including:

"Battling for Global Justice: Protests Against the WTO in Seattle" (with Gillian Murphy), in Immanuel Ness (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of American Social Movements*, M.E. Sharpe, forthcoming.

"Living Wage Campaigns and Laws" (with David J. Olson and Erich Steinman), in Immanuel Ness (ed.),

*The Encyclopedia of American Social Movements*, M.E. Sharpe, forthcoming.

"Institutionalizing Preferences: Corrupt versus Social Unions," RSF Conference on Preferences, Northwestern University, April 2002 to appear in a book edited by Ira Katznelson and Barry Weingast (Russell Sage Foundation Press, forthcoming.)

"Fair Trade: A Cup at a Time?" (with April Linton), submitted to *Politics & Society* for a special issue from the Beyond the Boycott conference.

During the last year, Professor Levi has also presented the following talks:

"Solidarity Under Stress: The American Labor Movement in the 21st Century," plenary presentation at the American Political Science Association Meeting in Boston, August 2002.

"Coalitions of Contention: The Case of the WTO Protests in Seattle" (with Gillian Murphy), International Sociological Association Meeting, Brisbane, Australia, July 2002.

"Homelands in the Home Front," Distinguished University of Washington Women Scholar Series, May 2002.

In addition, Professor Levi is part of the team (with David J. Olson and Shelly Lundberg, principal investigators, and Elaina Rose, Michael McCann, Erich Steinman, and Dan Jacoby) that was awarded a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation to study "Living Wages in the U.S.: Setting an Agenda for Research and Activism."

Professor Levi also received a Guggenheim Fellowship for 2002-3 and served on the Community Committee for the Intiman Theater's world premiere in 2002 of *Nickel and Dimed*.

## **Michael McCann**

Michael McCann, director of the Comparative Law and Society Studies Center at UW, is finishing a book entitled *Law's Lore: Tort Reform, Mass Media, and the Production of Legal Knowledge*. This

*continued on page 18* ➤

➤ *continued from page 17*

co-authored book demonstrates how corporate-funded publicity campaigns and infotainment-oriented mass media have converged to propagate ungrounded myths about supposed radical increases of rights claims and frivolous litigation in the U.S. legal system. In McCann's view, public assaults on alleged pathologies of plaintiffs, lawyers, and legal process' have worked to shift public policy and attention away from the need for more expansive regulatory and social insurance programs, the harms caused by unaccountable corporations, and the failures of "normal" politics to address these issues. This prevailing legal lore constitutes a major assault on the exercise of political rights by workers and consumers seeking to challenge hierarchical power. Book publication expected in fall 2003.

In addition, Professor McCann has

submitted the following articles for publication:

"Law and Progressive Social Movements: Emerging Research Approaches," in Austin Sarat (ed.), *A Law & Society Reader*, Blackwell, expected publication, spring 2003.

"The Cold War and Civil Rights: Rethinking Reds, Blacks, and the Disciplinary Logic of U.S. Citizenship," extended review essay for *Law and Social Inquiry*, spring 2003.

"Hegemonic Tales and Everyday News: Tort Reform, Mass Media, and the Assault on Citizen Rights" (with William Haltom and Judy Aks), to be submitted to *Law & Society Review* in fall 2002.

"Smoke and Mirrors: Framing Fights Over Tobacco Litigation" (with William Haltom and Jeff Dudas), to be submitted to *Law & Social Inquiry* in fall 2002.

"Federal Courts and the Politics of Democratic Inclusion: A Tangled Legacy," solicited paper for a confer-

ence at Notre Dame, October 2002, and subsequent publication in an edited book entitled *The Politics of Democratic Inclusion*.

### **David Olson**

Bridges Chair Emeritus David Olson has written the following articles:

"Living Wage Campaigns and Laws," (with Margaret Levi and Erich Steinman) in Immanuel Ness (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of American Social Movements*, M.E. Sharpe, forthcoming.

"Administration Should Keep Clear of Dock Fight," Op-Ed for *The Seattle Times*, September 2, 2002.

"If Longshoremen Strike, Which Businesses Will Suffer?" Five Questions series, *New York Times*, September 8, 2002.

He is also one of the principal investigators on a Russell Sage Foundation grant-funded study, "Living Wages in the U.S.: Setting the Agenda for Research and Activism." ■

## **HBCLS' ANNUAL PARTY HONORS ILWU PENSIONERS AND HARRY'S 100TH**

The Annual Awards Banquet hosted by the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies included hundreds of extra guests in 2001 as the party was held in conjunction with the ILWU Pacific Coast Pensioners Association Convention, in Seattle that same



*Steve Marquardt and Kristina Anderson*

weekend. The conventioners were brought to the campus to join in the program and enjoy the celebration of Harry Bridges centennial birthday.

During the ceremonies, University of Washington President Emeritus William Gerberding was honored for his pivotal role in finding a home for our program on the UW campus, and Linda Gould was recognized for her career with the UW libraries, where she has been a key player in many labor studies initiatives and projects. There was also the formal rededication of the Center for Labor Studies as the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies. The Center, as it does every year, also recognized the efforts of outstanding students who demonstrate a commitment to labor and labor studies by awarding Martin and Anne Jugum



*Audience enjoys presentations at 2001 Annual Awards Banquet*

Scholarships to Rudy Mendoza, Noah Purcell, and Natalie Kimball, and the Industrial Relations Research Association Scholarship to Patrick Frey. Closing out the program, Michael Honey, Vance Lelli, Steve DeTray, and the Seattle Labor Chorus provided a rousing concert of labor songs to celebrate Harry's 100th and the ninth anniversary of the Harry Bridges Chair and the newly renamed Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies. ■

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# SUPPORT THE HARRY BRIDGES CENTER FOR LABOR STUDIES

The Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies is committed to honoring the legacy of one of the preeminent labor leaders of the U.S. the late Harry Bridges, outstanding founder and leader of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union. The Bridges Center has provided funding for exciting student initiatives, scholarships, grants, academic research, and other labor-related events. We need your support to continue to provide these valuable opportunities and resources to the community.

Return this form to:  
**Kristina Anderson, Director**  
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**University of Washington**  
**Box 353560**  
**Seattle, WA 98195-3560**

Phone: (206) 543-7946

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email: pcls@u.washington.edu

All contributions are tax-deductible\*, and contributions of any amount are acceptable. If you do not wish to contribute at this time, but would like to be added to our mailing list, please fill out and return the address portion of this form.

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*This fund supports students interested in labor issues, preparing new leaders in the labor community*

**Harry Bridges  
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*This fund supports the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies, the primary function of which is to promote teaching and research for and about labor.*

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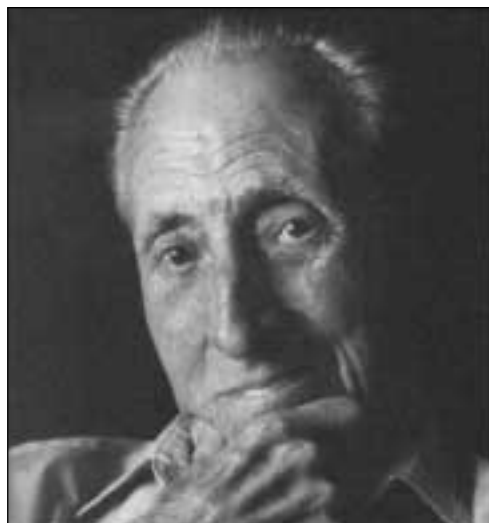
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Thank you for your support of the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies

**Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies**  
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To be on our mailing list, or to receive further information, contact:

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