

THE ALBERT SHANKER INSTITUTE

If we are serious about reform— and we are—we must be unmercifully honest about the problems we face.

Otherwise, we with slogans and successful union is that figures out hopes are, what



are dealing only wishes... A successful organization what people's their dreams are,

what they want." . . . It's dangerous to let a lot of ideas out of the bag, some of which may be bad. But there's something that's more dangerous, and that's not having any new ideas at all at a time when the world is closing in on you.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Paul E. Almeida
Barbara Byrd-Bennett
Landon Butler
David K. Cohen
Antonia Cortese
Rudolph Crew
Thomas R. Donahue
Bob Edwards
Carl Gershman
Milton Goldberg
Ernest G. Green
E. D. Hirsch, Jr.
Sol Hurwitz
Clifford B. Janey
Susan Moore Johnson
Ted Kirsch
Nat Lacour
Stanley S. Litow
Michael MacCoby
Herb Magidson
Edward J. McElroy
Stephanie Powers
Diane Ravitch
Richard Riley
William Scheuerman
William Schmidt
Randi Weingarten
Deborah L. Wince-Smith

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Eugenia Kemble

DIRECTOR OF PROGRAMS

Burnie Bond

**DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH
AND OPERATIONS**

Randall C. Garton

THE ALBERT SHANKER INSTITUTE



FIVE-YEAR REPORT

.....
2003-2008

THE ALBERT SHANKER INSTITUTE • 555 NEW JERSEY AVENUE, NW • WASHINGTON, DC 20001
WWW.ASHANKERINST.ORG



THE
ALBERT
SHANKER
INSTITUTE

THE ALBERT SHANKER INSTITUTE, endowed by the American Federation of Teachers and named in honor of its late president, is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization dedicated to three themes – children’s education, unions as advocates for quality, and both civic education and freedom of association in the public life of democracies. Its mission is to generate ideas, foster candid exchanges, and promote constructive policy proposals related to these issues.

The Institute commissions original analyses, organizes seminars, sponsors publications and subsidizes selected projects. Its independent Board of Directors is composed of educators, business representatives, labor leaders, academics, and public policy analysts.

COPYRIGHT © 2008, THE ALBERT SHANKER INSTITUTE

DESIGN: Lasko Design + Consulting

Contents

Preface.....	4
Introduction.....	5
Education.....	6
Labor.....	14
Democracy.....	22
A Living Heritage.....	30
Albert Shanker: Tough Liberal.....	32
Board of Directors.....	36

Preface

In 1997, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) supported the creation of a new organization which would function independently of the AFT, yet have a board and a staff that would be guided the union's mission. In March 1998, the Albert Shanker Institute was launched, named in honor of the late AFT president, who sought widely for innovative ideas to help the union in its work for both its members and the people they serve. The AFT provided the Institute with an endowment and in-kind support. The Institute set about gathering the best minds in labor, education, civil rights, business, and academia, not only to serve on its board, but also as participants in its activities. Its purpose was to identify and develop novel ideas and approaches that could help to strengthen public education and trade unions and, through them, democracy itself.

The Institute's officers, board, and staff have sought to pursue Al Shanker's legacy in ways that reflect his intellectual breadth, his creativity, and his vocation to teach — all of which contributed to the extraordinary effectiveness of his leadership. Though impossibly ambitious, this vision inspired us all. I believe that in its first ten years, the Albert Shanker Institute has gone far towards achieving its goals. It has put together an intellectually diverse, bipartisan, and talented board of directors that has had thoughtful discussions about the direction of programs. It has engaged a new generation of AFT leaders and a broad range of experts and activists from the labor, business, education, and policy worlds. It has funded unique reports on topics that others have been hesitant to explore — Islam and democracy, changes workers want from their union, curriculum for early childhood education, worker rights in China. It has fostered discussion and study within the labor movement on the benefits of dramatically expanding union services in the areas of skills development, career counseling, and lifelong education. It has hosted seminars that have achieved wide recognition for their substantive depth, as well as their penchant for tackling provocative and controversial topics and perspectives.

This report describes the activities of the Albert Shanker Institute in the five years from 2003 to 2008. In places where there has been a continuation in activities from its earlier five-year report, the two reports may overlap. As my predecessor, the late Sandra Feldman, noted so well in her introduction to the Institute's first five-year report, those who set up the organization, "hoped that it could help opinion makers and the public understand the perspective of the AFT on important issues and appreciate the union's efforts to help improve public schools, build democratic values and institutions, and bring new perspectives, roles, and allies to the work of unions." Much has been accomplished in fulfilling this hope. And much remains to be done.

Al Shanker was a mentor who had a large influence on my career as a trade unionist, as an educator, and as an advocate for democracy. As President of the AFT, it has been my privilege to also hold the office of President of the Institute that bears his name. In these past ten years, I believe we can say it has effectively continued Al's work.

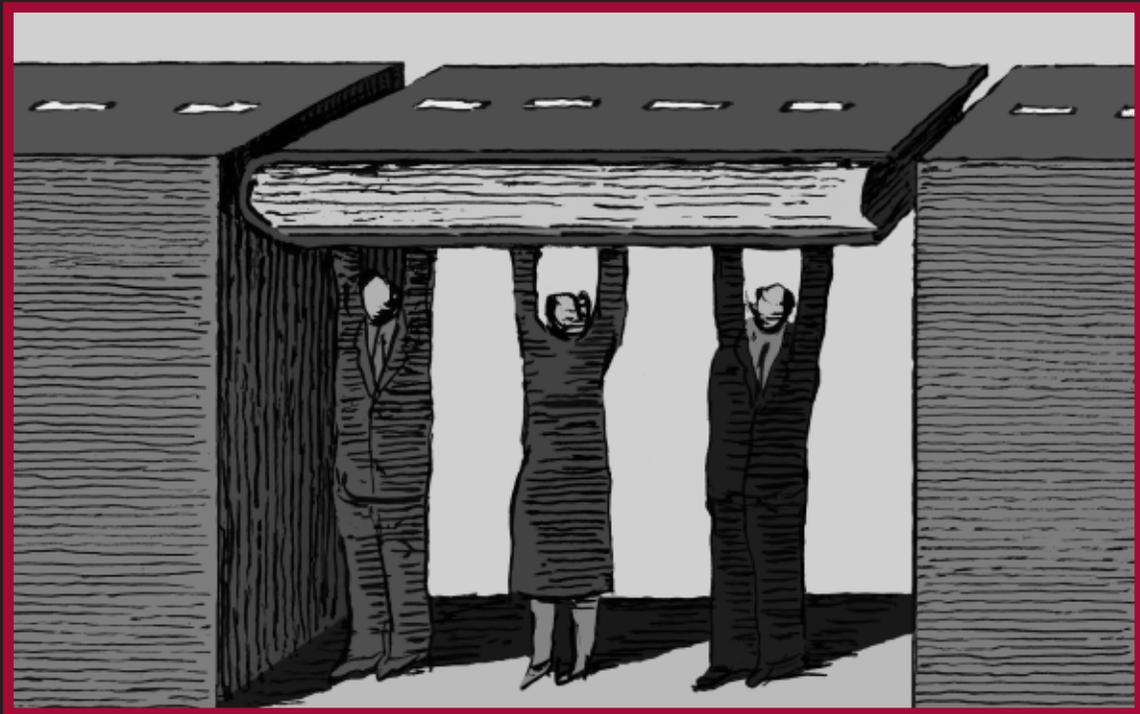
EDWARD J. MCELROY
President

Introduction

This report describes the Albert Shanker Institute’s activities over the past five years in the areas of education, labor, and democracy. In the area of education, the Institute has sponsored a wide range of forums, seminars, reports, and other activities that highlight the best thinking and solid research on the most effective ways to improve teaching and schools. In the area of labor, the Institute’s most important work has been to engage both the AFT and, more broadly, the AFL-CIO in examining the British labor movement’s successful workplace development and union learning model, and supporting efforts to put this model into practice. In the democracy field, the Institute has organized key debates on the role of labor in the world and carried out a number of activities fostering worker rights and democracy.

What may not come through in the explanations of individual activities, however, is the uniqueness of the Institute’s approach: its openness, its love of debate, and its willingness to try new things, take up difficult topics, and issue controversial reports — all aimed at inciting needed change. Of great pride to the Shanker Institute is the seminar model that it has introduced — a blend of serious presentations and frank discussions, privately held, that involve all participants in developing solutions to problems. Another hallmark of the Institute’s work is a constant search for the best research to ground and energize these discussions and the programs that flow from them.

The Institute is also pleased to have brought together the two parts of a now divided labor movement in common discourse over how to promote worker rights and democracy abroad. It is engaged in fostering constructive education strategies by having union leaders, district leaders, and policy experts think and work together. The Institute’s commitment to exploring new roles, agendas, and structures within the labor movement is also unflagging.



*[A] strong public education system...
holds out possible opportunity
for children of all ethnic
and social backgrounds
to rise to their potential.*

EDUCATION

In its first five years (1998-2003), the Institute focused much of its attention on standards-based reform, which Albert Shanker had championed as the best means for achieving broad-based excellence in public schools. One of the highlights of the Institute's work

was its sponsorship of a survey of teachers, showing broad support for such reforms and widespread hope that teachers and schools would get the resources and support they needed to deliver on high expectations for all students. Another was its urging, through study and discussion, that quality preschool education help jump start children, particularly those who are poor, into successful school careers. The Institute also provided seed funding for an influential book in this area, *The Teaching Gap* by James Stigler and James Hiebert, which became a best-seller and continues to excite attention. The Institute also continued Albert Shanker's focus on the central importance of promoting a common core curriculum in the schools, in particular the need to promote civic knowledge and understanding of democracy among students. In pursuit of this goal, it published two influential documents — *Education for Democracy*, a statement of principles endorsed by over 100 prominent Americans, which calls for strengthened curriculum content in history, civics, and the humanities, and *Educating Democracy: State Standards to Ensure a Civic Core*, which reviewed state standards in civics, history, and social studies and evaluated their strength with regard to preparing an informed citizenry.

Unfortunately, the progress in these areas has not measured up to Shanker's expectations — or the public's either, for

that matter. According to a 2008 report by the AFT, only one state, Virginia, meets the AFT criteria for strong standards in all levels and subjects. Another 15 states meet the criteria in at least 75 percent of the categories. A 2007 study concluded that only 11 states have reading and math tests that were clearly aligned to state standards. And virtually none have tried to develop curriculum that would help guide teachers more specifically about what to teach. And, despite considerable research indicating how much good teaching matters to student achievement, most states have done little to improve their teacher preparation programs and have continually relegated on-the-job professional development to the category of things to think about and fund later.

To compound the failure of the states, the federal government's ill-conceived No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) has had perverse effects on standards-based reform. The AFT had offered qualified support to the new law in the hope that its data provisions and new funding would help target attention and support to the students who needed it most. Unfortunately, NCLB measured school progress in ways that made no sense to researchers or practitioners. At the state level, it failed to establish incentives that might foster a true alignment among standards, curriculum, assessments, and supports. It created a heavy burden of unfunded mandates that states and local school systems had to scramble

ALBERT SHANKER INSTITUTE
The Good Schools Seminars
AN ALBERT SHANKER INSTITUTE SEMINAR SERIES FOR UNION LEADERS,
POLICY EXPERTS, AND SUPERINTENDENTS

Developing the Teaching Corps We Need

JANUARY 29-30, 2008

BRIEFING BOOK



WASHINGTON COURT HOTEL
525 NEW JERSEY AVENUE, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20001

to cover. Indeed, it served to undermine the very idea that “standards” and “accountability,” implemented wisely, were useful tools in the school improvement effort.

Albert Shanker believed that a strong public education system was crucial to a strong democracy. In principle and aspiration, it created the first — and only — common space where all parts of a multi-ethnic,

multi-class society could meet and learn to live together. It holds out possible opportunity for children of all ethnic and social backgrounds to rise to their potential. And, hopefully, it teaches a common history and narrative for children to learn to become active and informed citizens. In the past five years, the Institute has targeted crucial missing pieces of the reform agenda that was initiated in the 1990s. Conceptually sound, many of these ideas have yet to be realized in practice. One theme of its work, cutting across a number of programs, is the identification of best research and the promotion of its use in practice. In order to promote more discussion about good research and its application in the field, the Institute has carried out two initiatives — “From Best Evidence to What Works” a forum series, and “Unions Shaping Good Schools” a seminar series. The first aims to identify and foster discussion about key topics and to create greater consensus around what works among educators, teacher unions, researchers, and administrators. The second initiative takes the forum idea to a new level in the form of a working seminar series for union leaders and administrators from the same districts, who are brought together with leading

researchers and policy experts to work together to find solutions to particular problems. It is hoped that this new seminar series can foster concrete reforms and changes at the school district level.

STANDARDS AND SYSTEMIC REFORM

From Best Evidence to What Works: A Forum Series to Highlight Research for Practice

In 2002, the Albert Shanker Institute launched a distinctive new forum series designed to highlight the best available research on specific educational issues and then to link these findings to practical steps that schools can take to improve student achievement. The forums aimed to achieve this goal by bringing together policymakers, journalists, representatives of education organizations and think tanks, education administrators, and union leaders. The forums addressed those issues in education where research has clear guidance for practical application, or where research could help to guide a policy that seems currently to be driven by ideology and bias, or where early research is only suggestive but attention is urgently needed. Education has been plagued by a chronic divide between researchers and practitioners. This was one of the Institute’s several efforts to help bridge this gap.

There have been a total of nine “What Works” forums on the following topics:

- Language and Literacy Development (May 2002),
- The Use of Professional Development to Raise Student Achievement (June 2002),
- Strategies to Improve Student Behavior and Support Achievement (Oct. 2002),
- Preschool Assessment (Oct. 2004),
- Reading Disabilities, Reading Difficulties, and School-Based Interventions that Work (April 2005),

- Improving the Teaching and Learning of Mathematics (May 2005),
- Background Knowledge and Reading Proficiency (May 2006),
- Pay for Performance Systems (June 2006), and
- High School Dropout Rates & What Can Be Done To Improve Them (May 2007).

(Transcripts for all of the forums may be found at www.ashankerinst.org/education.html.)

The forums succeeded in drawing increased attention to some of the best research in education and hopefully to some concrete steps toward improving education policy. The last forum, for example, on high school dropout rates, featured two leading researchers, Robert Balfanz of the Johns Hopkins Center for the Social Organization of Schools and Mark Dynarski from Mathematica Policy Research, who attempted to explain the debate over how best to calculate dropout rates and to present new research on the most effective strategies to reduce those rates. Significantly, they found that, of the two programs that could be shown to be effective in reducing dropouts, both assigned a professional staff person to work as caseworker/student advocate — personally following up on student absences, linking students and their families with needed social services, coordinating with teachers and parents, and working intensively with students who are at risk of dropping out. The forum on improving the teaching and learning of mathematics (May 2005) led to the initiative below.

Educating Teachers: Special Knowledge for the Teaching of Mathematics

Consistent with Al Shanker’s view that standards would never work as an isolated element, the Institute has placed spe-

cial focus on teacher development and core curriculum, two elements it deems crucial to the success of standards-driven change.

- A meeting in Oct. 2005 on how to improve teacher education provided an interesting intersection with the forum on improving mathematics teaching. A small group of experts was asked to help advise the Institute’s board on sound strategies for improving teacher education, both preservice and inservice, and on those areas where Institute involvement would have the greatest impact. The group included Deborah Loewenberg Ball, dean of the University of Michigan’s School of Education; Robert Floden, professor of teacher education, measurement and quantitative methods, and educational policy at Michigan State University, and director of the Institute for Research on Teaching and Learning; William Schmidt, university distinguished professor at Michigan State University and co-director of the Education Policy Center; and Suzanne Wilson, professor of teacher education at Michigan State University and director of the Center for the Scholarship of Teaching. Several board members: David K. Cohen, Antonia Cortese, E.D. Hirsch, Sol Hurwitz, Ed McElroy, and Diane Ravitch also attended.

- What resulted was a major initiative for developing new research, course work, and materials for the mathematics education of elementary and middle school teachers. In collaboration with a research team at the University of Michigan, headed by Dean of Education Deborah Loewenberg Ball, the Shanker Institute has been working to raise funds for the design, field testing, evaluation, and dissemination of a model core curriculum in mathematics that could be used to strengthen

Albert Shanker believed that a strong public education system was crucial to a strong democracy. In principle and aspiration, it created the first — and only — common space where all parts of a multi-ethnic, multi-class society could meet and learn to live together.

These conversations provided an overview of current debates on how contract provisions affect teacher policies, and looked at what the research really says about effective teacher preparation, induction, assignment, and compensation policies.

teacher education, both preservice and inservice. Ball and her colleagues are at the forefront of efforts to investigate, define, and document the mathematical knowledge needed for successful teaching. They have done so through empirical study of teaching and through the development of instruments to measure the mathematical knowledge needed to carry out the tasks that teachers face in classrooms — such as assessing student work, representing numbers and operations, and explaining common mathematical rules or procedures. The students of teachers who did well on these items were found to make greater achievement gains in mathematics than did other students. This collaboration hopes to develop materials, course outlines, and curriculum, based on this work, that could be assessed for its effect of teacher knowledge, teaching practice, and student achievement and replicated, both in education schools and professional development programs for teachers already on the job.

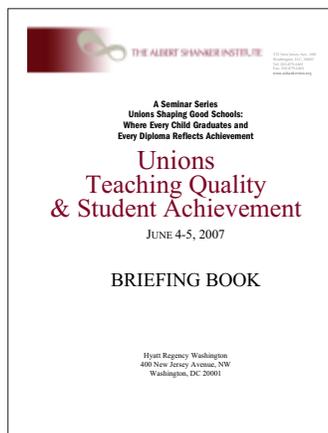
Unions Shaping Good Schools

In 2007, the Albert Shanker Institute launched a new seminar series for union leaders, superintendents and researchers. After years of discrete Washington-based forums that attracted participants according to topical interest, it seemed wise to target key players with a more strategic agenda that could be developed more deeply over several meetings. Exposure to good research remains a priority for these seminars, but the focus on the thorny issues on which labor-management cooperation is necessary for any real change to take hold.

The series began with two off-the-record conversations held in June 2007 and Jan. 2008, involving local and national AFT leaders, superintendents from some of those locals, members of the Shanker Institute Board of Directors, and policy experts and researchers. These conversations provided an overview of current debates on how contract provisions affect teacher policies, and looked at what the research really says about effective teacher preparation, induction, assignment, and compensation policies. They also experimented with some key features that are unusual in the field of education. Most significantly, practitioners, administrators, and researchers had an equal place at the table, interacting as both participants and presenters. The presenters have included Rudy Crew, superintendent, Miami-Dade County Public Schools; Eric Hirsch, director of special projects, New Teacher Center at UC-Santa Cruz; Susan Moore Johnson, Carl H. Pforzheimer, Jr. professor of teaching and learning, Harvard University; Diane Ravitch, research professor of education, New York University; William Schmidt, university distinguished professor of education, Michigan State University, and director, U.S. Teacher Education Study in Mathematics; Randi Weingarten, president, United Federation of Teachers; and Suzanne Wilson, chair of Michigan

State University's department of teacher education and director of the College of Education's Center for the Scholarship of Teaching, among others.

The series will build on this framework, inviting a somewhat larger group of locals to participate along with their respective district superintendents and a committed group of serious



researchers and leading experts to engage in conversations with each other on how to help create, sustain, and support good schools for all children.

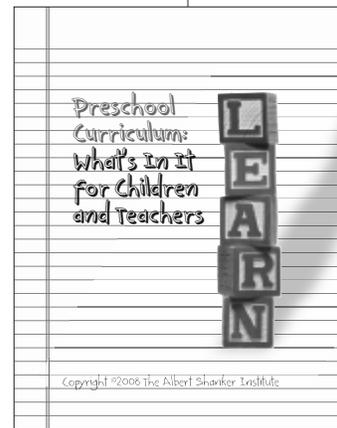
The premise of the series is that district partners need to come to a working consensus on such topics as supports for new teachers, quality professional development, policies that help with the staffing of low performing schools, and differentiated pay, especially where there is good research to help guide the way. Researchers, in turn, benefit from understanding how their work does and does not correspond to the practical realities of classroom life. A growing list of prospective participants now include labor-management teams from such locales as ABC School District, CA; Baltimore, MD; Dade County, FL; New York, NY; North Suburban, IL; Pittsburgh, PA; Plattsburgh, NY; San Francisco, CA; St. Paul, MN; Tampa, FL; and Toledo, OH, among others.

**Raising the Bar for
Early Childhood Educators:**

What the Best Research has to Say

In fall 2008, the Institute will release a new report, *Preschool Curriculum: What's in it for Children and Teachers?* Based on a review of research on how and how much very young children can learn in the domains of language, literacy, mathemat-

ics, and science, the report offers practical advice on how to strengthen preschool curriculum, as well as a rich array of resources on where to learn more. A summary version, designed for easy use by early childhood educators and state and local policymakers, will be available in published form. A longer, more detailed version will be published online. Both make clear that working with young children requires highly specialized educational preparation and unique knowledge and experience. The report has been reviewed by respected experts in the field, including Barbara Bowman, co-founder and president emeritus of the Erikson Institute; Sue Bredekamp, director of research at the Council for Early Childhood Professional Recognition; Susan Neuman, professor of education at the University of Michigan and former U.S. Assistant Secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education; and Robert Siegler, Teresa Heinz Professor of cognitive psychology at Carnegie Mellon University. Already, some who have read it are considering its use as a guide in designing education and training programs for early childhood workers and teachers.



SELECTED PRESS COVERAGE

Lack of Research, Data Hurts Dropout Efforts, Experts Say

Despite widespread concern about high school students' dropping out before earning a diploma, research doesn't offer much in the way of proven methods of addressing the problem, experts said last week.

Only eight programs have been researched rigorously enough to merit their inclusion in the federal What Works Clearinghouse, which was established in 2002 by the Institute of Education Sciences to provide a source of scientific evidence about what works in education. That's just one of the challenges a panel of experts discussed at a May 3 forum on dropout prevention sponsored by the Albert Shanker

Institute, a Washington-based think tank named after the late president of the American Federation of Teachers.

...“This is a very under researched area,” said Mark Dynarski, one of the panelists and the principal investigator for dropout prevention for the IES, an arm of the U.S. Department of Education.... A few of the successful dropout-prevention programs seek to halt that slow slide [of absenteeism] by designating one adult to follow up with small groups of students at risk of dropping out. . . .

CHRISTINA A. SAMUELS
Education Week
May 9, 2007

They Can Write

With funding from the Albert Shanker Institute, the *Concord Review* commissioned a study of the state of the history research paper in public high schools in America in 2002. We found that, while 95 percent of teachers praised the value of research papers, 81 percent never assigned a 5,000-word paper, and 62 percent never assigned a 3,000-word paper in history classes. Most teachers said they simply did not have time to assign, monitor, and read history papers.... There are real consequences for students who go on to college or to jobs. The Business Roundtable reported on a survey of its member companies in 2004...that they were spending \$3,090,943,194 on remedial writing courses for their salaried and hourly employees.

WILLIAM FITZHUGH
The New York Sun
Sept. 23, 2006

Teaching the Values of Memorial Day

In a tribute to the democratic values and institutions commemorated by Memorial Day, members of the Cheektowaga Central Teachers Association organized Memorial Day activities for students. The Erie County local provided students with pencils imprinted with the celebration's theme: “American Dreams: Tied Together by Freedom, Democracy and Sacrifice.”

“What we're trying to do here is go back and look at the true meaning of Memorial Day,” said Janet Goddard, president of the CCTA.... “What we tried to do was recognize the commitment and sacrifice that our people overseas are making, and bring it home to the students,” said CCTA member Jon Marcussen, who was on the committee that planned the Memorial Day events.

The CCTA celebration was... [inspired] by a campaign organized by the Albert Shanker Institute, *Education for Democracy*, which calls for improvement in the teaching of American civic values.

New York Teacher
June 16, 2004

Where Should County Find Leader of School System

The Albert Shanker Institute (a non-partisan policy organization of the American Federation of Teachers) recently released a remarkable study entitled *Education for Democracy* citing a crisis in American education and calling on our schools to “purposely impart to their students the learning necessary for an informed, reasoned allegiance to the ideals of a free society.” [Thomas] Jefferson reached much the same conclusion 225 years ago....

The Tennessean
March 28, 2004

Textbooks Flunk Test: Dumbing Down and PC Distort U.S. History, Critics Say

Most textbooks, produced by a handful of giant commercial publishers, are exposing generations of children to cultural and history amnesia that threatens the very basis of American free institutions and liberties, warn leading historians who are calling for better-defined, more rigorous state teaching standards.

Just 11 percent of eighth-graders show proficient knowledge of U.S. history on standardized tests — down from 17 percent in 2001, [according to Paul] Gagnon, ...emeritus professor of history at the university of Massachusetts.... “Less than half knew the Supreme Court could decide a law’s constitutionality,” he said in the Albert Shanker Institute study titled *Educating Democracy: State Standards to Ensure a Civic Core*.

“Secondary and college students, and indeed most of the rest of us, have only a feeble grasp of politics and a vague awareness of history, especially the political history of the United States and the world,” says Gagnon.

GEORGE ARCHIBALD
The Washington Times
March 24, 2004



There are a growing number of professional, technical, and contingent workers who are expressing increased interest – by a large majority – in labor organizations that will give them a greater say over their professional lives, compensation, and working conditions.

LABOR

After many decades of decline, the basic trends of the American labor movement improved somewhat in 2007, with a slight increase in overall trade union membership. Still, the percentage of unionized employees in wage and salaried

positions rose just one-tenth of one percent, from 12 percent to 12.1. Albert Shanker believed that the future for much of the labor movement lay in the organization of white collar, professional, and public sector employees. The AFT's continuous growth since 1973 in teacher, health care, and other professional categories indicates the wisdom of this commitment. The Bureau of Labor Statistics bears this out as well: out of 15.7 million total union members in the United States, for the first time more than half are white collar and public sector employees. And, while many other private-sector unions continue to decline, these sectors are both the fastest growing occupational groups in the nation and are now a majority of organized union members. What may be more significant is that there are a growing number of professional, technical, and contingent workers who are expressing increased interest — by a large majority — in labor organizations that will give them a greater say over their professional lives, compensation, and working conditions.

Albert Shanker argued that trade unions remain the most democratic institution in a society, because they provide members with a much stronger voice both in the workplace and in the halls of government. The current low rates of unionization do not mean unions have less value as economic organizations. (Indeed, one good piece of news is that union membership still brings demonstrable

economic gains — an average increase of \$200 in weekly earnings, better health care benefits, better pension benefits, and other opportunities.) But, it does mean that workers have less influence on their country's politics and laws.

Much of the Albert Shanker Institute's work in this area has been devoted to better understanding the trends and pressures that have resulted in low unionization rates and to seeking out and developing new ideas for countering them. In 2000, the Institute released a novel research report on the attitudes and opinions of professional and technical employees, including the key kinds of features and functions they would want in a workplace organization to represent them. Workforce development, one area identified as a priority by prospective members, is also a field in which unions have a vested and historic interest. Thus, the Institute initiated an ongoing effort to research and explore issues related to workforce development, and to innovative union roles and structures that could help to attract new members. As part of this work, the Institute (working with the New Economy Information Service) spearheaded a program aimed at educating American trade unionists, and especially AFT leaders and constituent groups, about successful workforce development programs in the United Kingdom, especially the "union learning representative" model developed by the British

Trades Union Congress (TUC). This initiative, now a government-labor-private sector partnership, is credited for a significant rise in TUC membership.

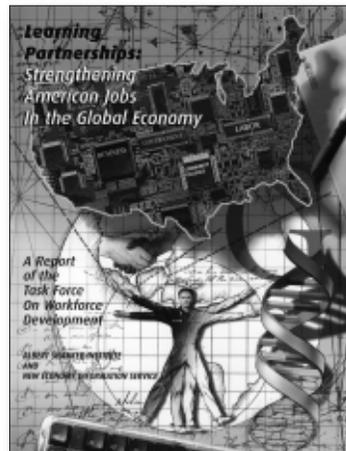
WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT

Promoting Labor's Workforce Development Agenda

■ Shortly after its founding, the Albert Shanker Institute began to initiate discussions in the American labor movement on the need to focus more attention on training and skills development. In 2001, the Institute hosted the first in a series of public forums, private discussions, trips, and events on the topic. A seminar co-sponsored by the Institute and the New Economy Information Service (NEIS) brought together trade union leaders and researchers from the U.S. and several European countries to discuss union experiences with training and professional development as a basis for improved labor-management relations, member service, and organizing new members. In 2003, as a follow-up to this work, the Institute and NEIS put together the Task Force on Workforce Development, composed of key representatives from labor, business, academia, and public policy research. The two organizations also organized two task force trips to the United Kingdom to investigate the British Trades Union Congress' successful programs in this area. Beginning under a hostile Conservative Party government and expanding dramatically under Labor Party rule, the British labor movement has institutionalized a new role in the workplace — the union learning representative. These union representatives, working along-

side stewards and health and safety representatives, help workers advance in their careers and counsel them on how to obtain the education and skills-development they want and need. The program has been credited with improving the public image of unions, creating new and stronger labor-management partnerships, and helping unions to recruit and activate new members.

■ In 2004, the Task Force on Workforce Development released a comprehensive report, *Learning Partnerships: Strengthening American Jobs in the Global Economy*. In it, task force members proposed far-reaching changes in the way the United States manages its



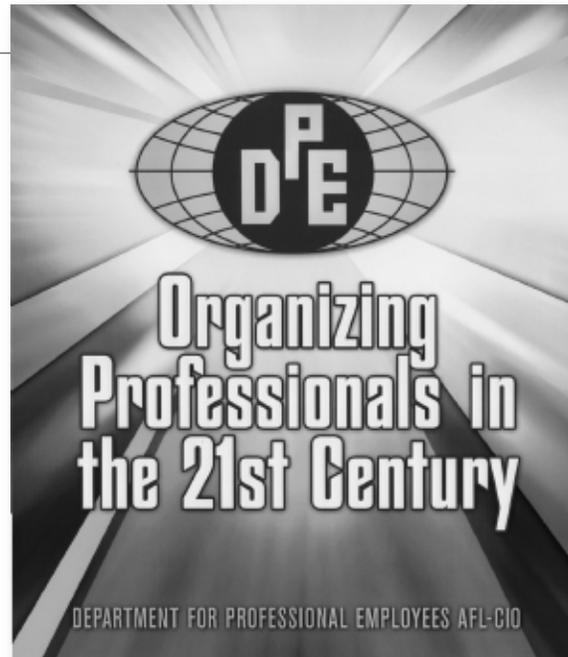
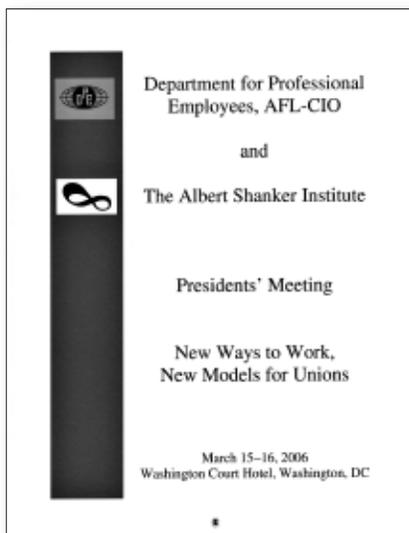
work-force skills and training efforts. It was argued that, while technological change and global competition buffet our labor markets, the U.S. needs to do far more to help incumbent workers keep their jobs and prepare for new, high-skilled employment opportunities. The report also concluded that

“political leadership on all sides has yet to give adequate attention to this challenge” and that “labor must now consider its traditional role in training and credentialing workers as one of the major missions of the modern labor movement.” The report generated widespread interest, especially in the public policy community that works in the areas of economic development and workforce training.

■ In 2005, the Institute continued its partnership with the NEIS by sponsoring a July forum with the National Association of Workforce Boards, “Partnership for Sustaining High End Employment,” at the Pennsylvania

Convention Center in Philadelphia. It featured U.K. trip participants in a “give and take” setting with employers and local union leaders from around the nation.

- In March 2005, the Albert Shanker Institute began a partnership with the AFL-CIO Department for Professional Employees (DPE), sponsoring a national conference on “Organizing Professionals in the 21st Century.” The event drew 200 participants from more than 20 national unions, professional associations, and universities. The effort was the first of its kind: drawing upon different models and offering new research to explore innovative ways of organizing and representing members. Polls and featured presentations from the British TUC and the Kaiser Permanente labor coalition highlighted the importance of a skills agenda for labor and the potential benefit of workplace learning representatives. *Marketplace* radio, *Business Week*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, BNA and other news outlets covered the event.
- In March 2006, the Institute and DPE collaborated on “New Ways to Work, New Models for Unions,” a meeting for national union presidents, their top



assistants, and organizing and training directors. The group discussed the British learning representative model (described above) as well as other union-delivered professional development and career advancement programs, with a focus on those that serve professional and technical workers. Participants also considered the appeal of professional associations to professionals who may be leery of unions, and examined the approaches of these organizations to workplace development and member recruitment. Participating unions formed a task force of top staff to guide the group toward concrete next steps, including the development of pilot projects at the state and local levels.

- In 2008, the Institute began a new partnership with the National Labor College/George Meany Center for Labor Studies of the AFL-CIO, also focusing on the issues of workforce skills, career development, and lifelong learning. A June planning meeting, including Shanker Institute board members and staff, labor college representatives, AFL-CIO representatives, national union leaders, and workforce

The effort was the first of its kind: drawing upon different models and offering new research to explore innovative ways of organizing and representing members.

development experts, will formulate a white paper that might be presented to presidential candidates in this election year. This will be followed by a broader discussion of the goals set forth in the white paper and how best to accomplish them.

AFT and the Union

Learning Representative Model

- Within the American labor movement, the American Federation of Teachers is at the forefront of efforts to follow-up on the potential benefits of the workplace development agenda. A number of AFT leaders participated in the first two Shanker Institute-sponsored study trips to the United Kingdom to explore the union learning representative model. This model, while begun as a trade union initiative, is now a government-supported partnership. Support from the government extends to the private sector, where union members choose a union learning representative to assist workers in their pursuit of ongoing education, workplace skills, and career advancement. Many in the British Trades Union Congress (TUC), including two successive secretaries general, credit the union learning program with helping to support a rise in U.K. union membership over the last decade.
- To further support interest in the union learning representative model within the AFT, the Institute organized two additional U.K. study trips for AFT leaders, one in May 2006, led by AFT and Shanker Institute Secretary-Treasurer Nat LaCour, and the second in April 2007, led by AFT and Shanker Institute President Edward J. McElroy and AFT Executive Vice President Antonia Cortese. The groups met with three major teacher unions and other unions representing public employees and civil servants, as well as the head of one of

the many community college partners, staff from the TUC training branch of a community college and its head, communications and technology professionals, bus drivers, TUC General Secretary Brendan Barber, and members of his “UnionLearn” staff team. By the middle of 2007, representatives of every constituency in the AFT had benefited from a first-hand view of the British labor movement’s learning initiatives.

- In Dec. 2006, a number of study group participants met with the AFT’s Organizing Committee, which is responsible for developing new organizing approaches for the union. Trip participants recommended the establishment of a pilot union learning representative program within the AFT. In 2007, the members of the AFT Executive Council, acting as the corporate members of the Albert Shanker Institute, accepted these recommendations. The AFT assumed responsibility for this effort and, as of this writing, AFT affiliates in Baltimore, MD, the state of Rhode Island, and North Suburban, IL, are working to launch new pilot learning representative programs.

LANE KIRKLAND: CHAMPION OF AMERICAN LABOR

The Albert Shanker Institute provided early support to writer and scholar Arch Puddington for a biography of the late Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO president from 1979 to 1995. Puddington, former director of the League for Industrial Democracy and now vice president for publications and research at Freedom House, was uniquely suited to carry out the project as someone familiar with both Kirkland’s domestic and international work. *Lane Kirkland: Champion of American Labor* was published in early 2005, with a Feb. 9 book launch in Washington, D.C.

The Shanker Institute, Freedom House, and the National Endowment for Democracy co-sponsored the event. NED President Carl Gershman presided over the program, which included former *New York Times* columnist William Safire; former House Democratic Leader Richard Gephardt (D-MO); AFL-CIO President John Sweeney; former AFL-CIO President

Thomas R. Donahue, who also served as secretary-treasurer under Kirkland; Jack Joyce, former president of the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers; and Kirkland's widow, Irena Kirkland. Lech Walesa, founder of the Solidarity trade union and former president of Poland, sent a written tribute.

[*Lane Kirkland: Champion of American Labor*] tells the story of one of the true heroes of the struggle for freedom from totalitarianism. Through the skillful use of the power he exercised as the leader of American labor, and through his own unshakeable commitment, Lane Kirkland played a crucial role in our peaceful revolution in Poland. He did much more. Throughout the world, millions of free people owe him a debt of gratitude for his service to the democratic cause. I am gratified that the full account of his indispensable contribution to freedom has finally been written.

LECH WALESA
*Founding chairman,
Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarnosc*

SELECTED PRESS COVERAGE

A Judge in a Union? New Roles for Labor.

The idea that a judge would join a labor union once struck Stephen Bosch as absurd.

“There are many of us who thought that, to say the least, being in a union was demeaning,” said Bosch, who decides Social Security cases as an administrative law judge. But caseloads kept increasing, support staff proved less than adequate, and, in Philadelphia, Bosch said, Social Security judges don’t even have decent offices. Bosch is now the equivalent of a shop steward in an AFL-CIO union.

The judges needed a union, Bosch came to realize, “to gain enough strength to negotiate.” If

you think that unions are only factory workers toting lunch boxes, think again. Half of the AFL-CIO’s 12.9 million members are white collar, including teachers, engineers — even rocket scientists and doctors.

As union participation declines along with the nation’s manufacturing sector, organized labor wants to build its ranks with professional workers. The sell isn’t all, or even mostly, about money. It’s about professional standards and working conditions....

“The No. 1 issue is about having a voice on the job as professionals,” said Paul E. Almeida, president of the AFL-CIO’s

Department for Professional Employees. “More and more, their ability to do their job in the way they were trained to do them has been impacted.” ...

“Typically, wages are down about five on the list when we do our normal polling,” said Almeida, who presided over a recent conference of 250 union leaders and scholars...[cosponsored by the Albert Shanker Institute]... titled “Organizing Professionals in the 21st Century.”

JANE M. VON BERGEN
The Philadelphia Inquirer
March 27, 2005

Dangerous Disconnect

With global competition challenging the U.S. labor market, technological change continuing to sweep through American business, and dramatic shifts in the demographics of the U.S. labor force in the works, “the future strength of our economy rests in large measure on the skills and adaptability of the American workforce,” bluntly states this past April’s report from the Task Force on Workforce Development, a joint project of the Albert Shanker Institute and the New Economy Information Service....

Almost 80 percent of all recent U.S. job losses — not just those in manufacturing — have been structural, estimates the task force.... That means they’re gone for good. “What happens to the workers whose jobs have been permanently eliminated? They have to look for entirely new work because companies are creating entirely new jobs, not merely refilling old jobs,” the task force states.

JILL JUSKO
AND JOHN S. McCLENAHEN
Industry Week
July 1, 2004

Learning Partnerships Needed to Build Workforce Adaptability, Report Concludes

Partnerships should be initiated at the local level among employers, educators, employees, community leaders, local governments, and unions to promote employee learning, according to recommendations made in a report released April 20 by the Task Force on Workforce Development.

The report, *Learning Partnerships: Strengthening American Jobs in the Global Economy*, is based on a year-long study in the United States and the United Kingdom by labor, business, and policy specialists, which was co-sponsored by the Albert Shanker Institute and New Economy Information Service....

The task force study looks beyond the current economy, which has been shedding jobs in some sectors, to future needs as global competition and technological change confront the workforce and create new demands for well-educated and highly skilled

workers. Helping workers to identify new opportunities and to acquire skills that match them not only benefits individuals but also strengthens the economy, the report said.

Without new attention to developing workforce skills, the task force warns that there is a danger of drifting into a “low skills equilibrium” in which employers anticipate that only poorly skilled workers are available in the labor market, and shape their business strategies around those low expectations. “This can set in motion a cycle that will have destructive effects throughout our economy and for a long time to come,” the report said.

Labor Relations Week
BNA, Thursday, April 29, 2004

Report Sees Skills Crisis Without New Emphasis on Training

Without new attention to developing workforce skills, the United States could fall into a “low skills equilibrium” in which only poorly skilled workers are available and businesses expect—and get—the worst from the labor pool, a new report, *Learning Partnerships: Strengthening American Jobs in the Global Economy* warned. . . .

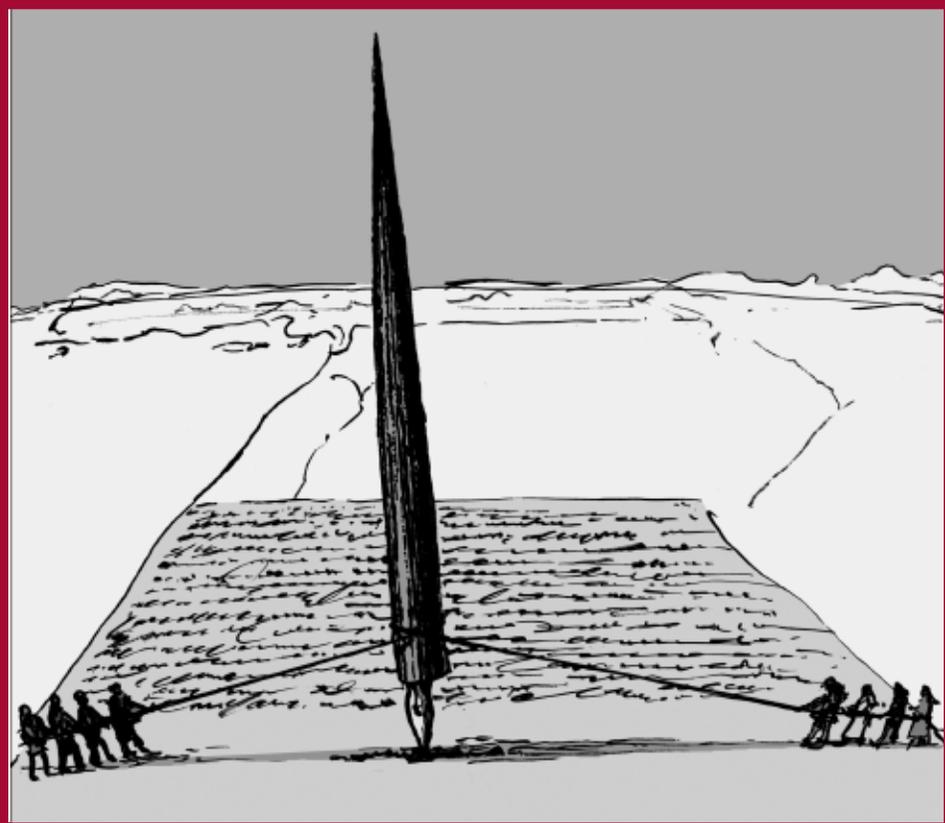
The report was issued April 20 by the Task Force on Workforce Development and was sponsored by the Albert Shanker Institute and the New Economy Informa-

tion Service. Participants in the task force included the AFL-CIO, the Business Roundtable and Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government.

The year-long study recognized the pressures—such as global competition, technological change, low literacy and the pending retirement of the baby boomers—on the ability of U.S.-based organizations to maintain a workforce that can handle big challenges today and in the future. It said the skills base of the workforce will continue to

erode without a focused approach to training and retraining U.S. employees. The report called for “a national campaign to improve the skills and professionalism of the workforce,” saying that “we must create new learning partnerships throughout our communities and workplaces” to keep jobs from heading overseas or simply disappearing.

STEVE BATES
Human Resources News
April 22, 2004



The Albert Shanker Institute will continue to promote the idea and the reality of democracy, both at home and abroad, including direct support for projects, publications, civic education activities, and discussions at conferences and seminars.

DEMOCRACY

A decade that began with the promise of the expansion of democracy has witnessed a dramatic reversal of fortune. With a few exceptions, democratic movements have been rebuffed, dictatorships have retrenched, and

a different form of totalitarian ideology has gained strength in the form of religious extremism. The war in Iraq, which some promoted as a means to foster the conditions for greater Middle Eastern democracy, has instead created increasing unrest in the region and weakened America's credibility as an advocate of democracy. Looming over all these developments is the rise of the People's Republic of China, which has successfully combined the dynamism of free market capitalism with one-party dictatorship, a model that threatens to become a viable alternative to both European-style social democracy and U.S.-style democratic capitalism. As a recent Albert Shanker Institute publication attests (see below), China's economic and political rise has been built on a foundation of political repression and low wages, which has had a profound effect on global trade and damaged the economic prospects of both emerging and developed countries. Meanwhile, China pursues alliances with some of the worst dictatorships on earth in order to secure stable supplies of natural resources and expand its markets. These political and economic trends in the world pose a challenge to democratic prospects.

As Richard Kahlenberg describes in his recent book, *Tough Liberal: Albert Shanker and the Battles over Schools, Unions, Race, and Democracy*, Al Shanker was part of a long tradition within American liberalism that believed in a strong

American foreign policy that not only promoted democracy but also social justice, with trade unions at the center of these policies. In Feb. 2008, the Albert Shanker Institute joined Freedom House and the Progressive Policy Institute in co-sponsoring a forum that asked the question "Should Labor and the Democrats Revive the Muscular Liberal Internationalism of Albert Shanker?" The answer was found in recalling Shanker's influence on numerous international questions, his alliance with former AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland and other U.S. trade union leaders, and their combined efforts to help ensure the survival of the independent Solidarnosc union in Poland. They also recalled Shanker's supporting democratic teachers' movements in South Africa, Chile, Hong Kong, Eastern Europe, and elsewhere; creating the Education for Democracy/International project; and building the largest international affairs department among U.S. unions. While such activism was considered worthy of emulation, few members of the panel or audience believed it would be easy to revive this brand of liberal internationalism.

The Albert Shanker Institute will continue to promote the idea and the reality of democracy, both at home and abroad, including direct support for projects, publications, civic education activities, and discussions at conferences and seminars. In the past five years, the Albert Shanker

Institute has chosen two strategic areas for its work in promoting democracy internationally — the People’s Republic of China and the Middle East. It also recently funded an effort to draw attention to the plight of independent trade unionists in Cuba, and it continues to answer an occasional call for assistance, as in the case of educators in Belarus. As part of its continuing work to foster democracy education and greater civic understanding among young people, the Institute has partnered with Freedom House on a multi-year project to develop a website and extra-curricular materials based on Freedom House’s annual *Survey of Freedom in the World*. It published one substantial report on worker rights in China early in 2008 and will soon release another on the difficult and very timely issue of Islam and Democracy.

“Democracy Web” Partnership with Freedom House

In 2005, the Albert Shanker Institute and Freedom House received a grant from the National Endowment for Humanities to develop materials on democracy for teachers, framed around the Freedom

House *Survey of Freedom in the World*. The NEH-approved project addressed the concrete need to improve the teaching of democracy to American students, as described in *Education for Democracy*, the Institute’s 2003 manifesto which received broad support from across the political spectrum. The Institute and Freedom House agreed that the most effective means for doing such a project would be to develop web-based background materials for teachers, ranging from high school history and civics teachers to instructors in two- and four-year colleges.

At the high school level, these materials are targeted toward Advanced Placement teachers, but could be useful to general class teachers and beyond. The materials have been developed based on the twelve criteria Freedom House uses to measure a country’s level of freedom for its annual *Freedom in the World* survey, including: Consent of the Governed; Constitutional Limits; Elections and Multi-Party Systems; Minority Rights; Accountability; Economic Freedom; Rule of Law; Human Rights; and Freedoms of Expression, Association, and Conscience. Within each category, the materials exam-

The question before us is not really, “Should Labor and the Democrats Revive the Muscular Liberal Internationalism of Albert Shanker?” The question is, rather, “In a world where people are questioning the very legitimacy of the democratic imperative, who will champion the notion that there are certain universal values that transcend ethnicity, race, tribe and culture?” Humankind strives to be free — to think what they wish, to associate freely with others, to speak their minds and challenge orthodoxy. Who will pick up the banner of “tough liberalism” if not democrats, civil and human rights advocates and, most of all, the free labor movement?

HERB MAGIDSON
*Board member, Albert Shanker Institute, and former chair,
AFT Democracy Committee*

ine three countries that meet the criteria to a lesser or greater extent, based on Freedom House's survey designations of free, partly free, and not free, with added contemporary and historical background and materials. In this way, students can be introduced to the theory and practice of both democracy and authoritarianism through concrete examples rooted in the contemporary problems of real countries. At present, the materials have been fully developed and edited and the web site is under design. It is expected to be up and running by the end of 2008.

Unionism and Democracy

In April 2005, the Albert Shanker Institute organized a major three-day seminar in Washington, D.C. called "Unionism and Democracy: The Experience, the Legacy, the Future." The meeting was organized in cooperation with the AFT International Affairs Department and sponsored in part by a grant from the ILGWU Heritage Fund. Aimed at educating new AFT leaders on the rationale and history behind labor's current support of democracy and worker rights in the world, the seminar also included many observers from the AFL-CIO International Affairs Department, the AFL-CIO's Solidarity Center, and representatives from several other unions. All told, there were more than 70 participants. The program included speakers on how their commitment to democratic values has shaped the history of the AFT and AFL-CIO, at home and abroad, and how that legacy can help shape labor's response to the challenges of globalization and dictatorship.

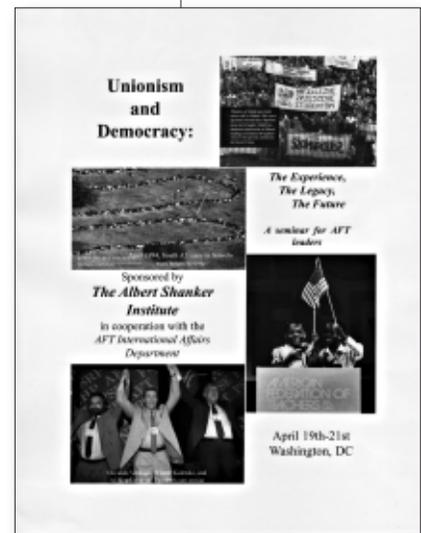
Two Institute board members addressed the seminar: Tom Donahue, former secretary-treasurer and president of the AFL-CIO, spoke on the history of labor's support for freedom of association and the federation's principle of not meeting with or recognizing sham unions

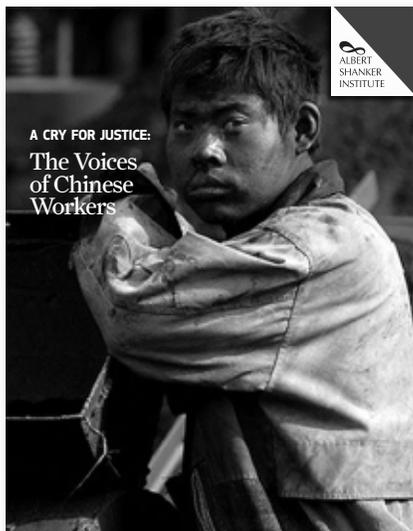
sponsored by the state or employers; and Diane Ravitch, research professor of education at New York University, discussed how U.S. history textbooks dismiss or minimize the role of labor in domestic and international affairs. Barbara Shailor, AFL-CIO international affairs director, discussed the federation's work in China, while powerful narratives of the labor movements in the Middle East, China, and South Africa were offered by Walid Hamdan from the International Labor Organization's office in Beirut; Han Dongfang, a Chinese trade union activist and director of the Hong Kong-based *China Labour Bulletin*; and Thulas Nxesi, president of Education International and general secretary of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union.

The "Unionism and Democracy" program gave rise to a new series of seminars, which aim to renew a national conversation within the labor movement, as well as between labor and other interested parties, about the importance of freedom of association to democracy-building and about the importance of both to the labor movement. Three follow-up seminars were organized around the Albert Shanker Institute's regions of focus, two on China and one on the Middle East (see below), making a total of four seminars on labor and democracy in this period.

Labor and Democracy Seminars, Reports, Programs: China

The first China seminar was held in April 2006. The Institute hosted a meeting of 50 representatives from nine unions, from both AFL-CIO and Change to Win affiliates, entitled "Democracy and





Worker Rights: A Discussion on Labor’s Approach to China.” The issue of China — and especially whether to engage in a formal relationship with the ACFTU, the official state union federation — is one of the major differences between the two labor federations. The meeting was addressed by AFT and Shanker Institute President Edward McElroy; two prominent China experts, Andrew Nathan (Columbia University) and James Mann (School for Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University); Han Dongfang, a Chinese labor and democracy activist and founder of the *China Labour Bulletin* (CLB); and Lee Cheuk Yan, general secretary of the Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions and a Democracy Party member of the Hong Kong Legislative Council. Institute board member Herb Magidson led a discussion about the nature of U.S. labor’s response to the challenge of China and explained the AFT’s reasons for adhering to the historic AFL-CIO policy of “no contacts” with official unions, such as the All China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU), and direct support to independent worker activists. Debbie Schneider of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), a Change to Win affiliate, discussed her union’s decision to work with the ACFTU.

The Albert Shanker Institute continued the discussion at a second seminar on China in Jan. 2008. At this seminar—“Labor Law Reform in China: What are the Implications for Worker Rights and Political Liberalization?” — more than 50 trade unionists, academics, worker rights activists, attorneys, and other China specialists gathered to consider the implications of a new “labor contract law” in China, which took effect Jan. 1, 2008. This “reform” law supposedly provides

increased job security and legal protections for workers in private industry, especially the growing foreign-owned sector, but only through reinforcing the monopoly role of the ACFTU as the sole official union organization. All of the human and worker rights activists were skeptical about the possibilities for organizing under the new law, given its continued ban on freedom of association for workers. Chinese labor activist Han Dongfang, however, argued that even the limited potential for collective bargaining for workers allowed by the legislation should be put to the test as a means of pressuring for real reform. The American trade union participants, coming from both AFL-CIO and Change to Win, engaged in an intense debate over the role of the international labor movement in China and the implications for Chinese workers of both formal and informal contacts with the ACFTU. Some union participants argued that contact with the ACFTU is part of protecting their members’ self-interest. Others, however, noted that visits by U.S. and European trade union leaders have done nothing to improve the lives of Chinese workers, and have been used by the ACFTU as a way to legitimize the continued political and economic exploitation of workers. Far from advancing the interests of American workers, they said, such contacts undermine the principle of free and independent unions.

In conjunction with the seminar on Chinese labor law reform, the Albert Shanker Institute scheduled the release of two new major reports. The first, produced by the Institute, describes how China’s “economic miracle” relies on brutally suppressing worker rights and maintaining low standards of wages and working conditions. The other, produced by the *China Labour Bulletin*, cites both government and independent sources in describing the rise of

worker resistance in mainland China. The Institute report, *A Cry for Justice: The Voices of Chinese Workers*, tells the stories of workers, in their own words, as they protest for a redress of grievances — usually in defiance of their employers, governmental authorities, the official union, and threats of violence and imprisonment. The accounts are based on interviews by Han Dongfang, China’s leading labor rights advocate and *CLB* director. A press conference on the publications, featuring Han Dongfang, was covered by several news outlets and aired on Radio Free Asia.

Labor and Democracy Seminars, Reports, Programs: The Middle East

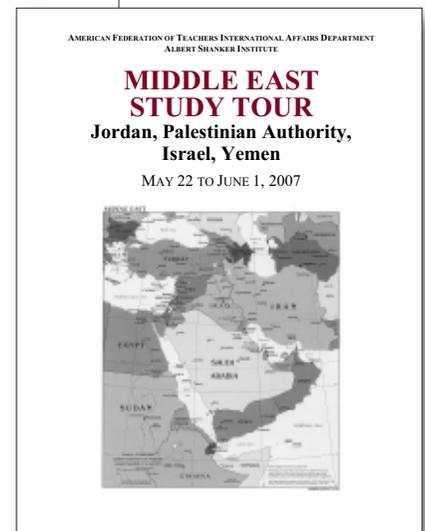
In Feb. 2007, the Shanker Institute organized the first labor and democracy seminar on the Middle East, “The Challenge for Democracy in the Middle East: The Art of the Possible.” The 50 participants, mostly union leaders from the AFT, heard a major presentation by Dennis Ross, former Middle East envoy for President Clinton and the first President Bush, who described the current peace talk situation in relation to the ongoing and, in some cases, deepening conflicts in the region. Several experts from the region also gave presentations on the political, religious, and demographic complexities on the ground and on the design and prospects of actual democracy programs that are underway in the region. The program gave participants an opportunity to reflect on the challenges faced by American organizations working in the Middle East in light of past and present U.S. policy.

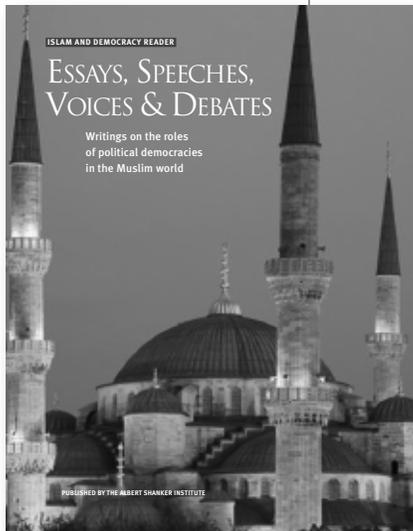
One recommendation arising from the Middle East seminar was that the AFT and the Albert Shanker Institute become more involved in concrete actions promoting both democracy and peace in the region. As a result, the Institute, in partnership with the AFT International Affairs Department, organized an eight-person union

leadership study trip to the Middle East in May 2007. The group was led by Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers President Ted Kirsch, a Shanker Institute board member and AFT vice president, and included Paul Babich (United Teachers of Wichita), Ken Brynien (New York State Public Employees Federation), Louis Mal-faro (Education Austin), Cathleen McCann (AFT Great Lakes Regional Director), and Mary Cathryn Ricker (St. Paul Federation of Teachers). The delegation had an intensive schedule of meetings with teachers and other trade unionists from Israel, the Palestinian Authority, Jordan, Iraq, and Yemen, as well as with country and regional representatives of the AFL-CIO’s Solidarity Center, the Democratic Party’s National Democratic Institute, and U.S. Embassies. The group returned from the region in agreement about the vital importance of the AFT’s international work, especially in the Middle East, and, among other things, recommended that the AFT amplify its role in facilitating communication among conflicting parties, especially between Israel and the West Bank.

As a consequence of the trip and Dennis Ross’ recommendations to the Feb. seminar and, later, the members of the Shanker Institute’s board of directors, the Institute board has instructed the staff to further explore the possibility of assisting the Union of Palestinian Teachers in developing education programs for students and members that would help it deliver good programs and improve public support for the organization.

As part of its ongoing effort to improve the teaching of democracy in the schools, in 2008 the Albert Shanker Institute will release an *Islam and Democracy Reader: Essays, Speeches, Voices, and Debates*, with writings and resources that





could be used in the classroom. Institute staff, working in cooperation with Egyptian democracy activist Saad Eddin Ibrahim, director of the Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies, put together a broadly based reader that features democrats from the Muslim world describing the struggle against both dictatorship and violent, anti-modernist, anti-democratic, tendencies within Islam. The volume exposes American students to democratic perspectives on the political and

religious upheavals now underway in the Islamic world and provides a platform for Muslims who support democratic ideals. The publication makes clear that the democrats featured in the volume are a distinct minority in their countries, most of which remain dominated by authoritarian structures. The democrats themselves disagree as to the importance religion and religious belief should play in any democratic transformation of the region. But, if

other regions are any guide, these voices are the ones that will make a substantial difference in the coming years.

Academic Freedom in Belarus

In 2005, the Shanker Institute provided a grant to the Belarus Humanities Lyceum in Minsk, after its premises had been taken away by the repressive government of Anatoly Lukashenka. Reorganized as a “flying school,” in which students went from apartment to apartment for classes, the Lyceum was desperate for support to keep this unique venture going. In Belarus, the native language, Belarusan, is discriminated against in favor of the Soviet-imposed Russian language, which is preferred by the Soviet-styled Lukashenka regime. The Lyceum is the only secondary school in Belarus teaching in the country’s native language. It is also the only one that has designed an independent curriculum that fosters principles of democracy and teaches accurate history. The one-time grant helped to keep the Lyceum alive until it was able to be supported by other means.

SELECTED PRESS COVERAGE

Teacher Labor Abuses in China Chronicled

As China’s economy surges, many of the workers powering that growth are coping with low wages, scarce legal protections, and poor on-the-job conditions—not just in mines and factories, but also in classrooms, a leading labor advocate from that country contends.

Han Dongfang, who took part in the Tiananmen Square protests and now directs a Chinese labor-rights organization [China Labor Bulletin], detailed

concerns about the rights of educators and other workers at [a National Press Club press conference] that coincided with the release of a pair of reports on labor conditions in China. . . . [The event was] arranged with the help of the Albert Shanker Institute. . . .

Many teachers, particularly in rural areas, work for little pay and with few resources and with no opportunity to improve their working conditions through

organized labor, Mr. Han said. “There are no bargaining rights at all. Not only are teachers left behind, children are left behind.”

SEAN CAVANAGH
Education Week
Jan. 23, 2008

Shanker, Democrats and Foreign Policy

Should labor and the Democrats revive the muscular liberal internationalism of Albert Shanker? That was the title of a panel discussion Wednesday, sponsored by Freedom House, the Progressive Policy Institute, and the Albert Shanker Institute. Shanker was a legendary leader of the New York City teachers union, who became president of the American Federation of Teachers. A liberal on many domestic issues, he was staunchly anti-communist and fought vigorously for the freedom of the Warsaw Pact nations in Eastern Europe, including providing help as fledgling free labor movements cropped up in those countries and challenged both Communist hegemony and the role of the official, government-backed trade unions.

In that sense, Shanker was a throwback to the no-nonsense foreign policy favored by Democratic icons such as Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Harry Truman and John F. Kennedy — policies that served the nation and the party well. Along with traditional foreign policy, Shanker understood that the security of America and the wellbeing of American workers were tied to the freedom of their counterparts overseas to organize unions and fight for a better life...

Wednesday's discussion featured scholars and labor leaders highly knowledgeable about these topics. Richard Kahlenberg of the Century Foundation wrote the marvelous new book, *Tough Liberal: Albert Shanker and the Battles over Schools, Unions, Race, and Democracy*. Will Marshall is presi-

dent of the Progressive Policy Institute, while Carl Gershman is president of the National Endowment for Democracy. Arch Puddington, director of research at Freedom House, wrote a top-notch book called *Lane Kirkland: Champion of Labor*, about the former AFL-CIO president. Harold Mey-

erson is a syndicated columnist and an editor at *The American Prospect*. And Herb Magidson is former vice president of the American Federation of Teachers and board member of the Shanker Institute.

PHILIP DINE
St. Louis Post-Dispatch blog
Feb. 20, 2008

How Big a Deal Are Strikes in China?

It seems like every week a news story will surface about how horrifying labor abuses in China are proceeding apace. After awhile, it all starts to blend together, since nothing ever changes. But this recent booklet from the Albert Shanker Institute, documenting the growing outburst of wildcat strikes and demonstrations around the country, is worth highlighting. The vignettes are compiled from interviews that labor activist Han Dongfang has done with Chinese workers over the past decade, through his radio show broadcast from Hong Kong. Han, whose personal story is riveting in its own right, gave a talk in D.C. this week where he estimated that strikes, many involving thousands workers, now happen daily in China. Is that a big deal? It might be.

None of these demonstrations involve China's "official" union, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (which usually just orders the rabble to get back to work). In his talk, Han mentioned something I'd never heard: Although the ACFTU claims to represent 90 percent of Chinese workers, most of said "representation" consists of sending out a fax to newly formed companies, getting back a fax with some names scribbled on it, and putting the form in a filing cabinet. Indeed, the fact that many NGOs are now providing legal aid to workers and doing things the ACFTU should be doing means that state union is increasingly irrelevant...

BRADFORD PLUMER
The New Republic
blog, Jan. 18, 2008

A Cry for Justice: The Voices of Chinese Workers

"[The report] produced by the Albert Shanker Institute...[t]ells the stories of workers demonstrating in open defiance of the government — from the oilfields of Daqing, the ferroalloy workers of Liaoyang, the Heavenly King textile workers of Xianyang, the

Gold Peak battery factory workers of Huizhou, coal miners from Wanbao, teachers from Suizhou, and ex-soldiers who work in factories around the country run by the People's Liberation Army."

Corporate Crime Reporter
Jan. 15, 2008

A Living Heritage

Seymour Martin Lipset Lecture on Democracy in the World

The Albert Shanker Institute has supported a series of lectures, sponsored by the National Endowment for Democracy and the University of Toronto's Munk Centre for International Studies, and named after Seymour Martin Lipset, one of the nation's most influential and prolific social scientists who was also a founding member of the Albert Shanker Institute's Board of Directors (see also page 40). The series began in 2004, before Lipset's death in Dec. 2006.

The range and breadth of the lectures has been impressive. The first lecturer was former Brazilian President Hernando Enrique Cardoso (2004), speaking on "Scholarship and Statesmanship"; the second was political scientist Francis Fukuyama speaking on "Identity, Immigration, and Liberal Democracy"; the third was Saad Eddin Ibrahim (2006), an Egyptian democracy activist and founder of the Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies in Cairo, who spoke on "Toward Islamic Democracies"; and the fourth was Pierre Hassner (2007), research director emeritus at the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales in Paris, who delivered a lecture called "Russia's Transition to Autocracy: The Implications for World Politics." (All of the lectures are available at the NED web site, www.ned.org.)

National Council for History Education's Paul Gagnon Prize

The Albert Shanker Institute, along with the American Federation of Teachers and many individual donors, has also contributed to the establishment of the National Council for History Education's (NCHE) Paul Gagnon Prize. The Gagnon Prize honors the memory of Paul A. Gagnon, co-founder of the NCHE, long-time friend of the AFT and the Institute, and an eloquent advocate for history and excellence in history teaching at the K-12 level.

Paul was a pioneer in the field of democratic education and a thoughtful voice on how best to introduce the history of democracy into a rich, common core curriculum for all citizens. He was the primary author of the first *Education for Democracy: A Statement of Principles*, released in 1987, which called for "schools to purposely impart to their students the learning necessary for an informed, reasoned allegiance to the ideals of a free society." He was also the author of the Albert Shanker Institute's 2003 report, *Educating Democracy: State Standards To Ensure a Civic Core*, which reviewed and rated state standards in the social studies, history, and civics on the strength of their guidance for preparing a well-informed citizenry. In Feb. 2007, the first Gagnon Prize was awarded to Philip Nicolosi, a history and social studies teacher at West Morris Central High School in Chester, NJ. (For more on this prize, see www.nche.net/docs/paulgagnonprize.html.)

Civil Rights

- Previously, the Shanker Institute co-sponsored the showing of "Brother Outsider," a documentary about civil and human rights leader Bayard Rustin. Best known for his role as organizer of the March on Washington, Rustin was a longtime ally and friend of Albert Shanker and the two helped to create the A. Philip Randolph Institute as an instrument for Rustin to promote an agenda of worker and civil rights. Rustin supported the United Federation of Teachers and Shanker in New York City's 1968 Ocean Hill-Brownsville strikes in defense of due process rights for dismissed teachers as a matter of what he called "union principle." The film shows the varied aspects of Rustin — socialist, pacifist, gay, civil rights pioneer, trade union advocate, international democracy activist, and master strategist. The

film was featured at the 2003 Sundance Film Festival. In 2007, the Shanker Institute approved a grant to help the producers of the film regain rights to show it more broadly after the distributor had shelved it. It is hoped that the film will gain a wider distribution and audience as a result.

- The Shanker Institute is also providing support for the memoirs of two civil rights activists, Norman and Velma Hill, whose careers have taken them through America's struggles for integration beginning in the early 60s. Velma Hill also worked for the United Federation of Teachers and coordinated the campaign to organize paraprofessionals in New York City. Norman Hill was director and president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute for 25 years, an organization which Shanker and the AFT supported from its inception. The proposed book will be an important contribution to civil rights and trade union history. The proposed title for the book is *Climbing the Rough Side of the Mountain: The Lives of Norman and Velma Hill*.

Albert Shanker: Tough Liberal

ON LABOR DAY 2007, ten years after his death, the first major biography of Albert Shanker was formally released to widespread praise. The author, Richard Kahlenberg, has

written extensively on education and civil rights issues and had long followed Shanker's career as a trade union and education leader. Kahlenberg spent seven years researching Al's life and the events and people that shaped it. He interviewed more than 200 people who knew, worked with, agreed, and disagreed with Shanker on the central issues of his time. He poured over union and public records. The result is *Tough Liberal: Albert Shanker and the Battles Over Schools, Unions, Race, and Democracy* (New York: Columbia University Press).

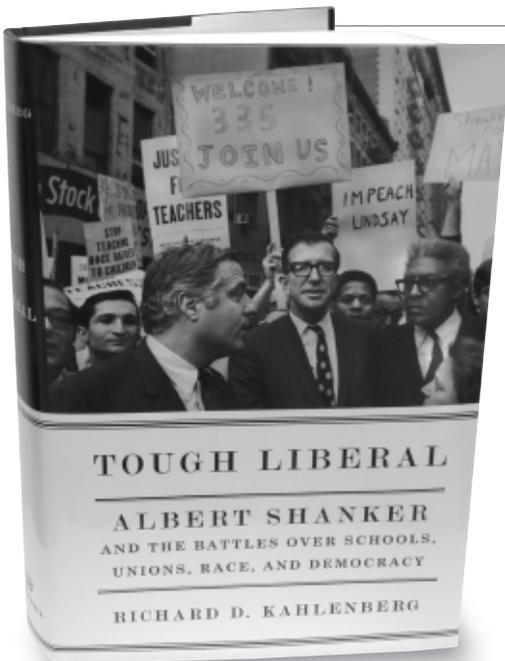
The book traces Al Shanker's commitment to public education and trade unionism back to his experience as the son of first-generation immigrants living in a poor New York City neighborhood. There he encountered vicious anti-Semitism, but also learned the value of public education to civic identity, expanding intellectual horizons, and increasing economic opportunity. Shanker began teaching in New York City's public schools as a young man, as a way to support himself while pursuing a PhD in philosophy at Columbia University, where he studied with his intellectual hero, John Dewey.

He soon found himself outraged at working conditions. What struck him most was the basic unfairness to teachers — the low pay, lack of dignity, and lack of voice. Shanker's dogged efforts at unionizing teachers, his ability to lead his members — who, by the end of the 1960s, included para-professionals — and his skills at negotiating with city officials, gave rise to the country's and the world's largest local union, the United Federation of Teachers. Nationally, his efforts brought about the rapid transformation of education into the most organized sector in the country.

As Kahlenberg points out, most leaders are satisfied with such achievements, but Al clearly saw the increasing dangers to both public education and the labor movement as a conservative political movement swept America. He advocated transformational reforms and challenged his union's members. He urged a restructuring of the AFT into a broader union of professionals and argued for expanded organizing efforts into the fields of nursing, public service, higher education, and preschool. He asked all these constituencies to re-shape their union's priorities

to make it crystal clear that serving members meant serving students, patients, clients, and the public too. He encouraged experiments in practices previously dismissed out of hand (such as differential pay, charter schools, and peer review), often urging new policy treatments within a collective bargaining framework, but also at the state and federal levels. As such, he became the "most influential figure" in public education "in the last half of the 20th century" and a labor leader to contend with in virtually every area of public policy.

Kahlenberg also describes Al Shanker's efforts to promote democracy, both at home and abroad, through the AFT and through involvement in the AFL-CIO's domestic and international activities. He supported and defended labor's democratic internationalism — including its single-standard opposition to both communism on the left and authoritarianism on the right— based on the principles of freedom of association and workers' right to organize. Shanker built the largest international operation of any union in the labor movement and led the AFT in support of the Solidarity trade union movement in Poland, black trade unionists in South Africa, and the "Campaign for the No" that led to General Pinochet's ouster in Chile, among other efforts. Shanker also became a leading voice for increasing pub-



lic funding for democracy promotion abroad to assist unions, political parties, and other parts of civil society.

Al Shanker embodied a political tradition of “tough liberalism” — one might call it union liberalism — with roots in George Meany’s and Lane Kirkland’s AFL-CIO and the Democratic Party of the post-World War II period. In Kahlenberg’s view, this type of liberalism still represents the best hope of American political democracy because it relies on a strong labor movement and effective public education to make opportunity more equal and give voice to those who otherwise might not be heard.

.....

Tough Liberal: Albert Shanker and the Battles Over Schools, Unions, Race, and Democracy has received attention from dozens of ideologically diverse publications, including *The American Prospect*, *The Democracy Journal*, *Education Review*, *Education*

Week, *The Nation*, *The New Leader*, *Newsday*, *The New York Post*, *Policy Review*, *Slate*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, and many others. Even past and current critics of Shanker’s positions or policies have recognized his path-breaking contributions to the labor movement and his positive contributions to teachers and unionism in the U.S. and abroad (see page 34 for a list of reviews).

The Albert Shanker Institute did not provide funding for the production of this biography, but has been an active promoter of the book, organizing and sponsoring a range of events that discuss the impact of Albert Shanker’s life on labor, education, politics, civil rights, and democracy. A list of events and speakers appears on page 35.

The book made its pre-release debut on July 12, 2007 at a special book-signing sponsored by the Albert Shanker Institute during the AFT’s biennial Quality Educational Standards in Teaching (QuEST) Conference. At the event, AFT Secretary-Treasurer Nat LaCour recalled Shanker’s early and consistent support for the United Teachers of New Orleans, one of the first integrated teachers unions organized in the South, and described Shanker as “the greatest teacher leader that this country has ever seen.” The Institute also sponsored a formal book event on Oct. 12, 2007, featuring AFT President Ed

McElroy, former AFL-CIO President Tom Donahue, former Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall, U.S. appeals court judge David Tatel, and education researcher Barak Rosenshine, among others.

On Feb. 20, 2008, the Albert Shanker Institute, along with Freedom House and the Progressive Policy Institute, also co-sponsored a forum in Washington, D.C., titled “Should Labor and the Democrats Revive the Muscular Liberal Internationalism of Albert Shanker?” In addition to remarks Richard Kahlenberg, participants heard from *Washington Post* columnist Harold Meyerson, Progressive Policy Institute president Will Marshall, Freedom House research director Arch Puddington, and two Institute board members: Carl Gershman, president of the National Endowment for Democracy, and Herb Magidson, former AFT Vice President.

The Institute has also teamed up with the AFT Human Resources Department to initiate a series of “book club” discussions for AFT staff on Shanker’s contributions and his impact on civil rights, education, labor, democracy and “tough liberalism.”

(See page 35 for a full list of sponsoring organizations and venues for signings, discussions, and other book events, as well as their featured notables.)

“Tough Liberal” in the News

- Daniel Treiman, “Al Shanker and the Strike of 1968,” *The Forward*, May 23, 2008.
- Greg Toppo, “‘Nation at Risk’: The best thing or the worst thing for education?,” *USA Today*, April 23, 2008.
- John B. Judis, “Recommended Books on Labor,” *The New Republic*, April 9, 2008.
- James Hunt and Thomas Kean, “Lesson plans for re-educating schools,” *Politico*, April 2, 2008.
- Nathan Glazer, “The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly,” *Education Next*, Spring 2008.
- Philip Dine, “Shanker, Democrats and Foreign Policy,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch Blog*, Feb. 20, 2008.
- Alexander Russo, “This Week in Education,” Feb. 17, 2008
- Rebecca C. Jones, “The Top Education Books of 2007,” *American School Board Journal*, Jan. 2008.
- Jim Sleeper, “Teaching Toughness,” *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*, Winter 2008.
- Eugenia Kemble, “Tough Liberal,” *Demokratiya*, Winter 2007
- Liam Julian, “The Shanker Legacy,” *Policy Review*, Dec. 2007/Jan. 2008.
- Adam Fairclough, “One Tough Bargainer,” *Washington Post*, Dec. 27, 2007.
- Meredith Kolodner, “Shanker, Business: A Lost Partnership?,” *The Chief*, Dec. 7, 2007.
- Jonathan Gyuroko, “Look Behind the Shanker Label,” *Edwise*, Dec. 5, 2007.
- William Scheuerman, “Twentieth Century Icon,” *On Campus*, Nov./Dec. 2007.
- Denis P. Doyle, “Tough Liberal,” *The Doyle Report*, Nov. 16, 2007.
- Michael F. Shaughnessy, “An Interview with Richard Kahlenberg About Albert Shanker,” *EdNews.org*, Nov. 15, 2007.
- Mike Antonucci, “Shanker Seance,” Nov. 1, 2007.
- “Shanker: The ‘Tough Liberal,’” *American Teacher*, Nov. 2007.
- Thomas Sugrue, “Shanker Blows Up the World,” *The Nation*, Oct. 25, 2007.
- Bob Braun, “Sharing the blame for school failures,” *Newark Star Ledger*, Oct. 25, 2007.
- Education Week Live Chat Transcript, “Tough Liberal: Albert Shanker and the Battles Over Schools, Unions, Race and Democracy,” Oct. 24, 2007.
- Joe Mehta, “Standard Error,” *American Prospect*, Oct. 22, 2007
- Linda Chavez, “Why not upgrade excellence?,” *The Washington Times*, Oct. 22, 2007.
- Sewell Chan, “Assessing the Legacy of Albert Shanker, ‘Tough Liberal,’” *New York Times* blog, Oct. 16, 2007.
- Vaishali Honawar, “Shanker Biography Depicts Evolution of AFT Leader,” *Education Week*, Oct. 3, 2007.
- Stephen Sawchuk, “Shanker envisioned system of student accountability,” *Education Daily*, Oct. 3, 2007.
- Sara Mosle, “The Man Who Transformed American Education,” *Slate*, Oct. 1, 2007.
- Paul Tenne, “Tough Liberal,” *Boston Union Teacher*, Oct. 2007.
- H. M. Levin, “Reshaping the Educational Landscape,” *New Leader*, Sept./Oct. 2007.
- Greg Toppo, “For Shanker, Education was a Labor Union of Love,” *USA Today*, Sept. 27, 2007.
- Scott McLemee, “Review: ‘Tough Liberal: Albert Shanker,’” *Newsday*, Sept. 23, 2007.
- Richard Steier, “A Nuanced Look at Al Shanker,” *The Chief*, Sept. 21, 2007.
- Samuel Freedman, “In the Diaspora: Quiet Riot,” *Jerusalem Post*, Sept. 20, 2007.
- E.D. Hirsch, “Comments in *Tough Liberal*,” *Education Sector*, Sept. 20, 2007.
- Alexander Russo, “How Al Shanker Blew Up No Child Left Behind,” *Huffington Post*, Sept. 19, 2007.
- Sol Stern, “Old-School Idealist,” *City Journal*, Sept. 7, 2007.
- Daily Kos, “Tough Liberal,” Sept. 8, 2007.
- Scott McLemee, “Tough Liberal,” *Inside Higher Education*, Sept. 5, 2007.
- Elizabeth Green, “The Battle of the Schools,” *New York Sun*, Sept. 4, 2007.
- Steve Perez, “Reading Liberally Page Turner, Labor Edition: Tough Liberal,” *Open Left* blog, Sept. 4, 2007.
- Martin Peretz, “Thoughts on Labor Day,” *The Spine (New Republic blog)*, Sept. 3, 2007.
- Kenneth J. Bernstein, “Tough Liberal, A Review,” *Education Review*.
- Fred Siegel, “Mugged by Reality,” *Weekly Standard*, Sept. 1, 2007.
- Tim Noah, “The Lone Changer,” *Washington Monthly*, Sept. 2007.
- Arch Puddington, “Making All the Right Enemies,” *The Wall Street Journal*, Aug. 28, 2007.
- Randi Weingarten, “Tough Liberal,” in “What Matters Most,” *New York Times*, Aug. 19, 2007.
- Thomas Toch, “Union Man,” *Education Sector* blog, August 17, 2007.
- Andrew Rotherham, “Edu-Beach Reading,” Aug. 16, 2007.
- Mike Klonsky, “Small Talk,” July 20, 2007.
- Fred Siegel, “Summer Reading: Experts Pick their favorite New York Picks,” *Gotham Gazette*, July 2, 2007.

“Tough Liberal” Book Events

SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS

Albert Shanker Institute
American Enterprise Institute
American Federation of Teachers
Association of Teachers of Social Studies
Brookings Institution
Catholic University Law School
Century Foundation
Columbia University
Committee for Economic Development
Education Forum
Education Sector
Education Writers Association
Freedom House
Harvard Graduate School of Education
Hechinger Institute
Marymount College
New America Foundation
New York Historical Society
New York Labor History Association
New York State United Teachers
New York University
Ohio State University
Progressive Policy Institute
Thomas B. Fordham Foundation
Teachers Union Reform Network
Toledo Federation of Teachers
United Federation of Teachers
Winning Connections

COMMENTATORS

Senator Lamar Alexander (R-TN)
Greg Anrig, *Vice President, Century Foundation*
Peter Brimelow, *author; former editor, Forbes, Financial Post, National Review*
David Brooks, *columnist, New York Times*
Paul Cole, *Executive Director, American Labor Studies Center; former AFT Vice President*
Richard Lee Covin, *Director, Hechinger Institute*
Michael Dannenberg, *Director, Education Policy Program, New America Foundation*

E.J. Dionne, *columnist, Washington Post*
Tom Donahue, *former President, AFL-CIO, Shanker Institute Board*
Chester Finn, Jr., *Thomas B. Fordham Foundation*
William Galston, *Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution*
Carl Gershman, *President, National Endowment for Democracy*
Patricia Graham, *former Dean, Harvard Graduate School of Education*
Frederick Hess, *American Enterprise Institute*
E.D. Hirsch, Jr., *author, “The Knowledge Deficit;” Chairman, Core Knowledge*
Rachelle Horowitz, *former Director, AFT’s Committee on Political Education*
Sol Hurwitz, *President Emeritus, Committee for Economic Development*
Susan Moore Johnson, *Professor, Harvard University*
Eugenia Kemble, *Executive Director, Albert Shanker Institute*
James Kelly, *Founding President, National Board for Professional Teaching Standards*
Mike Kirst, *Stanford University; former Director, Program Planning, U.S. Office of Education*
Joel Klein, *NYC Schools Chancellor*
Charles Kolb, *President, Committee for Economic Development*
Nat LaCour, *Secretary Treasurer, AFT/Shanker Institute*
Fran Lawrence, *President, Toledo Federation of Teachers*
Richard Leone, *President, The Century Foundation*
Hank Levin, *Professor, Columbia University*
Herb Magidson, *Shanker Institute Board; former AFT Vice President*

Ann Marcus, *Director, NYU Steinhardt School of Culture*
Ray Marshall, *former Labor Secretary and Professor, LBJ School of Public Affairs*
Will Marshall, *President, Progressive Policy Institute*
Edward J. McElroy, *President, AFT/Shanker Institute*
Debbie Meier, *Director, New Ventures; author*
Harold Meyerson, *columnist, Washington Post*
John Podesta, *Center for American Progress*
Arch Puddington, *Research Director, Freedom House*
Diane Ravitch, *author; former U.S. Assistant Secretary of Education*
Roy Romer, *former Colorado Governor; former Los Angeles Superintendent of Schools*
Bella Rosenberg, *former AFT Assistant to Albert Shanker*
Barak Rosenshine, *Professor Emeritus, University of Illinois.*
David Tatel, *Judge, U. S. Court of Appeals for D.C. Circuit*
Thomas Toch, *Co-founder and co-Director, Education Sector*
Michael Tomaksy, *editor, Guardian America*
Stephen Trachtenberg, *President Emeritus, George Washington University*
Adam Urbanski, *President, Rochester Teachers Association*
Michael Usdan, *former President, Institute for Educational Leadership*
Randi Weingarten, *President, United Federation of Teachers*
Joe Williams, *education writer; author*
Jonathan Zimmerman, *Professor, NYU Steinhardt School of Culture*

Albert Shanker Institute Board of Directors

Paul E. Almeida

Paul Almeida is president of the AFL-CIO Department for Professional Employees (DPE) and immediate past president of the International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers (IFPTE), a 50,000-member union composed of both American and Canadian workers in professional, technical, administrative, and associated occupations. Almeida also serves on a number of AFL-CIO policy committees—including those on health care, education and training, legislation, immigration, organizing, social policy, strategic approaches, and women workers. He also served as a member of The Task Force on Workforce Development, a joint project of the Albert Shanker Institute and the New Economy Information Service.

Barbara Byrd-Bennett

Barbara Byrd-Bennett currently serves as school executive in residence at Cleveland State University and a superintendent in residency for Harcourt School Publishers.

A former chief executive officer of the Cleveland Metropolitan School District, she is an experienced educator, administrator, and authority on urban education. She began her education career in the New York City schools, where she served as an elementary, middle, and high school teacher; school principal; director of curriculum, instruction, and professional development; supervising superintendent for New York City's Chancellor's District; and area superintendent for the Crown Heights district in Brooklyn. She has been an adjunct professor at Malcolm King College in Harlem, New York's City College, the College of New Rochelle, and Fordham University. She has received numerous local, state and national honors, including the Council of Greater City Schools 2001 Urban Superintendent of the Year, and has served on numerous boards, commissions, and advisory councils, including the National Assessment Governing Board; the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards; and the Education Commission of the States' National Center for Education Accountability.

Landon Butler

Landon Butler is president of Landon Butler & Company, an institutional investor relations firm and a member of the policy board of the Multi-Employer Property Trust, a nationwide

real estate equity fund that he helped to organize in 1981. He is also a principal of a series of specialty real estate funds, three venture capital funds that invest in Central Europe and East Asia, and a money management firm. Previously, Butler served as deputy chief of staff and deputy assistant to President Jimmy Carter from 1977 to 1981, coordinating the ratification of the Panama Canal Treaty and SALT II Treaty and serving as a liaison with the labor movement. In his capacity as a real estate investor, he actively engaged in partnerships with unions aimed at promoting union-built projects. He took that same philosophy to post-communist Poland, where he worked with activists from Poland's Solidarity trade union to support construction aimed at helping that country's economy. Butler was honored in 2007 by the Labor Heritage Foundation for his contributions to the labor movement. He is a trustee of the Shakespeare Theatre Company and a board member of the Black Student Fund and of In2Books. He has also been a member of the executive board of the U.S. Committee on NATO.

David K. Cohen

David Cohen is John Dewey collegiate professor of education and professor of public policy at the University of Michigan. His current research interests focus on education policy, the influence of policy on instruction, and the nature of teaching practice. His past work includes studies of the effects of schooling, school and teaching reform, evaluations of education experiments and intervention programs, and examinations of the relationship between research and policy. Included among his many previous roles are: consultant to the general counsel of the NAACP on schools and race (1964-66); director, Race and Education Project, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1966-67); professor of education and social policy, Harvard Graduate School of Education (1971-86); and president, The Huron Institute (1971-86). He is an expert on merit pay for teachers, both public and private school choice, and the relationship of student curriculum to teacher professional development.

Antonia Cortese

Toni Cortese, executive vice president of the American Federation of Teachers, is a former officer of the New York State United Teachers (NYSUT). She was elected NYSUT second vice

president in 1973, a position she held until 1985, when she was elected first vice president. Among her many professional activities, Cortese has served on the executive committee of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, which develops and administers assessments leading to the certification of accomplished teachers, and as an appointee of the U.S. Department of Education to the National Assessment Governing Board, which is responsible for the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). A vice president of the national AFT for many years, she also serves as an AFT representative to the Learning First Alliance, a national coalition of major education organizations.

Rudolph F. Crew

Superintendent of the Miami-Dade County Public Schools since 2004 and former chancellor of New York City Public Schools, Rudy Crew is a lifelong educator who has made it a mission to improve student achievement, especially for poor and minority students. To that end, he worked closely with AFT affiliates, first in New York and then in Miami, to place those cities' lowest-performing schools in virtual districts whose boundaries were defined by student need, not geography. New York's "Chancellor's District" schools and Miami's "School Improvement Zone" schools both utilized several research-based practices known to accelerate the pace of student learning—a focused, uniform curriculum; an extended school day and school year; incentives to attract a highly qualified teaching force and compensate them for their heavier workload; and plenty of time and opportunity for professional development and collaboration. In both cities, student performance improved markedly. Crew serves on numerous boards, including the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, and the Washington Association of Black School Educators, and is the recipient of many awards, including the NAACP Educational Leadership Award, the Arthur Ashe Leadership Award, and the Association of California School Administrators' Administrator of the Year Award.

Thomas R. Donahue

Thomas R. Donahue served as secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO from 1979 to 1995 and AFL-CIO president in 1995. From 1967 to 1969, he was assistant secretary for labor-

management relations at the U.S. Department of Labor. He was executive secretary and first vice president of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) from 1969 to 1973, and from 1973 to 1979 was an executive assistant to then-AFL-CIO President George Meany. Currently, Donahue serves as the chairman of the State Department's Advisory Committee on Labor Diplomacy. He is a member of the board of directors of the National Endowment for Democracy, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy. He is also vice president of the Muscular Dystrophy Association, and a fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration.

Bob Edwards

Bob Edwards, host of a talk show on satellite radio channel XM 133, was the founding host of National Public Radio's daily radio newsmagazine *Morning Edition*. Under his almost 25 years of leadership, *Morning Edition* became the most popular program on public radio, boasting 13 million listeners each week. Over its long history, Edwards and *Morning Edition* earned many accolades, most recently a 1999 George Foster Peabody Award, which described him as "a man who embodies the essence of excellence in radio." A native of Louisville, Kentucky, Edwards earned a bachelor's degree from the University of Louisville and began his career at a small radio station in New Albany, Indiana. Edwards also serves as a national vice president of AFTRA, the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists.

Carl Gershman

Carl Gershman is president of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), a private, congressionally supported grant-making institution with the mission to strengthen democratic institutions around the world through nongovernmental efforts. He presides over NED's grants programs in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Latin America, and has overseen the creation of the quarterly *Journal of Democracy*, the International Forum for Democratic Studies, and the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program, and played a key role in launching the World Movement for Democracy. Previously, Gershman was senior counselor to the U.S. Representative to the United Nations, a resident scholar at Freedom House and executive director of Social Democrats, USA. He has lectured extensively and written articles and reviews for numerous publications including

Commentary, *The New Republic*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times Magazine*, and the *Journal of Democracy*. He is co-editor of *Israel, the Arabs and the Middle East* and the author of *The Foreign Policy of the American Labor*. He has received a number of U.S. and international awards.

Milton Goldberg

Milt Goldberg is a distinguished educator who previously served as director of the Office of Research for the U.S. Department of Education, where he helped develop the National Goals that were adopted by the bipartisan 1989 Education Summit. As executive director of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, he also oversaw the production of the landmark 1983 *A Nation at Risk* report. Goldberg is also the former executive vice president of the National Alliance of Business, an organization of business leaders dedicated to the improvement of American education. He has served on numerous boards, task forces, and advisory groups, including the National Center for Adult Literacy; the National Center for Research on Evaluation, Standards and Student Testing; the National Board on Professional Teaching Standards; the George Lucas Education Foundation; the Business Roundtable; the National Council on Economic Education; the Education Commission of the States; and the National Research Council.

Ernest G. Green

Currently managing director of public finance for Lehman Brothers in Washington, D.C., Ernie Green has handled such key Lehman clients as the city and state of New York, the city of Atlanta, the state of Connecticut, and the Washington Metropolitan Airport Authority. Green's career also spans labor concerns, beginning in New York City in the late 1960s when he worked with Bayard Rustin in founding the Recruitment and Training Program (RTP), a project to help integrate apprenticeship programs in the building and construction trades. He subsequently served as assistant secretary of labor for employment and training in the Carter Administration. The courage and drama of his 1957 struggle to integrate Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, as part of the "Little Rock Nine" was captured by the PBS documentary, "The Ernest Green Story."

E. D. Hirsch Jr.

E.D. Hirsch, professor emeritus of education and humanities at the University of Virginia, is the author of numerous books, including the best-seller *Cultural Literacy: The Schools We Need and Why We Don't Have Them*; *The Knowledge Deficit*; and a kindergarten through sixth-grade series beginning with *What Your Kindergartner Needs to Know*. Hirsch is also founder and chairman of the board of the nonprofit Core Knowledge Foundation, which has helped reshape the curriculum in hundreds of schools around the country. He has been elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the International Academy of Education. He has served on the Research Advisory Board of the U.S. Department of Education, and is the recipient of numerous honorary degrees and awards, including the AFT's 1997 QuEST award.

Sol Hurwitz

Sol Hurwitz is immediate past president and an honorary trustee of the Committee for Economic Development (CED), a private, nonprofit research and policy organization of 250 business leaders and educators. During his tenure at CED, Hurwitz was the chief architect of the organization's education reform programs. He had principal responsibility for: *Investing in Our Children: Business and the Public Schools*, and *Children in Need: Investment Strategies for the Educationally Disadvantaged*, among other reports and projects. He has contributed numerous articles on business, education, and other subjects to *The New York Times*, *Barron's*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and *Harvard Magazine*, and in 1995 accepted the AFT's QuEST award on CED's behalf.

Clifford B. Janey

Clifford Janey is the former superintendent of schools for the District of Columbia. He previously served as vice president for education at Scholastic, Inc., where he coordinated partnerships with urban school districts and worked closely with state education departments and national school reform organizations to help develop and implement strategies for improving student achievement. He is a former superintendent of schools in Rochester, NY, where he led the implementation of Rochester's Performance Benchmarks and Public Engagement Plan and instituted a high performing, nationally recognized pre-kindergarten program. Janey also held a number of positions in the Boston Public Schools, including chief academic officer; east zone

superintendent (K-8); principal of Theodore Roosevelt Middle School; and reading teacher at the Bancroft School. He has also served as director of Black Studies at Northeastern University.

Ted Kirsch

Ted Kirsch was elected in 2005 to his sixth consecutive term as president of AFT Pennsylvania, the state affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers. Kirsch is a vice president of the national AFT, chairs the union's Defense and Militancy Committee, and has served as chair of the Jewish Labor Committee of Philadelphia, vice president of the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO, secretary-treasurer of the Philadelphia AFL-CIO, and president of the Pennsylvania Labor History Society. The president of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers from 1990 to 2007, Kirsch began his education career teaching social studies at the junior high and high school levels, and has taught courses on labor history, collective bargaining, and theory of the labor movement at the Penn State University. Kirsch has received dozens of awards from community, educational, and humanitarian organizations and has served on the boards of the United Way, Jewish Community Relations Council, National Israel Bonds, and the World Affairs Council.

Nat LaCour

Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers, Nat LaCour is a long-time member of the AFT Executive Council and former president of the United Teachers of New Orleans (UTNO), one of the first local teacher unions in the South to win collective bargaining rights. As UTNO president, LaCour was recognized as a leading advocate in the struggle to create an integrated, unified teacher union movement. Throughout his tenure as an AFT leader, LaCour has acted as a key advisor on professional, union, and minority issues. He has also served a member of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, a commissioner of the White House Commission on Presidential Scholars, a national board member of both the A. Philip Randolph Institute and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and a board member of the Thurgood Marshall Scholarship Fund. He is also a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

Stanley S. Litow

Vice president of corporate community relations at IBM, Stanley Litow is also president of the IBM International Foundation, which has

been called "one of the nation's largest corporate philanthropic programs" extending to more than 100 countries abroad. In 1996 and 1999, Litow assisted IBM's CEO, Louis V. Gerstner, in planning and overseeing the two national educational summits that were hosted by IBM. Prior to joining IBM, Litow served as deputy chancellor for operations and chief operating officer of New York City Public Schools; president of Interface, a not-for-profit think tank; and a governor-appointed member of New York State's Industrial Cooperation Council, its Job Training Partnership Council, and the state's School and Business Alliance. He is the recipient of awards from the Anne Frank Center, the Martin Luther King Commission, and Manhattanville College.

Michael Maccoby

Michael Maccoby is president of The Maccoby Group in Washington, D.C., and director of the Project on Technology, Work, and Character, a non-profit research organization. Maccoby has been a consultant to leaders in many corporations, unions, universities, the World Bank, and the U.S. Departments of State and Commerce. He has advised CEOs of major companies in Sweden, Norway, and Finland as well as the United States. The facilitator of the National Leadership Commission on Health Care Reform, Maccoby has published a number of books on leadership, including *The Leaders We Need: And What Makes Us Follow*, *The Productive Narcissist: The Promise and Peril of Visionary Leadership*, *The Gamesman*, *The Leader: A New Face for American Management*, and *Why Work? Motivating the New Work Force*. He has also published a number of articles in the *Harvard Business Review*. He has taught at a number of universities, including Harvard, the University of Chicago, Cornell, and the Washington School of Psychiatry. He is also the former director of the Program on Technology, Public Policy, and Human Development at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

Herb Magidson

A vice president of the American Federation of Teachers for 20 years, Herb Magidson began union work as a high school chapter chairman in the United Federation of Teachers in New York City. In 1969, he moved on to become an assistant to then UFT president, Albert Shanker. Since that time, his union career has spanned officerships of the New York State United Teachers, the New York State AFL-CIO, and pension and health insurance plans serv-

ing union members. He is also the former chairman of the AFT's Futures II Committee, its Democracy Committee, and its Committee on Political Education.

Edward J. McElroy

Edward McElroy was elected president of the American Federation of Teachers in 2004, having served as the secretary-treasurer since 1992 and as an AFT vice president since 1974, the same year Albert Shanker became the union's president. First as president of the Warwick Teachers Union and later as a state president of the Rhode Island AFL-CIO, he has been a leader in cementing teacher union ties to others within the labor movement. Having served as Al Shanker's right hand during the 1990s, McElroy is also an expert on educational and health care issues, as well as the fundamentals of labor organization and finance. He sits on numerous boards, councils and committees, among them the AFL-CIO Executive Council. He is Chairman of the General Board of the AFL-CIO's Department of Professional Employees.

Susan Moore Johnson

Susan Moore Johnson is the Carl H. Pforzheimer, Jr. professor of teaching and learning at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, and director and principal investigator of Harvard's Project on the Next Generation of Teachers. In these capacities, Johnson teaches and studies teacher policy, organizational change, and administrative practice. A former high school teacher and administrator, she has a continuing research interest in the work of teachers and the reform of schools. She has studied leadership of superintendents, the effects of collective bargaining on schools, the use of incentive pay plans for teachers, and the school as a context for adult work. From 1993-1999, Johnson served as academic dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education. She is the author of many published articles and books, including: *Teacher Unions in Schools*, *Teachers at Work*, *Leading to Change: The Challenge of the New Superintendency*, and . Johnson is a member of the National Academy of Education.

Stephanie Powers

Stephanie Powers is project director of the Council on Foundations' National Fund for Workforce Solutions, which provides financial support and technical assistance to promising workforce development partnerships around the country. The goal of the fund's efforts is to

improve employment, training, and labor market outcomes for low-income individuals. Prior to joining the Council on Foundations, Powers provided executive leadership for the National Apartment Association's Education Institute and the National Association of Workforce Boards. From 1998 to 2001, she served as the Clinton Administration's director of the National School to Work Office in the U.S. Department of Labor and Education, prior to which she held positions in the Employment and Training Administration as chief of staff to the assistant secretary and director of communications and public information. In the late 1980s, Powers managed statewide federal demonstration projects at the University of New Hampshire's Institute on Disability, specifically school to work transition for students with disabilities and special education reform projects in partnership with the state department of education and many public schools.

Diane Ravitch

Diane Ravitch is research professor of education at New York University, senior fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C., and senior fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. She served as assistant secretary of education (head of the Office of Educational Research and Improvement) and counselor to the secretary of education from 1991 to 1993. Her lectures on democracy and civic education in countries like the Czech Republic, Germany, Japan, Nicaragua, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and many of the nations that constituted the former Soviet Union have been translated into many languages by the United States Information Agency. In 1989 she became an advisor to Poland's Teachers Solidarity trade union, and in 1991 was awarded a medal by the Polish government for her work on behalf of the Solidarity trade union. Among her many publications, she is the author of *The Language Police: How Pressure Groups Restrict What Students Learn*, *The Schools We Deserve*, *Left Back: A Century of Battles Over School Reform*, *National Standards in American Education: A Citizen's Guide*, *The Great School Wars: New York City, 1805-1973*, *The Troubled Crusade: American Education 1945-1980*, and co-editor of *The Democracy Reader*.

Richard Riley

As a two-term governor of South Carolina in the 1980s, Richard Riley won national recognition for his successful education improvements. In 1992, President Clinton named him as the nation's chief education officer. As Sec-

retary of Education, Riley helped launch historic initiatives to raise academic standards; improve instruction for the poor and disadvantaged; expand the teaching force; expand grant and loan programs to help more Americans go to college; prepare young people for the world of work; and improve teaching. Since leaving his national post in January 2001, Riley has rejoined the law firm of Nelson Mullins Riley & Scarborough with offices throughout South Carolina, as well as in Atlanta, Charlotte, and Munich. He also has been appointed distinguished professor at his alma mater, Furman University, where he serves as advisory board chair of the Richard W. Riley Institute of Government, Politics, and Public Leadership. Additionally, Riley has been named distinguished professor at the University of South Carolina and distinguished senior fellow at NAFSA: Association of International Educators.

William E. Scheuerman

William Scheuerman became president of the AFL-CIO's National Labor College in Oct. 2007. From 1993 to 2007, Scheuerman served as president of the United University Professions (UUP), an affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers and the largest public higher education union in the nation, representing 33,000 academic and professional faculty. In 2006, he was named as the first AFT officer from higher education to serve on AFT Executive Committee. Scheuerman is the author of numerous scholarly works, including two books, *The Steel Crisis* and *Private Interests, Public Spending* with Sid Plotkin, which examined the political origins of the fiscal crisis and organized labor's response. He serves on the boards of several public interest organizations and is a member of the editorial boards of the AFT's *American Academic* journal and the journal *Working USA*.

William H. Schmidt

Bill Schmidt is university distinguished professor at Michigan State University, co-director of its Education Policy Center, co-director of its US-China Center for Research, co-director of the NSF PROM/ISE project, and the director or former director of the centers overseeing U.S. participation in the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and its follow-on studies. A past chairman of the Department of Educational Psychology and former acting dean for planning and evaluation in MSU's College of Education, he was also head of the Office of Policy Studies and

Program Assessment for the National Science Foundation. The author and co-author of numerous articles, chapters, papers and books, including *Why Schools Matter*, Dr. Schmidt's current writing and research focuses on issues of academic content in K-12 schooling, assessment theory, and the effects of curriculum on academic achievement. He also studies educational policy related to mathematics and science, and testing in general.

Randi Weingarten

Randi Weingarten has been president of the United Federation of Teachers, which represents more than 140,000 active and retired educators in the New York City public school system, since 1998. She is also a board member of New York State United Teachers and a member of the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Teachers. A vice president of the New York City Central Labor Council of the AFL-CIO, she heads the city Municipal Labor Committee, an umbrella organization for some 100 city employee unions. Weingarten serves on a number of boards, including the New York Committee on Occupational Safety and Health; the Anti-Defamation League, New York Region; the United Way of Greater New York; the International Rescue Committee; and the newly formed Math for America. She is also on the advisory boards of Operation Public Education at the University of Pennsylvania and the Haan Foundation for Children.

Deborah L. Wince-Smith

Deborah L. Wince-Smith is president of the Council on Competitiveness. An internationally recognized expert on science and technology policy, innovation strategy, and global competition, she serves as a member of the Oversight Board of the Internal Revenue Service, as a member of the Board of Directors of the NASDAQ Stock Market, and a Chairman of the Secretary of Commerce's Strengthening America's Communities Initiative Federal Advisory Committee. From 1989 to 1993, Wince-Smith served as the first assistant secretary for technology policy in the U.S. Department of Commerce's Technology Administration. During the Reagan Administration, she served as the assistant director for international affairs and competitiveness in the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy.

IN MEMORIAM

In the last five years, the Institute has lost three important leaders: the Institute's former president, Sandra Feldman, and board members Seymour Martin Lipset and Tom Mooney. They are remembered below.

Sandra Feldman

Sandra Feldman was president of the American Federation of Teachers from 1997 to 2004 and was the founding president of the Albert Shanker Institute. Feldman, who grew up in a poor neighborhood of Brooklyn, was an early socialist and civil rights activist in the early 1960s, taking part in Freedom Rides and integration and voter education and registration campaigns. She began teaching and joined the teachers union in 1964 and was a staff assistant to United Federation of Teachers (UFT) President Albert Shanker in 1968 during the

Ocean Hill-Brownsville strikes. She served the UFT in elected positions for the next 30 years, including eleven as the union's president, helping to build its wide-ranging educational, union, and political services. She again succeeded Albert Shanker as president of the AFT, beginning in 1997. Feldman was a tireless campaigner for teachers, union rights, civil rights, and democracy and was an intellectual mainstay of both the teachers union and the labor movement. As president of the AFT, she continued the push for school improvement. Feldman traveled widely on

behalf of the American labor movement, offering moral and institutional support to democracy and worker rights activists, and playing an important role in U.S. labor's efforts to help Solidarity in Poland, the black trade union movement in South Africa, and the "Campaign for the No" in Chile, among many other efforts. She died of breast cancer at the age of 65 in Sept. 2005 after stepping down as AFT president a year earlier.

(For an AFT salute to Sandy, see www.aft.org/about/resolutions/2004/feldman.htm).

Seymour Martin Lipset

Seymour Martin Lipset, who died at the age of 84 on Dec. 31, 2006, was among America's pre-eminent sociologists but with wide-ranging political, social, and labor interests. He is the only person ever to be president of both the American Political Science Association and the American Sociological Association. Best known for his books *Political Man* (which won the MacIver Prize) and *The Politics of Unreason* (which won

the Gunnar Myrdal Prize), his earliest successes were *Union Politics*, a collaborative study of the typesetters' union in New York and its distinct democratic characteristics, as well as several studies of "American exceptionalism" and the differences between American and Canadian democracy. Lipset taught at a wide range of institutions, including Columbia University, Harvard University, Stanford University, the University of California at Berkeley, and

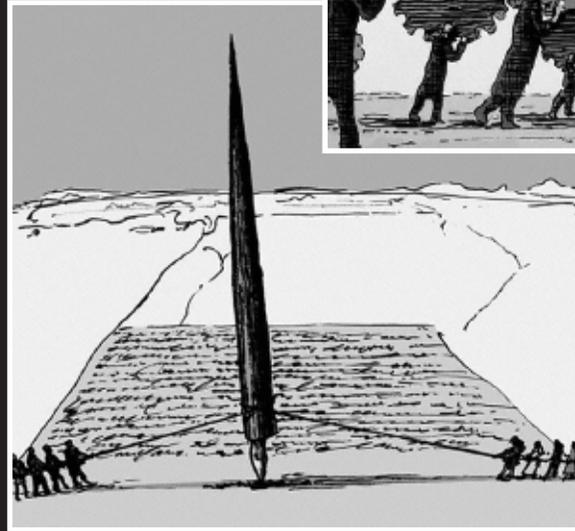
George Mason University, and was a fellow at both the Hoover Institution and the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars. A lifelong friend of the labor movement and of Albert Shanker, he was a founding board member of the Albert Shanker Institute. The Shanker Institute is a supporter of the NED's annual Seymour Martin Lipset Lecture on Democracy and the World (see page 30).

Tom Mooney

Tom Mooney, president of AFT Ohio, died on Dec. 3, 2006 of a sudden heart attack. He was 52. Tom was a vibrant force on behalf of a quality public education system, free trade unions, democracy, and social justice. He was a tireless advocate for teachers, children and schools. As a young union officer, Tom was a student of Al Shanker's in learning

how to build teacher's unions by linking unionism to the professional lives of teachers. Mooney began his career as an educator teaching high school government in Cincinnati. He quickly became president of the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers, a position he held for 21 years, and was elected an AFT vice president in 1990. Among other initiatives in Cincinnati, he helped establish the

country's second peer assistance and evaluation program and a four-tiered career ladder for teachers, the Career in Teaching Program, as well as a professional development partnership for new teachers. Tom was elected president of the Ohio Federation of Teachers in 2000, remaining one of the nation's most innovative and outspoken union leaders in support of the education reform agenda.





THE
ALBERT
SHANKER
INSTITUTE

THE ALBERT SHANKER INSTITUTE
555 NEW JERSEY AVENUE, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20001

WWW.ASHANKERINST.ORG

Summer 2008