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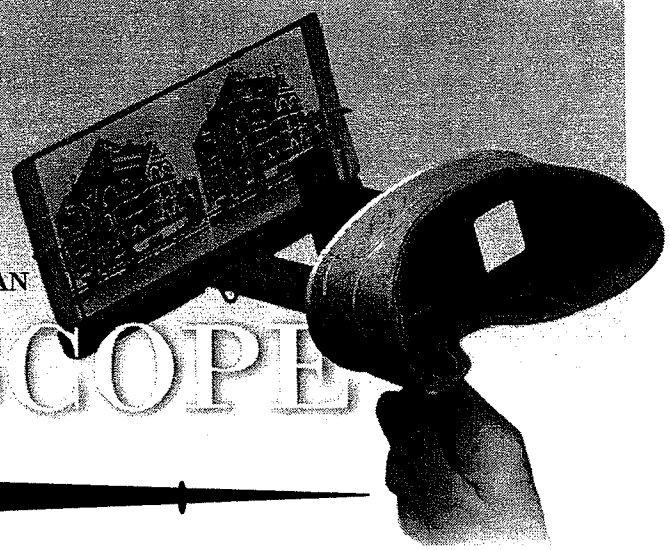

Of American Labor Rights, Labor Relations and Labor Unions

"Labor union membership is an outdated concept for most working Americans. It is a relic of Depression-era labor-management relations."

J. Justin Wilson, Managing Director of the
Center for Union Facts (2010)

"Around the middle of the seventeenth century that same plan appeared in England, this time among the Puritans, Hawthorne's ancestors. Samuel Johnson relates that in one of the popular parliaments convoked by Cromwell it was seriously proposed that the archives of the Tower of London be burned, that every memory of the past be erased, and that a whole new way of life should be started. In other words, the plan to abolish the past had already occurred to men and--paradoxically--is therefore one of the proofs that the past cannot be abolished. *The past is indestructible; sooner or later all things will return, including the plan to abolish the past.*"

Jorge Luis Borges (1899-1986),
lecture on Nathaniel Hawthorne
given at the
Colegio Libre de Estudios Superiores
of Buenos Aires, Argentina
in March, 1949 (emphasis supplied).

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This issue of the *Stereoscope* commemorates the development of American jurisprudence in the areas of the rights of labor and the adjustment of relations between capital and labor. These evolutions were stimulated by the birth and growth of trade unionism in England and the United States in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Friedrich Engels, in his landmark study entitled *The Condition of the Working Class in England* published in 1845, described the inception of trade unionism "across the pond":

> The history of the proletariat in England begins with the second half of the last century, with the invention of the steam-engine and of machinery for working cotton. These inventions gave rise, as is well known, to an industrial revolution, a revolution which altered the whole civil society; one, the historical importance of which is only now beginning to be recognized.
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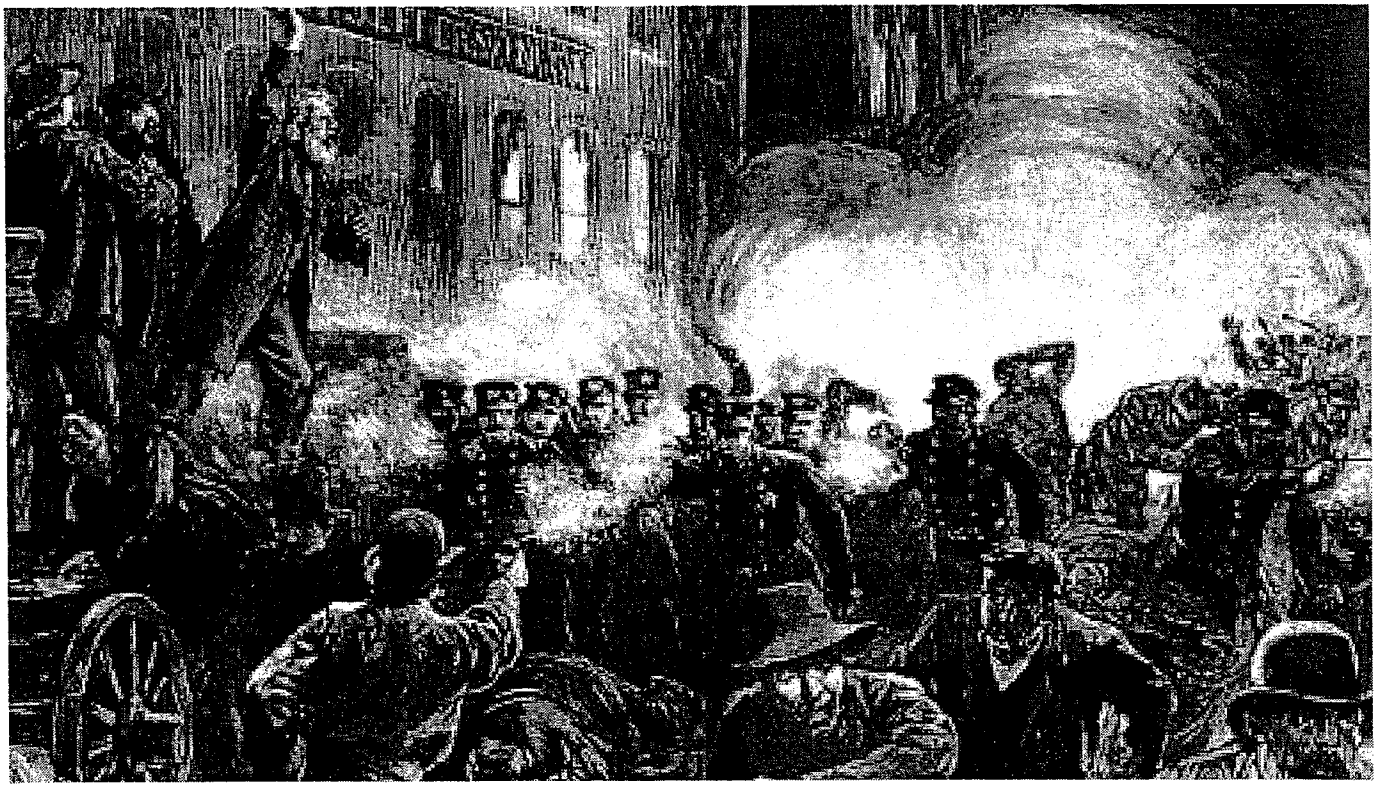
> When . . . the working-men received in 1824 the right of free association, these combinations were very soon spread over all England and attained great power. In all branches of industry Trades Unions were formed with the outspoken intention of protecting the single working man against the tyranny and neglect of the bourgeoisie. Their objects were to deal, *en masse*, as a power, with the employers; to regulate the rate of wages according to the profit of the latter, to raise it when opportunity offered, and to keep it uniform in each trade throughout the country. Hence they tried to settle with the capitalists a scale of wages to be universally adhered to, and ordered out on strike the employees of such individuals as refused to accept the scale. They aimed further to keep up the demand for labour by limiting the number of apprentices, and so to keep wages high; to counteract, as far as possible, the indirect wages reductions which the manufacturers brought about by means of new tools and machinery, and finally, to assist unemployed working-men financially.

Trade unionism migrated to the United States with the immigrants from the Old World, especially those embarking from Great Britain and Germany. From early unions and other worker associations, such as the Knights of Labor and the Socialist Labor Party, evolved the largest American craft-based union, the American Federation of Labor (AFL), run by Samuel Gompers, and the powerful railroad brotherhoods, led by Eugene V. Debs and others. Although early labor strikes were often broken by federal and state intervention, including federal court injunctions issued under the Sherman Antitrust Act, labor unions continued to organize and grow their memberships, with some unions such as the Industrial Workers of the World (otherwise known as the "IWW" or the "Wobblies") becoming heavily radicalized.

The beginning of the Twentieth Century brought more strikes, stepped-up union activity, tragic events, and intense political action undertaken by labor. For example, on April 19, 1911, more than 3,000 furniture craftsmen in Grand Rapids, Michigan walked off their jobs in furniture manufacturing facilities throughout the city, remaining away from their workplaces until August of that year, when the strike collapsed. Earlier on March 25, 1911, a fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist factory in the Washington Square neighborhood of New York City killed 146 garment workers because the exit doors from the burning factory were locked from the outside. In 1912, Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist Party candidate for U.S. President, received 901,551 votes, 6 percent of the total popular vote. Also during this period, a number of large industrial cities, such as Milwaukee and Flint, Michigan, elected socialist mayors. Slowly and fitfully, during the first third of the Twentieth Century, American workers aided by their unions were making economic advances in the manner of "two steps forward, one step back."

The great changes in the laws governing workplaces and trade unions had to await the coming Great Depression and Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, however. The Stock Market Crash of 1929 and its aftermath shook American industry to its foundations and almost throttled the automobile industry. American automakers engaged in massive layoffs, adding thousands of Michigan autoworkers to the swelling ranks of the unemployed. These events led directly to mass demonstrations of unemployed autoworkers nationwide in 1930 and 1931. On March 7, 1932, the Detroit Unemployed Council and the Auto, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America staged a "Hunger March" from the city limits of Detroit to the Ford Motor Company's River Rouge Plant in Dearborn. The marchers planned to proceed from the city limits down Miller Road to the factory's employment gate, where they would send a small committee to present a list of demands to Henry Ford. These demands included jobs for all laid-off Ford workers, the slowing down of the line "speed up," no discrimination against African-Americans, and recognition of the workers' right to organize a union. The marchers, numbering from 3,000 to 5,000, never made it to their intended destination. After crossing into Dearborn, they were met with freezing water shot from fire hoses and a deadly hail of bullets that killed five marchers and wounded scores more.

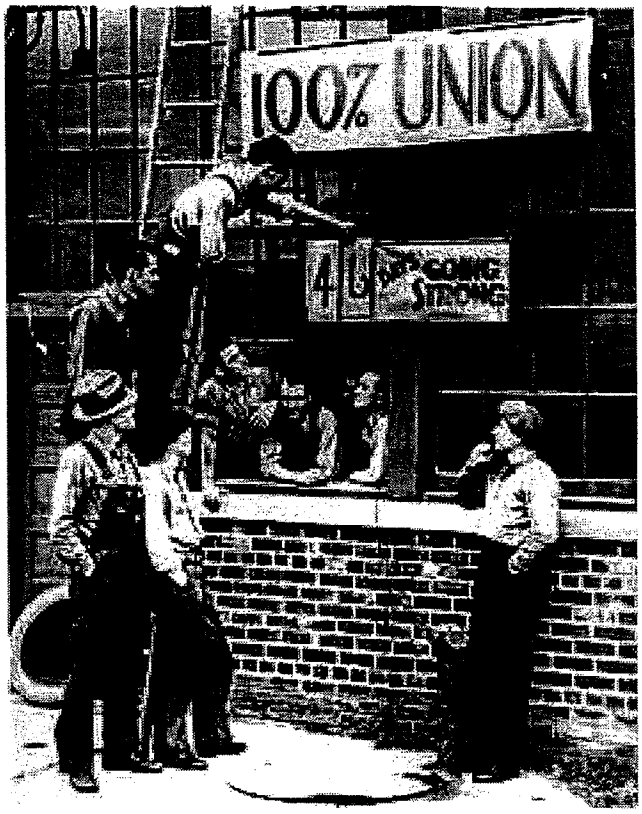


Chicago Haymarket Riot - 1886

After Roosevelt's election in November 1932 and his inauguration the following March, the federal government initiated a process of labor law reforms resulting in the passage of landmark legislation including the National Labor Relations Act, commonly referred to as the "Wagner Act" after its proponent, Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York. This legislation prohibited employer interference with union organizing, banned employer-supported company unions, forbade the firing of workers for union membership and compelled employers to enter into collective bargaining with authorized union representatives. This and similar legislation permitted unions like the newly-formed United Auto Workers (UAW) to organize employees in numerous industries, including the automotive industry, aided by strike action including the famous Flint Sit-Down Strike of 1936-1937 and the "Battle of the Overpass" in 1937. By 1941, General Motors, Chrysler and, finally, Ford had become unionized workplaces.

After World War II, membership in American trade unions grew steadily, peaking in the 1950s. The membership in the UAW reached its apex in 1979 when it boasted a membership of 1,527,858. However, since the early 1980s union membership has declined substantially and steadily. One factor that likely sparked this shrinkage was the action taken by President Ronald Reagan in 1981 to fire striking, federally-employed air traffic controllers who were members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization ("PATCO"). Many observers believe that this decisive action taken by a conservative Republican president helped create a public atmosphere favoring the reduction of the influence of unions in the nation's workplaces. In the 31 years that have passed since Reagan's union-busting, membership in American labor unions in the public and private sectors has plunged. Between 1995 and 2010, the percentage of unionized wage and salary workers in the United States has shrunk from 14.9% to 11.9%. In comparison, the percentage of labor union density in Germany is 18.6%, 27.5% in Canada and 70% in Finland. From its peak membership in 1979, UAW membership had diminished to 376,612 by 2010.

The dramatic changes in the American workplace over the last 30 years and in the current levels of union membership raise the question of what role should



Flint Sitdown Strike of 1936-1937

labor unions play in American society. Some critics say none. J. Justin Wilson, the Managing Director of the Center for Union Facts, which is a corporate-backed association opposing the proposed Employee Free Choice Act, argues that "labor union membership is an outdated concept for most Americans. It is a relic of Depression-era labor-management relations." Other experts, such as Owen Bieber and Ann Fagan Ginger in the interviews contained in this issue, strongly disagree. This is an important question to millions of Americans that is worthy of serious consideration by us all.

Suggestions for Further Reading

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—Patrick E. Mears

Interview with Owen Bieber

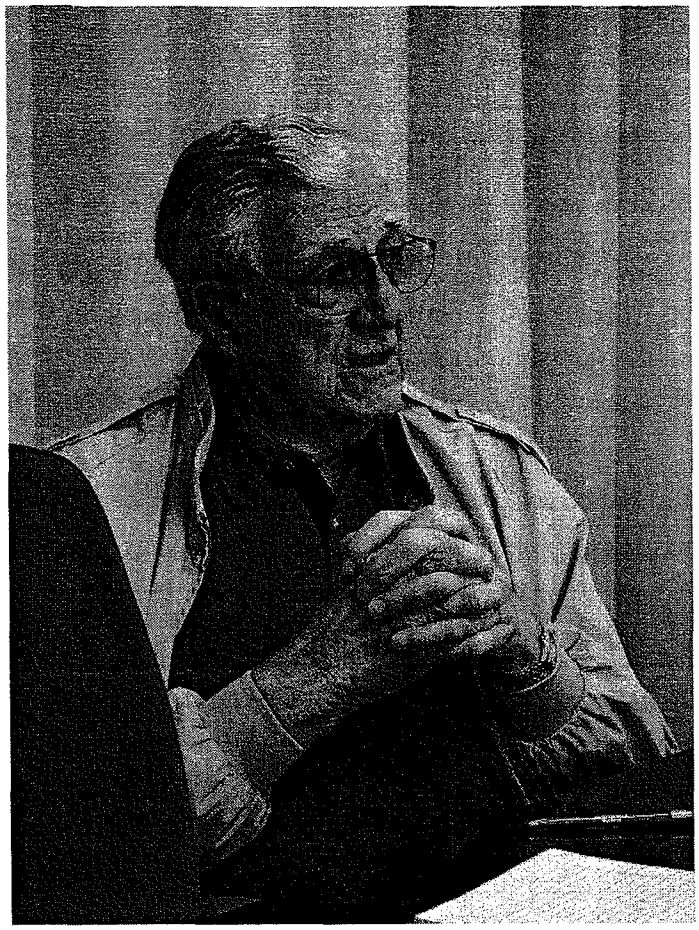
On January 11, 2012, Patrick E. Mears interviewed American labor activist and former President of the United Auto Workers from 1983 to 1995 in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Bieber was born in North Dorr, Kent County, Michigan on December 28, 1929, and still resides in the area with his wife, the former Shirley M. Van Woerkom. He attended St. Mary's Visitation School in North Dorr, Grand Rapids Catholic Central High School and American Corespondence School in Chicago. In 1948, he began working at the former McInerney Spring & Wire Company in Grand Rapids as a wire bender making seats for Cadillac and Hudson automobiles. Bieber began his union career as a shop steward of UAW Local 687 in 1949 and, two years later, he was elected to the local's executive board. In 1956, he became the local's president, leaving that position in 1962 to assume a full-time position as an international representative and organizer with the UAW. From 1974 to 1980, Bieber held the position of Director of UAW's Region 1-D. In 1980, he was elected Vice President and named Director of the UAW's General Motors Department, remaining in that position for three years.

On May 18, 1983, after a heavily contested race, Bieber was elected President of the UAW, holding that position until his retirement in 1995 when Stephen Yokich succeeded him. Bieber was UAW President during a time of great changes in the automobile industry and in American trade unionism. During his presidency, Bieber led the negotiation of a number of union contracts with the "Big Three" and also witnessed the separation of the Canadian branch of the UAW and its recreation as an independent union, the Canadian Auto Workers, in 1985. Bieber also served on the President's Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations and acted as a member of the boards of directors of the National Urban League and the NAACP. In 1986, he engineered a boycott by the AFL-CIO of American companies doing business with South Africa in the apartheid era. Later in 1986, he traveled to South Africa as part of the delegation headed by the then Secretary of State, George P. Schultz, where Bieber met with separate members of the South African cabinet and demanded that the government release anti-apartheid labor leaders who had been jailed but not charged with any crimes. Nelson Mandela, in 1990 after his release from a South African prison on Robben Island, traveled to the United States and thanked Bieber for these efforts.

PEM: In your career with the UAW, you made many trips throughout the world. Could you please share with us some of your more memorable experiences?

BIEBER: I was able to go to China in 1987 where I had a one-hour meeting with Premier Deng Xiaoping. The reason for my going to China was because people from China had been coming to the McDonald-Douglas aircraft plant in California where the workers were represented by the UAW, to look at airplanes that they were interested in buying. They had visited the plant several times. They were asking our people in California, "Why doesn't Bieber come to China?" Our people in California were pushing me to go to China since the Chinese had asked for us to come several times. Leonard Woodcock, who at one time had been director of Region 1-D and then President of the UAW after Walter Reuther, was appointed Ambassador to China by President Jimmy Carter. Leonard was a close friend of mine. President Reagan replaced Woodcock as Ambassador, but Leonard still had contact with people in the Chinese government. I called Leonard and I said, "Since I have to go to China, is there any chance I can get a meeting with Premier Deng Xiaoping?" He said, "I don't know, let me see."

It was two or three days before I was ready to leave when I received word that the Premier would meet me for one hour at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing. When I arrived in China, there were three people there from the Machinist Union, including the president of the Machinist Union whom I knew. He wanted to know if they could go along. I said, "Well, it's not my meeting. I'll have to ask." So it was later agreed that they could attend. I think all together there were nine of us. Everything you did in China was subject to a



Owen Bieber—January 2012

pecking order. I got to sit next to the Premier. He had his spittoon over on the other side and, for some crazy reason, the press decided whether he accepted you was based on how many times he spit in the spittoon while you were meeting with him. Anyhow, we had a one-hour meeting. We met him at the entrance of the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on Tiananmen Square. He was 4'9" and I'm 6'5". They showed this picture on national TV. He looked like my son. We met for exactly one hour. It was an interesting meeting.

I was invited back by the Premier about a year later. That was right after the workers' uprising in China that took place [in 1989]. So I called Leonard and I said, "Leonard, what the hell do I do with this invitation? I can't go over there after what they just did to the trade unionists there." He said, "Well, write him a letter and just tell him why you can't accept the invitation." I asked, "Will he answer it back?" He said, "I don't know. You may get an answer, you may not." So I wrote the Premier a letter and told him that I appreciated the invitation but I had to decline it for this reason. I never received an answer from him and I didn't go. Leonard kept me informed of what was going on.

There was very little building going on in Beijing when I was there. They were starting to put up some new housing but they had still a lot of one-room housing units where during the day the table would be sitting in the middle of the room and the chairs would be up on the table. Deng Xiaopeng said to me, "We will become a modern nation." He said, "It may take us 60 or 70 years." When I got out, I thought, well, the old guy's pulling my leg, but in retrospect, he was looking at it at that time in history when there was very little international money flowing into China for investment there.

PEM: What year was that?

BIEBER: 1987. So based on what outside capital was then available to China, he was probably right. Then after that, foreign capital began flowing in.

I started to talk about the pecking order in China. When we entered a bus, since I was the highest ranking person, nobody else in my delegation could get on the bus until I did. So a couple of times I played a little trick on them. I'd make believe I was boarding the bus and stepped back and then the conductors of the buses would say, "Oh, no," to the rest of them, "you can't get on."

I remember in Shanghai I never saw anybody get off the bus, I just saw more people get on. The bus would take off down the street and people's heads would be sticking out of every window on that bus. I swear I never saw people get off. I only saw more people get on.

Then we rode the train across China from Shanghai to Nanjing with a one-night stopover in the city of Suzhou. This is the city where silk embroidering is done and they also burn different figures and pictures onto wood. That night I had a room in what had been one of Chiang Kai-shek's many dwellings. The day after we arrived in Nanjing, I was taken out to what was one of the main dwellings of Mr. and Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek. It was a very nice place with nice rugs on the floor. I was meeting there with some government officials. It was raining that day and it was muddy outside. There were a lot of people coming through the building with muddy boots on, walking across those nice rugs.

I thought, "Why are they letting these rugs be ruined?" At some point they will recognize it as a national treasure. When I asked the question, why, I was told they were showing the peasants what Chiang Kai-shek's lifestyle was like compared to theirs. I told what I had seen to the Chinese Metal Workers representative who was traveling with us. Both he and his wife were professors at Beijing University before the Cultural Revolution and both had been forced to work on farms during the revolution.

The Chinese Metal Workers had 5 million members, but it was not a free union— it was controlled by the government. We visited several factories while in Nanjing. At one factory, there was a large flower garden behind the building. The people leading us through the factory did not take us into the garden but some of our people were nosy and left the group and went into the garden. They returned and said to me, "You must look in the garden." So I went into the garden and there was a large statue of Chairman Mao. As I turned to walk out of the garden, I could see that the tour leader was very, very disturbed that we had seen the statue. Then he explained to me that the Chinese government was removing all the statues of Mao throughout China and they just hadn't gotten to that one yet.

The last day I was in China was May Day. On the way back to Beijing we stopped at a truck plant where they were manufacturing trucks. The truck that they had been building looked like about a 1935/36 Dodge dump truck. I saw in the backyard that they had new Asian-style trucks that they were going to start producing after production resumed. I thought, when I looked at this new truck, there's something odd about it. All of a sudden it dawned on me that it has the same size tires, which was a very narrow tire, on this bigger truck as they have on the small one. So I asked this fellow who was with us, "What gives here?" "Oh," he said, "nothing, nothing wrong, nothing wrong." I said, "Listen, this new truck is twice the capacity of the old truck and yet you've got the same size tires on it. Why?" So he finally said, "Well, we only produce one size tire in all of China." So they had taken the small tire that was on the smaller truck and now they're applying it to the bigger one.

PEM: One reason why I asked you for this interview is that we are going to put out an issue of the Stereoscope addressing labor rights and labor relations. What is happening to the unions now and how do you see unions doing in the future?

BIEBER: One of the things that Obama's done now is made those recess appointments to the National Relations Board, which is a step, from my standpoint, in the right direction. Presidents work overtime trying to build a consensus with the other side of the table. I've said a number of times in the last two years, give it up because the Republicans are not about to agree with him on most of his issues. I don't think anybody can deny that the Republican Party is attempting to make sure Obama doesn't get a second term. The result has been a locking of horns from the standpoint of Congress especially after the 2010 election, which is bad for the country. The recent appointment of the two people to the National Labor Relations Board should help from the standpoint of organizing. I hope that they will roll back some of the changes that were adopted during the Bush administration.

When I first went to work for the UAW, I worked on organizing for three years in Region 1-D. That was just at the end of the Eisenhower era involving, what was called the "Eisenhower [National Labor Relations] Board." I had a few cases that I reviewed that had happened during the Eisenhower Board. Then you had the Kennedy Board coming in. There was a significant difference as to what kind of information you had to have to present your case. When I first came on, the people that were working for the UAW said to me, "Well, if you're going to get a case approved through the National Labor Relations Board, you've got to have the knife that they stuck the person with but it better not be dry blood, it better still be dripping." I thought, ugh, it can't be that bad. I learned within the first six months that it was. Then as new people came on, some reversals of what the Eisenhower Board began to happen. Now, I suspect that some of this will happen again. I hope it does, because that Board up to now has almost been useless.

I don't expect the National Labor Relations Board to go out and win elections for the unions, but all you want to hope for is that you get a fair playing field to

operate on. When a company can stand up and say to their employees, "Fine you can vote in the union, but when you do we're going to close this plant," that's not a level playing field. Literally that's what's been happening. The Board has not gone out at all and forced the companies to stop these activities, nor has the Board fined them or made them post notices that these actions are illegal and they won't participate in it. That all went by the wayside under the George W. Bush Board. As I said, nobody expects the government to go out to a company and say you have to recognize the union but you do expect that they will enforce the law so that both sides have fair rights to operate during an organizing drive. I saw it both ways when I first went on the staff as an organizer. Then through the years as it went one way or the other. I'm hoping it will come back to some sense of normalcy now.

Today it's much, much worse if a company can say or even indicate they will close the doors of the plant if you vote for the union because of the number of manufacturing jobs that have left the country.

PEM: I grew up on Flint in the 1950s and '60s. Even though my parents didn't work in the factories, I certainly remember what a vibrant place Flint was back then. I remember the unions and the unions were all pervasive. They really did a great social service for the families of the auto workers. In 1979, the UAW's membership was at its peak. Now it's low.

BIEBER: Yeah. When I left in 1995 we were down to about a million members. When I took over in 1983, we were at 1,250,000 members. Some of that reduction was because of the new innovations that were brought into the assembly lines. As an example before 1986, if you were running an assembly plant, you were running two shifts and you were employing 10,000 workers - - roughly 5,000 for each shift. Then, they changed the system that builds cars. Today, if you want to produce that same number of cars that 10,000 workers manufactured before, you do that with less than 5,000 workers because of automation and other changes to the production line.

Owen Bieber at Beginning of Contract Negotiations with Chrysler Corporation—April 18, 1988

PEM: I've got a quote that I'd like to just run by you and just have you react to it. This, I don't know if you know this person; I don't. K. Justin Wilson is or was the Managing Director of the Center for Union Facts, which is a "corporate fact group" opposing the Employee Free Choice Act. He said as follows:

> "Labor Union Membership is an outdated concept for most working Americans. It is a relic of depression-era labor management relations."

Do you have a reaction to that?

BIEBER: Yeah, he's full of "s." Well, this is somebody writing this who has never looked at the history and has never worked in a plant. It's a story that's told over and over. Usually the first thing out of their mouth is, "Well, back in the 1930s there was a need for unions because management wasn't—I don't know what they want to say—maybe that management wasn't enlightened enough or what. But anyhow, they try to sell the idea that management back then had a closed mind. But today this is different. I can't quite understand how people would buy that. If they'd just look around and look at what the process is today, the idea is if you don't have a counterbalance in that society and that society is the worker in that plant, the guy who is going to be richer or poorer by the pennies he can beat out of the workers' backs hasn't changed. That's his goal. I saw operations where that was the mentality even if the net result was injury to the worker.

When I was president of the Local Union and Chairman of the bargaining committee at McInerney Spring and Wire I saw people get injured on the job. I saw a man lose parts of two fingers in a press.

On another occasion while I was on duty as the Union roving representative, I came into a department where there was a press operation and I noticed several people including the foreman standing next to a press that the operator was starting to run. I noticed that the operator had to have his hand in the die until the front edge of the die hit the metal and then yank his hand out of the die. I said to the foreman, "what the hell are you doing?" He said, "Well, we've got to get this job running. It's a new die." I told the worker, "Don't cycle the press again." The foreman said, "I'm going to have you fired." I said, "Go ahead." I had read arbitration cases where a Union representative countermanded an order and had been fired and the arbitration upheld his right to countermand because of danger to the worker. The worker would have lost his fingers or whole hand if I hadn't stopped the operation.

Without a union, a worker can be fired for any reason. Today in Right to Work states, the loss of limbs or part of limbs is at least twice the number of those in plants that have a union and workers have a say in job safety. Wages are also lower in Right to Work states. Less cost is the reason companies want Right to Work legislation. Right to Work isn't going to give anyone a job. All it does is gives the workers the right to work for less money and with less safe working conditions. You don't have to take my word for it, just check the record. I am a Democrat and proud of it. I did not vote for Governor Snyder. I have heard him say that Right to Work isn't one of his goals. I would hope that if a Right to Work bill comes to his desk he would not sign it. We don't need or want a divisive Right to Work law in our state.

PEM: I've got another quote for you; you will recognize this one because you said it. In 1994 you wrote this: "While the new post-cold war world economic order is being born, the danger is not small that the restructuring will take our society not in the direction of greater democracy and prosperity but in the direction of oligarchy and inequality. Trade unionists never forget that societies that distribute wealth unfairly will soon start to create far less of it."

BIEBER: Yeah, well I would say this to you...now people come to me and they say "Well...you were a Prophet...you were right". That article was right then and it is right today.

PEM: While we are on the topic of foreign countries, could you please talk about the efforts that you made with anti-apartheid work in South Africa?

BIEBER: When George Schultz was Secretary of State in Ronald Reagan's administration, he put together a commission on South Africa and the AFL-CIO was invited to name a person to be a member. Lane Kirkland asked me to be the person to sit on that commission, which gave me the opportunity to go to South Africa. I had been to South Africa once before that and, in the meantime, the person who was the Secretary/Treasurer of the South African Metal and Allied Workers Union, Moses Mayekiso, had been arrested and charged with treason for leading a rental boycott in Alexandra Township. He and his brother and another person from the township had been arrested and they were held in solitary confinement for nine months. The State Department was then sending groups

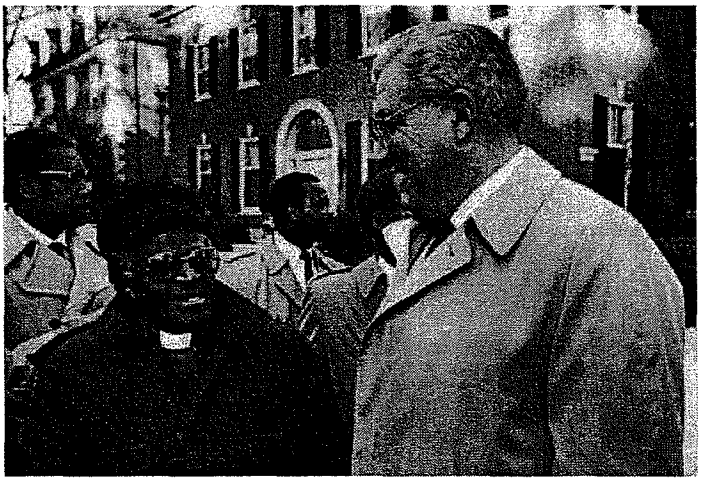
Owen Bieber's Arrest at South African Embassy, November, 1984

of two or three people from this committee to go to South Africa. So I went to our board and I said that I did not want to go as a representative of the State Department. The board agreed that the UAW would pay my expenses to go there. When I arrived, Nelson Mandela was still held captive on Robben Island and Moses Mayekiso was still in solitary confinement. I met with different officials of the South African government. The last one I met with was the day before I was leaving South Africa – he was the minister in charge of prisons. After we had discussed the South African situation for some time, he said "Do you have any questions?" I said, "Yeah, I would like to see my friend Moses Mayekiso." Beforehand, I had set him up for this when I said, "Now am I understanding this right, do you have control over the penal system throughout all of South Africa?" He said, "Oh yes." I said then "You ought to be able to get me a meeting with my friend Moses Mayekiso who is being held in a municipal jail in Johannesburg." While that stunned him for a minute he said ..."Well, the problem is that is a municipal prison." I said, "But I thought you told me that you had control over all of them". Well...he said, "Yes I do technically but mine's more a state level and that would be infringing upon them. Plus the fact you have to leave the country tonight". I said, "Oh I can extend my time here if you get me that meeting". Well, he blubbered around and he said that he couldn't do that because the jail was a municipal one. "Well," I said "Okay, I have another request." He said, "What's that?" I said, "How about arranging a meeting with Nelson Mandela? Now that's a state run prison." "Well," he said, "But that's on Robben Island." I said, "But it's a state prison Sir and you know it and I do." "Well, I can't work that out," he said, "Well alright, our meeting has ended" and I left his office.

Within the first year of his release from prison in South Africa, Nelson Mandela came to the United States and we met in Detroit, we had a night gathering at the old Briggs Stadium with 43,000 people there. Coleman Young was the Mayor then. Coleman and I got along well. I introduced Coleman and Coleman introduced Mandela. It was amazing when we came from the airport, we took him to the River Rouge Ford Plant and there were cars lined up all over. We came down the expressway and they had the exit and entrances blocked off and there were cars there and people including a lot of whites waving at us, and I said to Coleman, "If we had this on tape we could be showing it around Detroit." During Mandela's visit to Detroit I got to walk with him a couple mornings along the Detroit River and during one of those walks I said, "Mr. Mandela, I'm amazed that you have no animosity because of what has happened to you."

PEM: Could you just describe what you consider your greatest accomplishment?

BIEBER: There are several. First, we negotiated good wages, pensions and working conditions for auto workers. Another was the role we played in South Africa because really it was the end of the apartheid of government. I'm not saying that we deserved all the credit but I am saying that putting together that group of high-powered professionals and their attending that opening trial for Moses Mayekiso had a lot to do with the government recognizing that their days were numbered. They had planned on executing those three people for leading a rent boycott.



Owen Bieber and Bishop Desmond Tutu at Anti-Apartheid Demonstration, January 8, 1986

Interview of Ann Fagan Ginger

On August 12, 2011, Patrick E. Mears interviewed Ann Fagan Ginger, the Executive Director Emeritus of the Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute, at her office in Berkeley, California. Ms. Ginger is a long-time human rights and peace activist who was born and raised in East Lansing, Michigan and graduated from The University of Michigan with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1945 and from The University of Michigan Law School in 1947 with a Juris Doctor degree. Shortly thereafter, she married Ray Ginger, former university professor and acclaimed biographer of Eugene V. Debs in "The Bending Cross." In the heyday of McCarthyism, Ray Ginger was dismissed from his post as a professor of the Harvard Business School for his refusal to sign a noncommunist oath demanded by the University as a condition of continuing employment. Afterwards, Ray and Ann divorced and Ann moved to Berkeley, California, where she now resides. Ms. Ginger is the author and editor of many publications including a two-volume collection of writings entitled *The Cold War Against Labor* published in 1987 by the Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute. She also edited a book entitled *The Ford Hunger March* authored by former UAW counsel, Maurice Sugar, which was published in 1980. Her recent booklets include "The Living Constitution – with highlights from the supreme law of the land" and "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights Is the Law: a guide to UDHR articles in treaties ratified by the U.S." She is a member of the National Writers Union and a member of the Executive Committee of its Northern California chapter. Ann Fagan Ginger's forthcoming book, titled "Memoirs of a Radical Family," about the activities of the Fagan family in Lansing in the 1930s, will soon be published in the United States.

* * *

MEARS: This interview is being made for an issue of the Historical Society Journal of our federal district court. During this interview, I will be asking you questions about your life and about labor rights and labor unions in America. First, let's talk about you and your history. Were you born in Lansing?

GINGER: East Lansing. And there is a difference and I think it's important. Lansing's the capital of Michigan, of course. East Lansing at that time was an all white, all Protestant community. Very, very few Jews—my mother was Jewish—very, very few Democrats and certainly no Socialists. . . . Everybody assumed that you would be part of the system. That was extremely awkward.

MEARS: Your father, Peter Fagan, was a newspaper reporter?

GINGER: Yes, he was born in Holly, Michigan and then moved to Boston to attend Harvard University. While in Boston, he was a reporter and then he got a job in Detroit for the *Detroit Free Press* and then later for the *Detroit Times* covering state politics.

MEARS: Didn't he have an altercation with then-Governor Brucker?

GINGER: Oh yes. At the end of 1932, Republican Governor Brucker lost the general election and Comstock was elected, a Democrat. My father went to the last press conference of Governor Brucker and interestingly enough - - because my father had gone to all of the press conferences all through the years with Brucker - - for some reason Governor Brucker said, "Oh, I have something to say that will interest you, Mr. Fagan." And my father said, "Nothing you say now or will ever say in the future will be of the slightest interest to me," and he picked up his hat and put it on and walked out the door. No reporter had ever done that before. The other reporters were just shocked. By the time he got to the office, he had a phone call from Detroit that he must drive to Detroit immediately and talk to the boss there. It turned out that William Randolph Hearst had been told about this event in his office in California and Hearst himself ordered that Peter Fagan be fired instantly. So he was. He then called up my mother and told her that he had been fired.

My mother, who didn't drive, got on the bus and went to Lansing from East Lansing, and arrived at the capital, not knowing exactly what she was going to do. When she got there she ran into William Comstock,

Ann Fagan Ginger—September 2009

the new governor. She said, "Peter just got fired because of what he said to Brucker. Now you have to find him a job."

The governor said, "Well, you know, as a matter of fact there is an opening. The secretary of the Public Utilities Commission resigned and I have to find a new person." My mother said, "Well, terrific, because Peter did that job before in the early '20s." So by the time Peter got back from Detroit she could tell him she had already gotten him a job.

MEARS: Why did you enroll in law school? What attracted you to the law?

GINGER: I was from a very good progressive family but nonetheless I followed the rules so I took a career class when I was in the 10th grade and this woman teacher convinced me that I had to decide that year what I was going to do for the rest of my life. It was clear that I liked being a writer but it was also clear that you couldn't make a living as a writer. My father had trouble. He never could make a living as a writer. So I read the United States Constitution and about Clarence Darrow and an immigration lawyer named Carol Weiss King and I decided to become a lawyer. That's how I did it.

When I graduated from law school in 1947, you couldn't be a labor lawyer if you were a woman. There was a labor law firm in Detroit that was a good firm, Maurice Sugar's firm - - you've probably heard of that firm. It became Goodman Crockett Eden Robb and Philo. It had been around for a long time and they represented the UAW from the very beginning in the 1930s. Maurice Sugar knew my parents from the University of Michigan from the 1910s. So I sent him a letter and said "I'm graduating from the University of Michigan Law School in June. I'd like to get a job with your firm." Well, I got sort of a "nothing answer" so I wrote a second letter. I wrote him seven letters saying the same thing. The members of that firm - -Maurice Sugar, Ernest Goodman, George Crockett and Dean Robb, had gotten to the point of including an African American or Negro lawyer, George Crockett, who later became a Congressman. But the idea of having a woman lawyer in their office, they could not deal with that in 1947. Even if they knew my parents, they knew me and they could see my grades from law school. So after receiving seven letters from me, they finally said, "Well - we have a chapter of the National Lawyers Guild in Detroit. You might work in our office for the Guild so you can collect dues from delinquent members and help with the meetings, so you can be hired as the secretary to the Guild Chapter in Detroit."

That's how I got into labor law, if you want to call it that. The same thing happened over and over in other instances in my life, starting in 1947 as a woman lawyer who wanted to be a labor lawyer.

I occasionally would get a job. I got one with the law firm representing the National Maritime Union. They were starting up on the Great Lakes. They wanted to organize the sailors on the Great Lakes so their law firm paid me to go to Cleveland, Ohio at a time when they thought that they were really going to get somewhere on the Great Lakes. So my husband and I moved to Ohio and I was admitted to practice in Ohio. Then of course, they laid me off because their membership wasn't growing on the Great Lakes.

Then for a while I was connected with the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union and the same thing happened. They didn't bring in enough new members to warrant having another full-time lawyer on staff. From 1954 to 1959, I worked for the National Lawyers Guild national office in New York City. So when you talk about labor, I worked all of my life, obviously, for labor unions and labor union principles and I've always talked about economic rights and so forth.

MEARS: How many women graduated with you from The University of Michigan Law School in 1947?

GINGER: Eight. Of the eight, one was the valedictorian of the class, Cornelia Kennedy, and she later became a judge of the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals. Of the eight, guess how many of us got a job as lawyers when we graduated?

MEARS: Maybe one or two?

GINGER: None. And Cornelia didn't either. But I think that it's very hard to imagine what that meant. It was assumed that if you were in the room, that you were not a lawyer. Even if it was a room where there were clients and there was a court. And that continued to be true for decades.

MEARS: Tell me about your time at The University of Michigan as an undergraduate and your experiences with *The Michigan Daily*, the campus newspaper.

GINGER: I went there in the fall of 1941 and my parents gave me $32.00. In 1947, I had a bachelor's degree and a law degree and I owed nobody anything because I kept getting jobs. I wrote an essay about my parents titled "Life, Liberty and...," for which I won a freshman Hopwood Award.

MEARS: What types of jobs did you work while you were in Ann Arbor?

GINGER: I had all types of jobs. I had four jobs at the same time at the beginning. I did housework and taking care of kids. Eventually, I landed a job for $7.50 a week working part-time for a lawyer where I used my shorthand skills in taking dictation. With that $7.50 a week, I spent $5.50 per week for my room and board at Muriel Lester Co-Operative House and saved most of the remaining $2.00 for the next semester's tuition. I kept track of my money very carefully. In my third year in the spring of 1944, I got a job running a linotype machine at *The Michigan Daily* and the pay was much better there than my previous work. So I worked on that machine from 11:00 p.m. to 2:15 a.m. every night, five nights a week and then eight hours on Saturday.

MEARS: Were you also a writer for *The Michigan Daily*?

GINGER: Yes. A friend of mine, Katherine Sharfman, was an editor of the paper and she was willing to have me write a column. I wanted to write a column three days a week. You would earn 50¢ a column and she said she would use them. Because I was running the linotype machine at the *Daily* then, my boss there didn't want one of his operators to write articles for the paper. So I didn't write for *The Michigan Daily*. Somebody named "Doris Kuntz" wrote for the paper and the column was called "In a Hurry by a Nobody." I wrote it and it was fun because I set my own column. My boss didn't know it. Then one day, I wrote a column about a fellow named Henry Ford because there was a new book called "The Legend of Henry Ford."

MEARS: I believe the author's name was Keith Sward.

GINGER: That's right. So I wrote a column. I called up my father. The book was not complimentary to Henry Ford. I was smart enough to check with my father to see if there was any problem with what I wrote. He asked, "Did you make anything up?" and I said "No". The paper came out in the morning and, by that afternoon the Ford people had called the *Daily* asking "Who is this Doris Kuntz". One of the Regents of the University then was a top Ford official and so he called the *Daily* and said that they wanted to speak with Doris Kuntz. So my friend Kathy Sharfman made up an address that didn't exist and told them to go there. Of course, they couldn't find me. So Doris Kuntz stopped writing for the *Daily*. Later, somebody named Ann Fagan Ginger started writing a column for the *Daily* called "Keep Moving".

MEARS: When did you and your husband, Ray Ginger, move to Massachusetts from Cleveland?

GINGER: Ray was released from the United States Army in 1946 and thereafter we moved to Detroit. We

lived in Detroit from 1947 when I graduated from law school. In 1948, I was employed by the CIO Maritime Committee in Cleveland where Ray was then attending Western Reserve University for his doctorate. We lived in Cleveland from 1948 to 1952. Then in 1952, we moved to Boston where he worked for the Harvard Business School. Then in 1954, he was fired. Thereafter we moved to New York City.

MEARS: Did you then practice law in New York?

GINGER: I was admitted to practice in Michigan in 1947 but the FBI had a lot of stuff on me. So when I moved to Ohio, I was told that I could not get through the Character and Fitness Committee, which then really amounted to red-baiting. I had been very active in the National Lawyers Guild. I started a student chapter at The University of Michigan. Nobody had done that before. Then I worked for the Guild in Detroit. So when I moved to Cleveland, they were saying that I couldn't be admitted because of my politics. However, there was a judge who was a member of the Guild who was favorable to me and he arranged for them to write something special on the form where I stated that I was not a member of the Communist Party and I was admitted to practice in Ohio from 1948 to 1952. In Massachusetts, the Character and Fitness Committee would not approve me there. So from 1952 to 1972, I could not practice in the state courts of Massachusetts, New York or California even though I had been admitted to the United States Supreme Court and had argued and won a case there, entitled *Morgan v Ohio*. There, the Supreme Court reversed on procedural due process grounds the contempt citation of a college professor's wife by Ohio's Un-American Activities Committee.

Ann Fagan Ginger—May 2005

MEARS: What happened after you moved to California?

GINGER: I came here in 1959 and I soon got a job with the State Bar of California. It sponsored a continuing education for lawyers program which prepared books on the latest developments in legislation and case law in many specialties. It was run partly by the State Bar and partly by the University of California. I worked there from 1960 to 1970.

MEARS: I understand that you became involved with the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley in 1964.

GINGER: I was active in the National Lawyers Guild when these students started organizing on campus, saying that they had a right to free speech but weren't able to rent space to hold their meetings and so forth. One day when I was returning from a meeting on continuing legal education on the University of California campus in Berkeley, I chanced upon a student protest. The students were attempting to meet on campus but were not permitted to do so. The local or university police had arrested someone and placed him in a police car in the middle of the Berkeley campus. However, they couldn't drive him out because students surrounded the car day and night. From Tuesday until Friday he was still in that automobile. On Friday afternoon while returning from my meeting, I passed the police cars and went up to the student leader of the movement, Mario Savio, whom I knew and I said to him, "You have a constitutional right to speak; the police can't bar you from doing that."

I was then invited to climb up on top of the car and the students handed me a microphone. They asked me my name and I told them that it wasn't important but that I was a lawyer and that the students had rights under the First Amendment that neither the State nor the University could suppress.

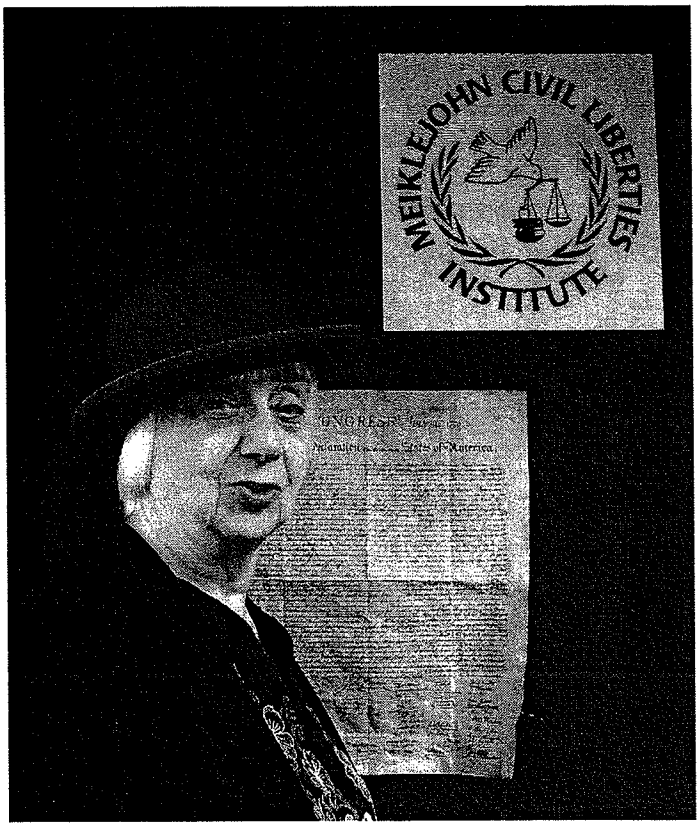
MEARS: Why didn't you give them your name?

GINGER: Because I didn't want to have it published in

the papers and lose my job. But it was published and, eventually, it did cause me to lose that job.

MEARS: Please tell me about your connections to Alexander Meiklejohn and your establishment of the Institute bearing his name.

GINGER: I first met Professor Meiklejohn in 1959 at his home here in Berkeley after I relocated here. I went to ask him for advice for my brother-in-law, who had refused on the basis of the First Amendment to answer questions posed by the House Un-American Activities Committee about his political beliefs and affiliations. Meiklejohn gave me good advice and, even though my brother-in-law was convicted for failing to answer certain questions posed by HUAC, his conviction was overturned on appeal to the United States Supreme Court in 1963 on procedural due process grounds. At my request also in 1963, Professor Meiklejohn agreed to the use of his name on a unique civil liberties research center we were planning. Meiklejohn was one of the preeminent scholars of the First Amendment and received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1964. Later that year, on December 16, he passed away at age 91 from pneumonia.



Ann Fagan Ginger at the Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute

MEARS: What are your thoughts on labor rights and labor relations in this day and age?

GINGER: Well, a whole bunch of college students don't find jobs. They come and work at Meiklejohn Institute for free, as interns to put on their resumés because they cannot find a job. These are kids who graduated from the University of California and other good schools. There are a whole lot of high school students who cannot find jobs. There are a bunch of people now, postal workers, who are going to be laid off. They thought they had a permanent job but now they are talking about getting rid of tens of thousands of jobs. The situation is getting much, much worse in this country. At this point, the economic situation is getting worse not better. Corporations are deliberately deciding to send jobs overseas instead of in the U.S. They are breaking unions in a way that they could not do before. It is a very serious time and I think many of my friends are discouraged.

I would be discouraged if I didn't know that we got through it before. That people changed. I mean literally. I am completing a book about what my parents did in the Great Depression to build unions and get laws passed for unemployment compensation, union recognition, and social security. There were hundreds of thousands of auto workers in 1934 who were suffering from the Depression. For years they had hated unions, Negroes, and Democrats. But by 1935 they had been transformed, partly by people like my parents, who ran training sessions on Economics and Labor History. So thousands now built strong, integrated, militant labor unions and voted for the Democrats in 1934 and thereafter.

The current Recession that started in 2007 has finally led to the Occupy Wall Street movement of the fall of 2011. Each day we can read, and see, students and workers of all colors and ages meeting in committees and general assemblies to plan protest marches and rallies against banks, corporations, and other parts of the power structure.

So I think this is a moment for everyone to get active in their communities and organizations— to stop the wars and the power of the corporations and to rebuild the economy with jobs and housing and medical care for all based on ecologically-sound principles.

Academic Fallout

by Ann Fagan Ginger
Volume 2, *The Cold War Against Labor*, at p. 504 (1987)

Narrator Would Ray have dared live out his years
If Harvard, when the need appeared,
Had said: "This University
Will not demand conformity"?
Would Ray have quaffed a safer juice
If fabled Harvard had produced,
In '54, from minds with spine,
One sparkling glass of freedom wine?
Instead, Ray found, with neutral myth
That academic monolith
Gave forth the ivied stench of fear.
He caught no scent of courage there.
From Bundy and Kissinger, Galbraith and Conant,
No clarion call against the rodent
That was gnawing the rope of hard-won knowledge
Created from free research at the College.

◆

The Harvard Business School had needed
To balance its staff with a different breed.
They'd picked Ray Ginger, young and eager,
A midwest boy, not rich, but clever;
Eugene V. Debs his thesis choice,
That railroad man with ardent voice
Who raised a union, saw it smashed to hell
And read Karl Marx in his prison cell.
Suddenly Harvard demanded to know—
Today, tonite, before tomorrow—

Harvard "Are you now, or have you ever been?"

Narrator The latest test of mortal sin.

Harvard "Are you now or have you ever been?"

Narrator An oath grown loud into a din
Of microphones and TV lights,
Of grillings, blacklists, broken rights.
That day Ray's wife, law books in hand,
Was spotted with a "wanted" man
Who drove her home, when she was weary,
With son in tow from a law library.

Ann (I was writing a brief for that man of math,
Professor Struik, M.I.T.
The charge was "forceful overthrow,"
Which meant I'd never get a fee.
Law books are large, my time was near,
I saw no need to stop and ponder.
An extenuating circumstance?
To whom should I protest, I wonder?)

Harvard "The driver, 'they' warned us, (there's little time)
He's Civil Rights Congress!"

Ray "That's a crime?'

Harvard "We're not engaged in search for truth—
Sign this new oath!"

Ray "Don't be uncouth."

Harvard "We gave you a contract, a chance for fame—
Academic freedom."

Ray "Only in name."

Harvard "But minds we buy, they should stay bought."

Ray "That's not the lesson I was taught.

From 'yellow dog' to 'loyalty,'
An oath's an oath. That's history.
When the boss says, 'Sign,' a worker refuses—
That's the course a free man chooses."

Harvard "You vow that you will never sign—
So easy, on the dotted line?
You're a suspect class!"

Ray "But who's to say
Am I suspect, or is it they?
I've other questions at this time:
What exactly is our crime?
And what's the oath's redeeming value?"

Harvard "Let's simply change the subject, shall we?
This oath is based on a clear, felt need."

Ray "It's blasphemy against our creed!
On whom does it hang the test of truth?
And where does it place the burden of proof?
The First Amendment states our rights—
You can't retract them over night.
If free souls slowly find their reason
No witches need to burn this season."

Harvard "Sign this new oath—or leave, we warn,
Right now, before the headlines—
And we will pay you one check more—
Three months until your breadline."

Ann "You're a prof and I'm a lawyer—
There must be some way we can prosper.
Let's try the Law School faculty."

Ray "You think we'll find some sympathy?"

Ann "Mark DeWolf Howe's the man to see,
a prof of proper dedigree—
ACLU, AAUP,
You need not lack for empathy?

Howe "What issue's here? Why don't you sign?
You've no support, right down the line.
And *Harvard* asked; it's not some other,
Divulge it, sir, as to your mother."

Ray "Why stay and wait? Subpoenas sure
From one committee, or from four;
The state, the feds, both Senate and House—
They call the man, and then the spouse.
The Fifth Amendment, could I take it?"

Ann "The precedent's murky—let me check it.
Long years ago it saved John Lilburn—
Perhaps today it will be your turn."

Ray "What of the First? That friend to all,
That absolute—when did it fall?"

Ann "With Thomas Paine and Plymouth Rock,
'The Rights of Man'—all out of stock?
("Why didn't you sue," they ask today,
"For a 3-year contract clearly broken?"
"With a Harvard judge and a Boston jury?
We'd be out of court in one quick hurry.
Kind Joseph Welsh, McCarthy's foe,
Had not yet worked his retribution.
And he bemoaned the taint alone,
Not loss of right to revolution.")

Narrator It was late June. Next month he came,
A second son, born without pain
In Beth Israel Hospital, deep in Manhattan
In the charity ward for the misbegotten.
The social worker asked the questions.
The wife gave answers, full of caution.

Hospital "But it makes no sense, if he's a teacher—
You must have friends, and funds, and future. . . ?"

Ann (How to explain, how much to tell
What happened just before we fell?)
"He's unemployed," (blacklisted, too,
In this time of the toad when false is true.
It's 'fifty-four, please understand,
There is a man holds in his hand

The lists that fire, the lies that burn—
It's Senator Joe McCarthy's turn.)

Narrator At subway stop two men appear.

FBI "Are you Ray Ginger? FBI here.
We want to know, now you have fled,
Have you lost faith in all that's red?
Will you name names, with time and date? —
You'll find we will accommodate."

Ann So how can you build a family life
With Law-and-Order creating strife?

◆

Narrator There is a rule—black letter law—
That one intends the probable.
When Harvard demands that somebody flee
They light his path to obscurity.
But he wasn't subpoenaed after he left,
An academic cast adrift.
So "Ginger, Ray" was not their quarry.
He took the rap for Harvard.

Prof "Sorry,
He made his choice."

Prof "He's grown quite sour."

Prof "I hear he's lost his teaching power."

Prof "His tongue's grown sharp; his pen cuts deep."

Prof "He mumbles Marxist in his sleep."

Narrator Finally, with wife number three,
Ray Ginger fled to Calgary
With McCarthy's cross still firmly affixed
He moved backward in time, away from the risk.
Just two decades the fallout took
To leave its mark on every book.
And Harvard's crop, sown cowardly,
We're reaping now, relentlessly.
And still the ironies come down—
You know, Ray died in Boston town.

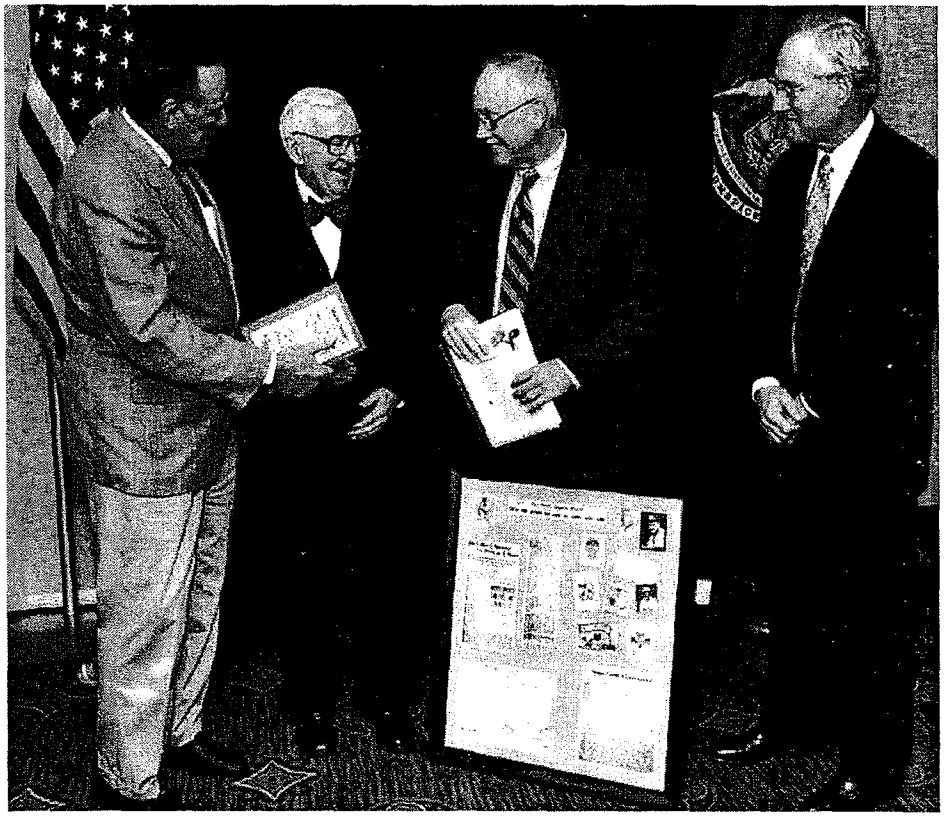
Correction

The Journal wishes to corect a mistake on page 12 of the Summer 2011 issue of the *Stereoscope* in the article on the Berkey & Gay/Simmons Co. litigation. Julius M. Amberg was born on February 27, 1890 and not 1880, as stated therein.

Presentation by Historical Society to Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens

On September 29, 2011, the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation honored former United States Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens in the Ambassador Ballroom of the Amway Grand Plaza Hotel in Grand Rapids, Michigan, where Justice Stevens delivered the William E. Simon Lecture. Immediately prior to this event, a delegation of The Historical Society of the United States District Court for the Western District of Michigan composed of Jim Mitchell, Pat Mears and Dave Gass presented Justice Stevens with a framed collage of items commemorating the third game of the 1932 World Series at Wrigley Field in Chicago between the New York Yankees and the Chicago Cubs. During that game, Babe Ruth "called his shot" by pointing to the center field bleachers before hitting a home run on the next pitch to that spot. As a teenager, Justice Stevens attended this game and witnessed the historic event. Included in the collage were baseball cards of players in the game, autographs of some of these players and the Grand Rapids Herald's story of the game's outcome.

James A. Mitchell, Society President; Justice Stevens; Patrick E. Mears, Stereoscope Editor; and David Gass, Society Vice President



Proposal From the Vignard

Your Historical Society is proud to introduce a new feature into your quarterly *Stereoscope*. "From The Vignard" comprises one or more vignettes from the memory bank of our Federal Bar Association Members. Please submit your memorable vignettes to our Editor, Patrick Mears, 171 Monroe Avenue, N.W., Suite 1000, Grand Rapids, Michigan 49503-2694 (*patrick.mears@btlaw.com*), for publication in the *Stereoscope*.

Meeting the Honorable Wallace Kent

By James A. Mitchell

One of my University of Michigan Law School classmates was Wallace Kent, Jr, known to us as Wally. Were all aware of, and impressed by, the fact that his father was a United States District Judge for the Western District of Michigan. We also learned that Wally's mother managed to keep His Honor humble on the home front by affectionately referring to him as "the pudgy judgy." Being endowed with a lively sense of humor, Judge Kent evidently found this both endearing as well as humorous.

Hon. Wallace J. Kent

Shortly after graduating from law school, I found myself looking forward to participation in a patent infringement lawsuit pending before my law school friend's father, the Honorable Wallace P. Kent. My senior partner, Peter P. Price, was a law school classmate of Judge Kent. Thus it was with rapt attention that my associate Randy Litton and I listened to Mr. Price's lecture on courtroom decorum. Among other things, it was made clear to us that flashy clothes, e.g. colored shirts, fancy shoes and the like were definitely "verboten."

Thus, the opening day of trial found Mr. Price, Mr. Litton and I seated in dark suits, demur ties, white shirts and dark shoes as the Bailiff called us to attention and announced his Honor's entrance. Notwithstanding the solemnity of the moment, Mr. Litton and I couldn't help but share a fleeting smile as we noticed that underneath his austere robes, his Honor was wearing a yellow shirt and two-tone white and black saddle shoes. It was thus clear that Judge Kent's sense of dress was as lively as his sense of humor, at least once the robe was removed.

The Historical Society for the United States District Court for the Western District of Michigan Membership Application

2012 Annual Dues

Student ($15) ..... $15 x___ = $_____
Individual ($25) ..... $25 x___ = $_____
Contributing ($100) ..... $100 x___ = $_____

2012 Founding Membership Categories

Pillar ($300) ..... $300 x___ = $_____
Sustaining ($500) ..... $500 x___ = $_____
Patron ($1,000) ..... $1,000 x___ = $_____
Grand Patron ($2,500) ..... $2,500 x___ = $_____
Benefactor ($5,000) ..... $5,000 x___ = $_____

Subtotal = $_____

FBA Member Discount (15%) ..... – $_____

Total amount enclosed $_____

The annual membership year runs from November 1 through October 31.

Membership contributions are cumulative. *E.g.*, a member who makes contributions eventually totaling $2,500 becomes a Life Member.

Student Member's Name: _____

Individual Member's Name: _____

Contributing Member's Name: _____

Founding Member's Name: _____

Contact person if different from Contributing or Founding Member

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

Email Address: _____

Telephone: _____ Fax Number: _____

Please make checks payable to: *The Historical Society for the USDC, WD of MI*

Mail the application, check and completed questionnaire (next page) to:
The Historical Society for the USDC, WD of MI
110 Michigan Street, NW, Room 399, Grand Rapids, MI 49503-2313

Contributions are tax deductible within the limits of the law.
Please indicate if this is a gift membership or if it is a special contribution.

_____ Amount _____

(Name of donor, intended honoree, memoriam, etc.)

MEMBERSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE

(submit with check and application form)

Dear New Member:

Please let us know of your interests and skills and whether you would be willing to share those with the Historical Society. Help us by completing this short questionnaire.

Name: _____

Firm name, Employer name, or Organization represented: _____

Special interests or experience in the field of history, local history or legal history: _____

_____

_____

Suggestions for programs, projects, or activities for the Historical Society: _____

_____

_____

_____

Please circle all the following that interest you:

- ☐ Writing articles for the Historical Society newsletter
- ☐ Layout and/or production of a newsletter
- ☐ Annual Meeting (planning and production)
- ☐ Oral History Project
- ☐ Research in specific legal history areas
- ☐ Fund development
- ☐ Membership Drive
- ☐ Archival Collection and Preservation
- ☐ Legal Issues relating to archival and oral history collections (copyright, ownership, etc.)
- ☐ Exhibit Preparation
- ☐ Small Group Presentations to Adults
- ☐ Small Group Presentations in Schools
- ☐ Other (Please describe) _____

_____

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State Bar of Michigan

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