

**SUMMARY OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
29th Biennial Convention**

**CALIFORNIA LABOR FEDERATION**

**July 24-25, 2012**

**San Francisco, CA**



**CALIFORNIA LABOR FEDERATION**

Art Pulaski, Executive Secretary-Treasurer | Connie Leyva, President

# **INVEST IN CALIFORNIA'S FUTURE**

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29th Biennial Convention**

**July 24-25 2012**

**San Francisco, CA**

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Reports Distributed to Delegates:

All delegates received relevant convention materials in their  
packets prior to the opening ceremonies. Included were:

Reports of the Executive Secretary-Treasurer, Auditors and  
the Membership Per Capita Report

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## DAY ONE PROCEEDINGS

JULY 24, 2012

### Lion Dancers, Labor Leaders and Elected Officials Welcome Delegates

The 2012 Biennial Convention kicked off with a performance by the San Francisco Police Department Lion Dancers, followed by the presentation of colors by Firefighters local 798. Hotel workers from UNITE HERE local 2 lead the pledge and urged support from delegates in support of their fight against the Hyatt.

Following an invocation from Rev. Dr. Arelious Walker, San Francisco Labor Council leader Tim Paulson delivered the union welcome, and SF Supervisor David Campos welcomed the delegates to San Francisco.

Executive Secretary-Treasurer Art Pulaski's remarks focused on Prop 32, which would silence workers' voices while giving corporate special interests even more power. "These guys are nothing more than the seamy underbelly chop-shop of the economy. And we're the biggest thing in their way. That's why they want to do us in permanently. We cannot let them."

During her address, President Connie Leyva shared stories about real workers struggling in this economy. "The only people who stand between workers and abject poverty are the people in this room," President Leyva said.

### Convention Approves Committee Appointments, Convention Rules and Credentials Reports

The delegates approved Executive Secretary-Treasurer Art Pulaski's motion to approve the committee appointments, and Vice President Doug Moore's motion to adopt the Convention Rules. Credentials Committee Chair Marsi Newman made a motion to adopt the partial report of the Credential Committee, which was approved by convention delegates.

### Labor Federation Executive Officers Unanimously Re-Elected

The convention voted unanimously to re-elect Connie Leyva as President and Art Pulaski as Executive Secretary-Treasurer of the California Labor Federation. All 46 Vice Presidents were also re-elected unanimously. All officers were then sworn into office.

A motion was made, seconded and carried that the next Biennial Convention will be held in Los Angeles.

The chairs of the Resolutions Committee, Victor Uno of IBEW 595 and Courtni Pugh of SEIU 99, delivered a partial report, and the convention body acted on the following matters:

~ The Committee went through the 14 Policy Statements individually, and recommended adoption of each. Each Policy Statement passed without debate.

~ The Committee recommended concurrence of Resolution #1, "Young Workers Council." The motion passed without debate.

**California Democratic Party Chair John Burton headlined the convention luncheon**, where Josh Pechthalt of the California Federation of Teachers was awarded the Courage for Justice Award. After lunch, CWA President Larry Cohen spoke on the importance of defending union rights and ending outsourcing.

~ The Resolutions Committee recommended concurrence of Resolution #2, "Supporting CARA and Social Security." After floor debate in support of the Resolution, the motion passed.

~ The chairs of the Legislation Committee, Barbara Blake of UNAC and Mickey Kasparian of UFCW 135, delivered a partial report, and the convention body acted on the following matters:

~ The Committee recommended concurrence on Resolution #4, "Reform Enterprise Zones." After floor debate in support of the resolution, the motion passed.

~ The Committee recommended concurrence on Resolution #7, "In Opposition to SB 1161." After floor debate in support of the resolution, the motion passed.

~ The Committee recommended concurrence on Executive Council Resolution #10, "Workers Comp Reform." The motion passed without debate.



### Delegates Attend Prop 32 Strategy Sessions and Bring Jobs Home Rally

The convention adjourned for the afternoon, and the delegates broke out into groups by sector to participate in strategy sessions around the campaign to defeat Prop 32.

Following the strategy sessions, the delegates joined U.S. Secretary of Labor Hilda Solis, CWA President Larry Cohen, Assemblymember Susan Bonilla and other leaders at the Bring Jobs Home rally in Union Square to support legislation that would curb outsourcing.

### Convention Dinner Features Pete Escovedo Orchestra, Labor Secretary Solis, Gov. Brown

The Awards Dinner featured inspiring speeches from U.S. Secretary of Labor Solis and Gov. Jerry Brown. The awards program highlighted the unions that have worked diligently on high-speed rail, as well as the unions that have made an active effort to draw in and engage the next generation of workers in the labor movement. The evening closed with live music from the Grammy-nominated Pete Escovedo Orchestra.



# CONVENTION COMMITTEES

## SERGEANTS-AT-ARMS

<b>Chair:</b> Johanna Hester	AFSCME/UDW 3930
Luz Bacio	UFCW 1428
Amber Baur	San Francisco Labor Council
Mel Breshears	AWIU 16
Nick Celona	SIU 250
Judy Dishaw	USW 7600
Paul Doolittle	IBEW 302
Keith Gibbs	CWA 9412
Robert Gibson	OCEA
Dave Harrison	IUOE 3
Jerry Hunsucker	UFCW 8
Tom Lemmon	San Diego BCTC
Barbara Liddy	IBT 396
Ruth Rhodes	Five Counties CLC
Adolfo Soto	ATU 1277
Lance Wren	CSEA

## LEGISLATION COMMITTEE

<b>Co-Chair:</b> Barbara Blake	AFSCME/UNAC 1199
<b>Co-Chair:</b> Mickey Kasparian	UFCW 135
Jovan Agee	AFSCME/UDW 3930
Eric Banks	SEIU 221
Michael Bilbrey	CSEA
Joan Bryant	IUOE 39
Jack Buckhorn	IBEW 551
Tim Cremins	IUOE State Council
Michelle Crenshaw	IATSE 600
William Demers	CWA 9400
James Lindsay	ATU 1277
Norma Lopez	IBT 911
Adam Loveall	UFCW 8
Lisa Maldonado	North Bay CLC
Rebecca Miller	SEIU UHW
Kay McVay	CNA
Dale Robbins	IBT 315
Susan Solomon	AFT 61

## CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

<b>Chair:</b> Marsi Newman	IBT State Council
Joe Coy	San Joaquin CLC
John Frahm	UFCW 5
Martel Fraser	UFCW 770
Karen Gardner	CSEA
Mickey Harrington	Butte-Glenn CLC
Julie Lind	San Mateo CLC
Nikki Linnerman	SEIU 1000
Luz Nunez	AFT 1521A
Liz Ortega-Toro	Alameda CLC
Sue Potts	ATU 1704
Jon Riley	Napa Solano CLC
Zazette Scott	UFCW 1428
Chris Snyder	IUOE 3
Loretta Stevens	CUHW 4034

## RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

<b>Co-Chair:</b> Courtni Pugh	SEIU 99
<b>Co-Chair:</b> Victor Uno	IBEW 595
John Acosta	AFM 47
Paul Ahrens	IATSE 2
Jennifer Badgely	IBEW 569
Thomas Brandon	IAM 1596
Dave Connolly	SIU 240
Cesar Diaz	SBCTC
Jeffrey Freitas	AFT Council
Ron Lind	UFCW 5
Stephanie Olvera	CWA 9423
Mark Ramos	UFCW 1428
Delores Rodriguez	CSEA
Bob Strello	IBT 853
Yvonne Walker	SEIU 1000
Yvonne Williams	ATU 192

**RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS COMMITTEE**

**Chair:** Doug Moore, AFSCME/UDW 3930  
The Executive Council met as a committee of the whole on April 10, 2012

**CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE**

<b>Chair:</b> Roxanne Sanchez	SEIU 1021
Bob Balgenorth	SBCTC
Jim Beno	IAM 190
Bill Camp	Sacramento CLC
Allan Clark	CSEA
Tom Dalzell	IBEW 1245
Ron Espinoza	USW
Rob Feckner	CSEA
Lorena Gonzalez	San Diego CLC
Carla Held	CSEA
Shelley Kessler	San Mateo CLC
Mark Leach	IBEW 617
Gunnar Lundeberg	SIU 240
Robert Morales	IBT 350
Tom Rankin	CARA
Robert Smith	PAT 1595
Bob Waggoner	IUOE 12
Nancy Wohlforth	OPEIU 3



# RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

## Adopted by the 2012 Convention

**1) ROBERT'S RULES OF ORDER.** The Convention shall be governed by Robert's Rules of Order on all matters not provided by the Constitution or specified in these rules.

**2) RULES - ADOPTION OF STANDING RULES.** The adoption of the standing rules shall require an affirmative vote of a majority of the duly qualified delegates to the Convention, present and voting. When once adopted, such standing rules shall remain in effect, unless suspended or amended as provided in these rules.

**3) AMENDMENT OF STANDING RULES.** No standing rule of the Convention shall be amended except by an affirmative vote of a majority of the duly qualified delegates to the Convention, present and voting. No such amendment shall be considered until it shall have been referred to and reported by the Committee on Rules.

**4) ATTENDING THE CONVENTION:** This is a private meeting for those authorized to attend and is not open to the general public. Authorized delegates may bring guests to the convention only with prior approval of the Federation. Elected officials, candidates, their staff or members of the public press will not be pre-approved. Space for guests will be reserved on a first come, first served basis.

**5) CONVENING THE CONVENTION.** The Convention shall convene at 10 a.m. the first day, July 24, 2012, and shall recess from 12:15 p.m. to 1:30 p.m. that day. The Convention shall recess at 3:00 p.m. or earlier that afternoon unless the delegates agree to extend the sessions or to call a special night session by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting.

Thereafter, on the second day, July 25, 2012, the Convention shall convene at 9:00 a.m. and shall adjourn at the close of Convention business. That same day, at the close of Convention business, a separate session of the Convention will be held, the business of which will be devoted to a Pre-General Election Convention, the business of which shall be confined to consideration of endorsement of candidates and statewide propositions and to appropriate resolutions pertaining to political action as provided in article XIV(a), Section 2(b) of the Federation's Constitution. The business of the Pre-General Elec-

tion Convention shall proceed until completed without recess.

**6) RESOLUTIONS DEFINED.** Whenever the word "resolution" is used in these rules it shall include Constitutional amendments.

**7) COMMITTEE REPORTS.** All committees shall report on all resolutions submitted to them.

**8) COMMITTEE QUORUM.** A majority of any committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of its business. At least a majority of all members present and voting shall be required to adopt a recommendation on a resolution.

**9) PASSAGE OF RESOLUTIONS AND COMMITTEE REPORTS BY CONVENTION.** A majority of the delegates present and voting shall be required to act on a committee report or a resolution except a Constitutional amendment, which shall require a two-thirds vote of the delegates present and voting. No motion shall be acted upon until an opportunity to speak has been given to the delegate making or introducing same, if he or she so desires.

**10) ROLL CALL VOTE.** At the request of 30 percent of the delegates present and voting, any motion shall be voted on by roll call per capita vote of the delegates. When a roll call has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

**11) PRECEDENCE OF MOTIONS DURING DEBATE.** When a question is under debate or before the Convention, no motions shall be received but the following, which shall take precedence in the order named:

First, to adjourn; second, to recess to a time certain; third, for the previous question; fourth, to set as a special order of business; fifth, to postpone to a stated time; sixth, to postpone indefinitely; seventh, to refer to, or re-refer to committee; eighth, to divide or amend; ninth, to lay on the table.

**12) MOTIONS IN WRITING.** Upon request of the Chair, a motion shall be reduced to writing and shall be read to the Convention by the Chair before the same is acted upon.

**13) CONTENTS OF MOTIONS.** No motion, whether oral or written, shall be adopted until the same shall be seconded and distinctly stated to the Convention by the Chair.



**14) MOTION TO RECONSIDER.** A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted with the prevailing side; such motion shall require a two-thirds vote to carry.

**15) MOTION TO TABLE.** A motion to lay on the table shall be put without debate.

**16) RECOGNITION AND DECORUM OF DELEGATES.**

- A)** Delegates, when arising to speak, shall respectfully address the Chair and announce their full name and identity of the organization which they represent.
- B)** In the event two or more delegates arise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide which delegate is entitled to the floor.
- C)** No delegate shall interrupt any other delegate who is speaking, except for the purpose of raising a point of order or appealing from a ruling of the Chair.
- D)** Any delegate may appeal from a decision of the Chair, without waiting for recognition by the chair, even though another delegate has the floor. No appeal is in order when another is pending, or when other business has been transacted by the Convention prior to the appeal being taken.
- E)** Any delegate who is called to order while speaking shall, at the request of the Chair, be seated while the point of order is decided, after

which, if in order, the delegate shall be permitted to proceed. The same shall apply while an appeal from the Chair is being decided.

**F)** No delegate shall speak more than once on the same subject until all who desire to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so; nor more than twice on the same subject without permission by a majority vote of the delegates present and voting; nor longer than 5 minutes at a time without permission by a majority vote of the delegates present and voting.

**G)** Any delegate may rise to explain a matter personal to himself or herself and shall forthwith be recognized by the Chair but shall not discuss a question in such explanation. Such matters of personal privilege yield only to a motion to recess or adjournment.

**17) VOTING NOT TO BE INTERRUPTED.** When once begun, voting shall not be interrupted. No delegate shall be allowed to change his or her vote, or have his or her vote recorded after the vote is announced.

**18) RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE FLOOR DURING PRE-GENERAL ELECTION CONVENTION.** (As provided for in the Constitution of the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO – Article XIV, F, Section 4) No recommendation may be presented from the floor of the Convention for action on any office unless the recommended action concerning such office has already been rejected by Convention action.

**19) TWO-THIRDS OF MAJORITY VOTE.** All endorsements shall be by at least a two-thirds majority vote of the delegates present and voting, in accordance with the per capita formula specified in the Constitution of the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO-Article XIV, F, Section 5.



## WELCOMING REMARKS



**Tim Paulson**  
San Francisco Labor Council

On behalf of the hometown Labor Unions that are part of the San Francisco Labor Council I just want to say thank you and welcome to San Francisco. You guys haven't been here in a while, so it's about time you came back.

There's a lot of Labor history and tradition here in San Francisco, and I hope you get to enjoy our great community besides just the deliberations that you're doing. Besides working on collective bargaining agreements and fighting for workers' right here in San Francisco, there are certain other things that the Labor community has done with the other communities in San Francisco to do some very landmark stuff. Such as we have the highest minimum wage in all of the United States, over \$10 an hour.

We have – this is where Sick Days campaign started here in San Francisco, Labor and community working together. And it's here in San Francisco also where we have the closest thing to universal health care, the San Francisco Health Care Security Ordinance which is a piece of legislation that Barack Obama and Nancy Pelosi wrote as far as they could in terms of the Affordable Care Act.

So there is a lot of tradition of raising all tides here in town. But as I greet you, and before the deliberations get going, I just want to note that we are going to be challenging ourselves, the affiliates at the San Francisco Labor Council, to take on one of the greatest assaults that we've ever seen here in San Francisco.

It's right up there with the Wisconsin and the Ohio attacks that have taken place. It is right here. They are coming at us with sledge hammers here in California. And we are going to be getting people out. And we absolutely have to be knocking on doors and making phone calls and talking – in particular talking to our own members on the worksite in order to stop this attack of Prop. 32 that's coming out. And I really hope that we all are going to come out of here energized to make sure that we can get into the trenches for the things that we have to do.

So that being said, welcome to San Francisco. We also have one of our family here to give us greetings, one of our electeds, Supervisor David Campos. He is the supervisor in the Mission District and in Bernal Heights here in San Francisco. David took the seat that Tom Ammiano had who was the author of our – as many of you know, up in Sacramento now, our assemblyperson. And he's a very good progressive, and he's a very good friend of Labor's, and I want you to give him a good welcome as he comes to the stage, David Campos, Supervisor.

*“It's right up there with the Wisconsin  
and the Ohio attacks that have taken place.  
It is right here. They are coming at us  
with sledge hammers here in California.”*

## WELCOMING REMARKS

### David Campos

San Francisco Board of Supervisors



Good morning, brothers and sisters. If I may, I'd like to begin by thanking the workers at the Westin St. Francis Hotel for helping to make this possible today. I am proud to speak to you today as the son of a janitor, as the son of a carpenter. I am proud today to welcome you to the city and county of San Francisco. You know, a lot is said about the city and county of San Francisco, and San Francisco can be described in so many different ways.

But if San Francisco is anything, San Francisco is a Labor town. We in San Francisco believe that a society is ultimately not defined by how those who have the most are doing, but it's defined by how those who have the least. And that includes our workers, the workers who make this city, this country go around. This is where Labor comes in. And let me tell you that as this fight against workers has been going on in the rest of the country, we in San Francisco have stood firm with our brothers and sisters in Labor, because we don't believe that we balance budgets on the back of workers, we don't believe that we scapegoat workers.

*"We in San Francisco believe that a society is ultimately not defined by how those who have the most are doing, but it's defined by how those who have the least."*

And I am here to tell you that not only is San Francisco a Labor town, but California is a Labor state. And in the state of California we will make sure that we never have anything like what happened in Wisconsin happen here in the state of California. We have an opportunity in the next few months to make sure that the rights of workers are protected, to make sure that we as a society recognize the importance of protecting our teachers, of protecting every single worker, that our trades have jobs, that every worker is treated with respect and dignity.

And let me tell you something, that this is not going to be an easy fight. But we stand together, and you in Labor are not alone. You have so many of us who are going to stand with you. And I am so proud that you're here in the city and county of San Francisco. Because we have always led the way, we're going to continue to lead the way.

And on behalf of the elected family of San Francisco, thank you so much for being here. And on behalf of District 9, I hope you make it out to the Mission District Bernal Heights and the Portola and spend a lot of money. Thank you very much.

## PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

**Connie Leyva**  
President  
California Labor Federation

**G**ood morning once again, sisters and brothers of the California Labor Movement, the best Labor Movement in the country if I do say so myself

Sisters and brothers, we are under attack like never before, except for all the other years. Bottom line is we will always be under attack. Bottom line is the only people who stand between workers and abject poverty is each of us in this room. Without the Labor Movement there are no good days for workers, and there is no happy ending.

And don't you know that that is exactly what the right wing wants and what the corporate CEOs want as well. We represent workers, both union and non-union, and the right wing represents the interest of Wall Street and greedy corporations. You will hear a lot in this convention about voting no on Proposition 32, and rightly so. Because if we don't win, we're done. We won't have to worry about hard work because there won't be any work to do.

Workers need us now more than ever before. Corporations still hold more wealth than they ever have before, but they continue to demand more and more of workers, even our own unionized workforce. Members and non-members alike are being squeezed like never before. Just last week we met with some workers who were trying to form a union at the workplace. And one of the gentlemen recounted for us some of the things that happen at his workplace.

Every morning at 2:00 a.m. those workers who aren't working must call in and find out if the night shift finished their work. And if they didn't, then they have to get out of bed, and they have to go to work. If they don't call in to find out if the night shift finished, they will be disciplined. This employer also moves hours to avoid



paying overtime, and these workers have been forced to do more with less. So there is no question that workers need us.

Sisters and brothers, every day we work hard for our members. We visit worksites, we file violations, we file grievances, we go to arbitration, and we try to organize the unorganized. However, I would submit to you that that is ordinary. It is what is expected. It is our job. It's what we're supposed to do.

In order for this Labor Movement to survive, in order for workers to have a better chance, we can no longer be ordinary. We must be extraordinary. What is that little word in front of extraordinary? "Extra." We must be extraordinary with our time, with our commitment, and with our ideas. I know, you're saying, "Come on Connie Leyva, I am already doing so much. I'm already going the extra mile. I'm already doing everything that I can."

But I would also submit to you that we're not, that we can push ourselves a little bit harder, that we could push ourselves a little bit more. I know I can, and I

*Continued*

know that I'm willing to. I know that you all believe like I believe, that this is not a job it's a lifestyle. It's about doing the right thing every day and when no one's looking. It's about commitment, a commitment to each, a commitment to our neighbor, a commitment to speak out in the face of adversity, and a commitment to learn to not be the most popular person in the room, but to be the person in the room who has integrity and can always be counted on to do the right thing even when you're standing alone. That's who we are and that's what we do in the Labor Movement.

So when I ask you to do more, I know that at the end of the day after this election if we don't reelect President Barack Obama, and we don't defeat Proposition 32, the next time we come to a convention like this – well, there will never be another convention like this. And I'm not trying to be a doomsayer. In fact, those of you who know me well know that I'm all about optimism. But these are just the facts. If Mitt Romney is elected, we face right-to-work across this country, and the rights of women will be trampled, as well as the rights of immigrants.

We gave George Bush eight years to screw this country up. We need to give President Barack Obama the same amount of time to fix it. Sisters and brothers, we can do this. We can change the Labor Movement, and we can make it better than it's ever been before. We must adapt to the changes for our betterment and for the betterment of workers everywhere. Are you with me? Do you commit to work harder than you've ever worked before? ("Yes!") I know you will. Because, as I said when I began, this is the best Labor Movement in the country. Thank you, sisters and brothers. (Applause)

*“If we don't reelect  
President Barack  
Obama, and we don't  
defeat Proposition 32,  
the next time we come to  
a convention like this –  
well, there will never  
be another convention  
like this.”*

## EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER'S ADDRESS



**Art Pulaski**  
Executive Secretary-Treasurer,  
California Labor Federation

We know that we're all pretty busy these days, we've got so much on our plates; that sometimes it's easy to not pay attention to and not know what's going on at the national level. So fortunately we've got a clip here of the latest news about the presidential race and what's going on with Mr. One Percent himself, Mitt Romney. We'll show the video to you. (Video played.)

A couple years ago when our son was in college I asked him what kind of news does he and his friends watch. And he says, "John Stewart." I said, "That's good enough for me. That's all you need to watch."

So there's a man who was stuck in a heavy traffic jam. He asked the police officer about what's the hold-up. The officer said that the head of Goldman Sachs stopped his car and is very depressed over recent losses. He threatened to douse himself with gasoline and light himself on fire, so we're taking up a collection for him. The guy said, "So how much do you have so far?" And the cop said, "Well, about 40 gallons. But there are a lot of people still siphoning."

So welcome to San Francisco. We are celebrating, as you know, the 75 anniversary of the great Golden Gate Bridge. It almost wasn't built. There was a lot of opposition from wealthy special-interest groups, particularly the big ferry companies of the time, who said, "It's a folly. It's waste of money. Not many people will ever use it."

But in November of 1930, even as the great depression cast a dark shadow over San Francisco, voters went to the polls, and they put up their homes and their farms for collateral for a \$35 million bond to build a bridge. And as they built it, San Francisco and California watched in amazement with the magic performed by those ironworkers in high places. Their work brought economic relief to the whole region and a fresh optimism for the future. It stands now as a living monument to those men's work and to California thinking big and thinking bold.

Last week about a mile from here Governor Brown signed a high-speed rail bill. A bill that will create hundreds of thousands of jobs. Those jobs will help jump-start the new optimism and more great things that we can do to rebuild our economy and rekindle the neglected state budget for our services that we all deserve.

But that's not all we do. Two weeks ago the Governor signed the Homeowners Bill of Rights. It was an epic battle against the banks. They hired every high-priced lobby firm in Sacramento, and then they sent plenty more suits in jets to come and help. We found out quickly that they didn't use the normal process of lobbying. We'd be at the front gate where legislators enter their session. They went around the back gate. And so we went around the back gate. And we stood next to those lobbyists with our arms folded and stared at every Democrat that came out to talk to them.

Most of them turned around and walked back in. That bill would not have happened, just like high-speed rail could not have happened, without the power of Labor. Now, these victories are not only about supporting our members. They're about supporting all workers no matter who they are. They're about the family on the brink of losing their home. They're about the worker that's been out of a job for two years plus and desperate to get some work.

*Continued*

All those families need a champion, and all those workers need a voice. That's why this movement is something bigger than ourselves. Mitt Romney last week announced his great affection for jobs after, of course, he and his friends at Bain Capital got rich, about \$66 billion worth, at pioneering the practice of large-scale job off-shoring. These guys have no interest, they have no interest in building, they have no interest in creating, they have no interest in making things. The only things they make is money.

They buy a company that makes something, they chop it up, sell it off, or send it overseas. These guys are nothing more than the seamy underbelly chop shop of the economy. And we, the Labor Movement, are the big-

*“We’re going to mobilize  
our troops to stop  
Proposition 32, but  
we’re going to use it for  
much more than that.  
We’re going to use it to  
build our strength and  
then go on the offense.”*

gest thing in the way. That's why they want to do us in permanently.

Like Romney's lasting love for jobs, his Prop. 32 friends are stricken with a sudden passion to get special-interest money out of politics. And in my lifetime, honestly we have never together faced a greater threat than this. And it is a colossal lie. What it means to us, as I think you know already, is that never again, never again if this thing passes we will ever be able to spend a penny or a dollar to support any candidate for working people again in our lifetime. Nor will we ever again be able to spend a penny to oppose a candidate who only work for corporations.

Never again will we be able to engage in any way to beat back the anti-worker, anti-environment ballot measures. And the outrageous thing most about this is that it even prohibits us from ever even talking to our members about politics again. We can't even talk to our own members about it. That's the depth of the crisis this creates. It is, in fact, the one, two punch with a \ knockout death blow at the end. The election of 2012 \ eliminated our voice in politics; the election of 2014, \ maybe 2016, begin to strip away our rights – even our \ rights to collectively bargain.

The only way they can pull this off is with a lie. Now, they say fair and balanced. Restrict corporations as much as unions. And that looks good. And that's the danger of this thing, because it looks so good to our members and every other voter. Fair and balanced. Restricts corporations.

Until you put on eyeglasses and ask the question, are there any exceptions? Well, try LLC, LP, hedge funds, Wall Street investment firms, venture capital, insurance companies, real estate companies, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

Corporate super PACs, no limit to what they can ever spend on politics. Chamber of Commerce, no limit to what they can spend on politics. Carl Rove's super PAC, no limit. The Associated Building Contractors, no limit. Insurance companies, no limit. Big oil, no limit. Banks, no limit. All the friends of Mitt Romney, no limit. And, by the way, Bain Capital is an LLC. These corporations are all getting, even if they don't have it now, all they have to do is create a little corporate change, call themselves an LLC, no limit whatsoever to how much money

*Continued*

they can give to candidates, how much money they can give to super PACs, how much they can control politics in California and elsewhere forever.

You're going to get more details about this in campaign-strategy sessions this afternoon, and it's very important that you attend them. Please do. Because this is such a tricky lie that's hard to read through on your own, we need to get to our members early on this. Only about 56 percent of our members now get the opposition to this. Some 36 percent of our members like it right off the bat. And then we have the undecided. We have to win all the undecided. We have to split the people who are committed yes on this in half, and that's among our own members. We have to get to get to 76 opposition among our members to make up for the loss of the public at large, who we know we won't be able to win a majority of.

So now we've got this fight. The question is are we just going to stay on the defense. And they're doing us a favor, these corporations, because they're forcing us to organize and educate and mobilize. We're going to mobilize our troops to stop Proposition 32, but we're going to use it for much more than that. We're going to use it to build our strength and then go on the offense. We can't afford to be on the defense anymore.

We're going to build our strength, then we're going to go ahead and think big and think long like the Californians we are. We're going to use it to stop corporate tax breaks that don't create a single job.

We're going to use it to stop the underground economy. We're going to use it to stop Enterprise Zones that are of no value to working people whatsoever. We're going to use it to fund public services that we all need and take care of the public workers that provide those services to us. We're going to make better the minimum wage and prevailing wage. We're going to create a fair economy. We're going to give the right to every worker to join a union. And we're going to give hope back for the middle class for everyone, no matter who they are or where they come from.

Those corporate sons of bitches are going to regret they ever took us on. Are you ready to go on the offense? Join me. Are you ready to give those sons of bitches a lesson? They will regret what they ever thought about doing to us. We're going to talk to our members, we're going to walk for our members, we're going to knock on doors, you're going to join us to say No On Prop. 32. We're going to make them sorry and sad that they ever took us on. Are you ready to fight? Are you ready to organize? Are you ready to mobilize? Are you ready to kick their ass?





## COURAGE OF JUSTICE AWARD

### Josh Pehthalt

President.  
California Federation of Teachers

Thank you, sisters and brothers, and thank you, Art, for this – and the Labor Fed – for this great honor. My daughter is here, the recipient of the Governor’s help on her homework, and my wife. And given who our speaker is later, this is really the family portion of the show here, and so my daughter will have to leave before the speaker gets up. No, she’s heard those words at home, but not from me. I kid, I kid, I kid, you know. Come on. My neighbors; our windows are open.

Before I – Art, I think you said – I don’t know if it was two to three minutes or 23 minutes, so I’m opting on the side of the 23 minutes. But before I make a few comments I just want to acknowledge a button that I’m wearing here that says, “I Am City College.” And it is a button that acknowledges the fight that’s going on in this city over the City College of San Francisco. City College of San Francisco I believe educates anywhere from 90- to 100,000 – 90,000 to 100,000 students. I believe it has the single largest enrollment of any single city college in the nation.

Its contribution to this community, and the contribution of community colleges in general, we know provides an entry into higher education for our members, for working-class folks. It is the next step. And that community college is really under attack for its survival. We have the president of our local here, Alisa Messer. They’re engaged in a real battle. They need your support, particularly if you’re living in the San Francisco area. There’s a website called iamcitycollege.tumblr.com. I have no idea what the “tumblr” means, but for people more knowledgeable about the Internet will be able to find it. That’s iamcitycollege.tumblr.com, and hopefully you can get involved.

So I’m obviously very honored to be recognized for this terrific award. And in thinking about our experience on the Millionaires’ Tax, as Art acknowledged, we were under a little bit of pressure to drop our measure and to get on board with the Governor. But we held firm on our original measure because we had a team of people both within the CFT and outside who were committed to the notion of tax fairness.



*“And now I am proud to say that this new merged measure, Proposition 30, is one of the most ambitious tax measures in California history, and it is overwhelmingly progressive.”*

And we stayed the course on our measure until we felt the Governor incorporated the best elements of ours into his measure, although frankly we were prepared to go all the way on ours. And now I am proud to say that this new merged measure, Proposition 30, is one of the most ambitious tax measures in California history, and it is overwhelmingly progressive, because it fundamentally taxes the wealthy, people making over \$250,000 a year and above.

In the first year alone we believe it will generate about \$9 billion, and 8/9ths of it comes from progressive tax increases. A small regressive element, but the Governor was committed to that. And our success in moving the Millionaires’ Tax and working to merge our measures

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came as a result of a lot of hard work and a commitment to independent political action.

And I want to acknowledge the role of Jeff Freitas, the secretary-treasurer of the CFT – who was a key leader in this effort, as well as many of our leaders in this room today in the CFT, our rank and file members, the CFT staff, in particular Fred Glass, our communications director, who has been beating the drum for tax equality and tax fairness for many years.

And I also want to acknowledge the role that our community partners – California Calls, Courage Campaign and ACCE – played, because we really built a labor-community coalition. And finally I want to acknowledge the growing awareness and activism of Californians who have been hurt in this recession and who are demanding that individuals and corporations who have benefited the most in these last two years pay their fair share.

We know that defeating Prop. 32, the special exemptions measure, must be our top priority. But sisters and brothers, if we don't begin to bring in additional revenues into state coffers, we will continue to be susceptible to those forces using this economic crisis as an opening for attacking working people, attacking Organized Labor and the gains that we have won since the 1930s.

In California, we are well positioned to make President Obama's pledge to tax the wealthy a reality. But it will require all of Labor to actively support this measure and actively engage our members.

But in so doing, we will begin to build momentum for additional needed changes in California – for example, beginning to change Prop. 13 – that can put people back to work, address the economic and social crisis that has punished many of our members and many of our communities. And that will begin the moment after we are successful in the November election.

With all of us working hard, we can defeat Prop. 32 and begin to restore funding for education and vital services by passing Prop. 30 with all of your work and all of us working together. Thank you very

*“If we don't begin to bring in additional revenues into state coffers, we will continue to be susceptible to those forces using this economic crisis as an opening for attacking working people.”*

## LUNCHEON KEYNOTE SPEAKER

**John Burton**  
Chairman  
California Democratic Party

I learned how to sign a lot of different words. But when we were kids growing up in Milwaukee and I found out that this which was a sign for bullshit, is actually also the sign sign for it. So I really knew how to sign and swear in before I got there. But Waggs, I want to thank you very much, and all of the Labor people that I've met over my life I consider friends. And they all call, by and large, as they should, asking anybody in public office, or whatever, to correct some problem.

*“Because when I talked about Jerry and Gavin and everybody else, if Organized Labor was not able to step up to the plate for those elections and Barbara, we'd be looking at Meg Whitman, we'd be looking at – that's her name – Carly Fiorino, we'd be looking at a lot of rich people that really have a gut feeling about working people.”*



And Bill would always start his off, “What can I do for you?” And before I could answer he would then tell me what I could do for him. But also I think the lesson that we should all learn – or at least politicians should learn it – from Josh is if you say no and you mean no, they will come around to your point of view.

And during negotiations with several governors or whatever, if there was something I didn't want, I would just – I would say no, and if it was that important, it would just be no. And then f--- no, and out of the room. But they will come around, and that's how you got to – because they will rule you if they get a chance. They will rule you if they get a chance. And no good union contract ever came around by saying to the employer, Yes, sounds like a good deal to me.

And if you think so, you could check with the men and women from Local 2 that served us and their guy in this town, Mike Casey. I don't know what he did, but they have the finest union contract for any hotels anywhere in the country because Mike is more than willing to say no.

But why we're here, is Art going to get Warren Beatty. That was the deal. I was supposed to introduce Warren, and then Warren got, as is his wont, caught up in a whole lot of things. And so I'm here instead of him.

But anyway, we know what the fight is. In 2010 we in California, Labor and Democratic Party and our allies, proved that we weren't like the other states in the union. We stopped what was going on. And our challenge this year is to stop what was going on in other states. And Wisconsin, the first state with collective bargaining for public employees, got it taken away. Indiana went right to work. Ohio, all over, and they're coming after us now – when I mean “us,” I mean us. Because if anybody knows the record of Organized Labor, there are a lot of things that they do – you do for your members.

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*John Burton, continued*

But when Organized Labor fights to increase minimum wage, they really aren't doing it for union members, because almost every union contract has at least a minimum wage. They're doing it for the unorganized.

When they fought for civil rights in the sixties, they were doing it not for themselves, but for people living in the south, many of them in right-to-work states, many of them not members of unions, and many of them couldn't even get a decent job.

When they fight to take care of Social Security and Medicare, that was for everybody. And our job is going to be to let people know that when they're trying to screw working men and women, when they get together as a group, they're trying to screw everybody who's not a boss or an employer or a corporate stockholder. That's what they're trying to do. And this is why we have to do many things. And I would assume – and I don't really know – but there probably are some people in this room or in your locals that are in, quote, bowling leagues. There are people that are in the service clubs, you know, the Kiwanis and the Rotary and the Optimist and the this and the thats. There's people in their church groups.

And you have to be talking to your rank and file that they have to be talking to their colleagues in all of their groups that they work with people that aren't members of Organized Labor and let them know how unfair this is and what it is; is it screws working men and women and protects the corporations, and it's that simple. It is not a campaign reform. It is a special exemptions for corporations and the wealthy. And what you also have to do, and what we did so successfully last year, you have to, in each local – and I'm a great believer in the strength of locals – because I would guaranty you that every member of a local, by and large, knows who their local officials are. And with all respect, I don't know how many of them know who Art is, okay? They know who their local is, because they either worked with them, they got drunk with them, they pay their dues here, they go to meetings here, been on a picket line or not with them.

So every local has to (1) not only make sure that your members are registered – and they aren't even close to all being registered; but also to sign them up, those that are registered now, to sign them up to be permanent absentee voters. And those that are signed up to register, you have them be permanent absentee voters.

Now why? Pretty simple. You have to tell me – how old are you? No, no, the daughter. How old?

MS. PECHTHALT: 12. BROTHER BURTON: 12?

MS. PECHTHALT: Yeah.

BROTHER BURTON: You shouldn't have told me. That's my grandson's age. And my daughter says, "Don't say that. He repeats things. He's only 6. Trust me, he'll repeat it." "Did you hear what Grandpa said?"

But anyway, here's the deal. If people are permanent absentee voters – and surprisingly not all of them vote in every election; maybe about 65 to 70 percent – then you have 30 days – not a weekend, not election day – 30 days to get out the vote and to make sure those people vote.

You can contact them the day before the county clerk sends out the absentee ballots. And you let them know, whether it's through phone banking, on the job site, shop stewards, foremen, whatever it is, you let them know that that's coming, and they should make sure they fill the ballot out, and what the program is, and the program is going to be No On 32 and Yes On 30 and whatever, and President Obama.

If we all go to sleep tomorrow, the President's going to carry our state. But we do have a chance to pick up congressional seats and maybe get the two thirds in the state legislature. But you have 30 days to do that. 30 days where business agents can go around and make sure that

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*“And you have to be talking to your rank and file that they have to be talking to their colleagues in all of their groups that they work with people that aren't members of Organized Labor and let them know how unfair this is and what it is; is it screws working men and women and protects the corporations, and it's that simple.”*

they got it, that they fill it out and they send it in. That is a very big deal.

Let me tell you what we did in 2010, is we got the list of the occasional absentee voters, which would also include the new ones that signed up, because we didn't know if they'd be occasional or what. We turned out I think maybe 350,000 of the 600-and-something thousand.

Now, Jerry wins anyway, Barbara wins anyway, Gavin, Kamala wins anyway – no, Kamala doesn't. Kamala doesn't win anyway. Kamala Harris would not be the attorney general of this state in sticking it to those mortgage thieves if we hadn't done that program with permanent absentee voters. It made a big, big difference.

I'm going to beat your 23 minutes. I don't know if I'll be on the up side or down, but I'll be quick. But, you know, elections, everybody wonders, shit, do I have to make another call? Do I have to walk another precinct? President Truman carried the state of California by less than one vote a precinct. Jack Kennedy lost California by about two votes a precinct.

My brother Phillip, from all else flowed – but, I mean, from Phillip Burton to John Burton to Willie Brown to George Moscone to Sala Burton to Nancy Pelosi all came out of Phillip Burton. Do you know what Phillip Burton came out of? 111-vote victory.

111 votes.

And I'll tell this story. I got two more, and then I'm off. He's walking a precinct one day. And if you're from the city, you know about Bernal Heights. And Bernal Heights, when we were kids – kids meaning I was 20, Phillip was 30 – it wasn't fully developed. And he rang doorbells, and he looked up at the end of the goddamned street. And there was nothing between this and the end of the – Treat Street. In for a penny, in for a pound he went up, knocked on the door. "Hi, I'm Phil Burton." "Come on in." The Vasquez family. Five registered Democrats, one house. And that was before the 18-year-old vote. Five registered Democrats that then they became seven and eight as the kids grew up, that stayed with us until hell wouldn't have it. But he didn't give up, and we can't give up.

This is a fight for our lives, it's a fight for the future of the state, and it's up to you to get your members to realize this. And it's up to you – and you can do it. The locals can do it. You've got your members on whatever the hell it is, probably even e-mails now, but phone banking. But get them to register absentee voters, and

we have 30 days to turn them out. They're going to spend a hell of a lot of money in here to do this, because they know what's at stake. Because when I talked about Jerry and Gavin and everybody else, if Organized Labor was not able to step up to the plate for those elections and Barbara, we'd be looking at Meg Whitman, we'd be looking at – that's her name – Carly Fiorino, we'd be looking at a lot of rich people that really have a gut feeling about working people. And if you don't believe that, you know, you could ask, what's his name, Meg Whitman's domestic worker that she had that she was so helpful too.

So this is our fight, but we have to act to organize. And we talk about it, it's all this and all that. But you know, the great song about – you know, for those of us that still remember him – a guy named Joe Hill who got shot for being a shit-disturber. And, you know, his last words, according to the song were – and who knows, because none of us were there – "Don't mourn for me, organize."

But this is it, and we can build on this victory and let them know all of the bad stuff stops at California. And we will then be able to start rolling back.

So again, I want to thank you for allowing me to stand in for Warren Beatty. I've never had the opportunity to stand in for an Oscar winner. I hope never to do it again. I hope to be invited on my own merits – -- which I've always thought were very well –

What kind of grade did you get on the deal?

MS. PECHTHALT: "A."

BROTHER BURTON: That would be Jerry. "Let me

help you with your homework." Well, you got to give him credit. He thought he could con the old man by helping the kid.

Thank you all very much.

## GUEST SPEAKER

### Larry Cohen

President  
Communications Workers of  
America

**T**hank you sisters and brothers. Thanks Jim for those words, and back to you, Brother. And as the CWA'ers know, this is a time of sadness for us. We lost an amazing brother on Friday. Jim is our leader for the West, here which goes all the way to Guam in our case, but Nevada, Hawaii, California. There are seven regions. And the leader of our region in the Great Lakes drowned on Friday. And his wife narrowly missed drowning as well. And it's unspeakable, but it's better if I say that, because I can share that feeling so you'll know what I'm feeling. Seth was a great movement builder. As you heard from Jim, just as we met 25 years ago, that's when Jim met Seth, I met Jim. Lots of us here at CWA have roots that go back like that, and not just the time we spent together, but the values and what we share. So it's great to be here in California, although briefly. I will be on that night flight to Cleveland and be with his family and with our locals there tomorrow morning.

So you probably know this, and probably a lot of people would stand up here and tell you this, but this State Fed is our giant. It's you, it's Art, it's this leadership that sets a standard for this country – many of the Labor Councils here do as well – about what a Labor Movement can be.

And when we think about the history here in this city, the general strikes from 68 years ago, and then in Oakland there was another one after World War II, I think the last one we had in this country. But the way you do your work, the way you do your work when you stand up for each other in blackouts like Boron or bargaining fights like we have right now across our entire union, 20,000 here in the state fighting to get a decent contract from AT&T; but also here at ABC Television, flight attendants that are in our union, et cetera. Now I've left out some.

But the point being that this is the place to figure out what is possible, Art, for Labor in this country in an incredibly dark time, where here there's still a beacon in terms of the political work you do, the legislative work you do, the organizing work you do; the way you stand



*“So I know you’ve talked about this a lot, but I can’t come here and not talk about 32. Because of how critical California is, this fight on 32 is not just a California fight. You set, again, a standard in either direction. I think you’ve been through some version of this fight at least three other times, two other times, and each time, because of the way you can organize here, because of the way you talk to each other.”*

up for each other, and the way in which so many areas of this state, like this place we’re standing in, sitting in now, it makes a huge difference which side you’re on for working-class people.

And, again, a particular shout out to Jim and the CWA'ers that are here and the solidarity we feel with each other no matter where you come from in our union. It's our values – which we all share here – but particularly our values that make us strong, not which company you work for or what job you do, but the fact that we are willing to stand up, fight back, build a resistance movement no matter what we face.

So I know you've talked about this a lot, but I can't come here and not talk about 32. Because of how critical California is, this fight on 32 is not just a California fight. You set, again, a standard in either direction. I think you've been through some version of this fight at

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least three other times, two other times, and each time, because of the way you can organize here, because of the way you talk to each other and knock on doors and go to work sites, you've prevailed, not just on this, but on a list that would take up all my minutes here, all kinds of issues.

And I'm going to come back to this sort of in broader way when I talk a little bit about our view of movement building, as Jim said, why we have to be so broad in terms of the movement at this time. But some of our own members here, just as in Wisconsin, will get confused on 32. Because people will say, "You didn't like Citizens United? Vote yes on 32." And that confusion is stirred up by multi-millionaires and billionaires and right-wingers.

And yes, some of them, Jim, we should call fascists, because they are fascists, and they want to control every aspect of our life. And so the messaging in here – Art, I went through this tool kit – and Art doesn't leave much to chance. He had sent me a lot of this before I came. I know nobody here has experienced Art Pulaski, right?

And, you know, you look at the goals messaging-wise, and those broader goals are so critical if we're going to restore the democracy in this country and keep the kind of democracy that you have helped build here in California. And then our members understand that in fact we support, every one of us, repealing Citizens United, but it must be in a meaningful way where we stop the billionaires who are dominating our lives in this country, not working-class people from having a voice.

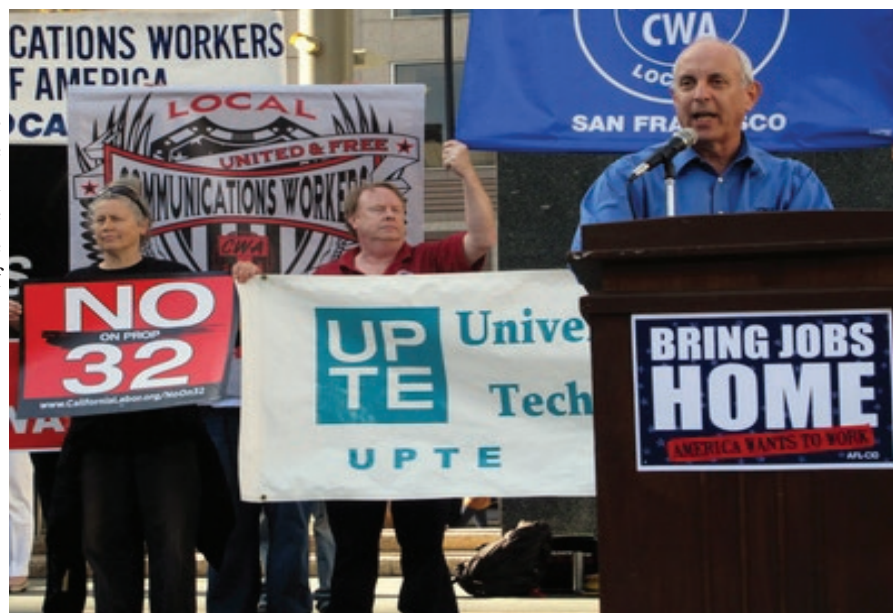
And we all know that's what this is about for them – and you've talked about that already and will talk about this more – but we know who they are. They're the people who move our jobs out of

this country. They're the people who come to us – union and, much worse, not organized – and say, "We'll take care of you. You don't need collective bargaining anymore."

They're the people who come to us and say, "We just need some help to keep investing here. We need to cut the health care that you've had. And if you're retired, we're sorry, but we can't afford to keep the commitments we've had to you." They're the people who say, "We can't have pensions anymore." They're the people who say, "We need a pay cut if you want to keep your job, not a pay raise." They're the people who, more than any others, have got us in this worst economic catastrophe in 60 or 70 years.

But of course they want to tell the story a different way. They have a different narrative to tell. They want to blame working-class people for the problems in this country. They want to blame unions. They want to steal our voice. They'll talk about the First Amendment and the Constitution as if it was yesterday, but in today's terms they want to dominate the media, they want to control every workplace, they want their financial contributions to be called free speech as all too often they dominate both political parties. They certainly own the Republican Party at this point in history like they never have before.

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And so I know that Art and this leadership and all of you, as you lead this call, will commit to that fight, and hopefully we will all back you up in that fight as much as we possibly can. Because it's about our democracy, it's not just another question on a referendum. It's what will that democracy look like, as we heard from Wisconsin. And what it doesn't look like is billionaires controlling and doing what they want and then restricting our organizations.

So we passed out a short version of a longer conversation called "Democracy and Economic Justice." It looks like this. You all have that. And I'm going to focus on that for a few minutes. And that is one chart from – you see on the bottom the website, so if anyone is interested you can go there and download this.

So how many folks went to the 99 Percent Spring Training? I see the CWA'ers. That was voluntary, right? When you guys went. Okay. So this is sort of our version of that. And it comes down to this chart and what do we do about it. And as Jim said, we believe more than ever that this movement, even as strong as it is in California, must help build and be part of a broader movement.

And why is that? So, again, in the booklet we start out with a chart that you all know too well. It shows the rise of collective bargaining starting in the mid thirties, it was at 8 percent. And cities like this one, Minneapolis and Toledo, many others, workers rose up, took incredible risks and built a new working-class movement.

And so by 1950, and really right through the fifties in the private sector, more than one third of all workers had bargaining rights in this country. So it went from 8 percent to about 35 percent rising up, taking risks, in the streets; not just sort of in some narrow corridor called the law of the land.

And it spread to the public sector. Many here are public-sector workers now. And so before that period, before World War II, there was virtually nowhere in the country where there were bargaining rights of any kind, meaningful kind, except for some cities, for public workers. And so there's sort of a disconnect.

The public-worker movement sort of started then working off the political clout that private-sector workers had built, but also the militancy of public workers not only here but across the country.

And as you all know, Dr. King was assassinated standing up for sanitation workers who were robbed of really all their rights at that time and were on strike for more than a hundred days when he went to Memphis in that fight.

And so today about 30 percent – a little more – of public workers have bargaining rights, but today we're back below the 8 percent in the private sector.

And obviously this is critical to all of us, because this is our movement. This is what we have to work with, whether it's to mobilize on Prop. 32 or the bargaining fights that our union and every union here has that always feel like we're clinging to a cliff; can we hold on to what people did before us.

Well, why is that? Because, particularly in the private sector, when you're at 6 to 9 percent, it means that 14 out of 15 workers in this country don't have any hope of having bargaining rights. You don't have the kind of movement where we're rising up, you have the kind of movement where we're holding on. And that's certainly what it feels like to me. Doesn't matter which sector in our union.

*“Secure Jobs, Fair Trade, Health Care for All, Retirement Security, Bargaining and Organizing Rights” – is what we all pretty much share here. And again, different organizations here might have a different version of it. It's pretty much our Labor Movement.”*

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But it isn't just our story. Between World War II and then about 1970, as all of us in every job we're in, the people who came before us, increased productivity in that incredible boom period, our wages went up at the same rate. Now, this part you'll hear about from lots of folks, the fact that productivity since the early seventies, 40 years, has continued to go up and wages are stagnant.

But the part that they leave out, even most Democrats who we end up supporting, is that the reason wages are stagnant or declining job for job for 40 years – and that does not exist in any other democracy or even places like China where they have lower wages but they've had rising wages; but that does not exist in any other democracy, 40 years of that kind of stagnation of wages while productivity has climbed, creating trillions of dollars in corporate bank accounts, or whatever they call them, that they don't invest in any longer – is directly linked to that bargaining graph in that story.

Because if productivity goes up, we produce more, and wages are stagnant, and we can't raise our wages because we have no seat at the table, most of us have no seat, and those of us who have a seat, it's like we barely do. And so why were you surprised that the economy can't recover this time? Now, this has been getting worse for 40 years. So all the economists – not all the economists, but the ones that would be, quote, on our side in some way – they all see that as a problem, but they all have gimmicks instead of bargaining rights as the answer.

And I just read something today that even folks on our side say, again, it's all about tax cuts, raise the minimum wage. These are fine things for the most part. Spend more money on public works. These are things that generally we would all support. The problem is, if we continue to be the only democracy in the world – and I'm talking about Brazil, Korea, South Africa, Taiwan, they all have rising labor movements; Argentina, Uruguay – places that, when I was growing up in this Labor Movement, had no rights. People like us were in jail.

If we can't restore a time where working-class people can sit at the table and bargain, public and private sector together, and if the people we elect don't understand how central that is – it's not the only factor, but it's a critical factor that explains the difference right now between the United States for working people and virtually every place else in the world.

Even Angela Merkel, the leader in Germany. Center-right she's considered in European terms, from the CDU. At the recent meeting of the G20 – and there's all kinds of bullshit at those meetings – but she said very clearly, “We don't need to spend this much on public stimulus of that type in Germany, because we have bargaining rights in Germany. We have codetermination in Germany. (Applause) And so we stimulate the economy in Germany – center right, remember this – because workers bargain, they get raises, they can buy things, and we don't need to do all kinds of other stuff.”

And so we come to this chart. And the longer version of that narrative, again, you can get on to that website. And so this is a CWA thing. I don't mean to speak for everybody.

But these four issues you see in the center up there, “Economic Justice,” pretty much are our issues collectively. They've certainly been our issues since 2005 written like that. In fact, the woman who I call the best speaker ever who lives right here, in that same period, Nancy Pelosi, George Miller had a list not exactly like this but similar as they talked about how to regain a majority.

And this list – “Secure Jobs, Fair Trade, Health Care for All, Retirement Security, Bargaining and Organizing Rights” – is what we all pretty much share here. And again, different organizations here might have a different version of it. It's pretty much our Labor Movement.

And when we won those elections, 2006, 2008, created super-majority in the House of Representatives, which is the people's Congress, we had overwhelming majorities for all of those things. With your work and leadership, most of it, a lot of it came right out of California in that House of Representatives.

By a 60 percent margin that Congress, led by Pelosi, passed the Employee Free Choice Act by 60 percent; Passed a health-care bill way beyond the Affordable Health Care Act that would have required every employer in this country to provide decent health care. Promoted trade policy that would have kept jobs in this country like every other country does, not based on protection but based on fair trade; Protected Social Security and would have protected our pensions.

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And we go over here on the left side, President Obama, his campaign now for fair taxes, more infrastructure projects, public services are on the right side of there, the partner issues: climate change, the Dream Act, fighting foreclosures and many others.

This is what the American dream is about, those things. And what this chart is about, is to say to us, we've got a real democracy problem in this country. So on that wall, the Limits of Our Democracy, are our version of campaign finance reform. Get the billionaires out of politics, not the unions.

The Senate rules, none of those bills I talked about that Pelosi led, none of them got discussed on the floor of the Senate for a second. None of them. The worst Senate rules ever, even though we had a Democratic majority in the Senate.

Now Harry Reid, thankfully, better late than never, has said repeatedly in the last few weeks, "If we have a Democratic majority in January, we're changing the rules so that we have real discussion, real debate." How about a real democracy?

Voters suppression, 38 states, most recently Michigan. Again, the right wing free speech paid for by billionaires says we have a voter fraud problem. We need to have everybody, whether they have a driver's license or not, go to Motor Vehicle if they want to vote, blah, blah, blah.

There's no voter fraud in this country. You can't measure it. You can't find it. Those 38 laws, again, they suck our people in, because they have unlimited funds to convince people that the problem is voter fraud, not the lowest voter turnout rates of any democracy in the world.

Still fresh in my mind, that YouTube video of the teacher in Florida after she dared to register civics class, her seniors. She dared to register them. She then turned in the registrations. She got fined \$1,000 in Florida because she hadn't turned them in within 48 hours. That's not what democracy looks like.

A legalization path for immigrants. The other side knows that immigrants are working-class people, and when they are able to have a path to citizenship like every other generation of immigrants had, they vote like working-class people, and that's why there's no path.

I said recently to our members in South Carolina, to our members in CWA, at a conference like this from that region, "Lots of us don't understand that issue very well." Again, it's no accident. It's because of the so-called free speech or what they pay for.

But before 1920 there weren't any immigration laws in this country. And I'm sure I'm not the only person here whose family who came here back then, before then, we're not necessarily like Ph.D.s and Nobel laureates and people of any means whatsoever. We have a way of revising our own history. In my own case it was worse than that, but we don't need to go there.

But once you got off the boat, once you crossed the board from Mexico back then, you were here four or five years, you had a clear path to citizenship. That's what we call the American dream. Are we saying the American dream was only there for our forefathers and is not here for the people who take care of our kids, who take care of our parents, who cut the lawns, who build our buildings, who lay our concrete?

And so the point of all this is that for any of us, it doesn't matter where we came from. If we believe in those economic-justice things that affect every one of our families, if we understand that the election in 2008 for us was a watershed, that's as good as we can do. We need to look deeply. We need to understand that. That was a clean sweep. And they stole the dream back from us deliberately. They knew what that election meant. They knew why people around the world were cheering. Now, everybody doesn't come here and say that. Or more importantly outside a room like this. That dream was stolen, not just from Dreamer kids, from every one of us. And we need to understand how we're connected whether we're a Dreamer kid or whether we're an older leader of this movement.

If we're here to fight for jobs and fair trade and health care and retirement security and, most importantly for those of us in this room bargaining and organizing rights again, we need to build, as we say here, a coalition not only to win elections, which is critical this election in November, but a movement as we saw in Madison, a movement as we saw here decades ago where we're willing to be in the streets as well as the ballot box, we're willing to talk to our sisters and brothers and say, "If not now, when? Stand up and fight back. If not now, when?"

*Continued*

And so we can do this. There is a natural coalition – and again, California can lead this. You do lead this. You will lead this. When we form the bonds that you’ve done here with Latinos and civil-rights groups and women and students and seniors and Labor and progressives and environmentalists, and LGBT, and faith-based social-justice groups, and community organizations, those numbers add up to 70 million people in this country.

And we won’t get every last one of those, but we can get majorities, huge majorities of those groups. We have to define our movement in those terms. We have to understand how the limits of this democracy have almost eliminated democracy. We have to dig deep. We have to go back to what we learned when we were young. Or, if we didn’t learn it, we have to learn it now while we still have the kind of strength that’s in this room and in this movement.

And this will be messy. It’s not going to be neat to build that kind of a movement. Even this is messy. We don’t agree on lots of stuff here, but we come here, we leave, and we’re united, we have a 1 vision, we have a movement. In our union it’s messy, CWA. Lots of people disagree lots of time. That’s great. We get our strength that way. But we have to get our strength that way.

And lots would say to me, “Well, you know, you 6 build something broader than this? What, are you 7 kidding? This is hard enough.” And it is. But if we don’t build that movement that links together our own vision and dreams for economic justice, and we don’t link that to these natural allies, and we get split up because of the noise we will hear from the billionaires when it’s a great investment for them; they want to get rid of the small, pathetic taxes they pay, they invest in political noise and they convince our own people that, while they save \$100 million, we save \$100, we should vote their way.

And so as you’re doing, Art, you have another referendum question about how do we fund the public services that we need. And the key is how do we build the unity that we need so we don’t see what I saw in the polling results in Wisconsin. And again, we should take huge courage from Wisconsin and what our members and community folk did, and students, young people, whole families. I know they showed the film here. I saw it. “We Are Wisconsin.” If you haven’t seen it, get it and you get a sense of what that means, what does democracy look like. It’s not just about an election where all kinds of other things factor in.

*“We need to understand that. That was a clean sweep. And they stole the dream back from us deliberately. They knew what that election meant. They knew why people around the world were cheering. Now, everybody doesn’t come here and say that. Or more importantly outside a room like this. That dream was stolen, not just from Dreamer kids, from every one of us. And we need to understand how we’re connected whether we’re a Dreamer kid or whether we’re an older leader of this movement.”*

But in that election the billionaires supporting Walker convinced half of our members in the private sector to vote for Walker, and particularly older members and retirees. They were able to split up this notion of public and private. And they did the same, obviously to a greater extent, with people who are not in our movement.

And so we have to go deeper. We have to understand that we need this broad narrative where everyone finds their place, whether it’s a Dreamer kid who grew up here, it wasn’t even up to them; or our oldest retiree who we cherish. We need a common narrative that tells this story.

You know, we’re not fools. We can’t have ourselves slit up like this. It doesn’t matter whether we’re building trades or public sector or industrial union. It doesn’t matter where we come from. It’s these values and what we stand for, and believing deeply that we can go back and build the movement we need to.

And so when they come with 32, we say no. And when they come with union busting and give-backs, we say no. And when they come, as we’ll be out there this afternoon in that rally – when they come and take our jobs and move them in the name of free markets, we say no.

But we also say si se puede. We also say yes. We also say yes for democracy. We say yes for economic justice. We say yes for the American dream for all of us. We say yes, yes, yes. We are ready to stand up and fight back. Stand up, fight back. Stand up, fight back.

## DAY ONE AND DAY 2 PROCEEDINGS JULY 24- JUNE 25, 2012 CALIFORNIA LABOR FEDERATION BLOG

### **The people, united, will never be defeated!**

This age-old saying is more than just a union chant. It's the core philosophy of the labor movement. And that was on full display this week at California Labor's 2012 Biennial Convention.

In one of our biggest conventions in recent history, upwards of 700 union delegates and leaders convened in San Francisco to learn, plan, vote and strategize on the November 2012 election and defeating Prop 32, the Special Exemptions Act.

The convention was packed with notable leaders, each one emphasizing the absolute necessity of defeating Prop 32 – not just for union members, but for the whole working class. National labor leaders from CWA, UFCW and SEIU, as well as Governor Jerry Brown and California Democratic Party Chair John Burton all addressed the convention to educate and motivate the delegates about this incredibly deceptive ballot measure.

California Labor Federation leader Art Pulaski kicked off the convention Tuesday morning by drawing a parallel between millionaire funders of Prop 32 and GOP Presidential candidate Mitt Romney, former head of Bain Capital.

Pulaski said that unlike working people and their unions who innovate and create, Romney, like the wealthy anti-union forces behind Prop 32, is only interested in one thing:

“Romney has no interest in building, creating or making things. The only thing he makes is money.”

*Democratic Chair John Burton:*

“Prop 32 is not campaign finance reform. It screws working men & women and protects corporations. It's that simple. Our job is going to be to let people know, when they try to screw working men and women, they're trying to screw everyone who isn't a boss or corporate stockholder.”

*Communications Workers of America President Larry Cohen:*

“Some will get confused on Prop 32. They'll hear people say, “You don't like Citizens United? Then vote yes on 32! And that confusion is stirred up by millionaires



and billionaires that want to control every aspect of our lives! In fact, we do support repealing Citizens United – but it must be in a meaningful way where we stop the billionaires who dominate our lives – not working class people from having a voice!”

Bringing jobs home by ending tax breaks for companies that send them overseas was another prevalent theme at this year's convention. On Tuesday, the delegates joined labor leaders, elected officials and workers from across the Bay Area for an energetic Bring Jobs Home rally in Union Square. CWA President Larry Cohen talked about the devastating effects outsourcing has had on the economy and workforce, and he was joined by real workers shared their personal stories. Assemblymember Susan Bonilla addressed the crowd about the importance of passing Assembly Bill 2508, which would ensure that all call centers for state public services, such as CalWorks, are staffed here in California. U.S. Secretary of Labor Hilda Solis made a special guest appearance at the rally, where she called on Congress to pass the Bring Jobs Home Act (which was blocked in the Senate last week) and other companion legislation that would eliminate the tax incentives that motivate employers to move jobs out of the country.

“Don't outsource, insource those jobs! We believe in exporting products, not paychecks!”

That evening, Secretary Solis joined the convention delegates at the Biennial awards dinner, where she talked about everything from her union roots to the remarkable work the Department of Labor has accomplished since she became Secretary in 2008. She also discussed how

*Continued*



Gov. Brown's commitment to investing in job-creating and emissions-reducing infrastructure projects, like high-speed rail, will put California back on the right track.

"In other states like New York and New Jersey, they turned down hundreds of millions of transportation dollars, just to make partisan political point. They say they want to create jobs, but refuse to make the investments to do so. But their loss is California's gain! We'll put those dollars they turned down to use here in our communities – and we're going to protect our environment and help travelers at the same time."

Indeed, high-speed rail was a focal point of the dinner. Gov. Jerry Brown discussed the project at length, discounting the notion that it's "too expensive" by explaining the actual math behind the project, what it would cost and how much revenue it would produce.

"High-speed rail is a bargain and here's why – it costs just \$65 billion to build, but would generate \$2 trillion a year in revenue for the state. Even if the train only runs for 50 years – though in reality, it will probably run for 150 years or more – that's \$100 trillion. Divide that by \$65 billion and that is just .0065 pennies on the dollar. That's a bargain!"

High-speed rail wasn't the only thing on Gov. Brown's mind. He also emphasized the importance of passing Prop 30 in order to stave off even deeper cuts to our schools and public safety by asking the wealthiest Californians to pay their fair share.

*Pulaski:*

Budget cuts are shredding the California Dream. Funding our schools and public safety is essential to rebuilding California and creating a healthier economy for the future. Prop 30 is vital to getting California back on track.



On Day 2, guest speakers Joe Hansen, President of UFCW, and Eliseo Medina of SEIU fired up the crowd by highlighting what's at stake this election year.

Hansen has been on the front lines fighting back against attacks on unions in states all across the country. He detailed the connection between Prop 32 and the national fight to preserve workers' right to have a voice.

"Prop 32 will destroy unions and away our seat at the table. It's no different from attacks in WI and OH, just in a different form."

In addition to focusing on defeating Prop 32, Medina stressed the importance of California Labor continuing and expanding our commitment to reaching Latino voters. SEIU has been at the forefront of ensuring Latinos have a voice in politics, which is critical given the Latino community's growing numbers in California.

*Medina:*

50,000 Latinos turn 18 every month. By 2014, there will be 1.2 million more Latino voters!

After the speakers, delegates got down to the business of voting on Labor's endorsements for the November election. In what could very well be the last truly democratic process we have in this country, representatives from hundreds of unions came together, contemplated and considered all options, participated in respectful but lively discussion, and ultimately voted on each of the statewide ballot measures and candidate races for State Senate and Assembly and U.S. Congress.

## DAY TWO GUEST SPEAKER

### Joe Hanson

President  
United Food and Commercial  
Workers

Good morning. It's really great for me to come back to California, and I spent a few years out here that were some of the most productive years of my whole career. And I'm particularly pleased to be asked to speak to the California State Federation of the AFL-CIO. I'll repeat what Jacques said. You have outstanding leadership. Art Pulaski is the leader of the State Fed and a close friend of mine, and he works tirelessly, like we all do, but works as the leader to get respect and dignity for workers, both the organized and the unorganized. And I am so pleased that he was reelected yesterday. And I also am very proud that one of our own, Connie Leyva, was reelected as president of the State Fed. And I'll congratulate Ron Lind, an outstanding leader of Local 5, who was newly elected to the state board. I'm proud of all the outstanding leaders of the UFCW in the state. They've all been tested, and they have provided outstanding leadership to our members.

California has led our country in so many good things, not only in labor but in a lot of good things. And when something happens in California, it generally happens in the rest of the country sooner or later. And some of the best union contracts in our country are right here in California. Some of the best UFCW contracts are right here in California with good wages and benefits and working conditions. And that's not just true of the UFCW. When I talk to my brothers and sisters in other unions, that's true of all the unions in California. You have got something going in this state, and you've kept it going. And it's due to your belief in the dignity of work and your solidarity among all of you.

Today's environment changes things a little bit. Because everything that you have and that you've achieved, it just wasn't handed to you. You had to fight for it. And we have to continue that fight but in a little bit different way in today's environment.

I get around the country quite a bit. And all across the country we are in the fight for our lives, the fight for



*“So we must educate, educate, educate and communicate, communicate, communicate. We have to expose the wolf in the sheep’s clothing for what it actually is.”*

labor rights that have been waged in states like Wisconsin, where I come from -- I have two daughters who teach in the public schools in Wisconsin in Milwaukee -- in Ohio, in Indiana, in Michigan and in too many other states.

Now, brothers and sisters, that fight comes to California. This is a fight to survive. It's a fight to be able to represent our members and to protect their rights to bargain for a better life. I'm only going to talk about one thing today, because it is the most important thing. And in California Proposition 32 is being billed as a campaign for finance reform. But everyone in this room knows better. Prop 32 is no -- well, I'll say it a little differently.

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Prop 32 is a measure to destroy unions, to take away our seat at the table. It is no different than what we saw in Ohio or Wisconsin, just in a different form. It is part of a nationwide game plan to legislate us out of existence.

I didn't believe that was possible three or four years ago. But from what I've seen -- and the blueprint's there. We saw it in Wisconsin, we saw it in Ohio, we see it in Indiana. I believe it now. It is a national game plan to legislate us out of existence.

And sisters and brothers, if they can kill unions here, if they can kill unions in California, they can do it anywhere, and the dominoes will start to fall. Prop 32 is dressed up to look like campaign finance reform. Brothers and sisters, you know this.

This is not McCain Feingold. It's Citizens United Part 2. It bans unions from giving a single penny to political parties for candidates. Yet corporate special interests -- like my favorite, Wal-Mart -- and super PACs like Carl Rove's are exempt from these restrictions. Prop 32 also bans the use of payroll deductions for politics. Well, guess who uses payroll deductions for politics? We do. And guess who does not? The big corporations seeking to silence the voice of workers.

They're after our basic right, which is our right to stick together. Prop 32 is as fair and balanced as Fox News. It would make a bad system much worse. So we must fight. But we were born fighting, and it is what we do best. Now, most of the country is starting to focus on the presidential election, and rightly so. The stakes are absolutely enormous. Because we know Mitt Romney wants Prop 32 for the entire country. The race is close in many battleground states, but not California. President Obama will win in California.

So what does that mean? That means in this state, Prop 32 is our presidential election. And everybody in this room can help determine the outcome. It just seems like yesterday, but I remember the excitement in 2008 after President Obama was elected. History was made. But shortly thereafter, we learned that Prop 8 had passed, a measure to write discrimination into California's constitution. It was one step forward and two steps back. We cannot allow that to happen again.

Everybody in this room should be proud. You have a proud heritage. California has always been at the forefront of extending rights: civil rights, human rights, workers rights. Prop 32 flies in the face of that great

tradition. So we have a lot of work to do. Our opponents are selling this measure as something that it is not. If it is explained only on their terms, we lose, not just with the general public -- and it pains me to say this -- but we lose our members.

So we must educate, educate, educate and communicate, communicate, communicate. We have to expose the wolf in the sheep's clothing for what it actually is. More importantly, we have to explain what is at stake, especially to our members. And then our members have to talk to their families and to their friends that what this does is diminishes our voice in politics, and what that does, it means lower wages, fewer benefits, and more dangerous workplaces. Everybody in this room knows that. We do know that. Our members must know that. California's citizens must know that.

And what it really does, besides all that, it reduces access to the American Dream. It means more money for CEOs and less for working families. It means another loss for workers at a time when we simply cannot afford it.

Now, when I travel all over the country and there's fights in every state, I tell them, and people around the country understand, that Prop 32 is the major fight in the battle in the war on workers.

And right here in California, like you have done so many times before, you can send a message to the whole country: enough. Enough give-aways to the richest 1 percent at the expense of the rest of us. Enough treating collective bargaining as a perk instead of as a basic right. And enough smoke and mirrors.

Prop 32 is nothing more than a love letter to the rich and the powerful. So sisters and brothers, the whole country is counting on you. But I believe in you, and that on November 6, with all of your help, the people of California are going to defeat it and send a message to the rich and powerful, and we'll be back on the road to victory. Let's all get to work. Thank you very much.

## GUEST SPEAKER

### **Eliseo Medina**

Secretary-Treasurer, SEIU

**S**o good morning. I'll tell you, it is so good to be home after being in D.C. with 105 degree weather and no electricity. And of course being with my brothers and sisters here. We've fought many battles together. We've won more than our share. But let me tell you, brothers and sisters, we got our work cut out for us now. You heard from Joe, and let me just add my own thoughts. I am absolutely convinced that things are going to hell in a hand basket for working people in this country.

We have seen attacks on the middle class, that whole generations of organizers gave their lives to create a better life for their families. And today, in the richest country in the world, the richest country in the world, we have seen the growth of income inequality. We are seeing the fact that we have more millionaires and rich people than ever before. We have many, many, many more people. And the middle class is disappearing. The Henry Fords, who believed that workers should be paid a fair wage so they could afford to purchase the goods they helped to produce, are long gone. They have been replaced by the corporate pirates like Bain Capital which buys companies and squeezethem until they're dry and then flip them for a profit. Or they ship the jobs overseas where there are workers even more desperate than ourselves.

And we know that Bain Capital was not just milking U.S. companies. They are investing in Chinese companies that are replacing American workers, encouraging the outsourcing of our jobs, and making profits on both sides of the world. And the result? Whole communities have been devastated. Today far too many workers have to work two and three jobs in order to make ends meet. An jobs with low wages, no benefits or security.

When I came to this country there was a social compact: eight hours of work, eight hours for break, and eight hours for sleep. Today it seems like it's all sleep



and work. Brothers and sisters, we also have seen the attacks on our pension plans. What do we have to look forward to in this country if they destroy our pension plans? Will we have to work until we die? Are we going to be a burden to our children because we have nowhere else to go? We have to do better in this country. We must do better. But let me just be clear, brothers and sisters. They are not just trying to destroy work standards. Their goal is to destroy workplace democracy, our right to have a union. They have driven the private-sector union density down to 7 percent, and now they're after the public sector workers.

Joe already talked about what happens in other states. And let me tell you, if we don't stop them here in California, we will see right-to-work legislation here again. We will see the destruction of Labor, not just as a powerful force, we will see the destruction of Labor as part of the check-and-balance system of our society. But they're not just satisfied with breaking down the conditions at the worksite. They are also destroying the quality of life in our communities.

When they refuse to pay any taxes like Mitt Romney does, it means huge budget deficits in our states and in our cities. And let me tell you, I do not believe that we can prosper if we can't maintain our infrastructure, our schools, our health-care systems, our cars, our libraries in the safety net.

Brothers and sisters, that's why we need to not only defeat Proposition 32, we also have to pass Proposition 30. But again, it's not just Labor that's under attack. They are also attacking immigrants. They are saying it is their fault that our economy is in the toilet. Brothers and sisters, it wasn't immigrants who decided to send the jobs to China. It wasn't our immigrants who crashed the economy. It wasn't immigrants who introduced legislation to provide huge tax cuts to the rich.

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If we're going to win, brothers and sisters, we need to build alliances. Because with all due respect to us, the Labor Movement is not powerful enough by ourselves to fight the kind of battles that it will take in order for us to win. We have to unite with churches, with community groups, with environmentalists, with students, with women. These are people who share our vision for America and who will join with us if we reach out to them.

And I also think, as Mike said, let me reach out to immigrants. Let me tell you, as an immigrant to this country, we did not come to this country to be exploited or discriminated. We came to this country for a better life. And immigrants and Latinos are our natural allies. They are workers just like us. They share our vision for a more just society. They are pro-union, and they are under attack by the same Republicans and corporations who are trying to destroy unions.

And, as Mike said, we are the fastest growing demographic group in California and across the U.S. We are 17 percent of the national population, 50.5 million strong. And we are projected to grow by almost 33 percent by 2025. 33 percent. Three out of five Latino adults are registered to vote. We need to do better. But what that means is with the growth in the community is that there will be many more Latino voters ever election cycle. Think about this one fact. 50,000 Latinos turn 18 every single month. Every single month. One out of every two children born in this state are Latino. In 2014 there will be 1.2 million more Latino voters.

And if you start projecting that into the future, you can see where the electorate is heading, not only in California, but nationally. And brothers and sisters, let me tell you. If we reach out to them, they will also be the union members of the future. And here's the good news. They are not confused about who is their friends and who are their enemies. They heard Mitt Romney say that immigrants only come to America for a handout; that if he is elected, he will veto the Dream Act, taking away opportunity from our young people; and that he supports laws that discriminate against immigrants to make their lives so miserable that they will self deport.

They also know that the Republican Party passed Proposition 187 in California, Senate Bill 1070 in Arizona, HB56 in Alabama and a host of other racial-profiling, discriminatory, anti-immigrant laws. And they know that it is Republicans who oppose immigration reform

and an increase in the minimum wage. And it is Republicans who support tax cuts for the rich and repeat of the Affordable Care Act. So yeah, they're not confused. They're crystal clear.

So brothers and sisters, we have to unite with immigrants and Latino voters. If we do that, we win. We need to give them a message of why this election in November is critically important. We have to pass Proposition 30 and defeat Proposition 32. We have to reelect Barack Obama President of the United States.

We need to retain control of the Senate, and we have to take back the House. If we do that, we all win. We all win. And if we win, California can once again become the Golden State where everything is possible and dreams can still come true. Brothers and sisters, I know we can do this. It's not going to be easy, but we can do it. I have seen it in my lifetime. I've seen change. I saw farmworkers, poor immigrants rise up and take on one of the most powerful industries in America and win.

I saw African-Americans in the South, people who were denied their civil and human rights, march into the history books and change America forever. We can do this. Brothers and sisters, we can do this. And I look forward to working with you every step of the way. We can reclaim the American Dream for ourselves and for our families. Thank you so much.

*“They are not just trying to destroy work standards.*

*Their goal is to destroy workplace democracy, our right to have a union.*

*They have driven the private-sector union density down to 7 percent, and now they're after the public sector workers.”*

## IN MEMORIAM

- ◆ **J. David Ahuna**, President, Ret., IATSE Local 80
- ◆ **Octavia Bazile**, President, AFSCME 2700
- ◆ **Becky Benton**, Former COPE Chair, SEIU 1021
- ◆ **Gloria Brooks**, Board Member, AFSCME 2700
- ◆ **Murray Howell**, Executive Board Member, IBEW 569
- ◆ **Walter Johnson**, Secretary-Treasurer, San Francisco Labor Council
- ◆ **John Kensinger**, Former President, IAMAW 1781
- ◆ **Lou Lucivero**, Executive Board Vice President & President of United Airlines Unit,  
ESC Local 20
- ◆ **Jesse Martinez**, Examining Board Member, IBEW 569
- ◆ **Jim McQuaid**, President, IBEW Local 551
- ◆ **Gloria Salazar**, Board Member, AFSCME 2700
- ◆ **Dale I. Vawter**, Recording-Corresponding Secretary, IUOE 12

## COPE ENDORSEMENTS

<b>State Assembly</b>	28	Paul Fong (D)	57	Ian Calderon (D)
1 No Endorsement	29	Mark Stone (D)	58	Cristina Garcia (D)
2 Wesley Chesbro (D)	30	Luis Alejo (D)	59	Reggie Jones Sawyer (D)
3 Charles Rouse (D)	31	Henry T. Perea (D)	60	Jose Luis Perez (D)
4 Mariko Yamada (D)	32	Rudy Salas (D)	61	Jose Medina (D)
5 No Endorsement	33	John Coffey (D)	62	Steven Bradford (D)
6 No Endorsement	34	Mari Goodman (D)	63	Anthony Rendon (D)
7 Roger Dickinson (D)	35	No Endorsement	64	Isadore Hall (D)
8 Ken Cooley (D)	36	Steve Fox (D)	65	Sharon Quirk-Silva (D)
9 Richard Pan (D)	37	Das Williams (D)	66	Al Muratsuchi (D)
10 Michael Allen (D)	38	Edward Headington (D)	67	No Endorsement
11 Jim Frazier (D)	39	Richard Alarcon (D)	68	No Endorsement
12 No Endorsement	40	Russ Warner (D)	69	No Endorsement
13 No Endorsement	41	Chris Holden (D)	70	Bonnie Lowenthal (D)
14 Susan Bonilla (D)	42	Mark Anthony Orozco (D)	71	Patrick Hurley (D)
15 Nancy Skinner (D)	43	Mike Gatto (D)	72	No Endorsement
16 Joan Buchanan (D)	44	Jeff Gorell (R)	73	No Endorsement
17 Tom Ammiano (D)	45	Bob Blumenfield (D)	74	No Endorsement
18 Rob Bonta/ Abel Guillen (D)	46	Adrin Nazarian (D)	75	Matthew Herold (D)
	47	Joe Baca Jr. (D)	76	No Endorsement
19 Phil Ting (D)	48	Roger Hernandez (D)	77	No Endorsement
20 Bill Quirk (D)	49	Ed Chau (D)	78	Toni Atkins (D)
21 Adam Gray (D)	50	Betsy Butler (D)	79	Shirley Weber (D)
22 Kevin Mullin (D)	51	Jimmy Gomez (D)	80	Ben Hueso (D)
23 No Endorsement	52	Norma Torres (D)		
24 Rich Gordon (D)	53	John A. Pérez (D)		
25 Bob Wieckowski (D)	54	Holly Mitchell (D)		
26 No Endorsement	55	No Endorsement		
27 Nora Campos (D)	56	V. Manuel Perez (D)		

*Continued*

**State Senate**

- 1 No Endorsement
- 3 Lois Wolk (D)
- 5 Cathleen Galgiani (D)
- 7 Mark DeSaulnier (D)
- 9 Loni Hancock (D)
- 11 Mark Leno (D)
- 13 Jerry Hill (D)
- 15 Jim Beall (D)
- 17 Bill Monning (D)
- 19 Hannah-Beth Jackson (D)
- 21 Star Moffatt (D)
- 23 Melissa Ruth O'Donnell (D)
- 25 Carole Liu (D)
- 27 Fran Pavley (D)
- 29 Greg Diamond (D)
- 31 Richard Roth (D)
- 33 Ricardo Lara (D)
- 35 No Recommendation
- 37 No Endorsement
- 39 Marty Block (D)

**US House of Representatives**

- 1 Jim Reed (D)
- 2 Jared Huffman (D)
- 3 John Garamendi (D)
- 4 Jack Uppal (D)
- 5 Mike Thompson (D)
- 6 Doris Matsui (D)
- 7 Ami Bera (D)
- 8 Paul Cook (R)
- 9 Jerry McNerney (D)
- 10 Jose Hernandez (D)
- 11 George Miller (D)
- 12 Nancy Pelosi (D)
- 13 Barbara Lee (D)
- 14 Jackie Speier (D)
- 15 Pete Stark (D)
- 16 Jim Costa (D)
- 17 Mike Honda (D)
- 18 Anna Eshoo (D)
- 19 Zoe Lofgren (D)
- 20 Sam Farr (D)
- 21 John Hernandez (D)
- 22 Otto Lee (D)
- 23 Terry Phillips (NPP)
- 24 Lois Capps (D)
- 25 Lee Rogers (D)
- 26 Julia Brownley (D)
- 27 Judy Chu (D)
- 28 Adam Schiff (D)

- 29 Tony Cardenas (D)
- 30 No Recommendation
- 31 No Endorsement
- 32 Grace Napolitano (D)
- 33 Henry Waxman (D)
- 34 Xavier Becerra (D)
- 35 Joe Baca (D)
- 36 Dr. Raul Ruiz (D)
- 37 Karen Bass (D)
- 38 Linda Sanchez (D)
- 39 Jay Chen (D)
- 40 Lucille Roybal-Allard (D)
- 41 Mark Takano (D)
- 42 No Endorsement
- 43 Maxine Waters (D)
- 44 Janice Hahn (D)
- 45 Sukhee Kang (D)
- 46 Loretta Sanchez (D)
- 47 Alan Lowenthal (D)
- 48 No Endorsement
- 49 Jerry Tetalman (D)
- 50 No Endorsement
- 51 Juan Vargas (D)
- 52 Scott Peters (D)
- 53 Susan Davis (D)

**US Senate**

- Dianne Feinstein (D)

*Continued*

## **COPE ENDORSEMENTS: BALLOT MEASURES**

### Ballot Measures

Proposition 30 Prevents school cuts.  
Recommend: Vote YES

Proposition 31 Puts worker safety and environmental protections at risk.  
Recommend: Vote NO

Proposition 32 Special Exemptions Act  
Recommend: Vote NO

Proposition 33 Favors auto insurance companies over consumers.  
Recommend: Vote NO

Proposition 34 Death penalty sentencing reform.  
Recommend: Vote YES

Proposition 35 Human trafficking penalties.  
Recommend: Vote YES

Proposition 36 Three Strikes revision.  
Recommend: Vote YES

Proposition 37 Genetically engineered food labeling.  
Recommend: Vote YES

Proposition 38 State income tax increase.  
Recommend: Vote NO

Proposition 39 Funds clean energy jobs, closes corporate tax loophole.  
Recommend: Vote YES

Proposition 40 Upholds redistricting of State Senate districts.  
Recommend: Vote YES

# Policy Statements

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A Fair Economy and Good Job Creation

An Enforceable Right to Organize

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Strong Protections for Worker Health and Safety

Sound Public Investments

Environmental Protection

Good Government and Accountable Corporations

Rights of Immigrant Workers

Rights of All Working Families

Rebuild the Tattered Public Sector



# 2012 Policy Statements

**THE** nation faces one of the most daunting economic challenges in our history. Income inequality has reached historically high levels, surpassing the gap during the Great Depression. The wealthiest 1 percent of Americans doubled their share of the nation's income over the last three decades, while workers' wages stagnated. Corporations have amassed record levels of cash, yet are not using it to create jobs. Even during a recession, CEO pay at major corporations has grown on average to 380 times the pay of the average U.S. worker – by far the widest gap in the world.

The alarming gap between the rich and the rest of us did not happen by accident. Decades of tax cuts for the wealthy and corporations and a war on labor unions have taken a tremendous toll. Most recently, financial deregulation, risky investments and unbridled greed on Wall Street caused a global economic crisis. California has been particularly hard hit. Unemployment, foreclosures and bankruptcies have skyrocketed while deep budget cuts devastate schools, universities, infrastructure, public safety and all essential services.

As the rich have grown richer, they have also grown more powerful. In order to remove any obstacle to their power, wealthy interests are funding an all-out attacks on unions, the right to organize and collective bargaining in states across the country.

In the midst of this crisis, the Labor Movement is standing up and fighting back. Unions built the middle class in this country, and we will not allow corporate greed to undo decades of progress. Now is a time of great challenge and opportunity. In 2010, the California Labor Movement defeated a billionaire looking to buy the governorship. We bucked the national trend and won a clean sweep, electing all of our labor-endorsed candidates to statewide offices. We continue to fight every day to rebuild the middle class and close the widening gap between the rich and the rest of us.

The goals of the Labor Movement were amplified by the Occupy Wall Street movement that exploded onto the national scene in 2011. The illumination of increasing income inequality between the 1 percent and the 99 percent captured the hearts and minds of people across the United States and the world. There has been a shift in our national debate with renewed emphasis on inequality and our broken economic system. With that shift, we have a new opening to talk about a path forward to rebuild the middle class.

The path forward includes repairing the social contract between employers and America's working families. There used to be an agreement that workers who put in their time and paid their dues would be secure in their jobs, benefits and retirement. When illness struck, job-based health care coverage would make sure families were taken care of. When companies prospered, they recognized the contributions of their workforce, and corporate prosperity benefited executives and line workers alike. When workers retired, solid pensions ensured financial security and peace of mind.

UNIONS BUILT THE  
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The government played a role in that economic boom and built a safety net for workers. Corporations paid their fair share in taxes, and we were able to enact a crucial set of safety net protections that guaranteed a lifeline during hard times such as poverty, unemployment, sickness, injury, and old age. Our economy was once built on workers' wages, not financial bubbles and consumer debt. The state invested in the lives and futures of our people.

Now, executives are reaping the benefits of outrageous compensation packages while the wages of the rank and file stagnate. Instead of honoring commitments to retirees, companies and local governments are filing for bankruptcy to evade their pension obligations and the financial industry continues attempts to privatize Social Security. Instead of employing workers in the U.S., companies are offshoring jobs or outsourcing their entire workforce to temporary staffing agencies – eviscerating the traditional employer/employee relationship and responsibilities.

THE AMERICAN  
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AGENDA PREMISED  
ON DEREGULATION,  
ATTACKS ON  
WORKERS AND  
UNIONS, CORPORATE  
GLOBALIZATION,  
PRIVATIZATION  
AND GREED.

Union by union, industry by industry, we can see that the social contract is broken. The hard numbers prove that this is more than a collection of anecdotes – it is a nationwide reality. We are now the most productive workforce in the world, yet American workers have been subjected to rollbacks of basic protections and retirement insecurity. The American dream has been dismantled by a corporate agenda premised on deregulation, attacks on workers and unions, corporate globalization, privatization and greed.

As Californians, we are – and always have been – visionaries who see no limit to our future. The world looks to us for leadership, and we must take that responsibility seriously. In an era of budget deficits, we cannot cut our way out of this economic crisis. The way to grow our economy and create good jobs is to invest in California again. It means investing to make California a good place to do business and a good place to raise a family. It means repairing the safety net and rebuilding the middle class. It means building a state that works for working people.

**We endorse these policy statements as our path forward for investing in California to create good jobs now and a better life for our families in the future.**





# Executive Summary

## **1. High-Quality Jobs**

All workers deserve high-quality jobs that provide a path to the middle class. The economic crisis, combined with changing federal trade policy and bad employer behavior, is threatening job quality and security in California. From the growing contingent workforce, unregulated underground economy, offshoring and contracting out of jobs to the race to the bottom in job quality, California's workers are less secure than ever.

We need to crack down on employers that willfully misclassify their workers as independent contractors and use staffing agencies to permanently end direct employment of workers – depriving them of nearly every right we have fought for. We need better enforcement of state and federal labor laws to stop the growing underground economy and to create a level playing field for companies that play by the rules. We need to raise our minimum wage and protect workers' basic rights to lunch breaks and prevailing wages.

## **2. A Fair Economy and Good Job Creation**

Under the Bush Administration, Wall Street was allowed to run wild, resulting in the near collapse of the global economy. The roots of this economic crisis lie in the decades long trend of concentrating wealth and power in the hands of the wealthy and corporations. California's workers have been hard hit by the economic crisis, and unemployment has skyrocketed. Devastating state budget cuts threaten to undermine any economic recovery. All these troubles are worsened by bilateral trade agreements that fail to protect workers' rights here and abroad.

We need an economy that works for the 99 percent, not just the 1 percent. We need to invest in California again to create union jobs with good wages, benefits and retirement security. We need to invest in world-class infrastructure, support clean energy enterprises and rebuild our manufacturing base. We need to create high-quality jobs in high-road industries that make California a good place to do business and a good place to raise a family. We need a trade policy that protects workers' rights and jobs.

## **3. An Enforceable Right to Organize**

Good union jobs are the best way to secure the middle class, but for too many American workers, the right to join a union exists only on paper. Increasingly ruthless employer opposition to organizing efforts has contributed to slipping unionization rates and made it more challenging to organize new workers.

Tireless work by California's unions has countered this national trend, even as we have confronted attacks on our right to make union members' voices heard in the political process. We will continue to defend workers' right to organize, support union organizing drives and move legislation to increase the ability to organize a union free of intimidation and retaliation. We support the creative, cooperative and successful organizing work being done by our affiliates.

## **4. A Strong Social Safety Net**

Millions of workers have lost their jobs due to the economic crisis, and the state's unemployment insurance system is billions of dollars in debt. Our workers' compensation benefits have been slashed, and the system is failing injured workers. Millions of Californians have lost their homes to foreclosure and more are underwater in their mortgages. California's unions fought hard to protect working families, and we will continue to defend them.

*Continued*

We must shore up our social safety net programs that help families through hard times. We need to repair our broken unemployment insurance and workers' compensation systems. We need to hold big banks accountable and protect homeowners and communities from unnecessary foreclosures. We need to build more affordable housing using union labor.

## **5. An Equitable, Sustainable Budget and Tax System**

Budgets are about choices, and they reflect our priorities. The passage of Proposition 25 in 2010 ended the supermajority requirement to pass a budget, but California still faces other challenges. A supermajority requirement to raise taxes, a long history of both voter-approved spending limits and spending requirements and an outdated tax code keep the state's fiscal house in continual turmoil.

We need a budget and tax system that raises the necessary revenue and prioritizes spending to meet the basic needs of California families. We reject budgets based entirely on cuts to programs and services while simultaneously giving away billions of dollars to corporations in tax breaks. To create a state budget that takes care of our basic needs, we must close tax loopholes, increase transparency and accountability for tax expenditures, improve enforcement of current tax laws and develop new revenue sources.

## **6. High-Quality, Accessible Public Education**

A high-quality, accessible education system is essential to California's working families. As an industry, education employs hundreds of thousands of workers across the state. As an investment in our state, nothing is more important. California used to have the best public schools and universities in the world, but now the state is plummeting to the bottom by slashing funding and laying off teachers and classified school employees. California cannot compete in a global economy if our school funding ranks behind Mississippi and Alabama, let alone China and Korea.

We call for full funding of California's entire education system. We support universal access to public higher education, and we recognize that affordability is a key component of access. We oppose attempts to circumvent education workers' collective bargaining agreements. We need to expand the state's investment in career technical education and workforce development for workers of all ages. We will continue our ongoing work to defend labor education efforts across the state.

## **7. High-Quality, Universal Health Care Coverage**

For years, California's unions have led the fight for better, more affordable health care in California. The passage of federal health reform is a step forward, but more work remains to make health care affordable and accessible for all. The crucial details of implementing federal health care reform is left up to the states, and California has the opportunity to contain costs, strengthen regulation and lay the groundwork for a single-payer health care system.

The Health Benefit Exchange is at the core of federal reform, and we need an Exchange that offers comprehensive and affordable coverage, provides adequate customer assistance and is staffed by public employees. We need to ensure that employers meet their financial responsibility under federal health reform and do not dump workers into the Exchange or evade employer penalties. We need to strengthen regulation of the health insurance industry, contain costs and create a single-payer health care system. We still need to protect the state's ailing safety net institutions, expand the health care workforce and improve the quality of the health care we all receive.

## **8. Strong Protections for Worker Health and Safety**

All workers deserve a safe and healthy workplace, yet an average of 16 American workers are fatally injured at work every day. Immigrant workers are particularly vulnerable to workplace injuries and death. These problems are made worse by under-funding of state health and safety enforcement efforts.

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To protect worker health and safety, California must increase funding for enforcement efforts, as well as penalties for violators of the state's health and safety laws. Fines must never become just another cost of doing business. We need meaningful regulations on indoor and outdoor heat exposure to protect vulnerable workers. To protect workers at home and on the job, we need better regulation of dangerous chemicals.

## **9. Sound Public Investments**

Crumbling bridges, pockmarked roads and decrepit schools not only hurt our quality of life, they further drag down our ailing economy. Privatizing parks and libraries puts our state's assets at risk by outsourcing them to big corporations, which are driven by profit not the public's interest. A healthy economy depends on functional infrastructure and a robust public sector to support business and job growth. An investment in infrastructure and our public assets would put Californians back to work, while at the same time laying the foundation for a vibrant state economy.

We must have a comprehensive strategy for making those investments and a sustainable, equitable way to finance them. We need to invest in our public transportation systems, the high-speed rail system and our roads and highways. We need to continue to support California's maritime trades and the vast economic engine they fuel through the state's ports. We must preserve the people's right to control the state's water. As the state makes new investments, we must also defend our existing assets and jobs from privatization and contracting out.

## **10. Environmental Protection**

As workers and as residents of California, we all deserve clean air, clean water and safe energy sources. Protecting the environment is both socially responsible and a key component of future growth for organized labor. The decisions we make now about adapting to global warming and the ways we generate energy will impact the economy, environment and infrastructure of California for decades to come.

As we adapt to climate change and new energy sources, we must fight to ensure that the new jobs of the green economy are union jobs with a path to the middle class. We recognize that the stability of our energy supply depends on renewable energy sources, and we support efforts to move in that direction. We continue our steadfast opposition to deregulation of the energy market.

## **11. Good Government and Accountable Corporations**

We all deserve government that works for the people and demands accountability from corporations. Without a healthy democracy in which public participation is allowed and encouraged, the voices of union members will be drowned out by the influence of powerful corporations.

We support public participation in the political process and defend the right of workers to make their voices heard. We believe that corporate accountability starts in the boardroom and must continue in the community. Transparency in corporate behavior and government decision making are vital to the health of our economy and our democracy.

## **12. Rights of Immigrant Workers**

Without immigrant labor, California's economy would grind to a halt. Immigrants have been at the forefront of organizing campaigns in recent years and have helped revitalize the Labor Movement. Protecting the rights of immigrant workers and their families, especially the right to organize, benefits all workers in California.

We call for humane and comprehensive immigration reform that includes a path to legalization. We condemn raids on immigrant workers in their workplaces and homes, and the use of raids to intimidate workers and stall union organizing. We reject anti-immigrant rhetoric and policies. We support strong enforcement of labor laws to prevent exploitation of immigrant workers and the race to the bottom for all workers.

### **13. Rights of All Working Families**

Union members are more than just workers. We are also family members, consumers, community members and neighbors. The Labor Movement defends the rights of working people in different areas of our lives, not just the workplace. Federal policies of pre-emptive war and violations of civil liberties have made our work in this area more important now than ever before.

We support consumer rights to product safety, financial privacy, and regulation of public goods. We support policies that help workers balance work and family lives. We are unflinchingly devoted to the protection of civil rights and liberties, and abhor all forms of discrimination.

### **14. Rebuild the Tattered Public Sector**

The public sector has traditionally offered hundreds of thousands of Californians secure union jobs with good wages, benefits and pensions. Public employees are critical to the quality of the services that we use every day. Massive cuts to public sector jobs threaten California's economic recovery. Attacks on public sector unions threaten the Labor Movement's political power and voice at the local, state and federal levels.

We call for an end to politically-motivated attacks on public employees' jobs, wages, pensions and unions. We need a vibrant public sector with fair wages, adequate benefits and retirement security. We oppose attempts by local government to dismantle the public sector through initiatives, outsourcing and charter city conversions. The quality of our public services and the health of our economy depends on public employees. The rebound of the private sector and our economy depends on investment in the public sector.

# 1

## High-Quality Jobs

**ALL** workers deserve high-quality jobs that provide a path to the middle class. Unfortunately, employers are in a race to the bottom by slashing wages, benefits and making work less secure. Changing federal trade policy and bad employer behavior continue to work against job security in California. State budget shortfalls mean many of California's public servants have been furloughed and taken pay cuts, while tens of thousands have lost their jobs through no fault of their own.

Both the types of jobs and the nature of work in California are changing. Employers are taking steps to sever the employer-employee relationship. Jobs that cannot be offshored – in hospitality, food service, warehouses and distribution – are increasingly contracted out or staffed by temporary agencies. Instead of offshoring jobs, employers are moving toward a contingent workforce. Both public and private employers are looking to decrease worker protections and shield themselves from liability for violations of the law.

Contingent workers are unlikely to qualify for basic health and welfare benefits and, in some cases, are legally barred from organizing a union. Workers who are misclassified lose all employee rights, from minimum wage protection to the right to organize, leaving them with little hope of making a better life.

Workers in the underground economy receive the fewest protections of all. Employers in the underground economy can, and often do, leave their workers bare of all their legal protections. With few resources, remedies and protections, these workers toil in some of the state's most difficult, dangerous and worst paying jobs.

Even employers who obey the law are increasingly slashing wages and benefits to the bare minimum. The state minimum wage does not meet the basic needs of working families. Our basic right to meal and rest periods is in jeopardy, and our retirement systems are under attack. Job insecurity can silence our voice at work, the voice that is so critical to a strong union movement. When workers are discriminated against or denied overtime pay, they are less likely to speak up if they think their job might be on the line.

California's unions fought hard to guarantee living wages and a dignified retirement for workers. The Federation will continue to fight for high-quality jobs and a path to the middle class. We are working to prevent jobs from being offshored. We are pushing for more effective labor law enforcement. We are fighting to stop contingent work from eroding the quality of our jobs. And we are dedicated to reducing the underground economy. We cannot fix California's economy by slashing wages, eliminating health care and taking away retirement security.

### **Contingent Labor**

In the 1970s, nearly all employers still relied upon the direct employment model. Over the next few decades, as corporations raced to maximize profits in a globalizing economy, every form of contingent work increased. This trend is only expected to accelerate as a result of the massive job losses we have endured in recent years. Some industry analysts predict that fifty percent of jobs created as the economy recovers from recession will be contingent work, comprising thirty five percent of the nation's workforce.

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Non-standard work has grown in virtually every sector of the economy: service, farm, garment, construction, entertainment, high-tech, education, health care and the public sector. Temporary jobs have grown far faster than the overall number of jobs in the state. Women, people of color, immigrants and young people are disproportionately represented in the contingent workforce.

Contingent work generally means lower wages, fewer benefits, unsafe working conditions and less job security. When contingent workers are exposed to hazards on the job or denied their rightful wages, the company benefiting from their labor typically bears no legal responsibility. When a fly-by-night contractor disappears, workers often lack even a name for the company that employed them and have nowhere to go to seek justice.

The obstacles faced by contingent workers who want to join a union are significant. When workers try to enforce their legal rights or organize a union, they are easy to get rid of because they have no guarantee of a job from one day to the next. They are particularly vulnerable to retaliation by the temporary employer or contractor. Multiple subcontractors are often used on one worksite to keep workers from sharing a common employer. This trend toward a contingent economy is directly connected to the decline in union density and the vanishing middle class.

A failure to address the proliferation of contingent work will result in more than just the creation of a permanent underclass; it will make rebuilding the middle class impossible.

We support improving the notice and information provided to workers so they know who their employer is, what their job is and other terms of employment. We support holding employers accountable when they try to use labor contractors or staffing agencies as shields against liability for workers' rights violations. This would eliminate the perverse incentive to use a staffing agency, not to fill a temporary need, but to permanently end direct employment of workers. The expansion of existing worker retention laws would slow the move to contract out to temporary agencies, and new registration requirements would ensure transparency and accountability for temporary agencies and labor contractors.

## **Independent Contractors**

Nationally, more than 10 million workers are classified as independent contractors. The U.S. Department of Labor has conservatively estimated that up to 30 percent of the nation's businesses misclassify at least some of their workers. But simply calling workers independent contractors does not legally make them contractors. If an employer still maintains control over the worker and his or her working conditions, that worker is an employee, entitled to important benefits like workers' compensation coverage, minimum wage and overtime protections and access to family medical leave.

Over 75,000 California workers were misclassified as independent contractors in 2003, at an estimated cost of \$7 billion in lost revenue to the state. Violations are not contained to the underground economy. In 2009, courts awarded more than 200 Federal Express drivers in California \$14.4 million in compensation for their illegal misclassification as "independent contractors."

The Federation recognizes that the misclassification of workers as independent contractors is one of the greatest threats to workers' rights that we face today. It represents the severing of the traditional employment relationship and the shifting of all risk – illness, injury, economic slowdown – onto the worker. We are committed to finding effective tools to fight misclassification of workers.

In 2011, we sponsored legislation with the Teamsters union that cracks down on the misclassification of workers as independent contractors and dramatically increases the penalties on employers who have been found to have willfully done so. The new law also creates joint liability between employers and consultants, who knowingly advise and train employers to engage in the misclassification. The legislation gives the Labor and Workforce Development Agency authority to assess penalties and creates a meaningful deterrent to employers, and the consultants who advise them, to misclassify independent contractors to get out of their legal responsibilities to workers. This bill was signed into law, and we now have a new tool to combat misclassification.

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The Federation will continue to fight alongside our unions for these policies and others to curb employer abuse of independent contracting arrangements. The Federation opposes any effort to erode job quality through the abuse of independent contractor classification. The Federation believes that all workers deserve basic workplace rights, whether they are temporary workers, part-timers, independent contractors or sub-contracted employees.

### **Volunteer Labor**

Toxic oil spills, raging wildfires and other disasters frequently spark big-hearted responses from Californians ready to step in and help wherever they can. California union members are committed volunteers in their communities and are often the first on the scene to lend a hand to those in need. At the same time, we recognize that volunteer labor should not be relied upon to replace or eliminate jobs that should be filled with trained professionals.

The proper staffing of emergency responder positions, environmental clean-up crews and other disaster-response teams is vital for worker, public and environmental safety. In cases where volunteer labor is appropriate, volunteers should be provided with all necessary legal protections, including workers' compensation insurance, as well as the proper level of training, protective clothing and equipment for the tasks to which they are assigned. Volunteer worksites should always follow all worker health and safety standards for volunteers, including applicable standards for the use of a respirator.

Workers should not be expected to serve as volunteers at their own worksites. Recent proposals to require classified school employee "volunteers," without any medical experience, to administer medications to students pose serious threats to student safety and workers' rights. In this economy, workers do not really have the option of declining so-called voluntary assignments without fear of consequences. Districts should not be able to shirk their responsibility under federal law to provide adequate medical care to students by pressuring classified employees to take on this role.

### **Offshoring**

The lack of enforceable worker protections abroad puts tremendous pressure on the California economy. Workers in our state must now compete with workers around the globe who earn less than a dollar an hour. We have seen the steady loss of manufacturing jobs over the past few decades, but more recently a wave of service sector jobs have also been lost to the global economy. Today, it seems that almost no job is safe from threat of the global race to the bottom.

Over 14 million service sector jobs in the U.S. are at risk of being offshored, as functions from paperwork to word processing to telephone answering are moved to lower-wage countries. Software and other technology jobs are increasingly being relocated to India, where highly skilled and well-educated workers can replace U.S. employees at a fraction of the cost. An increasing number of U.S. patients are even going abroad to have medical procedures done at a lower price.

All too often, consumer calls to call centers for technical assistance are answered by workers in other states or countries. What used to be solid middle class California jobs have now been lost in the race to the bottom for workers. Between 2008 and 2009, Verizon and AT&T cut more than 2,000 jobs, and many of those cuts were due to the relocation of call centers outside the state or country.

Even during a jobs crisis, California continues to spend millions of public dollars to send jobs offshore. Both the Schwarzenegger and the Davis administrations approved vendor contracts that subcontracted with out-of-country call centers for the public benefit programs CalWORKs and CalFresh, formerly food stamps. Public benefit programs are state safety net programs to help families through tough economic times. State and federal funds to administer programs designed to create jobs and address problems associated with joblessness should be spent on creating jobs in the United States and in California, not in other countries. Every job that contractors send offshore adds another Californian to the unemployment rolls and creates a drag on our already struggling economy.

We support legislative proposals that require disclosure of the locations of public utility call centers that receive calls from California. We also support requirements that the utility report to the state the location of the call center and other call center data. We also support legislation to prohibit the offshoring of call center jobs for public benefit programs, as well as call centers that receive these state and federal funds.

The Federation has worked to prevent corporations from using public funds to export good jobs overseas. We support requirements that goods and services purchased with public funds create jobs in California. We support requiring corporations to report the number of jobs they are shipping outside the state and the country, as well as the amount of work they are sub-contracting away from California. We support the creation of a “clawback” provision on all state contracts that penalizes companies that outsource jobs to other states or countries during the life of the contract.

The Federation will continue to fight for job security and to prevent employers from shopping around to other states and other counties in a global race to the bottom for wages, working conditions and worker rights.

### **The Underground Economy**

California’s vast underground economy continues to grow. According to a California Employment Development Department analysis of IRS data, California’s underground economy is worth between \$60 and \$140 billion a year. It has been estimated that this represents a tax loss to California of between \$3 and \$6 billion a year. An estimated 2 million Californians – 15 percent of the total workforce – work in the underground economy. Because business in the underground economy is conducted outside the bounds of state law, businesses operating there are able to gain an unfair advantage over their law-abiding competitors by flouting labor laws and ignoring their tax obligations to federal, state and local governments.

Employers who flout basic labor laws have a corrosive effect on entire industries as well-meaning employers are forced to lower standards in order to compete. In these industries, wage theft is a part of the business strategy of unscrupulous employers, and the fines for violations are factored into the business model and are not a real deterrent to wage theft.

The underground economy extends well beyond traditional sweatshop industries and now includes entire sectors of the economy from construction to restaurants to domestic work. A 2009 study, entitled “Confronting the Gloves-Off Economy,” details how the pervasiveness of the underground economy has caused a shift in the norms of the workplace. Employers can get away with providing less and less to workers as basic aspects of employment – paid sick days, vacation, health care, pensions – become luxuries.

Workers in the underground economy suffer the worst abuses. Many do not earn fair wages or overtime pay. Some are never paid at all. They are often forced to work in unsafe work environments. If they are hurt, they cannot receive workers’ compensation. If they lose their jobs, they do not get unemployment insurance. In the construction industry, the underground economy remains a critical problem, resulting in lower wages and appalling safety conditions. Workers in the underground economy are the victims of unscrupulous employers who take advantage of workers with few choices, and then intimidate them into silence about these abuses. Undocumented workers are most likely to be trapped in these no-win situations.

Workers in certain industries are particularly vulnerable. A UCLA study released in 2010 found that wage theft is shockingly widespread in low-wage industries in Los Angeles County. Of the workers surveyed, nearly 30 percent of low-wage workers were not paid the minimum wage and 75 percent of those entitled to overtime did not receive it. The cost of wage theft is not minor – the study estimated that workers have \$26 million a week in wages stolen in L.A. County alone. The workers most likely to be victims are the ones who can least afford it: day laborers, car wash workers and garment workers.

In February 2009, the L.A. city attorney filed criminal charges against two car wash owners for failing to pay 250 workers the minimum wage and for denying them legally required meal and rest breaks. These two employers are indicative of an entire industry based on worker abuse. Even in the worst conditions, workers continue to stand up for a voice on the job. In 2011, the CLEAN Car Wash campaign won major

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victories by signing union contracts with three car washes, making Los Angeles the first and only city in the country with unionized car washes.

Wage theft has become increasingly widespread in part because of the lack of meaningful enforcement of labor laws. Since 1980, the state population has grown 62 percent, while the number of wage and hour inspectors rose just 7 percent. In 2009, the Bureau of Field Enforcement reported that they issued only 216 citations for minimum wage and overtime violations in the entire state of California. Compared to the 75 percent of workers who report not being paid overtime, the number of citations is shockingly low.

Employers have also become more sophisticated at evading justice. Those who abuse workers' rights have learned how to stall enforcement actions through frivolous appeals and how to prevent any recovery for workers by declaring bankruptcy and re-opening their companies under new names. Other companies can simply wait out the administrative process until workers give up or are forced to move to find new work.

In 2011, the Federation sponsored the Wage Theft Protection Act that Governor Brown signed into law to prevent some of the worst abuses of workers in the underground economy. This law sends a message to employers that they can no longer include wage theft as a part of their business model, yet there is much more to be done. Workers need to have full access to complete information on their employer, terms of employment, personnel records and other relevant documents in their own language, along with the right to bring a representative to examine those documents.

The underground economy is built on employers exploiting the vulnerability of immigrant workers who lack legal status. The threat of deportation and fear of reporting labor law violations to authorities when they lack legal status keeps immigrant workers trapped in the underground economy. The Federation supports immigration reform that gives immigrant workers full protection under U.S. employment and labor law and prevents employers from using legal status to exploit and threaten immigrant workers.

## **Labor Law Enforcement**

The Federation has fought for stricter enforcement and tougher penalties for scofflaw employers. Creating a real deterrent to wage theft is a step in the right direction to cracking down on unscrupulous employers. Robust and targeted enforcement is also needed, requiring full funding of enforcement agencies, as well as information sharing and other tools to focus enforcement on the worst actors in key industries.

We support coordinated enforcement and investigations between tax and labor law enforcement agencies. The Federation has supported legislation to increase the penalties for employers that pay unfair wages or illegally withhold wages, but those penalties still remain far too low. The state should maintain a public database of labor law violators to bring needed scrutiny to these employers.

Many employers punish and retaliate against workers who report violations to deter other workers from filing complaints. Current protections against retaliation are inadequate and thousands of retaliation cases filed with the state have yet to be acted upon. We support legislation to curb retaliatory actions by employers, such as requiring employers to prove they are not retaliating if they fire workers who have filed labor claims.

In 1999, the Federation won a landmark piece of legislation that guaranteed joint liability for garment manufacturers and their subcontractors. That legislation has made employers liable for the wage and hour violations of their subcontractors. We support extending joint liability to all businesses that profit by using middlemen to accomplish work in agricultural, construction and janitorial industries. No employer should be able to hide behind an unscrupulous subcontractor to escape liability for the working conditions of employees.

Funding for labor law enforcement has failed to keep pace with the growth in the state's workforce. We support all efforts to increase state funding for labor law enforcement through the Labor Commissioner, Cal/OSHA, the Public Employment Relations Board, the Employment Development Department, district attorneys, and the Attorney General's office. We support empowering unions to take legal action on behalf of aggrieved workers. The Federation also supports labor-management labor law compliance funds, which

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have proven useful in combating scofflaw employers in the construction and janitorial industries.

Because of the budget deficit, the Legislature authorized a temporary program to charge employers a fee to fund the Department of Industrial Relations (DIR), the agency that oversees labor law, health and safety and workers' compensation enforcement. This means that the employers that are supposed to be regulated by DIR are now paying for their own regulation and paying the salaries of the enforcers, creating a fundamental conflict. The Federation will continue to monitor this three-year pilot program and advocate for changes, if needed.

We support increased coordination between different departments and agencies to best enforce labor laws. Employers that violate health and safety and tax laws are likely violating labor laws for employees as well. Coordinated investigations, record-keeping and databases between agencies could increase enforcement, and allow for better use and consolidation of the resources of different departments.

The Federation applauds the work of the state Labor and Workforce Development Agency. Governor Brown's appointees to key positions in the Labor Agency and Cal/OSHA have allowed departments to more aggressively pursue companies that cheat their workers out of wages and do not adequately protect worker health and safety on the job. The new leadership is creating a culture of enforcement and collaboration with worker advocates to ensure the state's labor laws are enforced.

Finally, we support all efforts to make enforcement avenues more accessible and responsive to workers. We support the elimination of barriers to collecting wages due after the Labor Commissioner or the courts pass judgments. We also believe that enforcement will not be effective unless workers can communicate with public agencies in their own languages. The Federation will continue to work for better resources, including increased bilingual staffing, for labor law enforcement.

## **Fair Compensation**

All workers should expect to receive a fair wage for the work they do. But the hourly wage needed to support a family remains out of reach for millions of Californians. Those working at the minimum wage are most in need of a raise. But it is not only low-wage workers who need a hand. The Federation supports living wages and prevailing wages to make sure that public dollars subsidize good-quality jobs. The Federation also believes that overtime, compensatory time, paid sick leave and meal and rest period breaks are all part of fair compensation for a day's work. We know that good jobs with fair wages and a decent retirement are what preserve California's middle class.

Too often, employers not only fail to pay their workers a living wage, but do so with government support. For just one store in Tulare County, Walmart received state tax credits worth up to \$31,500 per employee, more than twice the average salary of a Walmart associate. The Federation supports efforts to review and reconsider the use of tax dollars, both through enterprise zones and other tax breaks and incentives, to ensure that they are helping lift workers out of poverty, rather than keeping them there with taxpayer support.

The bottom line is simple: all workers deserve to earn a fair wage for a hard day's work.

## **MINIMUM WAGE**

California's economic downturn has hit the state's lowest earners the hardest. Our high cost of living already makes supporting a family on a low-wage job nearly impossible. An October 2010 report from the California Budget Project found that to make ends meet with a very basic budget, an individual worker in California would need to earn \$14.64 an hour. To support a family, a household with two working parents would need each parent to earn \$18.15 an hour, and a single parent would need to earn \$30.88 an hour – more than three and a half times the state's minimum wage.

In 2006, the Federation sponsored successful legislation to raise the state's minimum wage from \$6.75 to \$8.00 an hour over two years. However, inflation is eroding those gains. The 2010 purchasing power of California's minimum wage was 26.5 percent below its 1968 value. If the purchasing power of the state's minimum wage had remained constant since 1968, full-time, year-round workers earning the minimum wage would make nearly \$6,000 more per year than they do now. While this increase concretely helped

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the 1.4 million Californians working at or near the minimum wage, it is not enough to sustain California's working poor as the cost of living increases.

With the price of gas, food and rent skyrocketing, working families need a lasting solution to make sure their wages keep pace. The Federation supports indexing the minimum wage to the cost of living so that workers have a fighting chance to meet their financial obligations as prices for household essentials rise.

The Federation supports strong oversight over employers that are allowed to pay workers with disabilities less than the minimum wage. Programs designed to increase workforce participation among the developmentally disabled through the payment of sub-minimum wages must be carefully constructed, reviewed, approved and monitored to both ensure the protection of the workers and to mitigate the downward pressure on wages for other workers.

### **LIVING WAGE ORDINANCES**

The Federation strongly supports local living wage ordinances. These laws require employers who receive funds, contracts or tax breaks from the government to provide decent pay and benefits to their employees. Over 120 communities across the country have living wage ordinances. Living wage campaigns have succeeded in close to two dozen California cities, including Los Angeles, San Francisco, Santa Cruz, San Jose and Oakland.

More than a decade after the first living wage ordinance was passed in California, the evidence suggests that these laws substantially raise pay and benefits, reduce pay inequality and improve services, all at minimal costs. However, the work cannot stop there. Living wage ordinances are not just minimum standards, but should reflect the cost of living in a given area. The Federation supports indexing living wage laws to inflation to keep up with increases in the cost of living.

The Federation will continue to support living wage laws at the municipal, county, regional, state and national levels. We also support the efforts of local unions to use living wages and other area wage standards as bargaining tools. These wage standards are not always adequate to support a family, but they can create a floor from which unions can negotiate for higher wages and benefits.

### **PREVAILING WAGE**

The Federation agrees with the State Building and Construction Trades Council of California (SBCTC) that public funding for construction and development projects should go to employers who pay prevailing wages to their workers, guarantee health and safety on the job and provide high-quality training and apprenticeship programs. Prevailing wage laws put us on the high road of economic development.

The failure to pay prevailing wages and benefits does not save money: it shifts other costs to taxpayers. Workers without health care or pensions end up in public hospitals and emergency rooms, and are forced to rely on public programs. Workplace injuries resulting from poorly trained workers also shift costs to taxpayers and other employers. Indeed, the failure to pay prevailing wages often increases construction costs, reduces tax revenues, forces skilled workers to migrate to other areas, and harms the overall economy.

The Federation joins the SBCTC in opposing all efforts to undermine project labor agreements and prevailing wage laws, such as when city governments propose transitioning from a general law city to a charter city for the express purpose of opting out of state prevailing wage law and prohibiting project labor agreements. This approach is wrongheaded, as it represents an erosion of standards in the construction industry. It also undermines good wages and benefits on public projects at a time when private development has receded and publicly funded construction makes up a larger chunk of available construction work.

We support the efforts of the SBCTC to protect local government's ability to choose whether a Project Labor Agreement (PLA) is the best option to deliver an on-time, high-quality construction project at best cost to taxpayers. SB 922 (Steinberg) of 2011 established valuable taxpayer protection criteria for PLAs

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used by state and local agencies for public works projects. The Federation will continue to work to ensure that city, county and state governments can use PLAs when they so choose.

The Federation will continue to support the SBCTC's efforts to protect Project Labor Agreements and prevailing wages and level the playing field for union contractors in California.

### **OVERTIME AND COMP TIME**

In 2004, the Bush Administration jammed through a series of anti-worker changes to federal overtime regulations. The new rules reclassified millions of workers as "exempt" from overtime rights. Although the rule changes had limited impact in California, because of higher standards that labor has won here, the regulations set a troubling precedent nationwide. The changes also followed a cynical attempt by congressional Republicans to erode overtime rights by allowing employers to offer comp time instead of overtime.

When workers put in extra hours, they deserve to be compensated. The Federation opposes any efforts to infringe on workers' right to overtime pay. Overtime pay protects workers from dangerously long shifts. In the current jobs crisis, overtime pay also creates an incentive for employers to hire the appropriate number of employees rather than piling more hours on fewer workers.

Each year in Sacramento, legislators introduce Chamber of Commerce sponsored bills to take away overtime protections and to expand the use of the alternative workweek. We oppose efforts by Republican lawmakers to demand concessions on the 8-hour day as part of reaching any state deal, since such a proposal saves the state no money and simply hurts workers already struggling to get by. We condemn the high-tech overtime takeaway that was part of the 2008 budget deal, the first time a private sector worker protection was negotiated away as part of the budget.

We will resist any future efforts and continue to vigilantly defend the eight-hour day in California. We continue to oppose unnecessary mandatory overtime policies, and we support policies that curb abuse by supervisors and managers.

### **MEAL AND REST PERIODS**

No workplace right is more basic than a lunch break. The Federation will staunchly defend workers' rights to take meal and rest periods during the workday. For six years the Federation battled Governor Schwarzenegger's attempts to take away meal and rest periods. We are proud to have won every time and will continue to protect this essential workers' right.

The California Supreme Court's 2012 decision in the *Brinker Restaurant Corp. v. Superior Court* case was a bad decision for workers. In a unanimous opinion, the Court held that employers are not required to ensure that meal breaks are taken. This decision clearly undermines the enforceability of lunch breaks by eliminating the bright-line rule that employers must guarantee that workers get a meal break. It also increases the pressure on workers to work without a break.

While *Brinker* let employers off the hook for ensuring breaks are actually taken, it did not eliminate the right to a meal break or take away all employer obligations. Under *Brinker*, workers can work through their meal break, without employer penalty, only if the employer has relieved the employee from all duty and the worker's decision to skip the meal break is truly voluntary. Unfortunately, in many workplaces, eliminating the bright-line rule that employers are responsible for ensuring meal breaks are taken will make it much harder for workers to exercise their right to a meal break. Workplace realities like employer coercion, piece rate pay structure or productivity quotas will lead many workers to "voluntarily" work without breaks.

Post *Brinker*, the Federation is committed to educating workers about their meal period rights and to ensure that employers are following the law. This is an essential worker protection, and we cannot allow workers to be discouraged or prevented from taking needed breaks. We will continue to fight to protect this basic right for all workers.

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### **PAID SICK DAYS**

Six million California workers – more than 40 percent of the workforce – do not have the ability to take the day off when they, or someone in their family, are sick. Current law does not require their employer to provide paid sick days. Low-wage workers, including food service and hotel workers, child care and nursing home workers and retail clerks disproportionately lack paid sick leave.

The Federation believes that all workers deserve time to care for themselves and their sick family members without fear of losing their jobs or their wages. We support policies, like the ordinance adopted by San Francisco, which allow all California workers to earn paid sick days based on the number of hours they work. We will continue to fight until all workers are guaranteed this basic right. The Federation opposes employers' increasingly abusive use of "absence control policies" which unfairly punish workers who take the time they need to care for themselves or their families.

### **RETIREMENT**

All workers deserve a secure and dignified retirement. Over the last decade, we have seen an all-out assault on retirement security, with employers swapping out defined benefit plans for riskier defined contribution plans, ongoing attempts to rollback public employee pensions and a push to privatize social security. The same financial institutions that created the sub-prime mortgage crisis want to gamble with our pension funds, leaving workers holding all the risk.

Today, only 20 percent of private sector workers are covered by a defined benefit plan. The funding rules contained in the Pension Protection Act of 2006 and new accounting standards have led many employers to abandon these plans. Public sector workers are seeing increased attacks on their pensions, in spite of the fact that the average public sector retiree makes just around the federal poverty level. Just as corporations like United Airlines used bankruptcy to evade pension obligations, now cities are looking to municipal bankruptcy to break their promises to workers and retirees.

Individual savings like 401(k) plans and IRAs cannot offer all the benefits of real pensions. Defined benefit pension plans are the only ones that can offer real retirement security. They provide, for all covered workers, a predictable and reliable lifetime retirement income, valuable survivor and disability protections, possible early retirement benefits and post-retirement benefit increases.

By contrast, individual savings plans, or defined contribution plans, require workers to bear all the risk and provide no guarantee of an adequate retirement income. These plans are often insufficiently diversified, suffer from poor returns and market volatility and typically carry very heavy fees and administrative expenses. In light of the dramatic stock market losses in the past few years, it is increasingly clear that retirement security can only be achieved through defined benefit plans.

As fewer private sector workers have access to secure pension plans, so too are public sector workers seeing their retirements chipped away. These workers have sacrificed wages and other benefits to preserve a decent retirement. The average retirement benefit puts a lifetime civil servant just above the federal poverty line.

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In the wake of the economic collapse caused by Wall Street greed and reckless lending practices, public workers have been blamed for causing the crisis. We reject that notion, and we condemn the scapegoating of public workers who serve our communities and care for our most vulnerable.

Pension reform has already taken place at bargaining tables up and down the state. In every city and county, public employees and government representatives have come together to negotiate how to get through these tough times. In virtually every jurisdiction, collective bargaining has resulted in the adoption of two-tier plans, increased employee contributions or extended retirement age.

The Federation opposes efforts to abrogate collective bargaining to force concessions and takeaways unilaterally. We oppose attempts by local politicians to circumvent collective bargaining by placing takeaway initiatives on the ballot rather than negotiating over them. We oppose efforts to strip away vested retirement benefits of current workers, like the one led by Mayor Chuck Reed in San Jose. We oppose the push to eliminate defined benefit pensions, like in San Diego, eliminating all retirement security for a workforce that does not even have Social Security.

The erosion of retirement security means that the specter of old-age poverty has returned. According to 2011 data by the UC Berkeley Labor Center, middle class families in California are at significant risk of not having enough retirement income to meet even basic expenses, as nearly 50 percent of middle-income California workers will retire at or near poverty. Older workers will be forced to stay at work long after they would have retired, or must compete with younger workers for jobs in order to stay out of poverty. Retirement insecurity undoes decades of progress eradicating old age poverty and the building of a system that allowed seniors to retire with dignity and a decent life.

The Federation is committed to pursuing real retirement security for all including:

- **Strengthening Social Security.** The bedrock of retirement security for America's working families is Social Security. While we successfully defeated the Bush Administration's attempt to privatize Social Security in 2005, we must continue to fight all such efforts. We oppose any cuts to Social Security benefits since it has been shown that cuts are not necessary to close Social Security's modest funding shortfall. We echo the AFL-CIO's support for taxing income above the existing taxable earnings cap and the position that mandatory coverage of all public employees must not be part of any funding plan.
- **Resisting Efforts to Privatize Public Pensions.** Republican legislators continue to push for pension privatization. These proposals would jeopardize the secure retirement benefits our members have fought for and sacrificed wage increases to preserve. We know that efforts to undermine defined benefit pension plans in the public sector would only accelerate the corporate push to eliminate secure retirement for private sector union members as well.
- **Ensuring Employer Responsibility.** All employers should be required to fund retirement benefits as an essential part of every worker's pay. The most effective and efficient way to do this is through a defined benefit pension plan. Private-sector employers that do not provide such a plan should be required to contribute into either a supplementary Social Security plan or a government-sponsored annuity plan that builds on existing programs, e.g., state employees' pension systems. We should build toward a system of retirement security for all workers.
- **Curbing Abuse of the Bankruptcy Process.** No employer should be able to follow the example of United Airlines, which entered bankruptcy proceedings for the purpose of shedding the pension obligations it had made to thousands of long-time employees and retirees, leaving them with a small fraction of the retirement income they had been promised and depended upon. Cities and counties must be restrained from the use of municipal bankruptcy to eliminate pension obligations. The state must have oversight into the municipal bankruptcy process to ensure that it is not abused to undermine retirement security, as is the case in 19 other states.

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- **Making All Retirement Savings Vehicles Effective and Efficient.** Many 401(k) plans and IRAs are not operated in the best interests of Americans straining to save for retirement. Reducing the big fees paid out of workers' retirement accounts can yield both enormous aggregate savings and meaningful improvements in individual workers' retirement security. Making sure plans are structured and operated so that saving, investment and distribution decisions are simple will also improve retirement security.
- **Stopping Imposition of Inadequate Pension Plans.** Many employers are attempting to impose new two-tier pension plans on employees, including hybrid plans, defined contribution plans or other plans that do not offer adequate retirement benefits. These plans will place older workers in untenable situations, where they will be forced to continue working or retire without enough money to survive. Any new retirement benefit plans should be implemented through collective bargaining and provide reasonable benefits that will allow workers to retire with dignity.

# 2 A Fair Economy and Good Job Creation

**WE** need an economy that works for the 99 percent, not just the 1 percent. Under the Bush Administration, Wall Street was allowed to run wild, resulting in risky practices, questionable deals and unbridled greed. Financial industry giants, like Goldman Sachs, gambled on complex mortgage-backed securities resulting in the near collapse of the global economy.

The roots of this economic crisis lie in the decades-long trend of concentrating wealth, power and privilege in an ever-dwindling number of individuals and corporations. Runaway CEO compensation reflects that trend towards inequality – in 1980, CEO pay was 42 times the average worker’s pay. By 2011, CEO pay at the largest companies was on average 380 times the average worker’s pay – by far the widest gap in the world.

The current economic crisis has only exacerbated economic inequality. Working people are paying the price to clean up the financial industry’s mess, while the wealthy who caused economic chaos are walking away richer than ever. Big banks and corporations took billions in taxpayer bailout money and now are posting record profits while their CEOs rake in billions in perks. In 2011, the average level of CEO pay increased 13.9 percent, following a 22.8 percent increase in CEO pay in 2010. During the same time period, millions of Americans lost their jobs, homes and health care.

The legacy of the Bush Administration’s “capitalism run amok” policies have devastated the economy and put tens of millions of Americans in dire financial straits. In California, a perfect storm of job loss, slashed wages, furloughs and home foreclosures has plunged the state into an economic crisis. The state has lost 1.4 million jobs since the recession began in 2007, and the unemployment rate remains stubbornly high at over 11 percent. Recovery is slow in coming to California’s workers.

The global economy impacts California’s recovery as well, and destructive trade policy further increases global inequality. Most of these agreements are built on the failed model of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA). This model has accelerated job loss and lowered living standards in the United States while exacerbating poverty and social disparities in the developing nations with which we trade.

The Obama Administration signed three new bilateral trade agreements with Colombia, South Korea and Panama, despite strong opposition from unions. Colombia remains the most dangerous place in the world to organize a union; since 2007, 195 trade unionists have been murdered. In the past 2 decades, over 2,500 trade unionists have been killed for organizing workers, yet the government has done nothing to protect unionists or hold their killers accountable.

The Federation supports an economy that works for working people. We need a 21<sup>st</sup> Century economy that creates stable jobs with good wages and benefits. Californians have invented some of the most innovative products in the world. We should be building those products here in California where they were invented. Economic recovery depends on bringing back advanced manufacturing to California and creating good union jobs in the private sector again. The state has an important role to play in investing in an economy that works for working people and rebuilds the middle class.

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## **Economic Growth to Benefit All**

The Federation supports real economic stimulus programs to create jobs and get our economy moving. For that reason, we developed a Jobs Plan to create a path forward for rebuilding our economy, creating jobs and slowing the growth of income inequality.

### **BUILD THE CALIFORNIA OF THE FUTURE: INFRASTRUCTURE**

Under Governor Pat Brown, California made massive public investments in infrastructure – roads, water, energy, parks, bridges and schools. That was a necessary investment in California’s future. Decades later, that infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and is inadequate to support California’s growing population and economy.

Crumbling bridges, pockmarked roads and decrepit schools not only hurt our quality of life but also further drag down our ailing economy. A healthy economy depends on a robust infrastructure to support business and job growth. We cannot get there by allowing our existing infrastructure to crumble and fail to meet the challenge of a growing population and economy. Infrastructure investments are proven job creators. Every \$1 billion spent on heavy construction creates an estimated 13,000 jobs.

Infrastructure can also put people back to work right away. Roads, bridges, courts, schools, sewers and water systems are all in desperate need of repair. Water infrastructure is critical to key sectors of the economy like agriculture, manufacturing and production. A strong economy depends on modern water systems to move, store and distribute water across the state. The clean energy economy requires retrofits of existing buildings to make them energy efficient. Millions of skilled construction workers are unemployed and ready to work. An investment in infrastructure would put Californians back to work immediately, while at the same time laying the foundation for a vibrant state economy.

The Federation supports investment in repairing and retrofitting the legacy of construction that made California great. We call for immediately spending infrastructure bonds that have already been sold by the state by getting the funds to shovel-ready projects. We will support the leadership of CalPERS and CalSTRS on their Infrastructure Investment program in order to ensure a stable, competitive return for members and to create jobs and rebuild our infrastructure.

### **BUILD HERE, BUY HERE: MANUFACTURING**

California is still the No. 1 technology state in the nation because we have a legacy of valuing education and fostering innovation. However, if we invent big ideas in California, we must manufacture them here. We can no longer afford to outsource our innovation to other countries. It is no longer acceptable for our politicians to subsidize the practice of big corporations shipping jobs out of state or overseas. The state can play a critical role in creating a market to encourage the growth of in-state manufacturing jobs.

Revitalizing manufacturing is fundamental to California’s economic stability and growth. Investment in manufacturing, in particular, is a smart way to spur economic recovery. Manufacturing jobs have the highest multiplier effect of any job classification in any industry – for every manufacturing job created, an additional 2.5 jobs are created in the broader economy.

The presence of one manufacturing firm gives rise to an entire supply chain creating business opportunities for suppliers, component manufacturers, contractors and professionals. In addition, producing goods in-state spurs economic activity in the transportation and shipping industries. Jobs in manufacturing are good for working families. The average wage for a manufacturing job in California is \$25,000 higher than that of a service sector employee and \$35,000 higher than retail trade wages. These jobs are the backbone of the middle class.

California has great potential to generate new manufacturing activity, especially in the green economy. The growing demand for green technology and products provides a perfect opportunity to revitalize California’s manufacturing base by producing components to build solar panels, wind turbines, high-speed rail trains and other building blocks of the green economy. However, currently many components are brought in from abroad. We should be manufacturing, rather than importing, the goods necessary to build the green

economy. We support efforts to buy materials made in America and in California. We also support bid preferences for contracts for goods and services that create jobs in California.

The Bay Bridge construction project is a clear example of the urgent need for policies to revitalize California's manufacturing sector. California is spending \$7 billion to build a new San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge that is one of the largest state infrastructure projects and will be a distinctive part of the Bay Area skyline. However, the massive cables, key sections of the bridge tower and the deck were all made in China and brought over for assembly in California. Instead of investing in our state and our workers by contracting with local companies, the state contracted overseas, risking quality control and economic benefits. We support policies which require that state dollars are spent on investing in California's workers, companies and economy.

Transportation manufacturing is another area where policies could create good jobs. The buses, trains, light rail and other modes of transportations that Californians use every day should be built by Californians. As transit agencies prepare to purchase new fleets, their bid considerations should consider in-state job creation and fostering domestic manufacturing. The investment of public dollars into state manufacturing has a proven multiplier effect on the economy that far outweighs the additional costs of contracting with in-state companies.

Construction of a high-speed rail system in California provides an opportunity for the state to rebuild the manufacturing base. The state will spend billions to construct, maintain and operate a high-speed rail system, and the train sets and supplies should be built in California. Bringing high-speed rail manufacturing technology to California is a first step toward revitalizing and revamping the state's manufacturing base to meet the growing demand for energy efficient and "green" modes of transportation. We will work with the High-Speed Rail Authority to ensure train cars and component parts are built in California.

We support legislation and policies that foster the development of California's transportation manufacturing base.

### **GREEN JOBS AND CLEAN ENERGY**

For decades, California has been ahead of the curve in developing renewable energy technologies and instituting efficiency standards. As early as the 1970s California emerged as a leader in clean energy and the development of solar, wind and advanced battery technology. The state also has a history of instituting policies to both support and push the clean energy economy – from standards for fuel efficiency to the landmark AB 32 legislation in 2006 to reduce greenhouse gas emissions statewide.

California still has many advantages that position us for new leadership in clean energy. The state has instituted a number of demand-side policies, such as AB 32 and a Renewable Portfolio Standard of 33 percent. These programs have the potential to create new clean energy markets and jobs. However, state action is critical to ensure that clean energy jobs are created and retained in California. The clean energy technology that is invented here should be built here, from the solar panels on schools to lithium ion batteries.

Green jobs in the clean energy sector are a key part of economic recovery and building a 21<sup>st</sup> century economy. However, green jobs are not intrinsically good jobs. The Federation supports aggressive use of the tools—including labor standards for subsidy recipients, living wage rules for government contractors, prevailing wage requirements and project labor agreements – to hold employers accountable for creating good green jobs. The best strategy for making green jobs into good jobs, however, is to protect and expand the right to organize for all workers.

We support policies to create and retain clean energy, green jobs in California. We reject the notion that we have to choose between a clean economy and good jobs. They can and must be linked and the Federation will work to ensure that all jobs in the burgeoning clean energy sector are good jobs.

## **State Role in Economic Growth**

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The state plays an important role in attracting new business and industry to California. Currently, there are over 100 economic development agencies, departments, commissions and task forces located throughout state government. There is no coordinated effort to attract high-road employers and create good jobs in California. The Federation supported legislation to create one point of entry for companies who want to bring jobs to California, and help those employers navigate through the various state resources. That Agency will also make sure that businesses that create good, stable jobs get first priority for support from the state.

We oppose the belief that tax breaks for corporations constitute job creation. These corporations must be held accountable for their promises to create jobs and stimulate the economy. We support closing tax loopholes that give away billions to corporations. Every new tax break should be tied to measurable standards, and when a company does layoffs or outsources jobs, they should have to pay that money back. If we want job creation, the state needs to make targeted investments in industries that create good jobs, not give away billions in tax breaks to big-box retailers and fast food restaurants.

### **Trade Policy That Works for All Workers**

America's decisions about trade and economic policy have significant impacts on workers both here and abroad. The ill-conceived International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and trade policies have weakened the economies and labor protections in many developing countries. IMF policies have caused many public-sector workers to lose their jobs and union protections. NAFTA-style trade agreements have undermined agricultural economies in developing countries, leading workers to leave the fields and consider moving north. Without raising living standards abroad for workers and the poor, the pressure for immigration to the U.S. will continue and escalate.

The Federation supports international trade and rejects protectionism, but we also oppose so-called "free trade" arrangements like NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), CAFTA (Central American – Dominican Republic Free Trade Agreement) and the FTAA (Free Trade Area of the Americas), as well as the "free trade" policies of the WTO (World Trade Organization) and the World Bank. Multilateral free-trade regimes serve the interests of multinational corporations in gaining access to markets – labor, suppliers and buyers – but do not serve the needs of workers for good jobs, consumers for safe products or people around the world for clean air and water. In free trade competition, only the corporations win, the rest of us are pitted against each other in a desperate race to the bottom.

The benefits of trade should be distributed fairly so that economic integration benefits workers, consumers and the environment, not just large corporations. We call for more meaningful connections across borders, like global unionism and international solidarity. Industrial unions have long understood the effects of unregulated trade on their members. When production is shipped overseas in search of cheap labor and lax environmental standards, manufacturing workers lose jobs. Today, workers in the service sector are learning the same hard lesson.

The globalization of services opens the door further to privatization in the public sector. Health care, K-12 education, postal work, call centers and many other industries could all be pried open by foreign corporations, with disastrous outcomes for workers and unions in those industries. We reject plans to expand the General Agreement on Trade in Services and to include similar language on services in future trade agreements.

### **FIGHT THE FAILURES OF FREETRADE**

Labor's opposition to free trade began with the fight to stop NAFTA. After 10 years of the trade agreement, it is clear that unions were right all along. In the first decade after its enactment, NAFTA cost more than one million American workers – including 123,000 Californians – their jobs. Real wages in Mexico are lower today than before NAFTA went into effect in 1994, and the number of people in poverty jumped from 45.5 million in 2006 to almost 58 million in 2010.

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NAFTA was supposed to increase U.S. exports to both Mexico and Canada, but instead, the maquiladora plants on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande have boomed, luring manufacturing away from U.S. workers, environmental standards and unions. Today, our trade deficits with Canada and Mexico are soaring.

Since the passage of NAFTA, unions and their allies in the battle against unfair trade have learned from their fights. In 1999, fair trade activists shut down the World Trade Organization in Seattle in a spectacular citywide demonstration that brought together union members with young people, environmentalists, consumer groups and others. In September 2003, the WTO met another setback as developing countries walked out of talks in Cancun.

But CAFTA did pass Congress in 2005. CAFTA expands the disastrous NAFTA model through Central America and the Caribbean. Wages in Central America are even lower than in Mexico, giving corporations an even more powerful lever to reduce the cost of production, and with it the pay, working conditions and environmental standards of the signatory nations. CAFTA threatens workers' rights, drives farmers off land, and undermines democracy in those countries. It also includes provisions promoting the privatization and deregulation of fundamental public services.

The passage of CAFTA was a difficult defeat, but the final vote count did demonstrate how the politics of international trade have changed. CAFTA was approved by Congress with a narrow two-vote margin, a major reversal from the landslide NAFTA vote. None of the Democrats in the California delegation voted in favor, thanks to aggressive lobbying from a coalition of labor, environmental and other grassroots groups in the state.

In 2011, President Obama signed three new trade agreements with South Korea, Panama and Colombia. The Federation supported efforts by our international unions to oppose all three agreements. All three are based on the same flawed trade model that has sent jobs overseas, lowered wages and benefited wealthy investors over workers.

The Federation especially opposes the FTA with Colombia. This proposal would reward a government with an abhorrent human rights' and worker rights' record with unfettered access to American markets. The Federation stands in solidarity with our brothers and sisters in Colombia and in opposition to violence against trade unionists, for justice and for the rights of workers in both Colombia and the United States to organize and bargain collectively without fear of firing, without fear of retribution and certainly without fear for personal safety.

We will continue to oppose trade agreements that hurt workers and reward governments that allow for the persecution and murder of union activists.

Unions in California will continue to expose the myth of free trade and push for a more fair global economy. We recognize that "free trade" is synonymous with corporate free rein over the economy. The Federation rejects Fast Track, which allows the administration to negotiate trade deals in secret without congressional oversight or amendment. We believe trade agreements need more scrutiny, not less. We support the state Legislature's efforts to expand public scrutiny of international trade agreements and the potential risks to state lawmaking authority.

### **USE UNION POWER TO PROTECT WORKERS' RIGHTS**

We urge international solidarity, not the liberalization of trade laws, in the face of the global economy. We support innovative coalition efforts to transform the global economy, such as the unity between environmentalists, consumer groups and labor unions that fought against NAFTA and CAFTA. We support solidarity campaigns that use purchasing power to bring pressure to bear on companies that abuse worker rights, including the campaign to expose Coca-Cola's human rights violations in Colombia. Multinational corporations can escape scrutiny only when we are divided.

We endorse cross-border organizing and international solidarity among workers. We believe that global unionism is the best answer to the system of global exploitation.

Here in California, we believe that workers that give a hard day's work should receive decent wages, benefits, job protections and other workplace rights. We strive for the same standards for workers around the world.

# 3

## An Enforceable Right to Organize

**NO** one fights harder for workers' right to a fair wage and decent working conditions than California's labor unions. Maintaining our right to organize workers and fight for the rights of working families is vital to the health, safety and economic security of all Californians.

Despite right-wing attacks on unions and the unrelenting anti-union efforts of large employers like Walmart, organizing efforts in California are gaining steam. The state is now home to 2.4 million union members and accounts for 16.2 percent of the total number of union members in the country.

California's unions continue to lead the country in unionizing public sector workers. Over 57 percent of California's public employees are union members, compared to just 37 percent nationwide. This growth in public sector union representation can be credited to successful legislation sponsored by the Federation and our public sector unions that gave public sector workers the right to organize through majority sign-up cards, or card check. However, severe budget cuts are hitting public sector unions hard, as state, county and city workers are laid-off and furloughed and public services are outsourced to private non-union companies at much lower wages and without benefits.

A union job is getting harder to find in the private sector for workers across the U.S. and here in California. Less than one in ten private-sector workers in California is a union member. Nationwide, less than one in 12 belongs to a union.

Ruthless employer opposition is largely to blame for slipping unionization rates. Harassment, intimidation, threats and firings are more common than ever during an organizing campaign. According to a recent survey, employers illegally fire workers in over 25 percent of all organizing drives. In nearly 80 percent of drives, management forces workers to attend one-on-one anti-union meetings with their own supervisors. Captive audience meetings, another common management ploy, further intimidate workers. Even when workers overcome these obstacles to win union recognition, employers frequently refuse to agree to a first contract.

The Federation is committed to supporting organizing efforts, and in 2011, officially made organizing a top priority. We began to convene state and regional union organizing directors to develop strategies to support organizing and increase the number of union members in California. We will continue to convene these meetings and will collaborate on legislation, research, industry analysis, trainings and other initiatives to increase union capacity and organizing campaigns.

### **Supporting Organizing Efforts**

The Federation applauds the workers and unions who continue to successfully organize in such hostile anti-worker climates. From FedEx to Fresh & Easy, a grocery chain that uses scanning devices instead of grocery clerks, the Federation supports our unions as they continue the fight against anti-union employers, old and new.

The Federation embraces new and creative campaigns like Warehouse Workers United in the Inland Empire. While misclassified port truckers have emerged as the face of the new economy, warehouse workers in the Inland Empire have been largely invisible. Packing and unpacking goods for the biggest retailers in the world, they work in the shadows of the subcontracted economy. In these warehouses, the third-party

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logistics company in charge of worksite operation relies on shifting layers of subcontractors, including temporary staffing agencies and professional employer organizations (PEOs) to minimize responsibility for basic labor standards.

Warehouse workers labor under a complex chain of relationships, each link intended to distance the recipient company from the workers unloading their cargo. Going after an intermediary does little to change industry standards. Yet, organizing continues in this industry and this campaign represents the future of organizing and the importance of reaching out to the growing contingent workforce. We will continue to support the campaign by Warehouse Workers United to organize workers in the Inland Empire for better working conditions and union representation.

We applaud the victories won by car wash workers in Los Angeles, where car wash owners agreed to collective bargaining with workers. The only three union car washes in the country are in Los Angeles, thanks to the organizing efforts of CLEAN Car Wash campaign and the United Steelworkers. Innovative partnerships such as these serve as important models on how to organize workers in low-wage industries.

We also helped build support among unions and labor councils to win the election campaign by the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) for Transportation Security Officers (TSOs) in airports across the country. In 2011 they won their election for over 44,000 TSOs and are now organizing for their first contract. In California we developed a coordinated effort with release staff from mostly airport unions, support and outreach to TSOs at nearly every California airport by central labor councils and visits with workers. The California campaign was a model for unions working together to win a major election victory. We will support future efforts to bring together unions and labor councils to support union organizing.

Another significant campaign in California is the “Making Change at Walmart” Campaign. UFCW has undertaken this national campaign with a very strong California strategy to build an association of Walmart workers called the Organization United for Respect at Walmart (OUR Walmart). The Making Change at Walmart campaign aims to dramatically improve working conditions and affirm the right to organize for workers. The campaign will also work together with local communities to demand that Walmart agree to comprehensive, binding community benefits agreements and take responsibility for ensuring legal compliance and basic legal standards for the supply and distribution chain across the globe. The Federation supports innovative campaigns that bring together workers and communities to challenge corporate giants like Walmart.

We commend organizing in the waste industry by the Teamsters, projects that bring Building Trades unions together to organize and ongoing fights to stop privatization and contracting out of union jobs. We support the work by our unions to increase union density, organize in new industries and work together on joint campaigns.

Farm workers won a major victory to increase the ability to organize when Governor Brown signed SB 126 into law in 2011. After a 13-day, 200 mile march to the California state capitol, the UFW worked with the Governor on compromise legislation to solve the problem of growers intimidating, stalling and firing workers who are lawfully organizing for union representation. The law gives farmworkers greater protections in organizing disputes with growers, including allowing the state’s Agricultural Labor Relations Board to certify a union when it determines grower misconduct affected an election’s outcome. We will work with the UFW to win card-check for farm workers at the Agricultural Labor Relations Board.

We continue to support state and federal legislation that levels the playing field so that workers can choose union representation free of intimidation and retaliation.

While we work for stronger labor laws at the state and national level, the Federation also supports innovative organizing strategies that our unions have adopted in place of the outdated and ineffective NLRB process. The current NLRB process is so slanted toward employers that there is virtually no opportunity for a fair election. We support the use of neutrality agreements with employers, card-check and community elections and other ways to win union recognition that respect the will of the workers.

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Likewise, we continue to support organizing tactics like civil disobedience, corporate campaigns, community mobilizations, alliances with community-based organizations, boycotts, strikes, salting and other forms of direct action to win recognition and contracts. We urge the cooperation of affiliates in multi-union efforts, which can effectively pool resources and eliminate jurisdictional disputes.

### **Standing Up for All Workers**

The Federation strongly supports the rights of all workers to organize and to have their voices heard in the political process. Unfortunately, those rights have come under attack time and again through the efforts of right wing anti-union activists. The Federation unequivocally opposes anti-union measures that strike at union political power. These anti-union measures would unfairly restrict uses of union dues and make union members play by different rules than big corporations when it comes to participating in the political process. In 2012, unions face another anti-union measure that is more dangerous and deceptive than past ones, and we urge all working people to oppose this and subsequent measures to attack unions.

We call for the extension of full collective bargaining rights for all public employees, including the inviolate right to strike and the right to use dues deducted from wages for political purposes. For public employees not permitted to strike, we recognize the need for binding interest arbitration to level the playing field and ensure fairness in bargaining. We support the right of farm workers to use majority sign up to join a union free from employer intimidation.

The Federation supports the National Mediation Board's decision to change anachronistic rules in the Railway Labor Act (RLA) that set prohibitively high thresholds for winning union elections for rail and airline workers. Rail and airline workers should be able to choose union representation by majority vote, like other workers in this country. Though airline workers won changes in the RLA, they still face fierce opposition when trying to organize. We condemn the anti-union video and activities of Sir Richard Branson, founder of Virgin Group, when Virgin America's flight attendants were organizing. Virgin America's hub and primary base of operations is at San Francisco International Airport, and we will not tolerate anti-union employers in California.

In 2007, the Federation stood up for the fundamental right to organize by opposing four new gaming compacts that had no enforceable right to organize. These multi-decade agreements granted new gambling rights to four of the state's wealthiest tribes and represented the largest expansion of gambling in American history. Unlike the compacts negotiated in 2004, these compacts failed to provide a real right to organize for low-wage casino workers.

In contrast to the recent compacts, in 2012 the Federation supports the Graton Rancheria compact which includes a right to organize agreement with UNITE HERE, along with strong mitigation language to support the community neighboring the new casino. The Graton Rancheria compact is a model of how Indian gaming can benefit workers, communities and the state through high-road development. The Federation will remain steadfast in its commitment to ensuring that all future compacts include an enforceable right to organize and will continue to hold individual legislators accountable for their votes against such workers' rights.

### **Giving Workers the Tools They Need to Organize**

The Federation calls for comprehensive labor law reform to ensure that workers can organize a union without risking their job. Employers that fire workers for union activity, or use other tactics to interfere with workers' free choice, deserve severe and immediate penalties. Banning permanent replacements for strikers is essential for equitable labor relations. We back prompt resolution of representation questions; union certification based upon determination of majority support through card check; arbitration of unresolved first contracts at the request of the union involved; and the prohibition of corporate reshuffling, including double breasting, bankruptcy and ownership changes, which are used to evade contractual rights and end union representation.

California unions must continue to pursue state and local level reforms to support organizing. The Federation will continue to support the efforts of unions to organize and work to educate legislators and the public on the importance of unions to rebuild the middle class in our state.

# 4

**AS** the economy continues to sputter, California's working families are in an increasingly precarious position. The minimum wage does not meet the basic needs of working families, the state's unemployment insurance system is billions of dollars in the red, and workers' compensation benefits have been slashed by nearly 70 percent.

California's unions have fought hard to create a strong social safety net for when workers fall on hard times. During this economic crisis, these protections give people the basic necessities they need to survive. Economic recovery starts when workers have enough money in their pockets to buy products made in California.

You cannot balance the state budget when millions of Californians cannot balance theirs. We can pay for employment that grows our economy or we can pay for unemployment and social services for those workers who still cannot afford to support their families.

## **Social Safety Net**

Workers need protection against unexpected interruptions in their work lives, such as workplace injuries or layoffs. Workers' compensation, disability insurance and unemployment insurance all provide vital safety nets to working people.

The Federation will continue to fight to preserve and expand safety net programs for working people. We will push for better funding for our strained unemployment system. We will work to preserve benefits for workers on state disability. We will fight to help injured workers get the care and benefits they deserve in the workers' compensation system. The Federation will continue to fight to support these programs as a basic component of workers' rights in California.

## **UNEMPLOYMENT PROTECTIONS**

Losing a job is one of the most financially traumatic events in a worker's life. To help families through the economic challenges of job loss, the unemployment insurance (UI) system provides partial wage replacement for workers unemployed through no fault of their own. The Federation believes that all laid-off workers deserve a way to support their families until they can find another job.

The UI system proved especially critical during the recent recession, as countless jobs vanished from every industry across the state and unemployment rates skyrocketed. Hundreds of thousands of working families are surviving on little other than UI benefits. Increasing numbers of the unemployed have been looking for work for over six months. Long-term unemployment is becoming the norm as the economy continues to struggle and economists predict a slow recovery over the next five years. UI benefits will continue to be a critical lifeline for workers who are still falling victim to an economic crisis they did nothing to create.

The American Reinvestment and Recovery Act (ARRA), signed by President Obama in February 2009, extended crucial relief to the unemployed and state UI funds, including a temporary increase in the amount of UI benefits, extended jobless benefits and subsidies for unemployed workers' COBRA health care premiums. A key portion of the legislation is the Unemployment Insurance Modernization Act (UIMA), which

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provides substantial financial incentives for states to close the major gaps in the unemployment program that deny benefits to workers.

The Federation sponsored two successful pieces of legislation to make urgent reforms to the state's UI program, take advantage of federal aid, and provide much-needed relief to jobless workers. The bills moved the state to an alternative base period, temporarily lowers the state's threshold for authorizing extended benefits and modernizes the state's outdated eligibility rules. Together the reforms allowed the state to access billions in federal funds and make long-term changes that will allow workers to include their most recent quarter of earning toward UI eligibility.

As long-term unemployment increases, now is the time for the unemployed to attend job training and pursue an education to prepare for economic recovery. One of the benefits for laid off workers is the California Training Benefits (CTB) Program that allows those receiving Unemployment Insurance (UI) compensation to participate in an approved training program. The Federation moved legislation that was signed into law to allow the unemployed to register and attend training without an interruption or possible loss of their UI benefits. This minor change helps laid off workers upgrade their skills in preparation for new job opportunities and receive benefits at the same time. We support further policies and programs to train the unemployed and place them in jobs in growth sectors.

The recession, however, dealt a heavy blow to the overall health of our unemployment insurance system. Our UI trust fund currently owes billions to the federal government, and all possible paths to solvency seem impossible amidst the relentless economic downturn and difficult political climate. In addition, structural funding issues that predate the recession continue to threaten the overall system's viability. The Federation supports major reforms to the state's UI system that will ensure the long-term solvency of the program and the ability of the unemployed to access adequate benefits.

Since 1983, California businesses have only been paying UI taxes on the first \$7,000 of each worker's earnings. Across the country, the average wage base for UI taxes is nearly twice California's base. As inflation and wages rise, our UI fund will be perpetually underfunded unless the taxable wage base is increased and indexed.

The tax rate structure faced by California's employers insufficiently discourages employers from laying off workers. The rates vary according to a schedule, with employers that lay off more workers paying higher rates. All employers pay higher percentages in times of lower fund reserves. Maximum tax rates in California should be increased to ensure that the experience rating provisions of the program have an impact on high cost employers, especially those in the agriculture, construction and film industries. The Federation supports raising the top rates in the tax schedule to strengthen the financial incentives for employers to avoid layoffs.

The current system requires employers to pay higher tax rates when the UI Trust Fund balance falls. This structure charges employers more during economic recessions, but does nothing to prepare for downturns in advance. California must move from the current pay-as-you-go system to a forward-funded UI system. A forward-funded system would allow the Trust Fund to build reserves in times of prosperity so that businesses could avoid higher tax rates in rough times. The Federation supports moving toward a forward-funded system that ensures fund solvency.

California currently owes the federal government billions of dollars for a loan to the state UI trust fund. That debt generates hundreds of millions in interest each year, and federal law prohibits UI funds from covering the payments. The state has proposed borrowing from the state Supplement Disability Insurance (SDI) Fund to pay the interest on the federal loan. The SDI Fund is entirely funded by worker contributions and designed for paid family leave or disability insurance claims – not unrelated general fund woes or interest payments to the federal government. Rather than borrowing from existing funds, the Federation supports levying a special surcharge on employers to pay for the interest on the federal UI loan, as do 20 other states.

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The Federation also supports protecting and increasing the benefit levels for unemployed workers. Like the taxable wage base, California's benefit allowances for unemployed workers are static. As a result, when wages and inflation rise, benefits fail to keep pace. California already ranks 43<sup>rd</sup> in the nation for the percentage of the state's average weekly wage that is replaced by its UI benefits – just 29 percent. Most of the 36 states that automatically index their benefit amounts do so in relation to the state's average weekly wage, guaranteeing that benefits will not be eroded over time. We support indexing UI benefits so that California's benefits will meet workers' needs.

California's unemployment insurance benefits also do not account for the size of a family dependent on UI payments. While individuals receiving benefits are somewhat more flexible in reducing costs in times of unemployment, families with children often face fixed costs – such as education and child care – that are difficult to offset or suspend during a job search. To address the needs of families of all sizes, the Federation supports creating a dependents' allowance, making benefits more progressive for working families.

The Federation will continue to protect UI's recipients' right to receive their benefits without deductions. EDD recently eliminated the payment of unemployment and disability benefits by check and now only pays UI and DI benefits by direct deposit or electronic pay cards. The current contract negotiated by EDD with Bank of America contains strong protections to guard against costly hidden fees charged by banks that take a chunk out of benefit checks at a time when Californians can least afford it.

Despite protections, the transition to UI benefit pay cards has not gone without complaints. UI recipients experienced weeks-long benefit delays and an inaccessible customer service center when EDD switched over to pay cards. It is unacceptable for UI recipients to be unable to access their benefits or assistance in a timely matter. In addition, the vendor for the UI paycards, Bank of America, sells consumer information, inundating recipients with new spam, junk mail and other unwanted advertising. The selling of information raises questions about the privacy of UI recipients who use pay cards. The Federation will continue to monitor the use of pay cards for all public benefit recipients to make sure protections are in place and enforced to protect them from fees, privacy violations, delays and other consumer concerns.

Employer attempts to avoid responsibility for the payment of UI benefits should not be tolerated. When employers misclassify workers as independent contractors or form a shell corporation to qualify for a lower tax rate – a fraudulent practice known as “SUTA dumping” – they should face serious penalties. The Federation opposes employer fraud and opposes attempts by employers to roll back benefit increases won in 2001. We also oppose the increasing use of professional employer organizations (PEOs) as a tool for evading UI and other employment responsibilities. Using a PEO allows employers to mask their true unemployment responsibilities and gives them a backdoor way to offload higher, but deserved, UI costs while forcing the rest of the participants in the UI system to pay the price.

Finally, the Federation supports a strong worker layoff notification system and increased state and federal investment in retraining. In 2002, the Federation sponsored legislation to create a California specific version of the Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification (WARN) Act, obliging businesses that lay off 50 or more workers to give 60 days notice.

The Federation supports legislation to strengthen the WARN Act by reducing the number of layoffs necessary to trigger a notice to 25, and increasing notice time for employees and state agencies to 90 days. The legislation also requires notification of layoffs due to offshoring of work, and requires businesses that intend to close plants to bargain over alternatives. In cases of closure, companies should provide ample severance pay and income maintenance programs, extended health benefits, high-quality retraining for real jobs and early retirement options.

Despite efforts to strengthen the WARN Act, some employers game the system by staggering layoffs to avoid triggering the WARN Act provisions. We support efforts to ensure that employers comply with the law and provide workers and communities with the notice they deserve to deal with the devastating impacts of layoffs.

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## **DISABILITY INSURANCE AND PAID FAMILY LEAVE**

California's State Disability Insurance Program (SDI) was created to compensate workers for wage loss when they are unemployed because of illness or injury that is not job-related. California's groundbreaking paid family leave (PFL) program is also housed in the SDI program. California is one of only five states with a state disability program, and the only state with a comprehensive paid family leave program.

The worker-funded family leave program provides an essential financial bridge for more than 150,000 families each year. In the first five years of the program, 740,000 California workers received over \$4 billion in paid family leave benefits. Because of paid family leave, these workers are able to care for a new child or sick family member without entirely foregoing their income. More outreach efforts are needed to spread the word about paid family leave benefits as widely as possible. Recognizing the diverse family structures of California's workers, the Federation supports a broad interpretation of which family members a worker may care for while on paid family leave.

The Federation supports the inclusion of all public sector workers in the SDI program, which can be done through the bargaining process. The Federation also believes that all workers who have paid into the disability fund, regardless of their citizenship, should be entitled to receive SDI.

The Federation supports strengthened workplace protections that guarantee no worker will be fired or face retribution for taking family leave or for using SDI. Employer retaliation against workers who need and take leave is simply unacceptable. The main reason injured or ill workers do not take leave is that they cannot afford to do so.

The Federation supports adequate benefit levels for SDI recipients. The Federation passed legislation in 1999 that pegged SDI to workers' compensation temporary disability benefits. The rationale is simple: employees who cannot work deserve equivalent benefits, whether they become disabled on or off the job. This reform immediately increased SDI, which had lagged behind workers' compensation benefit levels for years. More recent legislation increased maximum weekly workers' compensation temporary disability benefits and indexed them to increases in the state's average weekly wage, so maximum weekly SDI benefits are now indirectly indexed.

Because only 29 percent of California workers have ever heard of paid family leave, workers are paying into the fund but underutilizing it. Therefore, the Federation supports a small portion of the SDI Fund to be used for outreach and education.

The SDI system allows employers to substitute their own private "voluntary" insurance plan for the state-administered system and allows self-employed individuals to apply for their own disability insurance coverage. The Federation opposes the proliferation of voluntary disability plans that weaken the overall state plan. When PG&E went bankrupt, its voluntary plan ran out of funds. Special legislation was required to provide disability insurance benefits for disabled PG&E employees and others in a similar situation.

## **WORKERS' COMPENSATION**

A workplace injury can be devastating. The loss of an arm or leg changes a life forever, and no level of compensation can make up for such a loss. But when health and safety programs fail to prevent injury on the job, workers' compensation is a critical safety net. Workers' compensation is a negotiated deal between employers and employees. In exchange for workers giving up the right to sue for workplace injuries, workers' compensation is supposed to provide for adequate wage replacement and medical care. That safety net has frayed in California, and the Federation is determined to restore it.

Even after significant reforms of the workers' compensation system, insurers refused to lower premiums and employers continued to urge changes to reduce their costs. In 2004, Governor Schwarzenegger, while backing a draconian anti-worker ballot measure on workers' compensation, introduced a harsh legislative proposal to change the system. He promised that the reform would cut costs by improving consistency and decreasing friction and litigation in the system, not by reducing injured workers' benefits.

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Despite that commitment, the regulations implementing the compromise have slashed benefits for workers, delayed and denied medical treatment and failed to provide a significant increase in the number of injured workers returning to work. Since the Schwarzenegger changes, permanently disabled workers have had their benefits slashed by nearly 70 percent.

Employers have enjoyed significant savings in workers' compensation costs, and insurers are making record profits. In 2006, insurers paid out only 36 cents on every dollar in workers' compensation benefits, while they took home 37 cents of profit on each premium dollar.

In 2009, the Federation sponsored two successful pieces of legislation to help injured workers. One was to protect injured workers' right to see their own doctors. Thousands of union members have completed pre-designation forms so that they may maintain their right to see their own doctors. That right was set to end on December 31, 2009, and the Federation successfully deleted the sunset provision. The second piece of legislation created a publicly accessible database of employers' workers' compensation coverage. A searchable database will assist injured workers, other employers, medical providers and government agencies to file claims and enforce the law.

The pendulum of workers' compensation reform has swung too far, and injured workers are paying the price. To restore balance and fairness, the Federation supports the following policies:

- **Increase Benefits.** Increase weekly benefits to workers with permanent disabilities (PD) and change the permanent disability ratings system so that ratings correspond to diminished earning capacity using the method suggested by the Commission on Health and Safety and Workers' Compensation. Adopt new future earnings capacity (FEC) factors to more closely tie PD benefits to wages. Index workers' compensation benefits so that they keep up with rising costs elsewhere in the economy.
- **Return-to-Work.** Improve return-to-work policies by penalizing employers who do not take back workers and allow doctors' release back to work orders to stand without employer or insurer interference.
- **Access to Medical Care.** Require more stringent review of Medical Provider Networks (MPNs) and improve standards. Limit utilization reviews of MPN-approved doctors. Enforce the right of workers to pre-designate a doctor. Reduce the proliferation of medical liens that clog the system.
- **Insurance Market Reforms.** Re-regulate the workers' compensation insurance industry. Regulation would stabilize costs and stop insurance industry profiteering. Give the Insurance Commissioner the authority to set the rates charged for workers' compensation insurance. Limit the loss ratio so that for every dollar collected in premiums, at least 85 cents must be spent on medical care, similar to the health insurance market.
- **Integrate with Health Care.** Work for the long-term integration of the workers' compensation and standard medical insurance systems. An integrated system would eliminate duplication and provide more unified care for injured workers.

Until the workers' compensation system is fixed through legislation, regulations and ongoing litigation, unions and unionized employers have the opportunity to make it work better through collectively bargained carve-out programs. In 1993, the State Building and Construction Trades Council and the Federation succeeded in including a provision in a broader "reform" bill to allow union construction employers to negotiate modified workers' compensation programs with union bargaining representatives.

These programs cover several elements of the workers' compensation system, while leaving intact its basic protections. Labor and management can negotiate alternative dispute resolution systems generally consisting of an ombudsperson, mediation and arbitration; an agreed upon list of medical providers and evaluators; joint labor-management safety committees; and rehabilitation and return-to-work programs.

In 2003, we won the ability to negotiate carve outs in any unionized industry and in most of the public sector. We also expanded the scope of bargaining to include the integration of temporary disability benefits

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with state disability insurance benefits, and the integration of workers' compensation medical treatment benefits with employer provided health benefits.

Carve outs have proven to provide both better treatment for injured workers and significant cost savings to union employers. The Federation encourages unions to consider negotiating for them.

### **REGULATORY REFORM**

Every year, legislators introduce bills attempting to dismantle the regulatory process under the banner of reform. Legislators blame California's regulations for creating the economic crisis and preventing recovery. They blame regulations for businesses leaving California and not locating here. Representatives of big business are quick to claim that regulations are costing the state billions in lost revenue and strangling business.

In reality, deregulation is a far greater threat to our economy. Those pushing so-called "regulatory reform" seem to conveniently forget that it was deregulation of the financial industry that caused our economic collapse. In contrast, regulations – like heat stress protections, nurse staffing ratios and many others – actually save lives.

Big business representatives often use the guise of regulatory reform to attack core workers' rights like overtime, meal and rest periods and health and safety standards. The Federation works to cut through the rhetoric and expose that what business really wants is to eviscerate the protections unions fought for over many long years.

The Federation actively participates in the regulatory process and believes that the current Administrative Procedures Act has sufficient provisions in place to prevent enacting duplicative or overly burdensome regulations. We will continue to oppose misguided attempts to reform the regulatory process or erode existing regulations protecting workers and our communities.

### **Foreclosure Crisis and Affordable Housing**

Over the past six years, foreclosures have ravaged the state of California. Over 1.2 million families have had their homes foreclosed. Nearly one-third of all California homeowners with a mortgage owe more to the bank than their house is worth.

For a family, a foreclosure is devastating. For a state, unmitigated foreclosures destroy communities, deprive cities of critical revenue and cripple the economy. Local governments lose an average of \$20,000 on every foreclosure. In California, the massive number of underwater borrowers has impeded our economic recovery, as families are spending everything they have just to hold on to their homes.

The foreclosure crisis has exposed widespread abuses in the lending market. The Federation sponsored legislation targeting one of the most abusive lending practices – steering borrowers into risky, high-cost loans. This bill imposes a fiduciary duty on brokers to act in the best interest of the borrower, and bans brokers from steering borrowers into more risky loans. That bill was signed into law in 2009.

The foreclosure crisis the banks created is not over. In fact, foreclosures in California are expected to increase again in 2012. The downward spiral in our housing market presents a serious obstacle to any effort to revive our economy. The best outcome for all Californians is to stabilize home values and keep families in their homes through affordable loan modifications. This reduces blight from abandoned buildings, stabilizes local government revenues and promotes economic recovery.

We commend Attorney General Kamala Harris for the recent multi-state settlement that achieved important reforms of mortgage servicing practices and the foreclosure process. However, because the terms of the settlement are only temporary and apply just to the five banks that participated, more must be done to protect families from foreclosure and stabilize the housing market. The Federation is proud to work with our Attorney General to make the multi-state agreement the law of the land.

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Re-regulating and reforming the banking industry is not an easy task. Banks and their army of lobbyists fight to kill any legislation that attempts to reform the industry to benefit homeowners and consumers. We commend legislators that have stood up to banking interests and support reform legislation. We will not tolerate labor-endorsed candidates who side with banks over working families and underwater homeowners.

We strongly support efforts to protect families and communities from unfair foreclosures. The Federation supports efforts to prohibit discrimination against single-parent households, students, families with children, the elderly, minorities and people with disabilities. To spur quality economic growth and keep housing affordable for working families, we support the following policies:

#### **HOMEOWNER AND COMMUNITY PROTECTION**

- **End Dual-Tracking.** Only one loan modification is occurring for every 15 homeowners in need of assistance. Banks are continuing to foreclose on families while they are seeking a loan modification. This dual tracking, the practice that allows a bank to initiate a foreclosure while a family is still in loan modification, must end to avoid unnecessary foreclosures.
- **Reform Lending and Servicing Practices.** Financial deregulation enabled the proliferation of sub-prime and non-traditional loans, which were aggressively marketed to low-income communities. Brokers got bonuses for steering borrowers into risky mortgage loans. We sponsored a bill that imposed a duty of good faith on brokers and prohibited steering borrowers into high-cost loans. We must continue to prohibit abusive practices that caused this crisis and increase penalties on those who broke the law to deter wrong-doing in the future.
- **End Foreclosure Blight.** Home foreclosure is a devastating experience and that devastation extends far beyond the individual homeowner. Mass foreclosures have left many neighborhoods full of empty, blighted homes. Blight drags down property values and erodes the tax base, leaving entire communities devastated. In order to protect communities hard hit by foreclosures, we support policies to prevent blight including requiring banks to properly maintain foreclosed properties and mitigation fees to support communities.

#### **GUARANTEE AFFORDABLE HOUSING**

- **Revive Rent Control.** In California, rent control laws are weakening. With the notable exception of the 2002 ‘just cause’ eviction victory in Oakland, rent control ordinances are eroding under pressure from property owners seeking more control over their rental units. We support local efforts to restore rent control. We also support legislation to provide ‘just cause’ eviction, longer eviction notice requirements, more regulation of landlord use and return of renter security deposits, and protection for tenants during foreclosure.
- **Increase State and Federal Funding for Low-Income Housing.** We support the establishment of the Housing Opportunity and Market Stabilization (HOMeS) Trust Fund that would create rental and homeownership housing for low- and moderate-income workers throughout the state. Funding housing for the middle class not only provides shelter but also revitalizes the struggling home construction sector. We support imposing a recording fee on all real estate papers in order to capitalize the trust fund.

#### **USE UNION LABOR TO DEVELOP HOUSING IN THE RIGHT PLACES**

- **Fair Wages for Work.** Governor Gray Davis signed legislation in 2001 applying prevailing wage rates to all government-subsidized housing construction. We believe that the women and men who build affordable houses deserve a living wage, and we support this law and support accurate calculations of the prevailing wage.
- **Pursue High-Road Housing Partnerships.** Union construction workers have teamed up with affordable housing advocates to build nearly a thousand units of affordable housing in California in the last decade. The AFL-CIO’s Housing Investment Trust is a successful partnership of unions, government and private contractors. It requires the payment of prevailing wages so those people who build the

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**A STRONG SOCIAL SAFETY NET, Continued**

houses can actually afford to live in them. In the last ten years, the Trust has provided over \$128 million of funding for housing in California. This is a model high-road economic project – creating housing that working people can buy or rent, while simultaneously creating high-quality jobs for workers.

- **Pursue Smart Growth Development.** Economic development activity should seek to create healthy communities and “smart growth” development. The dissolution of redevelopment agencies gives the state an opportunity to redesign development in economically-distressed areas, creating transit-oriented development and high-quality job creation. The Federation supports redevelopment successor programs that design residential areas close to mass transit, retail establishments and businesses.

# 5

## An Equitable, Sustainable Budget and Tax System

### **BUDGETS**

are about choices and they reflect our priorities. California's lawmakers have chosen to continue wasteful tax breaks for out-of-state companies, tax consultants and large corporations over investing in California. We have a responsibility to care for the poorest and most vulnerable among us. Yet our tax code, our budget and our priorities do not reflect that. Years of deep cuts to state-funded programs have strained our safety net programs to the breaking point and forced the state to renege on its promise of affordable higher education, allowed our infrastructure to crumble and threatened the jobs of hundreds of thousands of public sector employees.

The passage of Proposition 25 in 2010 lowered the supermajority requirement to pass a budget, ending decades of late budgets and republican demands for concessions for votes. However, the passage of Proposition 26 on the same ballot as Proposition 25 was two steps backwards after one step towards fixing our broken system. Proposition 26 made it even harder for legislators to fund programs through the use of fees by raising the vote requirement to two-thirds. California still faces other challenges – a supermajority requirement to raise taxes, a long history of voter-approved spending limits and requirements, and an outdated tax base that keeps the state's fiscal house in continual turmoil.

Governor Brown has brought balance to the budget process by proposing a mix of cuts and revenue increases to close the budget gap. The 2011-12 budget reduced the structural deficit facing the state from \$20 billion annually to \$5 billion. The Governor is committed to tax increases to bridge the budget gap. If the tax proposals are not approved by voters in 2012, the budget outlines more devastating cuts to public education, courts and public safety. We support Governor Brown's efforts to end all-cuts budgets by raising revenue and eliminating wasteful corporate tax breaks. The Federation will work to find permanent revenue sources to end annual budget cuts and to fund the services Californians need.

The Federation supports policies to create an equitable, sustainable budget and tax system in California and in the nation. We believe in an equitable tax system that collects enough revenue to meet the needs of Californians for quality education, essential services, a clean environment and safe and secure communities.

At the federal level, the Bush Administration's tax cuts for the nation's wealthiest families plunged the country further into debt with no measurable benefit to the economy. These tax cuts widened the gap between rich and poor and left a legacy of growing income inequality in the U.S. The Bush-era tax cuts should not be extended and tax equity should be restored at the federal level to rebuild the middle class.

Tax equity includes both vertical and horizontal fairness. Vertical fairness means that the wealthy should pay the largest share of taxes. The greater an individual's income, the more he or she should pay. This principle – progressive taxation – is the cornerstone of a just tax system. Following its guidance, the state should avoid reliance on sales tax revenues, for example, which come disproportionately from low- and middle-income taxpayers. Horizontal fairness is a measure of whether taxpayers in similar circumstances pay similar amounts of tax. A tax that hits wage earners harder than investors, as the federal income tax currently does, fails the test of horizontal equity.

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California's tax code needs to be updated for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Currently the state does not collect adequate revenue to provide needed services to the public and is forced to make devastating cuts. Modernizing the tax code would require broadening the tax base to include electronic commerce, such as downloads and increased collection of sales tax from out-of-state internet retailers. A stable tax code would include a balanced mix of tax revenues including a fair property tax, elimination of tax loopholes and a fair apportionment formula for corporations in California that also have out-of-state operations.

Debt service on bonds is the fastest growing area of state spending. In 2011, the state spent 7.8 percent of the state's General Fund to pay debt service on bonds. State Treasurer Bill Lockyer projects that California could spend more than \$10 billion on debt service in 2012-13 – about 11 percent of projected General Fund revenues.

The Federation has supported the use of bond measures for many specific purposes, but urges careful analysis of the state's overall debt load when considering future borrowing proposals.

### **Real Budget Reforms, Not Gimmicks**

California faces serious structural budget problems, and there have been no shortage of proposals to address those problems. The Federation supports real efforts to reform the system, but rejects proposals cloaked in the mantle of reform that benefit the wealthy and powerful at the expense of working people. California Forward and the Think Long Committee for California each have enjoyed financial support from billionaires to design reform packages for California. We oppose both groups' proposed solutions that only further tie the hands of legislators, open the door to undermine important protections labor fought to win and serve the interests of the elite members of their boards.

The current supermajority vote requirement to raise taxes is undemocratic and has exacerbated California's perpetual budget woes. The supermajority requirement has stalled all recent attempts to raise new revenue through a progressive tax increase or by closing gaping corporate tax loopholes, and has forced legislators to fund vital programs through a hodge-podge of fees and ballot initiatives. Proposition 26, passed in 2010, made it even harder for the state to raise and impose fees to support government functions. The Federation supports putting an end to these unnecessary barriers by lowering the vote threshold for taxes to a majority.

The September 2008 and February 2009 budget deals contained a number of deep, devastating cuts to public programs. However, the pain of cuts was not shared equally – the budget deal also included three changes to corporate income tax laws that will give away billions in tax breaks every year to a very small number of corporations. The changes include:

- **Elective Single Sales Factor Apportionment.** Allows corporations to choose between two methods for determining the share of their profits that would be taxed in California. Under the change made in February 2009, corporations could choose to be taxed solely on the share of their sales that occur in California, rather than a formula that includes sales, payroll and property. Every year, the corporation could switch back and forth, using whichever formula results in the least tax liability.
- **Tax Credit Sharing.** Allows corporations to transfer tax credits among a combined reporting group of related corporations. Traditionally, only the corporation earning a tax credit could claim that tax credit.
- **Net Operating Loss Carrybacks.** Allows corporations to claim refunds on taxes already paid by claiming tax deductions for net operating losses (NOLs). California previously allowed businesses to "carry forward" and deduct operating losses against future income. The recent change allows businesses to "carry back" operating loss deductions and claim refunds against prior years' taxes.

These budget deals were made in the dead of night with no public hearings or testimony. These corporate tax breaks are estimated to cost the state \$2 - \$2.5 billion in corporate tax revenues annually. As the state faces a budget shortfall and social services, education and other programs suffer devastating cuts, corporations should not receive billions in public dollars.

Recent attempts to repeal the elective portion of the single sales factor apportionment have been stymied by out-of-state corporations like Altria (formerly Philip Morris), International Paper, and Procter & Gamble – companies that want to sell to Californians but not employ them. Even when legislators have proposed using the savings from mandatory single sales for public programs, like middle class tax breaks or college scholarships, corporate lobbyists have worked against them and the measures failed to achieve the needed two-thirds vote to pass. We support requiring a mandatory single sales factor and using the savings to invest in our state.

The Federation also opposes trigger cuts contained in the budget. Governor Brown's 2012-13 budget contains deep and damaging cuts to K-12 and higher education that are triggered if proposed tax measures fail at the ballot. When the state does not have the revenues it needs to fund its programs, the Legislature, with public input, should make carefully measured decisions about increasing revenues and prioritizing programs, rather than relying on crude formulas to implement cuts.

The Federation opposes balancing the budget on the backs of the most vulnerable populations. Governor Brown's budget includes deep cuts to CalWORKs, In Home Supportive Services and Medical programs. It also targets the unemployed by increasing eligibility requirements for workers to qualify for Unemployment Insurance benefits, which would cut off benefits for up to 40,000 UI beneficiaries. At a time when millions of Californians have lost their jobs through no fault of their own, the state should be maintaining benefits, not cutting them.

The Federation supports a state budget that contributes to economic growth and provides all Californians with the services they need. Cuts to education, infrastructure and social services threaten the economic vitality of the state and undermine efforts for economic recovery.

### **Revenues to Meet the Needs of All Californians**

Even though working families are paying their fair share in taxes, they are getting less in return and bearing the brunt of the state's drastic budget cuts. It is time for the government to prioritize rebuilding the middle class through good jobs, quality education, a clean environment and safe and secure communities. The state must commit to raising the necessary revenue and prioritizing spending to meet the basic needs of California families.

Governor Schwarzenegger attempted to overhaul the state's outdated tax code by promoting the Commission on the 21st Century Economy (COTCE). Instead of modernizing the tax code, the Commission's proposals would have moved California backwards. The Commission proposed to shift the tax burden from the wealthy onto working and middle-class Californians. The Federation opposed the Commission's proposals and will continue to oppose tax policy that perpetuates income inequality and decreases state revenues.

The Federation supports progressive tax measures that bring in the revenue the state needs to serve Californians. The Millionaire's Tax on the 2012 ballot will bring in needed revenue through a tax on the wealthiest Californians and a half-cent sales tax increase. The tax is estimated to raise \$9 billion in revenues allocated to K-12 education and community colleges. The Millionaires Tax of 2012 is a temporary tax fix to stave off more brutal budget cuts. The Federation supports permanent solutions to the state's lack of adequate revenue that includes progressive taxation and other policies.

The Federation supports the following policies to bring in the revenues we need to adequately meet the needs of all Californians.

### **Re-Evaluate Tax Breaks and Close Loopholes**

- **Close and Put a Moratorium on Enacting Tax Breaks.** The Federation supports closing tax loopholes that do not provide obvious, necessary, and progressive economic benefit to the state economy. While our state faces a budget crisis, the Federation supports a moratorium on tax breaks that drain the state budget.

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- **Repeal Corporate Giveaways in the Tax Code.** The 2008 and 2009 budget agreements made changes to California's corporate income tax that amount to a giveaway of billions of public dollars to the wealthiest corporations in the state. The Federation supports making the elective single-sales factor apportionment mandatory and repealing tax credit sharing and net operating loss carrybacks.
- **Reinstate the Top Income Tax Brackets.** The top 1 percent of income earners has doubled its share of total state income over the past twenty years, from 12 percent to nearly 25 percent, while income growth for the rest of us has stagnated. Meanwhile, the top tier tax rates (state and federal) are lower than they were previously. Twenty years ago the highest tax rate in California was 11 percent of income; today it is 10.3 percent. We support progressive income taxation to require the wealthiest Californians to pay their fair share.
- **End the Commercial Property Tax Giveaway.** The current change-of-ownership rules for the reassessment of commercial and industrial property cost the state billions of dollars a year in lost revenue. These rules should be changed to allow more frequent and fairer reassessments of the value of commercial property.

### **Improve Collection, Enforcement, and Transparency of Existing Taxes**

- **Require Public Reporting of Corporate Tax Information.** Individual taxpayers deserve to know how much California's companies are paying or not paying in state taxes. Without this information, lawmakers and the public have too little information to effectively participate in democratic deliberation about uses and abuses of corporate tax incentives and loopholes. The Federation supports transparency in corporate tax payments, including disclosure of any discrepancies between book income reported to shareholders and tax income reported to tax authorities.
- **Make Tax Collection a Top Priority Every Budget Year.** The State Controller's office estimates that 11 percent of all taxes owed in California go uncollected each year. Employers operating in the underground economy owe much of that money. The Federation supports policies that improve compliance with tax laws and encourage better coordination between the enforcement of tax and labor laws.
- **Impose Penalties on Wealthy Tax Cheats.** The Federation supports policies that increase penalties to prevent wealthy taxpayers from filing erroneous refund claims and playing the "audit lottery." This would bring California into conformity with federal law enacted in 2007 on erroneous refund claims.

### **Develop New Revenue Sources**

- **Bring the Tax Code into the 21st Century.** California's tax code does not reflect the significant changes that the state's economy has undergone in the past half-century. Items like internet music downloads and custom computer software packages represent big business in the state, but our tax code does not include them. The Federation supports tax changes that expand the taxable base of goods to reflect the state's changing economy.
- **Institute a Meaningful Tax on Oil Extraction and Windfall Profits.** California remains the only major oil producing state that does not tax oil companies for the oil they take from our land and water. The Federation supports oil severance taxes as well as taxes on windfall profits for oil companies.
- **Allow Local Governments to Increase Revenues Based on Local Needs.** Cities and counties bear the brunt of the state budget crisis as local money is taken by the state and the demand for local services increases. Local government should be able to raise local revenue by majority vote in order to fund local needs.

### **Smarter Tax Policy for Economic Development**

The Federation believes that tax policy should be used carefully and responsibly as an economic development tool. California spends billions in taxpayer dollars on economic development activities that are designed to fuel job creation and economic growth. Much of this spending has occurred on the tax side of

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the ledger: rather than give money to lure businesses to California, economic development officials have given them tax breaks and tax credits. Every year the state spends \$14.5 billion on corporate tax breaks.

Tax breaks can be enacted by majority vote, but it takes a two-thirds vote to reduce or repeal them. Under existing law, it is nearly impossible to track how much of California's budget is lost to corporate tax expenditures, what companies are getting the subsidies and if those subsidies are creating jobs. Many of these tax expenditures are never reviewed and have no limit on the amount that can be given away. Companies are permitted to take taxpayer money and run – relocating jobs in other states or countries.

The Federation believes that economic development spending should be effective, transparent and accountable. Taxpayers need to know which corporations are receiving subsidies and if they are meeting performance standards. Tax breaks and other business subsidies should create quality jobs, and if that is not the case, taxpayers should get their money back.

The best independent research finds that California's Enterprise Zone (EZ) program fails at creating new jobs and economic activity. Despite the damning evidence, the EZ tax break program has enjoyed unchecked growth of 35 percent annually – costing the state \$3.6 billion since it started in 1986.

There are 42 EZs in California that are designated for 15-year periods. Several of those EZs have expanded significantly, covering larger areas of the state. Los Angeles and San Francisco expanded their zones to include downtown financial districts, and Stanislaus County's zone expanded three times to 67,000 acres. Businesses in EZs reap substantial special tax breaks, including generous hiring credits and special tax breaks on sales tax for machinery and machinery parts. Unused tax credits can be applied to future tax years, stretching out the special tax break other businesses do not get.

EZs have been spared any cuts in the budget despite copious evidence that they are ineffective and fail to create jobs. The Public Policy Institute of California's 2009 study found that EZs have "no statistically significant effect on either employment levels or employment growth rates." In 2011, the non-partisan Legislative Analyst's Office recommended eliminating the program because it is "expensive and not shown to be effective."

EZs have spawned a cottage industry of consultants that make their money by trolling the zones for businesses that have not yet claimed their tax handouts. They tell businesses how to claim an EZ tax credit retroactively for employees they hired over the last four years, even if that employee has left the job. Consultants then take a hefty percentage of the tax savings. All funded by our taxpayer dollars. To make matters worse, companies do not have to create a single new job to get a tax break in an EZ. Tax credits are given for new hires, not new jobs, so companies are rewarded for high-turnover, low-skill jobs.

A clear example of the failure of the EZ program is VWR, a medical supply facility. The Teamsters Union has represented VWR employees in Brisbane for over 50 years. VWR announced in 2011 that they were closing their Brisbane location and moving to Visalia, located in a Targeted Tax Area, part of the EZ program. VWR is touting the hundreds of "new" jobs they are bringing to the area, where they will be eligible for hiring credits and all the other tax benefits of an EZ. VWR leaves a trail of destruction in their wake. Our tax dollars are subsidizing VWR to destroy good union jobs, ravage the tax base of Brisbane and set up a non-union, low-wage business in another part of the state.

In 2011, Governor Brown proposed eliminating the EZ program for a budget savings of \$924 million over two years. Immediately an army of high paid corporate lobbyists and consultants descended on Sacramento to protect their cash cow. They killed the elimination and the compromise reform proposal, resulting in decreased funding for universities and safety net programs that people rely on in difficult recessionary times.

The Federation supports the elimination of the EZ program in order to use that money for responsible economic development and job creation programs. However, it requires a two-thirds vote to repeal a tax expenditure like the EZ program, so short of repeal, the Federation supports the Housing and Community Development Department's efforts to craft regulations to reform and rein in the cost of the program. We urge the following reforms of the program as well:

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- **Eliminate Retroactive Credits.** Businesses should not be able to claim tax credits for past hires.
- **Eliminate the Targeted Employment Area.** Hiring credits given only for workers based on criteria in statute, not on place of residence.
- **Require Job Creation.** Hiring credits given only for net-job increase in the state, i.e. new jobs, not just new hires. No reward for companies that simply relocate within the state unless there is an increase in jobs.
- **Reform the Hiring Credit Cap and Structure.** A cap of 150 percent of minimum wage incentivizes the creation of low-wage jobs that do not grow the economy. Employers can only claim credits up to \$12 an hour in wages. Instead the hiring credit should have a floor, so that credits cannot be claimed unless workers make a decent wage. The credit should also encourage retention – have it increase over time, not decrease.
- **Eliminate the Net Interest Deduction for Banks.** Banks that lend into EZs can claim a net interest deduction on loans into EZs.
- **No Hiring Credits for Temporary Jobs.** Prohibit temporary agencies from claiming the EZ hiring credit.

The Federation supports local efforts to make business subsidies and tax breaks more accountable by negotiating community benefit agreements for local projects. These agreements demand that developers commit to provide certain community benefits – such as living wages or local hire arrangements – in exchange for receiving public subsidies. We support efforts to attach standards to any public funds used for economic development purposes.

Smart economic development requires better accounting of how public dollars are spent to create jobs and fuel the economy. The Federation advocates better design, closer scrutiny and comprehensive evaluation of state economic development subsidies, especially tax expenditures. The Federation supports:

- **Unified Economic Development Budget.** This would provide a comprehensive picture of state economic development spending.
- **Transparency.** A publicly accessible database that displays the names of all corporations that receive tax breaks, the amount received, the number of jobs created, and their wage rates and benefits.
- **Sunset and Annual Review.** Tax breaks should set out clear outcomes and performance measures at enactment and be reviewed annually to make sure those goals are met.
- **Clawback Provisions.** Require the state to recapture taxpayers' money if a business does not meet the stated goals of the state subsidy or tax break.

The struggle to raise sufficient revenues for California's growing population will persist unless, and until, we are able to elect a two-thirds majority of legislators committed to the needs of working families or we are able to change the two-thirds vote requirement to raise revenue through the initiative process.

# 6

## High-Quality, Accessible Public Education

**A** high-quality, accessible education system is essential to California's working families. As an industry, education employs hundreds of thousands of workers across the state. As an investment in our state, nothing is more important.

Despite the crucial role that education plays in our future, and strong public support for education, California has ranked near the bottom in per-pupil spending for the past two decades, and the ratio of students to teachers is now the highest in the nation. At the same time, education support services provided by classified school employees are being decimated and, in some cases, eliminated altogether. Salaries are often inadequate to allow teachers and classified school employees to own homes near the schools where they work. More than half of all new teachers leave teaching within five years. More than half of classified school employees are now part-time and pay significant portions of their paycheck – or even their entire paycheck – on health care benefits for their families.

California used to have the best public schools and universities in the world, but now the state is plummeting to the bottom by slashing funding and laying off teachers and classified school employees. Cutting investments in the educational system that built our economy makes economic recovery and growth even more difficult. California cannot compete in a global economy if our school funding ranks behind Mississippi and Alabama, let alone China and Korea.

In the 2012-13 budget, Governor Brown proposed \$5.4 billion in additional cuts if the proposed tax increases are not approved by voters in November. Those cuts include \$4.8 billion from K-14 education and \$200 million in cuts – each from University of California and California State University systems. These cuts would lead to pink slips for teachers and classified employees, bigger class sizes, fewer school services, a shorter school year and overall declines in the quality of the state's education system. The Federation opposes these proposed cuts to education and opposes increased student fees in higher education to compensate for state budget cuts and excessive executive compensation.

The challenges that already confront California's education system are further compounded by attacks by the Legislature on teachers' and classified employees' collective bargaining agreements, which are cloaked in the mantle of balancing the budget and education reform. The Federation opposes attempts to abrogate collective bargaining agreements by eliminating seniority and due process for teachers. We oppose disciplinary procedures that undermine collective bargaining and unfairly target teachers. We also oppose attacks on classified school employees' rights and attempts to undermine contracting out laws that would permit the wholesale outsourcing of classified school employee jobs that deprive schools of experienced workers.

The Federation was proud to stand with our unions and with voters in opposition to Proposition 74, a Schwarzenegger-backed 2005 special election measure that would have undermined job security for teachers and further weakened our education system. We will continue to stand with education unions to fight the attacks on our teachers, classified school employees and our schools.

We join California's educators in calling for broad changes to the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), including more adequate federal funding to meet the needs of all students, an end to the plan's over-reliance on test results and a change in role for the federal government from enforcer to partner.

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It is time that every child in California has access to public schools that allow them to compete in the global economy, regardless of their race, immigration status or family's income. This includes not only reading and mathematics, but also the computer literacy that is as essential to getting a good job in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as basic literacy was in the 20<sup>th</sup>. We must foster the creative spirit that defines California by offering our kids a well-rounded education, including music, career technical education and art. You do not cut education when you know that countries that out-educate us today will out-compete us tomorrow.

It is time to recommit to our kids, our workers, and our future by making sure California returns to having the best-educated, most skilled workers in the world.

## **Public Schools**

A quality public education system has always been a high priority for the Labor Movement in California and across the country. Public education is the foundation of a democratic society. It provides working people with the tools to participate in the political process and advance their interests culturally and economically. We reaffirm our strong opposition to vouchers, tax credits for private school tuition, and other privatization schemes based on the erroneous premise that market competition is the key to educational success.

School employees work every day to teach our children and provide them with a safe and healthy environment in which they can learn. Instead of placing blame on school employees for the difficulties faced by schools, all stakeholders should be working together to improve our public schools. Through strong partnerships between school administrators, teachers, classified school employees and parents, we can begin to tackle the many challenges facing our public schools.

Schools are complex systems that operate within the context of families, communities, and the support received from state and national sources. The schools' abilities to help children learn depend on children arriving at school with the support they need to succeed, including safe and nurturing communities with secure housing, food, health care, and access to high-quality early childhood education. The school must have leaders trained to be inclusive and able to work with teachers to unite around a common vision of what constitutes high-quality instruction. School leaders must be able to work with parents and the community to provide a safe and supportive school culture. Teachers must have access to quality professional development, adequate resources, a research based curriculum, small class sizes, and time to collaborate. Children need to have the services of classroom aides, librarians, psychologists, and counselors in order to achieve at their highest potential.

Budget cuts have taken a tremendous toll on California's once great public school system. Since 2007 when the recession began, funding for California's schools has been cut by \$20 billion. California continues to be the 9<sup>th</sup> largest economy in the world and our academic standards are the most rigorous in the country, but our investment in education is among the lowest compared to other states.

Cuts have forced schools to reduce instructional days, eliminate programs like summer school and lay off teachers and classified school employees. Since 2007 California has lost approximately 32,000 teachers or 11 percent of the total workforce. Classified employees have also been hard hit by layoffs – 30,000 school para-educators, custodians, bus drivers, food service workers and other classifieds have been laid off in the last few years, and another 17,000 have taken unpaid furlough days.

The Federation opposes any further cuts to public schools or layoffs of school employees. We oppose takeaways from teachers and classified employees that undermine collective bargaining agreements. The workers that teach our children and keep our schools running everyday deserve fair tenure, benefits and retirement security, and we will continue to fight against rollbacks. We oppose draconian teacher discipline policies that evade the progressive disciplinary process in collective bargaining agreements. We also oppose the education trigger cuts that would cause irreparable damage to our public schools and our children. We support providing classified school employees with 60 day layoff notices so they can have time to prepare for an eventual layoff.

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We join education unions in opposing the implementation of federal Race to the Top legislation at the state level. The Governor and legislators have demonstrated a willingness to repeat the past mistakes of No Child Left Behind, including an over-reliance on test scores as a measure of student achievement, unregulated charter schools and compensation tied to test scores, all for the promise of just a small amount of one-time federal money. California should not implement federal changes to our education system that have not proven to be effective for students, parents or teachers.

The open enrollment provision of Race to the Top would allow the most sophisticated parents to navigate the system and get their kids out of failing schools. But what would that mean for the kids who are left behind? Real educational reform must go beyond limited individual choice, which merely benefits those families who have the time and resources to compare schools, participate in the open enrollment process and transport kids outside of the district. Real reform should focus on improving all schools so those without the means to transfer, often the neediest kids in our school system, do not get trapped in the worst schools that everyone else has given up on.

Legislators would like to increase the number of charter schools in the state, even though charter schools are not held to the same accountability measures as public schools. Charter schools are not inherently better than public schools. In fact, studies show that charter schools succeed and fail at the same rate as public schools. There is no reason for charter schools to have any less scrutiny or accountability than public schools. In fact, without real accountability for all schools, parent choice is meaningless.

The students of our state deserve the finest possible education. They deserve the best teachers and classified employees, food at school so they do not go hungry, the most up-to-date facilities and resources and the best-maintained grounds, in a completely safe and healthy environment. The Federation supports:

- Raising educator and classified employees' salaries to a level that will attract and retain teachers and support personnel.
- Providing classified school employees with retirement benefits and affordable and quality health care.
- Staffing schools with fully certified instructional personnel and providing on-going professional development for an effective faculty and classified staff.
- Improving state and federal career ladder programs for classified and certificated employees.
- Ensuring that children have the educational support services they need to help them learn, including school transportation, nutrition, instructional reinforcement and a clean and safe school environment.
- Using union labor to build modern, appropriately sized schools.

We must fully fund all services for students to achieve their learning potential, including child care, pre-school, after-school sports and cultural programs, health care, counseling and nutritional programs and libraries on-site or in easy reach of the school site. Programs that engage parent volunteers are crucial to the success of public education, and schools should be encouraged to support them. However, volunteers must never become a substitute for the employment of the appropriate number of full-time and/or part-time teachers, counselors, paraprofessionals and other classified school employees.

The Federation urges local Central Labor Council COPEs to participate actively in school board elections, monitor and expose candidates of the radical right, ensure that elected officials understand the educational needs of working people and safeguard the rights of school employees. We support legislation integrating project labor agreements into bond expenditures, so that we build future schools with well-trained and efficient union labor.

All school employees must have the right to organize and bargain collectively, and all school reform programs should recognize the collective bargaining rights of school personnel. The Federation firmly opposes any and all public school employment discrimination. We seek further to eradicate, forever, all barriers of race, ethnicity, age, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, economic status and geography in order to provide equality of access to education for every resident of the state.

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Our system of public education should begin with high-quality early learning programs. The Federation supports the establishment of universal preschool programs, so that child development and enrichment are available to all. We also believe that early childhood education providers should have access to quality training and be properly compensated.

In the long run, California should provide high-quality state-subsidized child care linked to the public school system. This is the best way to ensure that working parents have good, affordable child care, and that child care workers receive decent wages, benefits, and access to career ladders.

## Higher Education

We support universal access to public higher education, including community college, the California State University (CSU), and the University of California (UC) systems. California has traditionally led the way in ensuring that everyone who wanted to enroll in higher education could do so. But rising tuition and elimination of classes and programs due to ongoing state budget crises have limited access for many.

Fees at UC have tripled in the last decade, and CSU has raised student fees nine times in the last nine years. In 2011, UC and CSU had the highest percentage increase in student fees and tuition in the nation – surpassing increases at private universities. We support tuition-free higher education, and, in the absence of that, we support vast improvements in the availability of financial aid. We support efforts to close wasteful corporate tax breaks to fund scholarships for middle class students to go to California’s public universities and other policies to help make college affordable for the middle class.

In the face of state budget cuts to higher education, the UC and CSU systems have instituted furloughs, wage freezes and pay cuts to balance their budgets on the backs of workers. The Federation opposes cost-saving measures that punish workers, while executives at UC and CSU are receiving increased compensation packages. The UC and CSU systems have historically given new administrators more than double-digit pay hikes. We support caps on executive compensation and freezes of raises when student fees are increased.

In recent years, institutions of public higher education have come to rely increasingly on contingent academic labor. Administrators in California’s community college, state university and University of California systems have created an academic underclass: teachers and scholars employed as casual labor, paid less than regular faculty and with fewer benefits. Classified employees are in a similar situation, particularly at community colleges. These practices are designed to save money, but the immediate results are damaging: adjunct teachers have to struggle to earn a living wage, and education suffers when teachers spend less time in the classroom than they do on the highways, shuttling from one campus to another to make a living. The Federation calls for the replacement of this casual labor system with full-time employment for all academic and classified employees.

It is unacceptable that the UC and CSU systems, which are dedicated to giving their students opportunities for better jobs and financial security, are some of the state’s worst employers when it comes to giving those same protections to their own workers. The Federation joins its affiliated unions in calling upon all of California’s institutions of higher education to make the promise of secure, living-wage jobs a reality for both their students and their own employees.

The Federation supports increased transparency and accountability of the UC system. We support measures to increase public access to records, protect whistleblowers and investigate the use of state and federal funds by UC. We also support joint governance of the UC pension program, which is currently managed exclusively by the UC Regents and is the only public pension system in the state without direct employee representation.

The Federation opposes attempts to increase student fees, cut worker wages, benefits and jobs, or limit the accessibility, affordability or quality of education at UC. UC is a key public resource and economic engine for California, and we cannot afford to shut out working people from its hallowed halls.

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## **Career Technical Education and Workforce Development**

A highly skilled, well-trained workforce is a key part of economic development. Without it, businesses will compete on the basis of cheap labor, and wages, benefits and working conditions will suffer. The Federation supports creative partnerships between schools, colleges, businesses, unions and the public sector to expand the skills of California workers.

The Federation joins the State Building and Construction Trades Council in support of improving and expanding the state's role in training workers for the new economy and providing career technical education (CTE) opportunities. For well over a decade, California's high schools have been neglecting career technical education. Since 1997, there has been a 24 percent reduction in CTE courses and teachers, and a 30 percent drop in CTE enrollment, which stood at 868,265 in 1997 and had dropped to 610,856 by 2007.

With appropriate resources and focus on employment and training needs in high-skill, high-wage jobs, high schools and colleges can help train students to join the workforce through career technical education programs. These programs must consider local economic conditions and be developed in cooperation with the Labor Movement. The last two years of high school should include transition from school to work as an integral part of the curriculum. Unions should participate fully in planning and implementing local school-to-career programs and curricula to ensure inclusion of strong labor rights components.

Apprenticeship programs are crucial to quality workforce development. For students who do not complete four-year college degree programs, community college and California Department of Education-based apprenticeship programs can provide an alternative career path. No educational program comes closer to fulfilling the ideal of training for the job than the apprenticeship programs sponsored by Building and Construction Trades unions. Apprentices learn by working, and they work alongside masters of the craft.

Unlike some college and adult education programs that do not fully prepare people for a specific career, building trades apprentices complete their training programs prepared for real work and ready to be hired in real jobs. Apprenticeship training programs make union workers far more valuable to an employer than their non-union counterparts and ensure that graduates enjoy appropriate compensation for their high level of skills and productivity. Well-trained graduates thus earn more money, help their employers and boost the state's economy.

California has over 250 union-sponsored apprenticeship programs. These programs invest an average of nearly \$9,000 a year per student. Unions spend \$200 million a year for apprenticeship programs in California. The Federation supports continued and increased state funding for apprenticeship programs, which, despite their value to workers and the economy, have been repeatedly threatened by budget cuts.

We also believe state resources should be spent wisely on apprenticeship programs. Incredibly, the state spends tens of thousands of dollars a year on programs that do not graduate any apprentices. We support legislation to limit state funding to apprenticeship programs that do not graduate apprentices. We also support broader accountability in apprenticeship programs.

Governor Brown proposes to consolidate all funding for community college categorical programs into one discretionary "flex item" in the 2012-13 Budget. Categorical programs include apprenticeship programs that enroll approximately 25,000 apprentices in over 160 apprenticeship programs comprised of a total of 66 trades/crafts titles located on 39 campuses. The Federation opposes any proposal to cut funding to these important on-the-job training programs.

The Federation's Workforce and Economic Development (WED) program assists unions in creating high-skill training programs and high-road partnerships to keep union workers well trained and competitive. The program helps affiliates make use of government programs such as the Workforce Investment Act, the Employment Training Panel and other economic development grants in order to improve the skills and lives of their members.

California receives about \$500 million annually in federal Workforce Investment Act (WIA) funds. The majority of these funds go to 49 local Workforce Investment Boards (WIBs). Local WIBs set workforce

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policy for their jurisdictions and provide oversight of employment services. The Federation passed into law legislation to increase the amount of WIA funds spent on quality training programs and services that support workers enrolled in skills training. We support holding WIBs accountable for providing quality services and job-placement for workers. We oppose using state and federal funds to place workers at temporary agencies, Walmarts and other low-road employers. Job training funds should be used to train and place workers in growing sectors and industries and in middle class jobs.

The Federation recognizes that the state and its industrial leadership are now at serious risk of losing the competitive advantage of a highly trained workforce. The Governor and Legislature must lead a strategic effort to forge the state's education and training infrastructure into an integrated system of skills development that addresses the needs of all California workers. We understand that worker training and union involvement are prerequisites for creating sustainable jobs and a sustainable economy.

## **Labor Education**

Labor education is crucial to the future success of the Labor Movement and to the defense of workers' rights. We endorse expanded teaching and learning at all levels of education about organized labor's contribution to American and Californian history and to the contemporary economy. The Labor Federation supports events and resources related to the celebration of California Labor Education Week in April.

The state Board of Education should include labor history in K-8 instructional materials. We also encourage local school districts to incorporate labor history in their instructional materials for grades 9-12. All school-to-career related curricula should include a mandatory workers' rights component. We also support the Cesar Chavez Day of Service and Learning, which enables students to learn about the life and values of the founder of the United Farm Workers and to learn about farm labor history.

The Miguel Contreras Labor Program stretches across the University of California system to carry out, through its affiliated components, research and education on issues of labor and employment. Unfortunately, the Labor Program has been the target of partisan attacks in the budget process, and its budget has required vigilant defense year after year. The Federation supports permanent funding for the program and opposes partisan attempts to deny funding for research on the important labor topics it covers.

The Federation is also represented on the Speaker's Commission on Labor Education. Through the Commission, and its diverse union membership made up of leaders and activists throughout California, the Federation has helped create the Commission's website. The site serves as a clearinghouse of labor information for educators teaching labor education in their classrooms. The Commission has also taken an active role in ensuring that labor history is adequately included in crafting standards for high school and middle school textbooks used in California.



# High-Quality, Universal Health Care Coverage

**FOR** years, California's unions have led the fight for better, more affordable health care in California. From supporting single payer legislation to championing an employer mandate in Proposition 72 and struggling for change through Governor Schwarzenegger's Year of Health Reform, the Federation and its affiliates have fought to both secure health coverage for workers who have it and expand coverage to those without.

The passage of the federal Affordable Care Act (ACA) was a big step forward for this work. The new law will expand access to coverage for low income and middle class Californians without job-based coverage and will create a floor for bargaining over health benefits.

The Federation fought for the passage of the ACA and hundreds of thousands of union members called, emailed and visited their representatives in Congress in support of reform. As a result, the entire California Democratic Congressional delegation voted in support of health reform and set in motion changes to the current health care system.

However, our work is far from over – the crucial details of implementing federal health reform are left up to national and state regulators. The federal law also falls short in many areas where reform and regulation are needed. The national health care law did not include a public option even though California has existing local public options in most counties. While federal reform includes an employer obligation, it leaves out part-time and seasonal workers, creating an incentive for employers to evade their obligations and leaving some of the lowest wage workers at risk of not getting coverage on the job. The ACA also did not include a mandate for prior approval of health insurance rates that could control health care costs that are eroding job-based coverage.

Without these critically important provisions, health care cost inflation will continue to climb and will be a significant problem as we move forward in implementing the national law. Since there is an individual mandate, it is imperative for California to take appropriate action to make sure that health care benefits are affordable, comprehensive and available to everyone.

Even with federal health reform, the goal of establishing a universal, single payer health care system remains. The experience of Medicare and of nearly every other industrialized country shows a single payer system is the most cost-effective and equitable way to provide quality health care. The federal health care reform law permits states to adopt other health care systems that provide benefits at least as good as that provided by the federal law, with approval. The Federation supports the creation of a comprehensive universal single payer health care system in California.

The need for this reform and continued work on the issue is more pressing than ever before. Californians are more likely than most Americans to lack health insurance – more than 8 million Californians go without insurance each year.

The rising cost of health coverage hurts us all and has contributed to the steady erosion of employment-based coverage. When employers pay more for health care, working families end up bearing the brunt of cost increases, either through higher cost-sharing or by foregoing wage increases. Workers with employment-based coverage now pay an average of nearly one quarter of family premium costs amounting to \$3,800 annually, almost triple the average family contribution in 2000. The dramatic rise in costs has been

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fueled by insurance, hospital and pharmaceutical industry profiteering, coupled with inefficient purchasing because of a lack of price and quality transparency within the industry.

Even with the most expensive health care system in the world, California's working families still confront unacceptably low standards of care with respect to medical errors, hospital-acquired infections, and understaffed facilities and provider networks. Meanwhile, funding for our public health system is so inadequate that it is falling into disrepair and the state is facing an alarming shortage of hospital emergency rooms.

### **The Impacts of Federal Reform**

The ACA will provide near-universal coverage for all with expansions of both public and private job-based coverage. There is still work to be done to implement and improve provisions of the law. Whether regulators can effectively control premium increases, enforce medical loss ratio provisions and police pre-existing condition regulations will depend on action by state and federal governments.

ACA minimum requirements for health benefit plans are like the minimum wage or unemployment insurance – they provide a floor for basic benefits. For the first time, employers will have to provide health coverage to full-time, non-seasonal workers or pay a penalty. However, the minimum coverage employers are required to provide is far less than most job-based coverage today and employers can evade the requirement by reducing the hours of full-time workers to part-time. Benefits through the California Health Benefit Exchange will also not be as good as most job-based coverage and not nearly as good as union health benefits but, like with unemployment insurance, laid off workers will have access to subsidized health coverage between jobs.

The Federation supports the provisions of the ACA that prevent the worst abuses of the insurance industry. No longer can insurance companies deny coverage for pre-existing conditions, nor can they drop coverage because of sickness, a policy called rescission. No longer will consumers have lifetime or annual caps on coverage. The reform eliminates exorbitant out-of-pocket expenses for small business and individuals, through an annual cap on out-of-pocket costs, thus reducing bankruptcies due to medical bills.

The ACA expands Medicaid coverage and creates a new state health insurance exchange that individuals and small business can access for affordable, accessible coverage. No longer will anyone lose health insurance if they lose their job, get divorced or go through any other life transition. The Federation recognizes that the Exchange is at the core of federal reform and will work for the success and sustainability of the Exchange.

The Federation supports steps in the reform to begin to control health care costs. Changing delivery systems to promote preventive services will help rein in costs, as does providing coverage for all to allow access to preventive care. Abolishing underwriting and its expense and incentives is a first step to forcing insurers to compete on cost and quality, rather than risk selection. New patient safety measures reduce hospital-acquired infections and costly hospital re-admissions, and should apply to job-based coverage and the Exchange, as well as Medicare and Medicaid. Lastly, payment reforms that reward quality care and better health outcomes over the quantity of procedures performed will help shift profit incentives in health care to maximize quality and cost-effectiveness rather than volume.

The individual mandate and expanded coverage options will greatly increase the demand for health care services statewide. Current levels of health care infrastructure and workforce capacity will not be able to adequately respond to the needs of millions of newly insured. The Federation supports policies that will increase the capacity of the health care workforce, maintain appropriate staffing ratios and extend fair wages and benefits to all health care workers.

The Federation will be vigilant in protecting workers against the greed of insurance companies as we monitor and advocate for implementation. The reform package is partially funded through an excise tax on high-cost health plans that is set to begin in 2018. The Federation opposes federal and state attempts to tax the health care coverage that working families receive through their employers. Union members have fought hard and sacrificed tremendously to maintain coverage through work.

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The Federation continues to support the expansion of the employer-based health care system, in the absence of a single payer system. Although employer-based coverage is shrinking in the U.S., it remains the foundation of our health coverage system. We support requirements for employers to make a contribution to the health care coverage of all workers, including low-wage, part-time, and seasonal workers. The new federal reform includes an employer penalty but does not require employers to provide health coverage. The Federation is concerned that the current federal penalty structure creates an incentive for employers to not pay their fair share by reducing employee hours and avoiding penalties. We will work hard to guarantee that no employer escapes its responsibility to provide affordable job-based coverage.

The Federation supports changes to federal law that would clear any obstacles to strong mandates on employer-provided coverage at the state or federal level. Without those changes, state level efforts to provide universal coverage will continue to be subject to litigation, and policy proposals will be hobbled by the threat of court challenges.

Given the legal challenges to the Affordable Care Act, the Federation supports California taking steps to implement health care reform on the state level if elements of the ACA are struck down.

### **The California Health Benefit Exchange**

A key component of the ACA is the creation of state health benefit Exchanges. The Exchanges are marketplaces for individuals and small businesses to purchase health plans and to receive federally-funded subsidies to help cover the cost of health care premiums. California was the first state to establish an Exchange through legislation signed into law by Governor Schwarzenegger in 2010.

The Exchange poses a number of challenges and opportunities for California unions invested in the success of the ACA. Federal reform left the responsibility for creation of Exchanges, and implementation of key parts of the ACA, up to the states. California has forged ahead on establishing an Exchange, but many decisions affecting consumers, employers and unions remain.

One of the early decisions of the Exchange is to contract with a vendor to develop an Information Technology (IT) system, called the California Healthcare Eligibility, Enrollment and Retention System (CalHEERS) or to enter into a federal partnership for an IT system. The design of the system will reflect the policies of the Exchange in terms of streamlined enrollment in health plans, eligibility for subsidies, accessibility and the role of public employees versus privatization in Exchange functions. Whether the Exchange uses existing public employees and systems, or creates and outsources those services, will be an on-going question.

The Board will also determine criteria to establish Qualified Health Plans that are eligible to sell products in the Exchange. The Board has the responsibility to certify plans to sell in the Exchange and can decide how to craft criteria for certification that meets the policy goals of quality, cost control and value.

The state also faces decisions on how to ensure the success of the Exchange and the ACA in California. One challenge is ensuring that some employers and insurers do not evade their responsibilities. Employer “dumping” of employees into the Exchange not only undermines job-based coverage, but drives up costs for taxpayers. Employers should pay their fair share to ensure the functioning of the health care system, just as individuals have skin in the game from the requirement to purchase coverage. Regulation of the market outside the Exchange will also be necessary to prevent adverse selection – insurers skimming young, healthy lives out of the Exchange – which would drive up health coverage costs within the Exchange and undermine its viability.

Another challenge for the state is maximizing enrollment of individuals who are newly-eligible for Medicaid, or subsidized coverage, in the Exchange in 2014 and on an ongoing basis. Maximizing enrollment is not only important for eligible individuals who could face negative health outcomes from even short periods of un-insurance, but it can also minimize adverse selection in the Exchange and help ensure that the ACA fulfills its promise of universal coverage. The state and the Exchange should pursue strategies to pre-enroll individuals who are enrolled in other public programs and connect individuals to coverage

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when they undergo a life transition. Additionally, the Exchange will serve as an affordable alternative to COBRA, and enrollment should be made as seamless as possible for those who lose job-based coverage.

The state can also explore how to contain skyrocketing health care costs. Rate regulation, selective contracting, controlling chronic disease, reforming provider payment systems and other policies can all help to rein in health care costs and keep health coverage affordable and accessible for all Californians.

The Federation makes the following recommendations to ensure the Health Benefits Exchange serves the needs of all Californians:

- **Comprehensive and Affordable Coverage.** The Affordable Care Act makes it possible for Californians to access affordable coverage that covers the care they need. California can implement the ACA to not only eliminate junk insurance, but to increase the quality and contain the cost of coverage for individuals. We support the adoption of Essential Health Benefits and Qualified Health Plan standards that ensure good, comprehensive coverage and provide maximum quality at an affordable cost.
- **Public Exchange.** The Exchange will connect individuals and families with public programs, premium subsidies and coverage options through an integrated enrollment and eligibility system. The Exchange provides vital public services to ensure the health and well-being of Californians and the sustainability of our public health care program. The fundamentally public nature of the Exchange would be compromised by profit-motives introduced by privatization. Existing civil servants have the skills and experience to carry out the Exchange's functions. We urge the Board not to contract out or privatize any functions of the Exchange but instead to rely on the existing public workforce.
- **Employer Accountability.** The employer penalty structure in the ACA leaves the door open for unscrupulous businesses to evade penalties and dump workers into the Exchange. A flood of workers onto subsidized coverage, without employers paying their fair share, would undermine both the Exchange and job-based coverage. We recommend that the Exchange and Legislature closely monitor employers' interactions with the Exchange to determine if there is a shift onto subsidized coverage without penalty. We will pursue policies that discourage employer dumping and decreases in hours, and that publish the names of employers who shift workers onto subsidized coverage.
- **Information Security.** The Exchange will collect sensitive personal data from individuals and employers in order to verify eligibility and complete enrollment. We urge the Exchange to institute the highest information security protocols to ensure that sensitive personal data and health history are protected. Personal data collected by the Exchange should only be shared with relevant state and federal agencies for the purposes of enrollment, eligibility and subsidies.
- **Exchange Oversight and Accountability.** The Exchange is a public agency that has the responsibility to implement the most important and complex mandates of the Affordable Care Act. We recommend that the Legislature have appropriate oversight of the Exchange functions and put into place mechanisms to hold the Exchange accountable to the people of California.
- **Navigators Program.** On January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2014, millions of Californians will shop for health coverage and receive premium subsidies in the Exchange. No matter how user-friendly the system, many Californians will need assistance in accessing the Exchange and selecting the right health coverage for them and their families. The ACA establishes a Navigator program to assist individuals and small businesses in accessing the Exchange. As the California Exchange develops a Navigator program, unions and other qualified organizations should be consulted on how to develop a Navigator system that benefits eligible groups and prevents conflicts of interest.
- **Access for Taft-Hartley Plans.** Joint Labor-Management trust funds provide high-quality, affordable health care for members. The coverage these plans provide will be more comprehensive and better tailored to members than the coverage available through the Exchange. Yet the relationship of multi-employer plans to the state Exchanges is still unclear and poses both threats and opportunities. We support cooperation of our Taft Hartley trust funds and the Health Benefit Exchange so that members can receive the high-quality health care they deserve through their unions.

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## Beyond the Affordable Care Act

### PROTECT THE PUBLIC HEALTH CARE AND SAFETY NET SYSTEMS

- **Fund Public Hospitals and Community Clinics at an Appropriate Level.** America's health care safety net is currently frayed, as shrinking public budgets and rising numbers of uninsured are undermining access to care for the poor and uninsured. We call for policy makers to maintain a viable safety net.
- **Fund Hospital Seismic Safety Retrofits.** The collapse of the health care system in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina shows the need to ensure that California hospitals are able to care for the injured after a serious natural disaster. California's landmark hospital seismic safety laws will play a key role in preserving hospital services after an earthquake. However, some hospitals that serve large numbers of people who are uninsured or who have Medi-cal coverage need the help of a state seismic safety measure to enable them to retrofit their hospitals as soon as possible.

### IMPROVE HEALTH CARE QUALITY

- **Improve Staffing Standards in Health Care Facilities.** Health care facilities often intentionally understaff their facilities to boost their bottom lines. But understaffing is directly tied to higher rates of medical errors and lower-quality patient care. Staffing standards are needed at all staff levels to ensure that caregivers are able to manage their patient loads.
- **Maintain the Ability of Patients to Choose their Own Doctors.** Patients and their health care providers should be free to make their own health care choices, without interference from HMOs and insurance company bureaucrats. We will continue to fight to ensure that all Californians have the freedom to choose – and keep – their own doctor and have access to the care they need.

### REIN IN HEALTH CARE COSTS

- **Create a Public Alternative to Private Insurance Companies and HMOs.** Across the United States and the world, public health care systems have a proven track record of delivering high-quality, cost-effective care, while their private counterparts have proven unable or unwilling to control rising health care costs. The Federation supports the creation of a public insurance system that builds upon our existing public health infrastructure to offer individuals and employers a viable alternative to private insurers.
- **Stop Employers and HMOs from Shifting Costs to Workers and their Families.** Employers are shifting costs to workers every day, increasing co-pays, deductibles and other out-of-pocket costs. Many workers can no longer afford coverage on the job because their share of the premium for themselves or their family is too high. High deductibles make coverage meaningless for many families. Federal health reform was a step in the right direction, but more protection is needed.
- **Make Prescription Drugs More Affordable.** The Federation believes in a more accountable, transparent drug industry that provides greater access to affordable medications. We support the re-importation of drugs from countries with strong safety records, restrictions on drug marketing, direct price controls on pharmaceuticals, improved evidence-based drug information, and broader access to generic medications.
- **Utilize Bulk Purchasing Power More Effectively.** One of the primary failings of the Medicare Part D program is its statutory prohibition of bulk negotiation by the government on behalf of plan beneficiaries. This drug company-influenced provision keeps Medicare from utilizing its tremendous market leverage to lower prices and improve the quality of the program, and we call for its repeal. Union families have tremendous purchasing power in the health care marketplace. The Federation supports efforts to use that power aggressively in all aspects of health care purchasing, to promote health plans that are good for us as consumers and as union workers.

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- **Use Union Health Care Dollars Wisely.** The Federation supports efforts to pool Taft-Hartley funds and, in conjunction with fund administrators, to ensure that quality is a significant factor in making plan selections.
- **Enact Strong Regulation for All Aspects of the Health Care Industry.** The Federation supports regulations in the health care industry that would make the industry more transparent, expand access to care, restrain costs and improve quality. The Federation supports efforts to end the double-dealing of pharmacy benefits managers by requiring better transparency and corporate behavior within that industry. The Federation endorses proposals to regulate the rates charged by hospitals, health insurers and HMOs, including state approval for rate increases and prohibiting rate hikes more than once a year. We also support policies, like mandatory minimum medical loss ratios, that direct health care dollars toward patient care rather than overhead and profit.

### **HEALTH CARE WORKFORCE**

- **Support Efforts for the Advancement and Training of Health Care Workers.** The ACA will increase demands for health care workers as millions of Californians gain access to health care. We urge the development of high-road partnerships to train more nurses and other health care workers, provide better career ladders, and guarantee better working conditions. This would allow us to pay health care workers more, provide better patient care, and reduce the shortage of skilled and qualified employees. The ACA offers many new opportunities for funding to train and expand a health care workforce that meets the new needs created by the expansion of coverage in 2014. California should ensure that as the ACA increases coverage our workforce training programs meet those needs.
- **Ensure High-quality, Appropriate Medical Services.** A dangerous trend toward enlisting non-medical staff to provide medical services is sweeping California. Severe budget cuts have forced schools and other public institutions to cut staff to the bone, including school nurses. With inadequate funding, schools are enlisting non-medical personnel like teachers, custodians, cafeteria workers and bus drivers to perform medical procedures including administering the anti-seizure drug Diastat. The same trend can be seen in health facilities as more work is passed from medical personnel to nurses and other classifications. Given the on-going budget deficit, the trend toward forcing non-medical personnel to do the work of a school nurse will accelerate. We oppose requiring or requesting that non-medical personnel “volunteer” to provide medical services or procedures that they are not appropriately licensed to provide. Our schools and other public institutions should be fully funded in order to provide the services, including health services, necessary for the public.
- **Protect the Health and Safety of Health Care Workers.** Health care workers face exposure to infectious diseases, needle pricks and other health risks every day at their workplace. Every effort should be made to protect the health and safety of those workers who care for our health. Health facilities should enact comprehensive infection control programs that include robust education, access to necessary vaccines, hand-washing and cough protocols, housekeeping services and adequate sick leave policies. However, no health care workers should be forced to receive a medical procedure or face discipline. We oppose mandatory vaccination or masking policies that coerce health care workers into receiving a vaccine against their will. We support comprehensive education campaigns that involve health care workers in effective infection control and prevention.

Affordable and accessible health coverage for all is important for individuals and for our nation. Health coverage allows individuals to get timely and adequate care to prevent and detect major illnesses. It improves health outcomes and allows people to live healthy and productive lives. Health coverage expands the risk pool, driving down costs and saving money from reduced ER visits and charity care. A healthy population creates a healthy state. The Federation will continue to support policies that give all Californians access to affordable care that meets their needs and keeps them healthy.

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## Strong Protections for Worker Health and Safety

**ON** May 16, 2008, Maria Isabel Vasquez Jimenez, a pregnant 17-year-old farmworker, died two days after she collapsed in a Stockton field following an eight-hour day of pruning vines in the heat. Her fiancé, who had been working with her in the field, told investigators that temperatures in the field had passed 95 degrees, and that the workers were left with no shade and no training for how to cope with heat-related illnesses. Workers were given only a five-minute break, and the closest drinking water was a ten-minute walk from the worksite. When Maria was finally taken to a clinic, ninety minutes after she had fallen to the ground, a supervisor told her fiancé to tell the clinic that she had become sick while exercising, not while working.

While the vast majority of California's employers are never visited by state inspectors, Maria's had been, just two years earlier. Cal/OSHA officials had cited Merced Farm Labor in 2006 for failing to provide employees with heat-stress training, for not having an injury-prevention plan for workers, and for failing to provide enough toilets for workers. They were fined \$750 for each offense and instructed to correct the violations before the end of the year. Cal/OSHA never returned to the worksite for a follow-up visit. Maria's death is but one in a tragically long line of workers who have lost their lives to inadequate workplace protections and under-funded government enforcement agencies.

As the BP oil spill off the Gulf Coast that claimed 11 workers' lives reminds us, workplace catastrophes are not limited to California. Workers in disaster areas, whether natural or man-made, require the same health and safety protections as workers in traditional workplaces.

An average of 14 American workers are fatally injured at work every day, an estimated 50,000 died from occupational diseases in 2008, and more than four million workers across all industries throughout the country reported work-related injuries and illnesses. Latino workers, especially those born outside the U.S., have disproportionately high rates of workplace injury and death.

The Federation believes that a safe and healthy workplace is a right of all workers. While a good workers' compensation system is vital for injured workers, preventing workplace injuries and illnesses before they occur is even more important.

### **Inspections and Enforcement**

As of March 2010, there were 195 Cal/OSHA inspectors. That means there is one inspector for every 93,497 workers. Clearly this system is stretched so thin that it struggles to keep workers safe.

The Federation commends Governor Brown for appointing strong advocates for worker health and safety to run Cal/OSHA. New leadership will invigorate the agency and send a clear message to employers that they are not allowed to cut corners on workplace safety. The Federation opposes any efforts to eliminate the Cal/OSHA Standards Board (OSHSB). The OSHSB, a seven member body appointed by the Governor, retains exclusive authority to consider and adopt proposed safety and health regulations. Two seats are reserved for labor representatives, and through these appointments, workers enjoy a strong voice in the process by which safety standards are developed. We believe this structure works for all parties.

The Federation believes that joint liability between contractors and their subcontractors is essential in an economy that is so fragmented. General contractors should not be allowed to ignore the poor safety records

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of their subcontractors, but should instead be held jointly accountable for their subcontractors' violations of worker health and safety laws. This is the only way to prevent employers from turning a blind eye and profiting from the way subcontractors skirt the law.

The Federation believes that employer fines for workplace hazards should never be considered a mere "cost of doing business." In the West Virginia mine disaster, Massey Energy, the coal company whose mine filled with methane gas and exploded, was fined over \$1 million dollars for safety violations between January 2009 and the April 2010 disaster. The company paid less than \$200,000 due to loopholes in the OSHA appeals process. Many of the violations that led to those fines were for the very issue that led to the explosion – improper ventilation of methane gas. While California generally has a higher set of fines, they are still an inadequate deterrent because they are so frequently reduced or eliminated through the appeals process.

The Federation supports establishing mandatory minimum payments for fines related to workplace hazards and prohibiting employers from negotiating away more than a specified percentage of fines they have been assessed. We also support directly funneling back employer-paid penalties for workplace violations into labor law enforcement budgets. In no case, however, should fines be used as a replacement for adequate institutional funding of enforcement bodies.

Due to persistent under-funding in the state budget, there will never be enough Cal/OSHA inspectors to go around. The most effective way to protect workers is for those workers to be actively involved in the health and safety programs of their employers. Too often employers want no worker participation beyond following the rules, or they want participation only on the boss's terms. We believe union stewards and activists should have the knowledge, confidence and resources to act on behalf of union members at their worksites and actively engage their employers to improve working conditions. We support programs that help workers sharpen their skills in improving workplace safety and health.

### **Vulnerable Populations**

The workplace is an especially dangerous place for immigrants. While the national rate of fatal occupational injuries stands at 3.8 per 100,000 workers, Latino workers are being fatally injured on the job at a rate of 4.6 per 100,000 workers. The jobs that lure many immigrants to the U.S. are now killing an average of 19 native- and foreign-born Latino workers each week.

Immigrants face many workplace hazards that could hurt them, even if they are not fatal. California banned the short-handled hoe in 1975 to prevent debilitating back injuries, but many farmers then started to require workers to pull weeds by hand instead, which can be just as dangerous, if not more so. Together with California Rural Legal Assistance, labor won a Cal/OSHA Standards Board regulation that now prohibits hand weeding in California.

We support increased bilingual staffing at Cal/OSHA to best meet the needs of workers who speak limited English. Cal/OSHA must increase the availability of bilingual inspectors or at least provide interpretation services in order to deal with the increasing proportion of deaths and injuries among immigrant workers.

### **Workplace Hazards**

Workers face a wide variety of hazards in the course of their jobs. From dangerous equipment to extreme temperatures to toxic chemicals, even workplaces that follow basic safety rules can pose serious dangers to their workers.

While enforcement of workplace safety standards is already less than it should be, the Cal/OSHA appeals process has further weakened the effectiveness of enforcement efforts. Under current law, an employer who has been cited for a workplace safety violation does not have to abate the violation until after their appeal of that citation has been ruled upon. This loophole has allowed unscrupulous employers to put off required safety improvements and evade the consequences for unsafe workplaces. The Federation supports policies to crack down on employer abuse of the appeals system and to require employers to abate workplace hazards upon citation, rather than upon resolution of an appeal.

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The Federation will work with new leadership at this critical Board so that employers who break the law, ignore the law, or willfully put workers' lives at risk do not get off with a simple slap on the wrist because of their ability to game the appeals process.

We will continue our efforts to win strong ergonomics standards at both the national and state levels. After 10 years of work by federal agencies, the Bush Administration gutted all efforts to develop standards that would prevent ergonomic injuries. California has adopted a standard, but it is too narrow to be very useful for workers. The Federation will again petition the Cal/OSHA Standards Board to strengthen our state ergonomics standard.

### **HEAT-RELATED ILLNESSES**

Because of California's climate, its workers are particularly susceptible to heat-related illnesses and injuries. In the summer of 2005, several farmworkers and construction workers in California died while working in the scorching summer heat. The deaths prompted the enactment of a temporary emergency measure to protect workers from heat illness. The emergency measure was designed to ensure access to adequate supplies of cool water and shade for workers who are becoming ill, to provide training on the critical elements of heat illness prevention, and to require the Cal/OSHA Standards Board to review the feasibility of requiring shade for all rest periods.

The temporary regulations were replaced with substantially similar permanent regulations in 2006. This Schwarzenegger administration-touted regulation was not enough to prevent Maria's untimely death. The creation of some outdoor heat standards was an important step, but the regulations are far weaker than they should be to fully protect California's workers. The Federation continues to support and advocate for stronger heat-related protections for outdoor workers.

Since the adoption of the outdoor heat regulations, the Federation has also supported legislation to create similar heat stress protections for indoor workers. The Federation calls for immediate action to establish heat-related protections for indoor workers.

### **CHEMICAL EXPOSURE**

There are currently more than 80,000 chemicals on the market in the U.S. In increasing numbers, these chemicals have been linked to health problems including cancer, infertility, birth defects, and learning disabilities. The continuing use of these chemicals poses threats to the health of a broad range of Californians. From the worker who manufactures a chemical, to the worker who uses it later to create a product, to the worker who sells the product to a consumer and the workers who eventually deal with its disposal, any given chemical can touch a host of workers and consumers over its life cycle. Many of these chemicals do not break down in the environment, leading to even more possible exposure for workers over the years.

Because of this long chain of potential dangers, the Federation supports the development of a green chemistry program passed in 2008. This program will, when implemented, encourage the design of products and processes that reduce or eliminate the use and generation of hazardous substances. The underlying theory of green chemistry is to make chemicals safer from the beginning so that they pose fewer problems throughout their lifecycle.

Until we develop safer alternatives and a robust green chemistry program, the Federation will continue to support efforts to reduce or eliminate the use of specific chemicals that pose proven health hazards to workers or consumers. We support requirements for chemical manufacturers to provide workers, consumers, and the government with more information about dangers posed by their products. We have recently supported legislative and administrative actions to limit the use of diacetyl, phthalates, and PFOA, all ubiquitous chemicals with proven health risks to workers and consumers. We also support better testing protocols for workers exposed to chemicals in the agriculture industry.

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As part of the ongoing effort to determine the biological impacts of chemicals, the Federation also supports the use of bio-monitoring and body burden studies. These approaches monitor the levels of specific chemicals in human bodies to help the scientific community better understand the impact of chemical exposures on human health. While bio-monitoring can provide immensely valuable information that can help save workers' lives, such studies should remain voluntary for workers and must include strong privacy protections for all participants. Workers should also be guaranteed that results of bio-monitoring cannot be used by employers to discriminate against them.

### **PPE REGULATION**

Some Cal/OSHA safety standards identify personal protective equipment (PPE) that specific types of workers must wear while on the job. Common examples of required PPE include protective eyewear, specialty gloves, or boots with metatarsal protection. Case law clearly establishes the employer duty to provide such equipment at no cost to workers, but regulatory and statutory language remains largely silent on the issue. The Federation believes that case law offers sufficient clarity and no such regulation or law is necessary. However, should any such rule or law be adopted, the language must not allow any exceptions to this longstanding policy of requiring employers to provide all mandated PPE at no cost to the employee.

All efforts to weaken this standard will be opposed by the Federation. For example, in 2012, Labor faced an organized effort to roll back this protection and shift responsibility for some PPE from employers to workers. Fortunately, thanks to a large turnout of worker advocates and allies, a Cal/OSHA Standards Board advisory committee defeated this proposal.

# 9

## Sound Public Investments

**CALIFORNIA'S** population is booming once again. California is now home to more than 37 million people and is projected to add another 7 million residents by 2028. These new residents will need public services. Demands for schools, water, public transit, roads and housing will grow. California is already in desperate need of public investments, long before our population increases. Our roads and levees need repair. Our hospitals need retrofitting. Our schools need modernizing. Our prisons are bursting at the seams. Our public infrastructure needs serious, immediate attention.

The state took an important step toward making the investments we need when voters approved \$42 billion worth of infrastructure bonds in 2006. However, bond funds have not been spent at a rate fast enough to stimulate our economy or to address the pressing infrastructure needs of the state. An estimated \$9 billion in bonds have been sold but have not yet being spent on infrastructure projects. The Federation supports getting existing bond funding to shovel-ready projects as soon as possible to create jobs now.

Another potential source of investment for infrastructure is pension funds. CalPERS has started an Infrastructure Investment program to put pension dollars to work creating new jobs, building infrastructure and earning stable and competitive returns for members. The Federation supports these investments and encourages union and other public trust funds to invest in domestic infrastructure projects.

We need a comprehensive strategy for making those investments and a sustainable, equitable way to finance them. A sound investment plan will improve our schools, roads, and public transportation, and it should finally address our needs for hospital seismic upgrading and levee repair. The Federation supports these significant public investments.

Major public investment is the cornerstone of sound economic development policy in California. Transportation spending supports our infrastructure and directly generates jobs. Public investment in energy production and supply protects the state's residents from the vagaries of the private market. And investment in our water system protects a resource vital to our economic growth and prosperity.

The destruction of New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina and the 2007 collapse of a heavily-trafficked commuter bridge in Minneapolis serve as shocking reminders of the importance of not just building new roads and bridges, but of maintaining the infrastructure we already have. Each budget year of cuts and deferred maintenance only puts California further behind in this regard. The Federation calls for adequate funding for inspection and repair of our existing infrastructure.

We vigorously oppose the degradation of public services and assets through privatization. Contracting out is a way to crush or bypass public sector unions, and it inevitably results in lower-quality, higher cost services delivered with little accountability. Selling off state assets, like buildings, parks and other real property, amounts to a massive transfer of wealth from the public to the private sector – without a guarantee of a fair return for the public. In 2002, labor won legislation placing limits on how school districts contract out work. Numerous bills have attempted, in vain, to repeal this legislation. Efforts are being made in the wake of the dissolution of redevelopment agencies to prevent a fire sale of those assets and to maximize their value for the public. We will continue to defend these protections against contracting out of services and privatization of public assets. We will work for more protections against contracting out and privatization at the city, county and state level.

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Investment in infrastructure not only builds our state, it builds our economy too. The Federation supports the creation of good, union jobs on infrastructure projects that pay prevailing and living wages. The Federation joins the State Building and Construction Trades Council in continuing to strongly support PLAs as a way to help large public and private construction projects go more smoothly, as well as to maintain wage and benefit standards.

PLAs prevent an economic race to the bottom, in which businesses compete against each other at the expense of workers and the community. They are particularly important for large-scale public works projects, which have the potential to raise or lower wages for hundreds or thousands of workers. PLAs have been used for over sixty years, on public projects like the construction of the Shasta Dam and Los Angeles' Light Rail System, and private projects at General Motors, Disney and Toyota.

We oppose the recent trend of attempts to ban PLAs at the city and county level. Local government should be able to choose a PLA for a public project if appropriate for the project. PLAs are important tools that local government can use to ensure projects are delivered on-time, on-budget with the highest standards for quality. We also oppose attempts by legislators to weaken and limit prevailing wage laws by limiting the definition of public works, adjusting calculations or other methods designed to pay construction workers less.

## **Transportation**

California cannot prosper without sound public investment in the state's transportation infrastructure. We support spending to improve roads and highways, build and improve public transit systems, upgrade bridges, introduce light rail in crowded city centers, modernize buses and trains and maintain our ports and waterways. We also support the protection of good-quality maritime jobs for American workers along California's coastline.

Deteriorating roads inevitably produce a deteriorating economy. Highway construction builds the network for businesses to move goods, consumers to shop and employees to get to work. Each billion dollars spent on road building creates 42,000 jobs. Reducing highway construction funds will ripple through the economy and be felt in manufacturing, services and elsewhere.

California voters have over and over again voiced support for better investment in transportation. In 2008, voters overwhelmingly approved Proposition 1A, a \$9.95 billion bond measure for construction of a state-wide high-speed rail system. High-speed rail will relieve traffic on congested highways and facilitate the movement of people and goods throughout the state. However, California's economic success depends on continued investment in both high-speed rail and our state's highway system.

The Obama administration has prioritized the revitalization of the nation's rail lines and the creation of high-speed corridors. The Federation supports ongoing federal funding for high-speed rail, as well as an increase in funding for Amtrak in order to update their fleet and improve rail service.

The Federation continues to work to ensure the construction of a statewide high-speed rail system. We commend the leadership of the High Speed Rail Authority for developing a realistic and comprehensive business plan that lays out the road map for construction of the 800-mile system. High-speed rail is the largest job creation and economic development project in California and the nation. California can leverage state dollars to attract federal and private investment in the project in order to create hundreds of thousands of jobs. High-speed rail will break ground in 2012 and will fund upgrades and improvements to local and regional rail systems. We strongly support California's high-speed rail system and oppose any efforts to derail, delay or defund its progress.

The Federation stood with nearly 70 percent of California voters in support of Proposition 42 in 2002. Proposition 42 ensures ongoing investment in our transportation infrastructure by guaranteeing that local sales taxes, including portions of the gas tax, remain for local use in public transportation, road and highway repairs. We also supported Proposition 1A in 2006, which further tightened the conditions under which the Legislature could suspend the Proposition 42 guarantee. Recognizing the importance of infrastructure investments to the state's economy, we continue to oppose raiding dedicated transportation funds

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for other uses.

The Federation also supports local measures to invest in transportation infrastructure. In November 2008, voters in Los Angeles approved Measure R by a two-thirds majority. By increasing sales tax in LA county by a half cent, voters committed a projected \$40 billion to transportation projects throughout the county over the next 30 years. Measure R will help fund transit and highway projects, create more than 210,000 new construction jobs and yield \$32 billion in local economic benefits. The success of Measure R is a model for local, state and regional infrastructure investment projects.

California's ports are the gateways for nearly 50 percent of all U.S. waterborne commerce. These ports and their intermodal goods movement businesses support a high-wage workforce in the highly unionized transportation trades. The Federation supports releasing funds from the Harbor Maintenance Trust Fund for port infrastructure improvements and building. It is vital that the ports and industrial zones surrounding the ports be protected from gentrification efforts by real estate speculators that undermine good maritime jobs with low-road economic development projects and low-wage jobs.

Road building should not replace mass transit. We call for the expansion of subsidized mass transit and the retooling of industry to build more mass transit. Without a car, many workers cannot reach decent jobs. But car ownership can cost well over \$5,000 a year, an enormous burden for low-wage workers. The absence of effective mass transit can be the decisive factor in keeping working families in poverty. Escalating gas prices are only making matters worse. The Federation opposes the raiding of funding streams for mass transit at the state level. We need to maintain operations funds from the state while maximizing the federal stimulus funds received for transit equipment. The Federation opposes cuts to operations funds and mass layoffs across transit districts that disrupt and decrease service quality.

Transportation manufacturing is a potential area of growth in California. Currently, most American manufacturers of trains, light rail, buses and other rolling stock buy component parts and intellectual property from overseas and just assemble the finished product in the U.S. Real investments in transportation could change that – a recent study found that for every \$1 billion invested in capital expenditure for public transit, 3,109 new manufacturing jobs will be created. We support state and local agencies to make every effort to purchase new fleets that are manufactured in the United States.

## **Maritime Trades**

The Federation reiterates its support for federal statutes that ensure that vessels engaged in the coastwise and international trades are built and crewed by American workers. The Jones Act, the Maritime Security Program, the Passenger Vessel Services Act and U.S. cargo preference laws are critical in maintaining a viable American Merchant Marine.

The Federation supports the American Shipping Reinvestment Act pending before Congress. The Act would spur job growth by creating a broad and diverse range of well-paying employment opportunities for American shipboard, shore-side and shipyard workers. Investment in the U.S. shipping industry would have a significant economic multiplier effect, spurring job growth in affiliated businesses.

The Federation supports the U.S. Department of Transportation's America's Marine Highway Program. The development and expansion of America's marine highway system is an ongoing joint government – private industry effort. The resultant increase in the coastwise waterborne transportation of cargo will help to significantly alleviate congestion on our nation's highways and rails, achieve a greater measure of energy efficiency in the transportation of domestic cargo, and create jobs for American workers in the maritime and its related service and supply industries.

One major obstacle to the development of America's Marine Highway Program is the current application of the Harbor Maintenance Tax (HMT) on domestic waterborne cargo. Today, all cargoes arriving at a U.S. port are subject to the imposition of the HMT. Cargo arriving at a U.S. port and then transported by rail or truck to another destination in the United States is only subject to the HMT once. However, if that same cargo is transported by a U.S.-flag vessel to another domestic port, it is taxed a second time under the HMT when it reaches its next destination. This double application of the HMT on waterborne cargo creates a significant economic disincen-

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tive for shippers to move cargo by water along our coasts and impedes the development of a Marine Highway System. The Federation supports legislation that would end the double taxation on domestic waterborne cargo.

The Federation condemns the “flag-of-convenience” system in which avaricious ship owners around the world register their vessels in phony flag states to evade labor, safety, environmental and tax laws. This corrupt system has resulted in the global exploitation of seagoing maritime labor.

The Federation supports tough security measures that protect U.S. ports and maritime workers from terrorist attack, but opposes any measures that treat workers as suspects and infringes on their constitutionally guaranteed civil rights. The federal government should be less focused on low-risk American workers and more focused on 100 percent container screening on imports, foreign mariner documentation and other security initiatives.

## **Water**

California should sustain our historic investment in water infrastructure so that farmers, residents and businesses can thrive.

The state constitution protects water as a public trust, meaning that water belongs to the people of our state. Historically, the state and federal government have invested in water infrastructure to ensure universal access to clean and affordable water for residential and industrial use. Eighty percent of people in the state now receive water from a public water system.

Private corporations are increasingly viewing water as a lucrative investment opportunity, jeopardizing access and safety. Multinational corporations are aggressively pursuing a water privatization agenda, bringing globalization and its effects home to our back yard. The Federation opposes the privatization of water infrastructure and urges the state to maintain its historic role in protecting water as a public good.

The same companies who seek access to the municipal water system have lobbied to gain access to public bond funds. This hijacking of public resources would be an historic shift in California’s policy of investing in public infrastructure. It would also be deeply ironic, given that private water companies often market themselves to municipalities based on their credit rating and access to global capital markets. Environmentalists and consumer advocates have thwarted this effort, but we must stand firm to make sure that California uses public funds to build and maintain public infrastructure, not as a giveaway to corporate privateers.

Another form of water privatization occurs when agribusinesses sell water. In Kern County, for example, the state’s largest underground storage facility – designed to store water for times of drought or to meet public water needs – is now being used by agribusinesses to sell water to anti-union developers.

The Federation views water as a public good that must be protected so that it can benefit farmers, businesses and consumers in the state. Seeing it as a tradable commodity, to be bought and sold on a water market, is a dangerous precedent. As the state learned in the energy crisis, the commoditization of natural resources can be very dangerous. We call for active stewardship by unions and communities to protect water from speculative moneymaking interests.

## **Eminent Domain**

As California continues to invest in infrastructure and engages in other development activities like urban infill projects, state and local government entities will inevitably confront the issue of eminent domain.

The Federation supports the government’s ability to exercise eminent domain powers. We reject the recent spate of right-wing efforts, like Proposition 98 in 2008, to use the issue of eminent domain as a ruse to enact broad reaching changes to eminent domain powers, environmental regulations and rent control ordinances.

## **Privatization of Public Assets**

Former Governor Schwarzenegger had a long history of attempting to sell or lease state assets, beginning with the state lottery and EdFund in 2007. In the 2009-10 budget deal, Governor Schwarzenegger attempt-

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ed to initiate the sale of the State Compensation Insurance Fund, despite the opposition of SCIF's Board of Directors and the lack of clear legal authority for the state to sell SCIF at all. Governor Schwarzenegger also signed a bill authorizing the sale of 11 state-owned buildings, a plan that the Legislative Analyst's Office called "poor fiscal policy" and "bad budgeting." Governor Brown stopped the sale of the buildings, but these and other proposals represent a disturbing trend toward the privatization of public assets.

Crippling budget deficits have put privatization back in the spotlight as state and local officials scramble to preserve parks, libraries and buildings. When Governor Brown announced the closure of 70 state parks due to budget cuts, privatization became the solution. The Legislative Analyst's Office recommended transferring public parks to private operators even though privatizing the operation of an entire park was an untested idea. The passage of AB 42 in 2011 allowed the state to contract out the management of individual parks to private organizations without first having to gain approval from the Legislature. Not only are parks valuable public assets, but they also employ public employees. Privatization not only hurts the public, but it also outsources good union jobs.

Public libraries have also been targeted for contracting out to private, for-profit companies. Library Systems & Services LLC (LSSI), a Maryland-based outsourcing firm, already operates formerly public libraries in Camarillo, Moorpark, Redding/Shasta county, and Riverside county. LSSI planned to expand in California until the Governor signed legislation supported by the Federation to prevent the unchecked privatization of our libraries.

Privatizing parks and libraries puts our state's assets at risk by outsourcing them to big corporations which are driven by profit not the public's interest. The Federation opposes the privatization of these, and all, vital public resources.

The expansion of Business Improvement Districts is another example of creeping privatization of public assets and jobs. BIDs allow local property owners and businesses to pay a fee to contract for services such as trash collection, security, maintenance and property improvements in business districts. Not only are public employees' jobs slowly being transferred to private entities, but public spaces such as plazas and town squares are being transferred to private operators to benefit property owners, rather than the public as a whole. The Federation will continue to oppose the expansion of BIDs and will work to insert language to protect public employees and prevailing wage provisions in existing BIDS.

In 2012, the State Supreme Court upheld the dissolution of 400 redevelopment agencies authorized by the Legislature. This decision left a huge number of redevelopment properties hanging in the balance with the private sector salivating to get ahold of them. Without clear guidance, the properties could be auctioned off in a fire sale at a huge loss. Public assets would be transferred to the private sector without a transparent and thorough assessment of their value or their strategic worth. The Federation supports efforts by the Legislature to prevent a massive fire sale of public assets and property and the accurate valuation of each property. We support integrating public properties into economic development strategies that rebuild infrastructure, support sustainable development, pay living and prevailing wages and create good, middle class jobs.

The Federation rejects the trend toward the privatization of public assets. We believe that it is analogous to and as undesirable as contracting out public sector jobs. If public assets are underperforming or underutilized, we support taking steps to improve their performance, but do not support auctioning them off to the highest bidder. The Federation supports many of the goals and programs slated to benefit from various proposals to privatize state assets, but believes that those programs should be funded with long-term, stable, and appropriate financing mechanisms rather than by proposals that mortgage California's future.

# 10

## Environmental Protection

**AS** workers and as residents of California, we all deserve clean air, clean water, safe energy sources and the preservation of our natural resources. Protecting the environment is both socially responsible and a key component of future growth for the organized labor community. The decisions we make now about adapting to global warming and the ways we generate energy will impact the economy, environment and infrastructure of California for decades to come.

We recognize the tremendous potential for new economic and workforce development as a result of changing our patterns of environmental behavior. The Federation's Workforce and Economic Development program has focused significant time, resources and energy toward this end. The Federation applauds local and state-level government efforts to encourage the development of green-collar jobs and supports the emerging green technology industry. These efforts must be met with an equally zealous push from the labor community to ensure that new green jobs become sustainable union jobs.

The recession has brought on new onslaught of regulatory reform bills introduced under the guise of helping business. We oppose regulatory reform that eviscerates core environmental and worker protections and makes it harder to implement new protections. We reject the proposition that regulations are impeding economic recovery when in fact it was deregulation that allowed the economic crisis to happen in the first place. We will continue to use the regulatory process to ensure those protections remain in place and are aggressively enforced.

### Global Warming

Global warming is an indisputable fact that will thoroughly change our economy, our labor markets and many aspects of our daily lives. Labor's response to climate change will determine, in large part, whether these changes support our ability to organize new members or whether our strength is undermined.

The Federation opposed Proposition 23 which would have essentially repealed AB 32, the greenhouse gas reduction law. We will continue to oppose attempts to repeal environmental protection laws that protect our environment and our communities.

In combating global warming generally, and implementing AB 32, California's greenhouse gas reduction law, specifically, the Federation's Executive Council has endorsed the following principles:

- **Building Alliances and Regional Partnerships.** Addressing global warming provides labor the opportunity to build new alliances and strengthen bonds with environmental, community, and business allies. Furthermore, in order to reach the target called for by AB 32 to mitigate global warming, we call upon employers to step up their efforts to reduce their own emissions and partner with union representatives and community leaders in efforts to seriously address global warming.
- **Sustainability.** Climate stabilization can only be accomplished if our economy and society are structured around the notion of sustainable development and fair trade. For unions, sustainable development requires a commitment to decent working conditions, including a voice at work, the right to organize and to a safe work environment, as well as access to prevailing and self-sufficient wages.

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- **Green Jobs Must be Union Jobs with a Future.** The struggle against global warming is an opportunity to address unsustainable patterns of development, production, and consumption, and to create new and high paying green jobs throughout California in renewable energy, the construction trades, public transportation, sustainable farming, and much-needed manufacturing for California workers. It is not enough for a job to be with a clean tech or green employer for it to be truly green. Green jobs include any job that has been upgraded to address the environmental challenges facing the state or nation. A good green job is one with good wages and benefits, an upward career pathway, and a voice on the job; in short, the protections only guaranteed by union membership.
- **Just Transition.** With the industrial transition that a green economy brings, workers in many traditional industries will experience major changes, including dislocation or other impacts. We support the concept of “just transition” – no worker should suffer economic hardship or insecurity as a result of the changes required to address climate crisis or other environmental challenges. Provisions shall be made for education, training, retraining, or as necessary, re-employment in comparably good jobs or bridges to retirement.
- **Equity for Communities.** People in the poorest communities of our state, who have shouldered much of the burden of our carbon-based economy in terms of poor air quality, health hazards, lower wages, and longer commute times, must be among the first included in job-creation programs, community development and pollution mitigation efforts.
- **Job Training and Coordination of Resources.** Greening the economy will require a workforce with new skills. Policymakers must support, enhance, and leverage union apprenticeship programs, labor-management training partnerships, career-technical education initiatives, community colleges, local workforce investment boards, and other education, training and worker supports to train new and incumbent workers and build career pathways for the green economy.
- **Global Warming is a Global Problem.** Reducing greenhouse gas emissions will require action on many fronts. Industry, agriculture, transportation, electric generation and land use policies all must change. The regulatory system must ensure that these changes occur comprehensively and fairly. A carbon emissions fee should be levied on carbon emitted in the manufacture of any product sold, used, or imported for sale or use. Emission permits should be auctioned, and state government should administer the market with a majority of the proceeds used to benefit the public, including substantial investment in workforce development, assisting consumers, and attracting and supporting high-road, green California businesses. Domestic manufacturing and other industries must not be asked to compete against unfair foreign or out-of-state competitors that are able to circumvent California’s regulatory scheme. Reducing our at-home global warming footprint when that reduction actually contributes to increased global warming emissions in another part of the world is counterproductive.

## Energy

Safe, reliable, sustainable and affordable gas and electricity are essential services, and access to these services must be regarded as a universal right. As such, the utility industry shoulders an obligation to serve the public, not just to make money.

A stable, organized and well-trained workforce is essential to high-quality service. The Federation believes that the California Public Utilities Commission and the state Legislature have a continuing responsibility to safeguard the public interest in these essential utility services. We support an energy policy that puts California workers and consumers first, assuring affordable access by the state’s residents and businesses to electric and gas utilities, and guaranteeing fair wages and working conditions for utility workers.

We stand behind the principles of the national Blue-Green Alliance, a project of international unions, environmentalists and community organizations dedicated to focusing public and private investments on good job creation in renewable energy technologies. The Blue-Green Alliance seeks to develop energy policy and investment initiatives that will create jobs, generate clean energy with positive environmental impacts in our communities, and help pave the way towards energy independence for California and the U.S.

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The energy crisis in our state was an object lesson in the dangers of deregulating a vital industry. Out-of-state energy generators reaped windfall profits; and consumers and workers paid the price. The crisis cost consumers billions of dollars in higher energy bills, jeopardized thousands of jobs, endangered lives with rolling blackouts, scared investors away from California, gave conservative politicians an excuse to trash labor and consumer protections, threatened irreparable harm to the environment and distracted our legislators from other important issues.

Energy deregulation has proven to be a failure for all Californians. The Federation reaffirms its commitment to regulatory mechanisms that protect the public interest from potential abuses by energy service providers and assure safe and reliable power. We supported Proposition 80 on the November 2005 ballot that would have re-regulated the utility industry in California, and we will support future like-minded efforts.

In considering future energy policy and re-regulation, the Federation endorses the following principles:

- **Equity.** Cost savings from restructuring must be shared with small users and big users alike, just as regulation must protect the interest of consumers and workers, as well as the needs of large industrial or agricultural consumers. The Federation supports a windfall profits tax on energy generators to discourage generators from gouging consumers and ensure that profits from restructuring are shared with ratepayers and taxpayers.
- **Utility Work.** Regulation should assure a sufficient and well-trained workforce and cost-effective ways to deliver reliable utility services. All energy service providers overseen by the state should be held to the same high standards for training, safety, skills and compensation that utility workers have won through collective bargaining. We also support prevailing wage provisions for utility construction projects.
- **Energy Independence.** We can no longer depend on out-of-state generators with a strong profit motive but no sense of public interest. In the future, operators must put our state first by being responsive to integrated resource planning – any plants financed by California taxpayers should be dedicated to servicing California residents first.
- **Safety.** Energy production can be dangerous, both to workers and neighbors. Safety must be a high priority. California should regulate plant maintenance procedures to coordinate necessary shutdowns and establish an inspection and enforcement mechanism to assure proper and safe maintenance. Furthermore, any future power plants must meet the same tough permitting process and environmental and labor standards as in the past. The energy crisis should not be an excuse to relax the high standards that California unions and community groups have won over the last half-century.
- **Financial Protections.** We can avoid future meltdowns by insuring that bankruptcy protection is part of the utility company's mandate. If California residents are forced to subsidize utility companies, we should receive assets in return. If energy companies go bankrupt, workers must be protected. All collective bargaining agreements and successorship clauses should be recognized.
- **Energy Alternatives.** We are committed to environmentally safe technology for power generation, for the sake of public health and our world. Wind, solar, biomass and other alternative energy sources are friendly to the environment and provide an alternative to our economic dependence on conventional power generators. We should give continued priority to renewable sources of energy that are built, maintained and operated by a well-trained, unionized workforce here in California. Conventional energy projects should be ranked according to their relative impact on the environment, with higher priority given to those using clean fuels. The construction, maintenance and operation of these facilities or vessels should also be 100 percent union.

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**ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION, Continued**

The Federation believes that the sustainability of our energy supply depends on our continual development of safe, renewable energy sources. We support efforts to develop new and improve upon existing renewable portfolio standards for both public and private utilities, provided that such standards are technically feasible and based on truly renewable and environmentally sound forms of energy.

Like alternative energy, conservation can be a path to greater energy independence, and need not get in the way of growth. We endorse true least-cost energy planning and putting conservation providers on the same footing as power providers. Increased government funding of research on effective energy-conserving technologies, products and services can help reduce our need for energy generation. Temperature, lighting and ventilation standards can improve energy conservation and prevent indoor air pollution.

# 11

## Good Government and Accountable Corporations

**AS** Californians, Americans, consumers and unionists, we deserve government that works for the people and we deserve fair dealing and accountability from corporations. Without a healthy democracy in which public participation is allowed and encouraged, the voices of union members will be drowned out by the influence of powerful corporations.

Big banks and the financial industry caused the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression by making risky bets on complex and unregulated financial products. As a result of corporate gambling, millions of Americans lost their jobs, homes and health care, and the economy is not predicted to recover for years. After taxpayers spent billions to bail out the banks that caused the crisis, their CEOs are walking away with record profits and millions in compensation and perks. Big banks are now plowing their profits into lobbying against federal regulation of the financial industry.

Two years ago, the Supreme Court seriously undermined our democracy when it ruled to allow unlimited independent campaign spending by business corporations and other groups. We support the overturning of the *Citizens United* decision and call for immediate action to end the dominance of our political system by corporations and the 1 percent.

The *Citizens United* ruling has opened the floodgates to massive spending by corporations and even more so by wealthy donors. They are pouring money into our electoral system and threaten to drown out the voices of ordinary Californians. Common-sense restrictions on their spending are needed, along with robust disclosure of their contributions and expenditures – including their contributions to organizations engaged in electoral activity.

In California, corporate interests have bankrolled anti-worker initiatives and have tried to buy office as candidates. However, they have to contend with California's unions, which have a long and proud history of making an impact on California's political landscape. From mobilizing some of the nation's most effective voter turnout efforts to fighting to defeat some of the worst anti-worker initiatives in the country, the working women and men of this state make sure their voices are heard.

The result of that work is clear: California has passed some of the most progressive pro-worker legislation in the U.S., including our landmark Paid Family Leave program. We have the nation's second most diverse Legislature with solid Democratic majorities in both houses, and, with labor-supported mayors, city councils, and county supervisors, our local governments have created policies that are being emulated across the country.

We have worked with legislators and community allies to fight back some of the worst business practices of big box behemoths like Walmart and financial giants like Bank of America and Wells Fargo. We have engaged corporate bad behavior as shareholders, as voters and as consumers.

The Federation is dedicated to continuing these fights, but in order to be successful, we must both maintain and improve upon our tools for protecting good government and creating accountable corporations.

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## **Good Government**

The Federation is committed to ensuring that institutions of government at all levels are responsive to the needs of working families. We support the public's right to access government meetings. We support the Brown Act and the Bagley-Keene Act, which provide transparency for policymaking by local and state agencies. We believe that all of California's residents deserve the right to make their voices heard by communicating with elected officials both directly and through union representatives.

The Federation supports California's system of direct democracy through the initiative process. We believe that, in the absence of legislative action or consensus, it is a crucial mechanism for ensuring that voters have the chance to address some of the state's most pressing issues. While we respect the system, we oppose efforts by corporations to attack unions, collective bargaining and public employees.

The latest attack on working people and our unions comes in the form of a ballot initiative that corporate backers say is about special interests, but in fact is designed to strip middle class workers from having a voice in politics. Despite the proponents' claims that this initiative is geared toward "getting special interest money out of politics," the truth is that it is a deceitful measure designed to silence plumbers, construction workers, teachers, nurses, firefighters and other working people while giving big corporations and CEOs free rein to exert limitless influence on our political system. The result would be a devastating tilt in power to the corporate elite that would further undermine our state's middle class. The Federation strongly opposes any and all attempts to silence the voice of union members and working people through deceptive anti-union initiatives.

We also oppose attempts by so-called good government groups that propose state reforms that further tie the hands of democratically elected officials. Groups such as California Forward and Think Long have recruited wealthy and influential board members to make decisions on how to "reform" California to their advantage, often without thorough consultation with stakeholders such as unions, environmentalists or advocates for consumers, low-income Californians, seniors and other groups. We urge reform groups to work closely with Labor to develop reform measures that amplify the voices of working people and increase democracy, rather than moving toward a government controlled by the wealthy and the powerful.

We believe that government not only has a responsibility to serve its constituents, but also that government entities have responsibilities to the civil servants who make governance possible. We reject the movement to blame public service workers for budget shortfalls. Slashing wages, benefits and jobs should never be the first resort of decision makers looking to balance the books.

Government entities at all levels must live up to the promises they have made their workers and their retirees. Rather than bringing public sector workers down to the lowest common denominator of vanishing pensions and health benefits, we should continue to raise all workers up to the high standards we all deserve. We support legislation to create defined benefit retirement savings accounts for private sector workers who do not have job-based pensions.

The Federation strongly rejects the use of bankruptcy by government entities and by corporations as a means of evading collectively bargained responsibilities, including pension contributions. The state must play a role in protecting workers and communities from the devastating impact of a municipal bankruptcy. In 2011, we sponsored legislation with the California Professional Firefighters to create a pre-bankruptcy evaluation process to try to avert municipal bankruptcy. We are committed to strengthening that process to make sure it is effective in preventing bankruptcy when possible. Municipal bankruptcy should be used only when absolutely necessary and not turned into a weapon to use against employees.

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## **Holding Corporations Accountable**

Corporations caused the economic crisis that has left millions of workers in dire financial straits. We have seen the destruction that the lack of regulation and accountability of big banks and their corporate partners has caused. The Federation supports an active role for unions and union members in ensuring responsible behavior from corporations. This starts with bargaining the best possible contracts for members, but extends far beyond that, to include shareholder activism, legislative advocacy and more.

The Federation believes that corporate accountability starts in the boardroom. We oppose outlandish executive compensation packages that benefit management over rank and file workers. We oppose golden parachute payoffs that have no ties to performance or quality. CEOs and management should not be rewarded with bonuses and pay raises for taking federal bailout money, closing U.S. facilities, laying off workers and reducing labor costs. We believe that corporate success should be shared with all workers and shareholders, not simply doled out to the privileged few.

Because of the ripple effects they can create throughout communities, the Federation believes that corporations should be held to the highest standards for corporate responsibility.

We believe these corporations should be accountable to the communities where they are located. As the first step toward greater accountability, community members have the right to know the impact that stores like Walmart have on their economy. The Federation has sponsored and continues to support legislation that would ensure that local governments have adequate information about the economic impact of super-centers on wages, benefits, public revenues and retail competition in their city or county. We support mandatory economic impact reports prior to city or county approval of super-center building permits.

The Federation also supports greater disclosure of the public costs of low benefits from employers. For years, Walmart has maintained a corporate policy of inadequate health benefits and heavy reliance on government health care programs for its employees. We support public disclosure of employers with a disproportionate share of workers relying on public programs, including in the Health Benefit Exchange, as well as additional fines and fees on such corporations to compensate for those publicly borne costs.

The path to true corporate responsibility demands transparency from corporations on a host of issues. The Federation supports full transparency about corporate use of tax incentives and loopholes as well as public disclosure of corporate tax payments. We support more information for consumers and investors about the health of corporations and the safety of their products. We oppose weakening regulatory standards for corporations and those responsible for overseeing them.

The Federation supports comprehensive reform of the financial industry that will help prevent another financial crisis. We support reforms that bring transparency and accountability to shadowy capital markets and protect bank customers. We also support mechanisms to break up big banks to prevent another case of “too big to fail” and subsequent taxpayer bailout of failed financial institutions.

From the robber barons to Enron to Goldman Sachs, we have more than a century of examples to teach us that corporate malfeasance hits workers the hardest and with the most lasting impact. The Federation will continue its fight to ensure that workers, not corporate entities, are put first in California.

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# 12

## Rights of Immigrant Workers

### WITHOUT

immigrant labor, California's economy would grind to a halt. Immigrants make up half of our state's janitors and a significant proportion of the state's child care workers and construction workers. Fully 91 percent of the farm workers in California are immigrants. Immigrants are central to our state's economy and the Labor Movement.

The Federation supports a comprehensive immigration reform agenda that focuses on a path to citizenship, limiting wage competition and strengthening labor standards, especially the freedom of workers to form unions and bargain collectively. To achieve this goal, immigration reform must protect U.S. workers, reduce the exploitation of immigrant workers and reduce employers' incentive to hire undocumented immigrants rather than U.S. workers.

The most effective way to reduce exploitation is for all workers – immigrant and U.S.-born – to have access to the protection of labor, health and safety and other laws. Comprehensive immigration reform requires a strong, well-resourced and effective labor standards enforcement initiative that prioritizes workers' rights and workplace protections. This approach will ensure that immigration does not depress wages and working conditions or encourage the growth of the underground economy that depends heavily on substandard wages, benefits and working conditions.

The long-term solution to uncontrolled immigration is to stop promoting failed globalization policies and eliminate the enormous social and economic inequalities at both national and international levels. U.S. immigration policy should consider the effects of immigration reforms on immigrants' countries of origin, especially Mexico. It is in our national interest for Mexico to be a prosperous and democratic country able to provide good jobs for its people, so that earning a living in Mexico is a viable alternative to immigration.

Much of the emigration from Mexico in recent years resulted from the disruption caused by NAFTA, which displaced millions of Mexicans from subsistence agriculture and enterprises that could not compete in a global market. We need a fair trade and globalization model that uplifts all workers, promotes the creation of free trade unions around the world, ensures the enforcement of labor rights and guarantees core labor protections for all workers.

The Federation supports a path to legalization for all undocumented immigrants. If immigrants are not given an opportunity to come out of the shadows and adjust their status, we will continue to have a large pool of unauthorized workers whom employers will continue to exploit to drive down wages and other standards to the detriment of *all* workers. We call on Congress to enact an inclusive and swift path to legalization that will raise labor standards for all workers.

We oppose expansion of the federal guest worker proposal. An expanded guest worker program would create a permanent underclass of workers with limited civil and employment rights, unable to participate fully in American democracy. For U.S. corporations, guest workers would provide a steady stream of vulnerable workers. For immigrants, the plan would deepen the potential for discrimination, exploitation and abuse. For non-immigrant workers, it would lower wages and standards throughout the economy.

The Federation opposes proposed state-level guest worker programs that leave workers without a path to citizenship and provide false hope of protection from deportation to immigrant workers. These laws are

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federally pre-empted and should not be pushed through at the state level.

California unions have a history of standing with immigrants. In 1994, we campaigned vigorously against Proposition 187, which unfairly and falsely blamed immigrants for all the budgetary and economic woes that faced the state. In 1998, our unions campaigned against Proposition 227, which sought to make it more difficult for immigrant children to learn English and receive a quality education. We fought anti-immigrant provisions in federal welfare reform legislation, and we opposed the anti-immigrant backlash that followed the World Trade Center bombing. We sponsored legislation, vetoed by Governor Schwarzenegger, to grant immigrants the right to a driver's license in California.

We will continue to work to ensure that undocumented immigrants are not left behind by the federal Accountable Care Act. Undocumented immigrants are prohibited from purchasing health coverage or receiving federal subsidies for coverage in the state Health Benefit Exchange. Millions of immigrants will be denied access to affordable, subsidized health coverage, and mixed-status families will have to navigate the system to ensure some members can access coverage. We support efforts by the state to ensure that immigrants have access to affordable health coverage in some form in California.

We reject the anti-immigrant rhetoric that seeks to divide workers against each other. We understand that when a worker is pitted against another worker, it is only the boss who wins. The war in Iraq and relentless war on terror has been accompanied by an upsurge in anti-immigrant rhetoric, scapegoating and violence. The Federation strongly opposes such immigrant bashing.

We oppose the criminalization of undocumented workers and using local law enforcement to enforce federal immigration law. We oppose the draconian law in Arizona that allows local and state law enforcement to stop and verify the immigration status of anyone they believe is undocumented. This bill legalizes racial profiling, diverts law enforcement personnel away from protecting the public and will further drive immigrants into the shadows.

### **Immigrant Worker Organizing**

Immigrant workers have been at the forefront of organizing campaigns in recent years, including janitors, hotel and restaurant workers, carpenters, farm workers, machinists, manufacturing and food processing workers, garment workers, carwash workers, warehouse workers and health care workers. In surveys and on-the-ground experience, immigrants are often more pro-union than American-born workers. We support initiatives targeted at organizing immigrant workers. When immigrant workers unionize, form new unions and revitalize others, all California workers benefit.

The flip side of more active immigrant organizing is the use of immigration status to intimidate workers. California unions denounce employers, like the Woodfin Hotel in Emeryville, that turn their workers over to the immigration authorities rather than let them join a union. During organizing drives, strikes and other periods of union activity, immigration officials must not intervene to conduct raids, document checks or other acts which make it impossible for workers to exercise their union rights.

All workers, regardless of immigration status, have the right to form unions, file complaints against illegal and unfair treatment without fear of reprisal, receive disability insurance and workers' compensation benefits and enjoy the same remedies under labor law as all other workers. It is unacceptable for employers to retaliate against immigrant workers for asserting fundamental workplace rights. A worker's immigration status should never be used as a tool for discrimination, union-busting or intimidation.

We applaud the AFL-CIO's outreach to the growing numbers of workers whose fundamental rights are not guaranteed by law and who are often excluded from legal protections, such as the right to organize. The overwhelming majority of excluded workers are immigrants. In 2006, the AFL-CIO signed a historic partnership with the National Day Laborers Organizing Network (NDLON).

In 2011, the AFL-CIO expanded their partnership with worker centers by signing an agreement with the National Domestic Workers Alliance. This landmark agreement outlines a framework for the

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AFL-CIO and these groups to partner around organizing, and building long-term alliances. The power of the partnership between unions and worker centers was evident when President Trumka joined California domestic workers to lobby in Sacramento for the Domestic Workers Bill of Rights in February 2012. The Federation supports continued partnerships with worker centers and other groups fighting for workers' rights.

### **Preventing Deportation and Raids**

The Federation calls for a return to a firewall between immigration and labor law enforcement that protects and ensures the rights of all workers. In 1998, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS, now ICE) and the U.S. Department of Labor established a firewall between immigration and labor law enforcement. The increase in ICE raids has prevented enforcement of basic labor laws and allowed employers to systematically violate the law with no fear of reprisals.

We reject the increasing use of the national Social Security database as a tool for determining employment eligibility. This database is notoriously riddled with errors and was never intended to determine documentation or work eligibility status. The Federation calls for an end to the use of federal Social Security "no match" letters. These letters unfairly discriminate against workers of all immigration statuses and can cost workers their jobs for nothing more than typographical errors.

The Federation supported legislation to prohibit cities and counties from requiring employers to use the E-verify program. This program allows employers to access the Social Security Administration's database to verify a worker's immigration status. This database was never intended for this use and is full of inaccuracies that harm workers and employers. We call for an end to the use of the federal e-verify system, which relies on the same flawed Social Security database.

The Federation further condemns the use of the children of immigrants as pawns in immigration enforcement efforts. Enforcement activities by federal Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents near Bay Area schools rightfully enraged community, labor and immigration activists alike. Children have no place in the middle of immigration battles and the government should never put them there. We oppose raids on immigrant families in their homes, their schools, their churches, and their workplaces.

We oppose the aggressive enforcement policies that have resulted in mass deportations of immigrant workers. We support the right of states and local communities to choose not to participate in the SAFE Communities Act which has resulted in the detention and deportation of so many non-violent immigrants. We oppose checkpoints that target immigrant workers for simply trying to get to and from work.

We support state DREAM Act legislation that allows undocumented students to apply for financial aid at California colleges and universities. This bill is an investment in immigrant students who will have increased access to higher education and productive careers and futures. All students in California deserve a shot at higher education regardless of their immigration status. We support policies that allow greater access to educational opportunities for immigrants.

### **Enforcing Labor Law for Immigrant Workers**

The Federation opposes the Supreme Court's 2002 decision in *Hoffman Plastic Compounds, Inc. vs. NLRB* denying back pay to undocumented immigrants who are victims of unfair labor practices. The decision allows unscrupulous employers to hire undocumented workers, intimidate and exploit them, retaliate against them or fire them, and face no penalties. Congress must overturn the *Hoffman* decision and send a strong message to employers that violating labor laws does not pay. Ten years later, the impact of *Hoffman* has been devastating to immigrant workers. Virtually every organizing drive results in an employer's call to ICE. So long as employers fear no consequences, these types of abuses will continue unabated.

Absent congressional action, we support legislative efforts to guarantee that California vigorously enforces its labor laws, regardless of a worker's immigration status. The Federation sponsored SB 1818 (Romero), signed in 2002, to protect the rights of immigrants in this state. The bill declared that all protections, rights, and remedies available under state law, except as prohibited by federal law, are available to individuals in

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California regardless of immigration status.

Workers also deserve the right to speak their native language at the worksite. This basic right is often a matter of life or death. Recent evidence suggests that deaths and injuries on the job are increasing for just one group of workers: those with limited or no English language skills. The Federation supports language access to public services for all workers.

The Federation opposes employer sanctions, which encourage employers to discriminate against any worker who looks or sounds foreign. Employer sanctions also provide a weapon to threaten immigrant workers who organize unions.

We will continue to proudly uphold and defend the rights of immigrant workers.

# 13

## Rights of All Working Families

### UNION

members are more than just workers. We are also family members, consumers, community members and neighbors. The Labor Movement defends the rights of working people in different areas of our lives, not just the workplace. The Federation seeks to advance policies that help workers balance work and family lives. We support consumer rights to product safety, financial privacy, and regulation of public goods. We are unflinchingly devoted to the protection of civil rights and liberties, and abhor discrimination in all its forms.

We oppose the war in Iraq and the devastating toll it has taken on our economy, our national priorities, and the safety, security, and sovereignty of our brothers and sisters throughout the world. The Federation supports the right of all Americans to peacefully protest this war or any other unjust policy.

#### **Work and Family Balance**

California workers have the right to both a job *and* a family. But too often, workers must choose between the demands of their employer and the needs of their family. The Federation supports family-friendly workplaces. We believe working families have the right to paid family leave, high-quality and affordable child care and elder care, health care for all family members, and work schedules that accommodate family life.

Paid family leave was an important victory for California's working families. With this Federation-sponsored legislation, California became the first state in the nation to guarantee that workers could take up to six weeks of paid leave each year to care for a new child or a seriously ill family member. Because the benefits are employee-funded through the State Disability Insurance Program, paid family leave does not cost businesses a dime. Nevertheless, the Federation has needed to defend the program against attempts by employer associations to weaken or repeal it and attempts to raid program funds for non-related purposes.

California has a complex and confusing system of family leave laws that discourage workers from accessing benefits they have the right to. The Federation supports efforts to simplify and harmonize leave laws.

Over 47 percent of workers get no job protection while receiving paid family leave benefits because they are not covered under the California Family Rights Act (CFRA). Therefore the Federation supports changes to CFRA to expand eligibility for job-protected leave, including reducing the 50-employee threshold and the hours and years-in-service requirements. The Federation also supports expansion of paid family leave to the full 12 weeks of leave guaranteed under CFRA.

The Federation supports other policies to make work and family easier to balance. We were instrumental in the passage of two state laws: one to allow workers to use sick leave to care for their ill children, and a second to provide all working mothers with reasonable break time and accommodations to pump breast milk. CFRA should also provide time off from work for medical appointments and school activities.

We endorse a broad definition of what constitutes a family. Grandparents, in-laws, stepparents and stepchildren, adult children, siblings and domestic partners should be included among the protected relationships. California is home to diverse family arrangements that include multiple caregivers. Our family leave laws should reflect the diversity of California's families.

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Family-friendly policies are not luxuries. They are basic rights that allow women to participate equally in the workforce and protect the growing number of men with caregiving responsibilities. Family-friendly policies make employment more consistent with our obligations to our loved ones, yet many employer associations continue their unwavering opposition to these policies. We must remain diligent in protecting our rights to balance our work and family lives.

### **Civil Rights and Liberties**

The Federation stands with all groups who experience persecution, and we call for an end to discrimination of all types. We support full economic justice, social and political rights for all people, whatever their race, color, creed, ethnicity, national origin, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, age, or physical disability. We support the affinity groups that represent the voices of particular constituencies of the Labor Movement. The A. Philip Randolph Institute, the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement and Pride At Work have a vital role in providing support, solidarity and advocacy for people who have always been among labor's rank-and-file but not frequently enough among the leadership.

The Federation also believes that the protection of civil rights and liberties lies at the heart of a civil society. We are opposed to the federal government's willingness to suspend basic liberties in the name of national security. We have seen the federal government use the rhetoric of national security to bar federal workers from union membership. We reject the idea that we must sacrifice our civil liberties to live in a free and safe country. To the contrary, we believe that without civil liberties, our country is neither safe nor free.

Civil rights should also be protected at the workplace. New technology is giving employers unprecedented, and often unwarranted, access to information about their prospective and current employees. We believe that employees should be able to expect privacy in the workplace.

We oppose the workplace use of invasive new technologies such as imbedded radio frequency ID tags. We also oppose employers' use of credit report information in employment or advancement decisions. We believe that routine drug testing, though common, is invasive, unfair and often inaccurate. Genetic testing of potential or current employees raises many concerns and should be outlawed immediately. Employers should not be able to read employees' email or monitor their Internet usage. We support legislation to protect workers' privacy by prohibiting the electronic monitoring of employee correspondence.

In recent years there have been efforts in the workplace to require workers to waive fundamental rights and discrimination protections without knowing the potential ramifications of such waivers. We oppose coerced arbitration agreements. The Federation will continue to support efforts to ensure that employees are not coerced into waiving their right to pursue discrimination claims or jury trials.

We believe workers should be free from workplace harassment. In 2003, a Federation-sponsored bill (AB 76, Corbett) made employers responsible for preventing workplace harassment based on a worker's race, religion, color, disability, sex, age, or sexual orientation.

We oppose hate crimes more resolutely than ever. Legislation banning hate crimes should be expanded and perpetrators should be punished to the full extent of the law. We call for the active and consistent prosecution of racist and far-right organizations and militias.

We support ending discrimination in the hiring process. The recession has left millions of Californians unemployed through no fault of their own, and we need to eliminate all obstacles to putting the unemployed back to work. In 2012 the Federation passed legislation that was signed into law to ban the use of credit checks in the hiring process. We continue to support legislation to "ban the box" and remove the criminal background check requirement from the initial application process for all workers. We support legislation to end discrimination against the currently unemployed in the hiring process. Employer notices and policies that explicitly discourage the unemployed from applying are discriminatory and only hurt our economy. We oppose these and other hiring discrimination policies.

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We support relaxation of the “Three Strikes and You’re Out” law. After a dozen years, Three Strikes has filled California’s jails with petty criminals and had little effect on the level of violence in our community. We supported Proposition 66 on the November 2004 ballot that would have brought some sanity to California’s overly punitive “Three Strikes” law. We support better using criminal justice resources to decrease recidivism and rebuild communities with real opportunities.

The current context of heightened security measures should spur us to protect our civil rights more vigilantly than ever. When the President thinks he is above the federal law that restricts wiretaps, we must all fear for our privacy.

## **People of Color**

California is one of the most diverse states in the nation. The Federation calls on affiliates to make a renewed effort to organize people of color. To succeed, the Labor Movement must increase the participation and leadership of people of color at all levels of union activity and office, especially elected officers. We applaud unions that have actively sought to diversify historically non-diverse trades through training and apprenticeship programs.

The Federation supports affirmative action. In 1996, we opposed Proposition 209, which outlawed affirmative action in education, government contracting, and government hiring. We will continue to support efforts to reverse the damage this proposition has wrought and restore affirmative action programs wherever possible.

In 2003, in coalition with allies throughout the state, we successfully defeated Proposition 54, the so-called Racial Privacy Initiative, which would have prevented the use of government funds to collect ethnic data. Without data collection, the state would be unable to address disparities by race or ethnicity in discrimination and hate crimes, health care and disease patterns, educational resources and academic achievement, or law enforcement. This measure, disguised as a policy promoting fairness and a color-blind society, would have prevented California from taking steps to challenge racism. Its defeat is a victory for the people of our state.

Jobs that are predominantly held by women and people of color are generally underpaid when compared to other jobs of comparable skill, effort and responsibility. To address this problem, we urge all affiliates to work for pay equity across all social, ethnic, gender and age lines.

We oppose racial profiling by law enforcement. It is neither effective nor Constitutional, and promotes unacceptable racial stereotyping in society at large.

## **Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Community**

Gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender workers and citizens deserve protection from discrimination. In many states, it is still legal for lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgender workers to be fired based solely on their sexual orientation or gender identity. There is no place in this country for prejudice against individuals because of sexual orientation.

We were proud to work for the passage of the Domestic Partner legislation in California, which extended more rights for domestic partners. We will continue to oppose amendments to the constitution at the state or federal level to ban marriage equality. This change would be a serious abuse of the constitution to promote an intolerant political agenda. We support those measures that would equally confer all civil rights and responsibilities upon every Californian.

President Obama’s declaration in May 2012 that he supports marriage equality for the LGBT community is an extremely significant step in the fight for full equality. LGBT working people face numerous inequities in the workplace and in society as they struggle to care for their families. Civil unions do not guarantee the 1,138 rights, benefits and responsibilities that are accorded to heterosexual couples when they marry. This prevents gay and lesbian couples from being eligible for survivor Social Security benefits. The Federation will work together with the AFL-CIO to eliminate the inequities faced by LGBT couples when it comes to marriage equality.

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We support legislation guaranteeing the civil rights of persons who have tested HIV positive. We oppose discrimination against HIV-positive people in employment, housing, credit, public accommodations, public service, and immigration.

## **Seniors**

As the economy worsens and more seniors are forced out of retirement and back into the workforce, they are increasingly facing discrimination in the workplace. Older workers who lose their jobs are often shut out of the tight job market and forced to collect Social Security early. The Federation recognizes the contributions of workers of every age, and opposes age discrimination in all employment decisions.

As workers shift from one job to another and corporate cost-cutting whittles employee benefits to the minimum, retiree health benefits and pensions are in danger of extinction, all while the rising cost of health care and housing has only made them more vital.

Republicans have recently launched a series of aggressive attacks on pensions for seniors. In 2005, Arnold Schwarzenegger advocated for a ballot measure that would have privatized pension benefits for thousands of public employees in California. The ballot measure put the retirements of thousands of Californians at risk. It also would have also eliminated death and disability benefits for police officers and firefighters killed in the line of duty. Schwarzenegger was forced to step back from the proposal after loud protests from public- and private-sector workers across the state.

The Federation opposes the privatization of Social Security. Social Security is America's most important family-protection program. It spans class, race, gender, income and generations. To privatize Social Security would replace guaranteed benefits with benefits dependent on workers' luck or skill as investors and the ups and downs of the stock market. It would also be hugely expensive – with lower-income workers paying the cost of the new system.

Republicans have also targeted Medicare for restructuring and privatization. Their most recent proposal would subsidize private insurance in lieu of the traditional Medicare program that has been in place for decades. Medicare already provides healthcare much more efficiently than private sector health plans, mainly due to the power it has to control payments made to providers. Privatizing Medicare would only drive up costs and deprive seniors of the care they get now through the program.

The Federation opposes efforts to place pensions, social security benefits or Medicare in the hands of private corporations. We stand with seniors to protect their rights to a secure retirement.

We also recognize that health benefits for seniors are on the line. More and more corporations are cutting back on retiree coverage to reduce health care costs. Recent court rulings have made it easier for employers to deny medical benefits to older workers when they become eligible for Medicare. Unlike the courts, we consider this age discrimination and oppose it wholeheartedly. Older employees deserve the same benefits as everyone else.

Senior union members and retirees are among the Labor Movement's greatest assets. We welcome their knowledge, their experience, and their wisdom. We support their active involvement in senior union member organizations such as the California Alliance for Retired Americans (CARA). CARA has quickly become a leader in the fight for senior rights in California, including the right to affordable prescription drugs. We will continue to support their efforts and encourage all of our affiliates and their retirees to join CARA.

All too often, when union members retire, they lose all connection with their unions. This harms both the union, which loses a valuable asset and resource, as well as the member who loses touch with the best source of protection for his or her continued economic well-being. Union density is higher among workers 55 and over than among any other age group in California. In the next decade, hundreds of thousands of our members will retire, and we should do everything we can to keep them involved in the Labor Movement.

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## **Youth**

Young people have been hard hit by the economic recession. Today's young workers are part of the largest generation to enter the workforce since the baby boomers. They also suffer the nation's highest unemployment – about twice the national average – and the fewest job opportunities in today's economy. The tight job market shuts young people out of part-time jobs to support themselves through school and from their first jobs out of school. Budget cuts, rising fees and declining financial aid at colleges and universities force students into debt in order to get through school, if they can attend at all. The rise of unpaid internships forces students to work for free without basic workplace protections in order to have access to the job market.

Without prospects for jobs or education, many young people end up in the criminal justice system. Our prison-industrial complex is overflowing with young offenders. We oppose laws like Proposition 21 that impose harsh sentences on juveniles convicted of crimes, increase the range of circumstances under which juveniles are treated as adults, and establish stiffer punishments for gang-related offenses. Youth deserve more opportunities for advancement in our society, not tougher laws that deny them economic opportunity and send them on a downward spiral.

The Federation supports the formation of young worker groups in local unions, central labor councils and other labor bodies. We commend the AFL-CIO for forming a Young Worker Advisory Council at the national level to help the labor movement address the issues of young workers and young union members across the country.

## **People with Disabilities**

The Federation supported the federal Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA). We are concerned about recent narrow judicial interpretations of the Act. We believe that the ADA provides a floor and not a ceiling of protection to Californians with disabilities. We support efforts to ensure that physical disability will be determined without regard to mitigating measures, and efforts to limit employers' ability to raise job-related issues when interviewing prospective employees regarding possible disabilities. We will work to preserve California laws that are stronger than federal law at protecting people with disabilities.

Recent budget actions and proposals currently before the Legislature have targeted safety net programs, the Supplemental Security Income/State Supplementary Payment (SSI/SSP) Program and the In-Home Supportive Services (IHSS) program that Californians with disabilities rely on. The Legislature made significant cuts to both programs in 2009. Governor Brown has proposed even deeper reductions to these programs. The Federation opposes more budget cuts to vital services for people with disabilities.

## **Women**

The California Labor Federation supports women's struggle for equality at work and at home, in our unions and in our communities. Despite centuries of struggle, working women still face discrimination, lower pay, and lost opportunities. On-going budget cuts and attacks on public sector workers disproportionately hit women workers. Women are the majority of public-sector employees at the state and local levels and layoffs, wage and benefit cuts and erosion of retirement security fall hardest on women.

Across the board, women earn less than men. The jobs in which women dominate pay less than traditionally male jobs. But even when women work the same jobs as men, they take home less pay. Full-time working women earn 76 cents for every dollar that men earn. This is true for women lawyers, carpenters and secretaries. It is worst for women of color, whose wages amount to just 64 cents on the dollar compared to men overall. The pay gap between women and men in comparable jobs costs California working families \$21.8 billion every year. The Federation urges all affiliates to work for pay equity to raise the pay of traditionally underpaid women's and minority occupations and end unjust wage disparities. We support equal pay for work of comparable value.

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We support the decision of President Obama to sign the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act into law that allows women to effectively challenge unequal pay. No longer can a company hide such discrimination long enough to outlast a statute of limitations. We support efforts by women to take legal action against employers that discriminate against women on the job.

Sexual harassment and sexual abuse of women workers contribute to keeping women from succeeding on the job. Unions must defend women workers through tough legislation and the protection of union contracts. We must also educate our members to help stop this problem. We sponsored AB 76 (Corbett), which became law in 2003 and ensures that employees are protected against sexual harassment, be it from their employer, co-worker, customer, client, vendor or others.

We support women's access to the full range of reproductive and family planning services. We oppose any attempt to directly or indirectly limit access to those services or to interfere with the privacy of women's health decisions.

The Federation supports improved opportunities for women in employment and promotion. We also believe that equality will remain a distant dream as long as women are so dramatically underrepresented in public office. We support efforts to expand women's representation in elected office.

The best cure for women in low-wage positions is joining a union. Women who join unions earn 40 percent more than their nonunion counterparts. Women of color gain even more by joining a union. Union membership also helps reduce the wage gap: union women earn 83 percent of what union men earn. The Federation continues to work toward the day when union women earn as much as their brothers.

Unions today realize that women are equal partners with men in our organizing efforts. We urge all affiliates to work hard to place women in non-traditional jobs, particularly the higher-paying occupations where they are currently underrepresented. We specifically applaud the State Building and Construction Trades Council's Women in the Trades Conference in this regard. Aggressive outreach for apprenticeship programs and affirmative action plans can both accomplish this goal.

Women are an integral part of the Labor Movement. We urge affiliates to increase efforts to organize employees in clerical, service, food processing, electronics, garment and other industries where women predominate, and to bring into the collective bargaining process the issues of pay equity, child care, family leave, flexible work hours and expanded sick leave. Organizing child care workers, combined with subsidized quality child care, is one of the great challenges and opportunities for the Labor Movement and for working women.

We also call on men in the Labor Movement to recognize that these issues are not "women's issues" alone. When women face wage inequity, sexual harassment or discrimination in the workplace, men are also affected. Child care, family leave, and flexible work hours are often as much a concern for working men as they are working women.

The Labor Movement is the largest women's organization in the country, but to succeed in organizing women, the Movement must encourage the participation and leadership of women at all levels of union activity and office. It is time for women to be well-represented in the upper echelons of our unions, labor councils, and the Federation.

## **Consumer Protection**

The Federation reaffirms its traditional support for consumer rights. We pledge our best efforts to maintain and expand the rights of consumers, support appropriate staffing and budgets for consumer agencies, and seek assurance that agencies will act with independence and integrity to advance consumers' best interests. Consumers are workers, too, and unions should fight for their protection whether they are making, buying, selling or using products.

*Continued*

We support consumer protection advocates in their fight for privacy protection in California. We supported SB 1 (Speier), a landmark privacy protection measure in California that has unfortunately been stripped back by the courts. We urge labor unions in California to join the Consumer Federation of California, an organization that has long recognized the connection between labor and consumer interests.

We oppose discrimination by insurance companies of all kinds. In 2003, we sponsored a bill that now prevents employers from cashing in on their employees' deaths with the purchase of "dead peasants insurance." We applaud recent federal action to prevent genetic discrimination in health insurance, and we call for further action at the state and federal level to prevent unscrupulous insurer behavior.

We oppose deregulation that undermines product safety, weakens consumers' rights to full and accurate product information, creates financial harm to consumers or reduces penalties for deceptive practices. The free market will not ensure consumer protection without government intervention. As the spate of recent recalls and consumer safety scares have proven, moves to relax consumer product safety requirements and other consumer protections are greedy attempts to raise business profits at the direct expense of the consumers. We are deeply troubled by Congressional moves to wipe out state food-safety laws, including California's landmark Proposition 65.

We strongly support and encourage efforts to enforce anti-trust measures at all levels of government. While competition alone cannot make markets more functional for consumers, it is a necessary component to a healthy marketplace.

The Federation opposes misuse of consumer credit information, including the practice of universal default. This practice, common among credit card companies and other lenders, allows corporations to unilaterally change the terms of a contract if a consumer pays any bill late, not just the bill in question with the specific company. We call for immediate action to put an end to this unfair practice.

We support federal and state efforts to reform and regulate credit card companies. As employers and state and federal agencies increasingly eliminate paper checks and move to direct deposit and electronic pay cards, we support strong protections for consumers. Banks should not profit off workers' wages or benefits, and we support protections against fees for use of electronic pay cards. We also support consumer protections against bank fees including those on debit card transactions.

The Federation supports reform of the predatory payday loan industry. Payday loans prey on working people who use their paychecks to secure small, short-term loans, often to buy basic necessities, pay rent or pay bills. Lenders charge exorbitant fees and interest rates of more than 400 percent, making money off working people who can least afford it. This creates a debt trap in which borrowers take out loan after loan because they can never afford to repay. We support legislation to rein in the ability of payday lenders to make money off working people by capping the fees at 36 percent.

We support a consumer's right to sue businesses that have acted illegally. We opposed Proposition 64 on the November 2004 ballot. Proposition 64 has made it more difficult for consumer groups, environmental organizations and labor unions to file cases under the Unfair Competition Law.

We will continue to monitor PG&E's Smart Meter program that has prompted consumer complaints about skyrocketing energy bills. The California Public Utilities Commission launched an investigation into the meters' accuracy, and PG&E has admitted finding problems in more than 43,300 meters, out of the 5.7 million that have been installed.

The Federation supports the regulation of goods when necessary to protect consumer interests. We have learned major lessons from the failed deregulation of California's public utilities. The Federation opposes deregulation of public utilities; employees and consumers suffer when natural monopolies are turned over to the competitive profiteering of the private sector. We call for re-regulation of the utility industry and support the establishment of a public power authority, under union conditions, to supplant private producers and transmitters of electricity. We also urge legislators to stop the deregulation of long distance telecommunications and regulate the cellular phone industry.

*Continued*

The Federation also supports efforts to:

- **Abolish False and Misleading Advertising.** Food labels should show ingredients, nutritional values, expiration dates, country of origin and item pricing. We support efforts to label genetically modified organisms in food and educate the public about the risks. We also support policies to prohibit deceptive marketing of health coverage as the Affordable Care Act is implemented.
- **Democratize the Media.** As the concentration of the media proceeds ever more rapidly, it is increasingly important to support public and community alternatives to the press and to regulate commercial media. We support an open internet and oppose attempts to regulate content on the internet through bandwidth controls. We support increasing internet connection speeds to a minimum of 50 megabits per second.
- **Restrict Secret Settlements in Product Defect or Toxic Contamination Lawsuits.** Currently, information discovered in pre-trial procedures regarding dangerous products is sealed as a condition of out-of-court settlements and the business continues selling the unsafe product while the body count mounts.
- **Encourage the Purchase of Union-made Domestic Goods and Require and Enforce Labeling of Goods with their Places of Origin.** We oppose the weakening of the criteria for “Made in USA” labeling. We support efforts to increase country of origin labeling requirements for foodstuffs and other products.

# 14

## Rebuild the Tattered Public Sector

**“THE** *issue is injustice. The issue is the refusal of Memphis to be fair and honest in its dealings with its public servants, who happen to be sanitation workers...Now we're going to march again, and we've got to march again, in order to put the issue where it is supposed to be.*” “I've Been to the Mountaintop” Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s speech to striking sanitation workers in Memphis in 1968

In 1935, American workers won the right to organize and bargain collectively to improve working conditions with the passage of the National Labor Relations Act. A wave of unionization swept the country. Workers in industry after industry joined unions and built a vibrant and powerful labor movement. However, not all workers were granted the same rights. The NLRA excluded public sector employees, along with domestic and farm workers, but not because they did not need unions. Public sector workers often worked in grueling conditions for low wages, no benefits and little job security.

As government employment grew exponentially in the post-World War II era, public employees began to organize and agitate for their rights. Public employees won new rights to organize, bargain collectively and strike. A new wave of unionization swept the nation in the 1960s and 1970s as public employees formed and joined unions. In 1955, public employee unions had about 400,000 members – by the 1970s that number had increased by tenfold to over 4,000,000 members. In a mere 16 years, union density in the public sector increased from 13 percent in 1960 to 39 percent in 1976.

The mass unionization of the public sector, which was more racially and gender diverse than the private sector, brought hundreds of thousands of African-Americans, Latinos, Asians and women into the Labor Movement. Public sector unions came up at the same time as the civil rights, feminist and student anti-war movements and often marched side by side for the same causes. A notable example was the unionization by AFSCME of predominately African-American sanitation workers in Memphis, Tennessee. Dr. Martin Luther King was assassinated while in Memphis to march with workers in a demonstration of linked goals of the civil rights and labor movement.

As union density in the private sector declined, public sector unionization rates have remained high. Public sector unions are a powerful anchor to the Labor Movement and continue to flex political muscle on the local, state and federal level. It is not surprising then that big business and their Republican allies have public employee unions in their sights for destruction. A wave of attacks on public employees and their unions has swept the country like wildfire as state after state attempts to destroy the unions of nurses, teachers, firefighters, police and other public servants.

The right-wing has used the economic crisis as cover for their coordinated warfare on public sector unions. They blame public sector unions for state and local budget deficits and direct public anger towards unions rather than the Wall Street banks that caused the crisis. Across the nation, public employees are fighting for their survival. States are employing a range of tactics, from right-to-work legislation to paycheck deception and attempts to ban collective bargaining for public employees. Other attacks are on prevailing wage laws and Project Labor Agreements and teacher tenure. Both states and municipal governments are also considering the extreme measure of declaring bankruptcy as a tool to abrogate collective bargaining agreements already in place and eliminate existing unions.

*Continued*

In California, public employees face many of the same challenges as our brothers and sisters across the country. As we struggle to rebuild our private sector, our public sector is in shambles. Mass layoffs, increased contracting out, reduced services and billions in budget cuts have taken a tremendous toll. Traditionally the public sector has provided stability to our economy in downtimes, but today our public sector is hemorrhaging from inadequate investment in California's future.

Added to that is the complications of Governor Brown's long-term plan for the realignment of state services. Realignment proposes to shift responsibility for some public safety, mental health, substance abuse, foster care, child welfare and adult protective services from the state to local entities. The impact of realignment on public employees is unknown, as many state workers will shift to local employment while other local government positions, especially those related to the Affordable Care Act, will shift up to the state level.

The Federation supports public sector unions and their fight to protect collective bargaining and fair wages, benefits and retirement security for public employees. Public employees are critical to the quality of the services that we use every day and without them our schools, communities, roads, bridges and our state will suffer. The Federation advocates on a range of public sector issues, from the Public Employment Relations Board to municipal bankruptcy to attacks on public sector unions at the local level. We will continue to support public employees and rebuild our public sector.

### **State Public Employees**

Economic recovery depends on investing in public sector jobs. The public sector has traditionally offered hundreds of thousands of Californians secure jobs with good wages, benefits and pensions. Massive cuts to public sector jobs threaten California's economic recovery as the private sector struggles to make up for the loss of stable government jobs. California has cut more public sector jobs than any other state since the beginning of the recession. The state cut 126,300 federal, state and local government jobs, shrinking the public sector workforce by 5 percent.

Public employees have suffered furloughs, wage and hour reductions and attacks on their pensions and retirement security. Public employees have taken more than their fair share of cuts to balance the state budget and face even deeper cuts, yet corporations have not lost a single tax break. The Federation opposes proposals to pare down the public workforce through budget cuts, layoffs and furloughs. All Californians suffer when the state does not have enough trained workers to provide high-quality services to residents.

Public employees also face increased attacks on their pensions and retirement security. In California and across the nation, public employee pensions are being scapegoated for an economic crisis created by Wall Street. In reality, the entire cost of pensions for state workers in 2011 was \$3.5 billion, barely 4 percent of the state's total budget. Public employees already contribute up to 12 percent of their salaries to their pensions and have made a number of concessions during bargaining on pension issues.

As the number of workers in the private sector with any form of retirement security shrinks, attacks on public worker pensions are intensifying. In 2011, Governor Brown released a "12 Point Pension Reform Plan" which includes several proposals that would take away retirement security for many public workers. The plan includes proposals to require workers to work until age 67 only to receive less in secure defined benefits. This requirement hurts workers who perform manual labor for the state and who cannot physically work until 40 years without their bodies giving out. The governor also proposed a "hybrid" pension for new employees that would combine a reduced defined benefit pension with a 401(k) type plan in which employees bear all the risk. Plans like this disproportionately harm low and middle-income workers who do not have the resources to supplement a risky hybrid plan.

The Federation opposes pension reform proposals that serve the political purpose of scapegoating public employees rather than fixing the state's budget. Any changes to pensions should be made through collective bargaining. State workers have already agreed to pay more for pensions while reducing benefits and saving the state money. We oppose attempts to circumvent or abrogate collective bargaining agreements on pension reform.

*Continued*

Another attack on public employees is the contracting out of state jobs. In the public sector, contracting out work has additional risks: a profit motive for service delivery, decreased transparency of the contract terms, and reduced accountability for the services provided. But the harm to workers remains the same: without an expectation of permanence or protection, workers cannot afford to speak out when their rights are violated or try to improve their conditions by organizing a union. Permanent workers get displaced by workers with lower wages, fewer rights, and little hope of changing conditions for the better.

The public sector has also moved toward a more contingent workforce. Jobs that were once stable and permanent are being eliminated and replaced by temporary or contract workers. Each year, the state spends billions of dollars on personal services contracts, hiring workers without the protections of civil service laws or a collective bargaining agreement. California laws provide some protections against contracting out state and school work. Yet there is little transparency over state contracting practices, and the billions of dollars spent in state services contracts each year suggest the law has not been effective. We support expanding and strengthening existing laws to restrict the outsourcing of public sector jobs.

## **Local Fights**

Big business and their Republican allies understand that unlike in Wisconsin, Ohio and other states, they cannot successfully move anti-worker, anti-union legislation in California at the state level. But they have figured out that they can dismantle worker protections, collective bargaining rights and the public sector at the local level, city by city across the state.

### **BALLOT MEASURES**

Our affiliated unions and Central Labor Councils are fighting to beat back attacks by business groups and Republicans on the most fundamental workers' rights. In 2010, there were eight initiatives at the local level going after public employee pensions and retiree health care. In Stockton and San Jose, initiatives were on the ballot to eliminate binding arbitration.

San Jose is once again using ballot initiatives to launch attacks on public employees. The City Council voted to put a measure on the ballot that would slash the pensions of its union workers. City workers have offered to collectively bargain the pension issue with the city and have agreed to reduce pension benefits. Yet the city has been unwilling to negotiate and is moving forward with their ballot measure. The city exaggerated pension costs in order to build support for the ballot measure and to scapegoat public employees for the city's budget deficit. The Federation worked with local unions for a state audit of San Jose's finances before voters decide to slash pensions based on faulty information.

The Federation opposes placing pension reform measures on the ballot and reiterates that pension reform, benefits and contributions should be collectively bargained and not decided by voters.

### **CONTRACTING OUT AND CHARTER CITY CONVERSION**

Initiatives are not the only way that local governments are going after unions and the public sector. In March of 2011, the City of Costa Mesa voted to contract out more than 200 city jobs – over half of their workforce. The city garnered national attention when one worker committed suicide by jumping from a building apparently devastated by the layoff notice he received. Although the city claims the outsourcing was for cost savings, Costa Mesa has already spent over a half million dollars on a law firm that charges \$495 an hour for legal services. The real motivation behind the city's machinations is clear – conservatives called Costa Mesa “ground zero in the fight against organized labor...” and warned that this was the future for all California cities.

After a challenge from city unions to the outsourcing proposals, Costa Mesa is moving a proposal to become a Charter city. Charter cities, unlike General Law cities, can abandon the state constitution and adopt their own charter which governs the city's laws and operations. Of the state's 482 cities, 120, or 25 percent, are charter cities. The trend toward charter city conversions is growing in popularity as cities use conversions as a way to cut costs and balance their budgets by abrogating collective bargaining agreements and eliminating worker protections.

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The Associated Builders and Contractors seized on charter city conversions as a way to prohibit Project Labor Agreements and prevailing wage laws. We join with the State Building and Construction Trades in their fight at the local and state level to ensure that every city has the ability to choose to build with PLAs and every worker is paid the prevailing wage. We support SBCTC's lawsuit against the city of Vista for attempting to circumvent paying prevailing wage on municipal projects. Prevailing wage is the pathway to the middle class for construction workers, and it should be preserved at the state and local level.

In San Diego County in 2010, anti-union charter amendments were passed by voters in several charter cities. These initiatives prohibit the cities from funding contracts for public works projects that have a Project Labor Agreement. In 2012, anti-worker advocates put Measure A on the ballot in an effort to ban PLAs in the City of San Diego. If passed, this measure would force the city to forgo critically needed funding to repair crumbling infrastructure and other public works.

We oppose the use of charter city conversions as a strategy to avoid state laws protecting workers, public health and the environment. Project Labor Agreements and prevailing wage laws are issues of statewide concern and cannot be prohibited in city charters.

### **MUNICIPAL BANKRUPTCY**

Another tool increasingly used by cities to avoid obligations to public employees outlined in collective bargaining agreements is municipal bankruptcy. The Federation opposes the use of municipal bankruptcy by cities for this reason. In 2008, the Vallejo City Council voted to declare bankruptcy, even after firefighters, police officers, and public employees offered a package of wage and benefits concessions that would have solved the city's deficit. The Federation sponsored and passed legislation to create a structured mediation process to ensure that all stakeholders are at the table before bankruptcy is filed and that bankruptcies are not used to undermine collective bargaining agreements.

This law is already being tested as more cities and counties turn to bankruptcy to get out of obligations to their employees and residents. Fresno County, Stockton and Mammoth Lakes are only some of the municipalities looking to bankruptcy as a panacea for their budget woes. The Federation has worked closely with the unions representing workers in Stockton to prevent the drastic step of bankruptcy until all options, including collective bargaining, are exhausted. We will work with unions in cities around the state who want to make sure that they are fairly represented in the mediation process when a city considers bankruptcy. We also will work to refine and improve existing law to strengthen protections for workers during municipal bankruptcy.

The Federation will continue to work for strong public sector protections that ensure workers have the right to collective bargaining, living and prevailing wages and retirement security.

# 2012 Final Resolutions

(including late and amended resolutions)

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# resolution 1

## Young Workers' Council of the California Labor Federation

WHEREAS, 25% of union members are under the age of 35; and

WHEREAS, the continued strength and unity of the labor movement depends heavily on the ability of the younger union members to develop into strong and effective labor leaders; and

WHEREAS, a strong and future oriented labor movement needs to have a structure and plan in place to recruit, engage and develop young labor leaders; and

WHEREAS, a progressive labor movement is only as strong as the time and energy we put into the future of the movement; and

WHEREAS, the AFL-CIO on June 10th, 2010 held the first ever young workers "Next Up" summit in Washington D.C. asking all of labor to bring its young workers to the forefront of their priorities; and

WHEREAS, the AFL-CIO "Next Up" summit in Washington D.C. asked all of the delegates to find a way to reach young workers in their areas;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO become a leader in bringing forward the young workers labor movement in California, working with affiliated unions and community organizations; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO and its affiliate unions support the establishment of the Young Workers' Council of the California Labor Federation as an allied organization by July 24th, 2013; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO reaffirm its commitment to increase the participation of young workers, including programs that identify, recruit, mobilize, mentor and integrate younger members into the movement and draw attention to the unique issues and perspectives of younger workers; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO make this information and resolution available to central labor councils, affiliated unions and community organizations so they will join in this resolution; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO shall diligently work to integrate community organizations and workers of all kinds into our plan to outreach to young workers.

# resolution 2

## Support CARA's Campaign to Strengthen Social Security

WHEREAS, with the drastic decline in coverage of defined benefit pension plans (down from 38% of all private sector employees in 1980 to 20% in 2008 in the private sector and continuing to decline every year) and the failure of 401(K) type plans (which cover only about two-thirds of private sector workers) to provide any adequate and reliable measure of retirement income, Social Security remains the bedrock of retirement security for most Americans; and

WHEREAS, the conservative forces opposing Social Security who led the failed attack under President George W. Bush to privatize the system are now, under the guise of deficit reduction, trying to undermine Social Security by increasing the retirement age, cutting the cost-of-living formula and means testing the eligibility for benefits; and

WHEREAS, Social Security does not contribute one cent to the federal deficit because it is statutorily forbidden from borrowing federal dollars to pay benefits and moreover the Social Security Trust Fund currently has about a 2.6 trillion dollar surplus and is projected to be able to pay full benefits without any changes to the program until 2033 and about 75% of benefits until 2087; and

WHEREAS, the long-term financing problems of Social Security are easily solved by taxing the full amount of employees' earning (currently capped at \$110,100), by a slight, phased-in increase in the tax rate, or by a combination of both; and

WHEREAS, the foes of Social Security, led by billionaire Pete Peterson, an investment banker and Nixon's Secretary of Commerce, Alan Simpson, retired Senator from Wyoming, and Erskine Bowles, former investment banker and Clinton White House chief of staff, who, along with Simpson, co-chaired President Obama's "National Commission on Fiscal Responsibility and Reform" are intensifying their efforts to get Congress to adopt the deficit reduction report of the Commission co-chairs (which was rejected by Congress as a whole) as the basis of a "grand bargain" to be passed in the upcoming lame-duck session; and

WHEREAS, this proposal would drastically cut Social Security benefits for most working Americans by increasing the retirement age to 69, cutting benefits for middle class workers and reducing the annual cost-of-living adjustments, in addition to increasing unemployment by an estimated 2.4 million jobs in 2013 by instituting large cuts in federal spending in the midst of a recession; and

WHEREAS, the real solution to the deficit problem lies not in cutting spending, but in creating immediate and sustained economic growth and in increasing federal revenues through the elimination of the Bush tax cuts, and the elimination of corporate tax loopholes, a new tax on financial transactions and other progressive tax measures; and

WHEREAS, the California Alliance for Retired Americans (CARA) is leading the fight in our state to preserve and expand Social Security and Medicare;

Continued

**RESOLUTION 2: SUPPORT CARA'S CAMPAIGN TO STRENGTHEN SOCIAL SECURITY, *Continued***

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that this Twenty-ninth Biennial Convention of the California Labor Federation strongly urges each affiliate to join and to support the California Alliance for Retired Americans (CARA) both organizationally and financially in its efforts to strengthen Social Security, Medicare and other government programs to provide our members and all Americans with retirement security; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that the California Labor Federation transmits a copy of this resolution along with appropriate materials on CARA membership to each affiliate of the Federation.

# resolution 3

## WellPoint Political Spending Attacks on Working Families

WHEREAS, WellPoint began in 1996 when Blue Cross of California was converted to a for-profit insurance company (Blue Cross itself was started during the Great Depression of the 1930s when teachers and other union members successfully bargained for hospital insurance coverage for their members.); and

WHEREAS, today, WellPoint is a Fortune 100 Company, with a market cap of more than \$23 billion, over 34 million people insured, operations in 14 states; and

WHEREAS, WellPoint was among the five largest US insurance companies that secretly spent over \$100 million on the US Chamber of Commerce's campaign to kill President Obama's Health Reform Plan; and

WHEREAS, WellPoint has repeatedly rejected its shareholders, including CalPERS, CalSTRS, and the AFL-CIO Reserve Fund when they have asked for complete disclosure of all WellPoint political and lobbying spending; and

WHEREAS, WellPoint made and continues to make political contributions to politicians like Wisconsin Governor Scott Walker, Ohio Governor John Kasich and Indiana Governor Mitch Daniels, each of whom has worked relentlessly to destroy the collective bargaining rights of workers; and

WHEREAS, while WellPoint points to the fact that it does report on certain direct political contributions (totaling millions of dollars), WellPoint has never reported its share of the \$100 million Chamber of Commerce campaign nor whether it is involved in similar efforts today; and

WHEREAS, WellPoint depends upon the support of labor union members and their families whose monthly premiums pay for the health insurance it sells; and

WHEREAS, in a post-Citizens United America that is awash in corporate political cash, it is perfectly legal and appropriate for individuals and funds buying health insurance to demand full disclosure of all WellPoint political spending;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the California Labor Federation, its members and affiliates take all necessary measures to make WellPoint disclose all of its lobbying and political spending including, but not limited to, contributions, dues, special assessments and other payments, made on behalf of WellPoint or any subsidiary or related entity and transferred to any organization that has been granted tax-exempt status under any of the following Internal Revenue Code sections: 501(c)(3), 501(c)(4), 501(c)(5), and 501(c)(6) as well as any other direct or indirect transfers of funds or in-kind resources to any entity that engages in political activity or "public education" or produces, purchases, funds or distributes any form of advertising that mentions or refers to public policy questions, particular political candidates or elected officials. The reports should cover calendar years 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012 and should be made on a quarterly basis in the future.

# resolution 4

## Reform Enterprise Zones

WHEREAS, California faces deep and devastating cuts to education if the state does not find new revenue sources this year; and

WHEREAS, Californians have endured years of deep and painful budget cuts to schools, public safety and other vital services that are destroying the very fabric of our state; and

WHEREAS, the pain of California's budget crisis has not been shared equally because major corporations, consultants and lobbyists continue to rake in billions of dollars from the Enterprise Zone (EZ) tax credit program; and

WHEREAS, the most reliable and independent research has demonstrated that the EZ tax credit program is expensive and does not create jobs; and

WHEREAS, the Legislative Analyst's Office has recommended year after year that the state drastically reform or eliminate the EZ program; and

WHEREAS, the cost of the EZ program has grown substantially over the years—on average by 35 percent per year for a cost to the state of \$365 million in 2008 while state spending on education, public safety and health care have decreased; and

WHEREAS, the EZ program does not create jobs, but subsidizes corporations with assets over \$1 billion that claim the majority of EZ tax credits; and

WHEREAS, the EZ program has spawned a cottage industry of tax consultants who make their money by taking a cut of taxpayer dollars meant to create jobs and reduce poverty and unemployment; and

WHEREAS, the EZ program has become a way for corporations to move jobs around the state chasing tax credits in different EZs; and

WHEREAS, the EZ program has created a race to the bottom where cities compete against one another to offer tax relief to corporations even as they are slashing basic services; and

WHEREAS, the EZ program has been used as a tool to bust unions, such as at VWR in Brisbane, where VWR is laying off workers with decades at the company to hire low-wage, non-union workers and getting taxpayer subsidies to do so; and

WHEREAS, reducing the cost of the EZ program would provide much-needed revenue to the state of California to prevent deeper cuts to education, public safety and programs for the poor, elderly and sick;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the California Labor Federation support efforts, legislative or otherwise, to eliminate the EZ program and, short of elimination, support reforms that rein in the costs of the program, eliminate perverse incentives to layoff existing workers and make EZs more effective at actual job creation; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that the California Labor Federation calls on the state of California to prohibit employers from claiming EZ tax credits for moving jobs within the state or for busting unions.

# resolution 5

## Build a Powerful Nationwide Movement to Save the People's Post Office

WHEREAS, in view of the devastating attacks on the Postal Service that have been announced by the Postmaster General—which threaten to eliminate 220,000 living-wage postal jobs from our communities...close 250 mail processing centers and 3,700 post offices, mostly in poor and rural areas...degrade service standards and delay the mail by a minimum of 1 to 3 days...eliminate 6-day delivery and curtail door-to-door delivery of the mail, among many other proposed cutbacks—altogether threatening the very survival of the people's Post Office which for over 200 years has provided universal mail service at uniform rates to every part of the United States, and has the support of the great majority of our people; and

WHEREAS, the Post Office receives no federal tax money. Its total income is derived from the labor and skill of hundreds of thousands of postal workers who serve millions of customers daily (and also maintain the nation's largest fleet of trucks.) The Post Office is a strategic "multiplier industry" in transportation and communications, with up to 8 million workers in related industries, depending directly or indirectly on USPS for their livelihoods; and

WHEREAS, the postal system continues to thrive despite competition from the internet, and despite the severe economic downturn. Postal revenues just about matched expenses over the last four years—until they slapped the USPS with an unprecedented \$5.5 billion a year charge to pre-fund retiree health benefits and drained away an additional \$50-\$70 billion by over-funding postal pensions (according to government reports). This is a manufactured crisis, providing PMG Donahoe and the richest 1% with their phony arguments that the postal system is broke—and preparing the way for an attempt to sabotage, dismantle and privatize this trillion dollar industry and run it for private profit; and

WHEREAS, the postal system belongs to the people. To safeguard our heritage and ensure that the interests of the people are being protected, the Post Office needs to be publicly owned and run in the public interest;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the California Labor Federation encourages the formation, in cities and towns throughout the state, of Community/Labor Coalitions to Save Postal Service Jobs and Services—to build a powerful nationwide movement to defeat privatization, maintain living wage jobs, expand postal services, and save the Post Office as a public entity operating in the public interest.



# resolution 6

## Resolution Regarding Inter-Union Raids

WHEREAS, Los Angeles County social workers have been represented by SEIU for more than thirty years; and

WHEREAS, this attempted raid by LACFSU on 4,000 SEIU represented social workers weakens the labor movement at a time when public sector workers and the whole labor movement is under attack; and

WHEREAS, the labor movement faces a statewide ballot initiative in November, “The Special Exemptions Act” attacking the right of workers to engage in the political process; and

WHEREAS, the Special Exemptions Act, if passed, will lead to further attacks on workers’ wage and hour protections and health insurance and pension benefits; and

WHEREAS, the cities of San Diego and San Jose just passed ballot initiatives limiting the pensions of public employees; and

WHEREAS, further attacks on public employees’ pension benefits can be expected in cities and counties throughout California; and

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO strongly opposes the raid on SEIU represented LA County social workers because it undermines the unity of the labor movement at a time when the entire labor movement must be galvanized to stop the Special Exemptions Act and other attacks on both public and private sector workers; and

THEREFORE BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that the California Labor Federation strongly opposes the practice of unions raiding or undermining the bargaining units of other unions regardless of the purpose. Raiding and other acts of aggression distract all unions from the higher purpose of building a strong and unified labor movement. It also interferes with the efforts of central bodies to bring together unions with common purpose and to mobilize all of labor’s resources in their common cause.

# resolution 7

## Resolution in Opposition to SB 1161 (Telephone Deregulation)

WHEREAS, when the telephone came into widespread use over a century ago, California recognized how vital this new service was, for everything from jobs and commerce to public safety. So the California Public Utilities Commission (CPUC) set up a series of protections for consumers aimed at guaranteeing reliable, affordable phone calls; and

WHEREAS, quality, affordable telephone service is an essential public need, especially in times of natural disaster or medical emergency. As Voice Over Internet Protocol (VOIP) service becomes the dominant mode of voice communications in California, we need to protect the CPUC's role in overseeing this evolving industry. This is a complex, emerging technology whose future impact is difficult to predict. CPUC oversight is the only mechanism in place today to protect consumers, small business, service quality regulations and telecommunications workers; and

WHEREAS, SB 1161 (Padilla) threatens these protections by barring regulations of Voice Over Internet Protocol (VOIP) phone services. Standards for service quality and line maintenance for clear, reliable calls would vanish under the bill as telephone networks continue to migrate to VOIP, and rural communities would lose guarantees of phone access altogether. Rules requiring fair billing and collection, protections against unauthorized charges, and in-language customer service would no longer apply to most customers; and

WHEREAS, with technological advances in phone service coming fast and furious, the CPUC must have the latitude and authority to insure quality of service, and the availability of reliable telephone service to every customer in the state. VOIP phone services now make up over one quarter of California's 10.4 million residential telephone subscriptions, and VOIP's share of the phone market shot up 26 percent from 2008 to 2010. VOIP is becoming the only option for increasing numbers of Californians and eventually all basic phone service will be provided using VOIP. That means all customers, not just current VOIP customers, could lose their rights, and the CPUC would be helpless to do anything about it; and

WHEREAS, without basic telephone regulation, monopoly phone companies would be free to price out customers they don't find profitable enough, and run roughshod over consumer rights, with no fear of fines or sanctions. Consumers with complaints about their phone service or phone bill would literally have nowhere to turn, and long-standing universal service obligations could be quashed. Together, these moderate regulations ensure that the telecommunications jobs needed to meet these service standards must be maintained; and

WHEREAS, phone companies are now subject to the Utility Users Tax (UUT), a critical revenue source for many Californian cities and counties. SB 1161 threatens the ability of cities and counties to collect the UUT, further decimating city and county budgets; and

WHEREAS, SB 1161 is backed by the right-wing American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) and is part of an effort to dismantle consumer protections state-by-state often resulting in higher bills where it has been successful. While masquerading as legislation with limited application to VOIP only, in reality SB 1161 would mean the end of regulatory oversight over large monopoly phone companies. Consumers and workers would be left utterly defenseless;

Continued

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the California Labor Federation pursue a public course of action that will ally us with other trade unions, churches, community groups and other concerned organizations and individuals to defeat SB 1161; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the California Labor Federation communicate with each State Legislative Representative urging them to vote against passage of SB 1161 unless amended to retain CPUC jurisdiction to protect consumers and workers; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that the California Labor Federation send copies to each Central Labor Council, urging them to take action to influence their local representatives in the State Legislature and petition the Governor to veto SB 1161 for the good of the people of California.

# resolution 8

## Commitment to Organizing

WHEREAS, the power of the Labor Movement has always been in our members, the working people who built this state and nation; and

WHEREAS, a decline in union membership causes a decline in working and living standards for all workers and decreasing union membership is directly tied to the disappearance of the American middle class; and

WHEREAS, unions are not about protecting a small group of members, but about raising working conditions across an industry and fighting for economic fairness for all; and

WHEREAS, workers in this country do not have a meaningful right to organize since existing legal remedies are vastly inadequate in the face of the intense anti-union campaigns now waged by management in virtually every organizing drive; and

WHEREAS, abuses of workers only worsen in tough economic times, when workers are desperate to hold on to jobs; and

WHEREAS, the Labor Movement believes that every worker deserves respect, dignity, and a voice on the job and we will not abandon that commitment even in the face of Corporate America's union-busting tactics; and

WHEREAS, the California Labor Movement represents over two million workers who stand ready to support non-union workers who want to improve their lives by forming a union; and

WHEREAS, organizing new workers doesn't just provide benefits to those workers, but also rejuvenates our unions and inspires our members; and

WHEREAS, if we commit time and resources, we can build our union movement, rebuild the middle-class, and reignite a spirit of solidarity throughout this state;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the California Labor Federation calls on all California unions to recommit to organizing; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the California Labor Federation continue to direct its own staff time and resources to demonstrate a commitment to organizing; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the California Labor Federation continue to fight for a real right to organize so that workers can decide for themselves free from employer intimidation or harassment.

# resolution 9

## Combined Constituency Group Delegate to Executive Council

EXPLANATION: The Federation's Executive Council is composed of the President, the Secretary-Treasurer and the 46 Vice-Presidents each of whom is elected for a four year term by the delegates to the odd numbered Biennial Conventions of the Federation. In March of 2012 the AFL-CIO Executive Council amended the Rules Governing AFL-CIO State Central Bodies to provide in areas with one or more AFL-CIO constituency groups the combined constituency groups affiliated with the state central body shall be entitled to one voting seat on the state central body's governing board. The AFL-CIO Rules are silent as to how such a delegate to the Executive Council is to be appointed or elected. The language of this Constitutional Amendment is contingent upon approval by the President of the AFL-CIO. Adoption of this Constitutional Amendment requires a two-thirds vote.

WHEREAS, the national AFL-CIO has amended its Rules Governing State Central Bodies to require expansion of the Executive Council; and

WHEREAS, this will broaden the opportunity for constituency groups, representing the diversity of the Labor Movement, to have a more formal role with the Federation;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that Article VIII, Section 1 as found on page 23 of the Federation's Constitution be amended by addition of the underscored language to read as follows:

“The Executive Council shall consist of the President, the Secretary Treasurer, and the 46 Vice Presidents, specified in Article IV, Section 1, herein. Additionally, the combined AFL-CIO constituency groups affiliated with the Federation will be represented by one delegate to the Executive Council who shall have voice and vote in accord with the rules of the AFL-CIO. Any such delegate to the Executive Council shall be nominated and elected in the same fashion as an At Large Vice President by the delegates to the odd numbered Biennial Conventions of the Federation. Such delegate to the Executive Council must meet all of the requirements of an At Large Vice President and be a member of an AFL-CIO constituency group affiliated with the Federation. Should any such delegate to the Executive Council resign, die or be properly removed prior to the next odd numbered Biennial Convention a replacement shall be appointed by a majority vote of the Executive Council.”

# resolution 10

## Resolution in Support of Workers Compensation Reform

WHEREAS, Working people in every industry deserve to come home from work safe and without injury; and

WHEREAS, California workers are routinely exposed to hazardous chemicals and pesticides, extreme temperatures, dangerous working conditions, and a general disregard for their health and safety; and

WHEREAS, Workers compensation represents a compact between employers and workers that workers will not sue for work-related injuries and, in exchange, employers will provide treatment and benefits for injured workers; and

WHEREAS, in 2004, that compact was broken when employers, insurance companies, and then-Governor Schwarzenegger forced a major overhaul of California's workers compensation system by passing SB 899 (Poochigian); and

WHEREAS, this legislation has proved disastrous for injured workers—slashing benefits, delaying treatment, and generating massive waste and fraud by those trying to profit off the system; and

WHEREAS, SB 899 was most devastating for permanently disabled workers, not only reducing permanent disability indemnity (PD) dollars by 70%, but by cutting the duration of benefits and disqualifying one in four from receiving any compensation at all; and

WHEREAS, the legislation armed employers and insurance companies with a dizzying array of new delay tactics, that have only prolonged the suffering of injured workers but also forced many to abandon the system and seek treatment elsewhere; and

WHEREAS, most workers lost the ability to choose their own doctor for a work-related injury and are now dependent on employer-chosen doctors; and

WHEREAS, profiteering interests from durable medical goods suppliers to third party lien claimants have made billions exploiting SB 899's weaknesses and loopholes, creating cottage industries so profitable that the medical cost containment expenses have tripled; and

WHEREAS, all stakeholders, including employers, agree that PD awards were cut too deeply, inefficiencies and fraud now dominate the system, and more premium dollars should go towards treating injured workers; and

WHEREAS, a wide body of research describes the extent of the problem and outlines various ideas for reform; and

WHEREAS, a listening tour held this year by the Department of Industrial Relations and the Division of Workers Compensation allowed injured workers across the state to tell their stories which illustrate the flaws in SB 899 and the human cost of those reforms; and

WHEREAS, the research findings and the listening tour demonstrate an urgent need for action;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the California Labor Federation sponsor legislation to restore adequate benefits, timely medical treatment and basic fairness to our workers' compensation system; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the California Labor Federation call on all responsible employers to stand with us in this fight; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that the California Labor Federation work with every local union to engage our members in every industry and bring about reforms that restore justice and dignity to all injured workers.

# resolution 11

## On the Offense Against Corporate Special Interests

WHEREAS, labor unions all across the country are facing coordinated attacks from wealthy anti-union forces and big corporations at a level not seen in generations; and

WHEREAS, unions remain the last organized line of defense for America's middle class; and

WHEREAS, income inequality has reached epidemic proportions in the U.S., threatening to rip the very fabric of our nation; and

WHEREAS, big corporations and the politicians they control have systematically dismantled the middle class through budget cuts, slashing jobs, eliminating retirement and cratering the housing market; and

WHEREAS, California faces an anti-union ballot measure to silence the voice of workers while giving special exemptions to big corporations and billionaires; and

WHEREAS, this threat to California's middle class is the latest—and most destructive—of years of attacks on unions in this state; and

WHEREAS, defeating measure must be the top priority of the California labor movement; and

WHEREAS, victory in this ballot fight is essential but is not enough An offensive battle must also be waged in order to win economic fairness and reclaim the middle class; and

WHEREAS, it is time to reverse the trend of corporate take-aways and special interests that are destroying our state and country; and

WHEREAS, it is time for a renewed commitment to organizing to give more workers a fair shot at the California Dream;

WHEREAS, it is time to hold elected officials, both Democrat and Republican, accountable for their actions. If they vote against working people, regardless of their party affiliation, we commit to ensuring the public is aware of whose side they're on; and

WHEREAS, it is time to end the unfair system of tax breaks for the wealthy and big corporations while budget cuts unhinge our state's middle class; and

WHEREAS, it is time to end budget cuts that are eroding our investments in everything that has historically made California a great place to live, work and raise a family, from infrastructure to education and other essential services; and

WHEREAS, it is time to stop mass outsourcing of American jobs by ending tax breaks for companies that ship jobs overseas, strengthening Buy America provisions and ending trade agreements that benefit big corporations at the expense of workers' jobs; and



WHEREAS, it is time to expand health care to the millions of Californians who don't have it, expand living wages, increase retirement security in both the private sector and public sector, fully fund K-12 and higher education and build high-speed rail; and

WHEREAS, the future of California's middle class depends on our ability to move an economic agenda that creates and protects good jobs for Californians;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that California's unions will defeat Proposition 32, delivering a crushing blow to the anti-union movement across the nation; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that this victory signifies the beginning of a new area of labor organizing, grassroots mobilizing and political action that will win real change for working people and put anti-union forces on the defense; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that the California labor movement is committed to using our collective resources and grassroots strength to not only fight the defensive fights we have to win, but to also move a progressive agenda that will expand access to the middle class for millions of California families and create a healthier economy for future generations.

# resolution 12

## Campaign Plan in Every Union to Defeat Proposition 32

WHEREAS, right-wing billionaires and big corporations are funding an all-out assault on unions in Wisconsin, Indiana and all across the country; and

WHEREAS, that assault on unions has come to California this year in the form of Prop 32, a deceptive measure that would destroy our state's middle class; and

WHEREAS, Prop 32 was put on the ballot by the extreme right-wing Lincoln Club of Orange County and is funded by corporate interests and anti-union billionaires; and

WHEREAS, Prop 32 is the most destructive anti-union measure we have ever seen on the California ballot, more dangerous and tougher to defeat than previous measures like Prop 75 and Prop 226; and

WHEREAS, under Prop 32, union workers would never again be allowed to contribute to any state or local candidate for office from any source of funds or fight ballot measures that threaten our jobs, wages and even the right to have a union at all; and

WHEREAS, Prop 32 is disguised as “campaign finance reform” but is loaded with special exemptions that allow big corporations, billionaires, Wall St. hedge funds, insurance companies and other corporate interests to spend unlimited money through Super PACs and front groups; and

WHEREAS, Prop 32 is really an anti-workers one-two punch—first they silence our voice; then attack worker protections, pensions, wages, benefits and ultimately collective bargaining; and

WHEREAS, it is critical that our members understand the devastating impact of Prop 32 to their jobs and their families; and

WHEREAS, our power lies in our membership, and we are most effective when our members are engaged, educated and inspired; and

WHEREAS, we must urgently connect the dots for our members that Prop 32 is not real reform and is, in fact, a direct threat to all the things they care most about including workers' wages, rights, protections, power and dignity; and

WHEREAS, our members—like all voters—must be informed and informed early about the deceptive lies of Prop 32; and

WHEREAS, research shows that 76% of our members must vote NO on Prop 32 in order to reach a majority NO vote, requiring unions to reach every member through every means possible; and

WHEREAS, “Labor’s Blueprint for Victory” includes layering our phone banks, union mail and work-site contacts so that union members are hearing from their trusted unions about issues they care about; and

WHEREAS, polling and focus groups show that union members value worksite conversations about elections more than any other type of communication and that they are most persuaded to vote for Labor's recommendations when they are approached at the worksite; and

WHEREAS, local union letters are our most effective form of mail communication and the ones our members read most; and

WHEREAS, the "Blueprint Campaign Tracker" is available for every union to track their progress toward Labor's 2012 goals including mobilizing volunteers and releasing staff to achieve 25,000 volunteer shifts at Labor Councils which are the hub of our field operations;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that we immediately develop an intensive member-to-member campaign at every local union in order to defeat prop 32; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that every local union reaches the goals adopted by the Federation's Strategic Planning Committee to recruit volunteers and release staff for Central Labor Councils, send two personal letters to each member and reach at least 50% of members through worksite visits; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that in each union, every leader, member and staff person make the campaign to defeat Prop 32 their top priority and integrate the campaign into all union work and personal communications so that we educate our members, increase turnout and provide the margin of victory in November.

# resolution 13

## Maximizing Voter Participation in Communities of Color

WHEREAS, California Labor has a long history of and commitment to protecting voting rights and expanding voter participation in communities of color; and

WHEREAS, California Labor is proud to represent and reflect the most diverse state in the nation; and

WHEREAS, the interests of the Labor Movement and communities of color are interrelated as we fight to expand opportunity and promote social and economic justice for all; and

WHEREAS, our unions have spearheaded effective programs to mobilize and turn out voters in California's diverse communities and we must build upon those efforts; and

WHEREAS, defeating Proposition 32, the Special Exemptions Act, will require that we build a broad coalition including communities of color and other natural allies; and

WHEREAS, the billionaires behind Proposition 32 will target disenfranchised voters and we must help inoculate voters against the opposition's deceptive lies; and

WHEREAS, the same interests behind Proposition 32 are also pushing to restrict voter access and depress turnout among people of color; and

WHEREAS, the Labor Movement is uniquely positioned to collaborate with communities of color to develop a field campaign to educate, mobilize and turnout voters; and

WHEREAS, Million More Voters is successful in targeting swing voters in diverse communities and communicated with Latino and Asian voters about the stakes in the 2010 Governor's race; and

WHEREAS, effective voter education requires that political communications be available in multiple languages including Spanish, Chinese, Vietnamese and Korean as well as in ways that are culturally relevant; and

WHEREAS, engaging more voters and more diverse voters in the political process helps advance the causes of workers and the middle class;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Labor Movement will reach out to communities of color about our shared values and how Proposition 32 hurts us all; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Federation will build on the work of Million More Voters to identify voters from all communities that share the values of working people; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that all levels of the Labor Movement are encouraged to engage in unprecedented outreach and coalition building with communities of color to defeat Proposition 32 and advance our shared agenda of investing in California.

# resolution 14

## Made In America

WHEREAS, a relentless economic downturn continues to plague California, saddling our state with an 11% unemployment rate that remains one of the highest in the nation; and

WHEREAS, these two million unemployed Californians stand ready and able to work, clamoring for more investment and greater opportunities across all industries—but especially in the manufacturing sector; and

WHEREAS, since 2000, California and the nation have experienced large and continuing job losses in the manufacturing sector; and

WHEREAS, between January 2000 and 2009, California lost 471,000 manufacturing jobs, equal to 25.6% of all manufacturing jobs in the state; and

WHEREAS, the loss of manufacturing jobs makes California's economic woes even worse since manufacturing has historically been part of the foundation of California's economy, and the decline in manufacturing has long-term consequences for the economic health of the state; and

WHEREAS, all indications are that without a concerted effort to expand—or at least defend—our manufacturing and production industries, this trend will accelerate in coming years, prolonging the downturn and preventing countless Californians and Americans from realizing any version of the American dream; and

WHEREAS, Investment in manufacturing is a smart way to spur economic recovery since manufacturing jobs have the highest multiplier effect of any job classification in any industry—for every manufacturing job created, an additional 2.5 jobs are created in the broader economy; and

WHEREAS, the presence of one manufacturing firm gives rise to an entire supply chain creating business opportunities for suppliers, component manufacturers, contractors and professionals and producing goods in state spurs economic activity in the transportation and shipping industries; and

WHEREAS, jobs in manufacturing are good for working families and the average wage for a manufacturing job in California is \$25,000 higher than that of a service sector employee and \$35,000 higher than retail trade wages; and

WHEREAS, jobs in the manufacturing and production sectors are often union jobs, and as a result, these workers typically earn living wages, receive decent benefits, retire with dignity, and enjoy the many other advantages of union membership; and

WHEREAS, certain local economies have developed around manufacturing employers, and losing these employers can devastate the entire tax base to the point where essential public services collapse, further decimating the region; and

WHEREAS, over 10% of federal government spending is categorized as “public procurement,” or the purchasing of goods, services, and works, with manufactured goods constituting a major component of these outlays; and

WHEREAS, the California Department of General Services alone devotes \$10 billion each year to public procurement; and

WHEREAS, such massive spending represents staggering purchasing power and capacity to help restore our manufacturing base; and

WHEREAS, leveraging public dollars can help rebuild California's manufacturing sector by purchasing goods made in California and creating a market for in-state manufacturers;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the California Labor Federation support Made in America and Made in California requirements for the state and local governments to buy goods manufactured in California and in the United States; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED that the California Labor Federation carry this fight beyond legislation into the public arena, educating and organizing around the issue wherever and whenever possible.

# resolution 15

## Resolution for the Safety of Labor Leaders in Colombia

WHEREAS, we are deeply concerned about the current violence that confronts unions in Colombia, particularly those unions which are involved with the Patriotic March the latest civil society coalition for peace in the country; and

WHEREAS, leaders in the agricultural union, FENSUAGRO, have been specially targeted because of the union's role in developing the new movement, specifically: union activist Gerardo Martinez was assassinated on June 14, 2012 near Calandaima where he had helped organize a protest against army actions to install a military base that displaced the families of peasant and indigenous residents. His body was found with signs of torture, having been shot five times, twice in the head; and

WHEREAS, Fredy Chate, a regional President of FENSUAGRO has been threatened with death, followed, and detained at a military checkpoint, and then released when his colleagues gathered and rallied to demand his release; and

WHEREAS, these events follow upon death threats against Jimmy Ortiz Gutierrez and the disappearance of Herman Henry Diaz last April, both FENSUAGRO leaders; and

WHEREAS, we are very concerned for the lives and safety of leaders in SINALTRAINAL, the food workers union. Juan Carlos Galviz survived a paramilitary home invasion. William Mendoza's young daughter survived an attempted kidnapping. Both men have been living with death threats and government intimidation. Mr. Mendoza spoke to various unions in Northern California a few years ago and was made an Honorary Member of the ILWU. Now the two men are also living under the cloud of false criminal charges (by the testimony of one paramilitary) which doubly endanger their lives;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, in light of these events, this convention calls upon the Ministry of Labor of the Republic of Colombia to take all measures to protect the lives and well being of FENSUAGRO leaders, members, and their families, and to ensure the safety of Jimmy Ortiz Gutierrez and seek the safe return of Herman Henry Diaz to his family; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, this convention calls upon the Ministry to take action to see that the false and unwarranted charges against William Mendoza and Juan Carlos Galvis be dropped and that all measures be taken to ensure their safety and wellbeing.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that this convention supports the ability of all workers and trade unionists in Colombia to exercise their right to organize free of intimidation; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that this convention calls upon the national AFL-CIO to call upon the Ministry of Labor of the Republic of Colombia to take action to see that the false and unwarranted charges against William Mendoza and Juan Carlos Galvis be dropped and that all measures be taken to ensure their safety and well-being.

# resolution 16

## Diplomacy, Not War with Iran – End Militarization of Foreign Policy

WHEREAS, many indications point to preparations for U.S. military action against Iran, and we have seen the effects of war in Iraq as a consequence of false and misleading claims of weapons of mass destruction, which led to the death of hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians, including a half-million children, with over 4,818 U.S. troops killed, and over 54,834 seriously wounded, and we are determined to avoid any repetition of this experience, and

WHEREAS, the budget crises at federal, state, and local levels and their terrible results for working people make all the more urgent reductions in U.S. military operations and spending, and the transfer of those funds to pressing domestic needs, and

WHEREAS, on August 3, 2011 the AFL-CIO National Executive Council stated: “There is no way to fund what we must do as a nation without bringing our troops home from Iraq and Afghanistan. The militarization of our foreign policy has proven to be a costly mistake. It is time to invest at home.” and

WHEREAS, on March 2, 2012, 37 Members of Congress, including all four from Santa Clara County, Mike Honda, Zoe Lofgren, Sam Farr, and Anna Eshoo signed a letter to President Obama that said: “...We urge your Administration to utilize all available tools of diplomacy to resolve the crisis over Iran’s nuclear program and prevent another costly war in the Middle East...(W)e must redouble our diplomatic efforts...(W)e are concerned that a lack of communication with Iran could lead to a dangerous escalation with potentially devastating consequences... (W)e agree with most Americans that the United States should not enter a new war...A military strike against Iran could lead to a regional war in the Middle East and attacks against U.S. interests. Even worse, such a strike would likely compel Iran to abandon the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, eject international inspectors, and rapidly pursue a nuclear deterrent...”, and they conclude “We believe that robust, sustained diplomacy is the best option to resolve our serious concerns about Iran’s nuclear program, and to prevent a costly war that would be devastating for the United States and our allies in the region.” and

WHEREAS, our Congress Members quote top leaders who have repeatedly warned against a military strike on Iran: Secretary of State Leon Panetta said war with Iran, “would not only involve many lives, but I think could consume the Middle East in a confrontation and a conflict that we would regret;” former Israeli Mossad Chief Meir Dagan said, attacking Iran, “would mean regional war, and in that case you would have given Iran the best possible reason to continue the nuclear program;” General Anthony Zinni said, “If you follow this all the way down, eventually I’m putting boots on the ground somewhere. And, like I tell my friends, if you like Iraq and Afghanistan, you’ll love Iran;” former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Michael Mullen, advised using “any channel that’s open” for engagement with Iran, noting, “Even in the darkest days of the Cold War, we had links to the Soviet Union.”

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the California Labor Federation agrees with and thanks our representatives in Congress for their strong, documented position backing our demand that robust, sustained diplomacy free of threats of military action is the best option to prevent a costly and devastating war, and



BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we stand firm with the AFL-CIO statement that “There is no way to fund what we must do as a nation without bringing our troops home from Iraq and Afghanistan. The militarization of our foreign policy has proven to be a costly mistake. It is time to invest at home;” and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that we send this resolution to our representatives in Congress and the Senate and to the AFL-CIO for their concurrence and transmittal to President Obama.

# resolution 17

## Resolution on Poverty, Jobs and Immigration

WHEREAS, half of the US population lives in poverty or is low-income, and more than half of those in poverty are women; and

WHEREAS, poverty is the direct result of an economic system that is historically based in the exploitation of human labor, including slave and wage labor; and

WHEREAS, throughout modern history, poverty feeds and promotes inequality and racism; it has been used to keep all working people in competition against one another in the fight for survival; pitting women against men, citizens against “non-citizens”; and

WHEREAS, immigration law is used by corporations as an instrument of labor policy and has consistently operated against the interests of working people in all nations; and

WHEREAS, these systems of human labor are increasingly being replaced by electronic technology, thereby destroying the social contract and dismantling the social safety net including child care programs, Cal Works and Programs for Disabled and Seniors, and including a systematic attack on public sector workers at all levels of government; and

WHEREAS, unions and all organizations built on the blood, sweat and tears of working people are being defunded and destroyed as part of a global process of implementing austerity measures to facilitate the massive reorganization of government into private corporate hands, thereby putting our people further at risk; and

WHEREAS, our nation currently has sufficient resources to end poverty but is structured legally to protect the profit-making of corporations and Wall Street, proven by the fact that Wall Street and U.S. corporate profits last year grew at the fastest rate in 60 years, and more than 40 percent of U.S. corporations paid no federal income taxes for two years or more during the period of 1998 to 2005;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that this convention dedicate ourselves to support and lead on-going efforts to end poverty; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we demand our nation measure wealth based on quality of life and measures of human happiness rather than quantity of money and the ownership of private property; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we demand our government is held accountable to distribute all social resources to provide everything needed for a complete, healthy and sustainable life for all; this is a human right regardless of job status, citizenship or the ability to pay; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we support and lead campaigns and programs that tax corporations, that expose predatory lending schemes, and that terminates toxic debt swap agreements and promote

job development including the work undertaken by SEIU 1021 against Goldman Sachs in Oakland, a regional initiative undertaken by the United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 5 “Good Jobs and Healthy Communities” promoting job development, job training proposal and resource development and the Financial Transactions Tax (otherwise known as a Robin Hood Tax) proposal undertaken by the California Nurses Association and the National Nurses United; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we demand comprehensive human rights based immigration reform; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we fight for an economic system where jobs to care-give, teach and create good, green environment replace our current exploitative labor system; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED that we support any future effort that embodies the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights call for the elimination of poverty.

# resolution 18

## Resolution on the Health Care for the 99%

WHEREAS, prices for healthcare are drastically increasing, and workers pay 47% more than they did in 2005 for the family health coverage they obtain through their jobs and the United States spends twice as much for health care (2.4 trillion in 2008) than any other industrialized nation; and

WHEREAS, the quality of our health care in the US is lacking and an estimated 23 million people will remain uninsured by 2019, and even with all the money spent on health care the US still lags behind other developed countries in indicators of health (the US ranks 37th in overall health outcomes by the World Health Organization); and

WHEREAS, this huge discrepancy between skyrocketing prices for healthcare and poor quality of care (lack of access to information and resources; proper care, medical attention and specialized care and ethical treatment of fellow human beings) can be attributed to the broken, bureaucratic system of our nation's health care, as attributed to the thousands of insurance companies and pharmaceutical corporations controlling the health care system as a system for profit, rather than a system for care; and

WHEREAS, public health programs including Medicaid and Medicare as well as those that are the last line of defense for the poorest and most disabled are being targeted for privatization , while unionized workers are facing total destruction of quality job-based health insurance affecting both younger workers in two-tier agreements and elderly workers facing underfunded retiree programs; and

WHEREAS, the private insurance companies including managed care systems absorb a high percentage of individual, employers and government health care costs and do not improve quality of care; and

WHEREAS, the pharmaceutical and other health care industry is currently based on profit rather than what is needed for the patient; and

WHEREAS, one of the largest reasons for bankruptcy in this country is due to health related debt; and

WHEREAS, advances in electronic technology are currently being used to replace jobs, including health care jobs, and are being put in the service of profit making rather than achieving the highest level of health care research and delivery of health care; and

WHEREAS, poverty, lack of access to quality housing, food, water and other poor living conditions as well as violence and discrimination adversely affect health outcomes more than any single medical treatment, including access to drugs; and

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that this convention will build a core of leaders who place the health care needs of the 99% at the forefront of the fight to reform health care in this country; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, we demand FREE, comprehensive, equal health care for all, regardless of pre-existing conditions, job status, marriage status, age, gender, or place of origin, guaranteed by our federal government. The only preconditions to be eligible should be being human; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, we demand that health care be extracted from the market and reinvested into the hands of the public. We seek the elimination of private insurance plans and expansion of our already existing Medicare program to serve the 100%. We are not starting from scratch, but expanding National Health Insurance; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we demand an immediate stop to the privatization of our existing limited health and social programs including Medicare and Medicaid, leaving them in the public domain and that Medicaid be brought up to the level of Medicare immediately as a transition to a fully funded, comprehensive healthcare for all. We further demand that health care related debt be expressly forbidden by law; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, we support the single-payer program as described in the work by Healthcare NOW! for an expanded and improved Medicare for All because it will simplify the health care system in the US by replacing multiple private insurers with a single, government guaranteed payer within the healthcare system. This will decrease all existing expensive, time-consuming and laborious bureaucracy of our current health care system—an expected savings of \$400 billion a year; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, we demand affordable and accessible health care that includes a wide spectrum of care: medical, dental, eye care, chiropractic, mental, prescription, physical therapy, in-home care, and long-term care. We seek the inclusion of proven healing practices from traditions outside of Western medicine, such as holistic healing, herbal medicine, acupuncture/acupressure etc; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, we advocate for empowering patients with information, resources and education about their health so that they can have an informed choice. We demand that everyone have the highest level of access to resources and to various types of health care in order to best take care of their health, lives, bodies and homes. Health care providers will use harm reduction approaches and meet people who need care where they are at and care for them regardless of their socio-economic or health conditions because they are human and deserving of health care; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, health care is a human right to life; we declare that all profit, capital and gain should be eliminated from health care thereby placing humanity, compassion and care at the core of expected health provision. Ethical decision making including the appropriate use of technology must be built into all decision-making in health care standards; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, we advocate the improvement of our communities through increased access to housing and affordable healthy foods and grocery; cleaner neighborhoods free from pollution (smog, water, sound etc); public spaces to exercise and play for healthy mind and body; and demand that resources allowing the community to connect and learn from each other, reduce stress, and improve health (ie social organizations to help with legal assistance, housing/financing, childcare, spirituality, health care, etc) to be considered central to health planning throughout the country.

*Referred to the Executive Council*

# 2012 Preliminary roll of Delegates



## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Actors and Artistes of America, Associated - AFTRA

AFTRA 40		(1,923 votes, 5 delegates)
	Gabrielle Carteris	384
	William Thomas	387
	Jennifer Heater	384
	Evangelina Nevarez	384
	Len Egert	384
AFTRA 80		(326 votes, 2 delegates)
	Karen Lipney	163
	Micci Toliver	163

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### Communications Workers of America

CWA 39521		(624 votes, 2 delegates)
	Niesha Lofing	312
	Carl Hall	312
CWA 9003		(2 votes, 2 delegates)
	T Santora	2
	Liz Sorenson	0
	Ameerah McAuley	0
CWA 9400		(2,787 votes, 7 delegates)
	William L. Demers	467
	Judy Perez	464
	Alexandra Rooker	464
	Clairann Ranney	464
	Vicki Di Paolo	464
	Shelly Konopa	464
CWA 9408		(780 votes, 3 delegates)
	Stan Santos	260
	Peg Bissell	260
	Don Adams	260
CWA 9408 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Aaron Moore	0
CWA 9410		(693 votes, 3 delegates)
	Roland Anderson	231
	Efanye Chibuko	231
	Larry Yee	231
CWA 9412		(518 votes, 2 delegates)
	Keith Gibbs	259
	Cookie Cameron	259
CWA 9415		(1,150 votes, 4 delegates)
	Christina B. Huggins	1,150

## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Communications Workers of America

CWA 9421		(2,081 votes, 6 delegates)
	Darrin Simmons	521
	Robert Longer	520
	Jim Gordon	520
	Julie Bratcher	520
CWA 9423		(625 votes, 2 delegates)
	Stephanie Olvera	209
	Dan Rodriguez	208
	Larry Blount	208
CWA 9505		(1,568 votes, 5 delegates)
	Tony Gonzales	1,568
CWA 9509		(1,792 votes, 5 delegates)
	James Lucero	896
	Jamal Stewart Cook	896
CWA 9573		(473 votes, 2 delegates)
	Karen Macias	237
	Jacque Wasserman	236
CWA 9575		(886 votes, 3 delegates)
	Jennifer Wilson	443
	Lisa Shafer	443
CWA 9588		(112 votes, 2 delegates)
	Rosalinda Bernal	56
	Joshua Reyes	56
CWA 9588 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	J. Carlos Castillon	0
	Martina Rangel-Ortega	0
CWA AFA 11		(1,039 votes, 4 delegates)
	Christine Black	1,039
CWA AFA 12		(842 votes, 3 delegates)
	Dante Harris	842

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## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of

IBEW 100		(517 votes, 2 delegates)
	Kevin Cole	259
	Chris Howell	258
IBEW 1245		(13,523 votes, 10 delegates)
	Tom Dalzell	1,355
	Mike Davis	1,352
	Art Freitas	1,352
	Anna Bayless-Martinez	1,352
	Cecelia De La Torre	1,352
	Hunter Stern	1,352
	Lorenzo Arciniega	1,352
	Aaron Baker	1,352
	Steve Gallow	1,352
	Jennifer Gray	1,352
IBEW 18		(6,913 votes, 10 delegates)
	Brian D'Arcy	6,913
IBEW 302		(1,068 votes, 4 delegates)
	Hershel Barton	267
	Tom Hansen	267
	Paul Doolittle	267
	Terry Baldwin	267
IBEW 332		(1,992 votes, 5 delegates)
	Gerald Pfeiffer	664
	Alan Wieteska	664
	Salvador Ventura	664
IBEW 340		(1,200 votes, 4 delegates)
	Bob Williams Jr.	400
	D'Elman Clark	400
	Thomas F. Meredith	400
IBEW 40		(460 votes, 2 delegates)
	Jerry McLinn	460
IBEW 440		(501 votes, 2 delegates)
	Chuck McDaniel	501
IBEW 441		(1,602 votes, 5 delegates)
	Douglas Mangione	1,602
IBEW 47		(6,793 votes, 10 delegates)
	Stan Stosel	3,397
	Rick Garcia	3,396

## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of

IBEW 551		(500 votes, 2 delegates)
	Jack Buckhorn	500
IBEW 569		(1,687 votes, 5 delegates)
	Johnny Simpson	424
	David B. Taylor	421
	Jennifer Badgley	421
	Allen Shur	421
IBEW 595		(1,543 votes, 5 delegates)
	Tony Bertolucci	308
	Dave Nelson	308
	Earl Hampton	308
	Jason Gumataotao	308
	Victor K. Uno	311
IBEW 6		(1,970 votes, 5 delegates)
	Timothy J. Donovan	394
	Stephen Cloherty	394
	Jay Rosaves	394
	John Doherty	394
	Jeff Hawthorne	394
IBEW 6 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Stephen Murray	0
IBEW 617		(812 votes, 3 delegates)
	Dominic Nolan	272
	Mark Leach	270
	Chuck Bering	270
IBEW 617 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	John Fitzpatrick	0
IBEW 639		(145 votes, 2 delegates)
	Sean Perry	145

### Employees Association, Orange County

OCEA		(1,580 votes, 5 delegates)
	Robert Gibson	265
	Alan Chow	263
	Maria Corona	263
	Pamela Waters	263
	Gary Morrison	263
	Sharon Anderson	263

## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Food & Commercial Workers Intl. Union, United

UFCW 1167		(6,519 votes, 10 delegates)
	Bill Lathrop	6,519
UFCW 1167 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Rick Bruer	0
UFCW 135		(5,172 votes, 10 delegates)
	Mickey Kasparian	650
	German Ramirez	646
	Isabel Vasquez	646
	Terry Hunt	646
	Anabel Salcedo	646
	Grant Tom	646
	John Reil	646
	Todd Walters	646
UFCW 1428		(5,050 votes, 10 delegates)
	Connie Leyva	633
	Mark Ramos	631
	Zazette Scott	631
	Carlos Soto	631
	Gerald Singh	631
	Pete Zimmer	631
	Luz Bacio	631
	Dan Cruz	631
UFCW 324		(10,000 votes, 10 delegates)
	Rick Eiden	2,000
	Gilbert Davila	2,000
	Chuck Adinolfi	2,000
	Matt Hart	2,000
	Julio Perez	2,000
UFCW 5		(29,340 votes, 10 delegates)
	Ron Lind	2,934
	Tim Hamann	2,934
	Tony Alexander	2,934
	Mike Henneberry	2,934
	Mike Frenna	2,934
	Laurie Mesa	2,934
	John Ulrich	2,934
	John May	2,934
	Kelly Martinez	2,934
	John Frahm	2,934
UFCW 5 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Ellouise Patton	0
	Elise Blazek	0

## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Food & Commercial Workers Intl. Union, United

UFCW 648		(1,536 votes, 5 delegates)
	Michael Sharpe	512
	Milton Hum	512
	Tim McLaughlin	512
UFCW 770		(2,500 votes, 6 delegates)
	Kathy Finn	420
	Paul Edwards	416
	Martel Fraser	416
	Jean Tong	416
	Joseph Pierre	416
	Nam Le	416
UFCW 8		(27,008 votes, 10 delegates)
	Jacques Loveall	5,404
	Kirk L. Vogt	5,401
	Adam Loveall	5,401
	Jerry Hunsucker	5,401
	Nichole Trujillo	5,401

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## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Government Employees, American Federation of

AFGE 1061		(1,362 votes, 4 delegates)
	Ann Perkins	342
	Sheila Brown	340
	Denise Watts	340
	Shirley Maxie	340
AFGE 1122		(514 votes, 2 delegates)
	Helen Coleman	257
	Lawrence Jones	257
AFGE 1216		(436 votes, 2 delegates)
	Clifford Park	218
	Diana Gentry	218
AFGE 1235		(574 votes, 2 delegates)
	Melissa D. Tovar	287
	Irene Valdivia	287
AFGE 1482		(682 votes, 3 delegates)
	Clarence Sanchez	682
AFGE 2110		(1,067 votes, 4 delegates)
	Lurine Bess	1,067
AFGE 2429		(189 votes, 2 delegates)
	Jennifer Grigsby	95
	Jo Ann Solano	94
AFGE 2429 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Ronald Veazie	0
	Rosie Manning	0
	Samuel Chism	0
	Maria Steele	0
AFGE 3172		(604 votes, 2 delegates)
	Howard Eserman	302
	Sylvia Norman	302
AFTE 3172 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Katrina Lopez	0

### Heat & Frost Insulators & Allied Workers, Intl. Assoc. of

AWIU 16		(441 votes, 2 delegates)
	Mel Breshears	441

Preliminary Roll of Delegates

**Iron Workers, Intl. Assn. of Bridge, Structural**

IRON 229		(993 votes, 3 delegates)
	Cesar Cabrera	331
	Juan M. Galvan	331
	Joseph T. Blair	331
IRON 433		(3,555 votes, 9 delegates)
	Mitch Ponce	3,555

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**Laborers' International Union of North America**

LIUNA 261		(1,198 votes, 4 delegates)
	Ramon Hernandez	599
	Vince Courtney	599
LIUNA 300		(3,111 votes, 8 delegates)
	Sergio Rascon	1,556
	Ricardo Andrade	1,555
LIUNA 304		(1,131 votes, 4 delegates)
	Fernando Estrada	566
	Jose de Jesus Chavez	565
LIUNA 585		(807 votes, 3 delegates)
	David Valenzuela	269
	Anthony Mireles	269
	Leo Valles	269
LIUNA 585 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Alex Mireles	0
LIUNA 652		(2,103 votes, 6 delegates)
	Armando Esparza	1,052
	Robert Ruiz	1,051
LIUNA 67		(335 votes, 2 delegates)
	Victor Parra	168
	Ruben Barba	167
LIUNA 886		(268 votes, 2 delegates)
	Don Hightower	268
LIUNA 886 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Jeff Hayes Jr.	0

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## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Longshore and Warehouse Union, International

ILWU 10		(732 votes, 3 delegates)
	Mile Villegiante	183
	Richard Mead	183
	Edwin Ferris	183
	Adam Lopez	183
ILWU 13		(3,000 votes, 7 delegates)
	Chris Viramontes	432
	Robert Olvera, Jr.	428
	Jesse Enriquez	428
	Christine Aguirre	428
	Jeffrey Linares	428
	Mark Williams	428
	Melody Hall-Ceaser	428
ILWU 34		(192 votes, 2 delegates)
	Lee Sandahl	96
	Wendy Hadden	96
ILWU 34 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	John Budesá	0

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## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Machinists & Aerospace Wkrs, Intl Assn of

IAM 1101		(687 votes, 3 delegates)
	Robert Pintos	687
IAM 1414		(2,347 votes, 6 delegates)
	Shelley Kessler	392
	Art Pulaski	391
	Arthur Gonzalez	391
	Dave Taylor	391
	Pedro Mendez	391
	Don Barbe	391
IAM 1584		(473 votes, 2 delegates)
	Michael Mellow	237
	Chris Rasmussen	236
IAM 1596		(242 votes, 2 delegates)
	Thomas J. Brandon	242
IAM 620		(20 votes, 2 delegates)
	James B. Morton	20
IAM 727N		(151 votes, 2 delegates)
	Russell Wiggins	151
IAM 727P		(245 votes, 2 delegates)
	Dennis Seratt	123
	Alan Kaliff	122

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### Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association

MEBA		(294 votes, 2 delegates)
	Sanford Tanenbaum	294
MEBA 20		(312 votes, 2 delegates)
	Dave Nolan	156
	Patrick Anderson	156

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## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Musicians of the U.S. & Canada, American Federations of

AFM 153		(52 votes, 2 delegates)
	Beth Zare	26
	Forrest Byram	26
AFM 47		(1,000 votes, 3 delegates)
	John Acosta	500
	Gary Lasley	500
AFM 6		(500 votes, 2 delegates)
	John Fisher	500

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### Nurses Association, California

CNA		(71,078 votes, 10 delegates)
	Kay McVay	7,897
	Kathy Donohue	7,902
	Greg Miller	7,897
	Elizabeth Pataki	7,897
	Cindy Young	7,897
	Stephanie Roberson	7,897
	Maureen Dugan	7,897
	Jared Nakawatase	7,897
	Elijah Dixon	7,897

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### Office & Professional Employees International Union

OPEIU 174		(1,168 votes, 4 delegates)
	Lupe Salazar-Valles	1,168
OPEIU 277		(411 votes, 2 delegates)
	Gary Rothman	411
OPEIU 29		(4,158 votes, 10 delegates)
	Tamara Rubyn	1,386
	Patricia G. Sanchez	1,386
	Kelly Gechwend	1,386
OPEIU 3		(1,606 votes, 5 delegates)
	Jane Bosio	321
	Natalie Naylor	321
	Jocelyn Olick	321
	Loretta Ramirez	321
	Nancy Wohlforth	322
OPEIU 3 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Conny Ford	0

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## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Operating Engineers, International Union of

IUOE 12		(10,481 votes, 10 delegates)
	William Waggoner	1,499
	Mickey Adams	1,497
	Ronald J. Sikorski	1,497
	Kurt Glass	1,497
	Dan E. Hawn	1,497
	Larry Davison	1,497
	Bob Waggoner	1,497
IUOE 3		(17,323 votes, 10 delegates)
	Pete Figueiredo	1,735
	Mark Kyle	1,732
	Tom Aja	1,732
	Chris Snyder	1,732
	Steve Lopez	1,732
	Jane Lea	1,732
	Charles Lavery	1,732
	Dave Harrison	1,732
	Mike Croll	1,732
	Manny Pinheiro	1,732
IUOE 3 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Brian Lester	0
	Steve Harris	0
IUOE 39		(1,438 votes, 4 delegates)
	Jerry Kalmar	290
	Bart Florence	287
	Joan Bryant	287
	Dan McNulty	287
	Steve Crouch	287

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### Operative Plasterers' & Cement Masons' International Association

OPCMIA 400		(126 votes, 2 delegates)
	Hector Cortez	63
	Ben Espinoza	63

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## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Painters & Allied Trades, International Union of

PAT 1595		(507 votes, 2 delegates)
	Harry Cook	254
	Robert Smith	253
PAT 1595 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Participant #1	0
PAT 510		(830 votes, 3 delegates)
	Joseph Toback	415
	Owen Murphy	415
PAT 510 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	John Kyle	0
	Mike Kramer	0
PAT 741		(360 votes, 2 delegates)
	Steve Coeville	180
	Gilbert Dwight	180
PAT 741 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Joel Costa, Jr.	0
PAT 831		(1,892 votes, 5 delegates)
	Bob Lessin	632
	Grant Mitchell	630
	David Henderson	630

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## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Plumbing & Pipefitting Industry, United Association of the

UA 159		(513 votes, 2 delegates)
	Aram Hodess	257
	Robert Sewell	256
UA 228		(280 votes, 2 delegates)
	Mark Mulliner	140
	Tom Curato	140
UA 38		(1,121 votes, 4 delegates)
	Larry Mazzola	281
	Bill Blackwell	280
	John Chiarenza	280
	Tony Guzzetta	280
UA 393		(240 votes, 2 delegates)
	Fred Hirsch	240
UA 398		(306 votes, 2 delegates)
	Ray LeVangie, Jr.	153
	John P. Sherman	153
UA 442		(248 votes, 2 delegates)
	Greg Vincelet	124
	Luis A. Montalbo	124

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### Postal Workers Union, Int'l Assn of American

APWU 960		(166 votes, 2 delegates)
	Ruth Rhodes	166

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### Professional & Technical Engineers, International Fed. of

IFPTE 20		(2,083 votes, 6 delegates)
	John Mader	695
	Dominic Chan	694
	Joel Foster	694

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## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### School Employees Association, California

CSEA		(71,818 votes, 10 delegates)
	Allan Clark	7,189
	Michael Bilbrey	7,181
	Delores Rodriguez	7,181
	Martha Penry	7,181
	Karen Gardner	7,181
	Cheryl Carter	7,181
	Lance Wren	7,181
	Carla Held	7,181
	Paul Robinson	7,181
	Jolanda Dudgeon	7,181
CSEA (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Cason Smith	0
	Rameldia Mark	0
	Susan Eustice	0
	Trevor Pacheco	0

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### Seafarers' International Union of North America

SIU 160		(288 votes, 2 delegates)
	Anthony Poplawski	144
	William O'Brien	144
SIU 160 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Cajun Callais	0
	Patrick Bateman	0
SIU 240		(2,243 votes, 6 delegates)
	Dave Connolly	373
	Colin Dewey	373
	Berit Eriksson	373
	Diane Ferrari	373
	Gunnar Lundeberg	378
	Mike Koller	373
SIU 250		(591 votes, 2 delegates)
	Nick Celona	591

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## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Service Employees International Union

SEIU 1000		(4,574 votes, 10 delegates)
	Jeff Fowler	457
	Tamekia Robinson	457
	Yvonne Walker	461
	Connie Kabeary	457
	Nikki Linnerman	457
	Joe Chacon	457
	Don Killmer	457
	George Cornell	457
	Margarita Maldonado	457
	Rionna Jones	457
SEIU 221		(6,345 votes, 10 delegates)
	Eric Banks	3,173
	Kirsten Clemons	3,172
SEIU 280		(902 votes, 3 delegates)
	Richard Castro	302
	Ross Nichols	300
	Sean Pierce	300
SEIU 280 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Mike Haake	0
SEIU 620		(2,864 votes, 7 delegates)
	Bruce Corsaw	1,432
	Susan Thomas	1,432
SEIU 721		(69,870 votes, 10 delegates)
	Favel Jens	6,987
	Devin Osiri	6,987
	Samantha Stevens	6,987
	Bob Schoonover	6,987
	Linda Dent	6,987
	Julie Butcher	6,987
	James Johnson	6,987
	Carla Castilla	6,987
	Pamm Fair	6,987
	Rachel Flores	6,987
SEIU 721 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Bart Diener	0
	Melinda Chuarn	0

## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Service Employees International Union

#### SEIU 99

(18,980 votes, 10 delegates)

Bill Lloyd	3,165
Courtnei Pugh	3,163
Caroline Mello	3,163
Mary Gutierrez	3,163
Maggie Johnson	3,163
Andala Zayas	3,163

#### SEIU UHW

(35,441 votes, 10 delegates)

Rebecca Miller	3,545
Maggie Thao	3,544
Guy Rinfrow	3,544
Doug Jones	3,544
Kevin Mann	3,544
Carlos Lopez	3,544
Michael Borges	3,544
Rosalia Rodriguez	3,544
Leonard Jackson	3,544
Veronica Hernandez	3,544

#### SEIU USWW

(20,209 votes, 10 delegates)

Lauren Jacobs	2,020
Denise Solis	2,020
Keith Ward	2,020
Rosalino Pedres	2,020
Alfredo Lahud	2,020
Emmanuel Eric	2,020
Mike Garcia	2,029
Mike Mully	2,020
Nadira Mumbuki	2,020
David Cota	2,020

#### SEIU USWW (ALTERNATE)

(0 votes, 0 delegates)

Jamie Thompson	0
Jason Orringer	0

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## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### State, County & Municipal Employees, American Federation of

AFSCME 1199		(15,769 votes, 10 delegates)
	Barbara L. Blake	3,943
	Jimmy Gomez	3,942
	Jeremy Lanni	3,942
	Eric Robles	3,942
AFSCME 146		(1,532 votes, 5 delegates)
	Robert Silva	1,532
AFSCME 146 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Belinda E. Malone	0
AFSCME 1902		(1,556 votes, 5 delegates)
	Mike Milliner	520
	Christopher Beggs	518
	Georlyn Igma	518
AFSCME 2167		(52 votes, 2 delegates)
	Angel Frias	26
	Felix Huerta	26
AFSCME 2428		(561 votes, 2 delegates)
	Brenda Wood	561
AFSCME 2700		(1,815 votes, 5 delegates)
	Suzie Griffith	456
	Shannon Witt	453
	Valerie Medina	453
	Cara Moffett	453
AFSCME 2700 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Cheryll Grover	0
	Liz Walker	0
AFSCME 3299		(21,230 votes, 10 delegates)
	Nicole Rivera	3,032
	Kathryn Lybarger	3,038
	Judy McKeever	3,032
	Arnold Meza	3,032
	Richard Chu	3,032
	Jose Martinez	3,032
	Nico Herrera	3,032
AFSCME 3339		(161 votes, 2 delegates)
	Janet Jimenez	81
	Joel Hecht	80
AFSCME 3339 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Jeffrey Book	0



## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### State, County & Municipal Employees, American Federation of

AFSCME 512		(386 votes, 2 delegates)
	Gayle Walls Burns	193
	Brooke Bahador	193
AFSCME 575		(783 votes, 3 delegates)
	Gwendolyn Jones	261
	Vivian Yoshioka	261
	Cher Mason	261
AFSCME 741		(1,311 votes, 4 delegates)
	Adam Acosta	1,311
AFSCME 829		(3,484 votes, 8 delegates)
	Nadia Bledsoe	1,161
	Rebecca Nassarre	1,162
	Sharon McAleavey	1,161
AFSCME UDW 3930		(63,718 votes, 10 delegates)
	Doug Moore	7,970
	Johanna Hester	7,964
	Jovan Agee	7,964
	Myrtle Cole	7,964
	Donta Harrison	7,964
	Mike Loza	7,964
	Ricardo Cisneros	7,964
	Yesenia DeCasaus	7,964
AFSCME UDW 3930 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Matthew Maldonado	0
CUHW 4034		(17,429 votes, 10 delegates)
	Loretta Stevens	3,489
	Gail Ennis	3,485
	Justin D. Meyers	3,485
	Linda Zavela	3,485
	Andre Booker	3,485

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## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Steel Workers, United

USW 1304		(161 votes, 2 delegates)
	John Ramos	81
	Catherine V. Houston	80
USW 1440		(575 votes, 2 delegates)
	Linda Doppe	288
	Ben Salazar	287
USW 18		(66 votes, 2 delegates)
	Martin Nuno	33
	Ron Cox	33
USW 474		(87 votes, 2 delegates)
	Robert LaVenture	87
USW 675		(3,140 votes, 8 delegates)
	Eduardo Tapia	3,140
USW 7600		(5,729 votes, 10 delegates)
	Cruz Lopez	581
	Micheal Barnett	572
	Mary Carrico	572
	Judy Dishaw	572
	Laurie Edwards	572
	Norberto Gomez	572
	Sandi Lozano	572
	Raul Morales	572
	Ethel Reyes	572
	Frank Silva	572

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## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Teachers, American Federation of

AFT 1078		(764 votes, 3 delegates)
	Cathy Campbell	764
AFT 1475		(386 votes, 2 delegates)
	Diana Fraire	193
	Lorraine Zapata	193
AFT 1521A		(1,123 votes, 4 delegates)
	Mary VanGinkle	283
	Luz Nunez	280
	Edward Alvarado	280
	Mary Fellows	280
AFT 1603		(993 votes, 3 delegates)
	Matthew Goldstein	331
	Tae-Soon Park	331
	Janell Hampton	331
AFT 1794		(942 votes, 3 delegates)
	Kimberly Claytor	471
	Sarah Auwarter	471
AFT 1911		(428 votes, 2 delegates)
	Dean Mancina	428
AFT 1931		(2,002 votes, 6 delegates)
	Ian Duckles	1,001
	Guadalupe Gonzalez	1,001
AFT 2121		(1,834 votes, 5 delegates)
	Alisa Messer	370
	Fred Glass	366
	Patty Chong-Delon	366
	Nancy Mackowsky	366
	Jenny Worley	366
AFT 3553		(286 votes, 2 delegates)
	Jim Lynett	286
AFT 61		(6,015 votes, 10 delegates)
	Susan Solomom	1,005
	Ken Tray	1,002
	Carolyn Samoa	1,002
	Aaron Hall	1,002
	Kim Waldron	1,002
	Linda Plack	1,002

**Preliminary Roll of Delegates**

**Teachers, American Federation of**  
AFT 6161

(470 votes, 2 delegates)

Jackie Martin-Klement  
Christine Moore

235  
235

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## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Teamsters, International Brotherhood of

IBT 1		(141 votes, 2 delegates)
	Tim Smith	71
	Darryel N. Azarcon	70
IBT 1 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Bruce Bishop	0
	Curt Houston	0
IBT 287		(384 votes, 2 delegates)
	Bill Hoyt	192
	Bob Blanchet	192
IBT 287 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	George Netto	0
IBT 315		(520 votes, 2 delegates)
	Dale Robbins	260
	Jim Sveum	260
IBT 350		(272 votes, 2 delegates)
	Robert Morales	136
	Larry Daugherty	136
IBT 350 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	James Furgas	0
IBT 386		(229 votes, 2 delegates)
	Gaylord Phillips	115
	Ryan Camp	114
IBT 396		(1,120 votes, 4 delegates)
	Ron Herrera	280
	Barbara Liddy	280
	Jim Smith	280
	Hector Delagado	280
IBT 853		(1,196 votes, 4 delegates)
	Rome Aloise	299
	Bob Strelo	299
	Bo Morgan	299
	Adolph Felix	299
IBT 856		(891 votes, 3 delegates)
	Trish Suzuki	297
	Peter Finn	297
	Rudy Gonzalez	297
IBT 911		(908 votes, 3 delegates)
	Norma Lopez	908



## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Theatrical Stage Employees & Moving Picture Technicians, Artists and Allied Crafts, Intl. Alliance

IATSE 134		(135 votes, 2 delegates)
	Cindy Parker	135
IATSE 134 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Randal Merten	0
IATSE 16		(700 votes, 3 delegates)
	Scott Houghton	350
	Dan Borelis	350
IATSE 2		(4,167 votes, 10 delegates)
	Paul Ahrens	4,167
IATSE 33		(1,419 votes, 4 delegates)
	Paul Paolasso	357
	Liza Karisen	354
	William Raleigh	354
	Bill Jones	354
IATSE 33 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	David Westler	0
IATSE 50		(109 votes, 2 delegates)
	John Kelly	55
	Elizabeth Showen	54
IATSE 504		(313 votes, 2 delegates)
	Larry Charbonneau	157
	Lynn Dee Lindquist	156
IATSE 600		(3,217 votes, 8 delegates)
	Michelle Crenshaw	805
	Patrick Delaney	804
	Barbara Jerome Hubbard	804
	Robert Jan Martin	804
IATSE 695		(1,422 votes, 4 delegates)
	James Osburn	711
	Elizabeth S. Alvarez	711
IATSE 700		(5,762 votes, 10 delegates)
	Ann Hadsell	5,762
IATSE 705		(1,552 votes, 5 delegates)
	Wanda Leavey	1,552
IATSE 706		(1,586 votes, 5 delegates)
	Susan Stone	1,586

## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Theatrical Stage Employees & Moving Picture Technicians, Artists and Allied Crafts, Intl. Alliance

IATSE 728		(2,079 votes, 6 delegates)
	Dennis K. Grow	1,040
	Iain O'Higgins	1,039
IATSE 767		(297 votes, 2 delegates)
	Cheri Larson	149
	Paul Emmons	148
IATSE 767 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Vicki Marsik	0
IATSE 80		(2,351 votes, 6 delegates)
	Russell C. Nordstedt	2,351
IATSE 800		(1,502 votes, 5 delegates)
	Doreen Austria	1,502
IATSE 871		(1,724 votes, 5 delegates)
	Heidi Nakamura	431
	Carol Kiefer	431
	Jodi Ehrlich	431
	Melanie Mander	431
IATSE 892		(742 votes, 3 delegates)
	Betty Madden	371
	Sharon Day	371

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## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Transit Union, Amagamated

ATU 1277		(2,702 votes, 7 delegates)
	Art Aguilar	542
	James Lindsay	540
	Adolfo Soto	540
	Doug Kurowski	540
	Oscar Owens	540
ATU 1555		(818 votes, 3 delegates)
	Robert Carney	274
	John O'Connor	272
	Antonette Bryant	272
ATU 1704		(515 votes, 2 delegates)
	Jeff Caldwell	258
	Sue Potts	257
ATU 192		(1,720 votes, 5 delegates)
	Joyce M. Willis	344
	Yvonne M. Williams	344
	Edward Nash	344
	Ronald C. Williams	344
	Danny Marshall	344
ATU 265		(1,274 votes, 4 delegates)
	Michael Padgett	320
	Daniel Stofle	318
	Eugene Owens	318
	Khryshstal Hammell	318

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### Transport Workers Union Of America

TWU 200		(220 votes, 2 delegates)
	Marshell McGehee	110
	Joseph Abad	110

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### UNITE HERE

UNITE HERE 2		(5,500 votes, 10 delegates)
	Alphonso Pines	790
	Michael Floyd	785
	Tony Semasko	785
	Kelly Duran	785
	Isaias Galvez	785
	Arturo Marquez	785
	Leticia Ramirez	785
UNITE HERE 2 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Rosa Sia	0
	Jodephine Garcia	0

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## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Building & Construction Trade Councils

BCTC Alameda Bldg & Const Trades Cncl	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Andreas Cluver	1
Tom Mullarkey	1
BCTC Marin Bldg Const Trades Cncl	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Bill Scott	2
BCTC San Diego Bldg Const Trades Cncl	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Tom Lemmon	2
BCTC San Francisco Bldg & Const Trades Cncl	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Michael Theriault	2
BCTC San Joaquin Bldg Trades Cncl	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
David Thomas	2
BCTC San Mateo Bldg & Const Trades Cncl	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
William Nack	2
BCTC Santa Clara & San Benito Bldg Trds Cncl	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Neil Struthers	2
BCTC Sonoma Mendocino Lake Bldg Trds Cncl	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Chris Knerr	2

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## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Central Labor Councils

Alameda Labor Council, AFL-CIO	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Josie Camacho	1
Elizabeth Ortega-Toro	1
Butte-Glenn CLC	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Mickey Harrington	1
Patrick Mace	1
Five Counties CLC	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Ruth Rhodes	2
Five Counties CLC (ALTERNATE)	(0 votes, 0 delegates)
John Wilson	0
Fresno-Madera-Tulare-Kings CLC	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Randy Ghan	1
Kirk Vogt	1
Fresno-Madera-Tulare-Kings CLC (ALTERNATE)	(0 votes, 0 delegates)
Chuck Riojas	0
Humboldt/Del Norte CLC	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Susan Johnson	1
John Frahm	1
Los Angeles Federation of Labor (CLC)	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Maria Elena Durazo	2
Marysville Central Labor Council	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Edward Ritchie	2
Monterey Bay Central Labor Council	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Cesar Lara	1
Robert Chacanaca	1
Napa-Solano CLC	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Jon Riley	1
Pete Derenale	1
North Bay Labor Council	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Jack Buckhorn	1
Lisa Maldonado	1
Sacramento CLC	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Bill Camp	1
Adam Loveall	1

## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### Central Labor Councils

San Bernardino-Riverside CLC	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Laurie Stalnaker	1
William Lathrop	1
San Diego-Imperial CLC	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Lorena Gonzalez	1
Evan McLaughlin	1
San Francisco Labor Council	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Tim Paulson	1
Amber Baur	1
San Francisco Labor Council (ALTERNATE)	(0 votes, 0 delegates)
Ramneek Saini	0
San Joaquin-Calaveras CLC	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Marcie Bayne	1
Joe Coy	1
San Mateo CLC	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Shelley Kessler	1
Julie Lind	1
South Bay AFL-CIO Labor Council	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Cindy Chavez	1
Derecka Mehrens	1
Tri-Counties CLC	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Leo Valenzuela	1
Marilyn Valenzuela	1

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### Constituency Groups

CARA	(2 votes, 2 delegates)
Tom Rankin	2
Nan Brasmer	0
Frank Santos	0
CARA (ALTERNATE)	(0 votes, 0 delegates)
Pat Stanyo	0
Addie Brinkley	0

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## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### District Councils

AFSCME Cncl		(2 votes, 2 delegates)
	Cynthia McCabe	1
	Cheryl Brown	1
AFSCME Cncl (ALTERNATE)		
	Christopher Miller-Cole	0
CWA Dist 9		(2 votes, 2 delegates)
	James Weitkamp	1
	Laura Reynolds	1
CWA Dist 9 (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	Valerie Reyna	0
	Val Afanasiev	0
IBT Dist Cncl 7		(2 votes, 2 delegates)
	Rome A. Aloise	1
	Robert Morales	1
IBT Dist Cncl 42		(2 votes, 2 delegates)
	Ed Rendon	1
	Randy Cammack	1
IRON Dist Cncl		(2 votes, 2 delegates)
	Joe Standley	1
	Keith Hunter	1
UA Dist Cncl		(2 votes, 2 delegates)
	John Ferruccia	2

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### Regional Councils

IAM 190		(2 votes, 2 delegates)
	Jim Beno	2
Union Label Cncl LA		(2 votes, 2 delegates)
	Sylvia Carranza	2

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## Preliminary Roll of Delegates

### State Councils

AFT Cncl		(2 votes, 2 delegates)
	Joshua Pechthalt	1
	Jeffrey Freitas	1
IAM St Cncl		(2 votes, 2 delegates)
	Tom Brandon	2
IBT St Cncl		(2 votes, 2 delegates)
	Marsi Newman	1
	Barry Broad	1
IUOE St Cncl		(2 votes, 2 delegates)
	Tim Cremins	2
SBCTC		(2 votes, 2 delegates)
	Bob Balgenorth	1
	Cesar Diaz	1
SBCTC (ALTERNATE)		(0 votes, 0 delegates)
	David Sickler	0
SEIU St Cncl		(2 votes, 2 delegates)
	Alma Hernandez	1
	David Kieffer	1

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# Executive Report

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Million More Voters

Legislative Action

Online Communications

Workforce and Economic Development

Business of the Executive Council

Support for Union Disputes

Legal Actions

### **Financial Reports**

Financial Statements

Report on Per Capita Paid Membership – 2012



**Report of the  
Executive Secretary-Treasurer  
and the Executive Council**





## Executive Introduction

# Californians should be working their way into the middle class, not falling out of it.

Over the last 30 years, the average middle class family saw our income drop, while the richest 1 percent saw theirs go up by \$1 million a year after taxes. The latest census documents the widest gap between the rich and the poor ever in California and across the country.

We have worked tirelessly over the past two years for economic recovery. While the economic climate appears to be improving, workers are not seeing the benefits of the recovery. Millions of working families have fallen into poverty, having lost in a few short years the economic security it took decades to build.

The rise in contingent work has only exacerbated our economic insecurity. Corporations are exploiting the weak economy to pad their profit margin by seeking workers with no expectations of permanent employment or wage increases, no guarantees of work and no sense of security. More than half of new jobs being created are “temporary.” Third-party temp agencies, professional employer organizations and labor contractors are all used as shields against the traditional employer obligations. Workers are misclassified as “independent contractors” to shift all the risk of an employer onto the shoulders of independent contractors.

The big banks caused this crisis by gambling with our future and taking billions in taxpayer bail-out funds, and now they are refusing to extend credit to get us out of the crisis they created. Small businesses cannot get loans to help them stay afloat, and homeowners trapped underwater cannot refinance to free up the money they need to make ends meet every month. Banks continue to foreclose on families while they are adjusting their loans. There has been no real accountability for the damage the banks inflicted on our families, our communities and our economy.

Deep budget cuts year after year have slashed funding for our classrooms, our public safety, roads and transportation systems, as well as our higher education system, which was once the best in the nation. Budget cuts have destroyed the safety net and betrayed our moral obligation to protect the most vulnerable among us. While California’s GDP is growing slightly, budget cuts and the loss



CONTINUED

Around the country, we saw workers resist efforts to repeal collective bargaining and protest against right-to-work-for-less laws.



of public sector jobs continue to be a drag on our economic recovery. Irresponsible, ideologically driven Republican legislators refuse to even allow California voters to vote on new revenues.

Making matters worse, there is a coordinated, well-financed Republican strategy to blame workers for the deficits facing our cities, counties and states. At the local level, we are seeing attacks on retirement security, project labor agreements, prevailing wage laws, and even collective bargaining. Local governments are acting like corporate raiders, using municipal bankruptcies, fiscal emergencies, and charter city conversions to strip away rights and benefits.

Despite these enormous challenges facing workers, the tide is beginning to turn. Labor unions around the country are fighting back against austerity measures, worker takeaways and attacks on the middle class.

Around the country, we saw workers resist efforts to repeal collective bargaining and protest against right-to-work-for-less laws. The call of Wisconsin workers that “We Are One” inspired people from coast to coast. The Occupy Wall Street movement galvanized young people to stand up against the greed and excess of the big banks and corporations. Here in California, we defeated Meg “Wall Street” Whitman and elected Jerry Brown and Democrats to every statewide office through our innovative grassroots political program in 2010.

In Brown’s first year as governor, Labor won some important victories! We enacted a wage theft law, increased penalties for misclassification and restricted credit checks for employment. We prohibited local agencies from banning project labor agreements, increased public input before charter city conversions and created obstacles to filing municipal bankruptcy. We restricted the contracting out of library services, banned alcohol from self check-out machines and improved the organizing process for farm workers. And we worked closely with the Brown Administration to ensure the very best appointments to key positions that affect workers. This July, Labor’s multi-year efforts to build the High Speed Rail won legislative approval for Phase 1 in creating hundreds of thousands of good jobs, and we were able to win enactment of the first in the country’s Homeowner’s Bill of Rights.

CONTINUED



What follows is a detailed report of this work and more since the Federation's 2010 Biennial Convention. Our work is the result of the talent, energy and determination of our leaders and members as they fight to keep

California unions at the leading edge of America's labor movement.

The work reported in this book has strengthened us for the challenges ahead. We now face the fight of a lifetime. The most deceptive anti-worker initiative we have seen, aiming directly at our ability to engage in political action, will be before California voters in November 2012. Corporate interests know that if we are silenced, there will be no one to stand up to them, not to mention Wall Street and the big banks.

But we will not be silenced. Together, California Labor stands in solidarity, and we are ready for the challenges ahead.

This report is hereby submitted by the officers of the California Labor Federation and the following members of the Executive Council.

In Solidarity,

Art Pulaski, *Executive Secretary-Treasurer*

Connie M. Leyva, *President*

Rome Aloise	Lorena Gonzalez	Oscar Owens
Bob Balgenorth	Jack Gribbon	Lou Paulson
Jim Beno	La Kesha Harrison	Joshua Pechthalt
Russ Burns	Marty Hittelman	Willie L. Pelote, Sr.
Randy Cammack	Eugene Hudson	Mike Quevedo, Jr.
Allan D. Clark	Shelley Kessler	Clyde Rivers
Tom Dalzell	Marvin Kropke	Bob Schoonover
Thom Davis	George Landers	Allen Shur
Oscar de la Torre	Bill A. Lloyd	John L. Smith
Rose Ann DeMoro	Jacques Loveall	Robert D. Smith
Maria Elena Durazo	Gunnar Lundeberg	Joe Standley
Ron Espinoza	Malinda Markowitz	William Waggoner
Rob Feckner	Larry Mazzola	Yvonne Walker
Enrique Fernandez	Michael F. Miller	Jim Weitkamp
Mike Garcia	Doug Moore	Nancy Wohlforth

# 1

## Building Our Power: Strategic Planning Committee

### STRATEGIC PLANNING COMMITTEE MEMBERS

IBEW	Mike Mowrey, <i>chair</i>
AFSCME	Willie Pelote
CFT	Josh Pechthalt
CSEA	Allan Clark
CWA	James Weitkamp
IAFF	Lou Paulson
IAM	Jim Beno
IATSE	Mike Miller
IBT	Rome Aloise
IUOE	Russ Burns
LIUNA	Oscar de la Torre
SEIU	Bill A. Lloyd
UFCW	George Landers
UNITE HERE	Sherri Chiesa
Building Trades	Bob Balgenorth
LA Federation CLC	Maria Elena Durazo
Orange Co. CLC	Tefere Gebre
San Francisco CLC	Tim Paulson
AFL-CIO	Lori Ortega

### HIGHEST PERFORMANCE LABOR COUNCILS

Contra Costa  
Los Angeles  
Merced-Mariposa  
Napa-Solano  
Orange County  
Sacramento  
San Diego-Imperial  
San Francisco  
San Joaquin-Calaveras  
San Mateo  
South Bay  
Stanislaus-Tuolumne  
Tri-Counties

### HIGH PERFORMANCE LABOR COUNCILS

Alameda  
Fresno-Madera-Tulare-Kings  
North Bay

## 2010: RAISING THE BAR

California Labor's enormous victories in the 2010 election were in no small part due to the unity and coordination of our unions. The clean sweep of 2010 was the most comprehensive and strategic campaign Labor has ever engineered.

New technology and research enabled the Million More Voters project to persuade thousands of middle class voters to vote against Meg "Wall Street" Whitman, and also succeeded in turning out thousands of lower propensity voters on Election Day. **But our unions and their members were the heart of the campaign – and their mobilization efforts beat back the \$170 million spent by "Wall Street" Whitman.**

The Strategic Planning Committee was formed in 2005 to establish a united strategy in California and build power for Labor. When faced with the threat of an extreme anti-union Governor in 2010, our unions raised the bar for political performance and set our boldest campaign goals ever. The Strategic Planning Committee sets these Standards & Benchmarks for every election. Labor Councils and the largest 14 unions set such goals as mobilizing at least 1 percent of the membership to volunteer on the campaign and talking about politics to 25 percent of members at their worksites. **The 2010 results were extraordinary, with 30,000 volunteer shifts and 65 percent of union members turning out to vote, supporting our candidates by a 2-to-1 margin.**

Labor's political performance has grown every year since the Strategic Planning Committee began this work. In 2010, almost every major Labor Council either exceeded 100 percent of the goals to achieve "Highest Performance" status or surpassed 85 percent of the set goals (High Performance). In addition to political performance, Labor Council capacity also grew in the areas of mobilization, legislative accountability, community alliances and strategic growth, making California Labor Councils the best in the country. To guide the way, the Federation debuted its Blueprint for Victory, which outlined the campaign goals and kept us laser-focused on our message and the plan to elect labor-friendly candidates. **Together, we achieved a clean sweep in a year when the rest of the country saw a dramatic wave of Republican victories.**

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## **2011: STRATEGIC PLANNING**

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After tremendous success in political performance, the Strategic Planning Committee turned its attention toward building capacity in other areas. In October 2011, the Committee joined the Federation's Executive Council for a joint planning session to address Labor's biggest challenges. **The purpose of the strategic planning meeting was to think strategically, boldly and creatively – and chart California Labor's course for the next 30 months.**

Through a series of extensive interviews and lengthy discussions, leaders agreed to an innovative and aggressive strategic plan for building Labor's power in this anti-union climate.

In addition to enhancing our core activities – politics and legislation – leaders advocated for three new programmatic areas of work:

✱ **ORGANIZING FOR GROWTH AND POWER**

*(See page 6)*

✱ **DRIVING A JOBS AGENDA**

*(See page 7)*

✱ **CHANGING THE PUBLIC NARRATIVE**

*(See page 8)*


Workgroups were formed to guide much of the Federation's work in the last year. The following pages outline that work in these areas as we embark on the long-range plan to strengthen the Labor Movement in California.



## Organizing for Growth and Power

Justice and Power for California Workers

# Organize!



CALIFORNIA LABOR FEDERATION

WORKGROUP ON ORGANIZING

Doug Bloch	IBT Jnt Cncl 7
Greg Boyd	IBEW
Gil D'Avila	UFCW 324
Andrea Dehlendorf	UFCW/Our Walmart
Tho Do	UNITE HERE 2
Gerardo Dominguez	UFCW 5
Jim Dupont	UNITE HERE
Brad Edwards	UFCW
Rick Eiden	UFCW 324
Jeff Ferro	UFCW
Alexa Frankenberg	SEIU
Humberto Gomez	LIUNA
Carlos Gordon	ILWU
Cass Gualvez	SEIU UHW
Allen Hanson	UFCW/Our Walmart
Ron Herrera	IBT 396
Joanna Hester	AFSCME UDW
Eddy Iny	UFCW
Lauren Jacobs	SEIU USWW
Claude Johnson	IBEW
Jesse Juarez	IAM
Randy Korgan	IBT JC 42
Hank Lewis	IBEW
Connie Leyva	UFCW 1428
Ron Lind	UFCW 5
Justin McBride	AFL-CIO
Arturo Mendoza	AFL-CIO
Raquel Murillo	AFL-CIO
Bruce Noel	IUOE 3
Joel Ochoa	IAM
Peter Olney	ILWU
Chloe Osmer	AFL-CIO
Katie Quan	UCB Labor Ctr
Lupe Palma	WWU/CTW
Kurt Petersen	UNITE HERE 11
Eileen Purcell	IBEW 1245
Augustin Ramirez	ILWU
German Ramirez	UFCW 135
Mark Ramos	UFCW 1428
Fred Ross	IBEW 1245
Libby Sayre	CWA
Dave Sickler	SBCTC
Rigo Valdez	UFCW 770
Manny Valenzuela	IBT
Andrea Valles	SEIU UHW
Sandra Weese	CFT
Kent Wong	UCLA Labor Ctr

The Labor Movement is united in the effort to refocus more resources and political power on organizing. Reversing the current trend will take commitment from all levels of the Labor Movement. That is the inspiration for the Federation's organizing workgroups. Our goal is to not only identify strategic industries and campaigns for organizing, but also to bring to those fights the energy, resources and commitment of the entire statewide Labor Movement.

The Federation regularly convenes a workgroup of organizing directors, as well as key regional organizing workgroups. The goal is to increase organizing successes and build large-scale organizing campaigns. Below are the early priorities and outcomes of those workgroups:

### LEGISLATIVE:

- ✳ Lead policy initiatives to promote good jobs, growth and organizing.
- ✳ Support major legislation in 2012 to combat the growing contingent economy by addressing employers' increasing reliance on labor contractors and temporary agencies to prevent unionization and shield themselves from liability for worker abuses.
- ✳ Require elected officials to support organizing campaigns as a condition of endorsement, and add organizing support to voting records in *Force for Progress*.

### MATERIALS:

- ✳ Developed research paper: *Confronting the Rise of Contingent Work in California*.
- ✳ Compiled resources for union organizers: *New California Labor Laws Union Organizers Should Know About* including wage theft, misclassification, prevailing wage violations and payroll records.

### RESEARCH:

- ✳ Work to create strategic research capacity to develop leverage and support large-scale campaigns.
- ✳ Facilitate planning between unions/sectors.

### MOBILIZATION:

- ✳ Support major mobilizations for 2-3 targeted campaigns to win in a major way.
- ✳ Promote multi-union Regional Organizing Committees in low-density, politically important areas (Inland Empire and Central Valley).

Using California Labor's political, legislative and mobilization power we can win campaigns and expand organizing. A vibrant economy needs a growing, fairly paid and thriving middle-class private sector workforce and public sector workforce. One cannot be sustained without the other.

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## Driving the Jobs Agenda

# INVEST IN CALIFORNIA'S FUTURE



The Federation formed the workgroup on jobs to address one of the most daunting economic challenges of our time. Financial deregulation, risky investments and unbridled greed on Wall Street caused a global economic crisis. California has been particularly hard hit. Unemployment, foreclosures and bankruptcies have skyrocketed, while deep budget cuts have devastated schools, universities, infrastructure, public safety and all essential services.

A healthy private sector is key to rebuilding our economy and creating the jobs of the future. But we cannot build up the private sector if we continue to drastically cut public investment in the areas that make us competitive in the global economy.

Wall Street may have gotten us into this mess, but it is up to us to get us out. The Federation's workgroup on jobs was created to plan a path forward by investing in California and creating good jobs.

The committee discussions about the need for investment and innovation resulted in the report *California Labor's Plan for Good Jobs: Invest in California*, which focuses on six key tenets:

- 1. Build the California of the Future: Infrastructure**
- 2. Make it Here, Buy it Here: Manufacturing**
- 3. Innovation and Skills Training for the Future: Education**
- 4. Invest in California: Revenue**
- 5. Clean Energy for a Strong Economy**
- 6. Good Jobs Now: Ending Income Inequality**

Californians are – and always have been – visionaries who see no limit to our future. The world looks to us for leadership, and we must take that responsibility seriously. We cannot cut our way to the future. The way to grow our economy and create good jobs is to invest in California. It means investing to make California a good place to do business and a good place to raise a family again. It means repairing the safety net and rebuilding the middle class. It means building a state that works for working people.

For a full version of *California Labor's Plan for Good Jobs: Invest in California*, see [www.californialabor.org](http://www.californialabor.org).

WORKGROUP ON JOBS	
Gary Allen	IAM
Bob Balgenorth	State Building Trades
Russ Burns	IUOE 3
Allan Clark	CSEA
Thom Davis	IATSE 80
Oscar de la Torre	LIUNA
George Landers	UFCW Western States Cncl
Connie Leyva	UFCW 1428
Tom Lemmon	San Diego Bldg Trades Cncl
Rick Latham	USW 328
Mike Mowrey	IBEW DC 9
Tim Paulson	San Francisco Labor Cncl
Josh Pechtalt	CFT
Sid Stolper	UA DC 16
Stan Stosel	IBEW 47
Victor Uno	IBEW 595

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## Changing the Public Narrative

Working with renowned messaging expert Dr. Drew Westen in partnership with a coalition of state-wide unions, the Federation spearheaded an innovative research project to change the public narrative on key Labor issues. The result of the research is an informative report called: *Putting California Back to Work: Changing the Narrative on Taxes, Investments, and the Role of Unions*, which will guide our work to reframe our message.

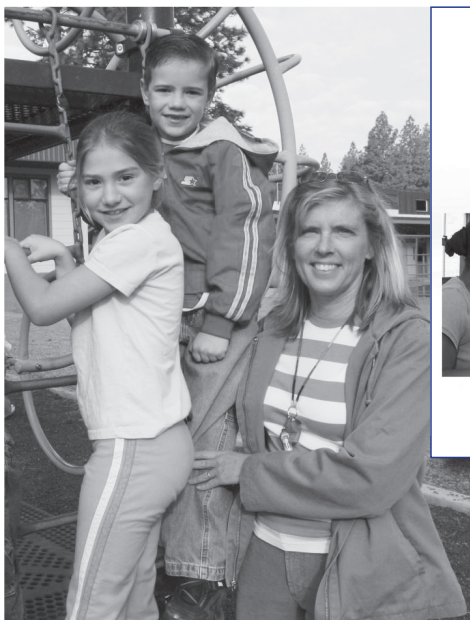
This project sought to turn the tide by developing values-based, compelling and effective ways of talking with Californians about the budget, taxes, unions and workers.

For years, the right-wing, anti-union, anti-government, anti-public service narrative has been unchallenged and has captured public sentiment. The right's narrative has been an impediment to winning both political and organizing campaigns. Through the use of right-wing frames, such as "we have a spending problem, not a revenue problem" and "regulation and taxes are strangling business and driving jobs out of California," more and more power and influence have shifted to corporate America. Acclaimed neuroscientist and messaging expert Dr. Drew Westen has been working with the Labor coalition to explore how emotional and motivational processes can help Californians see the value of a progressive agenda.


This project focuses on the idea that effective communication and political persuasion regarding these issues requires an in-depth understanding of the complex ways people process public messages. Dr. Westen examined the conflicting attitudes Californians have towards the right-wing rhetoric.

This project embodies a new kind of research to improve how we talk to the public about the pro-worker values we share. The findings can be integrated into much of the Federation's current messaging on campaigns, legislation and all that we do.

The right wing has spent decades spinning their message and reframing debates, and subsequently many voters now accept their statements as fact. We must do the same thing with our narrative, and impart our own message that hard-working people in this state are not the reason for the troubled economy, and further cuts will only slow down economic recovery. By focusing on investment in California as the key to a strong, vibrant economy that will rebuild the middle class, we can reframe the debate and begin a new narrative that is even stronger than the right's.



**Putting California Back to Work**  
**Taxes, Investments, and the Role of Unions**



*Research conducted for the CA Labor Coalition  
Drew Westen, Ph.D.*

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Below are some of the key message points from the findings:

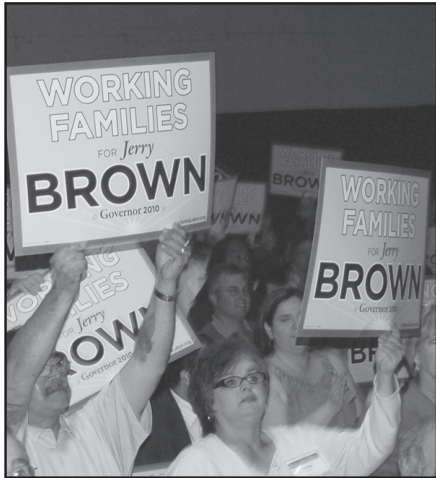
#### THE TAKE-HOME MESSAGE

- \* The conservative anti-union message is extremely well branded
- \* We can beat the anti-union and anti-public service narratives, despite their billions spent on branding
- \* We can beat the well-branded conservative “cuts vs. government investment” message by a small margin from the start, even among people who have not heard our messages before
- \* As voters hear the messages, they join with us
- \* Populist messages break through all three conservative narratives by a margin of 15 to 35 points. Drawing on **populist anger** wins across the political spectrum, bringing to the fore the sense of unfairness that the few are causing the intense distress of the many
- \* Repetition and use of those “talking points” will be essential for moving voters in the center
- \* Education is an extremely strong value for Californians across the political spectrum
- \* **The key on unions** is populism, speaking to what happens when only CEOs are negotiating for themselves
- \* **The key on taxes** is to emphasize inequality and fairness
- \* **The key on cuts vs. investment** is to emphasize innovation, education, and jobs, and to reframe “waste” as tax breaks and loopholes for corporations and rich people who do not need them
- \* **The key on public sector workers** is to humanize them, never using that phrase alone, and always linking it to a concrete image that people can see in their minds

Using this research, the California Labor coalition will provide trainings for unions in 2012 and beyond – building the power of the middle class through political power of union members and voters who share Labor’s values. For more information about Dr. Westen’s message research, email [ssmith@calaborfed.org](mailto:ssmith@calaborfed.org).

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# 2 Political Action



**I**n the last two years, California's political landscape has changed dramatically with the ousting of Arnold Schwarzenegger and the election of a pro-worker Governor. The Labor Movement was critical to this sea change. From advancements in our political program to outreach to non-union voters through the Million More Voters (MMV) program, California Labor has led the fight to elect policy makers who will protect the middle class, standing up for the 99 percent before it was a sound bite. We will continue this fight into 2012.

## November 2010 – Statewide General Election

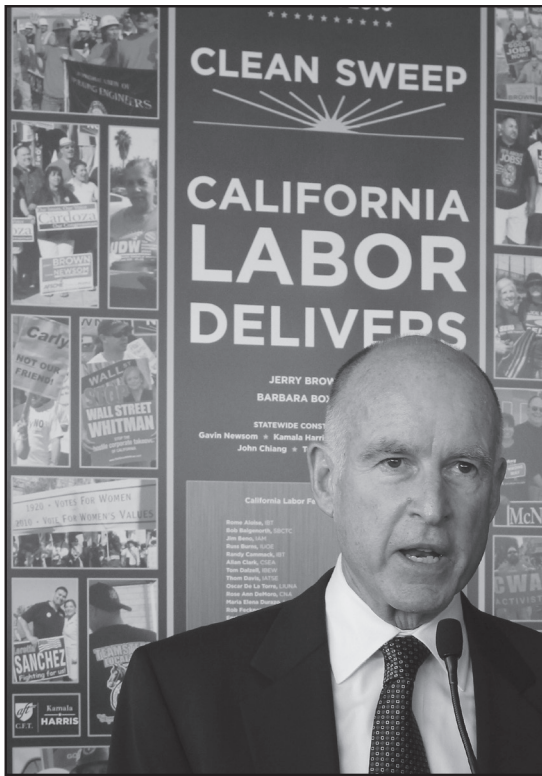
Under the leadership of the Strategic Planning Committee and the Executive Council, our political program continues to grow and innovate. That work was on full display in 2010 with our most robust member-to-member program ever, along with the cutting-edge Million More Voters program that successfully persuaded and turned out non-union members who share our values. We mapped out Labor's Blueprint for Victory and followed that blueprint to tremendous victories on election night.



While much of the country took a step backward in 2010, Californians rejected the failed policies that crippled our nation's economy and delivered a "Clean Sweep" of statewide races. Working families dominated the election by voting for pro-worker candidates to every statewide constitutional office, including electing Jerry Brown as Governor and re-electing Barbara Boxer to the U.S. Senate.

California's voters beat back the tidal wave of corporate candidates that swept much of the rest of the country. Jerry Brown faced the most expensive Governor's race in history – Meg Whitman spent over \$140 million of her own fortune – but he won based on his lifetime record of fighting for working families.

Barbara Boxer also faced a millionaire CEO opponent and prevailed. Unfortunately, the U.S. Senate lost six Democratic seats, and Congress lost 63 seats, erasing many of the political gains made in 2006 and 2008. Again, California bucked the national tide and successfully protected all contested Congressional seats to preserve a 34-19 majority committed to working families.



The state legislature saw one “pick-up” in the State Assembly, bringing the working families majority to 52-28. With the successful election of Richard Pan to Assembly District 5, the California Assembly became one of only two Democratic legislative houses in the country to post a gain in the 2010 midterm election. The Senate majority remained unchanged at 24-14 and two vacancies.

Ballot measures produced mixed results. While Labor’s position was ultimately unsuccessful on seven measures, there were two significant victories. Proposition 23, the measure funded by the oil industry to repeal California’s landmark global warming law, was defeated by over 20 points. Proposition 25, the Majority Vote Budget initiative, allows the state budget to be passed with a simple majority instead of the two-thirds requirement that has stymied budgets in the past. This restores democracy to the budget process and will no longer allow a few legislators to hold up the process and extract favors in exchange for their votes.

The California Labor movement is proud to have participated with unparalleled intensity to help secure all of these victories. Unions stepped up like never before to beat back the corporate takeover of California. Over the course of the campaign, Labor engaged more than two million California

union members with broad grassroots efforts that included 30,000 volunteers making millions of contacts – on the phone, at the door and at the worksite – to expose Whitman’s Wall Street agenda.

Under the leadership of the Strategic Planning Committee, our labor councils and unions were laser-focused for 18 months on the goal of taking back the state house to end the anti-union agenda. Together, we implemented the Blueprint for Victory – our most comprehensive campaign plan ever – and spared California from the fate so many other states have faced at the hands of anti-union Governors. **In a true battle of Main Street vs. Wall Street, where our opponents had the ability to spend their way to victory, working families prevailed.**

**THE FOLLOWING COPE ENDORSED CANDIDATES WERE ELECTED IN NOVEMBER 2010:**

**Statewide**

Governor	Jerry Brown (D)
Lieutenant Governor	Gavin Newsom (D)
Attorney General	Kamala Harris (D)
Secretary of State	Debra Bowen (D)
Treasurer	Bill Lockyer (D)
Controller	John Chiang (D)
Superintendent of Public Instruction	Tom Torlakson (D)
Insurance Commissioner	Dave Jones (D)
Board of Equalization	
District 1	Betty Yee (D)
District 4	Jerome Horton (D)
United States Senator	Barbara Boxer (D)

CONTINUED

**U.S. Congress by district**

- |                              |                               |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Mike Thompson (D)         | 27. Brad Sherman (D)          |
| 5. Doris Matsui (D)          | 28. Howard Berman (D)         |
| 6. Lynn Woolsey (D)          | 29. Adam Schiff (D)           |
| 7. George Miller (D)         | 30. Henry Waxman (D)          |
| 8. Nancy Pelosi (D)          | 31. Xavier Becerra (D)        |
| 9. Barbara Lee (D)           | 32. Judy Chu (D)              |
| 10. John Garamendi (D)       | 33. Karen Bass (D)            |
| 11. Jerry McNerney (D)       | 34. Lucille Roybal-Allard (D) |
| 12. Jackie Speier (D)        | 35. Maxine Waters (D)         |
| 13. Fortney "Pete" Stark (D) | 36. Jane Harman (D)           |
| 14. Anna Eshoo (D)           | 37. Laura Richardson (D)      |
| 15. Mike Honda (D)           | 38. Grace Napolitano (D)      |
| 16. Zoe Lofgren (D)          | 39. Linda Sanchez (D)         |
| 17. Sam Farr (D)             | 43. Joe Baca (D)              |
| 18. Dennis Cardoza (D)       | 47. Loretta Sanchez (D)       |
| 20. Jim Costa (D)            | 51. Bob Filner (D)            |
| 23. Lois Capps (D)           | 53. Susan Davis (D)           |

**California State Legislature**

**State Senate by district**

- |                          |                               |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 2. Noreen Evans (D)      | 24. Ed Hernandez (D)          |
| 6. Darrell Steinberg (D) | 26. Curren Price (D)          |
| 8. Leland Yee (D)        | 28. Jenny Oropeza (D)         |
| 10. Ellen Corbett (D)    | 30. Ron Calderon (D)          |
| 16. Michael Rubio (D)    | 32. Gloria Negrete-McLeod (D) |
| 20. Alex Padilla (D)     | 34. Lou Correa (D)            |
| 22. Kevin De Leon (D)    | 40. Juan Vargas (D)           |



**State Assembly by district**

- |                           |                            |                             |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Wesley Chesbro (D)     | 21. Rich Gordon (D)        | 48. Mike Davis (D)          |
| 5. Richard Pan (D)        | 22. Paul Fong (D)          | 49. Mike Eng (D)            |
| 6. Jared Huffman (D)      | 23. Nora Campos (D)        | 50. Ricardo Lara (D)        |
| 7. Michael Allen (D)      | 24. James Beall, Jr. (D)   | 51. Steven Bradford (D)     |
| 8. Mariko Yamada (D)      | 27. Bill Monning (D)       | 52. Isadore Hall (D)        |
| 9. Roger Dickinson (D)    | 28. Luis Alejo (D)         | 53. Betsy Butler (D)        |
| 10. Alyson Huber (D)      | 31. Henry Perea (D)        | 54. Bonnie Lowenthal (D)    |
| 11. Susan Bonilla (D)     | 35. Das Williams (D)       | 55. Warren Furutani (D)     |
| 12. Fiona Ma (D)          | 37. Jeff Gorell (R)        | 56. Tony Mendoza (D)        |
| 13. Tom Ammiano (D)       | 39. Felipe Fuentes (D)     | 57. Ed Hernandez (D)        |
| 14. Nancy Skinner (D)     | 40. Bob Blumenfield (D)    | 58. Charles Calderon (D)    |
| 15. Joan Buchanan (D)     | 41. Julia Brownley (D)     | 61. Norma Torres (D)        |
| 16. Sandre Swanson (D)    | 42. Mike Feuer (D)         | 62. Wilmer Amina Carter (D) |
| 17. Cathleen Galgiani (D) | 43. Mike Gatto (D)         | 69. Jose Solorio (D)        |
| 18. Mary Hayashi (D)      | 44. Anthony Portantino (D) | 76. Toni Atkins (D)         |
| 19. Jerry Hill (D)        | 45. Gil Cedillo (D)        | 78. Marty Block (D)         |
| 20. Bob Wieckowski (D)    | 46. John A. Pérez (D)      | 79. Ben Hueso (D)           |
|                           | 47. Holly Mitchell (D)     | 80. Manuel Perez (D)        |

**The following COPE endorsements on ballot measures were successful:**

<b>23</b>	<b>Suspend Air Pollution Control Law.</b>	<b>NO</b>
<b>25</b>	<b>Majority Vote Budget Initiative.</b>	<b>YES</b>

**Special Elections and Recall Elections**

Prior to the 2010 general election, SD 15 was vacated by Republican Abel Maldonado, who resigned to serve as interim Lieutenant Governor. In a special election on August 17th, Sam Blakeslee was elected to replace Maldonado, despite Labor’s efforts on behalf of John Laird. A win here would have put us one seat away from a two-thirds majority in the State Senate.

Additional special elections were held in five other districts in 2011. Ted Gaines won a January 4th special election to replace the late Dave Cox in Senate District 1. On February 15th, Sharon Runner won election to the 17th State Senate district. The seat was left vacant by her husband, George Runner, who was elected to the Board of Equalization in November 2010. Also on February 15th, Ted Lieu was elected to fill the seat of deceased Senator Jenny Oropeza in SD 28. In Assembly District 4, Beth Gaines won a special election on May 3rd to succeed her husband who won a special election to the State Senate. And on July 12th in Congressional District 36, Janice Hahn won the seat vacated by Jane Harman.

**June 2012 Direct Primary Election**

In the Primary of 2012 we saw the first display of the new Top Two Primary, which allows the top two vote-getters from the primary to advance to the general election – regardless of party. We also saw races in the newly redrawn districts which, for the first time, were drawn by the Citizens Redistricting Commission formed by Proposition 11.

This new landscape brought mixed results, but somewhat surprisingly this primary did not result in greater turnout or more non-partisan candidates. Turnout was at an all-time low, at less than 30 percent. And all of the high-profile “No Party Preference” (NPP) congressional candidates failed to

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advance to the general election. In total, only five NPP candidates finished in the top two to advance to the general election, and all of those are in races against incumbents in safe seats.

The strategy of electing moderate candidates in Republican districts proved harder than many unions had hoped. There were several high-profile campaigns by moderate Republicans against extremely conservative incumbent Republicans. In those races, the conservative Republican candidates did extremely well, and the moderate Republican candidates are not advancing to the general election.

Labor candidates also saw mixed results. Tremendously outspent by business interests, candidates like Labor's own Julio Perez in AD 69 were targeted by corporate Independent Expenditure campaigns (IEs) and were unable to advance to the general election. Expenditures in that race alone exceeded \$1 million, showcasing another result of the 2012 primary. Total primary spending on Independent Expenditures totaled \$14 million, doubling that of the last primary in 2010. Independent committees can raise and spend unlimited amounts to influence an election – and business interests continue to use IEs to outspend the Labor Movement. Despite these hurdles, many of Labor's candidates succeeded in advancing to the general election.

Overall, 28 districts will experience general elections with two candidates from the same party. Nineteen districts will see a general election ballot with two Democrats, and nine districts will see two Republicans face off.

The following COPE endorsed candidates won a spot in the Top Two Primary and will advance to the general election:

**U.S. Congress by District**

- |                          |                               |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Jim Reed (D)          | 26. Julia Brownley (D)        |
| 2. Jared Huffman (D)     | 27. Judy Chu (D)              |
| 3. John Garamendi (D)    | 28. Adam Schiff (D)           |
| 4. Jack Uppal (D)        | 29. Tony Cardenas (D)         |
| 5. Mike Thompson (D)     | 32. Grace Napolitano (D)      |
| 6. Doris Matsui (D)      | 33. Henry Waxman (D)          |
| 7. Ami Bera (D)          | 34. Xavier Becerra (D)        |
| 9. Jerry McNerney (D)    | 35. Joe Baca (D)              |
| 10. Jose Hernandez (D)   | 36. Dr. Raul Ruiz (D)         |
| 11. George Miller (D)    | 37. Karen Bass (D)            |
| 12. Nancy Pelosi (D)     | 38. Linda Sanchez (D)         |
| 13. Barbara Lee (D)      | 39. Jay Chen (D)              |
| 14. Jackie Speier (D)    | 40. Lucille Roybal-Allard (D) |
| 15. Pete Stark (D)       | 41. Mark Takano (D)           |
| 16. Jim Costa (D)        | 43. Maxine Waters (D)         |
| 17. Mike Honda (D)       | 44. Janice Hahn (D)           |
| 18. Anna Eshoo (D)       | 45. Sukhee Kang (D)           |
| 19. Zoe Lofgren (D)      | 46. Loretta Sanchez (D)       |
| 20. Sam Farr (D)         | 47. Alan Lowenthal (D)        |
| 22. Otto Lee (D)         | 49. Jerry Tetelman (D)        |
| 23. Terry Phillips (NPP) | 51. Juan Vargas (D)           |
| 24. Lois Capps (D)       | 52. Scott Peters (D)          |
| 25. Lee Rogers (D)       | 53. Susan Davis (D)           |

CONTINUED

**California State Legislature**

**State Senate by District**

- |                          |                      |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 3. Lois Wolk (D)         | 17. Bill Monning (D) |
| 5. Cathleen Galgiani (D) | 25. Carole Liu (D)   |
| 7. Mark DeSaulnier (D)   | 27. Fran Pavley (D)  |
| 9. Loni Hancock (D)      | 29. Greg Diamond (D) |
| 11. Mark Leno (D)        | 31. Richard Roth (D) |
| 13. Jerry Hill (D)       | 33. Ricardo Lara (D) |
| 15. Jim Beall (D)        | 39. Marty Block (D)  |

**State Assembly by District**

- |                                    |                                |                             |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 2. Wesley Chesbro (D)              | 25. Bob Wieckowski (D)         | 47. Joe Baca Jr. (D)        |
| 3. Charles Rouse (D)               | 27. Nora Campos (D)            | 49. Ed Chau (D)             |
| 4. Mariko Yamada (D)               | 28. Paul Fong (D)              | 50. Betsy Butler (D)        |
| 7. Roger Dickinson (D)             | 29. Mark Stone (D)             | 51. Jimmy Gomez (D)         |
| 8. Ken Cooley (D)                  | 30. Luis Alejo (D)             | 52. Norma Torres (D)        |
| 9. Richard Pan (D)                 | 31. Henry Perea (D)            | 53. John A. Pérez (D)       |
| 10. Michael Allen (D)              | 32. Rudy Salas (D)             | 54. Holly Mitchell (D)      |
| 11. Jim Frazier (D)                | 33. John Coffey (D)            | 56. V. Manuel Perez (D)     |
| 14. Susan Bonilla (D)              | 34. Mari Goodman (D)           | 59. Reggie Jones Sawyer (D) |
| 15. Nancy Skinner (D)              | 37. Das Williams (D)           | 61. Jose Medina (D)         |
| 16. Joan Buchanan (D)              | 38. Edward Headington (D)      | 62. Steven Bradford (D)     |
| 17. Tom Ammiano (D)                | 39. Richard Alarcon (D)        | 63. Anthony Rendon (D)      |
| 18. Rob Bonta/<br>Abel Guillen (D) | 40. Russ Warner (D)            | 64. Isadore Hall (D)        |
| 19. Phil Ting (D)                  | 41. Chris Holden (D)           | 65. Sharon Quirk-Silva (D)  |
| 20. Bill Quirk (D)                 | 42. Mark Anthony<br>Orozco (D) | 66. Al Muratsuchi (D)       |
| 21. Adam Gray (D)                  | 43. Mike Gatto (D)             | 70. Bonnie Lowenthal (D)    |
| 22. Kevin Mullin (D)               | 44. Jeff Gorell (R)            | 71. Patrick Hurley (D)      |
| 24. Rich Gordon (D)                | 45. Bob Blumenfield (D)        | 78. Toni Atkins (D)         |
|                                    | 46. Adrin Nazarian (D)         | 79. Shirley Weber (D)       |
|                                    |                                | 80. Ben Hueso (D)           |

**The following COPE endorsements on ballot measures were successful:**

**28 Limits on Legislators' Terms in Office. Yes**

**Preparations for the General Election**

Labor's top priority in 2012 is defeating the Special Exemptions Act ballot measure. Once again, anti-worker millionaires have qualified a ballot measure to stifle union participation in politics. Unfortunately, this "super virus" version is worse than either Proposition 226 or Proposition 75 in both its impact and appeal to voters.

This threat requires us to start early! The campaign to defeat the Special Exemptions Act kicked off at the Pre-Primary convention in April. We have already begun early education of members and activists, presentations at meetings, letters/newsletter articles, message training and worksite actions.

Building on the comprehensive blueprint plan from 2010, the Federation has unveiled a 2012 Blueprint for Victory. The plan includes early member education, as well as strategic voter communication outside the Labor Movement. When the entire Labor Movement is united, our power is tremendous. And in 2012 we will be united to defeat the Special Exemptions Act!

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The Blueprint and the accompanying Campaign Tracker were distributed in April to track the progress of the campaign against the Special Exemptions Act at every local union. Campaign elements such as volunteers, letters to members and worksite visits can be counted on the Campaign Tracker to ensure that we are reaching our collective goals.

Unions and labor councils together set campaign goals to win in November – and ultimately to win for workers. We hope this massive campaign is also an opportunity to build our political structure and reach deeper into our membership at every union.

*For more information on Labor’s plan to beat the Special Exemptions Act, see our campaign materials folder in your convention packet or visit the Federation’s website: [www.CaliforniaLabor.org](http://www.CaliforniaLabor.org)*

# ★★★ CALIFORNIA UNIONS 2012 ★★★

## BLUEPRINT FOR VICTORY

### LOCAL UNION CHECKLIST

**THE RULE OF 8**

Our best contact is when members hear directly from their union – at least 8 times!

- ✓ 3 letters to members
- ✓ 2 worksite visits
- ✓ 2 emails to members
- ✓ 1 mail piece from the International Union

**AND**

- ✓ Mobilize 125% of members for Labor Council precinct walks and phonebanks
- ✓ Release staff to the Labor Council for 9 weeks

★ APRIL   MAY	★ JUNE   JULY	★ AUGUST   SEPTEMBER	★ OCTOBER   NOVEMBER
<h3>1. Local Unions</h3> <p><b>MEMBER CONTACT GOALS:</b> LOCAL UNION LETTERS   WORKSITE VISITS   EMAILS   INTERNATIONAL CONTACT</p> <p><b>APRIL - MAY:</b> PREPARING FOR THE CORPORATE POWER GRAB BALLOT MEASURE:                      • Attend union leaders briefing and send staff to message training on Corporate Power Grab                      • Invite a speaker to attend local union meeting                      • Order worksite materials                      • Begin talking to members at worksites                      • Plan to recruit 125% volunteers and release staff for the Central Labor Council (CLC)                      • 1st letter to members</p> <p><b>JUNE - JULY:</b> REGISTER STAFF AND ACTIVISTS FOR 2-DAY CORPORATE POWER GRAB CAMPAIGN SCHOOL:                      • Join the tweet/text revolution to reach members! Collect cell phone numbers                      • Include Corporate Power Grab in every newsletter                      • Begin voter registration and vote by mail drives                      • Identify political point person to coordinate and do planning with CLC and your State Council</p> <p><b>AUGUST - SEPTEMBER:</b> JOIN LABOR DAY CLC EVENTS &amp; BITZES                      • 2nd letter to members                      • Send volunteers to CLC phonebanks/walks                      • Talk to members at all worksites (1)                      • Release staff to CLC for final 2 months including international staff                      • Invite a speaker to attend union meeting</p> <p><b>OCTOBER - NOVEMBER:</b> 3rd letter to members                      • Send volunteers to CLC phonebanks/walks                      • Talk to members at all worksites (2)                      • Send email to members                      • Send extra release staff to CLC for final 10 days                      • Summon absentee voters                      • Begin CLC GOTV blitz for poll voters                      • Election Day</p>			
<h3>2. Labor Councils</h3> <p><b>MEMBER CONTACT GOALS:</b> VOLUNTEER PHONE CALLS   WALK VISIT   MAIL PIECE</p> <p><b>APRIL - MAY:</b> LOCAL ENDORSEMENT PROCESS                      • Co-sponsor leader briefings and message training on the Corporate Power Grab                      • Lead Primary phonebank/precinct walk operations                      • Planning process with affiliates</p> <p><b>JUNE - JULY:</b> BEGIN CLC GOTV BLITZ                      • Primary Election Day                      • Co-sponsor 2-day Corporate Power Grab Campaign School with State Federation</p> <p><b>AUGUST - SEPTEMBER:</b> ORGANIZE LABOR DAY EVENTS &amp; BITZES                      • Campaign Kick-off                      • Phonebanks begin to early voters                      • Lead Precinct Walks every weekend                      • Coordinate local union letters &amp; major worksite blitzes</p> <p><b>OCTOBER - NOVEMBER:</b> LEAD PRECINCT WALKS EVERY WEEKEND                      • CLC mail to members                      • Begin turnout for absentee voters                      • Begin CLC GOTV blitz                      • Election Day</p>			
<h3>3. State Federation</h3> <p><b>MEMBER CONTACT GOALS:</b> MAIL PIECES   CALLS   EMAIL</p>			

### 2012 IMPORTANT CAMPAIGN DATES

**PRIMARY ELECTION**

APRIL 11: Pre-Primary COPE Endorsement Convention

MAY 7: Absentee voting begins

JUNE 5: Primary Election Day

**GENERAL ELECTION**

JULY 24-25: Federation COPE Endorsement Convention

OCTOBER 6: Absentee voting begins

# 2012 UNION CAMPAIGN TRACKER

## ★★★ STOP the Nov. 2012 Special Exemptions Act ★★★

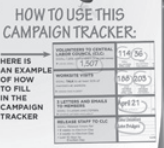
**TRACK YOUR PROGRESS!**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Union: \_\_\_\_\_

APRIL - JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	week of SEPT 3	week of SEPT 10	week of SEPT 17	week of SEPT 24	week of OCT 1	week of OCT 8	week of OCT 15	week of OCT 23	week of OCT 30	GOTV UNTIL NOV 6																										
<h3>VOLUNTEERS TO CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL (CLC)</h3> <p>✓ GOAL: 125% of members (25 per 2,000 members)</p> <p>▶ LOCAL GOAL: _____</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <th>TOTAL VOLUNTEERS APRIL-JUNE</th> <th>TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS MONTH</th> <th>TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS MONTH</th> <th>TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK</th> <th>TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK</th> <th>TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK</th> <th>TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK</th> <th>TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK</th> <th>TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK</th> <th>TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK</th> <th>TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK</th> <th>TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK</th> <th>TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK</th> </tr> <tr> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> </table>													TOTAL VOLUNTEERS APRIL-JUNE	TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS MONTH	TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS MONTH	TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK	TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK	TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK	TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK	TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK	TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK	TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK	TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK	TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK	TOTAL VOLUNTEERS THIS WEEK													
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<h3>WORKSITE VISITS</h3> <p>✓ GOAL: TALK to at least 50% of members at worksite</p> <p>▶ ORDER FREE FLIERS®</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <th># OF MEMBERS REACHED APRIL-JUNE</th> <th># OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS MONTH</th> <th># OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS MONTH</th> <th># OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK</th> <th># OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK</th> <th># OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK</th> <th># OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK</th> <th># OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK</th> <th># OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK</th> <th># OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK</th> <th># OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK</th> <th># OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK</th> <th># OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK</th> </tr> <tr> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> </table>													# OF MEMBERS REACHED APRIL-JUNE	# OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS MONTH	# OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS MONTH	# OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK	# OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK	# OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK	# OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK	# OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK	# OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK	# OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK	# OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK	# OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK	# OF MEMBERS REACHED THIS WEEK													
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<h3>3 LETTERS AND EMAILS TO MEMBERS</h3> <p>✓ GOAL: 3 Letters and 2 Emails</p> <p>▶ SAMPLE LETTERS AVAILABLE!</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <th>DATE OF LETTER # 1</th> <th>DATE OF LETTER # 2</th> <th>DATE OF EMAIL # 1</th> <th>DATE OF LETTER # 3</th> <th>DATE OF EMAIL # 2</th> </tr> <tr> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> </table>													DATE OF LETTER # 1	DATE OF LETTER # 2	DATE OF EMAIL # 1	DATE OF LETTER # 3	DATE OF EMAIL # 2																					
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<h3>RELEASE STAFF TO CLC</h3> <p>GOAL: Release timers for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ 9 weeks to Election Day</li> <li>✓ 4 weeks to Election Day</li> <li>✓ Last 10 days to Election Day</li> </ul> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <th>NAMES</th> <th>NAMES</th> <th>NAMES</th> <th>NAMES</th> </tr> <tr> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> </table>													NAMES	NAMES	NAMES	NAMES																						
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#### HOW TO USE THIS CAMPAIGN TRACKER

HERE IS AN EXAMPLE OF HOW TO FILL IN THE CAMPAIGN TRACKER



#### ADDITIONAL STEPS TO WIN IN 2012

- Identify POLITICAL POINT PERSON to coordinate with CLC and your State Council
- Share Campaign Plan with CLC
- Discuss Corporate Power Grab at local union meetings. Show video
- Update voter file with State Federation (July)
- Send Member Activists to Summer Campaign School
- Increase active presence. Collect emails and cell phone numbers for lists

#### CONTACT INFORMATION FOR RESOURCES

WORKSITE MATERIALS, CAMPAIGN SCHOOL, SPEAKERS:  
 Gloria Sanchez, 510-863-4012, email: [gsanchez@calaborfed.org](mailto:gsanchez@calaborfed.org)

MESSAGE TRAINING, TWITTER, ONLINE TOOLS:  
 Rebecca Band, 510-863-4051, email: [rband@calaborfed.org](mailto:rband@calaborfed.org)

California LABOR Federation  
[www.CaliforniaLabor.org](http://www.CaliforniaLabor.org)  
 TWITTER: [www.twitter.com/CaliforniaLabor](http://www.twitter.com/CaliforniaLabor)  
 FACEBOOK: [www.facebook.com/CaliforniaLaborFederation](http://www.facebook.com/CaliforniaLaborFederation)



# 3

## Million More Voters (MMV)

**GIVEN** our opposition's unlimited resources, California Labor needs to reach beyond union members to communicate with other working class voters who share Labor's values. The decision at the 2008 Biennial convention to fund an innovative program to reach a Million More Voters was a strategic investment in building Labor's power, and MMV will continue to pay dividends in every election.

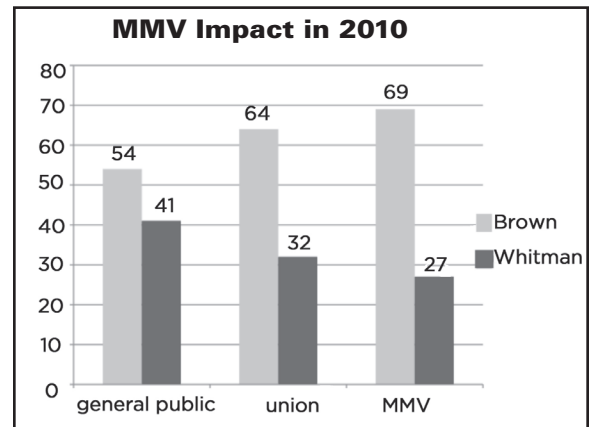
In 2010, key MMV groups – such as non-union blue-collar voters, Latinos and Asian Americans – were identified as swing voters and then received communications about the stakes in the election. The new MMV program used cutting-edge micro-targeting to communicate with those voters and then turn them out to vote. The results show that this innovative approach contributed to our winning edge.

The results were undeniable. When MMV swing voters heard from us about our issues, they voted more than 2-1 for Labor's candidates.

Expanding our base to other middle class and working class voters builds on the power of the growing discontent of the 99 percent. The Labor Movement opened our union halls and our hearts to the Occupy movement, standing strong to hold Wall Street accountable and create good jobs. As we continue the fight against foreclosures, outsourcing and declining wages, MMV will help the middle class fight back at the ballot box.

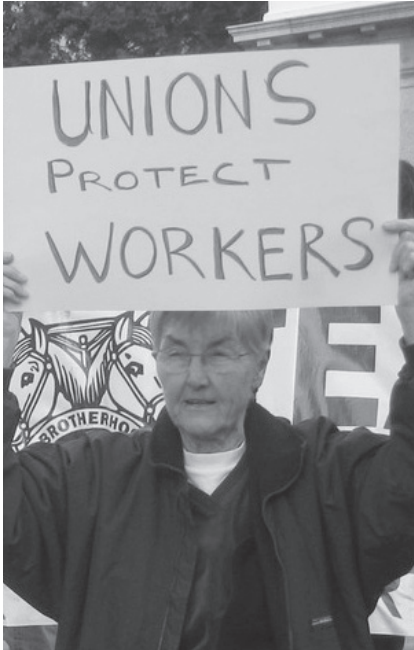
One example of MMV's targeting power is the 2010 Attorney General race. Ten days before election day, Federation polling showed Kamala Harris losing statewide because she was underperforming in southern California. We quickly mobilized a million dollars and knew exactly which voters, beyond union families, to reach. Without the intensive MMV surge reaching 83,000 voters, Kamala Harris would not have won by the 0.8% margin.

The MMV program continues to grow with more than 2 1/2 million like-minded, non-union voters who now vote as reliably as union members do. In 2012, Million More Voters will be critical in defeating the November Special Exemptions measure.



CONTINUED

# 4 Legislative Action



## **Working families in California have been devastated by the Great Recession.**

First, the private sector collapsed in the wake of the foreclosure free-fall, and then the public sector crumbled under the deepest cuts we have ever seen. Jobs have disappeared, home values have plummeted, and services have been decimated. In a few short years, millions of families have lost the security that took decades to build.

2012 is the year to invest in California's future. We will win new revenue to stabilize our economy and rebuild this state. We will confront the growth in contingent work that is eroding basic worker protections. We will get Californians back to work, keep families in their homes and restore benefits to injured workers.

The Labor Movement will not give up on the California Dream. If we invest in California's future, we can repair this state, restore economic fairness, and rebuild the middle class.

To this end, the Federation's 2012 legislative agenda is focused on legislation that will:

- ✱ **Stop foreclosures on families in loan modification.** Foreclosures have not only destroyed families, they have cost the state billions and have depressed home values across California. Banks should be modifying unaffordable loans, but instead, they are actively foreclosing on homeowners who are in the loan modification process. **In July we won legislation to hold the banks accountable and stop unnecessary foreclosures!**
- ✱ **Build high-speed rail in California.** The high-speed rail line will bring immediate economic stimulus and long-term economic growth. It will result in thousands of good new jobs in construction and operations, while also attracting businesses to California and reducing air pollution. **In July, following years of effort by Labor, we won Phase 1!**
- ✱ **Stop corporate wage thieves.** Companies that follow state laws should not have to compete with those that cheat their employees. Today, companies are increasingly using third-party labor contractors, like staffing and temporary agencies, to avoid responsibility for wages, hours and working conditions. We must close loopholes that allow employers to shift and shirk their responsibilities onto their workers.
- ✱ **Cut waste, fraud and abuse in enterprise zone tax giveaways.** Every year, the state spends over \$500 million on the ineffective enterprise zone tax giveaway program. This program has been proven to create no new jobs. In fact, companies can get these tax credits even if they lay off existing workers to relocate where labor is cheaper. That is an outrageous use of taxpayer funds, and it must be stopped.

CONTINUED

- ✱ **Corporate fair share for worker health care.** With the implementation of health care reform, there are major corporations that pay no tax dollars themselves and instead expect taxpayers to subsidize the cost of their employees' health care. We need transparency to figure out which companies are not paying their fair share by dumping their workers into the taxpayer subsidized Health Care Exchange.
- ✱ **Restore benefits to injured workers.** The last administration slashed benefits to permanently disabled workers by nearly 70 percent. We must restore dignity to those who were injured on the job by increasing permanent disability benefits.
- ✱ **End discrimination against the unemployed.** Numerous employers refuse to even consider the unemployed for jobs. At a time of record unemployment, we cannot allow those who are out of work to become a permanent underclass. Everyone deserves a fair shot at getting work.

The Federation's 2012 legislative agenda builds on the legislative successes we had in 2011 during the first year of the Brown Administration. Throughout 2011, we fought aggressively for workers' rights on a broad range of issues:

#### **FIGHTING FOR GOOD JOBS**

**Revolving loan fund for manufacturing (AB 894 – VM Perez).** We can attract good manufacturing jobs without giving away more in corporate tax breaks or eroding worker protections. This bill will seed new job creation by establishing a revolving loan fund that offers gap financing to manufacturing firms that create and retain jobs in California. Preference would be given to high-road jobs that pay living wages, offer health insurance and retirement security, and are created in partnership between labor and management. VETOED.

**Build high speed rail cars in CA (AB 16 – Perea).** California voters approved bond financing to build a high-speed rail line from Sacramento to San Diego, and the state has received billions in matching federal funds. This project will create hundreds of thousands of good construction and operations jobs for California workers. But that is just the start. We have a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to bring good jobs to California by manufacturing our high-speed rail train cars in state. This bill would require the High-Speed Rail Authority to do everything possible to purchase high-speed rail cars manufactured in California. HELD.

**Supercenter Economic Impact Study (SB 469 – Vargas).** When a supercenter comes to town, every part of the local economy is affected. If small businesses and other local retailers lose business, they are forced to lay off workers and ultimately close their doors. Across the state, we have witnessed small businesses cannibalized by superstores. Communities should know the economic impact of a supercenter on their local economies before these projects are approved. This bill would require a locality to undertake an economic impact report before a supercenter is approved. VETOED.

**Job creation standards on tax credits (SB 364 – Yee).** California gives corporations billions of dollars in tax breaks annually. However, the state does not track if corporations create jobs or economic activity when they claim a tax break. When taxpayers subsidize business through tax breaks, they deserve a return on their investment. If a business eliminates jobs, taxpayers should get their money back to redirect to other programs. This bill would impose a penalty on businesses that take tax breaks for job creation, but do not create any jobs – essentially a taxpayer money-back guarantee. VETOED.

**Worker retention for city contracts (AB 508 – Swanson).** With one of the highest unemployment rates in the nation, we should be doing everything we can to keep people in their jobs. Yet when garbage and recycling contracts turn over, too often longtime employees are pushed out. This bill would extend the bid preference currently given to transit operators, who already keep existing employees for at least 90 days, to garbage and recycling companies that meet the same requirement. HELD.

### **CRACK DOWN ON THE UNDERGROUND ECONOMY**

**Crack down on misclassification of independent contractors (SB 459 – Corbett).** The misclassification of workers as independent contractors is one of the most serious threats to workers' rights and a major contributor to the underground economy. Workers lose out on wage and hour protection, unemployment insurance and workers' compensation benefits, and good employers cannot compete. This bill would help us crack down on misclassification of employees as independent contractors. SIGNED.

**Protect low-wage workers (AB 469 – Swanson).** Wage theft is on the rise and state enforcement efforts are inadequate. Modeled on the national movement to stop wage theft, this bill improves disclosure and strengthens protections for low-wage workers, and also creates a more efficient enforcement structure. SIGNED.

### **MAXIMIZE JOB TRAINING FUNDS**

**Increase standards for training providers receiving federal workforce funds (AB 1115 – Lara).** Federal law requires that training providers who receive local Workforce Investment Act (WIA) funds must be on the Eligible Training Provider List (ETPL). Because each local Workforce Investment Board (WIB) establishes its own ETPL list, standards are inconsistent and largely inadequate. This bill establishes a statewide ETPL with strict standards to ensure that public training dollars are well invested and focused on high-quality training programs. IMPLEMENTED.

**Set minimum requirement for investing federal workforce funding on training and direct worker services (SB 776 – DeSaulnier).** On average, local WIBs in California invest just 20 percent of their federal funds on training services. One-third of the 49 WIBs spend less than 11 percent on training, and many invest nothing. In effect, we have a job training system that does not provide training, and instead funds program overhead and less effective services provided through costly one-stop centers. This bill requires that local WIBs invest at least 50 percent of their local training dollars on quality training programs. SIGNED.

**Make local WIBs accountable to state WIB and state plan (SB 698 – Lieu).** Currently, little coordination exists between the state WIB and the 49 local WIBs. Local WIBs must be certified every two years, but such certification leaves much to be desired. This bill would create a "high performance board" standard, allowing the state WIB to hold local WIBs accountable to the state strategic plan, state law, and higher standards. SIGNED.

### **PROTECT WORKERS**

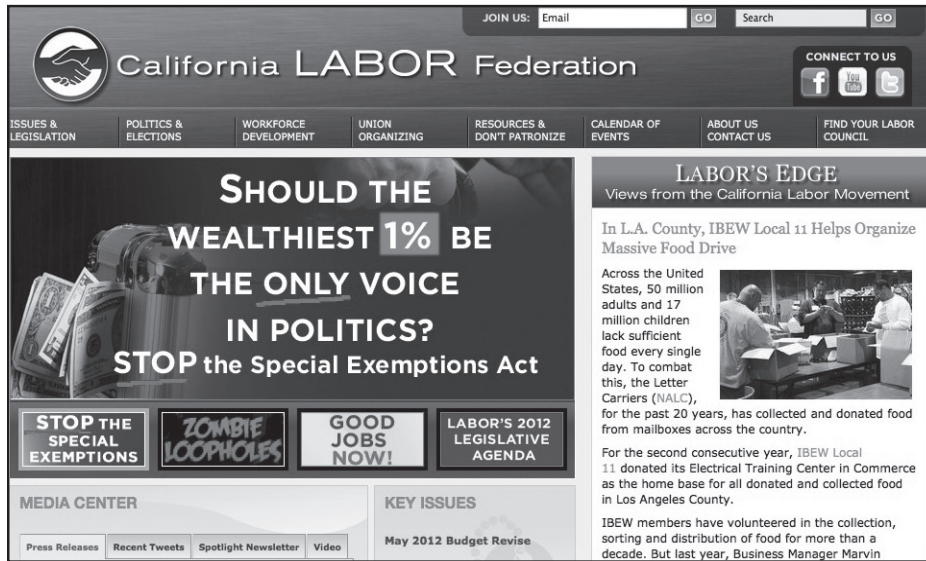
**No credit checks unless substantially related to job (AB 22 – Mendoza).** In this economic climate, many working families have had their credit destroyed by foreclosures or prolonged unemployment. But credit record says nothing about work history, work ethic, or overall competence. Today, about half of all employers say they use credit reports to evaluate candidates for a job. This bill would stop employers from using credit checks to deny employment unless one's credit record is substantially related to the job. SIGNED.

**Authorize and regulate payroll paycards (SB 931 – Evans).** Employers are increasing the use of electronic paycards to pay wages, but not all workers have immediate access to wages without paying fees. This bill would ensure paycards are only used when there are adequate protections against excessive fees. VETOED.

**Protection from municipal bankruptcy (AB 506 – Wieckowski).** When the City of Vallejo declared bankruptcy in 2008, a terrible precedent was set that allows cities to use bankruptcy court to completely eliminate bargaining agreements. In Vallejo, the city continued to pay all creditors except their workers. We cannot allow the municipal bankruptcy process to be abused so cities can get out of obligations made to workers and retirees. This bill will create a more fair process for municipal bankruptcy to protect our contracts and our members. SIGNED.

# 5

## Online Communications



**THE** California Labor Federation is committed to making online engagement of union members and activists a top priority. By improving existing online tools and introducing new cutting-edge tactics, the California Labor Federation has become a national leader in the use of electronic media to support labor campaigns and programs.

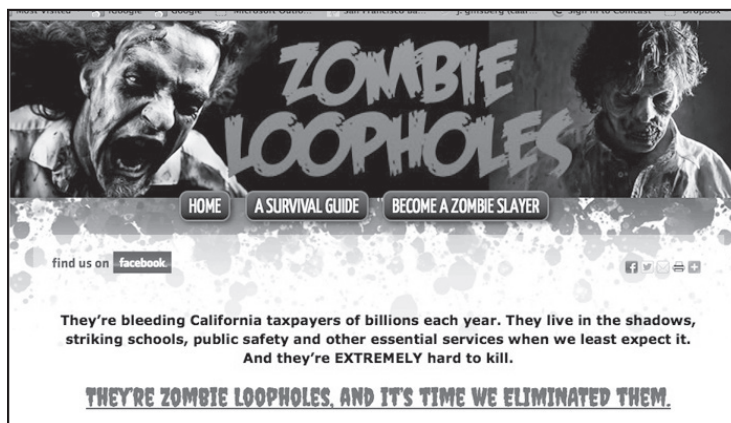
### WEBSITE

Our interactive website serves as the hub for all of our offline and online activities, and features everything from legislative white papers to news to events and opportunities to take action. The site is updated frequently with the latest news, resources and important campaign information, and the new “Union Member Resources” section provides Labor Councils and unions 24/7 access to all of our latest union-specific campaign materials. In addition to our main website, we launched WallStreetWhitman.com in 2010, which contained a wealth of information about Meg Whitman’s record on workers’ issues and ties to Wall Street firms like Goldman Sachs. This year, the Labor Federation launched another specialized site, [www.ZombieLoopholes.com](http://www.ZombieLoopholes.com), a creative site using the pop-culture fascination with zombies to highlight the very serious threat corporate tax breaks pose to our budget and essential services. Visit us on the web at [www.CaliforniaLabor.org](http://www.CaliforniaLabor.org).

### SOCIAL MEDIA

Our robust presence on Facebook and Twitter allows us to easily reach out to more union members and like-minded supporters than ever before. The Federation currently has more than 5,200 ‘likes’ on Facebook and upwards of 8,800 followers on Twitter that we interact with every day. We also run specialized social media campaigns like the one around Wall Street Whitman, which drew more than 10,000 supporters in 2010. To ensure our unions have the skills needed to best utilize social media for their own campaigns, the Labor Federation regularly hosts trainings on Facebook and Twitter for union leaders, staff and activists.

Join our social networks at [www.facebook.com/CaliforniaLaborFederation](http://www.facebook.com/CaliforniaLaborFederation) and [www.twitter.com/CaliforniaLabor](http://www.twitter.com/CaliforniaLabor). To request a training, email [rband@calaborfed.org](mailto:rband@calaborfed.org).



[www.zombieloopholes.com](http://www.zombieloopholes.com)

### **BLOG**

The “Labor’s Edge” blog has quickly become the go-to place for the latest news and views from across and beyond the California Labor movement. More than 200 California union leaders, members, supporters and decision-makers have contributed to “Labor’s Edge” since its inception in 2010, and readership continues to grow by leaps and bounds. Content from “Labor’s Edge” is frequently picked up and reposted on numerous other widely read blogs, including the California Progress Report, the California Majority Report, Calitics and the National AFL-CIO blog. Check out the blog at [www.LaborsEdge.com](http://www.LaborsEdge.com).

### **EMAIL**

The California Labor Federation has more than 20,000 email subscribers, and we communicate with them regularly on legislative, organizing and electoral campaigns and issues as they happen. Our electronic “Spotlight” newsletter goes out to our e-activists and affiliates every Friday and features all the latest news, upcoming events and opportunities to take action. Sign up for the email list and newsletter at <http://bit.ly/CaliforniaLabor>.

### **WEBINARS**

In Spring of 2012, the Labor Federation launched a series of webinars aimed at providing skills and information to our local union affiliates. We aim to host a new webinar each month, from Special Exemptions Act campaign updates to media skills workshops and social networking tutorials.

And more! With new technology emerging every day, the Labor Federation is working tirelessly to incorporate all the latest online tools into our existing arsenal. Before the November election, we plan to embark on a new text message campaign, and we are also actively utilizing a number of other popular online tools. For more information about California Labor’s online program, email [rband@calaborfed.org](mailto:rband@calaborfed.org).

# 6

## Workforce and Economic Development



**THE** purpose of the California Labor Federation's Workforce & Economic Development Program (WED) is to serve as an intermediary and resource for unions in responding to economic and labor-market change.

WED's main objectives are to save good jobs, foster the creation of new, high-road jobs and career pathways for California workers, and help build an integrated, strategic, high-road focused California workforce system.

Below are major areas of WED's work.

### **BROKERING WORKFORCE TRAINING**

#### **PARTNERSHIPS**

In the last two years, WED has secured nearly \$3 million to support high-road labor-management training projects. This funding established and expanded initiatives in hospitality, goods movement, construction, mass transit, building services and other sectors. The initiatives will result in over 5,000 union workers trained through leveraging the resources of multiple partners, including

community colleges, local workforce investment boards, and union-management trusts.

WED's ongoing green construction project alone will train over 3,000 workers. In partnership with the California State Building & Construction Trades Council, WED currently holds \$1 million in contracts with the California Employment Training Panel and the California Energy Commission to provide green skills training in several crafts to meet new standards for efficiency and renewable energy.

In recent years, we have seen increased interest in the gold standard of job training: joint-apprenticeship training programs. WED helped unions advocate for a \$7 million fund at the Employment Training Panel to support apprenticeship programs and ensure California's workers stay competitive in the increased absence of Montoya funds. In addition, WED is working to build strong partnerships with local workforce investment boards, community colleges, community partners and the K-12 system to ensure quality pre-apprenticeship pathways are established that create a solid link with labor apprenticeship programs. WED has also begun working with the Division of Apprenticeship Standards to help create apprenticeship opportunities in nontraditional sectors, including health care and manufacturing.

The California Employment Training Panel awarded \$1.2 million in Alternative and Renewable Fuel and Vehicle Technology Program funding created by AB 118 to the California Labor Federation in 2011. This funding is providing the training for over 900 mechanics in three transit agencies throughout California. WED worked with the unions representing transit workers at L.A. Metro (ATU 1277), Sacramento Regional Transit District (IBEW 1245 & AFSCME Local 146) and Santa Clara

Valley Transportation Authority (ATU 265) to secure this funding and provide advanced technology training for bus and rail technicians and mechanics working with energy efficient and green transportation vehicles and equipment. WED is currently pursuing additional funding to continue this important training program for these agencies and others.

In late 2011, WED published *Working Together*, a report that showcased successful high road labor-management training partnerships across the state. This publication was shared with legislators and agency heads, and is being used as a guide to support improving sectoral training initiatives throughout the public workforce system.

### **PROMOTING SECTOR STRATEGIES – SUPPORTING HIGH-ROAD JOB CREATION AND SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

California leads the nation in economic growth driven by responsible policy, world-class research, innovation and investment. Emerging growth sectors bring transition, rich with opportunities for good jobs. We need a skilled workforce with opportunities for career mobility to retain homegrown jobs and accrue the benefits of development. To ensure this reality, California needs a clear economic and workforce development road map that identifies key growth industries, including sectors with strong union density and organizing opportunities.

Unions have a long tradition of driving progress in their industries with cutting-edge skills training and strategic alliances that keep workers productive and employers competitive. To ensure that quality jobs and the rewards to state investment stay in California, WED works to connect unions with state agencies responsible for implementing job creation policy in growth industries such as health care, the green economy and manufacturing. WED helps unions stay informed about the impacts of potential workforce policies, and helps to develop policy that ensures that public funds are aligned with the principles of labor-management programs.

### **BUILDING WORKFORCE PARTNERSHIPS CONFERENCE**

WED's Building Workforce Partnerships (BWP) is an annual collaboration of the California Labor Federation and the State of California. The event draws a national group of nearly 400 participants from labor organizations, academia, business, environmental groups, foundations, workforce investment boards, state government, community colleges, economic development, community organizations and other partners. Attendees participate in dozens of workshops that profile best practices, with an emphasis on strategic labor-industry-government partnerships in skills building, community development, economic development and layoff response.

The 2011 BWP was titled *Get Regional: Building Enduring Relationships and Deep Coalitions*. Recognizing the regional nature of economies, it explored the economics of equity and highlighted the best regional coalition work across the nation. This year's event, which took place in March 2012, was themed *Unemployed in America: Causes, Consequences, Solutions*. While Wall Street's economy is improving, the jobs picture is far worse. The event focused on the macroeconomics of our current economy and the policies, programs, and strategies that proactively and effectively address the worst employment crisis since the Great Depression.

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### **STATE AND LOCAL WORKFORCE INVESTMENT BOARDS**

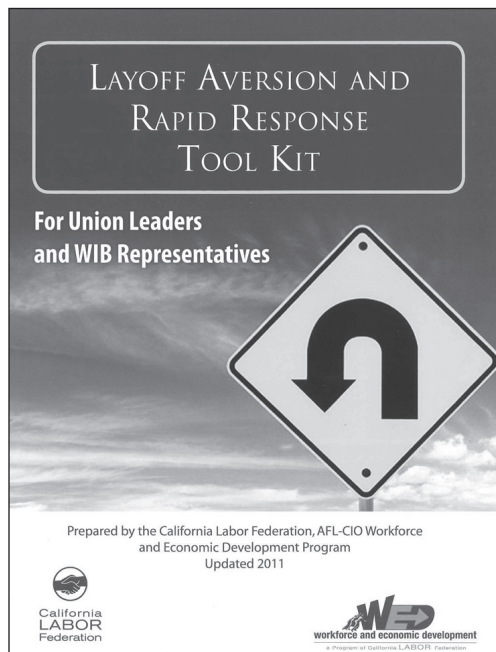
California's workforce investment boards (WIBs) administer nearly \$500 million in annual federal Workforce Investment Act dollars, as well as millions more in state and local job training, career tech, worker assistance, and community development resources. California is the only state that requires 15 percent labor representation on local WIBs. Thanks to the leadership and engagement of our labor representatives and allies, California created state policy to implement new standards for WIB performance and investment in quality job training for California's unemployed.

WED works with Central Labor Councils and the State Building and Construction Trades Council to recruit labor leaders to serve on local WIBs. WED holds frequent regional trainings for labor WIB members. The main goals are to: 1) improve oversight and accountability for the use and expenditure of public dollars; 2) establish worker-centered local and regional policy and investment; 3) expand sector-based labor-management training programs; and 4) prioritize training for career pathways to good high wage jobs.

### **LAYOFF AVERSION AND SERVING DISLOCATED WORKERS**

A critical part of WED's work is helping unions respond when their members are impacted by a layoff. The first response is to avert or stop the layoff through worker-management coordination, access to economic development resources and targeted skills training. When aversion is not possible, WED connects unions with public resources for dislocated workers, including retraining to assist with reemployment.

In response to the current economic downturn, WED revised the widely used *Layoff and Rapid Response Tool Kit for Union Leaders*. This guide provides descriptions of resources for averting layoffs and services for unemployed and dislocated workers. WED also provides frequent regional trainings for local WIB staff on working with unions when layoffs impact union workers.



CONTINUED

# 7

## Business of the Executive Council

**THE** Council met on July 12, 13 and 14, 2010 at the Hilton San Diego Resort and Spa as part of the 2010 Biennial Convention. At this meeting, the Council prepared endorsement and policy recommendations to the Convention.

The Executive Council has met on seven occasions since the July 2010 Biennial Convention and convened once as the Standing Committee on Political Education.

The dates and locations of the regular meetings of the Executive Council are as follows:

September 21, 2010	Wilshire Grand Hotel, Los Angeles
December 16, 2010	Sheraton Grand Hotel, Sacramento
March 9, 2011	Sheraton Grand Hotel, Sacramento
July 21, 2011	Wilshire Grand Hotel, Los Angeles
October 11-12, 2011	Holiday Inn, Sacramento
January 18, 2012	Sheraton Grand Hotel, Sacramento
April 10, 2012	Millennium Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles

In addition to its meetings, the Council held numerous conference calls to conduct the business of the Federation needing action between meetings.

### **TRANSITION TO THE BROWN ADMINISTRATION**

Following the Clean Sweep victory in November 2010, the Executive Council established a Transition Committee to focus on labor-supported recommendations for appointment in the Brown Administration. The Transition Committee held five meetings between November 2010 and March 2011 to consider appointment recommendations.

California Labor now has labor warriors at a number of key posts, including Julie Su, Labor Commissioner, and Tim Rainey, Director of the California Workforce Investment Board. Throughout the Administration, advocates for working families are championing Labor's issues, from health and safety laws to workers' comp reform to high-road green jobs.

### **STRATEGIC PLANNING**

The Executive Council develops strategies to address some of the most challenging problems faced by California's Labor Movement. In October 2011, the Executive Council and the Federation's Strategic Planning Committee undertook an extensive strategic planning process, involving more than 30 interviews and a joint meeting.

Out of this process came a commitment to the Federation's core activities – politics and legislation – and a vision for innovative strategies around three new programmatic areas of work:

- 1) Drive an economic/jobs agenda for working people;
- 2) Change the narrative and reshape public attitudes; and
- 3) Organize for growth and power.

Members of the Executive Council and the Strategic Planning Committee formed workgroups on jobs, organizing, and changing the narrative (*see page 6 – 9 for a summary of the workgroups*).

### **2012 CONVENTION PREPARATIONS**

In addition to attending to various pre-Convention details, the Executive Council developed policy statements to be submitted to the Resolutions Committee for consideration by the delegates to the 2012 Biennial Convention. The policy statements were reviewed twice: the first conference call took place on May 22nd, 2012, and the second on May 31st, 2012. The policy statements were then approved for recommendation to the Convention in June 2012, following a third review.

The Council's pre-Convention meeting began at 10:00 am Monday, July 23rd, 2012, at the Westin St. Francis on Union Square in San Francisco. The Council prepared recommendations for consideration by the delegates to the 29th Biennial convention on July 24th and 25th, 2012.

### **ELECTION OF NEW COUNCIL MEMBERS**

The following changes to the Executive Council occurred at the April 10th, 2012, meeting:

- ✱ The Executive Council regretfully accepted the retirement and resignation of Lee Pearson, Machinists, as Vice President At-Large District E.
- ✱ The Executive Council elected Ron Espinoza, Steelworkers, to fill the vacated seat of Vice President At-Large District E.
- ✱ The Executive Council regretfully accepted the retirement and resignation of Ray Sesma, Painters, as Vice President At-Large District H.
- ✱ The Executive Council elected Robert Smith, Painters, to fill the vacated seat of Vice President At-Large District H.
- ✱ The Executive Council regretfully accepted the retirement and resignation of Rick Latham, Steelworkers, as Vice President At-Large District I.
- ✱ The Executive Council elected Bob Schoonover, SEIU 721, to fill the vacated seat of Vice President At-Large District I.
- ✱ The Executive Council regretfully accepted the resignation of Damita Davis-Howard, SEIU, as Vice President At-Large District M.
- ✱ The Executive Council elected Yvonne Walker, SEIU 1000, to fill the vacated seat of Vice President At-Large District M.

CONTINUED

**RESOLUTIONS**

Between conventions, the Executive Council is authorized to pass resolutions on behalf of the Federation. Since the 2010 Biennial Convention, the Executive Council has passed the following resolutions:

- \* Resolution on the “Rules Governing Central Bodies” for State Federations and Labor Councils as they pertain to statewide offices and ballot measures – March 9, 2011
- \* Resolution on American Water – July 11, 2011
- \* Resolution in Support H.R. 1489: “The Return to Prudent Banking Act” – July 11, 2011
- \* Resolution Urging the U.S. Department of Homeland Security to Terminate the Immigration Audit at the Pacific Steel Foundry – July 11, 2011
- \* Ethical Practices Code Procedures – October 12, 2011
- \* Resolution on the End to the Privatization of Transportation Security Officers in the Department of Homeland Security – April 10, 2012



## Support for Union Disputes

### **DO NOT PATRONIZE**

#### **Restaurants and Hotels**

- Manchester Grand Hyatt  
1 Market Place, San Diego
- Mariani's Inn and Restaurant  
2500 El Camino Real, Santa Clara
- De Anza Hotel  
233 W. Santa Clara St, San Jose
- The Sacramento Doubletree by  
Hilton Hotel  
2001 Point West Way, Sacramento
- Hilton Sacramento Arden West  
2200 Harvard St, Sacramento
- La Playa Hotel  
Camino Real at Eight Ave., Carmel

#### **Law Firms and Consultants**

- Jude Barry, Catapult Strategies  
San Jose
- Marchese and Associates  
Reputation, LLC  
1375 Sutter St, Suite 330  
San Francisco

#### **Retailers**

- Farmer Joe's Marketplace  
3501 MacArthur Blvd, Oakland
- Future Ford  
2285 Diamond Blvd, Concord
- K-Mart  
All locations Statewide
- Wal-Mart and Sam's Club  
All Locations Statewide

#### **Other Vendors**

- 10News, KGTV – Channel 10, San Diego  
(Owned by McGraw-Hill)
- ABC Security  
1840 Embarcadero, Oakland
- Alta Dena Foods  
17637 Valley Rd, City of Industry
- Hornblower Cruises  
San Francisco, Los Angeles and  
San Diego
- Santa Cruz Port District  
Santa Cruz
- Valley Power, Inc.  
1755 Adams Avenue, San Leandro

CONTINUED

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## Legal Actions

Coordinated by the Federation's General Counsel of Carroll and Scully, the Federation's legal actions include:

### **1. BRINKER RESTAURANT CORP. ET AL. VS. SUPERIOR COURT – CALIFORNIA**

#### **SUPREME COURT**

The Federation filed an amicus curiae brief in its capacity as the sponsor in 1999 of A.B. 60, the Eight Hour Day Restoration and Workplace Flexibility Act. The Federation's brief argued that an employer must provide an off-duty meal period as opposed to only making one "available" if an employee asks for a meal period.

The California Supreme Court has ruled that under Labor Code §512 (a) and IWC Wage Order No. 5 an employer has an obligation to provide a meal period and satisfies that obligation if it relieves its employees of all duties, relinquishes control over their activities, and permits them a reasonable opportunity to take an uninterrupted thirty (30) minute unpaid break, and does not discourage them from doing so. The Court did not require employers to make employees do no work, and an employer who knows or should know that an employee is working may be required to pay straight time for the time worked. The Court did not interfere with an employer's ability to schedule meal and rest breaks. The Court generally reaffirmed California's willingness to allow class actions in proper cases under the wage and hour laws.

### **2. CITY OF VALLEJO BANKRUPTCY**

In support of the Firefighters and the IBEW, the Federation filed an opposition to the City's petition to seek protection in bankruptcy and to reject its labor agreements.

The District Bankruptcy Court, and later the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, upheld the City's invocation of Chapter 9 of the Bankruptcy Code, and the District Court later allowed the rejection by the City of the labor agreements. Since the last Convention, the IBEW's appeal of the rejection was denied and the rejection matter is now concluded.

### **3. DURAN VS. U.S. BANK NATIONAL ASSOCIATION – CALIFORNIA SUPREME COURT**

The Federation filed an amicus letter in support of a petition for review by workers who unsuccessfully sought class action status. The California Court of Appeal decertified a class action in which the employer claimed that class action was not proper. The employer contended that if an issue is whether employees are exempt as outside sales personnel, there has to be a mini-trial for each employee's daily activities, making class treatment inappropriate.

The Supreme Court has not yet acted on the petition for review as of the preparation of this report.

### **4. KIRBY VS. IMMOOS FIRE PROTECTION INC. – CALIFORNIA SUPREME COURT**

In November 2010 the Federation filed an amicus letter in support of a petition for review, and the Supreme Court granted the petition. At issue was whether an employer was entitled to attorney's fees if it prevails in an action under Labor Code §226.7 for alleged failure to provide rest breaks.

On April 30, 2012, the Supreme Court ruled that attorney's fees cannot be awarded in §226.7 actions to either the employees if they win nor to the employer if it wins.

# Financial Reports



# Financial Statement

## Summary of Cash and Short Term Investment Balances For the 24 Months Ending December 31, 2011

	GENERAL FUND	COPE	MEMBER COMMUNICATIONS	MMV	COMBINED
Checking Accounts	1,115,057	240,929	509,319	412,321	2,277,626
Deposit and Investment Accounts	1,555,765	1,563,457	899,401	1,406,721	5,425,344
<b>Totals</b>	<b>2,670,822</b>	<b>1,804,386</b>	<b>1,408,720</b>	<b>1,819,042</b>	<b>7,702,970</b>

## Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements For the 24 Months Ending December 31, 2011

	GENERAL FUND	COPE	MEMBER COMMUNICATIONS	MMV	COMBINED
<b>RECEIPTS</b>					
1 Per Capita - Locals	8,319,212	2,400,007	2,399,861	2,921,052	16,040,132
2 Membership Fees - CLC	2,098	0	0	0	2,098
3 Campaign Receipts	69,642	0	5,000	369,176	443,818
4 Interest Earned	26,662	38,008	31,965	19,566	116,201
5 Legislative Conference	165,336	0	0	0	165,336
6 Grant Revenues	220,000	0	0	0	220,000
7 Other Events & Programs	117,269	0	0	0	117,269
8 Reimbursements & Other Inc	1,255,510	0	0	2,805,803	4,061,312
<b>9 TOTAL RECEIPTS</b>	<b>10,175,729</b>	<b>2,438,015</b>	<b>2,436,826</b>	<b>6,115,596</b>	<b>21,166,166</b>

### EXPENSES

#### Personnel

10 Staff Salaries	3,859,567	0	0	0	3,859,567
11 Pension Benefit	1,205,081	0	0	0	1,205,081
12 Insurance Benefit	634,188	0	0	0	634,188
13 Other Benefits & Taxes	407,201	180	0	0	407,381
14 Automobile Expenses	21,922	0	0	0	21,922
15 Travel & Expenses	223,410	56,773	287	9,621	290,091
16 Professional Services	196,126	57,798	1,193	172,874	427,991
17 Other Personnel	9,884	0	15,726	0	25,610
<b>18 Total Personnel</b>	<b>6,557,380</b>	<b>114,751</b>	<b>17,206</b>	<b>182,495</b>	<b>6,871,832</b>



FINANCIAL STATEMENT, *Continued*

	GENERAL FUND	COPE	MEMBER COMMUNICATIONS	MMV	COMBINED
<b>Office</b>					
19 Rents & Maintenance	1,043,489	0	0	0	1,043,489
20 Prorata Reimbursements	(382,293)	125,693	0	0	(256,600)
21 Furniture & Equipment	68,477	149	0	0	68,626
22 Computers & Infrastructure	46,833	4,545	0	0	51,378
23 Printing	18,127	4,870	527	5,993	29,518
24 Copying	(4,450)	96	293	0	(4,060)
25 Postage & Delivery	31,703	5,234	26,271	79	63,286
26 Supplies	53,671	(1,021)	549	0	53,199
27 Office Telephone	66,161	1,842	5,000	0	73,003
28 Cell Phones & Pagers	45,841	9,381	1,091	0	56,313
29 Fax Modem & Internet	24,324	200	0	0	24,524
30 Taxes	5,579	0	0	0	5,579
31 Dues, Subs & Publications	34,637	17,966	7,500	48,850	108,953
32 General Insurance	2,469	0	0	0	2,469
33 Auditing & Accounting	57,501	3,305	0	2,795	63,601
34 Legal Fees	48,189	84,952	0	0	133,141
35 Other Expenses	2,548	273	113	582	3,516
<b>36 SUBTOTAL OFFICE</b>	<b>1,162,807</b>	<b>257,485</b>	<b>41,345</b>	<b>58,299</b>	<b>1,519,935</b>
<b>Projects &amp; Events</b>					
37 Conventions	170,704	76,466	0	0	247,169
38 Executive Council	27,162	0	0	588	27,750
39 Support for Grant Programs	38	0	0	0	38
40 Other Events & Programs	113,934	8,660	1,622	2,559	126,774
<b>41 Total Projects &amp; Events</b>	<b>311,837</b>	<b>85,126</b>	<b>1,622</b>	<b>3,147</b>	<b>401,731</b>
<b>Legislative</b>					
42 Legislative Conference	194,363	0	0	0	194,363
43 Legislative Information	12,990	0	0	0	12,990
44 Lobbyists	408	0	0	0	408
<b>45 Total Legislative</b>	<b>207,760</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>207,760</b>
<b>Campaign</b>					
46 Contributions	1,256,182	2,249,390	30,000	0	3,535,572
47 Voter Contacts	0	35,448	234,173	783,005	1,052,626
48 Independent Expenditures	0	0	0	3,008,675	3,008,675
49 Statewide Data	0	17,500	20,479	0	37,979
50 Polling & Research	0	165,586	610,159	1,443,300	2,219,045
51 CLC Support	2,405	32,748	1,957,785	0	1,992,938
52 Other Field Projects	0	6,650	199,411	0	206,061
<b>53 Total Campaign</b>	<b>1,258,587</b>	<b>2,507,322</b>	<b>3,052,007</b>	<b>5,234,980</b>	<b>12,052,896</b>
<b>54 TOTAL EXPENSES</b>	<b>9,498,371</b>	<b>2,964,683</b>	<b>3,112,179</b>	<b>5,478,921</b>	<b>21,054,154</b>
<b>55 NET INCOME (LOSS)</b>	<b>677,358</b>	<b>(526,668)</b>	<b>(675,353)</b>	<b>636,675</b>	<b>112,012</b>

CONTINUED

# Report on Per Capita Paid Membership-2012

**INTERNATIONAL & LOCAL NAME** **PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP**

**Actors & Artists of America, Associated**  
 AEA 140 Screen Actors' Guild . . . . . 3,274  
 AEA 20 Actors' Equity Assn . . . . . 298  
 AFTRA SF Local 80 . . . . . 326  
 AFTRA LA Local 40 . . . . . 1,923

**Asbestos Wrks, Intl Assn of Heat & Frost Insulator**  
 AWIU 16 Asbestos Workers. . . . . 441  
 AWIU 5 Asbestos Workers. . . . . 755

**Auto Aero & Agri Impl Wrks of America, United**  
 UAW 2865 United Auto Workers. . . . . 2,317

**Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Wrks Intl Union**  
 BCTGM 125 BAKERY CONFECTIONERS . . . . . 479  
 BCTGM 24 BAKERY CONFECTIONERS . . . . . 189  
 BCTGM 315 BAKERY CONFECTIONERS . . . . . 108  
 BCTGM 85 BAKERY CONFECTIONERS . . . . . 288

**Boilermakers, International Brotherhood of**  
 IBB 549 Boilermakers Lodge. . . . . 353

**Bricklayers and Allied Crafts, Intl Union**  
 BAC 18Tile Marble & Terrazzo. . . . . 713  
 BAC 3 Bricklayers. . . . . 1,254  
 BAC 4 Bricklayers. . . . . 1,002

**Communications Wrks of America**  
 CWA 9119 Univ Prof & Tech Empls . . . . . 6,726  
 CWA 9333 Communications Workers . . . . . 658  
 CWA 9400 Communications Workers . . . . . 1,171  
 CWA 9408 Communications Workers . . . . . 780  
 CWA 9410 Communications Workers. . . . . 693  
 CWA 9412 Communications Workers . . . . . 518  
 CWA 9415 Communications Workers . . . . . 1,150  
 CWA 9416 Communications Workers . . . . . 289  
 CWA 9417 Communications Workers . . . . . 473  
 CWA 9419 Communications Workers. . . . . 163  
 CWA 9421 Communications Workers . . . . . 2,081  
 CWA 9423 Communications Workers . . . . . 625  
 CWA 9431 Communications Workers . . . . . 92  
 CWA 9505 Communications Workers . . . . . 1,568  
 CWA 9509 Communications Workers . . . . . 1,792  
 CWA 9511 Communications Workers. . . . . 419  
 CWA 9573 Communications Workers . . . . . 473  
 CWA 9575 Communications Workers . . . . . 886  
 CWA 9586 Communications Workers . . . . . 83  
 CWA 9588 Communications Workers . . . . . 112  
 CWA 14904 SoCA Allied Printing Trds . . . . . 130  
 CWA 14908 Communications Wrks. . . . . 1  
 CWA 11 Assn of Flight Attendants . . . . . 1,039  
 CWA 12 Assn of Flight Attendants . . . . . 842

**INTERNATIONAL & LOCAL NAME** **PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP**

CWA 47 Assn of Flight Attendants . . . . . 61  
 CWA 262 IUE Furniture Workers. . . . . 162  
 CWA 850 IUE Electrical Workers. . . . . 118  
 CWA 39521 No Cal Media Wkrs Guild-Typog . . . . . 624

**Educational Association, National**  
 NEA 0000 Santa Maria Elem Edu Assoc . . . . . 644  
 NEA 0004 Los Angeles Cnty Edu Assoc. . . . . 175  
 NEA 0005 San Diego Edu Assoc. . . . . 2,270  
 NEA 0006 S Western Coll Edu Assoc. . . . . 18

**Electrical Wrks, Intl Brotherhood of**  
 IBEW 6 Electrical Workers . . . . . 1,970  
 IBEW 11 Electrical Workers . . . . . 5,623  
 IBEW 18 Electrical Workers . . . . . 6,913  
 IBEW 40 Studio Electricians . . . . . 460  
 IBEW 45 Electrical Workers. . . . . 1,071  
 IBEW 47 Electrical Workers. . . . . 6,793  
 IBEW 100 Electrical Workers . . . . . 517  
 IBEW 180 Electrical Workers . . . . . 456  
 IBEW 234 Electrical Workers . . . . . 276  
 IBEW 302 Electrical Workers . . . . . 1,068  
 IBEW 332 Electrical Workers . . . . . 1,992  
 IBEW 340 Electrical Workers . . . . . 1,200  
 IBEW 413 Electrical Workers . . . . . 332  
 IBEW 428 Electrical Workers . . . . . 369  
 IBEW 440 Electrical Workers . . . . . 501  
 IBEW 441 Electrical Workers . . . . . 1,602  
 IBEW 465 Electrical Workers . . . . . 2,511  
 IBEW 477 Electrical Workers . . . . . 541  
 IBEW 543 Electrical Workers . . . . . 452  
 IBEW 551 Electrical Workers . . . . . 500  
 IBEW 569 Electrical Workers . . . . . 1,687  
 IBEW 595 Electrical Workers . . . . . 1,543  
 IBEW 611 Electrical Workers . . . . . 19  
 IBEW 617 Electrical Workers . . . . . 812  
 IBEW 639 Electrical Workers . . . . . 145  
 IBEW 640 Electrical Workers . . . . . 22  
 IBEW 659 Electrical Workers . . . . . 99  
 IBEW 684 Electrical Workers . . . . . 179  
 IBEW 800 Electrical Workers . . . . . 17  
 IBEW 889 Electrical Workers . . . . . 170  
 IBEW 946 Electrical Workers . . . . . 92  
 IBEW 952 Electrical Workers . . . . . 307  
 IBEW 1023 Electrical Workers . . . . . 159  
 IBEW 1245 Electrical Workers . . . . . 13,523  
 IBEW 1269 Electrical Workers . . . . . 573  
 IBEW 1436 Electrical Workers . . . . . 403  
 IBEW 1682 Electrical Workers . . . . . 90  
 IBEW 1710 Electrical Workers . . . . . 651  
 IBEW 2131 Electrical Workers . . . . . 248  
 IBEW 2139 Electrical Workers . . . . . 260

REPORT ON PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP-2012, *Continued*

<u>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</u>	<u>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</u>
IBEW 2295 Electrical Workers . . . . .	458
IBEW 2376 Electrical Workers . . . . .	175
<b>Electrical Contractors, Intl Union of</b>	
IUEC 8 Elevator Constructors . . . . .	144
IUEC 18 Elevator Constructors . . . . .	127
<b>Employees Association, Orange County</b>	
OCEA Orange County Employees Assoc. . . . .	1,580
<b>Fire Fighters, International Assn of</b>	
IAFF 55 Alameda /Oakland/Emeryville Fire Fighters.	654
IAFF 112 Los Angeles City Fire Fighters. . . . .	3,077
IAFF 145 San Diego City Fire Fighters . . . . .	816
IAFF 188 Richmond Fire Fighters . . . . .	69
IAFF 230 San Jose Fire Fighters . . . . .	642
IAFF 246 Bakersfield Fire Fighters . . . . .	146
IAFF 372 Long Beach Fire Fighters. . . . .	343
IAFF 456 Stockton Professional Fire Fighters . . . . .	191
IAFF 522 Sacramento Area Fire Fighters . . . . .	1,227
IAFF 525 Santa Barbara City Fire Fighters. . . . .	82
IAFF 652 Eureka Fire Fighters . . . . .	25
IAFF 689 Alameda City Fire Fighters . . . . .	77
IAFF 753 Fresno Fire Fighters . . . . .	279
IAFF 776 Glendale Fire Fighters . . . . .	149
IAFF 778 Burbank Fire Fighters . . . . .	108
IAFF 798 SF Fire Fighters . . . . .	1,569
IAFF 809 Pasadena Fire Fighters . . . . .	138
IAFF 891 San Bernardino City Fire Fighters. . . . .	122
IAFF 935 San Bernardino Cnty Fire Fighters. . . . .	391
IAFF 1014 Los Angeles Cnty Fire Fighters . . . . .	2,843
IAFF 1067 Riverside City Fire Fighters. . . . .	173
IAFF 1109 Santa Monica Fire Fighters . . . . .	89
IAFF 1138 Torrance Fire Fighters. . . . .	119
IAFF 1165 Santa Clara Cnty Fire Fighters. . . . .	225
IAFF 1171 Santa Clara City Fire Fighters . . . . .	124
IAFF 1186 Vallejo Fire Fighters . . . . .	148
IAFF 1225 United Fire Fighters of Lodi. . . . .	52
IAFF 1227 Berkeley Fire Fighters . . . . .	103
IAFF 1230 Contra Costa Cnty Prof Fire Fighters . . . . .	398
IAFF 1243 San Joaquin Cnty Fire Fighters. . . . .	40
IAFF 1270 Salinas Fire Fighters . . . . .	69
IAFF 1272 Watsonville Prof Fire Fighters . . . . .	29
IAFF 1289 Modesto City Fire Fighters . . . . .	120
IAFF 1301 Kern Cnty Fire Fighters . . . . .	423
IAFF 1319 Palo Alto Prof Fire Fighters . . . . .	93
IAFF 1354 Redlands Prof Fire Fighters. . . . .	51
IAFF 1364 Ventura Cnty Fire Fighters. . . . .	350
IAFF 1401 Santa Rosa Fire Fighters . . . . .	133
IAFF 1415 Petaluma Fire Fighters. . . . .	37
IAFF 1430 Ontario Prof Fire Fighters . . . . .	108
IAFF 1434 San Miguel Fire Fighters . . . . .	67

<u>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</u>	<u>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</u>
IAFF 1465 Costa Mesa Fire Fighters. . . . .	72
IAFF 1475 Coronado Fire Fighters . . . . .	17
IAFF 1479 Merced City Fire Fighters . . . . .	55
IAFF 1507 So San Francisco Fire Fighters . . . . .	62
IAFF 1578 Alhambra Fire Fighters . . . . .	48
IAFF 1592 Roseville Fire Fighters . . . . .	87
IAFF 1622 Fallbrook Fire Fighters. . . . .	44
IAFF 1684 Oxnard Fire Fighters . . . . .	79
IAFF 1689 Fremont Fire Fighters . . . . .	106
IAFF 1699 Milpitas Fire Fighters. . . . .	47
IAFF 1716 Santa Cruz City Fire Fighters. . . . .	37
IAFF 1770 Humboldt Fire Fighters . . . . .	16
IAFF 1775 Marin Professional Fire Fighters. . . . .	341
IAFF 1827 Bonita Fire Fighters . . . . .	11
IAFF 1829 Paradise Fire Fighters . . . . .	18
IAFF 1879 Daly City Fire Fighters . . . . .	49
IAFF 1906 Lompoc City Fire Fighters . . . . .	18
IAFF 1909 Hayward Fire Fighters . . . . .	103
IAFF 1927 Culver City Fire Fighters . . . . .	50
IAFF 1934 Redding Fire Fighters. . . . .	55
IAFF 1965 Mountain View Prof Fire Fighters . . . . .	59
IAFF 1974 Livermore/Pleasanton Fire Fighters . . . . .	93
IAFF 2005 Garden Grove Fire Fighters. . . . .	82
IAFF 2020 Santa Maria Fire Fighter . . . . .	38
IAFF 2046 Santa Barbara Cnty Fire Fighters . . . . .	203
IAFF 2180 Chula Vista Fire Fighters . . . . .	106
IAFF 2197 San Gabriel City Fire Fighters . . . . .	25
IAFF 2216 Compton Fire Fighters. . . . .	61
IAFF 2274 Rancho Cucamonga Fire Fighters. . . . .	70
IAFF 2295 Avalon Fire Fighters. . . . .	8
IAFF 2312 Vernon Fire Fighters. . . . .	3
IAFF 2342 Hemet Fire Fighters . . . . .	41
IAFF 2384 Orange City Fire Fighters . . . . .	107
IAFF 2400 San Mateo Cnty Fire Fighters . . . . .	379
IAFF 2404 Oroville Fire Fighters. . . . .	8
IAFF 2415 United Professional Fire Fighters. . . . .	29
IAFF 2434 Turlock Fire Fighters . . . . .	39
IAFF 2604 Healdsburg Fire Fighters. . . . .	6
IAFF 2606 Salinas Rural Fire Fighters . . . . .	27
IAFF 2638 Alpine Fire Fighters . . . . .	10
IAFF 2683 Piedmont Fire Fighters . . . . .	20
IAFF 2728 Lemon Grove Fire Fighters. . . . .	16
IAFF 2734 Chico Fire Fighters . . . . .	34
IAFF 2744 National City Fire Fighters. . . . .	34
IAFF 2787 Redondo Beach Fire Fighters . . . . .	47
IAFF 2805 Gilroy Fire Fighters . . . . .	29
IAFF 2881 CA Dept of Forestry Fire Fighters. . . . .	4,093
IAFF 2899 Anaheim Fire Fighters . . . . .	177
IAFF 3051 Russian River/Bodega Bay Fire Fighters . . . . .	14
IAFF 3058 N Monterey Cnty Fire Fighters . . . . .	23
IAFF 3124 Napa City Fire Fighters . . . . .	44

CONTINUED

<u>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</u>	<u>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</u>
IAFF 3226 West Covina Fire Fighters . . . . .	56
IAFF 3354 Huntington Beach Fire Fighters . . . . .	101
IAFF 3355 Tracy City Fire Fighters. . . . .	59
IAFF 3371 Hermosa Beach Fire Fighters . . . . .	15
IAFF 3379 Oakdale Fire Fighters. . . . .	14
IAFF 3399 Stanislaus Consld Fire Fighters . . . . .	36
IAFF 3421 Fullerton Fire Fighters . . . . .	67
IAFF 3431 Ventura City Fire Fighters . . . . .	57
IAFF 3440 Arcadia Fire Fighters . . . . .	41
IAFF 3473 Downey Fire Fighters. . . . .	52
IAFF 3477 Upland Fire Fighters . . . . .	32
IAFF 3494 Davis Prof Fire Fighters . . . . .	40
IAFF 3501 Vacaville Fire Fighters . . . . .	58
IAFF 3507 Santa Fe Springs Firemen. . . . .	45
IAFF 3522 Chino Fire Fighters. . . . .	78
IAFF 3523 San Luis Obispo Fire Fighters. . . . .	38
IAFF 3535 Aptos / La Selva Fire Fighters . . . . .	26
IAFF 3540 Murrieta Fire Fighters . . . . .	39
IAFF 3546 San Ramon Vally Fire Fighters . . . . .	129
IAFF 3577 Scotts Valley Fire Fighters . . . . .	19
IAFF 3593 Sonoma Valley Prof Fire Fighters . . . . .	13
IAFF 3600 Atascadero Fire Fighters . . . . .	16
IAFF 3601 Palm Springs Fire Fighters . . . . .	29
IAFF 3605 Santa Cruz Cnty Central Fire Prot Dist . . . . .	41
IAFF 3608 Montclair Fire Fighters Assn . . . . .	18
IAFF 3626 San Marino Fire Fighters. . . . .	16
IAFF 3631 Orange Cnty Prof Fire Fighters . . . . .	787
IAFF 3636 Ceres DPS Fire Fighters Assn . . . . .	23
IAFF 3654 Cathedral City Fire Fighters. . . . .	33
IAFF 3657 South Pasadena Fire Fighters . . . . .	15
IAFF 3682 El Segundo Fire Fighters . . . . .	47
IAFF 3686 Ukiah Prof Fire Fighters . . . . .	12
IAFF 3688 Rialto Professional Fire Fighters. . . . .	54
IAFF 3707 Monterey Fire Fighters . . . . .	46
IAFF 3725 Morro Bay Fire Fighters. . . . .	8
IAFF 3730 Carlsbad Fire Fighters . . . . .	68
IAFF 3734 Newport Beach Fire Fighters. . . . .	95
IAFF 3736 Oceanside Fire Fighters. . . . .	83
IAFF 3747 Kings Cnty Fire Fighters . . . . .	63
IAFF 3757 Corona Fire Employees . . . . .	105
IAFF 3776 Brea Prof Fire Fighters . . . . .	36
IAFF 3779 Solano Beach Fire Fighters . . . . .	17
IAFF 3787 Encinitas Fire Fighters . . . . .	40
IAFF 3793 Yuba City Fire Fighters . . . . .	41
IAFF 3800 Nevada Cnty Consol Fire Fighters . . . . .	60
IAFF 3806 Norco Fire Fighters . . . . .	22
IAFF 3809 South Placer Fire Fighters. . . . .	33
IAFF 3821 Montebello Fire Fighters . . . . .	47
IAFF 3842 Escondido Fire Fighters. . . . .	73
IAFF 3903 California City Firefighters . . . . .	8
IAFF 4029 Woodland Fire Fighters . . . . .	34
IAFF 4096 Carmel Vally Prof Fire Fighters . . . . .	12

<u>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</u>	<u>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</u>
IAFF 4105 Crest Forest Prof Fire Fighters. . . . .	19
IAFF 4107 Vista Fire Fighters. . . . .	70
IAFF 4148 Paso Robles Fire Fighters . . . . .	20
IAFF 4163 Del Mar Fire Fighters . . . . .	8
IAFF 4184 San Marcos Fire Fighters. . . . .	48
IAFF 4317 Lathrop Manteca Fire Fighters . . . . .	23
IAFF 4349 Rancho Santa Fe Fire Fighters . . . . .	34
IAFF 4374 Santee Fire Fighters. . . . .	41
IAFF 4403 Arroyo Grande Fire Fighters . . . . .	17
IAFF 4437 UC Fire Fighters . . . . .	39
IAFF 4451 Oakdale Rural Fire Fighters. . . . .	11
IAFF 4488 Lakeside Fire Fighters . . . . .	38
IAFF 4530 Fountain Valley Fire Fighters. . . . .	32
IAFF 4577 Patterson Fire Fighters Assoc . . . . .	3
IAFF 4579 Carmel Prof Fire Fighters. . . . .	8
IAFF 4586 Pioneer Fire Fighters . . . . .	2
IAFF 4603 El Cajon Fire Fighters. . . . .	3
IAFF F33 San Diego Federal Fire Fighters . . . . .	162
IAFF F53 Edwards AFB Fire Fighters . . . . .	86
IAFF F85 Fallbrook Federal Fire Fighters . . . . .	102
IAFF F102 Lemoore Fire Fighters . . . . .	22
IAFF F116 Vandenberg Prof Fire Fighters . . . . .	44
IAFF F145 Presidio Fire Fighters. . . . .	15
IAFF F166 Monterey Bay Fire Fighters. . . . .	22
IAFF F289 Miramar Prof Fire Fighters . . . . .	39
IAFF F305 Camp Parks Fire Fighters. . . . .	1
IAFF F309 Concord Fed Prof Fire Fighters . . . . .	19
IAFF I79 Moffett Field Fire Fighters . . . . .	37

**Food & Commercial Wrkers Intl Union, United . . . . .**

UFCW 1C Chemical Workres. . . . .	68
UFCW 5 Food & Comm Workers . . . . .	30,775
UFCW 8 Golden State . . . . .	27,008
UFCW 135 Food & Comm Workers . . . . .	5,403
UFCW 146C Chemical Workers. . . . .	109
UFCW 151D Wholesale Wine Liquor Salesmen. . . . .	38
UFCW 324 Food & Comm Workers . . . . .	10,000
UFCW 350C Chemical Workers. . . . .	157
UFCW 648 Retail Clerks. . . . .	1,737
UFCW 770 Food & Comm Workers . . . . .	2,708
UFCW 995C Chemical Workers. . . . .	159
UFCW 1167 Food & Comm Workers. . . . .	6,604
UFCW 1428 Food & Comm Workers . . . . .	5,558
UFCW 1442 Food & Comm Workers . . . . .	3,185

**Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics & Allied Wrkrs**

GMP 2 Glass, Molders, Pottery. . . . .	70
GMP 52 Glass, Molders, Pottery. . . . .	205
GMP 141 Glass, Molders, Pottery. . . . .	148
GMP 177 Glass, Molders, Pottery. . . . .	305

REPORT ON PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP-2012, *Continued*

<u>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</u>	<u>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</u>
<b>Government Employees, American Federation of</b>	
AFGE 51	157
AFGE 63	91
AFGE 490	205
AFGE 505	301
AFGE 511 INS	58
AFGE 918 DHS/FPS	25
AFGE 926 USDA Food Inspectors	67
AFGE 988	97
AFGE 1061 VA	1,282
AFGE 1106 USDA	10
AFGE 1122	496
AFGE 1159	77
AFGE 1200	170
AFGE 1202	10
AFGE 1203 VA	169
AFGE 1206	580
AFGE 1208	31
AFGE 1216	419
AFGE 1217	100
AFGE 1221	26
AFGE 1223	121
AFGE 1234 TSA	966
AFGE 1235	476
AFGE 1242	209
AFGE 1263	394
AFGE 1278	15
AFGE 1399	99
AFGE 1406	362
AFGE 1482	681
AFGE 1533	516
AFGE 1546	1,090
AFGE 1613 NBPC	1,639
AFGE 1616 NBP INS	135
AFGE 1680	170
AFGE 1764	452
AFGE 1808	153
AFGE 1881	132
AFGE 1923 HealthCare Finan Adm	30
AFGE 2003	160
AFGE 2018	473
AFGE 2025 DOD	76
AFGE 2029	31
AFGE 2060	51
AFGE 2110	1,018
AFGE 2111 DOD	52
AFGE 2161 DOD	32
AFGE 2275 GSA	61
AFGE 2297	139
AFGE 2391	247
AFGE 2429	175

<u>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</u>	<u>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</u>
AFGE 2433	192
AFGE 2452	304
AFGE 2544 NBP	115
AFGE 2554 NBP	617
AFGE 2595 NBP	150
AFGE 2654	183
AFGE 2723	60
AFGE 2805 NINSC INS	139
AFGE 2814	37
AFGE 2879	177
AFGE 2913 NBP	16
AFGE 2947	10
AFGE 3048 BOP	207
AFGE 3172	578
AFGE 3230 EEOC	27
AFGE 3584	131
AFGE 3619	130
AFGE 3723	746
AFGE 3824 DOE	14
AFGE 3854	148
AFGE 3899	30
AFGE 3943	343
AFGE 3969	405
AFGE 4038 BOP INS	140
AFGE 4048	67

**Homecare Workers, California United**

CUHW CA United Homecare Wrks	17,465
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**Iron Wrks, Intl Assn of Bridge, Structural**

IRON 75 Iron Workers Union	10
IRON 118 Iron Workers Union	796
IRON 155 Iron Workers Union	314
IRON 229 Iron Workers Union	873
IRON 377 Iron Workers Union	1,580
IRON 378 Iron Workers Union	1,442
IRON 416 Iron Reinforcing Iron Workers	1,922
IRON 433 Iron Structural Iron Workers	3,146
IRON 624 Iron Workers Union	53

**Laborers' Intl Union of North America**

LIUNA 67 Laborers Union	379
LIUNA 139 Hod Carriers & Laborers	554
LIUNA 166 Hod Carriers	218
LIUNA 261 Construction & General Laborers	1,354
LIUNA 291 Laborers Union	494
LIUNA 294 Hod Carriers & Laborers	663
LIUNA 300 Laborers Union	3,231
LIUNA 304 Construction & General Laborers	1,180
LIUNA 507 Laborers Union	462
LIUNA 585 Laborers Union	816

CONTINUED

<u>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</u>	<u>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</u>
LIUNA 652 Laborers Union . . . . .	2,397
LIUNA 73 Laborers Union . . . . .	698
LIUNA 777 Laborers Union . . . . .	1,600
LIUNA 783 Hod Carriers & Laborers . . . . .	563
LIUNA 886 Shipyard & Marine Laborers . . . . .	280
LIUNA 1130 Laborers Union . . . . .	499
LIUNA 1184 Laborers Union . . . . .	4,852
<b>Letter Carriers, Natl Assn of</b>	
NALC 133 Letter Carriers Branch . . . . .	355
NALC 183 Letter Carriers Branch . . . . .	391
NALC 214 Letter Carriers Branch . . . . .	510
NALC 411 Letter Carriers Branch . . . . .	127
NALC 1111 Letter Carriers Branch . . . . .	104
NALC 1439 Letter Carriers Branch . . . . .	2
NALC 2168 Letter Carriers Branch . . . . .	2
<b>Longshore &amp; Warehouse Union, Intl</b>	
ILWU 6 Longshore & Warehouse . . . . .	975
ILWU 10 Longshore & Warehouse . . . . .	762
ILWU 13 Longshore & Warehouse . . . . .	3,000
ILWU 20 Inlandboatmen Marine SF . . . . .	96
ILWU 34 Ship Clerks Assn . . . . .	217
ILWU 54 Longshore & Warehouse . . . . .	95
<b>Machinists &amp; Aerospace Wrkrs, Intl Assn of</b>	
IAM 25 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	36
IAM 93 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	1,043
IAM 201 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	24
IAM 311 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	762
IAM 389 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	620
IAM 575 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	99
IAM 620 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	20
IAM 653 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	199
IAM 706 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	206
IAM 720E Machinists Lodge . . . . .	36
IAM 720J Machinists Lodge . . . . .	13
IAM 726 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	98
IAM 727N Machinists Lodge . . . . .	174
IAM 727P Machinists Lodge . . . . .	285
IAM 755 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	135
IAM 821 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	20
IAM 906 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	52
IAM 946 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	166
IAM 964 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	86
IAM 1101 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	737
IAM 1125 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	144
IAM 1173 Automotive Machinists . . . . .	460
IAM 1186 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	575
IAM 1414 Peninsula Auto Machinists . . . . .	2,263
IAM 1484 Automotive Machinists . . . . .	451

<u>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</u>	<u>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</u>
IAM 1528 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	600
IAM 1546 East Bay Auto Machinists . . . . .	1,175
IAM 1584 Electric Journeyman & Prod Lodge . . . . .	455
IAM 1596 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	279
IAM 1781 AirTransport Empls . . . . .	240
IAM 1782 Sierra Pacific AirTrans Lodge . . . . .	954
IAM 1930 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	1,280
IAM 1932 LA AirTransport Lodge . . . . .	1,920
IAM 1957 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	141
IAM 2024 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	120
IAM 2182 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	452
IAM 2228 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	253
IAM 2231 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	17
IAM 2786 Machinists Lodge . . . . .	201
IAM W12 Woodworkers Lodge . . . . .	139
IAM W98 Woodworkers Lodge . . . . .	104
<b>Maintenance of Way Empls, Brotherhood of</b>	
BMW Maintenance of Way Empls 1246 . . . . .	29
<b>Marine Engineers' Beneficial Assn</b>	
MEBA Prof Airway Sys Specialists . . . . .	262
MEBA 20 NMU District 1 . . . . .	312
MEBA 80 CA Assn Professional Employees . . . . .	343
<b>Masters, Mates &amp; Pilots, Intl Org of</b>	
ILA 20 Masters, Mates & Pilots . . . . .	36
ILA 40 Masters, Mates, Pilots Pacific Maritime . . . . .	173
ILA 60 SF Bar Pilots East . . . . .	55
<b>Musicians of the US &amp; Canada, American Fed of</b>	
AFM 6 Musicians Union . . . . .	500
AFM 47 Professional Musicians . . . . .	1,167
AFM 153 American Fed of Musicians . . . . .	50
AFM 292 Musicians Union . . . . .	54
<b>Nurses Association, California</b>	
CA Nurses Assoc . . . . .	75,889
<b>Office &amp; Professional Empls, Intl Union</b>	
OPEIU 2 Office & Prof Empls . . . . .	16
OPEIU 3 Office & Prof Empls . . . . .	1,557
OPEIU 29 Office & Prof Empls . . . . .	4,182
OPEIU 30 Office & Prof Empls . . . . .	4,235
OPEIU 45 Office & Prof Empls . . . . .	15
OPEIU 109 Office & Prof Empls . . . . .	61
OPEIU 153 Office & Prof Empls . . . . .	5
OPEIU 174 Office & Prof Empls . . . . .	1,164
OPEIU 277 Office & Prof Empls . . . . .	399
OPEIU 472 Hypnotherapists' Union . . . . .	213
OPEIU 537 Office & Prof Empls . . . . .	1,082
OPEIU 4873 ITPEU . . . . .	1,205

REPORT ON PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP-2012, *Continued*

<u>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</u>	<u>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</u>
<b>Operating Engineers, Intl Assn of</b>	
IUOE 3 Operating Engineers . . . . .	17,548
IUOE 12 Operating Engineers . . . . .	10,000
IUOE 39 Stationary Engineers . . . . .	1,562
IUOE 501 Operating Engineers . . . . .	1,500
<b>Painters &amp; Allied Trds of the US &amp; Canada</b>	
PAT 3 Painters Union . . . . .	673
PAT 12 Carpet Linoleum SoftTile Wrkrs . . . . .	915
PAT 52 Painters & Tapers Union . . . . .	165
PAT 83 Painters Union . . . . .	302
PAT 95 Painters Union . . . . .	648
PAT 169 Glaziers Union . . . . .	702
PAT 256 Painters & Drywall Finishers . . . . .	469
PAT 272 Painters Union . . . . .	79
PAT 294 Painters Union . . . . .	193
PAT 376 Painters Union . . . . .	251
PAT 487 Painters Union . . . . .	531
PAT 507 Painters Union . . . . .	725
PAT 510 Sign & Display Union . . . . .	827
PAT 636 Glaziers & Glass Wrkrs . . . . .	972
PAT 718 Glaziers Arch Metal & Glass Wrkrs . . . . .	435
PAT 741 Painters Union . . . . .	362
PAT 767 Glaziers Union . . . . .	267
PAT 775 Painters & Tapers Union . . . . .	214
PAT 831 Tradeshow & Signcrafts . . . . .	1,889
PAT 913 Painters & Tapers . . . . .	473
PAT 1036 Painters Union . . . . .	448
PAT 1136 Drywall Finishers . . . . .	1,304
PAT 1176 Auto Marine & Spec Painters . . . . .	514
PAT 1237 Carpet Resil Flr Cvrng Wrkrs . . . . .	233
PAT 1247 Resil Flr & Dec Cov Wrkrs . . . . .	625
PAT 1399 Painters Union . . . . .	410
PAT 1991 Painters Union . . . . .	393
PAT 2345 Painters Union . . . . .	764
<b>Plasterers' &amp; Cement Masons Intl Assn of the US</b>	
OPCMIA 300 Plasterers & Cement Masons . . . . .	133
OPCMIA 400 Cement Masons . . . . .	126
OPCMIA 600 Cement Masons . . . . .	791
<b>Plumbing &amp; Pipefitting Ind of the US &amp; Canada</b>	
UA 38 Plumbers & Pipefitters . . . . .	1,116
UA 62 Plumbers & Pipefitters . . . . .	238
UA 78 Plumbers Union . . . . .	1,083
UA 114 Plumbers & Pipefitters . . . . .	275
UA 159 Plumbers Union . . . . .	513
UA 228 Plumbers & Steamfitters . . . . .	250
UA 230 Plumbers Union . . . . .	1,130
UA 246 Plumbers & Steamfitters . . . . .	377
UA 250 Pipefitters . . . . .	1,772
UA 343 Plumbers & Fitters . . . . .	436
UA 345 Plumbers Union . . . . .	285

<u>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</u>	<u>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</u>
UA 393 Plumbers & Steamfitters . . . . .	240
UA 398 Plumbers & Steamfitters . . . . .	319
UA 403 Plumbers & Steamfitters . . . . .	329
UA 442 Plumbers & Fitters . . . . .	290
UA 447 Plumbers & Fitters . . . . .	1,000
UA 467 Plumbers & Steamfitters . . . . .	906
UA 483 Sprinkler Fitters . . . . .	400
UA 484 Plumbers & Steamfitters . . . . .	222
UA 494 Plumbers & Steamfitters . . . . .	146
UA 709 Sprinkler Fitters . . . . .	520
<b>Postal Workers Union, American</b>	
APWU 320 Postal Workers . . . . .	186
APWU 960 Redding Area . . . . .	162
APWU 1291 Redwood Empire Area . . . . .	496
<b>Professional Athletes, Federation of</b>	
FPA 20 - San Diego Chargers . . . . .	43
FPA 30 - Oakland Raiders . . . . .	44
FPA 40 - San Francisco 49er's . . . . .	44
<b>Professional &amp; Technical Engineers, Intl Fed of</b>	
IFPTE 20 Engineers & Scientists of CA . . . . .	2,167
IFPTE 21 Prof & Tech Eng. . . . .	4,230
<b>Railroad Signalmen, Brotherhood of</b>	
Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen . . . . .	26
<b>Roofers, Waterproofers &amp; Allied Wrkrs, United Union</b>	
ROOFERS 36 . . . . .	427
ROOFERS 40 . . . . .	280
ROOFERS 95 . . . . .	200
<b>School Administrators, American Federation of</b>	
AFSA 3 United Administrators of SF . . . . .	233
<b>School Employees Association, California</b>	
CSEA - CA School Employees Assn . . . . .	76,902
<b>Seafarers' International Union of North America</b>	
SIU Sugar Workers . . . . .	312
SIU UIW Cannery Div . . . . .	1,054
SIU Pacific Coast Marine Firemen . . . . .	288
SIU Military Sealift Transport . . . . .	966
SIU Sailors Union of the Pacific . . . . .	2,236
SIU Seafarers Atlantic & Gulf . . . . .	658
<b>Service Employees International Union</b>	
SEIU 99 LA City & County School Empls . . . . .	18,921
SEIU 221 Service Empls . . . . .	6,258
SEIU 280 Pari-Mutuel Empls Guild . . . . .	944

CONTINUED

<u>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</u>	<u>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</u>
SEIU 521 Service Empls . . . . .	8,597
SEIU 620 Service Empls . . . . .	2,964
SEIU 721 Service Empls . . . . .	68,594
SEIU 1000 Service Empls . . . . .	4,828
SEIU 1021 Service Empls Intl Union . . . . .	26,299
SEIU United Service Workers West . . . . .	19,661
SEIU 1983 California Faculty Assoc . . . . .	2,414
SEIU United Healthcare Workers . . . . .	35,528

**Sheet Metal Workers International Union**

SMWIA 104 Sheet Metal Workers. . . . .	2,557
SMWIA 105 Sheet Metal Workers. . . . .	.800
SMWIA 162 Sheet Metal Workers . . . . .	1,154
SMWIA 206 Sheet Metal Workers . . . . .	.323
SMWIA 273 Sheet Metal Workers . . . . .	.233

**Stage Empls & Moving Picture Tech, Intl US & Can**

IATSE 16Theatrical Stage Empls . . . . .	.700
IATSE 33 Stage Empls . . . . .	1,387
IATSE 44 Property Craftspersons . . . . .	1,992
IATSE 50 Stage Empls . . . . .	.175
IATSE 80 Motion Picture Grips . . . . .	2,170
IATSE 107Theatrical Stage Empls . . . . .	.140
IATSE 122 Stage Empls . . . . .	.218
IATSE 134 Theater Empls. . . . .	.146
IATSE 158 Stage Hands. . . . .	.45
IATSE 166 Stagecraft . . . . .	.8
IATSE 169 Motion Picture Machine Operators . . . . .	.26
IATSE 442 IATSE & MPMO . . . . .	.59
IATSE 504 Theatrical Stage Empls . . . . .	.334
IATSE 600 Int'l Cinematographers Guild. . . . .	3,301
IATSE 611 Stage Empls . . . . .	.58
IATSE 614 Stage Hands Union . . . . .	.60
IATSE 695 Motion Picture Sound Techs . . . . .	1,477
IATSE 700 Motion Picture Editors . . . . .	5,545
IATSE 705 Motion Picture Costumers . . . . .	1,620
IATSE 706 Make-Up Arts/Hair Stylists Guild . . . . .	1,583
IATSE 728 Studio Elect Lighting Technicians. . . . .	2,173
IATSE 729 MP Set Painters/Sign Writers . . . . .	.969
IATSE 767 MP First Aid Empls . . . . .	.320
IATSE 768Theatrical Wardrobe. . . . .	.128
IATSE 784 Theatrical Wardrobe. . . . .	.125
IATSE 800 Art Dir Gld/ScenicTitle/Grph Art. . . . .	1,398
IATSE 839 Animation Guild. . . . .	1,996
IATSE 857 Treasurer/Ticket Sellers . . . . .	.194
IATSE 871 Script Supervisors. . . . .	1,754
IATSE 874Theatrical Wardrobe. . . . .	.20
IATSE 884 Studio Teachers . . . . .	.99
IATSE 892 Costume Designers Guild. . . . .	.721
IATSE 905 Theatrical Wardrobe. . . . .	.36
IATSE 923 Sound & Figure Maint Tech. . . . .	.129

<u>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</u>	<u>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</u>
IATSE B18Theatrical Empls . . . . .	.108
IATSE B66Theatrical Empls . . . . .	.127
IATSE B132 Amusement Area Empls . . . . .	.600
IATSE 18032Theatrical Press Agents . . . . .	.84
IATSE Dist Council 2 . . . . .	4,501

**State, County & Municipal Employees, American Federation of**

AFSCME 10 Stanislaus Cnty Empls . . . . .	1,825
AFSCME 101 San Jose . . . . .	5,131
AFSCME 119 LA Cnty Empls . . . . .	.244
AFSCME 127 San Diego Area Municipal Empls . . . . .	1,823
AFSCME 143 LA Housing Authority. . . . .	.467
AFSCME 146 Sacramento City Empls . . . . .	1,559
AFSCME 164 Comm Redev Agency of LA. . . . .	.55
AFSCME 206 UAPD Physicians & Dentists . . . . .	3,548
AFSCME 257 Oakland Unified School Empls . . . . .	.598
AFSCME 258 Sacramento CC School Empls. . . . .	1,229
AFSCME 276 LA Superior Court Prof Empls . . . . .	.59
AFSCME 315 Inyo Cnty Empls. . . . .	.152
AFSCME 444 East Bay Muni Util Dist Empls. . . . .	.688
AFSCME 512 Contra Costa Cnty ProfTech Empls . . . . .	.392
AFSCME 575 LA Superior Court Clerks . . . . .	.789
AFSCME 585 Comm Redev Agcy LA Prof Empls . . . . .	.120
AFSCME 619 Cerritos City Empls . . . . .	.175
AFSCME 675 City of Petaluma . . . . .	.129
AFSCME 685 LA Cnty Probation Officers . . . . .	4,590
AFSCME 741 Los Angeles Council 36 . . . . .	1,326
AFSCME 773. . . . .	.136
AFSCME 800 LA Soc Serv ProfTech Empls . . . . .	.408
AFSCME 809 Carson City Empls . . . . .	.451
AFSCME 829 San Mateo Cnty Empls. . . . .	3,496
AFSCME 830 LA Cnty Health Dept Empls . . . . .	.202
AFSCME 847 San Joaquin CntyTransp Workers . . . . .	.160
AFSCME 858 Pasadena Municipal Empls . . . . .	.350
AFSCME 901 LA City Recr Empls . . . . .	.478
AFSCME 910 LA CA Sup Court Legal Prof. . . . .	.71
AFSCME 955 Pleasanton City Empls . . . . .	.166
AFSCME 1001. . . . .	.69
AFSCME 1083. . . . .	.37
AFSCME 1108 LA Social Svcs Agency Empls . . . . .	.90
AFSCME 1117Torrance Municipal Empls. . . . .	.546
AFSCME 1199 UNAC Health Care Workers . . . . .	15,607
AFSCME 1520 Artesia Municipal Empls. . . . .	.45
AFSCME 1587 Prob Peace Offcra S Clara Cnty . . . . .	.556
AFSCME 1684 Humboldt Cnty Public Empls. . . . .	.697
AFSCME 1734 Westminster City Empls . . . . .	.19
AFSCME 1890 LA Comm Redevel Agency Mgmt Empls64 . . . . .	.91
AFSCME 1895 City of Lawndale . . . . .	.91
AFSCME 1902 Metro Water District . . . . .	1,569
AFSCME 2006 LA Professional Medical Empls. . . . .	.73

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REPORT ON PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP-2012, *Continued*

<u>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</u>	<u>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</u>
AFSCME 2019 EBMUD . . . . .	745
AFSCME 2076 Orange Cnty Eligibility Wrkrs . . . . .	1,166
AFSCME 2167 Marin Public Empls . . . . .	51
AFSCME 2190 City of Burlingame Empls . . . . .	52
AFSCME 2204 Comm Redev Agcy LA Supv Empls . . . . .	17
AFSCME 2229 ABC Board of Educ Empls . . . . .	286
AFSCME 2325 Compton Management Empls . . . . .	54
AFSCME 2428 East Bay Regional Parks Empls . . . . .	561
AFSCME 2620 Social Service & Healt Prof . . . . .	5,315
AFSCME 2626 Librarians' Guild . . . . .	405
AFSCME 2700 Contra Costa Cnty Clerical Empls . . . . .	1,828
AFSCME 2703 Merced Cnty Empls . . . . .	1,699
AFSCME 2712 LA Psych Soc Workers . . . . .	645
AFSCME 3061 Ontario City Empls . . . . .	215
AFSCME 3090 All City Empls . . . . .	6,381
AFSCME 3112 Anaheim Union HS Dist Empls . . . . .	474
AFSCME 3143 Burbank City Empls . . . . .	545
AFSCME 3291 Mammoth Lake Empls . . . . .	26
AFSCME 3299 UC Empls . . . . .	21,168
AFSCME 3302 LA Superior Court Empls . . . . .	261
AFSCME 3325 Covina City Empls . . . . .	42
AFSCME 3339 West Hollywood City Empls . . . . .	161
AFSCME 3511 LA Cnty Supervising Social Wrkrs . . . . .	168
AFSCME 3624 Hawaiian Gardens City Empls . . . . .	75
AFSCME 3634 LA Metro Transit Auth Suprvrs . . . . .	642
AFSCME 3672 LA City Executive Secretaries . . . . .	115
AFSCME 3745 Bellflower City Empls . . . . .	47
AFSCME 3899 Siskiyou Cnty Empls . . . . .	153
AFSCME 3910 Town of Windsor Empls . . . . .	46
AFSCME 3916 AC Transit . . . . .	251
AFSCME 3930 United Dom Wrks . . . . .	62,190
AFSCME 3947 IUOPTE . . . . .	104
AFSCME 3961 Cathedral City Empls . . . . .	78
AFSCME 3993 BART Superv & Prof Union . . . . .	211

**Steelworkers of America, United**

USW 18 Steelworkers . . . . .	64
USW 44 Steelworkers . . . . .	5
USW 326 Steelworkers . . . . .	94
USW 418 Steelworkers . . . . .	112
USW 458 Steelworkers . . . . .	22
USW 471 Steelworkers . . . . .	14
USW 474 Aluminum, Brick & Glass Wkrs . . . . .	83
USW 534 Steelworkers . . . . .	52
USW 555 Steelworkers . . . . .	236
USW 560 Steelworkers . . . . .	456
USW 565 Steelworkers . . . . .	225
USW 675 Papr All Id Ind Chem/Energy Wkrs . . . . .	3,034
USW 682 Paperworkers . . . . .	5
USW 766 Rubber Workers . . . . .	74
USW 819 Paperworkers . . . . .	216

<u>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</u>	<u>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</u>
USW 843 Aluminum Brick & Glass Wkrs . . . . .	94
USW 1304 Steelworkers . . . . .	168
USW 1440 Steelworkers . . . . .	526
USW 2571 Steelworkers . . . . .	34
USW 2801 Steelworkers . . . . .	1,541
USW 4997 Steelworkers . . . . .	107
USW 5632 Steelworkers . . . . .	327
USW 6966 Steelworkers . . . . .	23
USW 7600 Steelworkers . . . . .	5,322
USW 8005 Steelworkers . . . . .	1,902
USW 8065 Steelworkers . . . . .	183
USW 8433 Steelworkers . . . . .	101
USW 8599 Steelworkers . . . . .	1,333
USW 8957 Steelworkers . . . . .	155
USW 9440 Steelworkers . . . . .	88
USW 9518 Steelworkers . . . . .	1,562
USW 9600 Steelworkers . . . . .	267

**Teachers, American Federation of**

AFT 61 United Educators of SF . . . . .	5,737
AFT 771 United Tchrs of Oakland . . . . .	83
AFT 957 San Jose Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	103
AFT 1020 Salinas Valley Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	761
AFT 1021 United Tchrs of LA . . . . .	9,871
AFT 1077 San Rafael Fed Of Tchrs . . . . .	116
AFT 1078 Berkeley Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	762
AFT 1273 Oxnard Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	1,198
AFT 1278 Escondido Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	1
AFT 1287 Stockton Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	1
AFT 1343 Culver City Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	332
AFT 1388 El Camino CC Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	491
AFT 1463 Clovis Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	2
AFT 1474 UC Berkeley Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	376
AFT 1475 Early Childhood Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	407
AFT 1481 Jefferson Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	527
AFT 1493 San Mateo CC Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	1,008
AFT 1494 Sunol Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	13
AFT 1521 LA College Faculty Guild . . . . .	4,245
AFT 1521A College Staff Guild . . . . .	1,143
AFT 1533 State Center Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	1,514
AFT 1603 Peralta Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	1,018
AFT 1610 United Professors of Marin . . . . .	386
AFT 1793 Antelope Valley Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	9
AFT 1794 Newport Mesa Fed Of Tchrs . . . . .	952
AFT 1828 Ventura CC Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	1,264
AFT 1866 Bakersfield Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	5
AFT 1881 Petaluma Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	441
AFT 1902 Diablo Valley Psychologist . . . . .	42
AFT 1911 Coast Federation of Educators . . . . .	433
AFT 1921 Gilroy Fed of Tchrs & Paraprofls . . . . .	98
AFT 1931 San Diego CC Guild . . . . .	1,921

CONTINUED

REPORT ON PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP-2012, *Continued*

<u>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</u>	<u>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</u>
AFT 1936 Pajaro Valley Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	1,039
AFT 1946 Santa Rosa Jr College Tchrs . . . . .	34
AFT 1966 UC Riverside Tchrs . . . . .	133
AFT 1985 Tamalpais Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	191
AFT 1986 Novato Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	395
AFT 1990 UCLA Faculty Union . . . . .	386
AFT 2001 Pittsburg/Antioch Fed. Tchrs. . . . .	1
AFT 2022 Morgan Hill Fed of Tchrs. . . . .	406
AFT 2023 UC Davis Tchrs. . . . .	212
AFT 2030 Greater Santa Cruz Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	439
AFT 2034 University Council San Diego . . . . .	167
AFT 2071 Santa Paula Fed of Tchrs. . . . .	189
AFT 2119 Ojai Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	146
AFT 2121 SF CC Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	1,769
AFT 2141 UC Santa Barbara Tchrs . . . . .	164
AFT 2199 UC Santa Cruz Tchrs . . . . .	127
AFT 2216 Carpinteria Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	185
AFT 2219 Galt Fed of Certfcad & Class Empls . . . . .	113
AFT 2226 UC Irvine Tchrs . . . . .	154
AFT 2240 SF Archdiocesan Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	169
AFT 2267 Placer-Nevada Tchrs . . . . .	18
AFT 2276 Glendale College Guild. . . . .	883
AFT 2279 Los Rios CC Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	1,873
AFT 2317 Federation of Tchrs . . . . .	1,045
AFT 2357 Poway Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	1,534
AFT 2424 Turlock Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	114
AFT 3151 Lompoc Fed of Tchrs. . . . .	467
AFT 3187 Sonora HS Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	71
AFT 3219 Lemoore Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	105
AFT 3267 Jefferson Elementary Fed . . . . .	258
AFT 3278 Laton Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	39
AFT 3467 El Rancho Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	456
AFT 3484 Merced Co Fed of Educational Empls . . . . .	30
AFT 3486 Compton Fed of Employees. . . . .	306
AFT 3553 Paso Robles Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	291
AFT 3581 Rescue Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	209
AFT 3688 Evergreen Fed of Tchrs. . . . .	50
AFT 3873 Stony Creek Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	21
AFT 4008 N Monterey Cnty Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	227
AFT 4044 Santa Paula High School Dist Fed . . . . .	67
AFT 4067 Napa County Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	68
AFT 4128 Oakwood Faculty Assn . . . . .	37
AFT 4163 Buckley Faculty Assoc. . . . .	37
AFT 4269 University of SF Faculty . . . . .	395
AFT 4345 Mendocino Cnty Fed Tchrs. . . . .	150
AFT 4400 Cabrillo College Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	436
AFT 4415 Horicon Elem Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	24
AFT 4434 Ventura Cnty Fed School Empls . . . . .	272
AFT 4522 Palomar CC Classified Empls . . . . .	144
AFT 4529 Lawndale Fed Classified Empls . . . . .	186
AFT 4606 Cuesta College Class United Empls . . . . .	216
AFT 4615 Feather River College Fed Tchrs. . . . .	111

<u>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</u>	<u>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</u>
AFT 4681 San Mateo Adult Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	44
AFT 4683 Antelope Valley CC Class Empls . . . . .	298
AFT 4794 Coast Fed of Classified Empls . . . . .	770
AFT 4812 Shaffer Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	21
AFT 4830 Aromas/San Juan Fed of Tchrs. . . . .	56
AFT 4870 Lemoore Fed of Classif Empls . . . . .	93
AFT 4886 Westridge Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	8
AFT 4909 Cuesta College Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	483
AFT 4911 Gold Trail Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	45
AFT 4915 Sonoma County Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	25
AFT 4952 Yuba College Tchrs . . . . .	294
AFT 4964 Fort Sage Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	15
AFT 4986 Sacramento Job Corps Tchrs . . . . .	17
AFT 6007 Summerville Fed of Tchrs. . . . .	41
AFT 6029 Tuolumne Co Spec Educ Federation . . . . .	17
AFT 6041 Hawthorne Fed of Classified Emp . . . . .	163
AFT 6084 Santa Cruz Council of Class Empls . . . . .	303
AFT 6090 Solvang Fed of Tchrs. . . . .	20
AFT 6097 Tuolumne Cnty Cncl of Class Empls . . . . .	35
AFT 6098 Azusa Fed of Adult Ed. . . . .	56
AFT 6106 Adjunct Faculty United . . . . .	1,352
AFT 6108 Long Beach CC Cncl of Class Empls . . . . .	334
AFT 6109 Menifee Council of Class Empls . . . . .	331
AFT 6119 Compton Council of Class Empls. . . . .	584
AFT 6128 Inglewood Fed of Tchrs. . . . .	22
AFT 6142 El Camino Classified Empls . . . . .	236
AFT 6151 Twain Harte Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	21
AFT 6157 San Jose Evergreen Faculty. . . . .	718
AFT 6161 Palomar Faculty Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	514
AFT 6166 Palmer Coll of Chiropractic W Fac . . . . .	28
AFT 6179 So San Francisco Adult Edu. . . . .	34
AFT 6180 Madera Adult Educators. . . . .	42
AFT 6185 Allan Hancock Coll Pt-Time Fac . . . . .	125
AFT 6192 Berkeley Council of Class Empls . . . . .	380
AFT 6215 Cerritos Coll Faculty Fed. . . . .	460
AFT 6258 Alliant Int'l Univ Fed of Prof. . . . .	27
AFT 6262 PT Fac United Col of the Canyons . . . . .	154
AFT 6286 Victor Valley PartTime Fclty United . . . . .	170
AFT 6289 LA AIU Fed of Fclty . . . . .	28
AFT 6294 Sequoia Adult Ed . . . . .	36
AFT 6306 Alliant Fed of Ed . . . . .	15
AFT 6318 Assoc Bldg Trades Inst . . . . .	19
AFT 6319 Treasure Island Fed Tchrs . . . . .	113
AFT 6322 Mendocino College Tchrs. . . . .	49
AFT 6352 Citrus College Fed of Tchrs. . . . .	272
AFT 6361 United Child Care Ed SF. . . . .	39
AFT 6366 Merced Fed Of Tchrs . . . . .	66
AFT 6455 Engineers & Architects Assoc . . . . .	1,133
AFT 8004 Alameda Fed of Tchrs . . . . .	96

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REPORT ON PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP-2012, *Continued*

<u>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</u>	<u>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</u>
<b>Teamsters, Intl Brotherhood of</b>	
IBT 1 Brotherhood Loco Eng Trainmen . . . . .	134
IBT 9 Telegraph Empls . . . . .	12
IBT 36 Building Material Constr Ind Teamsters . . . . .	151
IBT 63 Wholesale Retail Food District Wkrs . . . . .	1,861
IBT 70 Teamsters, Auto Truck Drivers . . . . .	605
IBT 78 Teamsters . . . . .	749
IBT 85 Teamsters, Auto Truck Drivers . . . . .	148
IBT 87 Teamsters & Food Processors . . . . .	78
IBT 137 General Teamsters . . . . .	139
IBT 150 Chauffeurs, Teamsters, Helpers. . . . .	588
IBT 166 Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen . . . . .	775
IBT 186 Teamsters . . . . .	237
IBT 278 Retail Delivery Drivers . . . . .	236
IBT 287 Teamsters . . . . .	379
IBT 315 General Truck Drivers, Warehousemen. . . . .	500
IBT 350 Sanitary Truck Drivers . . . . .	263
IBT 381 Teamsters, Warehousemen . . . . .	212
IBT 386 General Teamsters . . . . .	212
IBT 396 Package & General Utility Drivers . . . . .	1,431
IBT 399 Studio Transportation Drivers . . . . .	643
IBT 431 General Teamsters . . . . .	177
IBT 439 General Teamsters . . . . .	291
IBT 481 Automotive Allied Industry Empls . . . . .	675
IBT 490 Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen . . . . .	270
IBT 495 Teamsters Automotive Workers . . . . .	1,185
IBT 517 Creamery Employees & Drivers . . . . .	134
IBT 542 Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen . . . . .	1,077
IBT 572 Chauffeurs, Sales Drivers . . . . .	1,747
IBT 601 Cannery Workers Process Warehousemen. . . . .	314
IBT 624 General Truck Drivers, Warehousemen. . . . .	328
IBT 630 Food Industry Bev Warehouse Drivers. . . . .	984
IBT 665 Teamsters, Automotive Empls. . . . .	543
IBT 683 Sales Drivers, Helpers, Dairy Workers. . . . .	286
IBT 848 Wholesale Delivery Drivers . . . . .	1,307
IBT 853 Warehouse, Mail Order, Retail Empls. . . . .	1,169
IBT 856 Freight Checkers, Cler Empls . . . . .	842
IBT 890 General Teamsters Warehousemen . . . . .	408
IBT 896 Brewery, Soda, Mineral Water Bottlers . . . . .	394
IBT 911 Teamsters, Public, Prof Med Empls . . . . .	1,175
IBT 912 General Teamsters, Packers. . . . .	175
IBT 948 Teamsters . . . . .	459
IBT 952 General Truck Drivers . . . . .	1,425
IBT 986 Warehousemen Drivers. . . . .	2,172
IBT 2785 Retail Delivery Drivers. . . . .	17
<b>Transit Union, Amalgamated</b>	
ATU 192 Amalgamated Transit Union. . . . .	1,624
ATU 256 Amalgamated Transit Union . . . . .	588
ATU 265 Amalgamated Transit Union . . . . .	1,281
ATU 276 Amalgamated Transit Union . . . . .	160

<u>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</u>	<u>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</u>
ATU 1027 Amalgamated Transit Union . . . . .	268
ATU 1225 Amalgamated Transit Union . . . . .	328
ATU 1277 Amalgamated Transit Union . . . . .	2,697
ATU 1309 Amalgamated Transit Union . . . . .	798
ATU 1555 Amalgamated Transit Union . . . . .	892
ATU 1574 Amalgamated Transit Union. . . . .	439
ATU 1575 Amalgamated Transit Union . . . . .	273
ATU 1605 Amalgamated Transit Union . . . . .	222
ATU 1704 Amalgamated Transit Union . . . . .	474
<b>Transport Wrks Union of America</b>	
TWU Transport Workers 200 . . . . .	218
TWU Transport Workers Union 250A . . . . .	1,729
TWU 502 Air Transport Wrks . . . . .	442
TWU Transport Workers 556 . . . . .	583
<b>UNITE-HERE!</b>	
UNITE HERE 2 . . . . .	5,500
UNITE HERE 11. . . . .	6,895
UNITE HERE 19 . . . . .	3,284
UNITE HERE 30 . . . . .	2,286
UNITE HERE 49 . . . . .	2,074
WSRJB Workers United. . . . .	2,405
UNITE HERE 2850 . . . . .	2,167
<b>Utility Wrks Union of America</b>	
UWUA 132 Utility Workers . . . . .	2,852
UWUA 160 Utility Workers . . . . .	66
UWUA 246 Utility Workers . . . . .	700
UWUA 259 Utility Workers . . . . .	200
<b>Regional Councils:</b>	
<b>Building &amp; Construction Trade Councils:</b>	
BCTC Alameda Bldg & Const Trades Cncl	
BCTC Contra Costa Bldg Trades Cncl	
BCTC Fresno Madera Bldg Trds Cncl	
BCTC Humbolt Del Norte Bldg Trds Cncl	
BCTC Imperial Bldg Const Trades Cncl	
BCTC Kern Inyo Mono Bldg Trdes Cncl	
BCTC Los Angeles Orange Bldg Const Trds Cncl	
BCTC Marin Bldg Const Trades Cncl	
BCTC Monterey Santa Cruz Bldg Trds Cncl	
BCTC Napa Solano Bldg Trades Cncl	
BCTC North Eastern CA Bldg Const Trades Cncl	
BCTC Pacific Coast Metal Trades District Cncl	
BCTC Sacramento Sierra Bldg Const Trds Cncl	
BCTC San Bernardino Riverside Bldg Trades Cncl	
BCTC San Diego Bldg Const Trades Cncl	
BCTC San Francisco Bldg & Const Trades Cncl	
BCTC San Joaquin Bldg Trades Cncl	
BCTC San Mateo Bldg & Const Trades Cncl	

CONTINUED

**INTERNATIONAL & LOCAL NAME** **PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP**

BCTC Santa Clara & San Benito Bldg Trds Cncl  
 BCTC Sonoma Mendocino Lake Bldg Trds Cncl  
 BCTC Stan MercTuol Bldg Trds Cncl  
 BCTCTri-Counties Bldg Trds Cncl  
 BCTC Ventura Bldg ConstTrds Cncl  
 SBCTC State Bldg & ConstTrades Cncl of California

**Central Labor Councils:**

Alameda Labor Council, AFL-CIO  
 Butte-Glenn CLC  
 Contra Costa CLC  
 Five Counties CLC  
 Fresno-Madera-Tulare-Kings CLC  
 Humboldt/Del Norte CLC  
 Kern-Inyo-Mono CLC  
 Los Angeles Federation of Labor (CLC)  
 Marysville Central Labor Council  
 Merced-Mariposa CLC  
 Monterey Bay Central Labor Council  
 Napa-Solano CLC  
 North Bay Labor Council  
 North Valley Labor Federation CLC  
 Orange County Labor Fed.,AFL-CIO  
 Sacramento CLC  
 San Bernardino-Riverside CLC  
 San Diego-Imperial CLC  
 San Francisco Labor Council  
 San Joaquin-Calaveras CLC  
 San Mateo CLC  
 South Bay AFL-CIO Labor Council  
 Stanislaus-Tuolumne CLC  
 Tri-Counties CLC

**State, Regional, District & Joint Councils:**

AFM Professional Musicians Central CA  
 AFSCME 36 District Council  
 AFSCME 57 District Council  
 AFT CA Federation of Teachers  
 ATU 180 Joint CA Conf Board  
 CA American Postal Wkrs Union  
 CA State Conf of Plaster & Cement Masons  
 CA State Retiree Cncl  
 CA State Theatrical Fed  
 BCTC Pacific Coast Metal Trades District Cncl  
 CWA Coastal Valley Council  
 CWA District 9  
 CWA No Calif/Nevada Council  
 CWA So Calif Dist Council  
 IAFF CA State Cncl of Prof Fire Fighters  
 IAFF Dist Cncl 10 Fire Fighters  
 IAM 190 District Lodge Council

**INTERNATIONAL & LOCAL NAME** **PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP**

IAM 725 District Council  
 IAM 947 District Lodge Council  
 IAM St Cncl CA Conference Of Machinists  
 IBEW CA St Assoc of Electrical Workers  
 IBT Joint Council 7  
 IBT Joint Council 42  
 IBT N CA Allied Printing Trds Cncl 360  
 IBT Pub Affairs Councils  
 ILA Maritime Ports SoCA Cncl 160  
 ILWU NoCal Dist Cncl  
 ILWU SoCal Dist Cncl  
 IRON Dist Cncl of Iron Workers  
 IUOE Cal/Nev Conf Oper Engineers  
 LIUNA NoCA Dist Cncl of Laborers  
 LIUNA SoCA Dist Cncl of Laborers  
 Los Angeles Union Label Cncl  
 MTC Bay Cities Metal Trades Cncl  
 NALC St Cncl CA State Assn of Letter Carriers  
 NMU Maritime Trades Port Cncl SF  
 OPCMIA NoCA Dist Cncl of Plasterers  
 OPCMIA SoCal Dist Cncl of Plasterers  
 PAT Dist Cncl 16 Painters Dist Cncl  
 PAT Dist Cncl 36 Painters Dist Cncl  
 ROOFER W Reg Dist Cncl  
 SEIU California State Council  
 SMWIA W States Cncl of Sheet Metal Workers  
 TWU CA State Conf Transport Wkrs  
 UA Pipe Trades District Cncl 16  
 UFCW Region 8 States Council  
 UNITE HERE CA State Cncl

**Constituency Groups:**

A. Phillip Randolph Institute CA St Chapter  
 Coalition of Black Trade Unionists - SoCA  
 Coalition of Black Trade Unionists - NoCA  
 CLUW LA - Coalition of Labor Union Women - LA  
 California Alliance for Retired Americans

**New Affiliations:**

AFGE 1235 . . . . . April-10  
 AFSCME 773. . . . . June-11  
 AFSCME 1001. . . . . June-11  
 AFSCME 1083. . . . . June-11  
 AFT 6455 Engineers & Architects Assoc . . . . . July-11  
 APWU 320 Postal Workers . . . . . June-10  
 Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen . . . . . October-10  
 IAFF 2312 Vernon Fire Fighters. . . . . December-11  
 IAFF 2404 Oroville Fire Fighters. . . . . September-10  
 IAFF 2734 Chico Fire Fighters . . . . . September-10  
 IAFF 4577 Patterson Fire Fighters Assoc . . . . . December-11  
 IAFF 4586 Pioneer Fire Fighters . . . . . December-11

**REPORT ON PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP-2012, *Continued***

<b>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</b>	<b>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</b>
IAFF 4603 El Cajon Fire Fighters . . . . .	December-11
IAFF F305 Camp Parks Fire Fighters . . . . .	December-11
IBT 2785 Retail Delivery Drivers . . . . .	December-11
ILWU Longshore & Warehouse 13 . . . . .	September-11
NALC Letter Carriers Branch 411 . . . . .	March-09
NALC Letter Carriers Branch 1439 . . . . .	March-12
NALC Letter Carriers Branch 2168 . . . . .	March-12
NEA 0006 S Western Coll Edu Assoc . . . . .	July-11
PAT 1036 Painters Union . . . . .	May-11
USW 326 . . . . .	June-11
USW 682 Paperworkers . . . . .	December-11
USW 819 Paperworkers . . . . .	November-10

**Exonerations:**

GMP 141 Glass, Molders, Pottery . . . . .	April-11
NEA 0004 Los Angeles Cnty Ed Assoc . . . . .	March-11
OCEA Orange County Employees Assoc . . . . .	July-11

**Withdrawals:**

APWU 917 SW Coastal Area 917 . . . . .	March-11
CWA 9404 Communications Wrkrs . . . . .	June-11
CWA 9510 Communications Wrkrs . . . . .	September-10
IAM 322 Machinists . . . . .	June-10
IATSE 683 Lab Film/Video Technicians . . . . .	June-10
IRON 509 Shopmen's . . . . .	March-10
NEA 0001 Mt Diablo Ed Assn . . . . .	January-11
NEA 0002 Hayward Ed Assn . . . . .	July-10
TWU 505 Transport Wrkrs . . . . .	January-10
UTU CA STATE LEG BRD . . . . .	August-10

**Disbanded**

AFSCME 3150 LA Metro Transit Authority Sr Sup . . . . .	July-09
AFSCME 3271 LA CA Superior Court Tech Empls . . . . .	May-09
IAM 812 Machinists . . . . .	September-09
IAM 1980 Machinists . . . . .	November-10
IAM 2230 Machinists . . . . .	June-09
IBB D46 Cement, Lime, Gypsum Wrkrs . . . . .	February-10
GMP 81 Glass, Molders, Pottery . . . . .	September-10

<b>INTERNATIONAL &amp; LOCAL NAME</b>	<b>PER CAPITA PAID MEMBERSHIP</b>
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**Mergers**

AFT 4289 into 1937 . . . . .	November-08
CWA 9000 into 9003 . . . . .	February-12
CWA 9477 into 9575 . . . . .	November-09
CWA 9503 into 9003 . . . . .	February-12
IAFF 1483 into 55 . . . . .	May-10
IAFF 1946 into 55 . . . . .	May-10
IATSE 150 into 33 . . . . .	December-11
IBT 15 into 853 . . . . .	May-08
IBT Joint Council 38 into 7 . . . . .	December-10
IBT 4N into 388 . . . . .	June-09
PAT 1053 into 1176 . . . . .	January-09
PAT 333 into 1399 . . . . .	January-09
UFCW 101 into 5 . . . . .	January-11

**Summary of Membership**

Total Current Affiliates . . . . .	1,007
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CALIFORNIA LABOR FEDERATION

29th BIENNIAL CONVENTION

July 24-25, 2012

DAY ONE

Westin St. Francis Hotel  
San Francisco, California

Transcript by:

Denice Lombard

Certified Shorthand Reporter, No. 9653

Associate Member of OPEIU Local 2

Tuesday, July 24, 2012

10:22 A.M.

## 1 P R O C E E D I N G S

2 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Good morning. Welcome to  
3 the 2012 California Labor Federation Biennial  
4 Convention. ("Good morning.")

5 And we thank you for your patience this  
6 morning. We have a very special treat for you. And  
7 now to kick off the convention we have the  
8 San Francisco Police Department Lion Dance Team. This  
9 group, comprised of law enforcement personnel, has been  
10 performing for 25 years usually for community groups,  
11 non-profits, schools and seniors.

12 So without further ado I give you the  
13 San Francisco Police Department Lion Dancers.

14 (San Francisco Police Department Lion Dancers  
15 perform.) (Applause)

16 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Lion dancers and drummers,  
17 thank you. (Applause)

18 Sisters and brothers, I would remind you at  
19 this time to please silence your cell phones and any  
20 other electronic devices you have with you. And I  
21 would also remind you that this is a private meeting  
22 for those authorized to attend only.

1           At this time I would like to invite up to the  
2 stage Connie Hibbert [phonetic] who works right here at  
3 the Westin St. Francis. She has been a member of UNITE  
4 HERE Local 2 for 25 years. Also joining her is Mona  
5 Wilson and Nancy Lee. (Applause)

6           Delegates, please rise for the presentation of  
7 colors by Firefighters Local 798.

8           (Presentation of Colors.)

9           (Pledge of Allegiance.)

10          (Applause)

11          PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you to members of our  
12 Color Guard, Steve Finnegan, Pat Hannis, Eric Fisher  
13 and Jason Watros [all phonetic].

14          And now we're going to here a few words from  
15 our UNITE HERE workers, Mona Wilson, who is from the  
16 Union Grand Hyatt and Nancy Lee from the Hyatt at  
17 Fisherman's Wharf where there has been a long-fought,  
18 very difficult organizing drive as we are all aware of.  
19 Ladies.

20          SISTER LEE: Good morning, Brothers and  
21 Sisters. My name is Nancy Lee. I work with the Hyatt  
22 at Fisherman's Wharf over 16 years. We have been fight



1 for our hotel become a union hotel over four years. We  
2 are still going on. I know with brothers' and sisters'  
3 support we will win the justice at the Hyatt. Thank  
4 you brothers and sisters. (Applause)

5           SISTER WILSON: Good morning, brothers and  
6 sisters. I'm Mona. I'm from the Grand Hyatt  
7 San Francisco, and I'm here on behalf of myself and  
8 other Local 2 members. We're fighting for justice and  
9 for a fair contract at the Hyatt. We're also fighting  
10 for the right to organize other Hyatt workers.

11           And if you take a moment to look at the yellow  
12 flier in front of you on your desk, I'd like to invite  
13 you to join us at our Grand Hyatt rally on Thursday at  
14 4:30 p.m. We look forward to seeing you there, and I  
15 thank you for your continued support. And have a great  
16 time. (Applause)

17           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you sisters. We just  
18 want you to know that we will be with you, everyone in  
19 this room, through your battle for a contract and in  
20 your contract negotiations, and to let you know that  
21 you inspire us all to do what we do every day.

22           At this time we'd like to welcome to the stage

1 Reverend Doctor Arelious Walker, Founder and Pastor of  
2 True Hope Church of God In Christ in San Francisco.

3 He's also been a social-justice advocate for  
4 more than 50 years. Dr. Walker has spearheaded  
5 numerous rehab, crime-prevention, and job-creation  
6 initiatives in the Bayview neighborhood. And he has  
7 worked extensively with the San Francisco Labor  
8 Council. Dr. Walker?

9 REVEREND DR. WALKER: Distinguished and  
10 honorable community, labor leaders that are here today,  
11 and to the ladies and gentlemen of the California  
12 Labor, I welcome you to the city of San Francisco by  
13 the way of the Golden Gate and Bay Bridge. A  
14 world-class city. A world-class city with world-class  
15 people of which you cannot have without world-class  
16 political leadership, social, economical; more  
17 specifically San Francisco Labor Council.

18 When the Southeast Bayview Hunter's Point Cal  
19 State Point Plan building 10,500 homes of which  
20 32 percent is affordable; 10,000 jobs and other  
21 outstanding benefits. San Francisco Labor played an  
22 outstanding role in making that happen, along with

1 other community organizations building shopping  
2 centers, townhouses, condominiums and other outstanding  
3 community projects.

4 Will you be so kind at this point to join me  
5 in communicating with God. In this time of political,  
6 social, economical crisis and challenges, would you be  
7 so kind to bow your head in your own tradition that we  
8 may entreat God to help us overcome some of these  
9 difficulties.

10 Eternal and great God of the universe, we call  
11 for you as we pause in the city of St. Francis at this  
12 time of such a great need of your gesture, love and  
13 compassion. And I quote from Luke, Chapter 14, 28 and  
14 30:

15 Which of you intended to build a shopping  
16 center or a group of townhouses, condominiums  
17 should just knock down first and count as a  
18 cost whether the company will have sufficient  
19 to finish it. Thus happily after, we have  
20 laid the foundation, and if not able to  
21 finish it, all that observe what he attempt  
22 to do will ridicule you saying, 'This man

1 began to build and was not able to finish.'

2 St. Matthew 20, 2 and 3:

3 Jesus used a story of great landlord hiring  
4 people to work on his land. He came upon a  
5 group of men standing around. He approached  
6 them saying, 'Why standing here, Adam? Go  
7 into my land and work. I will pay you. And  
8 they went to work for him.

9 Verse 12, 13, my last verses:

10 When the time came for the laborers to  
11 receive their wages, one group felt that they  
12 should be receiving more than the other  
13 group. The owner responded saying, 'You  
14 agreed to work for me for so much, and I have  
15 given you what you agreed upon. I have the  
16 right to do what I promised you, because you  
17 agreed to accept the pay that I gave you.'  
18 god informed us to love him with all of our  
19 hearts, minds, strength, and to love our  
20 neighbors, and to love ourselves. Let us  
21 here in this convention carry out these  
22 profound words of God. Amen. God Bless you.

1 (Applause)

2 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you very much,  
3 Reverend Dr. Walker.

4 I'd like to invite up Tim Paulson of the  
5 San Francisco Labor Council who will welcome us to this  
6 great city. Brother Tim. (Applause)

7 BROTHER PAULSON: So on behalf of the hometown  
8 Labor Unions that are part of the San Francisco Labor  
9 Council I just want to say thank you and welcome to  
10 San Francisco. You guys haven't been here in a while,  
11 so it's about time you came back.

12 There's a lot of Labor history and tradition  
13 here in San Francisco, and I hope you get to enjoy our  
14 great community besides just the deliberations that  
15 you're doing.

16 Besides working on collective bargaining  
17 agreements and fighting for workers' right here in  
18 San Francisco, there are certain other things that the  
19 Labor community has done with the other communities in  
20 San Francisco to do some very landmark stuff. Such as  
21 we have the highest minimum wage in all of the United  
22 States, over \$10 an hour. (Applause)

1           We have -- this is where Sick Days campaign  
2 started here in San Francisco, Labor and community  
3 working together. And it's here in San Francisco also  
4 where we have the closest thing to universal health  
5 care, the San Francisco Health Care Security Ordinance  
6 (Applause) which is a piece of legislation that Barack  
7 Obama and Nancy Pelosi wrote as far as they could in  
8 terms of the Affordable Care Act.

9           So there is a lot of tradition of raising all  
10 tides here in town. But as I greet you, and before the  
11 deliberations get going, I just want to note that we  
12 are going to be challenging ourselves, the affiliates  
13 at the San Francisco Labor Council, to take on one of  
14 the greatest assaults that we've ever seen here in  
15 San Francisco.

16           It's right up there with the Wisconsin and the  
17 Ohio attacks that have taken place. It is right here.  
18 They are coming at us with sledge hammers here in  
19 California. And we are going to be getting people out.  
20 And we absolutely have to be knocking on doors and  
21 making phone calls and talking -- in particular talking  
22 to our own members on the worksite in order to stop

1 this attack of Prop. 32 that's coming out.

2 And I really hope that we all are going to  
3 come out of here energized to make sure that we can get  
4 into the trenches for the things that we have to do.

5 So that being said, welcome to San Francisco.  
6 We also have one of our family here to give us  
7 greetings, one of our electeds, Supervisor David  
8 Campos. He is the supervisor in the Mission District  
9 and in Bernal Heights here in San Francisco.

10 (Applause)

11 David took the seat that Tom Ammiano had who  
12 was the author of our -- as many of you know, up in  
13 Sacramento now, our assemblyperson.

14 And he's a very good progressive, and he's a  
15 very good friend of Labor's, and I want you to give him  
16 a good welcome as he comes to the stage, David Campos,  
17 Supervisor. (Applause)

18 BROTHER CAMPOS: Good morning, brothers and  
19 sisters. If I may, I'd like to begin by thanking the  
20 workers at the Westin St. Francis Hotel for helping to  
21 make this possible today. (Applause)

22 I am proud to speak to you today as the son of

1 a janitor, as the son of a carpenter. I am proud today  
2 to welcome you to the city and county of San Francisco.

3           You know, a lot is said about the city and  
4 county of San Francisco, and San Francisco can be  
5 described in so many different ways.

6           But if San Francisco is anything,  
7 San Francisco is a Labor town. (Applause) We in  
8 San Francisco believe that a society is ultimately not  
9 defined by how those who have the most are doing, but  
10 it's defined by how those who have the least. And that  
11 includes our workers, the workers who make this city,  
12 this country go around. This is where Labor comes in.

13           And let me tell you that as this fight against  
14 workers has been going on in the rest of the country,  
15 we in San Francisco have stood firm with our brothers  
16 and sisters in Labor, because we don't believe that we  
17 balance budgets on the back of workers, we don't  
18 believe that we scapegoat workers. (Applause)

19           And I am here to tell you that not only is  
20 San Francisco a Labor town, but California is a Labor  
21 state. And in the state of California we will make  
22 sure that we never have anything like what happened in



1 Wisconsin happen here in the state of California.

2 (Applause)

3 We have an opportunity in the next few months  
4 to make sure that the rights of workers are protected,  
5 to make sure that we as a society recognize the  
6 importance of protecting our teachers, of protecting  
7 every single worker, that our trades have jobs, that  
8 every worker is treated with respect and dignity.

9 And let me tell you something, that this is  
10 not going to be an easy fight. But we stand together,  
11 and you in Labor are not alone. You have so many of us  
12 who are going to stand with you.

13 And I am so proud that you're here in the city  
14 and county of San Francisco. Because we have always  
15 led the way, we're going to continue to lead the way.  
16 And on behalf of the elected family of San Francisco,  
17 thank you so much for being here.

18 And on behalf of District 9, I hope you make  
19 it out to the Mission District Bernal Heights and the  
20 Portola and spend a lot of money.

21 Thank you very much. (Applause)

22 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, brother.

1           At this time the chair would like to recognize  
2 the executive secretary-treasurer of the California  
3 Labor Federation, Art Pulaski.

4           EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Thank  
5 you, Connie.

6           Good morning. ("Good morning.") So sorry  
7 about the squeeze in the back of the room. This is the  
8 largest size convention in recent memory. So we  
9 appreciate your understanding. (Applause)

10           So I'd like to refer you to the blue booklet.  
11 It's called the Delegate Information booklet. On the  
12 sixth page is the list of the members of the committees  
13 assigned to this convention. And in accordance with  
14 the constitution and approval of the Executive Council,  
15 the president has made the appointments of all those  
16 convention committees with those listed in those pages.

17           I move that we accept and adopt the committees  
18 as appointed. ("Second.")

19           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
20 and a second before you. All those in favor signify by  
21 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.  
22 Thank you.

1           The chair would now like to recognize the  
2 chair of the Credentials Committee, Marsi Newman of  
3 Teamsters Local 853. Come on down, Marsi. (Applause)

4           SISTER NEWMAN: Madam President, your  
5 Credentials Committee has been meeting since Monday,  
6 July 23rd, 2012 at 4:00 p.m. And updated roster of the  
7 delegates and alternates has been produced and is  
8 posted on the walls in the back of the meeting room.

9           If any delegates believe they are not included  
10 on the list, those delegates should contact me. We  
11 will continue to update the rosters throughout the day.

12           Madam President, the Credentials Committee  
13 will continue to meet until the close of registration  
14 on Wednesday, July 25th, and after that time I will  
15 present a final report.

16           I move that the preliminary report of the  
17 Credentials Committee be adopted. ("Second.")

18           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
19 and a second before you. All those in favor signify by  
20 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.  
21 Thank you.

22           At this time I'd like to call upon Doug Moore

1 who is the chair of the Rules Committee from UDW and  
2 AFSCME. Doug? (Applause)

3 BROTHER MOORE: Good morning, sisters and  
4 brothers. ("Good morning.")

5 Madam Chair, your Rules Committee met on  
6 April 10th, 2012. A quorum was present. The proposed  
7 rules of this convention are contained in the blue  
8 Delegate Information booklet you received in your  
9 registration materials, the same book. Your Committee  
10 On Rules recommends adoption of these rules, and I so  
11 move. ("Second.")

12 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
13 and a second before you. All those in favor signify by  
14 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed, no. Motion carries.  
15 Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

16 Good morning once again, sisters and brothers  
17 of the California Labor Movement, the best Labor  
18 Movement in the country if I do say so myself.  
19 (Applause).

20 Sisters and brothers, we are under attack like  
21 never before, except for all the other years.  
22 (Laughter) Bottom line is we will always be under

1 attack. Bottom line is the only people who stand  
2 between workers and abject poverty is each of us in  
3 this room. Without the Labor Movement there are no  
4 good days for workers, and there is no happy ending.

5           And don't you know that that is exactly what  
6 the right wing wants and what the corporate CEOs want  
7 as well. We represent workers, both union and  
8 non-union, and the right wing represents the interest  
9 of Wall Street and greedy corporations.

10           You will hear a lot in this convention about  
11 voting no on Proposition 32, and rightly so. Because  
12 if we don't win, we're done. We won't have to worry  
13 about hard work because there won't be any work to do.

14           Workers need us now more than ever before.  
15 Corporations still hold more wealth than they ever have  
16 before, but they continue to demand more and more of  
17 workers, even our own unionized workforce.

18           Members and nonmembers alike are being  
19 squeezed like never before. Just last week we met with  
20 some workers who were trying to form a union at the  
21 workplace. And one of the gentlemen recounted for us  
22 some of the things that happen at his workplace.

1           Every morning at 2:00 a.m. those workers who  
2 aren't working must call in and find out if the night  
3 shift finished their work. And if they didn't, then  
4 they have to get out of bed, and they have to go to  
5 work. If they don't call in to find out if the night  
6 shift finished, they will be disciplined.

7           This employer also moves hours to avoid paying  
8 overtime, and these workers have been forced to do more  
9 with less.

10           So there is no question that workers need us.  
11 Sisters and brothers, every day we work hard for our  
12 members. We visit worksites, we file violations, we  
13 file grievances, we go to arbitration, and we try to  
14 organize the unorganized.

15           However, I would submit to you that that is  
16 ordinary. It is what is expected. It is our job.  
17 It's what we're supposed to do.

18           In order for this Labor Movement to survive,  
19 in order for workers to have a better chance, we can no  
20 longer be ordinary. We must be extraordinary.

21           What is that little word in front of  
22 extraordinary? "Extra." We must be extraordinary with

1 our time, with our commitment, and with our ideas. I  
2 know, you're saying, "Come on Connie Leyva, I am  
3 already doing so much. I'm already going the extra  
4 mile. I'm already doing everything that I can."

5 But I would also submit to you that we're not,  
6 that we can push ourselves a little bit harder, that we  
7 could push ourselves a little bit more. I know I can,  
8 and I know that I'm willing to.

9 I know that you all believe like I believe,  
10 that this is not a job it's a lifestyle. It's about  
11 doing the right thing every day and when no one's  
12 looking. It's about commitment, a commitment to each,  
13 a commitment to our neighbor, a commitment to speak out  
14 in the face of adversity, and a commitment to learn to  
15 not be the most popular person in the room, but to be  
16 the person in the room who has integrity and can always  
17 be counted on to do the right thing even when you're  
18 standing alone. That's who we are and that's what we  
19 do in the Labor Movement.

20 So when I ask you to do more, I know that at  
21 the end of the day after this election if we don't  
22 reelect President Barack Obama, and we don't defeat

1 Proposition 32, the next time we come to a convention  
2 like this -- well, there will never be another  
3 convention like this.

4           And I'm not trying to be a doomsayer. In  
5 fact, those of you who know me well know that I'm all  
6 about optimism. But these are just the facts. If Mitt  
7 Romney is elected, we face right-to-work across this  
8 country, and the rights of women will be trampled, as  
9 well as the rights of immigrants.

10           We gave George Bush eight years to screw this  
11 country up. We need to give President Barack Obama the  
12 same amount of time to fix it. (Applause)

13           Sisters and brothers, we can do this. We can  
14 change the Labor Movement, and we can make it better  
15 than it's ever been before. We must adapt to the  
16 changes for our betterment and for the betterment of  
17 workers everywhere. Are you with me? ("Yeah!") Do  
18 you commit to work harder than you've ever worked  
19 before? ("Yes!") I know you will. Because, as I said  
20 when I began, this is the best Labor Movement in the  
21 country. Thank you, sisters and brothers. (Applause)

22           It is now my pleasure to introduce to you your



1 executive secretary-treasurer of the California Labor  
2 Federation, Art Pulaski. But before I turn over the  
3 mic to Brother Pulaski, let me just say to each of you  
4 what a pleasure it is and how proud I am to get to work  
5 side by side with Art every day.

6           And when I say work, I mean work. No one that  
7 I know works harder than this man does for the Labor  
8 Movement. And for any of you who have walked precincts  
9 with him, you know that that is true. Not one door on  
10 that sheet is not going to get knocked on. He wore me  
11 out the day that we walked in San Diego.

12           I've also never met anyone who works harder to  
13 try and bring consensus among all of our unions, which  
14 all of you know is a very difficult task. But more  
15 than any other quality, Art has a steadfast belief in  
16 workers and workers' rights and will not give up until  
17 he prevails for workers.

18           So please give a warm Labor welcome to your  
19 executive secretary-treasurer Art Pulaski.

20           (Standing ovation)

21           EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Wow,  
22 very cool. Can you make a tape of that? I need to

1 send that out to my mother in Cincinnati. (Laughter)

2 So we're about to show you something that you  
3 can applaud for.

4 Madam Chairman, thank you for your kindness.

5 We know that we're all pretty busy these days,  
6 we've got so much on our plates; that sometimes it's  
7 easy to not pay attention to and not know what's going  
8 on at the national level. So fortunately we've got a  
9 clip here of the latest news about the presidential  
10 race and what's going on with Mr. One Percent himself,  
11 Mitt Romney. We'll show the video to you.

12 (Video played.) (Applause)

13 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: A  
14 couple years ago when our son was in college I asked  
15 him what kind of news does he and his friends watch.  
16 And he says, "John Stewart."

17 I said, "That's good enough for me. That's  
18 all you need to watch." (Laughter)

19 So there's a man who was stuck in a heavy  
20 traffic jam. He asked the police officer about what's  
21 the holdup. The officer said that the head of Goldman  
22 Sachs stopped his car and is very depressed over recent

1 losses. He threatened to douse himself with gasoline  
2 and light himself on fire, so we're taking up a  
3 collection for him.

4           The guy said, "So how much do you have so  
5 far?" And the cop said, "Well, about 40 gallons. But  
6 there are a lot of people still siphoning." (Laughter)

7           So welcome to San Francisco. We are  
8 celebrating, as you know, the 75 anniversary of the  
9 great Golden Gate Bridge. It almost wasn't built.  
10 There was a lot of opposition from wealthy  
11 special-interest groups, particularly the big ferry  
12 companies of the time, who said, "It's a folly. It's a  
13 waste of money. Not many people will ever use it."  
14 (Laughter)

15           But in November of 1930, even as the great  
16 depression cast a dark shadow over San Francisco,  
17 voters went to the polls, and they put up their homes  
18 and their farms for collateral for a \$35 million bond  
19 to build a bridge.

20           And as they built it, San Francisco and  
21 California watched in amazement with the magic  
22 performed by those ironworkers in high places.

1           Their work brought economic relief to the  
2 whole region and a fresh optimism for the future. It  
3 stands now as a living monument to those men's work and  
4 to California thinking big and thinking bold.

5           Last week about a mile from here Governor  
6 Brown signed a high-speed rail bill. (Applause) A  
7 bill that will create hundreds of thousands of jobs.  
8 Those jobs will help jump-start the new optimism and  
9 more great things that we can do to rebuild our economy  
10 and rekindle the neglected state budget for our  
11 services that we all deserve.

12           But that's not all we do. Two weeks ago the  
13 Governor signed the Homeowners Bill of Rights.  
14 (Applause) It was an epic battle against the banks.  
15 They hired every high-priced lobby firm in Sacramento,  
16 and then they sent plenty more suits in jets to come  
17 and help.

18           We found out quickly that they didn't use the  
19 normal process of lobbying. We'd be at the front gate  
20 where legislators enter their session. They went  
21 around the back gate.

22           And so we went around the back gate. And we

1 stood next to those lobbyists with our arms folded and  
2 stared at every Democrat that came out to talk to them.  
3 Most of them turned around and walked back in.

4 (Applause)

5 That bill would not have happened, just like  
6 high-speed rail could not have happened, without the  
7 power of Labor. (Applause)

8 Now, these victories are not only about  
9 supporting our members. They're about supporting all  
10 workers no matter who they are. They're about the  
11 family on the brink of losing their home. They're  
12 about the worker that's been out of a job for two years  
13 plus and desperate to get some work.

14 All those families need a champion, and all  
15 those workers need a voice. That's why this movement  
16 is something bigger than ourselves.

17 Mitt Romney last week announced his great  
18 affection for jobs after, of course, he and his friends  
19 at Bain Capital got rich, about \$66 billion worth, at  
20 pioneering the practice of large-scale job off-shoring.

21 These guys have no interest, they have no  
22 interest in building, they have no interest in

1 creating, they have no interest in making things. The  
2 only things they make is money.

3           They buy a company that makes something, they  
4 chop it up, sell it off, or send it overseas. These  
5 guys are nothing more than the seamy underbelly chop  
6 shop of the economy. (Applause)

7           And we, the Labor Movement, are the biggest  
8 thing in the way. That's why they want to do us in  
9 permanently.

10           Like Romney's lasting love for jobs, his  
11 Prop. 32 friends are stricken with a sudden passion to  
12 get special-interest money out of politics. And in my  
13 lifetime, honestly we have never together faced a  
14 greater threat than this. And it is a colossal lie.

15           What it means to us, as I think you know  
16 already, is that never again, never again if this thing  
17 passes we will ever be able to spend a penny or a  
18 dollar to support any candidate for working people  
19 again in our lifetime. Nor will we ever again be able  
20 to spend a penny to oppose a candidate who only works  
21 for corporations.

22           Never again will we be able to engage in any

1 way to beat back the anti-worker, anti-environment  
2 ballot measures. And the outrageous thing most about  
3 this is that it even prohibits us from ever even  
4 talking to our members about politics again. We can't  
5 even talk to our own members about it. That's the  
6 depth of the crisis this creates.

7           It is, in fact, the one, two punch with a  
8 knockout death blow at the end. The election of 2012  
9 eliminated our voice in politics; the election of 2014,  
10 maybe 2016, begin to strip away our rights -- even our  
11 rights to collectively bargain.

12           The only way they can pull this off is with a  
13 lie. Now, they say fair and balanced. Restrict  
14 corporations as much as unions. And that looks good.  
15 And that's the danger of this thing, because it looks  
16 so good to our members and every other voter. Fair and  
17 balanced. Restricts corporations.

18           Until you put on eyeglasses and ask the  
19 question, are there any exceptions? Well, try LLC, LP,  
20 hedge funds, Wall Street investment firms, venture  
21 capital, insurance companies, real estate companies,  
22 et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

1 Corporate super PACs, no limit to what they  
2 can ever spend on politics. Chamber of Commerce, no  
3 limit to what they can spend on politics. Carl Rove's  
4 super PAC, no limit. The Associated Building  
5 Contractors, no limit. Insurance companies, no limit.  
6 Big oil, no limit. Banks, no limit. All the friends  
7 of Mitt Romney, no limit. And, by the way, Bain  
8 Capital is an LLC.

9 These corporations are all getting, even if  
10 they don't have it now, all they have to do is create a  
11 little corporate change, call themselves an LLC, no  
12 limit whatsoever to how much money they can give to  
13 candidates, how much money they can give to super PACs,  
14 how much they can control politics in California and  
15 elsewhere forever.

16 You're going to get more details about this in  
17 campaign-strategy sessions this afternoon, and it's  
18 very important that you attend them. Please do.

19 Because this is such a tricky lie that's hard  
20 to read through on your own, we need to get to our  
21 members early on this. Only about 56 percent of our  
22 members now get the opposition to this. Some



1 36 percent of our members like it right off the bat.

2           And then we have the undecided. We have to  
3 win all the undecided. We have to split the people who  
4 are committed yes on this in half, and that's among our  
5 own members. We have to get to 76 opposition among our  
6 members to make up for the loss of the public at large,  
7 who we know we won't be able to win a majority of.

8           So now we've got this fight. The question is  
9 are we just going to stay on the defense. And they're  
10 doing us a favor, these corporations, because they're  
11 forcing us to organize and educate and mobilize.

12           We're going to mobilize our troops to stop  
13 Proposition 32, but we're going to use it for much more  
14 than that. We're going to use it to build our strength  
15 and then go on the offense. We can't afford to be on  
16 the defense anymore. (Applause)

17           We're going to build our strength, then we're  
18 going to go ahead and think big and think long like the  
19 Californians we are. We're going to use it to stop  
20 corporate tax breaks that don't create a single job.  
21 We're going to use it to stop the underground economy.  
22 We're going to use it to stop Enterprise Zones that are

1 of no value to working people whatsoever.

2 We're going to use it to fund public services  
3 that we all need and take care of the public workers  
4 that provide those services to us. We're going to make  
5 better the minimum wage and prevailing wage. We're  
6 going to create a fair economy. We're going to give  
7 the right to every worker to join a union. And we're  
8 going to give hope back for the middle class for  
9 everyone, no matter who they are or where they come  
10 from.

11 Those corporate sons of bitches are going to  
12 regret they ever took us on. (Applause) Are you ready  
13 to go on the offense? ("Yes!") Join me.

14 Are you ready to give those sons of bitches a  
15 lesson? ("Yes!") They will regret what they ever  
16 thought about doing to us. We're going to talk to our  
17 members, we're going to walk for our members, we're  
18 going to knock on doors, you're going to join us to say  
19 No On Prop. 32. We're going to make them sorry and sad  
20 that they ever took us on.

21 Are you ready to fight? ("Yes!") Are you  
22 ready to organize? ("Yes!") Are you ready to

1 mobilize? ("Yes!") Are you ready to kick their ass?

2 ("Yes!") (Standing ovation)

3 PRESIDENT LEYVA: All right, delegates. We  
4 love that energy, and we are going to need it.

5 At this time we will open the nominations for  
6 Federation officers. In order to open the nomination  
7 for office of president, I will now turn the gavel over  
8 to Vice President Rome Aloise from Teamsters Joint  
9 Council 7. (Applause)

10 BROTHER ALOISE: I won't get too comfortable  
11 here. I'd like to open the nomination for president.  
12 I will recognize Shelley Kessler at the mic.

13 SISTER KESSLER: Thank you.

14 BROTHER ALOISE: It's the first time she ever  
15 needed a mic. (Laughter)

16 SISTER KESSLER: Tell Rome I still don't.

17 Thank you, Rome. My name is Shelley Kessler,  
18 and I rise to place into nomination the name of Connie  
19 Leyva for president of the California Labor Federation.  
20 ("Second.") (Applause)

21 Connie came into leadership of the State Labor  
22 Federation during a transition with big shoes to fill

1 left by Tom Rankin, who served our Federation for  
2 decades.

3           But Connie is not afraid of challenges. She  
4 has a history of stepping up to take on tough jobs,  
5 whether negotiations for the Retail Clerks with  
6 different points of view on her side of the table;  
7 heading a local as one of 10 percent of women in the  
8 International who does so; or running the Executive  
9 Council and the Federation, Connie is principled in her  
10 leadership, ethical in her practice, and determined to  
11 have all voices heard in crafting the way forward for  
12 the Labor Movement.

13           President Leyva is a dedicated trade unionist.  
14 She is committed to workers, the Labor Movement and  
15 justice in our communities. She leads by example.  
16 When we call upon leaders to get members to volunteer,  
17 she shows up with an entire team of motivated  
18 activists.

19           When asked for donations to help fund our  
20 state and get the work done and those of other workers  
21 in need in other places, she ponies up her fair share  
22 and then some.

1           Connie does not shrink from tough challenges  
2 and hard work, she embraces it. She brings honor to  
3 the work she loves and does so with incredible grace  
4 beyond the call of duty. And because Connie carries  
5 herself with such dignity, our entire movement benefits  
6 from the goodwill that she has engendered on our  
7 behalf.

8           We need her creative thinking and new ideas to  
9 keep our movement moving forward. We need more leaders  
10 that can show the positive way forward when we have  
11 such difficult issues confronting us. And Connie is  
12 that leader.

13           She fights for us every day, and I urge your  
14 continued support for the president of the California  
15 Labor Federation. Please do support Connie Leyva for  
16 president of the California Labor Federation. And  
17 thank you. (Applause)

18           BROTHER PELOTE: My name is Willie Pelote.  
19 I'm with the American Federation of State, County and  
20 Municipal Employees. (Cheers) I Bring you great  
21 tidings from the new international president of AFSCME,  
22 Lee Saunders, and our new secretary-treasurer Laura

1 Reyes. (Applause)

2 And we stand here today proudly to second the  
3 motion of the president Connie Leyva for the California  
4 Labor Federation, AFL-CIO. (Applause)

5 Brothers and sisters, when you have the  
6 opportunity to cast your ballot, cast it for  
7 leadership, visionary. That's Connie. When you stand  
8 to cast your ballot, stand with the president who stood  
9 with you.

10 We will defeat Prop. 32 with the leadership of  
11 Connie Leyva, the next president of the California  
12 Labor Federation. Thank you. (Applause)

13 BROTHER ALOISE: Are there any other  
14 nominations? Are there any other nominations? Are  
15 there any other nominations? I declare the nominations  
16 closed for the office of president. Congratulations.  
17 (Standing ovation)

18 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, sisters and  
19 brothers, FOR your continued support. It is greatly  
20 appreciated, and I will not let you down.

21 At this time I would like to open up the  
22 nominations for executive secretary-treasurer.

1 Delegate at mic No. 3.

2 BROTHER CLARK: Thank you, Madam Chair. Allan  
3 Clark, California School Employees Association.

4 (Applause) I guess I've got a fan club here I didn't  
5 know about.

6 Sisters and brothers, I stand before you to  
7 nominate Art Pulaski our secretary-treasurer. Art  
8 leads the strongest state federation in the nation. As  
9 we watched the rest of the country in 2010, a red tide  
10 washing over it, in California we had a clean sweep.

11 We won every statewide constitutional office,  
12 we won large majorities in both houses of the  
13 legislature. It was not by accident. It was by  
14 building power in the Labor Movement.

15 Building power by connecting with our members  
16 at the ballot box. Building power by holding  
17 legislators accountable to our core values of labor.  
18 Sustaining our power by measuring our success and  
19 striving to keep doing it better.

20 No other state federation in the country  
21 measures their performance through data like we do in  
22 California. We measure our volunteers, our contacts,

1 our IDs, our release-time staff, our outcomes through  
2 polling. If we do it, we measure it. We evaluate  
3 success, and we continually work to improve our  
4 program.

5 Thank you, Art, for your work, your leadership  
6 and your friendship. I am proud to nominate you as our  
7 secretary-treasurer. (Applause)

8 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

9 Delegate mic No. 2.

10 BROTHER EIDEN: Good morning, brothers and  
11 sisters. My name is Rick Eiden. I'm the delegate from  
12 the United Food and Commercial Workers Local 324.

13 (Applause) I'm also president of the Orange County  
14 Labor Federation.

15 And I am honored to stand here to second the  
16 nomination of Brother Art Pulaski for the  
17 secretary-treasurer of our State Federation.

18 Brother Clark spoke earlier about Art's  
19 commitment to building power for the Labor Movement. I  
20 can tell you from the ground in Orange County where I  
21 work that Art just doesn't talk the talk, Art walks the  
22 walk.



1           Art was the plank that we needed to rebuild  
2   our labor federation in Orange County. We built a  
3   Labor Movement that was in hibernation to a movement  
4   that was based in mobilization, based in action, and  
5   based in building power: power to win contracts, power  
6   to win elections for working families, and power to put  
7   our members in office.

8           Art walks the walk, brothers and sisters. On  
9   election day on June 5th Art came down to Orange County  
10  to walk precincts for brother Julio Perez in the 69th  
11  AD. We walked the precinct together, Art and I did.

12           And as I stood in the precinct at one minute  
13  to 8 o'clock, there came Brother Art Pulaski in with  
14  two more voters. And he helped those voters with the  
15  electronic system to make sure that they were able to  
16  cast their vote before those polls closed.

17           Brothers and sisters, I've walked shoulder to  
18  shoulder with Art Pulaski on the doors, on the picket  
19  line, and on the boss. And I stand here today shoulder  
20  to shoulder with him in nominating him as our  
21  secretary-treasurer. Thank you. (Applause)

22           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you delegate.

1 Delegate mic No. 1.

2 SISTER WALKER: Good morning, and thank you  
3 Madam President. I'm Yvonne Walker, President of SEIU  
4 Local 1000. (Cheers and Applause)

5 And on behalf of SEIU in California, it is my  
6 proud honor to second the nomination of Brother Art  
7 Pulaski to be the Federation's secretary-treasurer.

8 Art recognized back in 2004 that we could not  
9 win elections based on union-member votes alone. We  
10 weren't a big enough percentage of the electorate to be  
11 able to swing key races, especially in the Inland  
12 Empire and the Central Valley.

13 And now today this Federation, under Art's  
14 leadership, has built an amazing resource, the Million  
15 More Voters Micro Targeted Database. It now actually  
16 identifies 2 million voters who aren't union members  
17 but share our values.

18 This project has turned out to be a gold mine  
19 of data and voters. From the spine of this program  
20 this Federation has helped to develop more  
21 sophisticated political programs. We have mail, doors,  
22 phones targeted at Asian and Pacific Islander voters

1 and Latino.

2           Polling in focus groups of Million More Voters  
3 give us a better pulse on where the electorate is.  
4 Art's vision to invest in this program given us  
5 something that is built to last. We've developed the  
6 infrastructure needed to target these voters for  
7 generations to come.

8           And with that, we second the nomination.

9 Thank you. (Applause)

10           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you delegate.

11           Delegate at mic No. 4, please.

12           BROTHER MORALES: Good afternoon brothers and  
13 sisters. Bob Morales, Chairman -- oh.

14           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Don't worry, I'll get to you  
15 delegate.

16           Delegate at mic No. 4.

17           BROTHER MOORE: Good afternoon brothers and  
18 sisters. I'm Doug Moore, Executive Director of UDW  
19 Local 3930 and an international vice president for  
20 AFSCME. (Applause)

21           I am pleased to support the nomination of Art  
22 Pulaski for secretary-treasurer. Art has played a

1 critical role in keeping the public sector, the private  
2 sector, building trades Labor Movement together.

3 With those who want to shrink government, take  
4 away our retirement security, silence our political  
5 voices, take away prevailing wages, our living wages,  
6 our right to organize; when these enemies attack  
7 working people, the Labor Movement must stand together  
8 and fight back.

9 The Federation pools together all of our  
10 collective interests, all the needs of the working  
11 class. Art's leadership lifts all of our boats.

12 And together we fight for retirement security  
13 for all. Together we fight for fair wages and a just  
14 economy. Together we fight to make sure corporations  
15 and the 1 percent pay their fair share.

16 Art has done a terrific job of holding us  
17 together, and I wholeheartedly support his nomination.  
18 Thank you. (Applause)

19 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you delegate.

20 Delegate at mic No. 3.

21 BROTHER MORALES: Thank you Madam Chairman.

22 My name is Bob Morales. I'm the secretary-treasurer of

1 Teamsters Joint Council 7 and also secretary-treasurer  
2 of Teamsters Local 350.

3 Today I rise to support the nomination of Art  
4 Pulaski to be secretary-treasurer of the Federation.  
5 Art is there leading the charge on behalf of all  
6 workers regardless of what union they're in. Art never  
7 plays favorites. He's always there to support all of  
8 us, whether we represent truck drivers or fed workers,  
9 construction workers or state and local government  
10 workers.

11 I for one know Art for many years, first time  
12 here running for the office of secretary-treasurer. I  
13 remember we were at the Hilton Hotel at San Francisco  
14 International Airport where I hosted the first  
15 breakfast for this man.

16 And I tell you, he never let us down. I think  
17 he's the right man for the job, and we look forward to  
18 continue to work with him for many, many more years.  
19 And I'm proud to second the nomination. (Applause)

20 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, Brother.

21 Delegate at mic No. 4.

22 BROTHER OSBURN: My name is Jim Osburn. I'm

1 the business representative and executive secretary of  
2 Local 695 IATSE. We have some 50 locals of the IATSE  
3 in the state of California.

4 And I stand here to support Art because he  
5 best defines what we are experiencing now, our work  
6 being sent away. And he best defines the people and  
7 who the problem is as those sons of bitches. Thank  
8 you.

9 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Are there any further  
10 nominations? Are there any further nominations? Are  
11 there any further nominations? Seeing none, I declare  
12 the office of executive secretary-treasurer now closed.

13 (Standing ovation)

14 PRESIDENT LEYVA: I will now call upon the  
15 executive secretary-treasurer for the nomination of  
16 geographic vice presidents.

17 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Madam  
18 Chair, delegates, thank you for the kind words. What  
19 Allan Clark said, this is the best and the strongest  
20 trade union movement anywhere in America. I'm proud to  
21 be part of it. Thank you.

22 Geographical vice presidents. We can go

1 through them one by one. On behalf of the Executive  
2 Council I make these nominations.

3 For geographical vice president District No. 1  
4 I nominate Lorena Gonzalez, San Diego CLC. ("Second.")  
5 (Applause)

6 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Are there any further  
7 nominations? Are there any further nominations? Are  
8 there any further nominations? Office of geographical  
9 vice president District 1 are now closed. (Applause).

10 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Madam  
11 Chair, delegates, geographic District No. 2 I nominate  
12 Doug Moore, AFSCME/UDW 3930.

13 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Do we have a second?  
14 ("Second.") Any further nominations? Any further  
15 nominations? Any further nominations? Geographic vice  
16 president District 2 is closed. (Applause)

17 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:  
18 District 3A I nominate Tom Davis, IATSE Local 80.  
19 ("Second.")

20 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Any further nominations?  
21 Any further nominations? Any further nominations?  
22 Geographic District 3A is closed. (Applause)

1 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:  
2 District 3B I nominate Maria Elena Durazo, L.A. County  
3 Federation of Labor. ("Second.")

4 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Any further nominations?  
5 Any further nominations? Any further nominations?  
6 Geographic vice president 3B is closed. (Applause)

7 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:  
8 District 3C I nominate Warren Fletcher AFT/UTLA  
9 Local 1021. ("Second.")

10 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Any further nominations?  
11 Any further nominations? Any further nominations?  
12 Geographic vice president 3C is closed.

13 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: 3D I  
14 nominate Gabrielle Carteris, SAG-AFTRA. ("Second.")

15 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations? Any  
16 further nominations? Further nominations? Geographical  
17 vice president 3D is closed. (Applause)

18 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:  
19 District 3D I nominate William Waggoner, Operating  
20 Engineers Local 12. ("Second.")

21 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Any further nominations?  
22 Further nominations? Further nominations?



1 Geographical vice president 3E is closed.

2 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:

3 District 3F I nominate Mike Garcia, SEIU USWW.

4 ("Second.")

5 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Any further nominations?

6 Further nominations? Further nominations? Geographic

7 vice president 3F is closed.

8 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:

9 District 4 I nominate Randy Cammack, Teamsters Joint

10 Council 42. ("Second.")

11 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Any further nominations?

12 Further nominations? Further nominations? Geographic

13 vice president District 4 is closed.

14 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:

15 District 5 I nominate Shane Werner, IBEW Local 952.

16 ("Second.")

17 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations? Are

18 there any further nominations? Any further

19 nominations? Geographic vice president District 5 is

20 closed. (Applause)

21 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:

22 District 6 I nominate Jacques Loveall, UFCW Local 8

1 Golden State. ("Second.")

2 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Any further nominations?

3 Any further nominations? Any further nominations?

4 Geographic vice president District 6 is closed.

5 (Applause)

6 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:

7 District 7 I nominate Jim Beno, Machinist's Union

8 District 190. ("Second.")

9 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Any further nominations?

10 Any further nominations? Any further nominations?

11 Geographic vice president District 7 is closed.

12 (Applause)

13 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:

14 District 8 I nominate Shelley Kessler, San Mateo CLC.

15 ("Second.")

16 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Any further nominations?

17 Any further nominations? Any further nominations?

18 Geographic vice president District 8 is closed.

19 (Applause)

20 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:

21 District 9 I nominate Enrique Fernandez, UNITE HERE

22 Local 19. ("Second.")

1           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?

2 Further nominations? Further nominations? Geographic  
3 vice president District 9 is closed.

4           EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:

5 District 10A I nominate Gunnar Lundeberg, Sailors Union  
6 of the Pacific. ("Second.")

7           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?

8 Further nominations? Further nominations? Geographic  
9 vice president District 10A is closed. (Applause)

10          EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: 10B I

11 nominate Jack Gribbon, UNITE HERE. ("Second.")

12          PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?

13 Further nominations? Further nominations? Geographic  
14 vice president District 10B is closed.

15          EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: 10C I

16 nominate Ron Lind, UFCW Local 5. ("Second.")

17          PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?

18 Further nominations? Further nominations? Geographic  
19 vice president District 10C is closed. (Applause)

20          EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:

21 District 10D I nominate local boy Larry Mazzola, UA

22 Local 38. ("Second.")

1                   PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
2 Further nominations? Further nominations? Geographic  
3 vice president District 10D is closed.

4                   EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:  
5 District 11A I nominate Rome Aloise, Teamsters Joint  
6 Council 7. ("Second.")

7                   PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
8 Further nominations? Further nominations? Geographic  
9 vice president District 11A is closed.

10                  EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: 11B I  
11 nominate Malinda Markowitz, CNA. ("Second.")

12                  PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
13 Further nominations? Further nominations? Geographic  
14 vice president District 11B is closed.

15                  EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: 12 I  
16 nominate Tom Dalzell, IBEW Local 1245. ("Second.")

17                  PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
18 Further nominations? Further nominations? Geographic  
19 vice president District 12 is closed. (Applause)

20                  EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: 13 I  
21 nominate Nancy Wohlforth, OPEIU. ("Second.") (Cheers  
22 and Applause)

1           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
2 Further nominations? Further nominations? Geographic  
3 vice president District 13 is closed.

4           EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: 14 I  
5 nominate Jim Weitkamp, CWA District 9. (Cheers and  
6 Applause) ("Second.")

7           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
8 Further nominations? Further nominations? Geographic  
9 vice president District 14 is closed. (Applause)

10          EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: I have  
11 to say that's the highest so far. (Laughter)

12          For vice presidents at large, at large Seat A  
13 I nominate Mike Miller, IATSE District 2. ("Second.")

14          PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
15 Further nominations? Further nominations? Geographic  
16 vice president officer At Large Seat A are now closed.  
17 (Applause)

18          EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: B I  
19 nominate Rose Ann Demoro, CNA. ("Second.")

20          PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
21 Further nominations? Further nominations? For the  
22 office of vice president at large B are now closed.

1 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: At  
2 large C I nominate the insightful, thoughtful,  
3 intelligent, well-speaking Allan Clark from CSEA.  
4 (Cheers and Applause) ("Second.")

5 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
6 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large  
7 Seat C is closed.

8 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: D,  
9 nominate Mike Quevedo, Laborers, Southern California  
10 District Council. ("Second.")

11 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
12 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large  
13 Seat D is now closed.

14 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: E, I  
15 nominate Ron Espinoza, United Steel Workers.  
16 ("Second.") (Cheers and Applause)

17 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
18 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large  
19 Seat E is closed. (Applause)

20 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: F, I  
21 nominate Bill Lloyd, SEIU 99. ("Second.")

22 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?

1 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large

2 Seat F is closed.

3 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: G, I

4 nominate the Right Reverend Willie Pelote, AFSCME.

5 ("Second.")

6 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?

7 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large

8 Seat G is closed.

9 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: H,

10 nominate Robert Smith, Painters Union Local 1595.

11 ("Second.")

12 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?

13 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large

14 Seat H is closed.

15 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:

16 Correction. Painters and Allied Trades.

17 "I," I nominate Bob Schoonover, SEIU 721.

18 ("Second.") (Cheers and Applause)

19 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?

20 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large

21 Seat I is closed.

22 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: J, I

1 nominate Joshua Pechthalt, California Federation of  
2 Teachers. ("Second.")

3 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
4 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large  
5 Seat J is closed.

6 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: K I  
7 nominate Lou Paulson, Firefighters. ("Second.")

8 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
9 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large  
10 Seat K is closed.

11 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: I  
12 nominate for L Russ Burns, Operators Local 3.  
13 ("Second.")

14 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
15 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large  
16 Seat L is closed. (Applause)

17 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:  
18 Seat M, the also insightful Yvonne Walker, SEIU 1000, I  
19 so nominate. ("Second.")

20 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
21 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large  
22 Seat M is closed. (Cheers and Applause)



1 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: That's  
2 getting up there.

3 N I nominate Bob Balgenorth, State Building  
4 Trades. ("Second.")

5 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
6 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large  
7 Seat N is closed. (Cheers and Applause)

8 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Seat O  
9 I nominate Mike Mowery, IBEW District 9. ("Second.")

10 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
11 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large  
12 Seat O is closed. (Applause)

13 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: P, Rob  
14 Feckner, CSEA. ("Second.")

15 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
16 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large  
17 Seat P is closed.

18 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Q,  
19 Joseph Standley, Ironworkers. ("Second.")

20 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
21 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large  
22 Seat Q is closed.

1 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: R, I

2 nominate Eugene Hudson, AFGE. ("Second.")

3 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?

4 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large

5 Seat R is closed. (Cheers)

6 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: S, I

7 nominate Kathryn Lybarger, AFSCME Local 3299.

8 ("Second.")

9 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?

10 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large

11 Seat S is closed. (Cheers and Applause)

12 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: T, I

13 nominate Oscar Owens, ATU. ("Second.")

14 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?

15 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large

16 Seat T is closed. (Cheers and Applause)

17 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Pretty

18 good.

19 U, I nominate Oscar de la Torre, LIUNA.

20 ("Second.")

21 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?

22 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large

1 Seat U is closed.

2 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: V, I  
3 nominate Clyde Rivers, CSEA. ("Second.") (Cheers and  
4 Applause)

5 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
6 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large  
7 Seat V is closed. (Cheers and Applause)

8 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: And At  
9 Large Seat W I nominate Nick Berardino, Orange County  
10 Employees Association (OCEA). ("Second.") (Cheers)

11 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Further nominations?  
12 Further nominations? Further nominations? At Large  
13 Seat W is closed.

14 This so concludes nominations of officers.  
15 (Applause)

16 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Madam  
17 Chair, I move a unanimous ballot vote be cast on behalf  
18 of the nomination of candidates. ("Second.")

19 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
20 and a second before you. All those in favor signify by  
21 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.  
22 Thank you very much. (Applause)

1                   At this time I would like to invite up

2   President Emeritus Tom Rankin to swear in the slate.

3                   (Executive Council was sworn in.)   (Applause)

4                   EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:  Madam

5   Chair, delegates, it's our obligation to recommend to

6   you our convention city for the biennial convention to

7   be held in 2014.  As you may notice, we go north and

8   south, north and south.  We're going to go south.  The

9   Executive Council has recommended, and I so nominate,

10   Los Angeles to be the convention city in 2014.

11   (Applause)

12                  PRESIDENT LEYVA:  Do I have a second?

13   ("Second.")  Thank you.

14                  You have a motion and a second before you

15   delegates.  All those in favor signify by saying aye.

16   ("Aye.")  Opposed no.  ("No.")  Motion carries.  Thank

17   you very much.

18                  We ask that you bring your attention to the

19   purple Policy Statements book in your packet.  And the

20   chair would like to recognize the co-chairs of the

21   Resolutions Committee, Courtni Pugh of SEIU 99 and

22   Victor Uno of IBEW 595 to present the policy

1 statements. Please note that we may not go in the same  
2 order as they are listed in your materials.

3           SISTER PUGH: Good afternoon. Madam Chair,  
4 your Committee on Resolutions met at 5:00 p.m. on  
5 Monday, July 23rd and recommended to send 14 policy  
6 statements to the delegates for their consideration at  
7 the Biennial Convention.

8           Your committee on resolutions also considered  
9 the nine timely resolutions referred to the committee.  
10 A quorum was present when the committee met. Together  
11 with my cochair Victor Uno from IBEW Local 595 I will  
12 present the committee's recommendations on the policy  
13 statements and the resolutions referred to the  
14 committee.

15           The delegates may find the policy statements  
16 in the purple book in the delegate packets. These  
17 printed materials include an executive summary and the  
18 full text of each policy statement.

19           Timely resolutions are in the green booklet in  
20 the delegates' packets. Resolutions from the Executive  
21 Council are in the packet of resolutions with a stapled  
22 yellow cover sheet distributed on the tables this

1 morning. It's purple, green and yellow.

2           The first policy statement is entitled  
3 "High-Quality Jobs." The full text will be found on  
4 pages 7 through 17 of the printed materials. Your  
5 committee recommends concurrence, and I so move.

6           ("Second.")

7           PRESIDENT LEYVA: We have a motion and a  
8 second before you, delegates. All those in favor  
9 signify by saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion  
10 carries. Thank you.

11           BROTHER UNO: Thank you. The second policy  
12 statement, "A Fair Economy and Good Job Creation," can  
13 be found on pages 19 through 24 of the printed policy  
14 statement materials. Your committee recommends  
15 concurrence and I so move. ("Second.")

16           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
17 and a second before you. All those in favor signify by  
18 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.  
19 Thank you.

20           SISTER PUGH: Okay. The text of the third  
21 policy statement, "An Enforceable Right to Organize,"  
22 can be found on pages 25 through 28 of your printed

1 policy statement materials. Your committee recommends  
2 concurrence, and I so move. ("Second.")

3 PRESIDENT LEYVA: There's a motion and a  
4 second. All those in favor signify by saying aye.  
5 ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries. Thank you.

6 BROTHER UNO: The full text of the fourth  
7 policy statement, "A Strong Social Safety Net," can be  
8 found on pages 29 through 36 of your printed policy  
9 statement materials. Your committee recommends  
10 concurrence, and I so move. ("Second.")

11 PRESIDENT LEYVA: You have a motion and second  
12 before you, delegates. All those in favor signify by  
13 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.

14 SISTER PUGH: The full text on the fifth  
15 policy statement on "An Equitable, Sustainable Budget  
16 and Tax System" can be found on pages 37 through 42 of  
17 your policy statement booklet. Your committee  
18 recommends concurrence, and I so move.

19 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Do we have a second  
20 delegates?

21 ("Second.")

22 PRESIDENT LEYVA: You have a motion and a

1 second before you. All those in favor signify by  
2 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.  
3 Thank you.

4 BROTHER UNO: The full text of the sixth  
5 policy statement, "High-Quality, Accessible Public  
6 Education," can be found on pages 43 to 48 of your  
7 printed policy statement materials. Your committee  
8 recommends concurrence, and I so move. ("Second.")

9 PRESIDENT LEYVA: You have a motion and a  
10 second before you. Delegate at mic No. 2.

11 BROTHER FREITAS: Jeff Freitas with AFT State  
12 Council and Local 8004. I rise in support of this  
13 policy statement, but I want to make clear that we make  
14 sure that the candidates that we endorse are living up  
15 to these policy statements and that we are being  
16 attacked because of this policy statement.

17 If you look at the Yes On 32, Gloria Romero is  
18 the top signer. I'm sure we have endorsed her in the  
19 past. And now she is attacking us on education.

20 And if you look at the rebuttal, it is using  
21 the due process against us union members. And sisters  
22 and brothers, we must fight back, and we must protect



1 the due process and the education policy that is stated  
2 in here. We need to make sure that we endorse the  
3 right members and the right legislators to do that.  
4 Thank you.

5 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

6 (Applause)

7 Delegates, you have a motion before you. All  
8 those in favor signify by saying aye. ("Aye.")  
9 Opposed no. Motion carries. Thank you.

10 Yes, delegate mic No. 2.

11 BROTHER ETHAN [phonetic]: Yeah. On this  
12 resolution -- my name is Charlie Ethan.

13 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegate, what's your name  
14 and organization?

15 BROTHER ETHAN: I'm with UAW 2865. We're the  
16 U.C. student workers, 12,000 teaching assistants,  
17 readers, tutors and graders.

18 Some of you on this issue of funding higher  
19 education may recall that our members led the walkouts  
20 back in November. More than 10,000 U.C. students  
21 walked out. And even more walked out after management  
22 responded by having police beat us and pepper spray us

1 at U.C. Davis.

2 We today want to ask every local here to join  
3 us, because our fight has paid off. We just won a  
4 tuition freeze. (Applause) But we can't keep winning  
5 if we don't organize and grow.

6 And we have legislation in the California  
7 legislature, Senate Bill 259, to give the right to  
8 14,000 graduate-student researchers to unionize and  
9 join our movement. It's one of the largest organizing  
10 drives in California, but we need this legislation  
11 passed.

12 It's in the State Assembly. It's already  
13 passed the Senate. We want to call on everyone here  
14 today to join us in sending letters to the legislature  
15 in support of the legislation and endorsing and making  
16 it a priority for our Labor Federation. Thank you very  
17 much.

18 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

19 (Applause)

20 SISTER PUGH: The full text of the seventh  
21 policy statement, "High-Quality Universal Health Care  
22 Coverage," can be found on pages 49 through 54 of the

1 printed policy statement materials. Your committee  
2 recommends concurrence, and I so move. ("Second.")

3 PRESIDENT LEYVA: There's a motion and a  
4 second before you. All those in favor signify by  
5 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.  
6 Thank you.

7 BROTHER UNO: The full text of the eighth  
8 policy statement, "Strong Protections for Worker Health  
9 and Safety," can be found on pages 55 through 58 of  
10 your printed policy statement materials. Your  
11 committee recommends concurrence, and I so move.  
12 ("Second.")

13 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Motion and second. All  
14 those in favor signify by saying aye. ("Aye.")  
15 Opposed no. Motion carries.

16 SISTER PUGH: The full text of the ninth  
17 policy statement, "Sound Public Investments," can be  
18 found on pages 59 through 63 of the printed policy  
19 statement materials. Your committee recommends  
20 concurrence, and I so move. ("Second.")

21 PRESIDENT LEYVA: The motion and second before  
22 you. All those in favor signify by saying aye.

1 ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.

2 BROTHER UNO: The full text of the tenth  
3 policy statement, "Environmental Protection," can be  
4 found on pages 65 through 68 of your printed policy  
5 statement materials. Your committee recommends  
6 concurrence, and I so move. ("Second.")

7 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Motion and second before  
8 you. All those in favor signify by saying aye.

9 ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries. Thank you.

10 SISTER PUGH: The full text of the eleventh  
11 policy statement, "Good Government and Accountable  
12 Corporations," can be found on pages 69 through 71 of  
13 your printed policy statement materials. Your  
14 committee recommends concurrence, and I so move.  
15 ("Second.")

16 PRESIDENT LEYVA: A motion and second before  
17 you. All those in favor signify by saying aye.

18 ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.

19 BROTHER UNO: The full text of the twelfth  
20 policy statement, "Rights of Immigrant Workers," can be  
21 found on pages 73 through 76 of your printed policy  
22 statement materials. Your committee recommends

1 concurrence, and I so move. ("Second.")

2 PRESIDENT LEYVA: There's a motion before you.

3 All those in favor signify by saying aye. ("Aye.")

4 Opposed no. Motion carries. Thank you.

5 SISTER PUGH: The full text of the thirteenth  
6 policy statement, "Rights of All Working Families," can

7 be found on pages 77 through 84 of your printed policy

8 statement materials. Your committee recommends

9 concurrence, and I so move. ("Second.")

10 PRESIDENT LEYVA: You have a motion and a

11 second before you. All those in favor signify by

12 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.

13 BROTHER UNO: The full text of the fourteenth

14 policy statement, "Rebuild the Tattered Public Sector,"

15 can be found on pages 85 through 88 of your printed

16 policy statement materials. Your committee recommends

17 concurrence, and I so move. ("Second.")

18 PRESIDENT LEYVA: You have a motion and a

19 second before you. All those in favor signify by

20 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.

21 Thank you.

22 SISTER PUGH: As we move through the committee

1 recommendations for the resolutions we considered, we  
2 will refer you to the resolutions location in either  
3 the green program booklet or the yellow packet of the  
4 Executive Council resolutions distributed this morning.  
5 And we will read only the resolved portions of the  
6 resolutions.

7 Resolution No. 1, "Young Workers' Council of  
8 the California Labor Federation," AFL-CIO on page 1 of  
9 your green convention booklet concludes with the  
10 following resolves.

11 (Resolves read.)

12 SISTER PUGH: The committee recommends  
13 concurrence, and I so move. ("Second.")

14 PRESIDENT LEYVA: You have a motion and a  
15 second before you, delegates. Delegate at mic No. 2.  
16 Is there a delegate at mic No. 2? No? Very good.

17 You have a motion and second before you,  
18 delegates. All those in favor signify by saying aye.  
19 ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.

20 I'm going to thank the Resolutions Committee  
21 for their time right now, and we're going to invite  
22 them back after lunch to finish the resolutions. Thank

1 you very much, and we will see you after lunch.

2 (Applause)

3 At this time the chair would like to recognize  
4 Executive Secretary-Treasurer Art Pulaski.

5 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Madam  
6 Chair, delegates, the constitution provides for a  
7 process whereby if we receive late resolutions before  
8 the end of the day requires the authorization by two  
9 thirds majority of the delegates to accept those  
10 referred to the committee.

11 We have received five late resolutions from  
12 Plumbers 393, the Steel Workers and UFCW 5. I move  
13 that we accept these resolutions and refer them to the  
14 appropriate committee. ("Second.")

15 PRESIDENT LEYVA: You have a motion and a  
16 second before you. All those in favor signify by  
17 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.

18 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: So  
19 this is news for the Resolutions Committee. Because we  
20 had new resolutions, you have to have a new resolutions  
21 meeting. So we have a time. Please note Resolutions  
22 Committee members, you have a meeting tomorrow,

1 Wednesday, at 8:00 a.m. in the Borgia Room across from  
2 the hall. Tomorrow morning at 8:00 a.m. How about  
3 7:00 a.m.? No, just kidding. 8:00 a.m., Borgia Room,  
4 Resolutions.

5 (Pre-lunch announcements.)

6 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: I have  
7 a question for you. Who out there is sick and tired of  
8 watching huge corporations move jobs overseas and get  
9 big tax breaks for them? (Applause)

10 This afternoon we're hitting the streets.  
11 Every person that's opposed to moving those jobs  
12 overseas needs to be there. After those sessions we're  
13 going to walk across the street to the park and have a  
14 "Bring Jobs Home" rally. (Applause) It is going to be  
15 this afternoon.

16 We're going to be joined by CWA President  
17 Larry Cohen and also Hilda Solis. (Applause)

18 We are going to have a memorial of brothers  
19 and sisters we have lost in the past -- since the last  
20 convention. And we should be rolling their names now.  
21 The names are also to be found in the Delegate  
22 Information booklet. If we missed anybody, please feel



1 free to contact our office. We will add them to the  
2 permanent record.

3 (In Memoriam PowerPoint presented.)

4 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: And  
5 now a moment of silence for our good friend Walter  
6 Johnson. A hero, champion of workers.

7 The finest man you'd ever meet. God bless.

8 (Moment of Silence.)

9 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Madam  
10 Chair, delegates, I move that we recess for lunch and  
11 be back here at 1:30. ("Second.")

12 PRESIDENT LEYVA: All those in favor signify  
13 by saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.

14 (Recess taken.)

15 --oOo--

16 LUNCHEON PROGRAM

17 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: I want  
18 to thank you for being such great convention so far.  
19 We have a little bit of a program for you this  
20 afternoon. You all were great in morning. Thank you  
21 for being such great delegates.

22 So we have a program for you. We have two

1 things. In a moment we're going to have Labor's best  
2 friend, John Burton, get up to say a few words. He's  
3 the keynote speaker.

4           We're going to do something else first,  
5 though, and that is we want to do a special, special  
6 recognition. You know, many of us in this room were  
7 involved in the negotiations with the Governor over  
8 coming up with a tax initiative for the November  
9 ballot. And it was a pretty intense time, I got to  
10 tell you. was supported by just about everybody, and  
11 it wasn't the best, most progressive originally.

12           And there's one person, one person from the  
13 Labor Movement and in the whole state of California who  
14 said, "Wait a minute, Governor. Let's figure out a way  
15 to make this tax initiative more progressive. Rather  
16 than sales tax on all of us as working people, let's  
17 tax the rich." (Applause)

18           And it was a really, really tough negotiation.  
19 But the negotiations weren't so hard, but the kind of  
20 pressure that happened outside of negotiations for many  
21 in the Labor Movement and many outside the Labor  
22 Movement, Josh Pechthalt, the leader of the California

1 Federation of Teachers, stood strong and stood firm and  
2 demanded that we figure out a tax compromise that would  
3 have attacked the rich instead of increased the sales  
4 tax across the board for all of us. Now, I got to tell  
5 you -- (Applause)

6 I got to tell you I've never seen so much  
7 pressure from trade unionists on the left and trade  
8 unionists on the right all coming down on Josh to say,  
9 "Get out of the way, don't negotiate with the Governor"  
10 for one reason or another. Josh -- remember, the  
11 Governor actually went to Josh's house and sat down  
12 with his daughter -- there she is -- helped her with  
13 her math. Was it the math or history? Spent a couple  
14 of hours there.

15 But Josh said, "Let's tax the rich." We had  
16 other unions say, "Get out of the way [inaudible]."  
17 Josh said, "Let's tax the rich." (Applause)

18 We had other allies in the community say, "Get  
19 out of the way. Let him do it." Josh said, "Let's tax  
20 the rich."

21 And I got to tell you, it's just unbelievable  
22 how much pressure was on him. There was one union that

1 was actually sending leaflets to his membership saying,  
2 "Get this guy out of the way." Josh said, "Tax the  
3 rich."

4 So he stood amazingly firm under an amazing  
5 amount of pressure, because he knew it was the right  
6 thing to do. And he was being a true trade unionist in  
7 this whole process.

8 And even though a lot of unions were coming  
9 down hard on him, I think it's an important moment to  
10 acknowledge and thank Josh for being so strong. Such a  
11 progressive. And such a progressive. (Standing  
12 ovation)

13 So Joshua, on behalf of all of us, please take  
14 this little award of gratitude. And we decided to call  
15 this the Courage for Justice Award. There is no man in  
16 the Labor Movement this year that has had more courage  
17 for justice than Joshua Pechthalt. This is for you,  
18 man. (Applause)

19 BROTHER PECHTHALT: Thank you, sisters and  
20 brothers, and thank you, Art, for this -- and the Labor  
21 Fed -- for this great honor. My daughter is here, the  
22 recipient of the Governor's help on her homework, and

1 my wife.

2           And given who our speaker is later, this is  
3 really the family portion of the show here, and so my  
4 daughter will have to leave before the speaker gets up.  
5 No, she's heard those words at home, but not from me.  
6 I kid, I kid, I kid, you know. Come on. My neighbors;  
7 our windows are open.

8           Before I -- Art, I think you said -- I don't  
9 know if it was two to three minutes or 23 minutes, so  
10 I'm opting on the side of the 23 minutes. But before I  
11 make a few comments I just want to acknowledge a button  
12 that I'm wearing here that says, "I Am City College."  
13 And it is a button that acknowledges the fight that's  
14 going on in this city over the City College of  
15 San Francisco.

16           City College of San Francisco I believe  
17 educates anywhere from 90- to 100,000 -- 90,000 to  
18 100,000 students. I believe it has the single largest  
19 enrollment of any single city college in the nation.  
20 Its contribution to this community, and the  
21 contribution of community colleges in general, we know  
22 provides an entry into higher education for our

1 members, for working-class folks. It is the next step.

2           And that community college is really under  
3 attack for its survival. We have the president of our  
4 local here, Alisa Messer. They're engaged in a real  
5 battle. They need your support, particularly if you're  
6 living in the San Francisco area. There's a website  
7 called iamcitycollege.tumblr.com. I have no idea what  
8 the "tumblr" means, but for people more knowledgeable  
9 about the Internet will be able to find it. That's  
10 iamcitycollege.tumblr.com, and hopefully you can get  
11 involved.

12           So I'm obviously very honored to be recognized  
13 for this terrific award. And in thinking about our  
14 experience on the Millionaires' Tax, as Art  
15 acknowledged, we were under a little bit of pressure to  
16 drop our measure and to get on board with the Governor.  
17 But we held firm on our original measure because we had  
18 a team of people both within the CFT and outside who  
19 were committed to the notion of tax fairness.

20           And we stayed the course on our measure until  
21 we felt the Governor incorporated the best elements of  
22 ours into his measure, although frankly we were

1 prepared to go all the way on ours.

2           And now I am proud to say that this new merged  
3 measure, Proposition 30, is one of the most ambitious  
4 tax measures in California history, and it is  
5 overwhelmingly progressive, because it fundamentally  
6 taxes the wealthy, people making over \$250,000 a year  
7 and above.

8           In the first year alone we believe it will  
9 generate about \$9 billion, and 8/9ths of it comes from  
10 progressive tax increases. A small regressive element,  
11 but the Governor was committed to that.

12           And our success in moving the Millionaires'  
13 Tax and working to merge our measures came as a result  
14 of a lot of hard work and a commitment to independent  
15 political action.

16           And I want to acknowledge the role of Jeff  
17 Freitas, the secretary-treasurer of the CFT --  
18 (Applause) -- who was a key leader in this effort, as  
19 well as many of our leaders in this room today in the  
20 CFT, our rank and file members, the CFT staff, in  
21 particular Fred Glass, our communications director, who  
22 has been beating the drum for tax equality and tax

1 fairness for many years.

2           And I also want to acknowledge the role that  
3 our community partners -- California Calls, Courage  
4 Campaign and ACCE -- played, because we really built a  
5 labor-community coalition.

6           And finally I want to acknowledge the growing  
7 awareness and activism of Californians who have been  
8 hurt in this recession and who are demanding that  
9 individuals and corporations who have benefited the  
10 most in these last two years pay their fair share.

11 (Applause)

12           We know that defeating Prop. 32, the special  
13 exemptions measure, must be our top priority. But  
14 sisters and brothers, if we don't begin to bring in  
15 additional revenues into state coffers, we will  
16 continue to be susceptible to those forces using this  
17 economic crisis as an opening for attacking working  
18 people, attacking Organized Labor and the gains that we  
19 have won since the 1930s.

20           In California, we are well positioned to make  
21 President Obama's pledge to tax the wealthy a reality.

22 (Applause) But it will require all of Labor to



1 actively support this measure and actively engage our  
2 members.

3 But in so doing, we will begin to build  
4 momentum for additional needed changes in California --  
5 for example, beginning to change Prop. 13 -- that can  
6 put people back to work, address the economic and  
7 social crisis that has punished many of our members and  
8 many of our communities. And that will begin the  
9 moment after we are successful in the November  
10 election.

11 With all of us working hard, we can defeat  
12 Prop. 32 and begin to restore funding for education and  
13 vital services by passing Prop. 30 with all of your  
14 work and all of us working together. Thank you very  
15 much. (Standing ovation)

16 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Thank  
17 you, Joshua.

18 So we have our keynote speaker for lunch.  
19 Before we introduce him --

20 BROTHER PECHTHALT: I'll take my award.  
21 Unless you're giving it to him?

22 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: You

1 can keep that. It's not like the Stanley Cup you have  
2 to give back after a couple weeks.

3           So first before we introduce the keynote  
4 speaker we want to take a moment out of course to  
5 acknowledge and thanks the servers for this lunch.  
6 (Applause)

7           Bill Waggoner is going to be introducing our  
8 keynote speaker, but before he does, he's such a shy  
9 guy, John Burton, that it's hard to get anything about  
10 him on film. But we did find one thing from our film  
11 archives on John Burton. Roll it.

12           (Video played.) (Applause)

13           BROTHER WAGGONER: Well, I think that anybody  
14 that knows John Burton has got some special stories  
15 that you've heard from time to time. But before I -- I  
16 don't really know how to do this, I don't know how to  
17 use that word -- well, I know how to use it, but I  
18 don't think in this audience I should use it.

19           In my opinion John Burton was one of the  
20 finest guys that I ever talked to that was a  
21 representative of the State of California. You know,  
22 he was a senate pro tem for a number of years. And if

1 it hadn't been for term limits, I think John would have  
2 been there today.

3 I don't know of anybody that is more like a  
4 tutor to me, even though I'm a little older than he is,  
5 I think by six months or something like that.

6 (Laughter) But I'll never forget -- I didn't know John  
7 very well. And we had a problem, the Operating  
8 Engineers had a problem.

9 And I called him and asked him if I could see  
10 him for a few minutes. He said, "Yeah, absolutely."  
11 So in his office, he had a little office off to the  
12 side of where his main office was, the regular office.

13 And I had about four or five guys with me, and  
14 this was a serious situation. It had to do with one of  
15 our classifications. And we were trying to get that  
16 adopted by the State of California to handle prevailing  
17 rates, to be on prevailing rates.

18 So I had about four or five guys with me. And  
19 I wasn't that familiar with the problem. I knew the  
20 problem, but I wasn't -- so these guys started -- John  
21 says, "What is this all about?" So they started  
22 talking, and it goes on for about five minutes

1 explaining exactly what the situation is.

2           And so finally John, I noticed he got up, and  
3 he walked around. He says, "Bill," he said, "You don't  
4 need a f'ing lesson this morning, a history lesson."

5           I said, "I really don't, John."

6           He said, "Well, tell me what you f'ing want,"  
7 you know. (Laughter) And turned around and walked out  
8 of the office. He said, "Let's go. We're done."

9           So the next time they were in session John  
10 took care of that thing for us, and it's in the  
11 constitution now John, and I'll never forget it. They  
12 can't take that pencil and wipe that classification out  
13 of the agreement. And thanks to John, he helped us  
14 tremendously with that situation. (Applause)

15           I don't know how many of you were at the  
16 Democratic Convention in San Diego. And I missed this  
17 part, but I understand that they were getting ready to  
18 close the meeting. And of course, you know, they have  
19 the people up there that does the sign language, you  
20 know, for people that's deaf.

21           And John says, "Well, I don't think this is  
22 going to last too long." And this girl who was doing

1 this thing, you know, she stopped for a minute and  
2 (indicating) like that. (Laughter)

3 It gives me a great deal of pleasure to  
4 introduce a friend of the Labor Movement and a good  
5 friend of mine personally, John Burton. John.  
6 (Standing ovation)

7 BROTHER BURTON: I learned how to sign a lot  
8 of different words. (Laughter) But when we were kids  
9 growing up in Milwaukee and I found out that this  
10 (indicates), which was a sign for bullshit, is actually  
11 also the sign sign for it. So I really knew how to  
12 sign and swear in before I got there.

13 But Waggs, I want to thank you very much, and  
14 all of the Labor people that I've met over my life I  
15 consider friends. And they all call, by and large, as  
16 they should, asking anybody in public office, or  
17 whatever, to correct some problem.

18 And Bill would always start his off, "What can  
19 I do for you?" And before I could answer he would then  
20 tell me what I could do for him. (Laughter) But also  
21 I think the lesson that we should all learn -- or at  
22 least politicians should learn it -- from Josh is if

1 you say no and you mean no, they will come around to  
2 your point of view.

3           And during negotiations with several governors  
4 or whatever, if there was something I didn't want, I  
5 would just -- I would say no, and if it was that  
6 important, it would just be no. And then f--- no, and  
7 out of the room.

8           But they will come around, and that's how you  
9 got to -- because they will rule you if they get a  
10 chance. They will rule you if they get a chance.

11 (Applause) And no good union contract ever came around  
12 by saying to the employer, Yes, sounds like a good deal  
13 to me. (Laughter)

14           And if you think so, you could check with the  
15 men and women from Local 2 that served us and their guy  
16 in this town, Mike Casey. I don't know what he did,  
17 but they have the finest union contract for any hotels  
18 anywhere in the country because Mike is more than  
19 willing to say no.

20           But why we're here, is Art going to get Warren  
21 Beatty. (Laughter) That was the deal. I was supposed  
22 to introduce Warren, and then Warren got, as is his

1    wont, caught up in a whole lot of things.  And so I'm  
2    here instead of him.

3               ("Good.  Better.")

4               ("You're better looking.")

5               Yeah.  Tell that to Annette.

6               But anyway, we know what the fight is.  In  
7    2010 we in California, Labor and Democratic Party and  
8    our allies, proved that we weren't like the other  
9    states in the union.  We stopped what was going on.

10              And our challenge this year is to stop what  
11   was going on in other states.  And Wisconsin, the first  
12   state with collective bargaining for public employees,  
13   got it taken away.  Indiana went right to work.  Ohio,  
14   all over, and they're coming after us now -- when I  
15   mean "us," I mean us.  Because if anybody knows the  
16   record of Organized Labor, there are a lot of things  
17   that they do -- you do for your members.

18              But when Organized Labor fights to increase  
19   minimum wage, they really aren't doing it for union  
20   members, because almost every union contract has at  
21   least a minimum wage.  They're doing it for the  
22   unorganized.

1           When they fought for civil rights in the  
2   sixties, they were doing it not for themselves, but for  
3   people living in the south, many of them in  
4   right-to-work states, many of them not members of  
5   unions, and many of them couldn't even get a decent  
6   job.

7           When they fight to take care of Social  
8   Security and Medicare, that was for everybody. And our  
9   job is going to be to let people know that when they're  
10  trying to screw working men and women, when they get  
11  together as a group, they're trying to screw everybody  
12  who's not a boss or an employer or a corporate  
13  stockholder. That's what they're trying to do.

14           And this is why we have to do many things.  
15  And I would assume -- and I don't really know -- but  
16  there probably are some people in this room or in your  
17  locals that are in, quote, bowling leagues. There are  
18  people that are in the service clubs, you know, the  
19  Kiwanis and the Rotary and the Optimist and the this  
20  and the thats. There's people in their church groups.

21           And you have to be talking to your rank and  
22  file that they have to be talking to their colleagues



1 in all of their groups that they work with people that  
2 aren't members of Organized Labor and let them know how  
3 unfair this is and what it is; is it screws working men  
4 and women and protects the corporations, and it's that  
5 simple. It is not a campaign reform. It is a special  
6 exemptions for corporations and the wealthy.

7           And what you also have to do, and what we did  
8 so successfully last year, you have to, in each  
9 local -- and I'm a great believer in the strength of  
10 locals -- because I would guaranty you that every  
11 member of a local, by and large, knows who their local  
12 officials are. And with all respect, I don't know how  
13 many of them know who Art is, okay? They know who  
14 their local is, because they either worked with them,  
15 they got drunk with them, they pay their dues here,  
16 they go to meetings here, been on a picket line or not  
17 with them.

18           So every local has to (1) not only make sure  
19 that your members are registered -- and they aren't  
20 even close to all being registered; but also to sign  
21 them up, those that are registered now, to sign them up  
22 to be permanent absentee voters. And those that are

1 signed up to register, you have them be permanent  
2 absentee voters.

3 Now why? Pretty simple. You have to tell  
4 me -- how old are you?

5 ("30.")

6 BROTHER BURTON: No, no, the daughter. How  
7 old?

8 MS. PECHTHALT: 12.

9 BROTHER BURTON: 12?

10 MS. PECHTHALT: Yeah.

11 BROTHER BURTON: You shouldn't have told me.  
12 That's my grandson's age. And my daughter says, "Don't  
13 say that. He repeats things. He's only 6. Trust me,  
14 he'll repeat it."

15 "Did you hear what Grandpa said?" (Laughter)

16 But anyway, here's the deal. If people are  
17 permanent absentee voters -- and surprisingly not all  
18 of them vote in every election; maybe about 65 to  
19 70 percent -- then you have 30 days -- not a weekend,  
20 not election day -- 30 days to get out the vote and to  
21 make sure those people vote.

22 You can contact them the day before the county

1 clerk sends out the absentee ballots. And you let them  
2 know, whether it's through phone banking, on the job  
3 site, shop stewards, foremen, whatever it is, you let  
4 them know that that's coming, and they should make sure  
5 they fill the ballot out, and what the program is, and  
6 the program is going to be No On 32 and Yes On 30 and  
7 whatever, and President Obama.

8           If we all go to sleep tomorrow, the  
9 President's going to carry our state. But we do have a  
10 chance to pick up congressional seats and maybe get the  
11 two thirds in the state legislature.

12           But you have 30 days to do that. 30 days  
13 where business agents can go around and make sure that  
14 they got it, that they fill it out and they send it in.  
15 That is a very big deal.

16           Let me tell you what we did in 2010, is we got  
17 the list of the occasional absentee voters, which would  
18 also include the new ones that signed up, because we  
19 didn't know if they'd be occasional or what. We turned  
20 out I think maybe 350,000 of the 600-and-something  
21 thousand.

22           Now, Jerry wins anyway, Barbara wins anyway,

1 Gavin, Kamala wins anyway -- no, Kamala doesn't.  
2 Kamala doesn't win anyway. Kamala Harris would not be  
3 the attorney general of this state in sticking it to  
4 those mortgage thieves if we hadn't done that program  
5 with permanent absentee voters. It made a big, big  
6 difference. (Applause)

7 I'm going to beat your 23 minutes. I don't  
8 know if I'll be on the up side or down, but I'll be  
9 quick.

10 But, you know, elections, everybody wonders,  
11 shit, do I have to make another call? Do I have to  
12 walk another precinct? President Truman carried the  
13 state of California by less than one vote a precinct.  
14 Jack Kennedy lost California by about two votes a  
15 precinct.

16 My brother Phillip, from all else flowed --  
17 but, I mean, from Phillip Burton to John Burton to  
18 Willie Brown to George Moscone to Sala Burton to Nancy  
19 Pelosi all came out of Phillip Burton. Do you know  
20 what Phillip Burton came out of? 111-vote victory.  
21 111 votes.

22 And I'll tell this story. I got two more, and

1 then I'm off. He's walking a precinct one day. And if  
2 you're from the city, you know about Bernal Heights.  
3 And Bernal Heights, when we were kids -- kids meaning I  
4 was 20, Phillip was 30 -- it wasn't fully developed.  
5 And he rang doorbells, and he looked up at the end of  
6 the goddamned street. And there was nothing between  
7 this and the end of the -- Treat Street.

8           In for a penny, in for a pound he went up,  
9 knocked on the door. "Hi, I'm Phil Burton."

10           "Come on in." The Vasquez family. Five  
11 registered Democrats, one house. And that was before  
12 the 18-year-old vote. Five registered Democrats that  
13 then they became seven and eight as the kids grew up,  
14 that stayed with us until hell wouldn't have it.

15           But he didn't give up, and we can't give up.  
16 This is a fight for our lives, it's a fight for the  
17 future of the state, and it's up to you to get your  
18 members to realize this.

19           And it's up to you -- and you can do it. The  
20 locals can do it. You've got your members on whatever  
21 the hell it is, probably even e-mails now, but phone  
22 banking. But get them to register absentee voters, and

1 we have 30 days to turn them out.

2           They're going to spend a hell of a lot of  
3 money in here to do this, because they know what's at  
4 stake. Because when I talked about Jerry and Gavin and  
5 everybody else, if Organized Labor was not able to step  
6 up to the plate for those elections and Barbara, we'd  
7 be looking at Meg Whitman, we'd be looking at -- that's  
8 her name -- Carly Fiorino, we'd be looking at a lot of  
9 rich people that really have a gut feeling about  
10 working people. And if you don't believe that, you  
11 know, you could ask, what's his name, Meg Whitman's  
12 domestic worker that she had that she was so helpful  
13 to.

14           So this is our fight, but we have to act to  
15 organize. And we talk about it, it's all this and all  
16 that. But you know, the great song about -- you know,  
17 for those of us that still remember him -- a guy named  
18 Joe Hill who got shot for being a shit-disturber. And,  
19 you know, his last words, according to the song were --  
20 and who knows, because none of us were there -- "Don't  
21 mourn for me, organize."

22           But this is it, and we can build on this

1 victory and let them know all of the bad stuff stops at  
2 California. And we will then be able to start rolling  
3 back.

4 So again, I want to thank you for allowing me  
5 to stand in for Warren Beatty. (Laughter) I've never  
6 had the opportunity to stand in for an Oscar winner. I  
7 hope never to do it again. (Laughter) I hope to be  
8 invited on my own merits -- (Laughter) -- which I've  
9 always thought were very well --

10 What kind of grade did you get on the deal?

11 MS. PECHTHALT: "A." (Applause)

12 BROTHER BURTON: That would be Jerry. "Let me  
13 help you with your homework." (Laughter) Well, you  
14 got to give him credit. He thought he could con the  
15 old man by helping the kid.

16 Thank you all very much. (Standing ovation)

17 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Let me  
18 just say that John Burton is full of poop, because he's  
19 not replacing Warren Beatty. Warren Beatty was going  
20 to try to come to the dinner, not the lunch. So he's  
21 full of poop.

22 Anyway, that concludes the afternoon program

1 for lunch. Now we go back to the plenary session which  
2 is due to start at 1:30, in 10 minutes says the  
3 president. See you back at the plenary. Thank you  
4 very much.

5 (Plenary resumes.)

6 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Call to order. Recognize  
7 Executive Secretary-Treasurer Art Pulaski. Please take  
8 your seats.

9 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: I'd  
10 like to acknowledge two things. The first is we used  
11 to have SAG, we used to have AFTRA. And they've been  
12 trying for many years now to become SAG-AFTRA. And I  
13 think everybody in this room knows that they finally  
14 did become SAG-AFTRA. (Applause)

15 SAG members voted 82 percent and AFTRA members  
16 voted 86 percent. It was quite a phenomenal turnout.  
17 And as a result of that, we have a new vice president  
18 representing SAG AFTRA, and that's Gabrielle Carteris.  
19 Where are you Gabrielle? She's not here? She's taking  
20 a break. Gabrielle, thank you.

21 I also want to acknowledge a union that's with  
22 us for the first time in a long time at a convention of



1 the Federation, and that's the great ILWU Local 13 led  
2 by Bobby Olvera. (Applause) A great democratic  
3 tradition, great activist union. We love you guys.  
4 We're so happy to have you back with us. Welcome back.

5 Now, important announcement. Mitt Romney, you  
6 may have heard, has a little trouble relating to the  
7 99 percent. But did you know he's a big sports fan?  
8 Well, one sport in particular, here's the story.

9 (Video played.)

10 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Now to  
11 introduce a very special guest for the plenary session,  
12 in fact one of the very finest of all the Labor leaders  
13 in all of America. To introduce him, our leader here  
14 from CWA District 9, our own vice president, Jim  
15 Weitkamp. (Applause)

16 VICE-PRESIDENT WEITKAMP: Thank you brothers  
17 and sisters.

18 25 years ago the first assignment I was given  
19 after being put to work by the national union, CWA, was  
20 to work on an organizing drive in Maryland. I flew  
21 back to Washington, D.C., flew to our old headquarters  
22 building, the Mercury Building in Washington. And the

1 first person to greet me was Larry Cohen.

2           At the time he was our organizing director.  
3 And in his office he was like a force of nature. All  
4 over the walls were charts from what had to be five or  
5 six different projects that he was working at the same  
6 time. And he was very intense, very focused, and I  
7 remember being immediately impressed.

8           And one of the first things he did was ask me  
9 my opinion of what I thought of this assignment. And  
10 at that stage of my life and career being asked for my  
11 opinion was quite a novel thing. But I realized with  
12 Larry, and I could just tell, this is not a person that  
13 I needed to parse my thoughts with. This wasn't a  
14 person I needed to sugarcoat my thoughts with. I  
15 needed to be direct and not hedge, despite what the  
16 consequences might be. And I gave him my direct  
17 opinion.

18           And what I said is kind of lost in the haze of  
19 the time, but it must have been a real doozy, because  
20 the consequences were that Larry decided immediately I  
21 needed a mentor and I needed a mentor badly.

22 (Laughter) And he stepped right into that role and on

1 that very day started a friendship that's grown every  
2 day since then.

3 Larry Cohen's driven by an intellect, a  
4 vision, a passion and a boundless hope. His life is  
5 totally, totally dedicated to working men and women and  
6 their families. And in a time of unrelenting attacks  
7 by corporate money mongers and the ever-growing fascist  
8 right wing, his drive and energy grows with every  
9 challenge.

10 Larry's in the forefront of the call to  
11 coalesce all of the allies that we have and everybody  
12 that seeks to reestablish a fair deal in this country  
13 through resistance, unrelenting resistance, and a  
14 nonstop fight for justice.

15 I'm proud that Larry's my president, and I  
16 can't adequately ever express the depth of my feelings  
17 for the brotherhood that he shows me every day that I  
18 work with him and talk with him and work in this  
19 movement.

20 Brother and sisters, president of the  
21 Communication Workers of America, Larry Cohen.

22 (Standing ovation)

1           BROTHER COHEN: Thank you sisters and  
2 brothers. Thanks Jim for those words, and back to you,  
3 Brother. And as the CWA'ers know, this is a time of  
4 sadness for us. We lost an amazing brother on Friday.  
5 Jim is our leader for the West, here which goes all the  
6 way to Guam in our case, but Nevada, Hawaii,  
7 California. There are seven regions.

8           And the leader of our region in the Great  
9 Lakes drowned on Friday. And his wife narrowly missed  
10 drowning as well. And it's unspeakable, but it's  
11 better if I say that, because I can share that feeling  
12 so you'll know what I'm feeling.

13           Seth was a great movement builder. As you  
14 heard from Jim, just as we met 25 years ago, that's  
15 when Jim met Seth, I met Jim. Lots of us here at CWA  
16 have roots that go back like that, and not just the  
17 time we spent together, but the values and what we  
18 share.

19           So it's great to be here in California,  
20 although briefly. I will be on that night flight to  
21 Cleveland and be with his family and with our locals  
22 there tomorrow morning.

1           So you probably know this, and probably a lot  
2 of people would stand up here and tell you this, but  
3 this State Fed is our giant. It's you, it's Art, it's  
4 this leadership that sets a standard for this  
5 country -- many of the Labor Councils here do as  
6 well -- about what a Labor Movement can be.

7           And when we think about the history here in  
8 this city, the general strikes from 68 years ago, and  
9 then in Oakland there was another one after World  
10 War II, I think the last one we had in this country.

11           But the way you do your work, the way you do  
12 your work when you stand up for each other in blackouts  
13 like Boron [phonetic] or bargaining fights like we have  
14 right now across our entire union, 20,000 here in the  
15 state fighting to get a decent contract from AT&T; but  
16 also here at ABC Television, flight attendants that are  
17 in our union, et cetera. Now I've left out some.

18           But the point being that this is the place to  
19 figure out what is possible, Art, for Labor in this  
20 country in an incredibly dark time, where here there's  
21 still a beacon in terms of the political work you do,  
22 the legislative work you do, the organizing work you

1 do; the way you stand up for each other, and the way in  
2 which so many areas of this state, like this place  
3 we're standing in, sitting in now, it makes a huge  
4 difference which side you're on for working-class  
5 people. (Applause)

6           And, again, a particular shout out to Jim and  
7 the CWA'ers that are here and the solidarity we feel  
8 with each other no matter where you come from in our  
9 union. It's our values -- which we all shares here --  
10 but particularly our values that make us strong, not  
11 which company you work for or what job you do, but the  
12 fact that we are willing to stand up, fight back, build  
13 a resistance movement no matter what we face.

14           So I know you've talked about this a lot, but  
15 I can't come here and not talk about 32. Because of  
16 how critical California is, this fight on 32 is not  
17 just a California fight. You set, again, a standard in  
18 either direction.

19           I think you've been through some version of  
20 this fight at least three other times, two other times,  
21 and each time, because of the way you can organize  
22 here, because of the way you talk to each other and

1 knock on doors and go to work sites, you've prevailed,  
2 not just on this, but on a list that would take up all  
3 my minutes here, all kinds of issues.

4           And I'm going to come back to this sort of in  
5 a broader way when I talk a little bit about our view  
6 of movement building, as Jim said, why we have to be so  
7 broad in terms of the movement at this time.

8           But some of our own members here, just as in  
9 Wisconsin, will get confused on 32. Because people  
10 will say, "You didn't like Citizens United? Vote yes  
11 on 32." And that confusion is stirred up by  
12 multi-millionaires and billionaires and right-wingers.  
13 And yes, some of them, Jim, we should call fascists,  
14 because they are fascists, and they want to control  
15 every aspect of our life. (Applause)

16           And so the messaging in here -- Art, I went  
17 through this tool kit -- and Art doesn't leave much to  
18 chance. He had sent me a lot of this before I came. I  
19 know nobody here has experienced Art Pulaski, right?

20 (Laughter)

21           And, you know, you look at the goals  
22 messaging-wise, and those broader goals are so critical

1 if we're going to restore the democracy in this country  
2 and keep the kind of democracy that you have helped  
3 build here in California.

4           And then our members understand that in fact  
5 we support, every one of us, repealing Citizens United,  
6 but it must be in a meaningful way where we stop the  
7 billionaires who are dominating our lives in this  
8 country, not working-class people from having a voice.  
9 (Applause)

10           And we all know that's what this is about for  
11 them -- and you've talked about that already and will  
12 talk about this more -- but we know who they are.  
13 They're the people who move our jobs out of this  
14 country. They're the people who come to us -- union  
15 and, much worse, not organized -- and say, "We'll take  
16 care of you. You don't need collective bargaining  
17 anymore."

18           They're the people who come to us and say, "We  
19 just need some help to keep investing here. We need to  
20 cut the health care that you've had. And if you're  
21 retired, we're sorry, but we can't afford to keep the  
22 commitments we've had to you."



1           They're the people who say, "We can't have  
2 pensions anymore." They're the people who say, "We  
3 need a pay cut if you want to keep your job, not a pay  
4 raise." They're the people who, more than any others,  
5 have got us in this worst economic catastrophe in 60 or  
6 70 years.

7           But of course they want to tell the story a  
8 different way. They have a different narrative to  
9 tell. They want to blame working-class people for the  
10 problems in this country. They want to blame unions.  
11 They want to steal our voice.

12           They'll talk about the First Amendment and the  
13 Constitution as if it was yesterday, but in today's  
14 terms they want to dominate the media, they want to  
15 control every workplace, they want their financial  
16 contributions to be called free speech as all too often  
17 they dominate both political parties. They certainly  
18 own the Republican Party at this point in history like  
19 they never have before.

20           And so I know that Art and this leadership and  
21 all of you, as you lead this call, will commit to that  
22 fight, and hopefully we will all back you up in that

1 fight as much as we possibly can. Because it's about  
2 our democracy, it's not just another question on a  
3 referendum. It's what will that democracy look like,  
4 as we heard from Wisconsin. And what it doesn't look  
5 like is billionaires controlling and doing what they  
6 want and then restricting our organizations.

7           So we passed out a short version of a longer  
8 conversation called "Democracy and Economic Justice."  
9 It looks like this. You all have that. And I'm going  
10 to focus on that for a few minutes. And that is one  
11 chart from -- you see on the bottom the website, so if  
12 anyone is interested you can go there and download this.

13           So how many folks went to the 99 Percent  
14 Spring Training? I see the CWA'ers. That was  
15 voluntary, right? When you guys went. (Laughter)

16           Okay. So this is sort of our version of that.  
17 And it comes down to this chart and what do we do about  
18 it. And as Jim said, we believe more than ever that  
19 this movement, even as strong as it is in California,  
20 must help build and be part of a broader movement.

21           And why is that? So, again, in the booklet we  
22 start out with a chart that you all know too well. It

1 shows the rise of collective bargaining starting in the  
2 mid thirties, it was at 8 percent. And cities like  
3 this one, Minneapolis and Toledo, many others, workers  
4 rose up, took incredible risks and built a new  
5 working-class movement.

6           And so by 1950, and really right through the  
7 fifties in the private sector, more than one third of  
8 all workers had bargaining rights in this country. So  
9 it went from 8 percent to about 35 percent rising up,  
10 taking risks, in the streets; not just sort of in some  
11 narrow corridor called the law of the land.

12           And it spread to the public sector. Many here  
13 are public-sector workers now. And so before that  
14 period, before World War II, there was virtually  
15 nowhere in the country where there were bargaining  
16 rights of any kind, meaningful kind, except for some  
17 cities, for public workers. And so there's sort of a  
18 disconnect.

19           The public-worker movement sort of started  
20 then working off the political clout that  
21 private-sector workers had built, but also the  
22 militancy of public workers not only here but across

1 the country.

2           And as you all know, Dr. King was assassinated  
3 standing up for sanitation workers who were robbed of  
4 really all their rights at that time and were on strike  
5 for more than a hundred days when he went to Memphis in  
6 that fight.

7           And so today about 30 percent -- a little  
8 more -- of public workers have bargaining rights, but  
9 today we're back below the 8 percent in the private  
10 sector.

11           And obviously this is critical to all of us,  
12 because this is our movement. This is what we have to  
13 work with, whether it's to mobilize on Prop. 32 or the  
14 bargaining fights that our union and every union here  
15 has that always feel like we're clinging to a cliff;  
16 can we hold on to what people did before us.

17           Well, why is that? Because, particularly in  
18 the private sector, when you're at 6 to 9 percent, it  
19 means that 14 out of 15 workers in this country don't  
20 have any hope of having bargaining rights. You don't  
21 have the kind of movement where we're rising up, you  
22 have the kind of movement where we're holding on. And

1 that's certainly what it feels like to me. Doesn't  
2 matter which sector in our union.

3           But it isn't just our story. Between World  
4 War II and then about 1970, as all of us in every job  
5 we're in, the people who came before us, increased  
6 productivity in that incredible boom period, our wages  
7 went up at the same rate. Now, this part you'll hear  
8 about from lots of folks, the fact that productivity  
9 since the early seventies, 40 years, has continued to  
10 go up and wages are stagnant.

11           But the part that they leave out, even most  
12 Democrats who we end up supporting, is that the reason  
13 wages are stagnant or declining job for job for  
14 40 years -- and that does not exist in any other  
15 democracy or even places like China where they have  
16 lower wages but they've had rising wages; but that does  
17 not exist in any other democracy, 40 years of that kind  
18 of stagnation of wages while productivity has climbed,  
19 creating trillions of dollars in corporate bank  
20 accounts, or whatever they call them, that they don't  
21 invest in any longer -- is directly linked to that  
22 bargaining graph in that story.

1           Because if productivity goes up, we produce  
2 more, and wages are stagnant, and we can't raise our  
3 wages because we have no seat at the table, most of us  
4 have no seat, and those of us who have a seat, it's  
5 like we barely do.

6           And so why were you surprised that the economy  
7 can't recover this time? Now, this has been getting  
8 worse for 40 years. So all the economists -- not all  
9 the economists, but the ones that would be, quote, on  
10 our side in some way -- they all see that as a problem,  
11 but they all have gimmicks instead of bargaining rights  
12 as the answer.

13           And I just read something today that even  
14 folks on our side say, again, it's all about tax cuts,  
15 raise the minimum wage. These are fine things for the  
16 most part. Spend more money on public works. These  
17 are things that generally we would all support.

18           The problem is, if we continue to be the only  
19 democracy in the world -- and I'm talking about Brazil,  
20 Korea, South Africa, Taiwan, they all have rising labor  
21 movements; Argentina, Uruguay -- places that, when I  
22 was growing up in this Labor Movement, had no rights.

1 People like us were in jail.

2           If we can't restore a time where working-class  
3 people can sit at the table and bargain, public and  
4 private sector together, and if the people we elect  
5 don't understand how central that is -- it's not the  
6 only factor, but it's a critical factor that explains  
7 the difference right now between the United States for  
8 working people and virtually every place else in the  
9 world.

10           Even Angela Merkel, the leader in Germany.  
11 Center-right she's considered in European terms, from  
12 the CDU. At the recent meeting of the G20 -- and  
13 there's all kinds of bullshit at those meetings -- but  
14 she said very clearly, "We don't need to spend this  
15 much on public stimulus of that type in Germany,  
16 because we have bargaining rights in Germany. We have  
17 codetermination in Germany. (Applause) And so we  
18 stimulate the economy in Germany -- center right,  
19 remember this -- because workers bargain, they get  
20 raises, they can buy things, and we don't need to do  
21 all kinds of other stuff." (Applause)

22           And so we come to this chart. And the longer

1 version of that narrative, again, you can get on to  
2 that website. And so this is a CWA thing. I don't  
3 mean to speak for everybody.

4           But these four issues you see in the center up  
5 there, "Economic Justice," pretty much are our issues  
6 collectively. They've certainly been our issues since  
7 2005 written like that. In fact, the woman who I call  
8 the best speaker ever who lives right here, in that  
9 same period, Nancy Pelosi, George Miller had a list not  
10 exactly like this but similar as they talked about how  
11 to regain a majority.

12           And this list -- "Secure Jobs, Fair Trade,  
13 Health Care for All, Retirement Security, Bargaining  
14 and Organizing Rights" -- is what we all pretty much  
15 share here. And again, different organizations here  
16 might have a different version of it. It's pretty much  
17 our Labor Movement.

18           And when we won those elections, 2006, 2008,  
19 created super-majority in the House of Representatives,  
20 which is the people's Congress, we had overwhelming  
21 majorities for all of those things. With your work and  
22 leadership, most of it, a lot of it came right out of



1 California in that House of Representatives.

2 By a 60 percent margin that Congress, led by  
3 Pelosi, passed the Employee Free Choice Act by  
4 60 percent;

5 Passed a health-care bill way beyond the  
6 Affordable Health Care Act that would have required  
7 every employer in this country to provide decent health  
8 care; (applause)

9 Promoted trade policy that would have kept  
10 jobs in this country like every other country does, not  
11 based on protection but based on fair trade;

12 Protected Social Security and would have  
13 protected our pensions.

14 And we go over here on the left side,  
15 President Obama, his campaign now for fair taxes, more  
16 infrastructure projects, public services are on the  
17 right side of there, the partner issues: climate  
18 change, the Dream Act, fighting foreclosures and many  
19 others.

20 This is what the American dream is about,  
21 those things. And what this chart is about, is to say  
22 to us, we've got a real democracy problem in this

1 country. So on that wall, the Limits of Our Democracy,  
2 are our version of campaign finance reform. Get the  
3 billionaires out of politics, not the unions.

4 The Senate rules, none of those bills I talked  
5 about that Pelosi led, none of them got discussed on  
6 the floor of the Senate for a second. None of them.  
7 The worst Senate rules ever, even though we had a  
8 Democratic majority in the Senate.

9 Now Harry Reid, thankfully, better late than  
10 never, has said repeatedly in the last few weeks, "If  
11 we have a Democratic majority in January, we're  
12 changing the rules so that we have real discussion,  
13 real debate." How about a real democracy? (Applause)

14 Voters suppression, 38 states, most recently  
15 Michigan. Again, the right wing free speech paid for  
16 by billionaires says we have a voter fraud problem. We  
17 need to have everybody, whether they have a driver's  
18 license or not, go to Motor Vehicle if they want to  
19 vote, blah, blah, blah.

20 There's no voter fraud in this country. You  
21 can't measure it. You can't find it. Those 38 laws,  
22 again, they suck our people in, because they have

1 unlimited funds to convince people that the problem is  
2 voter fraud, not the lowest voter turnout rates of any  
3 democracy in the world. (Applause)

4           Still fresh in my mind, that YouTube video of  
5 the teacher in Florida after she dared to register  
6 civics class, her seniors. She dared to register them.  
7 She then turned in the registrations. She got fined  
8 \$1,000 in Florida because she hadn't turned them in  
9 within 48 hours. That's not what democracy looks like.  
10 (Applause)

11           A legalization path for immigrants. The other  
12 side knows that immigrants are working-class people,  
13 and when they are able to have a path to citizenship  
14 like every other generation of immigrants had, they  
15 vote like working-class people, and that's why there's  
16 no path. (Applause)

17           I said recently to our members in South  
18 Carolina, to our members in CWA, at a conference like  
19 this from that region, "Lots of us don't understand  
20 that issue very well." Again, it's no accident. It's  
21 because of the so-called free speech or what they pay  
22 for.

1           But before 1920 there weren't any immigration  
2 laws in this country. And I'm sure I'm not the only  
3 person here whose family who came here back then,  
4 before then, we're not necessarily like Ph.D.s and  
5 Nobel laureates and people of any means whatsoever. We  
6 have a way of revising our own history. In my own case  
7 it was worse than that, but we don't need to go there.  
8 (Laughter)

9           But once you got off the boat, once you  
10 crossed the board from Mexico back then, you were here  
11 four or five years, you had a clear path to  
12 citizenship. That's what we call the American dream.  
13 Are we saying the American dream was only there for our  
14 forefathers and is not here for the people who take  
15 care of our kids, who take care of our parents, who cut  
16 the lawns, who build our buildings, who lay our  
17 concrete? (Applause)

18           And so the point of all this is that for any  
19 of us, it doesn't matter where we came from. If we  
20 believe in those economic-justice things that affect  
21 every one of our families, if we understand that the  
22 election in 2008 for us was a watershed, that's as good

1 as we can do. We need to look deeply. We need to  
2 understand that. That was a clean sweep. And they  
3 stole the dream back from us deliberately.

4           They knew what that election meant. They knew  
5 why people around the world were cheering. Now,  
6 everybody doesn't come here and say that. Or more  
7 importantly outside a room like this. That dream was  
8 stolen, not just from Dreamer kids, from every one of  
9 us. And we need to understand how we're connected  
10 whether we're a Dreamer kid or whether we're an older  
11 leader of this movement.

12           If we're here to fight for jobs and fair trade  
13 and health care and retirement security and, most  
14 importantly for those of us in this room bargaining and  
15 organizing rights again, we need to build, as we say  
16 here, a coalition not only to win elections, which is  
17 critical this election in November, but a movement as  
18 we saw in Madison, a movement as we saw here decades  
19 ago where we're willing to be in the streets as well as  
20 the ballot box, we're willing to talk to our sisters  
21 and brothers and say, "If not now, when? Stand up and  
22 fight back. If not now, when?" (Applause)

1           And so we can do this. There is a natural  
2 coalition -- and again, California can lead this. You  
3 do lead this. You will lead this. When we form the  
4 bonds that you've done here with Latinos and  
5 civil-rights groups and women and students and seniors  
6 and Labor and progressives and environmentalists, and  
7 LGBT, and faith-based social-justice groups, and  
8 community organizations, those numbers add up to  
9 70 million people in this country.

10           And we won't get every last one of those, but  
11 we can get majorities, huge majorities of those groups.  
12 We have to define our movement in those terms. We have  
13 to understand how the limits of this democracy have  
14 almost eliminated democracy. We have to dig deep. We  
15 have to go back to what we learned when we were young.  
16 Or, if we didn't learn it, we have to learn it now  
17 while we still have the kind of strength that's in this  
18 room and in this movement.

19           And this will be messy. It's not going to be  
20 neat to build that kind of a movement. Even this is  
21 messy. We don't agree on lots of stuff here, but we  
22 come here, we leave, and we're united, we have a

1 vision, we have a movement. In our union it's messy,  
2 CWA. Lots of people disagree lots of time. That's  
3 great. We get our strength that way. But we have to  
4 get our strength that way.

5           And lots would say to me, "Well, you know, you  
6 build something broader than this? What, are you  
7 kidding? This is hard enough." And it is. (Laughter)  
8 But if we don't build that movement that links together  
9 our own vision and dreams for economic justice, and we  
10 don't link that to these natural allies, and we get  
11 split up because of the noise we will hear from the  
12 billionaires when it's a great investment for them;  
13 they want to get rid of the small, pathetic taxes they  
14 pay, they invest in political noise and they convince  
15 our own people that, while they save \$100 million, we  
16 save \$100, we should vote their way.

17           And so as you're doing, Art, you have another  
18 referendum question about how do we fund the public  
19 services that we need. And the key is how do we build  
20 the unity that we need so we don't see what I saw in  
21 the polling results in Wisconsin. And again, we should  
22 take huge courage from Wisconsin and what our members

1 and community folk did, and students, young people,  
2 whole families.

3 I know they showed the film here. I saw it.  
4 "We Are Wisconsin." If you haven't seen it, get it and  
5 you get a sense of what that means, what does democracy  
6 look like. It's not just about an election where all  
7 kinds of other things factor in.

8 But in that election the billionaires  
9 supporting Walker convinced half of our members in the  
10 private sector to vote for Walker, and particularly  
11 older members and retirees. They were able to split up  
12 this notion of public and private. And they did the  
13 same, obviously to a greater extent, with people who  
14 are not in our movement.

15 And so we have to go deeper. We have to  
16 understand that we need this broad narrative where  
17 everyone finds their place, whether it's a Dreamer kid  
18 who grew up here, it wasn't even up to them; or our  
19 oldest retiree who we cherish. We need a common  
20 narrative that tells this story.

21 You know, we're not fools. We can't have  
22 ourselves slit up like this. It doesn't matter whether



1 we're building trades or public sector or industrial  
2 union. It doesn't matter where we come from. It's  
3 these values and what we stand for, and believing  
4 deeply that we can go back and build the movement we  
5 need to. (Applause)

6 And so when they come with 32, we say no. And  
7 when they come with union busting and give-backs, we  
8 say no. And when they come, as we'll be out there this  
9 afternoon in that rally -- when they come and take our  
10 jobs and move them in the name of free markets, we say  
11 no. (Applause)

12 But we also say si se puede. We also say yes.  
13 We also say yes for democracy. We say yes for economic  
14 justice. We say yes for the American dream for all of  
15 us. We say yes, yes, yes. We are ready to stand up  
16 and fight back. Stand up, fight back. Stand up, fight  
17 back.

18 ("Stand up, fight back" chanted.)

19 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: I told  
20 you he was one of the finest leaders of Labor in  
21 America. Was I right? (Applause and cheers) Yes.  
22 Thank you.

1           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, President Cohen.  
2     And please take back to your friend in the  
3     labor-leader's family the condolences of the California  
4     Labor Movement.

5           Delegates, I would like to bring your  
6     attention to the green resolutions booklet in your  
7     packet. At this time the chair would like to recognize  
8     the co-chairs of the Legislative Committee Barbara  
9     Blake of UNAC and Mickey Kasparian of UFCW Local 135 to  
10    deliver that report. (Applause)

11           BROTHER KASPARIAN: Madam Chair, your  
12    Committee On Legislation met at 4:00 p.m. on Monday,  
13    July 23rd, 2012 and considered the three timely  
14    resolutions referred to the committee. A quorum was  
15    present at that time when the committee met.

16           Together with my cochair, Barbara Blake, I  
17    will present the committee's recommendations on the  
18    resolutions referred to the committee.

19           The delegates May find the timely resolutions  
20    in the green book in their delegate packets, and may  
21    find the Executive Council resolutions in the stapled  
22    packet with the yellow cover sheet distributed on the

1 tables this morning.

2           As we move through the committee's  
3 recommendations for resolutions that we considered, we  
4 will refer you to the resolutions' locations in the  
5 green program booklet or the yellow packet of the  
6 executive council's resolutions distributed this  
7 morning, and we will read the "resolved" portions of  
8 the resolutions.

9           Resolution 4 is Reform Enterprise Zones  
10 resolution, which is located on page 7 and 8 of your  
11 green convention booklet. It concludes with the  
12 following resolves.

13           (Resolves read.)

14           The committee recommends concurrence, and I so  
15 move. ("Second.")

16           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates you have a motion  
17 and a second before you. Do I have a delegate at mic  
18 No. 3?

19           BROTHER BLOCH: Yes. Good afternoon. Doug  
20 Bloch with the California Teamsters Public Affairs  
21 Council. We've been hearing a lot of talk today about  
22 companies getting tax credits to move jobs, good union

1 jobs, overseas.

2 I want to tell you a story about tax credits  
3 being used to move jobs within the state of California  
4 and to bust the union. Our union has been proud to  
5 represent people at BWR in Brisbane for the last  
6 50 years. And BWR is the largest distributor of  
7 scientific and medical supplies in the world, and they  
8 supply the U.C. system, Genentech, companies like that.

9 For most of those 50 years we had good labor  
10 relations until they were bought out by a private  
11 equity firm a few years ago called Madison Dearborn.  
12 It's no different than Mitt Romney's Bain Capital.  
13 They rip it and flip it.

14 And in the middle of contract negotiations  
15 they told us that they lost their lease in Brisbane,  
16 which was a lie, and they were going to move the jobs  
17 and all the work down to Visalia in Tulare County.

18 They said to our members you couldn't follow  
19 your jobs. They told us they wouldn't give us  
20 neutrality, the right to organize in a new location.

21 And what we found out is that for every single  
22 good Teamster job they replaced, they were getting a

1 \$37,500 Enterprise Zone tax credit. ("Boo.") And if  
2 our members followed the jobs, they're not eligible for  
3 the tax credits.

4 We've been working very closely with the  
5 California Labor Federation, with the San Mateo Labor  
6 Council, with many of our friends in the legislature to  
7 undue this perverse program. And we're here today to  
8 stand in full support of this resolution. Thank you.

9 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

10 (Applause) Delegates, we have a motion properly before  
11 you. All those in favor signify by saying aye.

12 ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries. Thank you.

13 SISTER BLAKE: If you will turn to Resolution  
14 No. 7 in your green book, Resolution in Opposition to  
15 SB 1161 (Telephone Deregulation) I'll give you a moment  
16 to turn to that page, page 13 and 14.

17 (Resolves read.)

18 The committee recommends concurrence and I so  
19 move. ("Second.")

20 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
21 and a second before you. Delegate at mic No. 1.

22 Thank you, Madam Chair. T Santora, CWA

1 Local 9003. On behalf of my colleagues in CWA  
2 District 9 I offered this resolution, and we bring it  
3 before you and ask for your support.

4 While the language does speak for itself, I  
5 will ask you to do this once it's approved. We got a  
6 little bit behind the eight ball on this piece of  
7 legislation. It already sailed through the Senate and  
8 it's quickly on its way to sail through the Assembly.

9 So I'd ask each and every one of you to please  
10 send a letter to your Assembly representative, and in  
11 particular a copy to Speaker John Perez, to let them  
12 know that you oppose this piece of legislation.

13 This is organized and sponsored and run  
14 through our legislator by the notorious ALEC group. It  
15 should have never seen the light of day in this  
16 particular legislature, but it did.

17 So please help us defeat this. This means  
18 thousands of jobs and security for our members in the  
19 telephone industry. So thank you very much.

20 (Applause)

21 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

22 Mic No. 1.

1           BROTHER GORDON: Yes, Jim Gordon,  
2           Communication Workers of America, Local 9421.

3           I've been a union member of the CWA for 52-1/2  
4           and a half years. (Applause) I'm still a union  
5           member, but I'm not dead. The California Public  
6           Utilities Commission which was created to protect  
7           consumers.

8           And this bill, if it's signed into law, passes  
9           and is signed into law, would eliminate the  
10          jurisdiction of the California Public Utilities  
11          Commission over telephones. What the hell else is a  
12          public utility if not a telephone? Next they'll get  
13          rid of it over PG&E and keep killing them over in  
14          [inaudible] like they did in San Bruno.

15          This is critical. Just because a voice system  
16          goes over the Internet doesn't mean it's not a  
17          telephone call.

18          So I urge you to pass this resolution. Tell  
19          the legislature, "Damn it, we've got a Public Utilities  
20          Commission, and they should be able to regulate the  
21          telephone company." Don't give it up. I hope you vote  
22          yes. (Applause)

1 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

2 Delegates, you have a motion before you. All  
3 those in favor signify by saying aye. ("Aye.")  
4 Opposed No. Motion carries. Thank you.

5 BROTHER KASPARIAN: Resolution 10, Resolution  
6 In Support of Workers Compensation Reform. It is in  
7 the packet of the Executive Council resolutions with  
8 the yellow cover which was distributed on tables this  
9 morning with the following resolves.

10 (Resolves read.)

11 The committee recommends concurrence, and I so  
12 move. ("Second.")

13 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
14 and a second before you. All those in favor signify by  
15 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.  
16 Thank you.

17 Thank you very much to the co-chairs of the  
18 committee.

19 All right, delegates. As you will remember,  
20 we did not finish with the Resolutions Committee before  
21 lunch, so I would again like to recognize the chairs of  
22 that committee, Courtni Pugh and Victor Uno.



1           BROTHER UNO: Thank you, President Leyva.

2           We're going to continue with the green book  
3 resolutions.

4           Resolution No. 2, Support CARA's Campaign to  
5 Strengthen Social Security on pages 3 and 4 of the  
6 green book, concludes with the following resolves.

7           (Resolves read.)

8           The committee recommends concurrence, and I so  
9 move.

10          PRESIDENT LEYVA: A motion and a second before  
11 you. Delegate at mic No. 3.

12          BROTHER RANKIN: Tom Rankin, delegate from  
13 CARA.

14          This morning the first resolution we passed  
15 was one that involved young workers. And now we have  
16 one that involves, on the face of it, old workers, but  
17 really involves probably young workers more than old  
18 workers.

19          Because what's going on in this country right  
20 now is another attempt to do an inter-generational  
21 conflict number on us. They're trying to convince --  
22 conservatives are trying to convince -- which they've

1 been trying to do ever since the 1980s when Reagan did  
2 the Social Security work that they didn't like -- they  
3 came up with a strategy. They called it the Lenin  
4 Strategy. It was to neutralize -- this came from the  
5 Cato Institute, a libertarian think tank.

6           And their strategy was to neutralize the old  
7 folks by not really cutting their benefits too much, if  
8 at all, and to make the young folks distrust the Social  
9 Security system, to make them think it's not going to  
10 be there for you.

11           And their goal was to privatize it. Now, we  
12 all know George Bush tried to privatize it but failed.  
13 Now they're trying a different tactic. They're trying  
14 to say Social Security is the cause of our federal  
15 budget deficit, and we got to do something about it.  
16 We've got to increase the retirement age, we've got to  
17 cut the cost-of-living increase provision, and we have  
18 to mean test.

19           You know, they don't have to do anything,  
20 because they can pay full benefits the way it is until  
21 2033, so there's time to fix it. Yes, it does need  
22 more money eventually. But it doesn't need the kind of

1 fix they're talking about.

2           If the Congress simply would get rid of the  
3 cap on the taxed wages for Social Security, it would  
4 solve the problems for many years to come. (Applause)  
5 Make the people who are earning a little over \$100,000  
6 pay on their full wages. That would deal with the  
7 problem.

8           They don't want to do that, because they still  
9 want to privatize the system. Now they want to do it  
10 by making it not work. They want to keep it for the  
11 older folks. Besides that, they're cutting the cost of  
12 living to very less too.

13           But they really aren't attacking the older  
14 generation. They're attacking the younger generation.  
15 And we have to make our members and everyone understand  
16 that, and we have to defeat this horrible effort that's  
17 being pushed by billionaire Pete Peterson who has this  
18 foundation in Washington.

19           It's also being pushed by former Republican  
20 Senator from Wyoming, Alan Simpson, and Erskine Bowles,  
21 who was Clinton's chief of staff. You probably don't  
22 know this story, but Clinton was going to reform Social

1 Security for the worse. But then along came Monica  
2 Lewinsky, and it didn't happen. (Laughter) Bowles was  
3 in charge of that project, and he is still working hard  
4 to ruin Social Security.

5           When he and Simpson were out here on one of  
6 their road trips earlier this year, CARA had a  
7 demonstration in Oakland at Paramount Theater against  
8 them. It took Alan Simpson a while -- I think he's  
9 maybe 90 now; I don't want to cast aspersions on old  
10 folks -- but he finally responded to CARA with a  
11 letter. And he called us all sorts of names, said we  
12 didn't understand Social Security, we're throwing out a  
13 lot of B.S. And I tell you, he's better at this than  
14 John Burton.

15           The most interesting thing he said was that we  
16 should all put a piece of glass in our navels so we  
17 could see the real world. Now, if you think about what  
18 that means, where do you think our head is? That's  
19 what he was telling us.

20           So a group of young people who want to defend  
21 Social Security offered to debate him. He accepted.  
22 Then he backed off because he got worried about it.

1           But we really have to stop this. We have to  
2 get young and old together on this issue. As everyone  
3 knows, defined-benefit pension plans are on the  
4 decline. Only about 20 percent -- less than 20 percent  
5 now in the private sector are covered. They're going  
6 after the public sector defined-benefit plans now.

7           You know, and people are more and more, if  
8 this trend continues -- we can maybe stop on the union  
9 sector, but there's still some defined-benefit pensions  
10 in the non-union sector -- we have to get together and  
11 put a stop to this.

12           In the end, you know, Social Security is a  
13 great system. It's probably the best social insurance  
14 system we've ever had in this country, and they want to  
15 ruin it. They want to ruin Medicare. That's a whole  
16 other topic. But it's the same group who wants to ruin  
17 us and to take the money themselves and leave us with  
18 insecure retirements. So please vote yes for this.  
19 Thank you. (Applause)

20           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

21           Delegate at mic No. 1.

22           BROTHER GORDON: Jim Gordon, Communication

1 Workers of America, Sacramento.

2           You just heard from me a moment ago, and I  
3 said I'd been involved a little while. But I want to  
4 tell you, the Labor Movement -- all of us, you, and  
5 others -- this is the group that brought you the  
6 40-hour workweek, that brought you vacations, that  
7 brought you pensions; and Social Security and Medicare  
8 when everybody else back years ago was trying to say,  
9 oh, no, it's a socialized program.

10           I've got four sons. Three of them work in the  
11 public sector. They'll never get Social Security  
12 because they're not covered by it: a cop, a firefighter  
13 and a teacher.

14           However, I've got a fourth son that may not  
15 get Social Security, because if these bastards get away  
16 with screwing it around, he won't get the money that he  
17 put into it and we put into it.

18           So I'm telling you, if any of the rest of you  
19 think this isn't going to affect you, you're crazy.  
20 This is going to affect you, your children, your  
21 grandchildren somehow or another.

22           So I'm not going to spend any more time on why

1 you should vote for this. My Brother Tom gave you all  
2 the good reasons and whatnot.

3 But I do want to call your attention to the  
4 last resolve on the back page where it encourages you  
5 to affiliate your locals and your retire group with  
6 CARA. ("Yes.") There's not enough of you that give a  
7 damn about your retirees when you have a whole slew  
8 instead of three or four people representing CARA here  
9 today.

10 I'm a retiree, and I ain't dead, like I said.  
11 (Laughter) I'm a vice president of CARA. I'm also the  
12 president of the Consumer Federation in California.  
13 And I'm still a delegate to the State AFL-CIO.

14 So you guys vote for this thing, get your  
15 retiree groups to join CARA, and help the rest of us  
16 save Social Security for you all. (Applause)

17 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegate at mic 2.

18 BROTHER AKERMAN [phonetic]: My name is Hal  
19 Akerman. I'm from AFGE Local 3172. There's another  
20 reason to support the CARA resolution, and that is, I'm  
21 an employee who works for Social Security and is  
22 represented by AFGE. The Union Movement is a part of

1 Social Security.

2           And Tom Rankin helped our office when we  
3 picketed in front of our beautiful Eastmont Mall office  
4 to try to deal with the effort to close down Social  
5 Security offices, not pay us our wages, and really not  
6 to keep us open.

7           Eleven years ago before I closed my office in  
8 East Oakland, thanks to Barbara Lee, my  
9 congresswoman -- and I worked with her mom in downtown  
10 Social Security office from 1974 -- we kept our office  
11 open.

12           They continue efforts to close Social Security  
13 offices. Their efforts to encourage people not to see  
14 us in offices, not to file claims with us, not to call  
15 the telephone and file claims.

16           We would like to urge everyone to do is to  
17 support this resolution, support AFGE, and support  
18 Social Security employees, keep our Social Security  
19 offices open.

20           And when it comes time to file a claim, don't  
21 go on the Internet. The same thing as going into  
22 supermarket and going self-serve. Talk to a



1 [inaudible]. (Applause) California Federation of  
2 Labor. Every single local in AFGE is part of the State  
3 Fed. So please see a human being.

4 As Mr. Rankin mentioned, I'm a member of CARA,  
5 and unlike Mr. Gordon, I am tired. I don't have the  
6 "re" in front of my name, but a lot of us continue to  
7 work.

8 Next week is my birthday, two days before  
9 President Obama, and I have my first year as a senior  
10 citizen. I'll be working on being a senior citizen  
11 journeyperson at 66. I'm on Medicare. We take  
12 Medicare claims, and we fight for people who need the  
13 benefits.

14 So please support the resolution, support  
15 Social Security, support the workers at Social  
16 Security, support my brothers and sisters in AFGE.  
17 Thank you. (Applause)

18 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegate at mic No. 1.

19 VICE-PRESIDENT WALTER: So brothers and  
20 sisters, Yvonne Walker, Delegate for SEIU 1000. And I  
21 strongly urge the delegation to support this  
22 resolution. I am not a member of CARA yet. I'm

1 getting there sooner than I would like to think.

2 But this is not a retiree issue. This is a  
3 working-people issue. And we all have to stay  
4 together. We have to strengthen and support Social  
5 Security and not fall for the BS that we can't afford  
6 it, that we'll do better investing our own money and  
7 having our own destiny. That's just crap. We  
8 shouldn't fall for it.

9 All of us should be standing up and running a  
10 retirement security program in our unions. They are  
11 trying to steal our retirement like they've stolen  
12 everything else from us. And we need to stand up with  
13 a resounding no. (Applause)

14 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

15 Delegate at mic No. 3.

16 VICE-PRESIDENT CLARK: Madam Chair, Allan  
17 Clark, California School Employees Association. I call  
18 the question.

19 PRESIDENT LEYVA: All those in favor of  
20 calling the question signify by saying aye. ("Aye.")  
21 Opposed no. Motion carries.

22 You have a motion before you. All those in

1 favor of the resolution signify by saying aye.

2 ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries. Thank you very  
3 much.

4 Thank you to the co-chairs of the Resolution  
5 Committee for coming up and helping us get one more  
6 resolution in, and we will do the rest tomorrow.

7 With that I'd like to recognize Executive  
8 Secretary-Treasurer Art Pulaski.

9 (Announcements made by Executive  
10 Secretary-Treasurer Art Pulaski.)

11 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Madam  
12 Chair, delegates, I move we recess until 9:00 a.m.  
13 tomorrow morning. ("Second.")

14 PRESIDENT LEYVA: All right, delegates. All  
15 those in favor signify by saying aye, move to recess.  
16 ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries. We will see you  
17 in the sessions and at the rally and at the dinner.  
18 Thank you all very much.

19 (Proceedings adjourned at 3:00 p.m.)

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CALIFORNIA LABOR FEDERATION

29th BIENNIAL CONVENTION

July 24-25, 2012

DAY TWO

Westin St. Francis Hotel

San Francisco, California

Transcript by:

Denice Lombard

Certified Shorthand Reporter, No. 9653

Associate Member of OPEIU Local 2

Wednesday, July 25, 2012

9:11 A.M.

## 1 P R O C E E D I N G S

2 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Welcome to the second day of  
3 the 2012 Biennial Convention of the California Labor  
4 Federation. I'm glad you're awake this morning,  
5 because we have a lot of business before us.

6 I would like to reconvene and call the  
7 convention to order. We were supposed to have the ILWU  
8 Drill Team with us this morning, however they are not  
9 able to join us.

10 Delegates I'm going to ask you to quiet down  
11 and take your seats, please. Thank you. Instead we  
12 have more breaking news from our enlightened and good  
13 friend John Stewart. Please roll the video.

14 (Video played.)

15 PRESIDENT LEYVA: That's a good way to start  
16 the tone of the day.

17 The chair at this time would like to recognize  
18 the chair of the Constitution Committee, Roxanne  
19 Sanchez of SEIU Local 1021. Roxanne, please join me.

20 (Applause)

21 SISTER SANCHEZ: Thank you, Madam Chair. They  
22 know that I'm very shy so they put me after John

1 Stewart. That's incredible. (Laughter)

2 Madam Chair, your Constitution Committee met  
3 at 3:30 on Monday, July 23rd and recommended to send  
4 one constitutional amendment to the delegates for their  
5 consideration. A quorum was present when the committee  
6 met.

7 Delegates will find the proposed  
8 constitutional amendment included in the packet that  
9 was placed on your chairs yesterday entitled "  
10 Executive Council Resolutions." It is Resolution No. 9  
11 titled "Combined Constituency Group Delegate to  
12 Executive Council," and it was presented by the  
13 California Labor Federation Executive Council.

14 Under the Federation's constitution, the  
15 Executive Council is composed of the president, the  
16 secretary-treasurer and 46 vice presidents, each of  
17 whom is elected for a four-year term by delegates to  
18 the odd-numbered biennial conventions of the  
19 Federation.

20 In March of this year the AFL-CIO Executive  
21 Council amended the rules governing the AFL-CIO's state  
22 council bodies to provide that in areas with one or

1 more AFL-CIO constituency group, the combined  
2 constituency groups affiliated with the state's central  
3 body shall be entitled to one voting seat on the state  
4 central body's governing board.

5           The AFL-CIO rules are silent as to how such a  
6 delegate to the Executive Council is to be appointed or  
7 elected. As shown in the resolved clause of the  
8 resolution being proposed:

9           ". . . that Article VIII, Section 1 as found  
10           on page 23 of the Federation's Constitution  
11           be amended by addition of the underscored  
12           language to read as follows:

13           "The Executive Council shall consist of the  
14           President, the Secretary Treasurer, and the  
15           46 Vice Presidents, specified in Article IV,  
16           Section 1 herein. Additionally, the combined  
17           AFL-CIO constituency groups affiliated with  
18           the Federation will be represented by one  
19           delegate to the Executive Council who shall  
20           have voice and vote in accord with the rules  
21           of the AFL-CIO. Any such delegate to the  
22           Executive Council shall be nominated and

1           elected in the same fashion as an At Large  
2           Vice President by the delegates to the odd  
3           numbered Biennial Conventions of the  
4           Federation. Such delegate to the Executive  
5           Council must meet all the requirements of an  
6           At Large Vice President and be a member of an  
7           AFL-CIO constituency group affiliated with  
8           the Federation. Should any such delegate to  
9           the Executive Council resign, die or be  
10          properly removed prior to the next odd  
11          numbered Biennial Convention a replacement  
12          shall be appointed by a majority vote of the  
13          Executive Council."

14                 The language of this constitutional amendment  
15          is contingent upon the approval by the president of the  
16          AFL-CIO. Adoption of this constitutional amendment  
17          requires two thirds vote. The committee recommends  
18          adoption of this resolution and I so move. ("Second.")

19                 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
20          and a second before you. Discussion? Delegate at mic  
21          No. 2.

22                 BROTHER SANTORA: Good morning. T Santora,



1 CWA Local 9003, Los Angeles. Question to the chair of  
2 the committee if I could. First of all, I wanted to  
3 find out what was the discussion and reasoning for  
4 limiting the constituency groups to one seat?

5 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Can you repeat the question  
6 delegate?

7 BROTHER SANTORA: What was the discussion and  
8 decision-making on the limitation to one seat for all  
9 constituency groups?

10 PRESIDENT LEYVA: It came from the national  
11 AFL-CIO. So we were just looking at the rules that  
12 they set forward, conforming with the national.

13 BROTHER SANTORA: Are you suggesting those  
14 rules limit us to one OR --

15 PRESIDENT LEYVA: We're conforming with the  
16 national and whatever President Trumka decides.

17 BROTHER SANTORA: And was there some  
18 discussion about how the constituency groups would  
19 coalesce around a candidate, or was that specifically  
20 left to the folks to figure out themselves?

21 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Ultimately what President  
22 Trumka decides, then the body will come back together

1 in Executive Council, and we will recommend the person  
2 based on what his rules are.

3 BROTHER SANTORA: Thank you.

4 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

5 Delegate mic No. 1.

6 SISTER WOHLFORTH: Hi. I'm Nancy Wohlforth,  
7 OPEIU. To perhaps clarify this a little bit, the  
8 questions that T Santora raised, there hasn't been any  
9 formal resolution on the issue of how the delegates are  
10 to be selected. This is a recommendation that came out  
11 that has to be voted on at the next full convention of  
12 the AFL-CIO. At the time this was a recommendation.

13 And in our state fed, we've always been doing  
14 it. I mean, when I joined the Executive Council in --  
15 I can't remember it was so long -- but anyway, I was on  
16 there as Pride At Work. So it's really up in the air  
17 at the moment and up for discussion at the next  
18 convention.

19 But we as the state fed have always followed  
20 the practice.

21 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

22 Delegates, you have a motion before you. All

1 those in favor signify by saying aye. ("Aye.")

2 Opposed no. (No.) Motion carries. Thank you.

3 SISTER SANCHEZ: Madam Chair, I would just  
4 like to take this opportunity to thank the members of  
5 the committee. Bob Balgenorth, Jim Beno, Bill Camp,  
6 Allan Clark, Tom Salzell, Ron Espinoza, Rob Feckner,  
7 Lorena Gonzales, Carla Held, Shelley Kessler, Mark  
8 Leach, Gunnar Lundeberg, Bob Morales, Tom Rankin,  
9 Robert Smith, Bob Waggoner, Nancy Wohlforth.

10 And with that, Madam Chair, I move that the  
11 Constitution Committee be discharged. Thank you.

12 PRESIDENT LEYVA: We have a motion. Do we  
13 have a second be to discharge the committee?  
14 ("Second.")

15 Thank you. And thank you very much to all the  
16 members of the Constitution Committee and their hard  
17 work.

18 All those in favor signify by saying aye.  
19 ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries. Thank you.

20 At this time the chair would like to recognize  
21 Rome Aloise, President of Teamsters Joint Council 7.

22 BROTHER ALOISE: Good morning. ("Good

1 morning.") I'm up here to talk about organizing, which  
2 is near and dear to my heart and should be near and  
3 dear to everybody's heart here today.

4           As we go through a horrible economy and an  
5 economic environment that's threatening all our  
6 members, it begs the fact that we should put more time  
7 and effort into organizing.

8           The Labor Movement right now needs to step up  
9 for a lot of reasons: (1) to protect our members,  
10 (2) because we have an obligation to the non-union  
11 worker out there, and (3) we have to protect our  
12 contracts and build our density.

13           We're looking at another threat,  
14 Proposition 32, besides all the other attacks on us.  
15 Do we really think that they'd have the guts to come  
16 after us if our 7 percent was 14 or 21 percent? It  
17 wouldn't be happening. And that, if for no other  
18 reason, is the reason why we have to build our density.

19           But under even the worse circumstances and  
20 conditions, we have workers that every day are fighting  
21 to bring a union into their workplace against all odds,  
22 against the attacks from employers, against the threat

1 of losing the job that is so precious these days.

2           And to that end I'd like to introduce a  
3 delegate we have today from Steelworkers Local 675, one  
4 of the first carwashes organized in the United States,  
5 Bonus Carwash, Eduardo Tapia. Where are you?

6 (Standing ovation)

7           Thank you, Brother Tapia. Hopefully next  
8 convention we'll have many more delegates from  
9 newly-organized companies.

10           Just as a sidelight, one thing that we  
11 recognize in the Teamsters is that our newly-organized  
12 members who have fought to get into the union, that  
13 went through the employer attacks are our best members.  
14 They show up. And it takes them two or three contracts  
15 to become Teamsters and start bitching and moaning at  
16 us. (Laughter) But we have to appreciate that.

17           So what I want us all to do is after we get  
18 through the November elections, we've got to recommit  
19 ourselves to organizing. Because when we do, we win.  
20 It's that simple. We organize, we win. We get better  
21 contracts and better density for our members that make  
22 sure that we're doing the right job for our members.

1 And it builds momentum and power for fights like this.  
2 And actually, it builds momentum and power to prevent  
3 fights like this. Because with more density, they're  
4 not going to come after us like they do today.

5 Today we're here to recognize and salute the  
6 unions that have organized within the state. And to  
7 that end we have two wonderful people to walk through  
8 that for us today. We have today. We have Martel  
9 Fraser, Recorder of UFCW Local 770 and president of the  
10 Tricounties Labor Council who will start these  
11 recognitions from mic 2.

12 And she will be followed by our beloved  
13 Shelley Kessler who is our spirited leader, and she's  
14 the executive secretary of the San Mateo Labor Council.  
15 So ladies, please.

16 (Support for Organizing PowerPoint shown of  
17 organizing victories and continuing campaigns  
18 narrated by Martel Fraser and Shelley  
19 Kessler.) (Cheers and Applause)

20 BROTHER ALOISE: In closing I just want to  
21 give us one more credit for the Teamsters. Last Friday  
22 night we organized the largest non-union cheese factory

1 in the country, Marquez Brothers in California, 300  
2 people. We believe very significantly that they're  
3 going to fight us to the end, because the Hispanic  
4 markets, the suppliers to the Hispanic markets, ice  
5 cream manufacturing we've been in, it's abuse of people  
6 that come from the same country.

7 Frankly I believe it's cartel money. So if at  
8 the next convention you see my head up here with no  
9 body you'll know why. (Laughter) So please help us  
10 with that. Thank you. (Applause)

11 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Thank  
12 you Rome, Martel and Shelley. Shelley is trying to  
13 take over this convention.

14 So if you look in your packets, in your orange  
15 organizing packet, there's an orange organize poster  
16 that we hope that you'll use and even make bigger.

17 Listen, I just want to tell you that the  
18 report on organizing this year was a lot bigger than it  
19 was two years ago at the last convention. That means  
20 we're doing more organizing, and that's really  
21 terrific. We're building the union movement, and  
22 you're building your unions.

1           But it's not enough. And I want to  
2 acknowledge Susan Sachen, who is our  
3 energetic [inaudible] (Applause) Raise your hand. If  
4 you're not doing organizing and want some advice, call  
5 Susan Sachen. Susan is convening a meeting of the  
6 organizing directors ever quarter at least. And if  
7 you're not engaged in that, call Susan Sachen. Her  
8 number is (510) 663-4010. That's her home number.  
9 (Laughter) (510) 663-4010. Call Susan, get her  
10 engaged. Thank you very much. Keep organizing.  
11 (Applause)

12           PRESIDENT LEYVA: The chair would now like to  
13 recognize Jacques Loveall, President of UFCW Local 8  
14 Golden State to introduce our first speaker.  
15 (Applause)

16           BROTHER LOVEALL: Good morning, delegates.  
17 ("Good morning.") I've got to start by giving a shout  
18 out to UFCW. They're right up front. So to our  
19 sisters and brothers of UFCW let's hear it. (Applause)  
20           I've also got to give a shout out to the ILWU,  
21 because they're all the way back in the corner, but  
22 they're awesome. So let's hear it for the ILWU and



1 CLCs way in the back. (Applause)

2           It's fantastic to be a delegate to this  
3 organization. Are you guys proud to be delegates?  
4 ("Yeah!") Are we passionate about being delegates?  
5 ("Yeah!")

6           We need to be, because we are so, so  
7 privileged to have the responsibility to represent  
8 2 million working families in this state. It is an  
9 incredible responsibility, and there are a lot of  
10 people counting on us. We need to renew our enthusiasm  
11 daily, because they have given us a sacred trust. So  
12 when we get up in the morning, think about those people  
13 who are counting on us.

14           I can tell you, it was about 2500 years ago,  
15 give or take a decade, that the Greek philosopher Plato  
16 said that:

17           "If you refuse to participate in politics,  
18           you are doomed to be governed by inferior  
19           ideas and by repressive and exclusionary  
20           laws."

21           This Labor Federation knows that. This Labor  
22 Federation stands up for the most superior ideas, the

1 most superior ideas to govern this state. And it's  
2 about being inclusionary to the most disenfranchised.  
3 And that's something to be proud of. You're doing  
4 God's work. You're doing God's work. (Applause)

5 It is far nobler to kick ass for people that  
6 have less than you do than to kiss the asses of people  
7 that have more than you. (Applause)

8 Art Pulaski. What an amazing leader with what  
9 an incredible team. Extraordinary organizing. He gave  
10 me a real honor today, to introduce our keynote  
11 speaker.

12 And that is a man I have known most of my  
13 adult life, I've worked with him most of my adult life.  
14 And he is a man I know well. I know what he's made of.  
15 And that's Joe Hansen. (Applause)

16 There is nothing more important to Joe Hansen  
17 than giving rise to the voice of working people, to see  
18 justice done, to seek dignity and respect for working  
19 people. It's what makes him tick. He relishes the  
20 charge, he relishes the responsibility, and he works  
21 tirelessly for working people.

22 Joe began his career as a meat cutter in

1 Milwaukee, Wisconsin. And because of his passion, his  
2 unwieldy devotion to the underdog, he has achieved  
3 great things. Great things.

4 Joe's on a first-name basis with the President  
5 of the United States. He is known around the globe,  
6 literally, as a voice for working people that is  
7 respected and powerful.

8 But Joe is every bit as interested in knowing  
9 what a worker, first day on the job is feeling.  
10 Because Joe Hansen has never forgotten where he came  
11 from.

12 Joe is the embodiment of trade union  
13 principles. He's the embodiment of the desire to give  
14 rise to working people, the embodiment of the desire to  
15 achieve dignity and respect for the most  
16 disenfranchised in our society.

17 He is an extraordinary leader with vision and  
18 passion and integrity. Sisters and brothers, please  
19 join me in giving a warm, warm welcome to my union  
20 brother, the leader of the United Food and Commercial  
21 Workers International Union, Joseph T. Hansen.

22 (Standing ovation)

1           BROTHER HANSEN: All right. Jacques, I don't  
2 know what to say except I can say thank you. But we  
3 have an international convention coming up in July next  
4 year. I think I just figured out who's going to give  
5 the nomination speech. (Laughter) That was very nice  
6 and overly kind, and I thank you.

7           Good morning. ("Good morning.") It's really  
8 great for me to come back to California, and I spent a  
9 few years out here that were some of the most  
10 productive years of my whole career. And I'm  
11 particularly pleased to be asked to speak to the  
12 California State Federation of the AFL-CIO.

13           I'll repeat what Jacques said. You have  
14 outstanding leadership. Art Pulaski is the leader of  
15 the State Fed and a close friend of mine, and he works  
16 tirelessly, like we all do, but works as the leader to  
17 get respect and dignity for workers, both the organized  
18 and the unorganized. And I am so pleased that he was  
19 reelected yesterday. And I also am very proud that one  
20 of our own, Conny Leyva, was reelected as president of  
21 the State Fed. (Applause)

22           And I'll congratulate Ron Lind, an outstanding

1 leader of Local 5, who was newly elected to the state  
2 board. (Applause) I'm proud of all the outstanding  
3 leaders of the UFCW in the state. They've all been  
4 tested, and they have provided outstanding leadership  
5 to our members.

6 California has led our country in so many good  
7 things, not only in labor but in a lot of good things.  
8 And when something happens in California, it generally  
9 happens in the rest of the country sooner or later.

10 And some of the best union contracts in our  
11 country are right here in California. Some of the best  
12 UFCW contracts are right here in California with good  
13 wages and benefits and working conditions.

14 And that's not just true of the UFCW. When I  
15 talk to my brothers and sisters in other unions, that's  
16 true of all the unions in California. You have got  
17 something going in this state, and you've kept it  
18 going. And it's due to your belief in the dignity of  
19 work and your solidarity among all of you.

20 Today's environment changes things a little  
21 bit. Because everything that you have and that you've  
22 achieved, it just wasn't handed to you. You had to

1 fight for it. And we have to continue that fight but  
2 in a little bit different way in today's environment.

3 I get around the country quite a bit. And all  
4 across the country we are in the fight for our lives,  
5 the fight for labor rights that have been waged in  
6 states like Wisconsin, where I come from -- I have two  
7 daughters who teach in the public schools in Wisconsin  
8 in Milwaukee -- in Ohio, in Indiana, in Michigan and in  
9 too many other states.

10 Now, brothers and sisters, that fight comes to  
11 California. This is a fight to survive. It's a fight  
12 to be able to represent our members and to protect  
13 their rights to bargain for a better life.

14 I'm only going to talk about one thing today,  
15 because it is the most important thing. And in  
16 California Proposition 32 is being billed as a campaign  
17 for finance reform. But everyone in this room knows  
18 better.

19 Prop 32 is no -- well, I'll say it a little  
20 differently. Prop 32 is a measure to destroy unions,  
21 to take away our seat at the table. It is no different  
22 than what we saw in Ohio or Wisconsin, just in a

1 different form. It is part of a nationwide game plan  
2 to legislate us out of existence.

3 I didn't believe that was possible three or  
4 four years ago. But from what I've seen -- and the  
5 blueprint's there. We saw it in Wisconsin, we saw it  
6 in Ohio, we see it in Indiana. I believe it now. It  
7 is a national game plan to legislate us out of  
8 existence.

9 And sisters and brothers, if they can kill  
10 unions here, if they can kill unions in California,  
11 they can do it anywhere, and the dominoes will start to  
12 fall.

13 Prop 32 is dressed up to look like campaign  
14 finance reform. Brothers and sisters, you know this.  
15 This is not McCain Feingold. It's Citizens United  
16 Part 2. It bans unions from giving a single penny to  
17 political parties for candidates. Yet corporate  
18 special interests -- like my favorite, Wal-Mart -- and  
19 super PACs like Carl Rove's are exempt from these  
20 restrictions.

21 Prop 32 also bans the use of payroll  
22 deductions for politics. Well, guess who uses payroll

1 deductions for politics? We do. And guess who does  
2 not? The big corporations seeking to silence the voice  
3 of workers.

4 They're after our basic right, which is our  
5 right to stick together. Prop 32 is as fair and  
6 balanced as Fox News. (Laughter) It would make a bad  
7 system much worse.

8 So we must fight. But we were born fighting,  
9 and it is what we do best.

10 Now, most of the country is starting to focus  
11 on the presidential election, and rightly so. The  
12 stakes are absolutely enormous. Because we know Mitt  
13 Romney wants Prop 32 for the entire country. The race  
14 is close in many battleground states, but not  
15 California. President Obama will win in California.

16 So what does that mean? That means in this  
17 state, Prop 32 is our presidential election. And  
18 everybody in this room can help determine the outcome.

19 It just seems like yesterday, but I remember  
20 the excitement in 2008 after President Obama was  
21 elected. History was made.

22 But shortly thereafter, we learned that Prop 8



1 had passed, a measure to write discrimination into  
2 California's constitution. It was one step forward and  
3 two steps back. We cannot allow that to happen again.

4           Everybody in this room should be proud. You  
5 have a proud heritage. California has always been at  
6 the forefront of extending rights: civil rights, human  
7 rights, workers rights. Prop 32 flies in the face of  
8 that great tradition.

9           So we have a lot of work to do. Our opponents  
10 are selling this measure as something that it is not.  
11 If it is explained only on their terms, we lose, not  
12 just with the general public -- and it pains me to say  
13 this -- but we lose our members.

14           So we must educate, educate, educate and  
15 communicate, communicate, communicate. We have to  
16 expose the wolf in the sheep's clothing for what it  
17 actually is. More importantly, we have to explain what  
18 is at stake, especially to our members. And then our  
19 members have to talk to their families and to their  
20 friends that what this does is diminishes our voice in  
21 politics, and what that does, it means lower wages,  
22 fewer benefits, and more dangerous workplaces.

1 Everybody in this room knows that. We do know that.  
2 Our members must know that. California's citizens must  
3 know that.

4 And what it really does, besides all that, it  
5 reduces access to the American Dream. It means more  
6 money for CEOs and less for working families. It means  
7 another loss for workers at a time when we simply  
8 cannot afford it.

9 Now, when I travel all over the country and  
10 there's fights in every state, I tell them, and people  
11 around the country understand, that Prop 32 is the  
12 major fight in the battle in the war on workers.

13 And right here in California, like you have  
14 done so many times before, you can send a message to  
15 the whole country: enough. Enough give-aways to the  
16 richest 1 percent at the expense of the rest of us.  
17 Enough treating collective bargaining as a perk instead  
18 of as a basic right. And enough smoke and mirrors.  
19 Prop 32 is nothing more than a love letter to the rich  
20 and the powerful.

21 So sisters and brothers, the whole country is  
22 counting on you. But I believe in you, and that on

1 November 6, with all of your help, the people of  
2 California are going to defeat it and send a message to  
3 the rich and powerful, and we'll be back on the road to  
4 victory. Let's all get to work. Thank you very much.

5 (Standing ovation)

6 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Thank  
7 you, President Hansen. I like that. Prop 32 is  
8 nothing more than a love letter to the rich and  
9 powerful. I like that. Let's use that.

10 So I just want to say that the great UFCW  
11 union deserves a leader of such prominence and respect  
12 as President Joe Hansen. But I want to add one other  
13 thing. Of all the leaders in the nation, he may be the  
14 finest man as well, and that's really a terrific thing.  
15 Thank you, Joe Hansen. (Applause)

16 PRESIDENT LEYVA: All right. Thank you,  
17 President Hansen. Thank you, Art.

18 The chair would now like to recognize one of  
19 the co-chairs of the Legislative Committee Barbara  
20 Blake from UNAC. (Applause)

21 SISTER BLAKE: Good morning. Look at page 2  
22 in the while booklet that was handed out to you this

1 morning. We're going to review Resolution No. 14, Made  
2 In America. this is the final resolution from the  
3 Legislative Committee. So that's page 2 in the white  
4 book, and I'll give you a minute to get there.

5 So the final resolution.

6 (Resolves read.)

7 The committee recommends concurrence, and I so  
8 move. ("Second.")

9 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
10 and a second before you. Delegate at mic No. 1.

11 BROTHER BLOCH: Good morning, brothers and  
12 sisters. My name is Doug Bloch. I'm a delegate with  
13 the California Teamsters Public Affairs Council.

14 And I want to thank my brothers and sisters  
15 from the Steelworkers for introducing this resolution.  
16 I want to tell a good story about Made In America and  
17 why this is important.

18 Our union represents almost 500 people at  
19 GILLIG in Hayward in Alameda county. It's the last  
20 company that manufactures buses in the United States.  
21 (Applause) And I want to recognize also the Painters  
22 and Allied Trades also represent the people at GILLIG.

1           Now, I want to tell you a horrible story that  
2 has a good ending. And that is AC Transit, the bus  
3 system for Alameda and Contra Costa Counties, starting  
4 in the nineties, instead of supporting 450 good union  
5 jobs and a local manufacturer, they started buying  
6 buses from a company called Van Hool in Belgium.

7           With our taxpayer dollars they were flying AC  
8 Transit management over to Belgium, stopping off in  
9 Paris on their junkets. They had an inspector who  
10 lived full time in Belgium and had a house and a car  
11 and a driver and a cook all on our tax dollars.

12           And when the engines broke, instead of  
13 shipping them down the street to Gillig, they had to  
14 fly them to Europe and back.

15           Now, to add insult to injury, the drivers at  
16 AC Transit, who are ATU members -- (Cheers and  
17 Applause) -- thank you, brothers and sisters, didn't  
18 like driving the Van Hool buses. And the passengers  
19 that AC Transit served were complaining about the  
20 Van Hool buses. ("Everything.") I'm almost done.  
21 Thanks for indulging me.

22           Our union got involved and got three people

1 elected to the AC Transit agency, including a  
2 Teamster's son, a young brother named Mark Williams,  
3 who's a Laney College student. And just a few months  
4 ago AC Transit voted to cut ties with Van Hool after  
5 the president of that agency introduced a Buy America  
6 resolution. (Cheers and Applause) And they purchased  
7 over 60 buses, which is enough work to keep 500  
8 Teamsters employed with pensions and full benefits for  
9 over a year. So thank you Steelworkers. (Cheers and  
10 Applause)

11 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Mic No. 3.

12 SISTER HOUSTON: Thank you, brother.

13 Catherine Houston on behalf of United Steelworkers.  
14 Very proud to put forward this resolution for passage.

15 Every day we have been out there in the fray  
16 talking about this for so many years and recognizing  
17 the need to make sure that we buy American and we make  
18 it in America, because that's what makes us job  
19 creators. That's what allows us to bring jobs home.

20 And I want you to know, we take it even one  
21 step further. To our brothers and sisters in CWA I say  
22 to you, for over two years now we made it a policy that

1 anytime we call anyone anywhere and a response is given  
2 that it is not a person with their feet on the USA  
3 soil, we demand to speak to someone here. (Cheers and  
4 Applause)

5 UFCW, there is not a labor T-shirt I own that  
6 does not have your label in it. We work so hard with  
7 Nichole Bennett, Adam Loveall, Jerry Hunsucker. We  
8 wouldn't be able to do this without you partnering with  
9 us in this fight. We are always there for you. You  
10 have always been there for us. Thank you for keeping  
11 it Made In America. (Cheers and Applause)

12 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

13 Delegate at mic No. 4.

14 BROTHER TANENBAUM [phonetic]: Sandy  
15 Tanenbaum, Professional Aviation Safety Specialist.  
16 Progress requires innovation. Innovation begins on the  
17 shop floor. If the shop floor is not in the United  
18 States, the innovators who, either find or invent  
19 better ways to do things, won't be here either.  
20 (Applause)

21 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

22 Delegates, you have a motion before you. All

1 those in favor signify by saying aye. ("Aye.")

2 Opposed no. Motion carries. Thank you. (Applause)

3 SISTER BLAKE: Madam Chair, I'd like to take  
4 this opportunity to thank my cochair, Mickey Kasparian  
5 of UFCW 135. Mickey had to leave early this morning.  
6 If his UFCW brothers and sisters would extend my  
7 appreciation I'd appreciate that.

8 So I want to recognize the following members  
9 of the committee: Jovan Agee from UDW/AFSCME 3930;  
10 Eric Banks from SEIU 221; Michael Bilbrey, CSEA; Joan  
11 Bryant, IUOE 39; Jack Buckhorn, IBEW 551; Tim Cremins  
12 from IUOE State Council; Michelle Crenshaw, IATSE 600;  
13 Bill Demers, CWA 9400; James Lindsay, ATU 1277; Norma  
14 Lopez from IBT 911; Adam Loveall, UFCW 8; Lisa  
15 Maldonado, North Bay Central Labor Council; Rebecca  
16 Miller, SEIU UHW; Kay McVay, CNA; Ellouise Patton,  
17 UFCW 5, Dale Robbins, IBT 315, and Susan Solomon,  
18 AFT 61.

19 With that, Madam Chair, I move the Legislative  
20 Committee be discharged. ("Second.")

21 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
22 and a second before you. All those in favor signify by



1 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.

2 Thank you, and thank you to all the members of  
3 the committee for all their hard work. Thank you,  
4 Barbara.

5 At this time the chair would like to recognize  
6 Mike Garcia from SEIU Service Workers West to introduce  
7 our next guest speaker. (Applause)

8 BROTHER GARCIA: How are we doing out there  
9 this morning? Are we ready to fight? ("Yeah!") Are  
10 we ready to win? ("Yeah!") Are we ready to fight?  
11 ("Yeah!") Are we ready to win? ("Yeah!")

12 So I have the privilege and honor of  
13 introducing and presenting our next speaker who is a  
14 national leader in our Labor Movement and a top leader  
15 in SEIU.

16 Eliseo Medina started his labor career as a  
17 farmworker. And the story, as he tells it, when he was  
18 a young teen-ager he fell off a fruit tree picking  
19 fruit and broke his arm. And looking for something to  
20 do while his arm mended, UFW organizers convinced him  
21 that he should come to work for the union. And he  
22 said, "Well, why not? What else do I got to do?" And

1 that was the start of Eliseo's tremendous and  
2 illustrious career as a labor leader in our Labor  
3 Movement.

4 He grew in the United Farmworkers as an  
5 organizer. He climbed the ranks and became one of the  
6 top leaders and organizers working side by side with  
7 Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, Marshall Ganz and  
8 other UFW leaders to build the UFW to what it was in  
9 those times, in those early years, organizing tens of  
10 thousands of farmworkers. And you know the story.

11 He moved on and went to work for AFSCME,  
12 working with the state union there of AFSCME, public  
13 employees union in Texas, where he learned how to  
14 organize public employees. Quite a jump from  
15 farmworkers to public employees. That gives you an  
16 indication of the kind of leader and organizer Eliseo  
17 is.

18 From there we had the good luck and fortune of  
19 Eliseo deciding to come to work for SEIU where he came  
20 to San Diego and took an assignment as the trustee of  
21 our local there, which has now grown and become  
22 Local 221 in San Diego.

1           And that's when I first met Eliseo when I was  
2 also working for that local as an organizer in the  
3 Janitor Division and began my experience with him,  
4 having the privilege of working with Eliseo, and being  
5 able to learn and study under such a tremendous mentor.

6           Again, Eliseo never stops growing, and he  
7 never stops climbing because of his tremendous  
8 leadership abilities. He became executive vice  
9 president of SEIU as part of Andy Stern's first slate  
10 back in 1996. He headed up the Western Region of SEIU  
11 for years.

12           And Eliseo, always looking for challenge,  
13 decided to leave the comfort of the great blue state of  
14 California and the Western Region and took up the  
15 challenge of leading organizing and building Union  
16 power and strength in the south and southwest where he  
17 led our union to growth in 14 right-to-work states,  
18 14 right-to-work states he had under his belt from  
19 Arizona east to the Atlantic Ocean and Georgia and the  
20 Carolinas.

21           Then just a couple years ago, we had the great  
22 tremendous opportunity of electing Eliseo to become our

1 secretary-treasurer, one of the highest ranking Latino  
2 leaders in our Labor Movement. If you look at just the  
3 pure size of SEIU I guess you could say he was the  
4 leader of the largest union of Latinos in the country.

5 Eliseo is a lot of things. He's a tremendous  
6 role model for all of us, especially us Latinos in  
7 SEIU, and anybody he touches. He's a tremendous  
8 leader, he's a tremendous strategist. And obviously he  
9 must be a pretty good bean counter, because he's our  
10 secretary-treasurer of the largest union in the  
11 country.

12 But I have to tell you, he didn't learn how to  
13 count by counting beans or counting money. Eliseo's  
14 greatest strength is his organizing ability. And if  
15 there's one word to describe Eliseo Medina, it's  
16 "organizer." And he learned how to count by counting  
17 workers, by organizing workers, by building strength  
18 and power of the workers, leading them to the UFW  
19 through elections, as well as public sector workers  
20 across the country, health-care workers in Los Angeles,  
21 janitors in Texas. Eliseo has organized workers, and  
22 that is his strongest strength I believe.

1           But his greatest passion is immigration reform  
2 where he has taken on the responsibility of helping  
3 lead the immigration-reform movement in this country.  
4 And for many of us he is recognized as the leader of  
5 immigration reform in the United States.

6           He never gives up, he reflects on his own  
7 personal history, his history as a farm worker, as an  
8 immigrant that came across the border, as a son of  
9 bracero farmworkers. And he has shared and lived the  
10 pain, the agony of the immigrant existence in this  
11 country, people struggling and fighting and working  
12 hard to earn their way in a country, trying to climb  
13 their way up to achieve the American Dream. That is  
14 what defines Eliseo Medina to the maximum extent.

15           And what he's going to talk to us about this  
16 morning is the importance of the Latino vote where he  
17 also has become a national leader in moving strategies  
18 forward in how to maximize the Latino vote, which we  
19 know is the driving demographic in this country and  
20 this state.

21           And it's not just about Latinos, it's about  
22 winning. Because first and foremost Eliseo is an

1 organizer, and it's about winning, and it's about  
2 counting numbers and about putting those numbers  
3 together and leading workers to victory. And that's  
4 why the Latino vote is so important.

5           It's the rising demographic, it's the number  
6 obviously that drives California. Latinos and people  
7 of color already are the largest part of the majority  
8 in this state. Latinos are the largest part of that.  
9 And California is a bellweather state for the rest of  
10 the country. And that is how Eliseo is trying to  
11 figure out -- and a lot of us across the country -- how  
12 do we capture the Latino vote, how do we drive it to  
13 move our agenda here in California, elect Barack Obama,  
14 win Prop 30, defeat Prop 32, and bring the Latino  
15 workforce into our overall Labor Movement.

16           So with that said, it's a deep honor and  
17 privilege for me to bring up our great leader of SEIU,  
18 our secretary-treasurer, Eliseo Medina. (Standing  
19 ovation)

20           BROTHER MEDINA: Thank you. Thank you, my  
21 brother Mike, for such a generous introduction. And of  
22 course I want to recognize my brothers and sisters from

1 SEIU who are here today. (Applause)

2           So good morning. ("Good morning.") I'll tell  
3 you, it is so good to be home after being in D.C. with  
4 105 degree weather and no electricity. (Laughter) And  
5 of course being with my brothers and sisters here.  
6 We've fought many battles together. We've won more  
7 than our share.

8           But let me tell you, brothers and sisters, we  
9 got our work cut out for us now. You heard from Joe,  
10 and let me just add my own thoughts. I am absolutely  
11 convinced that things are going to hell in a hand  
12 basket for working people in this country.

13           We have seen attacks on the middle class, that  
14 whole generations of organizers gave their lives to  
15 create a better life for their families. And today, in  
16 the richest country in the world, the richest country  
17 in the world, we have seen the growth of income  
18 inequality. We are seeing the fact that we have more  
19 millionaires and rich people than ever before. We have  
20 many, many, many more people. And the middle class is  
21 disappearing.

22           The Henry Fords, who believed that workers

1 should be paid a fair wage so they could afford to  
2 purchase the goods they helped to produce, are long  
3 gone. They have been replaced by the corporate pirates  
4 like Bain Capital which buys companies and squeezes  
5 them until they're dry and then flip them for a profit.  
6 Or they ship the jobs overseas where there are workers  
7 even more desperate than ourselves.

8           And we know that Bain Capital was not just  
9 milking U.S. companies. They are investing in Chinese  
10 companies that are replacing American workers,  
11 encouraging the outsourcing of our jobs, and making  
12 profits on both sides of the world.

13           And the result? Whole communities have been  
14 devastated. Today far too many workers have to work  
15 two and three jobs in order to make ends meet. And  
16 jobs with low wages, no benefits or security.

17           When I came to this country there was a social  
18 compact: eight hours of work, eight hours for break,  
19 and eight hours for sleep. Today it seems like it's  
20 all sleep and work.

21           Brothers and sisters, we also have seen the  
22 attacks on our pension plans. What do we have to look



1 forward to in this country if they destroy our pension  
2 plans? Will we have to work until we die? Are we  
3 going to be a burden to our children because we have  
4 nowhere else to go? We have to do better in this  
5 country. We must do better.

6 But let me just be clear, brothers and  
7 sisters. They are not just trying to destroy work  
8 standards. Their goal is to destroy workplace  
9 democracy, our right to have a union. They have driven  
10 the private-sector union density down to 7 percent, and  
11 now they're after the public sector workers.

12 Joe already talked about what happens in other  
13 states. And let me tell you, if we don't stop them  
14 here in California, we will see right-to-work  
15 legislation here again. We will see the destruction of  
16 Labor, not just as a powerful force, we will see the  
17 destruction of Labor as part of the check-and-balance  
18 system of our society.

19 But they're not just satisfied with breaking  
20 down the conditions at the worksite. They are also  
21 destroying the quality of life in our communities.  
22 When they refuse to pay any taxes like Mitt Romney

1 does, it means huge budget deficits in our states and  
2 in our cities.

3           And let me tell you, I do not believe that we  
4 can prosper if we can't maintain our infrastructure,  
5 our schools, our health-care systems, our cars, our  
6 libraries in the safety net.

7           Brothers and sisters, that's why we need to  
8 not only defeat Proposition 32, we also have to pass  
9 Proposition 30. (Applause)

10           But again, it's not just Labor that's under  
11 attack. They are also attacking immigrants. They are  
12 saying it is their fault that our economy is in the  
13 toilet. Brothers and sisters, it wasn't immigrants who  
14 decided to send the jobs to China. It wasn't our  
15 immigrants who crashed the economy. It wasn't  
16 immigrants who introduced legislation to provide huge  
17 tax cuts to the rich.

18           If we're going to win, brothers and sisters,  
19 we need to build alliances. Because with all due  
20 respect to us, the Labor Movement is not powerful  
21 enough by ourselves to fight the kind of battles that  
22 it will take in order for us to win.

1           We have to unite with churches, with community  
2 groups, with environmentalists, with students, with  
3 women. These are people who share our vision for  
4 America and who will join with us if we reach out to  
5 them.

6           And I also think, as Mike said, let me reach  
7 out to immigrants. Let me tell you, as an immigrant to  
8 this country, we did not come to this country to be  
9 exploited or discriminated. We came to this country  
10 for a better life. (Applause) And immigrants and  
11 Latinos are our natural allies. They are workers just  
12 like us. They share our vision for a more just  
13 society. They are pro-union, and they are under attack  
14 by the same Republicans and corporations who are trying  
15 to destroy unions.

16           And, as Mike said, we are the fastest growing  
17 demographic group in California and across the U.S.  
18 (Applause) We are 17 percent of the national  
19 population, 50.5 million strong. And we are projected  
20 to grow by almost 33 percent by 2025. 33 percent.

21           Three out of five Latino adults are registered  
22 to vote. We need to do better. But what that means is

1 with the growth in the community is that there will be  
2 many more Latino voters ever election cycle. Think  
3 about this one fact. 50,000 Latinos turn 18 every  
4 single month. Every single month. One out of every  
5 two children born in this state are Latino. In 2014  
6 there will be 1.2 million more Latino voters.

7           And if you start projecting that into the  
8 future, you can see where the electorate is heading,  
9 not only in California, but nationally. And brothers  
10 and sisters, let me tell you. If we reach out to them,  
11 they will also be the union members of the future.

12 (Applause) [Inaudible] powerful union.

13           And here's the good news. They are not  
14 confused about who is their friends and who are their  
15 enemies. They heard Mitt Romney say that immigrants  
16 only come to America for a handout; that if he is  
17 elected, he will veto the Dream Act, taking away  
18 opportunity from our young people; and that he supports  
19 laws that discriminate against immigrants to make their  
20 lives so miserable that they will self deport.

21           They also know that the Republican Party  
22 passed Proposition 187 in California, Senate Bill 1070

1 in Arizona, HB56 in Alabama and a host of other  
2 racial-profiling, discriminatory, anti-immigrant laws.  
3 And they know that it is Republicans who oppose  
4 immigration reform and an increase in the minimum wage.  
5 And it is Republicans who support tax cuts for the rich  
6 and repeat of the Affordable Care Act. So yeah,  
7 they're not confused. They're crystal clear.

8           So brothers and sisters, we have to unite with  
9 immigrants and Latino voters. If we do that, we win.  
10 (Applause) We need to give them a message of why this  
11 election in November is critically important. We have  
12 to pass Proposition 30 and defeat Proposition 32. We  
13 have to reelect Barack Obama President of the United  
14 States. (Cheers and Applause)

15           We need to retain control of the Senate, and  
16 we have to take back the House. (Cheers and Applause)

17           If we do that, we all win. We all win. And  
18 with we win, California can once again become the  
19 Golden State where everything is possible and dreams  
20 can still come true.

21           Brothers and sisters, I know we can do this.  
22 It's not going to be easy, but we can do it. I have

1 seen it in my lifetime. I've seen change. I saw  
2 farmworkers, poor immigrants rise up and take on one of  
3 the most powerful industries in America and win.

4 I saw African-Americans in the South, people  
5 who were denied their civil and human rights, march  
6 into the history books and change America forever.

7 We can do this. Brothers and sisters, we can  
8 do this. And I look forward to working with you every  
9 step of the way. We can reclaim the American Dream for  
10 ourselves and for our families.

11 Thank you so much. (Standing ovation)

12 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Sister  
13 Chair, brothers and sisters, in the introduction, Mike  
14 Garcia referred to Eliseo Medina as a mentor and as a  
15 great strategist. Let me second that. When he was in  
16 California as a leader of SEIU he was also on this  
17 Executive Council. And there's no person -- let me say  
18 this personally.

19 There has been no leader of a union in  
20 California that has been more helpful to us to think  
21 about -- as a mentor, to think about how we strategize  
22 building power in California and the building of this

1 Federation.

2 I just want to thank Eliseo Medina for being  
3 such a great leader and such a great mentor and such a  
4 great friend. Thank you, Eliseo. (Applause)

5 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Okay, delegates. At this  
6 time I would like to call your attention back to the  
7 green booklet. And the chair will recognize the  
8 co-chairs of the Resolutions Committee Courtni Pugh and  
9 Victor Uno. And I would also remind the delegates that  
10 we do have quite a few resolutions to get through, so  
11 let's get to work.

12 BROTHER UNO: Thank you, President Leyva.  
13 Delegates please refer to the yellow booklet of  
14 resolutions for Executive Council resolutions. We're  
15 going to look at Resolution 13 entitled "Maximizing  
16 Voter Participation In Communities of Color" on page 10  
17 of the packet of Executive Council resolutions.

18 It concludes with the following resolves:

19 (Resolves read.)

20 The committee recommends concurrence  
21 contingent upon the pre general election opposition to  
22 Proposition 32, and I so move. ("Second.")

1           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
2 and motion before you. All those in favor signify by  
3 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.  
4 Thank you.

5           SISTER PUGH: Resolution No. 3, WellPoint  
6 Political Spending Attacks On Working Families on  
7 page 5 of your green booklet concludes with the  
8 following resolves.

9           (Read resolves.)

10           The committee recommends concurrence, and I so  
11 move. ("Second.")

12           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
13 and a second before you. Delegate at mic No. 2,  
14 please.

15           BROTHER ALBERT: Hi. My name is Pete Albert.  
16 I'm a retired member of the SEIU Local 1021.

17           We are proud to have brought this resolution  
18 to the convention along with our brothers and sisters  
19 from Local 521 of the SEIU. We have already delivered  
20 a message to WellPoint executives and think that this  
21 resolution is an opportunity to show that we are all  
22 concerned about this issue. And we hope that our



1 brothers and sisters in the State Fed will join with us  
2 in supporting this resolution.

3           We're talking about a health-care company,  
4 Anthem Blue Cross, which we're most familiar with, and  
5 its parent company, WellPoint, whose name you may be  
6 less familiar with.

7           Anthem Blue Cross and its parent company  
8 WellPoint are hurting workers and their families.  
9 WellPoint is using our members' premium dollars to  
10 contribute heavily on political campaigns and lobbying  
11 that more often ends up supporting anti-worker policies  
12 such as ending collective bargaining, banning project  
13 labor agreements, and repealing the health-care law.

14           WellPoint gave \$750,000 to the Republican  
15 State Leadership Committee in 2010. This RSLC spent  
16 more than \$370,000 to oppose state-legislator recall  
17 efforts in Wisconsin and thus to protect legislators  
18 who voted to strip most public employees of their  
19 long-held right to bargain collectively.

20           The next year in 2011 WellPoint increased its  
21 contribution to this Republican State Leadership  
22 Committee to \$1.5 million. In addition, this RSLC runs

1 an organization, another group, a front group, called  
2 the State Government Leadership Foundation which  
3 accepts unlimited and undisclosed funds.

4           Among other things, this so-called leadership  
5 organization is currently running an ad targeting  
6 teachers unions where they describe the teachers unions  
7 as the school bully. That's right. It's in the  
8 Resolution No. 3.

9           WellPoint has also contributed more money to  
10 Governor Mitch Daniels who spearheaded the effort to  
11 deny Indiana voters a vote on Indiana's new state  
12 right-to-work law and any other state-level candidate  
13 nationwide since 2003.

14           Between 2006 and 2010 Governor Daniels  
15 received more than \$84,000 from WellPoint companies.  
16 In 2008 WellPoint companies were among the top 20  
17 largest corporate donors to Governor Daniels' campaign.

18           Moving over from Indiana to Ohio, in 2010  
19 WellPoint gave \$72,000 to Ohio Governor John Kasich.

20           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegate, 30 seconds.

21           BROTHER ALBERT: Okay. So in summary,  
22 SEIU 1021 supports the issue of more transparency in

1 political contributions so that WellPoint and other  
2 right-wing groups have to disclose their contributions  
3 to political activity and so-called issues education.  
4 Thank you.

5 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

6 Delegate at mic No. 2.

7 BROTHER ALBERT: Just we're standing together  
8 with Rob Segala [phonetic] from Local 521.

9 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Very good, thank you.

10 Delegate at mic No. 1.

11 BROTHER ACOSTA: John Acosta, Vice President,  
12 Musician Union Local 47. Call for the question.

13 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Do we have a second?

14 ("Second.") All those in favor of calling the question  
15 signify by saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion  
16 carries. Thank you.

17 Delegates, you have before you a motion on the  
18 resolution. All those in favor signify by saying aye.

19 ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries. Thank you.

20 BROTHER UNO: Delegates, Resolution No. 5,  
21 Build a Powerful Nationwide Movement to Save the  
22 People's Post Office on page 9 of the booklet concludes

1 with the following resolves.

2 (Resolves read.)

3 The committee recommends concurrence and I so  
4 move. ("Second.")

5 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
6 and a second before you. All those in favor signify by  
7 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.  
8 Thank you. We have a delegate at mic No. 2? Okay,  
9 we're good. Thank you.

10 SISTER PUGH: Madam Chair, the committee  
11 recommends amending Resolution No. 6, Resolution  
12 Opposed to LACFSU Raid on SEIU 721 County Social  
13 Workers on page 11 in the green booklet. We recommend  
14 amending the title of the resolution to read:

15 "Resolution 6. Resolution Regarding  
16 Inter-Union Raids."

17 We recommend amending the resolution by adding  
18 the following final resolve:

19 THEREFORE, BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED that the  
20 California Labor Federation strongly opposes  
21 the practice of unions raiding or undermining  
22 the bargaining units of other unions

1           regardless of the purpose. Raiding and other  
2           acts of aggression distract all unions from  
3           the higher purpose of building a strong,  
4           unified Labor Movement. It also interferes  
5           with the efforts of central bodies to bring  
6           together unions with common purpose and to  
7           mobilize all of Labor's resources in their  
8           common cause."

9           As so amended the committee recommends  
10          concurrence, and I so move. ("Second.")

11          PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
12          and a second before you. Delegate mic No. 2.

13          BROTHER SCHOONOVER: Bob Schoonover,  
14          President, SEIU Local 721.

15          Our union drafted this motion. This is really  
16          something very SIMPLE. We are in a time of crisis. We  
17          all know that. So far, to close this window -- and I  
18          don't have all the bills -- I spent a quarter million  
19          dollars. This is silly. At the end of the day this  
20          wouldn't have put one more person in the union  
21          movement. We have to quit cannibalizing ourself and  
22          get focused.

1           Now, what could I have done with that quarter  
2 million? (Applause) I may have been able to organize  
3 some people that weren't in a union already, or maybe I  
4 could put it towards Prop 32. That's the enemy. Let's  
5 get headed in the right direction. Thank you.

6 (Applause)

7           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

8           Delegate at mic No. 2.

9           SISTER FLORES: Rachel Flores from 721 here to  
10 support our president Bob Schoonover and all of our  
11 members, but all of Labor in general.

12           This is my first time here, and what an honor  
13 for me. But I have not heard one person say let's not  
14 come together. I have not heard one person here say  
15 let's divide ourselves, but that's what things do,  
16 that's what happens when we raid each other.

17           I heard the brother from Communication Workers  
18 say yesterday how some of his members are sometimes  
19 disgruntled. Well, I say throw the first stone,  
20 because I'm sure that goes for all of us. But does it  
21 mean that we're going to go start talking to the  
22 members and say, Hey, are you happy with your union?

1 Let us help you out.

2 No. What we should say is, How can we help  
3 each other? Let's get together. Let's reach out to  
4 each other around our situations. But our focus is on  
5 32. Thank you, and we support the resolution. Rise up  
6 with us. Let's make a difference. Thank you. (Cheers  
7 and Applause)

8 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, sister.

9 Delegates, all those in favor signify by  
10 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. ("No.") Motion  
11 carries. Thank you.

12 BROTHER UNO: We are going to look at  
13 Resolution No. 8. The committee recommends amending  
14 Resolution 8, Commitment to Organizing, on page 15 of  
15 the green booklet. The committee recommends amending  
16 the second resolve to strike "redirect its own staff  
17 time" to read "continue to direct its own staff time"  
18 for the resolve to read as amended:

19 "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the California  
20 Labor Federation continue to direct its own  
21 staff time and resources to demonstrate a  
22 commitment to organizing."

1           As so amended, the committee recommends  
2 concurrence, and I so move. ("Second.")

3           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
4 and a second before. Delegate at mic No. 1.

5           BROTHER BLOCH: Doug Bloch, California  
6 Teamsters Public Affairs Council. Since my esteemed  
7 brother, Patrick Kelley, is not here, I guess I need to  
8 come to the mic on every item like he does.

9           We introduced this resolution. You heard from  
10 my boss, Joint Council President Rome Aloise, on  
11 organizing a minute ago. He talked about our victory  
12 on Friday down in Kings County at Marquez Brothers.  
13 What he didn't mention is also we registered 500 Latino  
14 voters in Hanford last week. (Applause)

15           And our Joint Council, which goes from  
16 Bakersfield up to the Oregon border, has organized over  
17 10,000 workers since our last biennial convention, and  
18 we're just getting warmed up. (Applause)

19           So the last thing I'll say on this, when I was  
20 a young organizer, somebody who knew a lot more about  
21 it told me, "If we're not growing, we're dying." So  
22 we're proud to bring this resolution to the body and



1 support it. (Applause)

2 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate. All  
3 those in favor of the resolution signify by saying aye.  
4 ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.

5 SISTER PUGH: Resolution 11, On the Offense  
6 Against Corporate Special Interests, on pages 6 and 7  
7 in the yellow of EC resolutions distributed yesterday  
8 concludes with the following resolves:

9 (Read resolves.)

10 The committee recommends concurrence  
11 contingent upon the pre-general election opposition to  
12 Proposition 32, and I so move. ("Second.")

13 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
14 and a second before you. All those in favor signify by  
15 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.  
16 Thank you.

17 BROTHER UNO: Resolution 15. The committee  
18 recommends amending Resolution 15, Resolution for the  
19 Safety of Labor Leaders In Colombia on page 5 of the  
20 booklet of late resolutions distributed on the table  
21 this morning.

22 The committee recommends amending the first

1 and second resolves to add "this convention" to read:

2 "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, in light of these  
3 events, this convention calls upon the  
4 Ministry of Labor of the Republic of Colombia  
5 to take all measures to protect the lives and  
6 well-being of FENSUAGRO leaders, members, and  
7 their families, and to ensure the safety of  
8 Jimmy Ortiz Gutierrez and seek the safe  
9 return of Herman Henry Diaz to his family;  
10 and

11 "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that this convention  
12 calls upon the Ministry to take action to see  
13 that the false and unwarranted charges  
14 against William Mendoza and Juan Carlos  
15 Galvis be dropped and that all measures be  
16 taken to ensure their safety and well-being."

17 And this committee recommends inserting a  
18 third and fourth resolve to read:

19 "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that this convention  
20 supports the ability of all workers and trade  
21 unionists in Colombia to exercise the right  
22 to organize free of intimidation; and

1 "BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that this convention  
2 calls upon the national AFL-CIO to call upon  
3 the Ministry of Labor of the Republic of  
4 Colombia to take action to see that the false  
5 and unwarranted charges against William  
6 Mendoza and Juan Carlos Galvis be dropped and  
7 that all measures be taken to ensure their  
8 safety and well-being.

9 So amended, this committee recommends  
10 concurrence, and I so move. ("Second.")

11 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
12 and a second before you. Delegate at mic No. 2.

13 BROTHER CAMP: Madam Chair, Bill Camp. I'm  
14 the executive secretary of the Sacramento Labor Council  
15 and a member of the Office and Professional Employees  
16 Union, Local 29.

17 Having traveled to Colombia and having invited  
18 Colombians here, it's real important that we remember  
19 that more labor leaders are murdered in Colombia every  
20 year than the entire rest of the world put together.

21 We will never bring democracy to South America  
22 until we unionize the labor force. One third of the

1 members of the National Congress, elected members of  
2 the National Congress, have been implicated in these  
3 assassinations of union leaders.

4           But I would ask that the body consider one  
5 further action, not as an amendment but to take home.  
6 Every member of the State Department who was hired by  
7 Hillary Clinton came from the United States House of  
8 Representatives out of their staff. So every congress  
9 member that comes to your labor council for an  
10 endorsement knows somebody working in the Secretary of  
11 State's office.

12           We have saved the lives of union leaders and  
13 advocates in Honduras, and we should do the same in  
14 Colombia. We should call every single Democrat who  
15 wants our endorsement in Congress and demand that they  
16 call the State Department people they know and put a  
17 stop to these murders, that we are not going to do  
18 business with this country that murders our leadership,  
19 and that the State Department can stop this. They can  
20 put a stop. We give billions of dollars to the army in  
21 Colombia, and they murder our union leaders.

22           We must use our leverage, our United States

1 members of Congress who want our endorsement, to demand  
2 that they make the State Department stop these murders  
3 of these union leaders, and I ask for an "aye" vote.

4 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate. So  
5 noted.

6 Delegate at mic No. 3:

7 BROTHER HIRSCH: My name is Fred Hirsch. I'm  
8 a delegate from Plumbers and Fitters Local 393 in  
9 San Jose, California.

10 I would like to add to what Brother Bill Camp  
11 just said, that this resolution should be sent to the  
12 U.S. ambassador in Colombia and to the president and  
13 vice president of Colombia.

14 This resolution originated in a letter that  
15 was sent by Dan Kovalik, who is the senior general  
16 counsel to the United Steelworkers, who has been  
17 working on issues of Colombia. And with the  
18 encouragement of Leo Gerard, President of the United  
19 Steelworkers of America, has been carrying tort suits  
20 against Drummond Coal for collaborating in the murder  
21 of trade unionists; and against Coca Cola for doing the  
22 very same thing to one of the unions that is mentioned

1 here, SINALTRAINAL, the food workers union in Colombia,  
2 which, at last count that I saw, had lost nine leaders  
3 to paramilitary assassinations aided by the military of  
4 Colombia to which we contribute through Fund Colombia  
5 billions of dollars year by year, billions of dollars  
6 that should be creating jobs right here.

7           And the resolution mentions that William  
8 Mendoza spoke to various unions here in Northern  
9 California some years ago. He was here for a week. He  
10 spoke to 21 unions and solidarity organizations.

11           And when his daughter was four years old, she  
12 was grabbed by paramilitaries and taken into a van.  
13 Her mother ran after that van, caught it at a light,  
14 fought for her daughter, and grabbed her daughter out,  
15 because all traffic stopped and it got the attention of  
16 the people of the community who rescued her daughter  
17 and his daughter.

18           And they have been living in fear --  
19 courageously living in fear and working to organize in  
20 the City of Barrancabermeja, which is controlled  
21 completely by the militaries and the paramilitaries.

22           We have to take action in just the same manner

1 that Brother Camp spoke. And we can stop this  
2 assassination of our counterparts in Colombia with our  
3 tax dollars. Thank you. (Applause)

4 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate. You  
5 have a motion before you to support Resolution 15. All  
6 those in favor signify by saying aye. ("Aye.")  
7 Opposed no. Motion carries. Thank you.

8 SISTER PUGH: The committee recommends  
9 amending Resolution 16, Diplomacy, Not War with Iran -  
10 End Militarization of Foreign Policy on pages 6 and 7  
11 in the booklet of late resolutions distributed on the  
12 tables this morning.

13 The committee recommends amending the final  
14 resolve by striking "President Obama" and adding  
15 "transmittal to President Obama" to read:

16 "BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that we send this  
17 resolution to our representatives in Congress  
18 and the Senate, and to the AFL-CIO for their  
19 concurrence, and transmittal to President  
20 Obama."

21 As so amended, the committee recommends  
22 concurrence, and I so move. ("Second.")

1           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
2 and a second before you. Delegate at mic No. 4.

3           BROTHER ESERMAN: My name is Howard Eserman.  
4 I'm a delegate with Local 3172 AFGE.

5           Our local was a member of USLAW. We support  
6 this resolution. And I want to make one point really  
7 clear for us in AFGE. It's important to oppose the  
8 wars but never to forget to support the warriors.

9           People like myself and my national vice  
10 president, Eugene Hudson, are veterans, and we are  
11 grateful to the assistance all veterans receive from  
12 the Veterans Administration which is represented by a  
13 great union, AFGE.

14           The human cost is what concerns our local. We  
15 see people in our Social Security offices every day who  
16 have been disabled by these wars. People of my  
17 generation, the Vietnam era, have the scars of wars  
18 into their sixties. It's really important that we have  
19 opposition to war. Those of us who have been drafted,  
20 who have been in war, know what it is like, and who  
21 have served.

22           Finally, I just want to mention one thing in



1 support of President Obama. I was lucky enough, after  
2 I got out of the service [inaudible] Vietnam  
3 [inaudible] to get hired by the federal government.  
4 Since that time there has not been very much federal  
5 hiring.

6 Under President Obama we've had a much greater  
7 increasing number of veterans in the federal service.  
8 It's really important that the people who make these  
9 wars, who support these wars, remember to hire the  
10 people who have fought them, the legitimate 1 percent.

11 We urge support for this resolution. Thank  
12 you.

13 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

14 Delegate mic No. 3.

15 BROTHER LINEBARKER [phonetic]: My name is Tom  
16 Linebarker, and I'm from -- locally from the  
17 San Francisco Painters and Allied Trades, Local 913.

18 I wanted to speak in favor of the resolution.  
19 The last resolve says:

20 "There is no way to fund what we must do as a  
21 nation without bringing our troops home from  
22 Iraq and Afghanistan."

1           And that's for the AFL-CIO. This morning I  
2 looked on a website called costofwar.org. California  
3 has lost \$158 billion to these two wars. San Francisco  
4 has lost \$4 billion to these wars since 2001. And  
5 Los Angeles has lost \$13 billion to these wars. We  
6 can't afford wars and prosper as a nation. I  
7 appreciate your support on this resolution. (Applause)

8           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

9           SISTER ROBINSON: Tamekia Robinson, SEIU 1000.  
10 I call the question. ("Second.")

11           PRESIDENT LEYVA: We have a motion to call the  
12 question and a second. All those in favor of calling  
13 the question signify by saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed  
14 no. ("No.") Motion carries to call the question.

15           Delegates, you have Resolution 16 before you.  
16 All those in favor signify by saying aye. ("Aye.")  
17 Opposed no. Motion carries. Thank you.

18           BROTHER UNO: Resolution 17. The committee  
19 recommends amending Resolution 17 entitled Resolution  
20 On Poverty, Jobs and Immigration in the packet of late  
21 resolutions distributed on the table this morning.

22           The committee recommends striking "guarantee"

1 in second, third and fifth resolves, and amending with  
2 the word "demand" and strike "terminated" in the fourth  
3 resolve and amend it with "terminates."

4 So amended the committee recommends  
5 concurrence, and I so move. ("Second.")

6 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
7 and a second before you. All those in favor signify by  
8 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.  
9 Thank you.

10 SISTER PUGH: The committee recommend  
11 referring Resolution 18 entitled Resolution On Health  
12 Care for the 99% to the Executive Council for  
13 consideration, and I so move. ("Second.")

14 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
15 and a second before you, delegate at mic No. 3.

16 BROTHER LIND: Thank you, Madam President.  
17 Ron Lind from UFCW Local 5 and a member of the  
18 Resolutions Committee speaking in support of the  
19 recommendation.

20 This is a long and late resolution that came  
21 from folks at my local union. Basically it is to  
22 support of universal health care, which this body is

1 already long on the record supporting.

2 We think there are some other components of  
3 the resolution that we may want to incorporate into  
4 future policy statements. We just need some time and  
5 some ability to work on that on the Executive Council.  
6 So again, I'm speaking for the recommendation.

7 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

8 Delegates, you have a motion and a second  
9 before you. All those in favor signify by saying aye.  
10 ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries. Thank you very  
11 much.

12 Thank you to the committee at this time. And  
13 the chair recognizes Executive Secretary-Treasurer Art  
14 Pulaski.

15 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Sister  
16 Chair, brothers and sisters, so a couple of speakers at  
17 this convention have said that this is the best  
18 Federation in the country. Let me just tell you that  
19 this is the best Federation in the country. It is  
20 because the leaders, you and your unions, because of  
21 the way that you work collectively as a collective  
22 Union Movement to advance the cause of the working

1 people of California. So let's here it for the unions  
2 in California, you and the leaders, the best damn  
3 [inaudible]. (Applause)

4           You're supposed to stand up to do that.  
5 (Laughter) So the other -- now the other component of  
6 this is this next component. This is a really crucial  
7 portion of the work that we do.

8           The Strategic Planning Committee is a  
9 committee of a number of leaders representing the top  
10 leaders of the top 14, 15 unions in the state that  
11 comes together, that puts together strategic plans for  
12 this Federation.

13           It is one of the things that makes us unique,  
14 one of the things that makes us a model for the rest of  
15 the country, and it is, in fact, a model. What they do  
16 is they come together, they look at how we need to  
17 build a stronger Labor Movement. They look at how we  
18 hold each other accountable for build a stronger Labor  
19 Movement, how we set standards and goals and bench  
20 marks for how we operate.

21           This all comes in the midst of a heated  
22 planning meeting. They've done remarkable work.

1 They're going to be giving you a presentation on how  
2 they put together the blueprint for action for winning  
3 this November.

4           So please pay close attention to this series  
5 of presentations we're about to do. And by the way,  
6 part of the great success of this important committee  
7 is because it's got both great leaders and members on  
8 it, and in particular also a great chairman. Please  
9 welcome the chairperson of the Strategic Planning  
10 Committee. I'm so delighted that he's now a vice  
11 president of the Federation. A leader of the IBEW,  
12 District 9, Mike Mowery. (Applause)

13           BROTHER MOWERY: Thank you. Well, good  
14 morning sisters and brothers delegates. ("Good  
15 morning.")

16           Prop 32 is our Wisconsin moment, if you will,  
17 here in California. You know, I am so proud, like our  
18 Executive Secretary-Treasurer Pulaski has stated, of  
19 the leadership of the Trade Union Movement in our great  
20 State of California.

21           Two years ago there was a red tide that swept  
22 this country, and it stopped at the West Coast, at

1 California, Washington and Oregon, even Nevada and  
2 Hawaii, we stopped that red tide.

3 Our Wisconsin moment, Prop 32, is an  
4 intentional attempt to undermine the political prowess  
5 that we possess here in California.

6 Unlike Wisconsin though, we cannot afford to  
7 have any less results and success than defeating  
8 Prop 32. We can't lose this campaign.

9 So here's our goal. We need 76 percent of  
10 every member of every union, every affiliate, in  
11 California. And tug along our family members and our  
12 neighbors and our church family and the Little League  
13 team, anybody we can. We need to deliver 76 percent  
14 votes of our membership to defeat Prop 32.

15 So brothers and sisters, think about your  
16 union. I know I'm thinking about my union, the IBEW.  
17 I love it so dearly. It's given me everything in my  
18 life that is good. And I know that you feel the same  
19 way, or you wouldn't be at this convention of the  
20 California State Fed. We love our Union Movement.

21 I don't believe all of our members feel the  
22 same as you and I do about it, about our union and the

1 Trade Union Movement here, but we need to impart to  
2 them what's at stake here. Everything that is good in  
3 our lives for you and me, sisters and brothers, comes  
4 from our union.

5 I look at the youth last night that got  
6 awards, Local 1245, a great group of young people that  
7 are energized, engaged. The young workers from Santa  
8 Clara. And I think about my kids. You know, I'm  
9 getting a little bit long in the tooth.

10 For those of you that don't know that term --  
11 most of you probably do; you're a little long in the  
12 tooth -- it's about a horse. As they get older their  
13 teeth start getting longer. See that?

14 But I think of long in the tooth to the youth.  
15 And we go into the future. Those energized young trade  
16 unionists that were awarded last night and others, in  
17 every one of our unions what are we handing them? We  
18 need to hand them what we were given: an opportunity to  
19 serve the Labor Movement here in California.

20 So we must make the fight to beat  
21 Proposition 32 our priority. Is it our priority?  
22 ("Yes.") Sometimes I think we beat an issue to death.



1 And we've talked and talked and talked about Prop 32.  
2 And I think our members feel like we beat an issue to  
3 death. But Prop 32 is one that we're going to beat to  
4 death. (Applause) And deserves death.

5 So let's motivate our members be to understand  
6 what's on the line for them, what's at stake. Let's  
7 build understanding of why politics matters to our  
8 Trade Union Movement.

9 And most importantly, this threat needs to  
10 become an opportunity. Let's build the Union Movement  
11 stronger, better, more solidarity so that that youth,  
12 that future generation, is launched into the coming  
13 years to grow our movement.

14 So there are four key elements that we need to  
15 win. They're outlined in the blueprint, which I  
16 believe every delegate here and local unions have  
17 received. And it also shows a tracker chart so that  
18 you can determine what -- victory tracker -- we've got  
19 it all.

20 The State Fed, under the leadership and the  
21 officers and the staff, have put together a strategic  
22 plan. All we need to do is implement it fully. So I

1 would like to ask Rick Eiden from the UFCW Local 324,  
2 President of the Orange County Central Labor Council,  
3 to emphasize the critical need for member volunteers.  
4 Brother Eiden.

5           BROTHER EIDEN: Thank you, Mike. We know that  
6 this battle affects every member and their family  
7 personally. If our members understand what's at stake,  
8 we know that they'll volunteer, right? ("Yes!") We  
9 have to make a personal connection with our members.  
10 We can't just tell them to vote no on Prop 32. We need  
11 to give them a reason to vote no.

12           Our power is in our members. At UFCW we have  
13 170,000 members throughout this state. Collectively we  
14 have 2.1 million members in the state of California.  
15 All of us in this room together can't make a difference  
16 without our members. Our members is our power. Is  
17 that right? ("Yes!")

18           Let's put it directly on the line and ask  
19 every member possible to get involved. Our members at  
20 UFCW will be walking precincts, will be filling those  
21 labor-council phone lines every single night and every  
22 single weekend to make sure that we make a difference.

1           We have raised the bar this year to activate  
2 more than 1 percent of our members. Let's set a higher  
3 goal. 25 member volunteers for every 2000 members. We  
4 plan to do even more than that. You can count on us.  
5 Can we count on you? ("Yes!") Thank you, Mike.

6 (Applause)

7           BROTHER MOWERY: Thank you, Rick.

8           I'd like to ask Yvonne Walker, President of  
9 SEIU Local 1000, to lay out the importance of a  
10 worksite program and to talk to our union members.

11          SISTER WALKER: Thanks Mike. How's everybody  
12 doing this morning? ("Good.") All right. Brothers  
13 and sisters, you know we work very hard for our labor  
14 councils. We walk, we phone bank, we contact our  
15 members. But we barely reach 25 percent of our  
16 members. Because you know what? Caller ID, they're  
17 not answering the phone, or they're just not home  
18 because they're working second jobs.

19          But we know where we can find them, right?  
20 Right where can we find them? ("At work.") At work.  
21 Every single day we find them at work.

22          So let me ask you. I've seen the opposition

1 video. Have any of you seen it? ("Yes.") It's very  
2 scary. Let me let you in on a little shameful secret  
3 from Local 1000. We showed that video to a small  
4 segment of our workers. And initially they started  
5 clapping, because they thought yay, this is a good  
6 thing.

7           We said, "Whoa, wait a minute. That's really  
8 not what it is." And once we educated them, they took  
9 that step back. I know we're not the only union where  
10 that's happened. It's slick, it's deceptive, and it's  
11 untrue.

12           And our members will support that message of  
13 campaign finance reform unless we are reaching out to  
14 them as their tested messengers, their coworkers, with  
15 the right message.

16           We have to get to a 76 percent no vote, and we  
17 need to talk to over 50 percent of our members at work,  
18 at our hiring halls, at every event that we have, at  
19 every gathering that we have.

20           And that's like a little scary when you think  
21 how can I fit another thing on my calendar. But it  
22 absolutely must be done.

1           At Local 1000 we are beginning an  
2 unprecedented effort for all of our work sites. We've  
3 just gotten started. We have commitment cards to nail  
4 down the no votes at the work sites and wherever we're  
5 meeting our members.

6           And we're asking you to join us in developing  
7 a system in your union to talk to your members, collect  
8 the commitment cards to vote no so that we can track  
9 our supporters.

10           So I just can't emphasize enough, talking to  
11 members at our work sites, that's our game changer this  
12 year. If we don't reach our members at work, they'll  
13 be totally vulnerable to the opposition campaign, and  
14 we will lose this fight. Let me stress again, we will  
15 move this fight unless we connect with our members at  
16 the worksite and wherever they are.

17           So we're all going to mail, call and walk, but  
18 we have to know that's not going to be enough this  
19 year. We have to charge ourselves up and get to every  
20 worksite and every member.

21           And let's make sure that we do our first sweep  
22 by Labor Day and get to our members before the

1 opposition really goes on TV. And then we'll do a  
2 sweep again in the fall. This is really very  
3 important.

4 So please stand up if you're with me to do  
5 this, if you've made this commitment. Please stand up.

6 All right. (Applause) (Chants of "Si se puede!")

7 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, Yvonne.

8 Delegate at mic No. 1.

9 SISTER MARZATTO: My name is Mary Marzatto  
10 I'm a San Francisco vice president for IFPTE Local 21.  
11 Our union represents 7,000 public employees working for  
12 cities, counties, bridge, water and transportation  
13 districts in the Bay Area.

14 They are engineers who maintain the Golden  
15 Gate Bridge, work in information technology, enforce  
16 labor laws, test drinking water to keep it safe, and  
17 many other public services that residents count on but  
18 may not see.

19 While our union has always been engaged in  
20 civic life, we only started member-to-member organizing  
21 in the past few years. We want to share with you how  
22 our union collected the two handfuls of commitment

1 cards that we are going to present to the Strategic  
2 Committee today.

3           BROTHER GRIFFIN: Good morning, brothers and  
4 sisters. My name is Larry Griffin. I'm a member of  
5 IFPTE Local 21, and I'm the political action chair for  
6 San Francisco. And I work for the Office of Labor  
7 Standards Enforcement. We enforce San Francisco labor  
8 laws.

9           We collected the cards we're turning in today  
10 in two ways. First we approached members we knew were  
11 probably not registered to vote at work, asked them to  
12 register, and got them to sign up and vote No On 32.  
13 And in many cases they also volunteered for the  
14 campaign.

15           Second, we went to chapter meetings to talk  
16 about Prop 32 and asked people to sign up there. Even  
17 though it's the middle of summer and we just finished  
18 the June election seven weeks ago, the response has  
19 been very positive. We found that there is no  
20 substitute for asking face to face.

21           In 2010 we mobilized a little under 4 percent  
22 of our members to volunteer. This year we hope to bump

1 that up to 4.5 or even 5 percent.

2 We look forward to working with all of you  
3 brothers and sisters at phone banks and walking door to  
4 door this fall. Thank you. (Applause)

5 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.  
6 Delegates in the back of the room, if you're chatting  
7 I'm going to ask you to step outside. If you're quiet,  
8 you may stay.

9 Delegate at mic No. 2.

10 SISTER CAMACHO: Hi. Thank you very much for  
11 coming up before the delegates. My name is Josie  
12 Camacho. I'm the secretary-treasurer of the Alameda  
13 Labor Council, and I proudly stand here with executive  
14 committee members and our officers.

15 We have President Connolly from SUP; Gary  
16 Jimenez from SEIU 1021; Shawn Stark, IAFF 55 -- what's  
17 your name? -- Jeff Delbono, 689 -- I was just  
18 kidding -- Brian Lester, OE 3; Keith Gibbs, CWA; Yvonne  
19 Williams, ATU 192; Tom Mullarkey, IBEW 595; Doug Jones,  
20 IBT Joint Council 7 -- I'm sorry, I'm sorry, I get the  
21 Dougs mixed up. Doug Bloch, IBT, Joint Council 7, and  
22 John Crosatto, IAM 1546. And we are joined by Sister



1 Barrett from SUP.

2 And I just want to say, because I was inspired  
3 by Secretary-Treasurer Art Pulaski and Brian Bloom from  
4 our political director in a conversation 10 days ago.  
5 They said, "Josie, can you get your council to bring in  
6 cards to the State Federation?" And I said yes, and my  
7 political director, Liz Ortega.

8 And what we did is we set a goal of 500 cards.  
9 We come before you with 1,191 cards in nine days.

10 (Applause) No On 32. ("Don't be burned by 32"  
11 chanted)

12 Don't be burned by 32. And I have to say,  
13 full disclosure, I got that from my husband Victor Uno  
14 IBEW 595. Thank you.

15 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegates.

16 Delegate mic No. 2.

17 SISTER JIMENEZ: Lucille Jimenez, OPEIU,  
18 Office and Professional Employees. (Cheers)

19 We are committed in Alameda County to continue  
20 to collect No On 32 cards, to talk to every member that  
21 we have, to host worksite potlucks, to make sure that  
22 everyone is informed.

1           We are committed to hosting phone bankings at  
2 Alameda County Labor Federation to continue to support  
3 the opposition for No On 32.

4           We will be having National Night Out where we  
5 will be talking to all of our neighborhoods, all of our  
6 neighbors to making sure that everyone is opposed to No  
7 On 32, that everyone shows up or signs up beforehand to  
8 vote No On 2. Thank you. (Cheers and Applause)

9           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

10          Delegate on mic No. 4.

11          SISTER MESSER: Alisa Messer, AFT 2121. We  
12 represent faculty at City College of San Francisco.  
13 That's counselors, librarians and instructors. And we  
14 are in the fight of our life for public education and  
15 higher education in California.

16          And I rise before you today to say that there  
17 is so much going on with the Labor Movement at the  
18 moment, and particularly in education. And Sister  
19 Walker mentioned that we have a lot to do.

20          Well, one of the things we need to do is  
21 Proposition 32. We need to make sure to stop 32. And  
22 right now, just in the last two weeks, our college is

1 fully under attack. Our accreditation is under attack.

2 But we took the last week with members going  
3 out into the field, while we're talking about  
4 everything else going on and while school is not in  
5 session, to also talk about Prop 32 and the power grab  
6 that's happening with Prop 32.

7 I'm going to give you just a moment, I'm going  
8 to ask Kathy Bowen [phonetic] who has been out in the  
9 field and is one of our rank-and-file activists to say  
10 something about what that's been like at this time when  
11 it's very busy and yet we're making time.

12 SISTER BOWEN: It's been really good to be out  
13 there, especially in this intense time, to find out how  
14 much people care and how concerned they are about the  
15 welfare of our students and the future of our school,  
16 and the kind of political power that they need to make  
17 sure they can maintain.

18 Some people just couldn't wait to sign the  
19 cards. I don't think anyone refused the information  
20 because they're teachers, they're thoughtful. And I  
21 told them that they could just mail it back to our  
22 office.

1           So it's kind of a gift right now to be able to  
2 talk to our members about what's happening and how  
3 important defeating Prop 32 is.

4           SISTER MESSER: So with that said, I wanted to  
5 turn in these cards today. And we'll be out collecting  
6 more cards. We hope everyone else will as well.

7           And I just wanted to say at the same time we  
8 need to be talking about stopping the corporate power  
9 grab of the rich, we also need to be talking about  
10 taxing the rich. We need to get off the defensive, and  
11 we need to get on the offensive. Thank you.

12 (Applause)

13           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate. The  
14 chair would like to recognize Vice President Mike  
15 Mowery.

16           BROTHER MOWERY: Thank you. And thank you,  
17 Yvonne, and particularly thank those that spoke from  
18 the floor that are already out getting the pledge cards  
19 signed and turned in.

20           Pieces of mail that go out from our local  
21 unions, either through a newsletter or letters, are  
22 very critical, and they're vital. But only if they

1 come from somebody that they have maybe elected or  
2 worked with or know. It is vitally critical that we  
3 get the information to our members through whatever  
4 means.

5 I would like to ask Robert Smith of Painters  
6 and Allied Trades, District Council 36 to talk to us  
7 about the mail piece.

8 BROTHER SMITH: Good morning, brothers and  
9 sisters. I'd like to start off by thanking the SEIU  
10 for giving me breakfast this morning. I stumbled into  
11 their private breakfast, and they fed me, and I  
12 apologize. It was very good. (Laughter)

13 Every campaign season we're always told about  
14 the importance of personal letters from our leadership  
15 to our members. And many of us just don't get the  
16 letters sent out. We rely on other people, we may rely  
17 on the CLC or the state or the Building Trades or a  
18 flier to go out.

19 But it is very critical this time around that  
20 all of us --- everybody in this room is a leader of  
21 some sort, some more than others. But we all have  
22 input within our local unions. And within our local

1 unions we should ask and drive our leadership to be  
2 sure that we get out these letters.

3           When letters come to my house, if it's from  
4 the union my wife always opens it. I think she thinks  
5 it's a vacation check or something. (Laughter) But  
6 she'll open it. And whatever it is, she reads the  
7 letter, and when I get home she'll tell it to me.

8           So women are a little stronger at reading mail  
9 than most of us men are, and I take my hat off to my  
10 wife and anyone else who opens mail. I apologize.  
11 She's not here, so I'm safe.

12           SISTER KESSLER: I'm going to tell her.

13           BROTHER SMITH: Yeah.

14           You know, I mentioned yesterday to a few  
15 Building Trades folks upstairs in the room, probably  
16 after the last six, eight months the hardest thing  
17 that's been for me is talking with elected officials  
18 that call for money. They all call. They all need  
19 money. You know, it's election time, you know, it's  
20 ATM time is what I call it, you know, the Labor ATM,  
21 they come to us, all of us who are friends, et cetera.

22           And the last six, eight months I've had to

1 literally tell them no. And that's very hard. It's  
2 extremely hard. And as I sat and thought -- they would  
3 ask me why, and I would tell them, "We've got this  
4 proposition coming." At that time earlier we had no  
5 idea that it would be named Prop 32.

6           And then I started asking them -- you know,  
7 that means they'd call you back in six weeks and ask  
8 you again for a check.

9           And then I decided that I would start asking  
10 them, that in their town hall meetings, and in their  
11 meetings, and in their communications to the open  
12 voters, to talk about this issue that's coming before  
13 Californians, that they're trying to put the coup de  
14 grace to Labor's head and take us out. Because they're  
15 trying to take us out.

16           So I think that between all of the folks in  
17 the room here that represent the north to the south,  
18 everywhere in the state, and all the elected leaders,  
19 as they come to us, we need to ask them also to get  
20 involved in their communications with people.

21           Because the only way we're going to beat  
22 Prop 32 is through communication and education. And

1 our communication piece will be to our members, and the  
2 letters are critical. Mail the three letters, you  
3 know.

4 We should be doing one -- let me go to my  
5 notes here. We should be doing one now before Labor  
6 Day before the opposition gets their campaign up and  
7 running and going. We should do another one in  
8 September, and then we need to do one just prior to  
9 GOTV.

10 And, you know, it's hard for me not to be very  
11 passionate and get all jumpy and going. I try my best.  
12 But some day -- some day, you know, who knows. But the  
13 thing is, get those letters out. Thank you.

14 (Applause)

15 BROTHER MOWERY: Thank you, Robert.

16 And the fourth critical piece of this campaign  
17 is recruiting and releasing our members who work full  
18 time, release staff. I would like to introduce this  
19 man of IBEW 1245, the largest IBEW local in the Western  
20 United States, Tom Dalzell. (Applause)

21 BROTHER DALZELL: Today's lesson comes from  
22 the Book of Samuel. When David went into battle with



1 Goliath -- see the analogy here? We're David and  
2 they're Goliath. When David went into battle with  
3 Goliath he did two things before battle. He prayed to  
4 his God, and he went to a riverbed and searched for and  
5 found five smooth stones. With one of those smooth  
6 stones he slayed Goliath.

7           So as we go into battle, what are our smooth  
8 stones? Our greatest resource, our smooth stones I  
9 believe are our members. By engaging our members  
10 directly in this battle, we gain credibility with our  
11 own members. Nobody is listened to better than one  
12 member to the other.

13           And also we engage in union building by,  
14 instead of fighting the fight for our members, we ask  
15 our members to fight the fight with us.

16           At Local 1245 we have a core group that we put  
17 together a couple years ago, mostly young workers. And  
18 over the last few years we have sent them to Florida  
19 where they worked with firefighters against very bad  
20 legislation that Governor Scott was proposing. We sent  
21 them twice to Wisconsin and once to Ohio.

22           And that core group has now become our

1 captains in this fight. And we plan to expand this  
2 too, so that by Labor Day we'll have 50 of our members  
3 off, released full time, working on the campaign, and  
4 we hope more by the end.

5           If you do the Governor Brown arithmetic and  
6 then extrapolate that level of commitment here, the  
7 level of commitment that's been talked about, there's  
8 no reason that we can't have 5- or 10,000 union members  
9 off the job working, engaging in this fight.

10           I began with the Bible, I'm going to end with  
11 the Free Speech Movement and tell you that you will  
12 recognize our members when they're working with central  
13 labor councils by the t-shirts they're wearing. And it  
14 simply says "Screw You Prop 32." (Laughter, Cheers and  
15 Applause)

16           BROTHER MOWERY: It goes right along with  
17 beating it to death. (Laughter) That is great.

18           So brothers and sisters, I don't know about  
19 you, but I am so sick and tired of being a labor leader  
20 and being on my heels. It seems like I've been on my  
21 heels in the Labor Movement since I began. And it's  
22 time, brothers and sisters, we get on our toes. We

1 need to defeat Prop 32 in a fashion and a manner that  
2 they will go away to their creepy little holes and stay  
3 out of California. (Applause)

4           So are we committed to this fight? ("Yeah!")  
5 We'll make it a priority? ("Yeah!") Are we going to  
6 engage our members? ("Yeah!") Are we going to grow  
7 our union? ("Yeah!") This threat, will we make it an  
8 opportunity to advance trade unionism within every  
9 local union, every affiliate of the State Federation of  
10 Labor in California? ("Yeah!")

11           What kind of "yeah" was that? ("Yeah!")

12           SISTER KESSLER: Heck yeah.

13           BROTHER MOWERY: All right, brothers and  
14 sisters, God bless you. Let's fight this good fight.  
15 Let's win it. Let's turn this state into a stronger  
16 union state from whence we received it. (Applause)

17           PRESIDENT LEYVA: I don't think there's any  
18 way that any of us can't be fired up after that  
19 presentation. A special thank you to Mike, Yvonne, Tom  
20 and Robert. We especially like those shirts, Tom, good  
21 call.

22           The chair once again would like to recognize

1 the co-chairs of the Resolutions Committee, Courtni  
2 Pugh and Victor Uno for what I believe is now our last  
3 resolution of the day. (Applause)

4 SISTER PUGH: Resolution 12, Campaign Plan In  
5 Every Union to Defeat Proposition 32 on pages 8 and 9  
6 of the packet of Executive Council resolutions  
7 concludes with the following resolves.

8 (Resolves read.)

9 The committee recommends concurrence  
10 contingent upon the pre-general election opposition to  
11 Proposition 32, and I so move. ("Second.")

12 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
13 and a second before you. All those in favor signify by  
14 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.  
15 Thank you very much.

16 SISTER PUGH: Madam Chair, I'd like to take  
17 this opportunity to thank my cochair, Victor Uno, from  
18 IBEW 595, and the following members of the committee:  
19 John Acosta, AFM 47; Paul Ahrens, IATSE Local 2; Jenn  
20 Badgely, IBEW Local 569; Tom Brandon, IAM Local 1596;  
21 Dave Connolly, SIU; Cesar Diaz, SBCTC; Jeff Freitas,  
22 CFT/AFT Council; Ron Lind, UFCW Local 5; Stephanie

1 Olvera, CWA Local 9423; Mark Ramos, UFCW Local 1428;  
2 Delores Rodriguez, CSEA; Bob Strello, IBT Local 853;  
3 Yvonne Walker, SEIU Local 1000; Yvonne Williams, ATU  
4 Local 192; and John Fowler, SEIU Local 1000.

5 With that, Madam Chair, I move that the  
6 Resolutions Committee be discharged. ("Second.")

7 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
8 before you to discharge the committee. Delegate at mic  
9 No. 3.

10 BROTHER O'HIGGINS: Iain O'Higgins, Local 728,  
11 IATSE. Just for the record, Paul Ahrens is not  
12 Local 2; representative for District 2, IATSE, just for  
13 the record.

14 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you very much,  
15 delegate.

16 All those in favor signify by saying aye.  
17 ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries. Thank you very  
18 much to the co-chairs.

19 At this time the chair would like to recognize  
20 the chair of the Credentials Committee, Marci Newman  
21 from the Teamsters. (Applause)

22 SISTER NEWMAN: Madam President, your

1 Credentials Committee has been meeting in this hotel  
2 since Monday, July 23rd at 4:00 p.m. An updated final  
3 roster of delegates and alternates has been produced  
4 and is posted on the wall of this meeting room.

5 Madam President, I move that the report of the  
6 Credentials Committee be adopted. ("Second.")

7 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, Chairwoman. All  
8 those in favor signify by saying aye. ("Aye.")  
9 Opposed no. Motion carries. Thank you.

10 SISTER NEWMAN: At this time I would like to  
11 thank the members of the committee. Joe Coy, San  
12 Joaquin CLC; John Frahm, UFCW 5; Martel Fraser,  
13 UFCW 770; Karen Gardner, CSEA; Mickey Harrington,  
14 Butte-Glenn CLC; Julie Lind, San Mateo CLC; Nikki  
15 Linnerman, SEIU 1000; Luz Nunez, AFT, 1521A; Sue Potts,  
16 ATU 1704; Jon Riley, Napa Solano CLC; Zazette Scott,  
17 UFCW 1428; Chris Snyder, IUOE 3; Loretta Stevens,  
18 CUHW 4034; and also the Labor Fed staff that helped us,  
19 Inez, Gloria, Rick and Terry. Thank you. (Applause)

20 Madam President, I move that the Committee of  
21 the Credentials be discharged. ("Second.")

22 PRESIDENT LEYVA: You have a motion and a

1 second before you. All those in favor signify by  
2 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.  
3 Thank you, delegates. The chair would like to  
4 recognize Executive Secretary-Treasurer Art Pulaski.

5 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Thank  
6 you kind brothers and sisters. I have a few  
7 announcements I have to make before we begin the  
8 important activity of endorsing candidates for the 2004  
9 elections.

10 First of all, I want to give a special thanks  
11 from leaders in the room. I want to make you jealous.  
12 I want to say that the staff of the Federation is the  
13 best staff ever [inaudible]. (Applause) It's the  
14 hardest working staff I have ever seen. This  
15 convention went well today so far -- so far  
16 (Laughter) -- because of the staff, because of you.

17 So I want to give a special, special thanks to  
18 the really talented staff led by, of course, our chief  
19 of staff, the extraordinary, special Angie Wei.

20 (Standing ovation)

21 I kid you not, they're just extraordinary  
22 people all around.

1           I also want to give a special shout out to the  
2 best Executive Council of any Labor Movement in the  
3 country as well. [Inaudible] (Applause) They spent  
4 all day on Monday preparing for this, and I want to  
5 also thank them for making this convention a great  
6 success.

7           So also thanks to the color guard yesterday  
8 morning, the good members of the Firefighters  
9 Local 798.

10           Also, in particular, of course, as always, we  
11 want to give a special thanks to the people who have  
12 taken care of us in this hotel, set it up [inaudible].  
13 (Applause)

14           The videographer. Give a special thanks to  
15 Doug Hunt who spent a lot of time [inaudible].  
16 (Applause) He's really an exceptional guy, and he did  
17 it through dinner and did it without taking any breaks.  
18 It's illegal. (Laughter) We just violated the law.  
19 Doug, thank you. You're terrific. (Applause) A  
20 member of IFPTE Local 600.

21           And also the AV technicians, Elton Ally  
22 [phonetic] on the sound. Elton, thank you very much.



1 (Applause) He's a two-time Tony Award winner for the  
2 stage.

3 Our projectionist, Matt. Matt, where are you?

4 (Applause) Thank you, Matt.

5 And the members of IATSE Local 16 for the work  
6 they did setting up the stage. (Applause)

7 Another unsung hero is our photographer, Scott  
8 Pearson. (Applause)

9 And people don't know it, but Denice  
10 Lombard -- where are you? There you are, over there.

11 Denice Lombard, the recorder, OPEIU Local 3.

12 (Applause) [Inaudible] the past few days. What a hero  
13 she is.

14 Thank you to the Pete Escovedo Orchestra last  
15 night. That was great. (Applause)

16 I'm also told that we should thank the print  
17 vendors, Lithographic Reproductions, Autumn Press,  
18 Madison Street Press and the California Firefighters,  
19 all working under the Allied Trades, of course. And  
20 also [inaudible] sign, [inaudible]. (Applause)

21 And also a special thank you to another quiet  
22 soul, and that is the man hiding behind the beard to my

1 left, to your right, Charlie Scully, General Counsel  
2 and our constitutional specialist. (Applause)

3 So we're going to dismiss committees, but stay  
4 tight, because we're going to get into the political  
5 endorsements.

6 But first it's my duty now to thank the  
7 committees for their work, all except the sergeants at  
8 arms. They're special.

9 The Resolutions Committee -- and we've given  
10 you their names once before, and their names are also  
11 printed in the packet. For the Resolutions Committee,  
12 the Legislation Committee and the Constitution  
13 Committee, with our thanks very much for a job well  
14 done, I now move that we dismiss those committees for  
15 their work. ("Second.")

16 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
17 and a second before you. All those in favor signify by  
18 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.

19 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Now,  
20 the sergeants at arms have to wait until the very end,  
21 because I said to a couple of them, based on my past  
22 life experience, the convention is never over until one

1 delegate takes a swing at another. (Laughter)

2           And the sergeants are doing too good of a job.  
3 You got to close your eyes and take a rest every now  
4 and then. But anyway, we can't thank them. Keep an  
5 eye on these people. Somebody may still try to take a  
6 swing at somebody. Thank you to the sergeants so far,  
7 but you're not dismissed.

8           A couple of announcements. We're out of  
9 worksite flyers in the back. Everybody cleaned us out.  
10 But you can find more worksite flyers at the Federation  
11 offices. We are at your service on this campaign on  
12 Prop 32. We are developing worksite flyers and so many  
13 other things.

14           In your Blueprint packet you've got access to  
15 the sources of this material. All you need to do is  
16 contact us, and we'll get you worksite flyers or also  
17 the pocket cards on Prop 32.

18           I argue with some of the staff every year that  
19 I want pocket cards. So we've come to call them the  
20 Art Pulaski Memorial Fliers.

21           ("We're going to get pot holders too.")

22           EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: We're

1 going to get pot holders too.

2           Anyway, your order form is in your Blueprint  
3 packet, and we hope that you order a lot and exhaust  
4 our people from getting them out to you.

5           Also, there's a secret password in your tool  
6 kit. In your tool kit there's a secret password to our  
7 password-protected website. Nobody else can get on it.  
8 That will give you the latest information, the latest  
9 polling, whatever you need from our website, which only  
10 you can get into. So please do not share that password  
11 with anybody but your staff, because we do not anybody  
12 getting access to our inside info. It's a very  
13 important website. Please take advantage of it. It's  
14 in your campaign tool kit.

15           We also -- some of you -- anybody know about  
16 Labor's Edge, our blog? Labor's Edge. It's become the  
17 place to go for news and views about the Labor Movement  
18 and information beyond the Labor Movement. We're  
19 posting new items to this blog every day to keep you  
20 updated. We have more than 200 bloggers on Labor's  
21 Edge. We're interested in more submissions from you.  
22 So get involved. You can e-mail Rebecca Band, B-a-n-d,

1 it's rband@calaborfed.org. Get involved in that. It's  
2 really an extraordinary source information. You should  
3 check it out every day.

4 I'm about to move that we adjourn the meeting  
5 of the convention of the Federation. For legal  
6 purposes we will then immediately call to order the  
7 meeting of COPE, the Committee On Political Education,  
8 for the purposes of the important work we have to do  
9 next.

10 And this will be the final work of this  
11 convention, but it will take us a little while to go  
12 through the endorsements of some 156 offices, as well  
13 as all the ballot measures. This will be the action  
14 for the entire Labor statewide endorsements for the  
15 legislature, for Congress, and for ballot measures.

16 So given that, unless there's anything else, I  
17 move that we adjourn the convention of the Federation  
18 for the purposes of convening the meeting of the  
19 Committee on Political Education. I so move.

20 ("Second.)

21 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
22 before you. All those in favor signify by saying aye.

1 ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.

2 And I now call to order the COPE Convention of  
3 the California Labor Federation. Before we begin the  
4 COPE Convention we have a video for you produced by the  
5 Alliance for Better California. And we really think  
6 that it puts this year's election in context.

7 Our educators, our fightfighters, our jobs are  
8 all under attack this year as we've heard over the last  
9 two days. Something I heard last night Governor Brown  
10 said I think is very succinct and fits what we need to  
11 do this election year perfectly is, "If we win, we win.  
12 If we lose, we lose big." So I think we should  
13 remember that. And let's roll the video, please.

14 (Video on Prop 32 played.) (Applause)

15 PRESIDENT LEYVA: All right. Are you ready  
16 delegates? The chair recognizes Executive  
17 Secretary-Treasurer Art Pulaski.

18 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Thank  
19 you Conny, brothers and sisters. So a little  
20 background on this. We're about to engage in the  
21 practice of endorsing candidates, this is the  
22 Labor-endorsed candidates, and ballot measures. We

1 have some 11 ballot measures this year.

2           First A little bit of background on this. In  
3 terms of the legislative and congressional candidates,  
4 we have a process with the labor councils whereby they  
5 recommend to us. And the work of the Executive Council  
6 on Monday was to go through every single one of those  
7 recommendations, discuss them, and pass them on to you  
8 with a motion and a recommendation.

9           So the process has been that the labor council  
10 should begin this by interviewing the candidates and  
11 getting questionnaires from them; then deciding among  
12 themselves what they're going to recommend to their  
13 full body; then their full body decides to recommend to  
14 us. Typically that is a two-thirds majority process  
15 all the way through.

16           Now the Executive Council, as I said, reviewed  
17 all of these and now recommended to you the candidates  
18 for endorsement. It is a unified process. And we  
19 thank the labor councils for all their diligent work in  
20 getting us to this point.

21           I'm now referring to the document that is the  
22 red document called "Endorsements and Ballot Measures."

1 I'm looking at page 1 that follows the index.

2 A little bit of background. The Executive  
3 Council, as I said, on Monday considered labor council  
4 recommendations for the election of candidates for the  
5 offices of Assembly, State Senate and House of  
6 Representatives. They also met for the purpose of  
7 recommendations to you today for state propositions and  
8 the U.S. Senate.

9 Now, a couple of items. You may see an  
10 asterisk next to some of the names we're about to  
11 recommend. An asterisk means a couple of things. One,  
12 there was no recommendation received for that  
13 particular office from that particular labor council  
14 with the jurisdiction of that district.

15 By the way, there are many, many districts  
16 that have multiple labor councils in that particular  
17 district. In those cases we asked labor councils to  
18 coordinate so they have a unified approach, a unified  
19 recommendation.

20 Often that does not happen. If two labor  
21 councils do not agree -- of a shared jurisdiction do  
22 not give the same recommendation, you'll see an



1 asterisk as well.

2           If that happens where two labor councils  
3 disagree, then it becomes, if you will, the property of  
4 the Executive Council to make a recommendation to you.

5           If a labor council singularly recommends a  
6 candidate and our Executive Council disagrees with  
7 that, it requires a two-thirds majority of our  
8 Executive Council to reject the recommendation of the  
9 CLC and to make a recommendation different from that to  
10 you.

11           Also, failure of a labor council that shares  
12 jurisdiction in the district with another -- I think I  
13 just said that -- negates their recommendation to us.

14           So if we reject, by the way, a recommendation  
15 of a labor council, you'll see a double asterisk next  
16 to that. That means that we have, in fact, a different  
17 recommendation to you than the one that came from the  
18 labor council.

19           So with that I think we'll begin. And  
20 sergeant at arms, please pay attention. This is when  
21 people start getting up and taking swings at each  
22 other. (Laughter)

1           So we're going to first do the California  
2 State Assembly. It requires a two-thirds majority of  
3 this body to endorse any candidate or any ballot  
4 measures for office.

5           We start with District 1 where you see there's  
6 an asterisk. That means there are more than one labor  
7 council in District 1. They may not have given us a  
8 recommendation in this particular case.

9           By the way, we don't feel the obligation for  
10 any district to endorse a candidate. If we don't think  
11 there are any viable candidates, we're not going to  
12 endorse anybody.

13           So we recommend no endorsement for any  
14 candidate, and I so move. ("Second.")

15           PRESIDENT LEYVA: You have a motion and second  
16 before you. All those in favor signify by saying aye.  
17 ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.

18           EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Now,  
19 brothers and sisters, you may think it would take us a  
20 long time to do it that way and get through 156, and it  
21 does, and we won't do it. I'm going to start slowly  
22 and then pick up the speed on this.

1           By the way, I should have said if you have a  
2 point of view where you differ from the recommendation,  
3 you should feel free to get up to the mic to speak.

4           If you do want to do that, please be ahead of  
5 the game and be at the mic before we make the motion.  
6 Because if you wait too long, we'll be past it and  
7 can't go back. So I recommend that you go to the mic,  
8 be prepared, get the attention of the chair, and then  
9 you'll be able to ask to set aside.

10           Now, what we're going to go is we're going to  
11 go through the rest of these as one motion. I'm going  
12 to go through them one by one. If you want to stop us,  
13 stop us when I get to that and call for the chair, and  
14 ask us to, quote, set it aside. We'll set that aside  
15 and we'll go back and endorse based on the  
16 recommendation of all those items that we've taken up  
17 except for those that we've set aside, and we'll go  
18 back to you. Make sense? Okay.

19           So District 2 Wesley Chesbro, Democrat.  
20 District 3, Charles Rouse, Democrat. District 4,  
21 Mariko Yamada, Democrat. District 5, no endorsement.  
22 District 6, no endorsement.

1 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegate at mic No. 2.

2 BROTHER DELEGATE: Can we set aside 6, please.

3 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

4 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Jim's  
5 been at this yo-yo before. He knows how to do it. But  
6 that's how you do it. We'll set that one aside. And  
7 in the end we'll take a motion for all those we have  
8 not yet set aside.

9 Okay. Next page. District 7, Roger  
10 Dickinson. District 8, Ken Cooley. District 9,  
11 Richard Pan. I'm seeing nobody at the mic, so I'm  
12 going to go a little faster.

13 District 10, Michael Allen. 11, Jim Frazier.  
14 12, no endorsement. 13, no endorsement. 14, Susan  
15 Bonilla. 15, Nancy Skinner. 16, Joan Buchanan. 17,  
16 Tom Ammiano. 18, Rob Bonta and Abel Guillen. That's a  
17 recommendation for a dual endorsement of two  
18 candidates.

19 19 Phil Ting. 20, Bill Quirk. 21, Adam Gray.  
20 22, Kevin Mullin. 23, no endorsement. 24, Rich  
21 Gordon. 25, Bob Wieckowski. 26, no endorsement. 27,  
22 Nora Campos. 28, Paul Fong. 29, Mark Stone. 30, Luis

1 Alejo. 31, Henry Perea. 32, Rudy Salas. 33, John  
2 Coffey. 34, Mari Goodman. 35, no endorsement. 36,  
3 Steve Fox. 37, Das Williams. 38, Edward Headington.  
4 39, Richard Alarcon. And 40, Russ Warner.

5 I'll move a little faster. Feel free to get  
6 up and interrupt. 41, Holden. 42, Orozco. 43, Gatto.  
7 44, Gorell, Republican. 45, Blumenfield. 46,  
8 Nazarian. 47, Baca, Jr. 48, Hernandez. 49, Chau.  
9 50, Butler. 51, Gomez. 52, Torres. 53, John A.  
10 Perez, UFCW member, Speaker of the Assembly. 54,  
11 Mitchell. 55, no endorsement. 56, Manny Perez. 57,  
12 Ian Calderon.

13 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegate at mic No. 1 and  
14 then delegate at mic No. 2.

15 BROTHER BLOCH: Doug Bloch, California  
16 Teamsters Public Affairs Council. I want to speak on  
17 56.

18 PRESIDENT LEYVA: We're not speaking right  
19 now. Do you want to pull it and we'll go back to it?

20 BROTHER BLOCH: I'd like to pull it.

21 PRESIDENT LEYVA: 56? You got it.

22 Okay. Delegate at mic No. 2.

1           SISTER DELEGATE: I'd like to pull 57.

2           PRESIDENT LEYVA: 57, you got it.

3           And delegate at mic No. 4.

4           BROTHER DELEGATE: I'd like to pull 57.

5           PRESIDENT LEYVA: 57? Thank you very much.

6           Okay, very good.

7           EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Okay.

8           We will set those two additionally aside.

9           We move on now to 58, Cristina Garcia. 59,  
10          Jones Sawyer. 60, Perez. 61, Medina. 62, Bradford.  
11          63, Rendon. 64, Hall. 65, Quirk- Silva. 66,  
12          Muratsuchi. 67, 68, 69 all no endorsement. 70,  
13          Lowenthal. 71, Hurley. 72, 73 and 74 -- they come in  
14          groups -- no endorsement. 75, Herold. 76 and 77, no  
15          endorsement. 78, Atkins. 79, Weber. 80, Hueso.

16          So except for those which we have set aside,  
17          which are items District No. 6, No. 56 and No. 57, I  
18          recommend -- I move the endorsement of all other  
19          candidates as listed with no endorsement for any other  
20          candidate. ("Second.")

21          PRESIDENT LEYVA: You have a motion and second  
22          before you. Delegate mic No. 2. Or is it on this

1 issue?

2 BROTHER DELEGATE: No.

3 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you. All those in  
4 favor signify by saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no.  
5 Motion carries. Thank you.

6 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:  
7 District 6, I move no endorsement for any candidate.  
8 So moved. ("Second.")

9 PRESIDENT LEYVA: A motion and a second.  
10 Delegate at mic No. 2.

11 BROTHER GORDON: Jim Gordon, Communication  
12 Workers of America, and unfortunately a resident of  
13 Assembly District 6.

14 I'm not here to oppose the recommendation, but  
15 I want to point out something that is very disturbing  
16 that's going to be with us for a long, long time  
17 unfortunately. And that is this goddamned top two  
18 primaries grab are going to be faced with -- this  
19 particular district, and there are some others as well.

20 But this is sucking money out of us to fight  
21 in these top two primaries and whatnot, where we could  
22 have dealt with these issues in a primary race. That's

1 what they were for.

2 But in any event, in this particular case --  
3 and I just want to call your attention to it -- we're  
4 faced with two terrible, terrible choices on my ballot  
5 that's going to come. We've got a crappy assembly  
6 woman and we've got Andy Pugno, who is the homophobe  
7 author of Proposition 8. My God, what kinds of choices  
8 is that?

9 I've never voted for a Republican in my whole  
10 god damned life, and I'm faced with having to vote for  
11 probably Gaines, because Pugno's worse than her, and  
12 she's the craps.

13 So I just wanted to point that out. And I'm  
14 finished. (Applause)

15 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

16 Delegates, you have a motion before you for no  
17 endorsement on District 6. All those in favor signify  
18 by saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.  
19 Thank you.

20 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Conny,  
21 brothers and sisters, Jim Gordon, we've heard of a  
22 problem in District 6. Let me just say, Jim Gordon,



1 this is your district. You're responsible for this.

2 Fix it this time. (Laughter and Applause)

3 Okay. We go now to the other set-asides which  
4 is first District 56. I move the endorsement of Manny  
5 Perez. So moved. ("Second.")

6 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Motion and second before  
7 you. Delegate at mic No. 1.

8 BROTHER BLOCH: Thank you. Doug Bloch,  
9 California Teamsters Public Affairs Council.

10 Yesterday we told the story of BRW, our  
11 employer in Brisbane that's moving our jobs, our  
12 \$22-an-hour benefited jobs down to the city of Visalia  
13 and turning them into \$10-an-hour, non-benefitted  
14 non-union jobs.

15 And I talked about how the company is getting  
16 a \$37,500 Enterprise Zone tax credit for every Teamster  
17 job that they replace in Visalia.

18 Jerry Mill [phonetic] put forward a very  
19 modest bill in the legislature that said if you're  
20 going to move jobs, if you want to get Enterprise Zone  
21 credits, you have to give people a bona fide offer in  
22 writing of their right to transfer and follow their

1 jobs. Not a major reform to the Enterprise Zone  
2 Program, but seems pretty reasonable when you're  
3 thinking about protecting good union jobs.

4           And when this came before Manny Perez's  
5 committee and the entire Enterprise Zone lobby was out  
6 there versus Angie and her staff, he killed that bill  
7 in committee. And by doing that, he's killing Teamster  
8 jobs.

9           And so for that reason, we're against this  
10 endorsement. We did not endorse him. And we implore  
11 everybody to think about, with their conscience, about  
12 what his vote meant. Thank you. (Applause)

13           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

14           Delegate at mic No. 2.

15           SISTER GONZALEZ: Lorena Gonzalez,  
16 Secretary-Treasurer of San Diego and Imperial Counties  
17 Labor Council.

18           I stand in support of the motion, the  
19 Executive Board's recommendation. We have -- although  
20 Manny Perez is in no way perfect, he is far from it,  
21 like so many of our elected officials unfortunately,  
22 we've gone through the process twice now. He has a

1 91 percent voting record for Labor, and this is an  
2 issue that we continue to work with him on, on  
3 Enterprise Zones. We ask that this be respected on a  
4 very local level. As a Teamster my heart again goes  
5 out to the Teamsters. I helped lobby on this issue, I  
6 understand the importance of it, but again, we ask that  
7 you support the recommendation of the Executive  
8 Council. Thank you.

9 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

10 Delegate at mic No. 1.

11 BROTHER SIMPSON: Hi. Johnny Simpson,  
12 Business Manager, IBEW Local 569 San Diego and Imperial  
13 Counties.

14 Manny Perez, although, as Lorena said, is not  
15 perfect, Manny Perez is the best choice for us in the  
16 Imperial Valley. I currently am sitting on 41 IBEW  
17 agreements for green energy in the Imperial Valley, and  
18 Manny Perez has done a lot to help us forward those  
19 jobs. It means thousands of IBEW jobs and other  
20 Building Trades jobs in the Imperial Valley. And I  
21 would urge this body to go with the committee's  
22 recommendation to support Manny Perez. There is no

1 better choice.

2 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

3 Would the maker of the motion like to speak?

4 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:

5 Brothers and sisters, unfortunately many candidates for  
6 office lack perfection. (Laughter) We have a serious  
7 disagreement with him. Doug Bloch raised an important  
8 issue. It's a very, very -- EZs, as I call them, are  
9 really crucial to us. It's very important legislation.  
10 He's let us down on that. There's no question about  
11 it. We're still working with him to educate him about  
12 why this is important for us to do.

13 There's a second bill that we have concern  
14 about him with, and that's -- he's got a bad  
15 immigration bill as well. But we're working with him  
16 and pushing him. He lacks perfection. He sure does.

17 But in that part of the state, he also has a  
18 91 percent voting record for Labor and for COPE. So  
19 he's 91 percent there. We have to work on the other  
20 9 percent. We want to be able to endorse him, and  
21 that's the recommendation, and I urge a consensus with  
22 that. I urge a yes vote.

1           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
2 before you. All those in favor signify by saying aye.  
3 ("Aye.") Opposed no. ("No.") Motion carries. Thank  
4 you.

5           EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: The  
6 final set aside in Assembly is Assembly District 57,  
7 Ian Calderon. On behalf of the Executive Council's  
8 recommendation and the labor council, I so move.  
9 ("Second.")

10           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
11 and a second before you.

12           Delegate at mic No. 2.

13           SISTER CLAYTOR: Hi. Kimberly Claytor from  
14 American Federation of Teachers 1794. I represent K-12  
15 teachers in Costa Mesa, California and Newport Beach.  
16 Feel sorry for me. (Laughter) Not about the teachers,  
17 but about the leaders in our city.

18           I'm rising to just raise concern about the  
19 endorsement. I'm not trying to derail it. But Ian  
20 Calderon has been endorsed by the Charter Schools  
21 Association, Edvoice, StudentsFirst, which is Michelle  
22 Rhee's organization.

1           All of these organizations have pushed for the  
2 rights of teachers -- or pushed for elimination of the  
3 rights of teachers and classified employees. These  
4 organizations and his support for these organizations  
5 are the antithesis to the policy statement on education  
6 voted on and passed by the body yesterday.

7           The organizations are on the Students Matters  
8 Board, which brought a lawsuit against the state,  
9 including Governor Brown, that would repeal all layoff  
10 rights and due-process rights for teachers. The lawyer  
11 for the lawsuit is Ted Olson, Bush v. Gore, Bush side.

12           The expansion of charter schools means  
13 contracting out classified jobs, ensuring no nurses in  
14 schools, and eliminating due-process rights for all.

15           Please don't forget that all the groups that  
16 support Calderon are the same folks who support Gloria  
17 Romero who signed the ballot argument for Prop 32.  
18 Thank you.

19           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

20           Delegate mic No. 4.

21           BROTHER PECHTHALT: Thank you, Madam  
22 President. Joshua Pechthalt, President, California

1 Federation of Teachers and a member of the Executive  
2 Council of the State Fed.

3 I support the Executive Council's decision to  
4 regrettably endorse Ian Calderon. But I want to echo  
5 the comments made by Sister Claytor and also the  
6 comments made earlier by Jim Gordon.

7 We are stuck with a lesser-of-two-evil choices  
8 in this race. The Republican candidate we know will be  
9 far worse than Calderon, both on education issues,  
10 Labor issues, and issues that concern our members and  
11 the communities that we serve.

12 But we have to get to a place where we are  
13 bringing before this body candidates who are warriors  
14 for Labor and understand the issues around public  
15 education. And unfortunately Ian Calderon is not that  
16 candidate, although we must support him going forward.

17 The attack on public education is an attack on  
18 the public sector and the rights that give us the  
19 ability to advocate for students and to speak openly in  
20 the classroom.

21 All of you had a teacher in your career who  
22 stood up and said, Let me ask you about what we're

1 doing in Vietnam, let me ask you students what we're  
2 doing in Afghanistan or Iraq. That teacher has the  
3 ability to stand up and do that because she or he has  
4 due-process rights, and the administration can't simply  
5 come in and say, We don't want you here, and we don't  
6 have to give a reason why.

7           During the 1950s we lost hundreds and hundreds  
8 of teachers across this country at a time where  
9 teachers did not have due-process rights, during a time  
10 when, if you were a teacher and you advocated for civil  
11 rights, for nuclear disarmament, when you were an  
12 advocate for the role of the United Nations, you could  
13 lose your job during the McCarthy period witch hunt.

14           We can't go back to those days, because we, as  
15 a democratic society, will suffer. We need strong  
16 education candidates who understand these issues and  
17 will be our advocates in Sacramento.

18           So I support Calderon, but we need much better  
19 the next time around, brothers and sisters. (Applause)

20           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegate at mic No. 1.

21           SISTER BLAKE: I'm Barbara Blake with United  
22 Nurses Associations of California, AFSCME. And I rise



1 in support of the endorsement of Ian Calderon.

2 As Secretary-Treasurer Pulaski said earlier,  
3 these candidates are not perfect, and we know that. We  
4 need to make sure that we keep the pressure on them and  
5 that they vote with us and not against us.

6 When we were in very contentious contract  
7 negotiations at a hospital in San Diego Valley, Ian  
8 Calderon came out and stood with us and was there every  
9 ask that we had of him. And he became -- we educated  
10 him on what our issues were.

11 He was pretty naive when we first started, and  
12 he's now able to speak to staffing ratios and  
13 patient-acuity systems, and why the hell we need the  
14 right amount of nurses in a hospital.

15 So we have found him to be a good candidate  
16 and able to learn fairly quickly on our issues, and we  
17 are in support of Ian Calderon. Thank you.

18 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

19 Delegate, mic No. 3.

20 BROTHER PELOTE: Madam President, Willie  
21 Pelote, representing American Federation of State,  
22 County and Municipal Employees, the union who did mail

1 into the constituencies in 19 Democratic districts a  
2 year ago when they slashed and burned programs for  
3 working families.

4 We mailed the six Senate districts telling  
5 their constituents how Democrats were failing us in  
6 terms of their representations of working families in  
7 the state of California.

8 We did mail in 13 Assembly districts telling  
9 their constituents how Democrats was a failure when  
10 representing the interests of working families.

11 But we stand here today in solidarity with the  
12 recommendation of the Executive Board to endorse Ian  
13 Calderon. And if he, in current legislation, fails to  
14 do responsibility, we will mail his constituency.  
15 Stand strong with CSEA, AFT and CFT to demand that his  
16 second time around will not see 12 years. We have to  
17 show strong support of the recommendation of the body  
18 of the Executive Board. (Applause)

19 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

20 Delegate at mic No. 1.

21 BROTHER RAMOS: Mark Ramos, United Food and  
22 Commercial Workers Local 1428.

1           I stand in support of the endorsement of Ian  
2 Calderon. In 2011, in Southern California, in  
3 negotiations Ian Calderon was with us every step of the  
4 way. When we did delegations into our stores, Ian was  
5 with us.

6           We did an action in one of our stores where,  
7 because what was on the line for us was the end of our  
8 good jobs, the end of our health care for our members,  
9 we had a funeral procession in this store. We took a  
10 casket and walked it around the store. Ian Calderon  
11 stood with us as a pall bearer with us. That's someone  
12 who is willing to stand with Labor and not just stand  
13 on the sidelines. So I stand in support of the  
14 endorsement of Ian Calderon. Thank you. (Applause)

15           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, Delegate.

16           EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Madam  
17 Chair, delegates, the Executive Council talked about  
18 this on Monday. And we all agree that what Ian  
19 Calderon did is a bad thing. I appreciate the  
20 enlightened comments by Joshua on mic 4. We all agree  
21 with that.

22           But we also need to get to a point where, in

1 this case, we do endorse him. But let me say this. If  
2 ever, ever, ever a trade union leader seeks to be loved  
3 by an elected official, you're wrong. We do not care  
4 about being loved. We want to be feared. (Applause)  
5 It's our obligation to put the fear in the hearts of  
6 every politician especially the Democrats, especially  
7 the Democrats, because they know their asses are held  
8 accountable by the people that elected them.

9           So let us be sure that no matter who they are,  
10 that we strike fear in the hearts of every one of them  
11 that they don't ever, ever, ever cross us. That's what  
12 we have to do. I urge a yes vote.

13           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
14 before you. All those in favor signify by saying aye.  
15 ("Aye.") Opposed no. ("No.") Motion carries. Thank  
16 you.

17           EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Okay.  
18 Sergeant in arms, you got an eye on these delegates?  
19 (Laughter)

20           We go now to the State Senate, page 3. Same  
21 practice. Please get the attention of the chair to set  
22 aside any you want to set aside.

1           District 1, no endorsement. We have only odd  
2 numbers this year, because we decide these every four  
3 years. District 3, Lois Wolk. 5, Cathleen Galgiani.  
4 7, Mark DeSaulnier. 9, Loni Hancock. 11, Mark Leno.  
5 13, Jerry Hill. 15, Jim Beall. 17, Bill Monning. 19,  
6 Hannah-Beth Jackson. 21, Star Moffatt. 23, Melissa  
7 Ruth O'Donnell.

8           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegate at mic No. 3.

9           BROTHER HIRSCH: I'd like to pull Bill  
10 Monning.

11          PRESIDENT LEYVA: No. 17?

12          BROTHER HIRSCH: Correct.

13          PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

14          EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Okay,  
15 we have set aside District 17.

16          District 23, Melissa Ruth O'Donnell.  
17 District 25, Carole Liu. District 27, Fran Pavley.  
18 29, Greg Diamond. 31, Richard Roth. 33, Ricardo Lara.  
19 35, No Recommendation. 37, No Endorsement. 39, Marty  
20 Block.

21          So with the exception of District 17, which we  
22 have set aside, I move the endorsement of candidates as

1 listed with no endorsement for any other candidates in  
2 the remainder of the Senate districts. So moved.  
3 ("Second.")

4 PRESIDENT LEYVA: You have a motion and a  
5 second before you. All those in favor signify by  
6 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. The motion carries.  
7 Thank you.

8 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:  
9 Item 17. I move the endorsement of Bill Monning.  
10 ("Second.")

11 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Motion and second before  
12 you. Delegate at mic No. 3.

13 BROTHER HIRSCH: I don't bring any controversy  
14 about him Bill Monning except that Brother Pulaski  
15 earlier mentioned that some of these candidates have  
16 imperfections. Bill Monning has none. (Laughter)  
17 Bill Monning started working with me in the Legal  
18 Department of the United Farmworkers and has been  
19 fighting for equality, justice and peace as a real  
20 labor champion ever since. (Applause)

21 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Never  
22 say a candidate is perfect. I happen to know that his

1 left foot is a half size smaller than his right foot.

2 (Laughter) Urge a yes vote.

3 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
4 before you for the almost perfect candidate of  
5 District 17, Bill Monning. (Laughter) All those in  
6 favor signify by saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no.  
7 Thank you very much.

8 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Bill  
9 Monning is a great guy. He was chair of the Labor  
10 Committee. He's a really remarkable, very good guy.

11 Okay. We move now on to the recommendations  
12 for your endorsements for the U.S. House of  
13 Representatives. We have 53 of them. So we'll start  
14 slow and go fast.

15 District No. 1, Jim Reed. No. 2, Jared  
16 Huffman. No. 3, John Garamendi. 4, Uppal.  
17 5, Thompson. 6, Matsui. 7, Bera. 8, Cook.  
18 9, McNerney. 10, Hernandez. 11, Miller. 12, Nancy  
19 Pelosi. 13, Lee. 14, Speier. 15, Stark. 16, Costa.  
20 No comments yet, okay. 17, Honda. 18, Eshoo.  
21 19, Lofgren. 20, Farr. 21, Hernandez. 22, Lee.  
22 23, Phillips. 24, Capps. That's going to be a tight

1 race, by the way. We really need to help her out. 25,  
2 Rogers. 26, Julia Brownley.  
3 SISTER DELEGATE: Another tough race.  
4 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:  
5 Another tough race.  
6 27, Chu. 28, Schiff. 29, Cardenas. 30, no  
7 recommendation.  
8 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegate at mic No. 2.  
9 BROTHER GORDON: Set aside, please, 30.  
10 PRESIDENT LEYVA: 30? You got it.  
11 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: I'm  
12 telling you, we're holding you responsible for these  
13 districts, Jim Gordon. We set aside 30.  
14 31, no endorsement. 32, Grace Napolitano.  
15 33, Waxman. 34, Becerra. 35, Baca. 36, Ruiz.  
16 37, Bass. 38, Sanchez. 39, Chen. 40, Roybal-Allard.  
17 41, Takano. 42, no endorsement. 43, Waters.  
18 44, Hahn. 45, Kang. 46, Sanchez, Loretta. 47,  
19 Lowenthal. 48, no endorsement. 49, Tetalman. 50, no  
20 endorsement. 51, Vargas. 52, Peters. 53, Susan  
21 Davis.  
22 With the exception of District 30, which we



1 have set aside, I move the endorsement for all  
2 candidates as listed with no endorsement for any other  
3 candidates. So move. ("Second.")

4 PRESIDENT LEYVA: You have A motion and second  
5 before you. All those in favor signify by saying aye.  
6 ("Aye.") Opposed no. ("No.") Motion carries. Thank  
7 you.

8 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Thank  
9 you, Conny.

10 District 30, I move no recommendation for a  
11 candidate. So moved. ("Second.")

12 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Motion and a second.

13 And we have a delegate at mic No. 2.

14 BROTHER GORDON: Yeah, Jim Gordon with  
15 Communication Workers. I'm not responsible for this  
16 one. (Laughter) But, you know, I rise to oppose no  
17 recommendation. I go back a little bit of years with  
18 this Federation, and my recollection is when we have no  
19 recommendation, it means we're not making a choice in  
20 this thing.

21 You know, we have two good guys who are in  
22 this race, two good Democrats and Labor supporters.

1 And this is the opposite of what I said happened with  
2 the top two primary where just the opposite. You get  
3 two good people going here.

4 But I would urge a no vote on recommendation,  
5 and if that passes, I would make a motion that we do an  
6 open endorsement which means -- at least as I recollect  
7 in my history -- all candidates in this race are worthy  
8 of Labor support. That's what an open endorsement  
9 means.

10 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

11 Delegate at mic No. 1.

12 SISTER BLAKE: Barbara Blake, United Nurses,  
13 AFSCME.

14 You're right, we do have two really good  
15 candidates on this. I think that the votes are going  
16 to be in our favor one way or another when they're in  
17 Congress. I hate to see us cannibalizing our own, and  
18 I stand in support of no recommendation.

19 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

20 Maker of the motion?

21 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Conny,  
22 delegates, it's a good question he raised. We had

1 extensive conversation about this very question at the  
2 Executive Council on Monday. The recommendation from  
3 the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor was no  
4 recommendation.

5           We talked about, well, why don't we do a dual  
6 endorsement of both Berman and Sherman. Berman is  
7 91 percent, 92 percent; Sherman is 96 percent. They're  
8 both extraordinarily good congressmen.

9           It's too bad they've been pushed into the same  
10 district. It's a really sad thing. They're spending a  
11 lot of time and money fighting against two good people.

12           So we talked about whether or not it should be  
13 a no recommendation or a dual endorsement. We talked  
14 back and forth. We settled on the fact that nobody  
15 knows better about what we do on this than the  
16 Los Angeles County Federation and people of the county;  
17 the people that did the interviews, the committee that  
18 reviewed this to make recommendation to the full body,  
19 and then the full body acted to make a recommendation  
20 to us.

21           So I think it's important for us -- maybe  
22 there's only a final detail difference between a dual

1 endorsement and no recommendation. These are the only  
2 remaining two candidates in the race. They don't mind  
3 us doing a no recommendation, because they get it.  
4 That means to them, each of them, that we like them  
5 both and we just can't choose between them.

6           You can't get up again to speak. This is the  
7 last comment.

8           BROTHER GORDON: It's a point of order -- not  
9 order, but clarification. I didn't say dual, I said  
10 open. And there's a difference between open and no  
11 endorsement.

12           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate. We  
13 will address that.

14           EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Sorry  
15 Jim.

16           So we had some extensive discussion about  
17 this. Maria Elena Durazo, representing the Los Angeles  
18 County Federation of Labor, said after they did  
19 extensive discussion there, they democratically decided  
20 to make the recommendation to us, and our body decided  
21 to uphold that recommendation back to you. And so  
22 therefore I move a yes vote on the recommendation of no

1 recommendation. ("Second.")

2 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
3 before you. All those in favor signify by saying aye.  
4 ("Aye.") Opposed no. ("No.") Motion carries. Thank  
5 you.

6 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:  
7 U.S. Senate. I move the endorsement of Dianne  
8 Feinstein. ("Second.")

9 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
10 before you and a second. All those in favor signify by  
11 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. ("No.") Motion  
12 carries. Thank you.

13 Let the chair just remind the delegates a  
14 motion must fail by two thirds of a vote. You  
15 gentlemen were quite loud over here, but you were not  
16 two thirds. (Laughter)

17 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: So we  
18 now move into ballot measures. Are we ready? ("Yes!")  
19 Do you have that in front of you? We have extensive  
20 explanations of the ballot measures in the following  
21 pages, which I'm sure you read carefully.

22 And I want to say thanks to Sarah Flox

1 [phonetic] from our staff who did a really remarkable  
2 job of putting all that data together for you.

3 (Applause)

4           The first one is Proposition 30. And again,  
5 the Executive Council has reviewed all of these, and  
6 talked extensively on some of them, in order to make  
7 this recommendation to you today. So on behalf of the  
8 Executive Council, I'm going to make the following  
9 recommendations.

10           Proposition 30, Temporary Taxes to Fund  
11 Education. Guaranteed Local Public Safety Funding.  
12 This is, of course, the labor of Jerry Brown, the  
13 ballot measure to mostly tax billionaires. We urge a  
14 vigorous yes vote on this. ("Second.")

15           PRESIDENT LEYVA: You have a motion and a  
16 second before you.

17           Delegate at mic No. 2.

18           BROTHER PECHTHALT: Thank you, President  
19 Leyva. Joshua Pechthalt, CFT.

20           I think we support this. (Laughter) since we  
21 lost a lot of blood in making it happen.

22           Sisters and brothers, I know that we are

1 focused on Prop 32. We have to defeat Prop 32.

2 But for us in the public sector and more  
3 broadly, Prop 30 is essential if we are going to move  
4 forward in this state.

5 We have a huge budget deficit. Our schools  
6 are losing teachers, they're losing custodians, they're  
7 losing bus drivers. Community colleges are being cut.  
8 Higher ed, Cal State and the UC system, students are --  
9 working-class students, middle-class students are being  
10 pushed out because the State is not putting the kind of  
11 resources into public education and higher ed that we  
12 need. All of our communities are being cut because of  
13 devastating cuts to vital social programs.

14 Prop 30 does exactly the right thing by taxing  
15 the wealthy. And we have to understand, as a Labor  
16 Movement, that the attacks on Labor are being made  
17 possible because of this economic crisis. The right is  
18 using this budget crisis to pose us as privileged  
19 workers in a bad economy.

20 The only way -- one of the ways we deal with  
21 that is by putting more money into public coffers.  
22 Prop 30 is an essential step forward. It doesn't solve

1 all of our problems, but it's an important step  
2 forward, and it begins to build momentum around a  
3 series of progressive changes in California and frankly  
4 can serve as model for the rest of this country.

5 I urge a unanimous vote on Prop 30 in this  
6 light. Thank you. (Applause)

7 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

8 Delegate at mic No. 1.

9 BROTHER BRANDON: Tom Brandon, Machinist  
10 Local 1596. I call for the question. ("Second.")

11 PRESIDENT LEYVA: A motion and second to call  
12 for the question. All those in favor signify by saying  
13 aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. ("No.") Motion to call  
14 for the question has passed.

15 You have a motion before you for a yes vote on  
16 Proposition 30. All those in favor signify by saying  
17 aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries. Thank  
18 you.

19 ("Unanimous.")

20 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:  
21 Proposition 31, State Budget, State and Local  
22 Government. Urge a no vote. So moved. ("Second.")



1           PRESIDENT LEYVA: You have a motion and a  
2 second before you, delegates. All those in favor  
3 signify by saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion  
4 carries.

5           EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: I  
6 think we'll hold Proposition 32 to the end. How about  
7 that?

8           33. Changes Law to Allow Auto Insurance  
9 Companies to set Prices Based On a Driver's History of  
10 Insurance Coverage. The Executive Council had some  
11 discussion and urges a no vote, and I so move.  
12 ("Second.")

13           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Motion and a second before  
14 you. Delegate at mic No. 2.

15           BROTHER GORDON: Yes, Jim Gordon,  
16 Communication Workers of America.

17           Another hat that I wear is president of the  
18 Consumers Federation of California. And I rise to  
19 support the recommendation of a no vote. Vote no on  
20 Proposition 33.

21           This guy, Mercury Insurance, George Joseph, is  
22 at it again. We call this the zombie initiative. It's

1 almost like 32. It won't die. It's back again. We  
2 opposed it before. We've got to fight it again and  
3 defeat it again.

4 This is going to hurt working people more than  
5 anybody else. When's the last time an insurance  
6 campaign did anything positive for you? They're doing  
7 it for their own damn pocket. I urge a yes vote on the  
8 recommendation.

9 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

10 All those in favor signify by saying aye.

11 ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries. Thank you.

12 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:

13 Proposition 34, Death Penalty Repeal. After some  
14 discussion, the Executive Council urges a yes vote, and  
15 I so move. ("Second.")

16 PRESIDENT LEYVA: You have a motion and second  
17 before you.

18 Delegate at mic No. 4, please.

19 BROTHER ESERMAN: Yes, I'm Howard Eserman,

20 AFGE Local 3172.

21 Social Security employees face unusual  
22 situations. Every once in a while a person comes into

1 our office, they haven't received a check, and we have  
2 to tell them the reason they can't get a check is they  
3 were declared dead.

4           What we're able to do is have two PINs, and  
5 then we resurrect them. Unfortunately, in the real  
6 non-computer world, if a mistake is made, we can't  
7 resurrect people. This is one reason why I definitely  
8 signed the petition to get this on the ballot, and I  
9 support the Labor Federation's motion. (Applause)

10           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

11           You have a motion before you, delegates. All  
12 those in favor signify by saying aye. ("Aye.")  
13 Opposed no. ("No.") Motion carries. Thank you.

14           EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:  
15 Proposition 35, Human Trafficking, Penalties, Sex  
16 Offender Registration. We move a yes vote.  
17 ("Second.")

18           PRESIDENT LEYVA: There's a motion and a  
19 second before you. All those in favor signify by  
20 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.

21           EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: 36,  
22 Three Strikes Revision. Sentencing for Repeat Felony

1 Offenders. The first strike can't be a misdemeanor for  
2 life in prison. Move a yes vote. ("Second.")

3 PRESIDENT LEYVA: You have a motion and second  
4 before you. All those in favor signify by saying aye.  
5 ("Aye.") All opposed no. Motion carries.

6 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:  
7 Proposition 37, Genetically Engineered Foods.  
8 Mandatory Labeling. I move a no recommendation for  
9 this measure. ("Second.")

10 PRESIDENT LEYVA: A motion and a second before  
11 you.

12 Delegate at mic No. 4.

13 SISTER MALDONADO: Yes, Lisa Maldonado. I'm  
14 the director of the North Bay Labor Council.

15 I'm here to urge yes against the no. Because  
16 this is a huge opportunity to join with our  
17 environmental allies and to get corporations out of our  
18 food in the same way that we want to get corporations  
19 out of our democracy.

20 Right now the issue of corporate control of  
21 food is a huge one. And if we can join with these  
22 allies -- they're doing amazing work. They're polling

1 at 80 percent, because this is a basic bread and butter  
2 issue. Everyone wants to and deserves to know what's  
3 in their food.

4 It's a simple labeling issue, and it's  
5 something I think will help us in the Labor Movement.  
6 We can't ask other people to carry our issues around  
7 our right to be a union if we don't reach out and carry  
8 issues that are important to our allies and our  
9 communities.

10 I also will draw your attention to the fact  
11 that our own policies encourage labeling of genetically  
12 modified food. The State Federation policy, the paper  
13 itself, does. And I think that when we look at the  
14 fact that the people have gotten over a quarter million  
15 signatures all through volunteers, this is a huge asset  
16 for us in our No On 32. So I respectfully ask us to  
17 endorse a yes on 37. Thank you. (Applause)

18 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegate, mic No. 1.

19 BROTHER VICE PRESIDENT: With all due respect,  
20 our discussion at the Executive Council centered around  
21 no recommendation, which is not against it, it's just  
22 neutral. And although I agree with most everything the

1 sister said, when I started as a Teamster official  
2 37 years ago yesterday, we had 110,000 Teamster cannery  
3 workers in the state of California. I just finished  
4 that contract about three weeks ago. We have under  
5 20,000 left.

6           Although I think this is going to pass -- and  
7 many of those are going to be first-time voters,  
8 because we registered 10,000 of them this year -- I  
9 don't need the confusion.

10           I think that a no recommendation is where we  
11 should go, and these are the arguments that were made  
12 at the Executive Council, that it's just going to cause  
13 the threat of jobs. I'm not sure that I believe its  
14 employers, but they're threatening our members with  
15 this. So I think a no recommendation behooves us.

16           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

17           Delegate mic No. 2.

18           SISTER ROBINSON: Tamekia Robinson,  
19 Local 1000. Call the question.

20           PRESIDENT LEYVA: The question has been called  
21 for. Do I hear a second? ("Second.")

22           All those in favor signify by saying aye.

1 ("Aye.") Opposed no. ("No.") Motion fails. The  
2 discussion continues. (Applause)

3 Delegate at mic No. 3.

4 BROTHER LINEBARKER: My name is Tom  
5 Linebarker. I'm with Painters 913. I'm proud to be.  
6 Our local is in San Francisco.

7 I just want to remind you that the Federation  
8 has a policy of being pro genetic engineering labeling.  
9 And it is important that we make allies with all we  
10 can.

11 In years past we would often take positions  
12 that were hostile to who should be our natural friends.  
13 Sometimes it was on choice and those kinds of things.

14 We have to unite with our friends. And the  
15 environmental movement is a giant friend. The only  
16 thing I've noticed with genetic engineering is they  
17 made tomatoes you could stack 7 feet tall in a truck  
18 and wouldn't crush any. And tomatoes no longer taste  
19 like tomatoes. The consumer has a right to know what  
20 it's getting, and they can determine whether it's  
21 harmful or good. Thank you. (Applause)

22 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

1 Delegate at mic No. 4.

2 BROTHER DELEGATE: Thank you, Madam Chairman.  
3 I'm the Political Coordinator, Monterey Central Labor  
4 Council.

5 I rise in opposition to the no recommendation  
6 and hope that we can get to a yes vote. This is, of  
7 course, only about labeling, not banning. It's a  
8 consumer issue, and our members are consumers. It's a  
9 workers safety issue for farm workers and for food  
10 processors. (Cheers and Applause) A yes vote on  
11 Prop 37 has been endorsed by the United Farmworkers of  
12 America. It's an issue for non-GMO farms and  
13 farmworkers.

14 In our region, in Monterey and Santa Cruz  
15 Counties, volunteers who gathered signatures ended up  
16 gathering twice as many as they expected. These are  
17 people to stand with, not to step aside from.

18 And Monsanto, the GMO manufacturer, was  
19 recently sued for underpaying workers.

20 Please let's vote down this and then vote yes  
21 on 37. (Cheers and Applause)

22 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.



1 Delegate at mic No. 1.

2 BROTHER SHUR: Madam Chairman, Allen Shur,  
3 former vice president of the Executive Council when we  
4 discussed this, and now delegate from Local 569 IBEW.

5 I rise respectfully in opposition to Art's  
6 motion. You know, to me this is a worker issue.  
7 Everything in my life is about worker issues one way or  
8 another.

9 You know, the 1 percent in this country, the  
10 billionaires don't have to worry about what they eat.  
11 They have somebody that prepares their food, tells them  
12 what's in their food, and serves it to them on a fancy  
13 table.

14 But a working person that goes to work every  
15 day struggles to raise their children and goes to the  
16 supermarket to pick up essentials that they need. The  
17 only way that they know what's in their food is what's  
18 on the label. We should be supporting this. And I  
19 move that we vote this down and then support it.

20 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

21 Delegate at mic No. 2.

22 BROTHER RODRIGUEZ: My name is Dan Rodriguez,

1 Executive Vice President of Local 9423 CWA.

2 I'm kind of confused here. Because here we  
3 are voting on insurance for consumers, we're voting on  
4 prisoners because we're worried about them, but I guess  
5 we'll wait until some day we can be prisoners? I don't  
6 know. (Laughter)

7 But I also feel kind of confused, because the  
8 brother said that the company or the corporation is  
9 threatening to get rid of jobs. We're all trade  
10 unionists here. If we heard -- the first damn time we  
11 heard that, we wouldn't be here. So I don't understand  
12 this. (Applause)

13 I don't know. When people talk about sodas  
14 being bad for you, I love to drink soda, but I don't  
15 drink soda. So here is our food. We want to know  
16 what's in it. Even now when I read the labels and it  
17 says "natural," I don't believe it. So I want truth  
18 for that labeling. So we can't be afraid of that, and  
19 we've got to vote yes on this. (Cheers and Applause)

20 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

21 Delegate at mic No. 3.

22 BROTHER BYRAM: Hi. I'm Forrest Byram,

1 American Federation of Musicians Local 153. We also  
2 cover Santa Cruz and Monterey Counties, which were  
3 mentioned over here.

4 I can say without doubt that the members of my  
5 union and the other two locals to which I belong want  
6 to know what they're eating. The reason they formed a  
7 union in the first place many years ago was to improve  
8 the quality of each other's lives.

9 And to give them something that's potentially  
10 poisonous without them being able to make an informed  
11 choice does not improve the quality of their lives.

12 So I thank the Executive Committee for looking  
13 at this, but I respectfully ask people to vote no.

14 (Applause)

15 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

16 Delegate at mic No. 2.

17 SISTER WALKER: Good morning, Madam Chairman,  
18 and delegates. And I appreciate the passion on this  
19 issue, I really do. And I rise to ask to support the  
20 recommendation.

21 And the reason why I ask is because imagine,  
22 brothers and sisters -- we're in the fight of our

1 lives. We've spent the last two days talking about  
2 Prop 32 and in the fight of our lives.

3 We wake up on November 7th -- election day is  
4 the 6th, right? We wake up on the 7th and we win on  
5 Prop 37 but we've lost on 32 because we put additional  
6 resources and time in something that's not going to  
7 help us survive.

8 I mean, why are we going to support -- I  
9 believe, I honestly believe, that if we really feel  
10 passionate about something, we put our resources and we  
11 put our money behind it.

12 And I'm going to tell you, in our local, our  
13 money goes to Prop 32, nothing else. Nothing else.  
14 Because that's the fight of our lives.

15 Let's not get distracted. That happens to us  
16 all the time. I realize we are good people, and we  
17 care about our coworkers, we care about our families,  
18 we care about our communities.

19 But let's not allow ourselves to get  
20 distracted when you're talking about a fight for your  
21 life? Let's put our resources and our time in the  
22 fight of our life, Prop 32. And let's not be

1     distracted. Please support the recommendation.

2             PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

3             Delegate at Mic No. 3.

4             SISTER LINDQUIST: Hi. Lynn Dee Lindquist,  
5 IATSE 504. Respectfully I understand our sister's  
6 point, but as well in the fight for our lives we have  
7 to understand what we're putting into our bodies, which  
8 is what we need to fight for our lives. (Applause)

9             So I'm not sure -- I stepped out for a  
10 moment -- I'm not sure I understood about the GMO  
11 company that had been laying off the workers and  
12 everything.

13             But just in addition to that, just outside of  
14 the labor force, they are also in the process right now  
15 of trying to make a hybrid corn that is resistant to a  
16 pesticide that was used to create Agent Orange.

17             And with that, they would use it to kill off,  
18 obviously, all the bugs which creates more super bugs,  
19 yada, yada, ripple, ripple.

20             But that would be sold in our stores. And  
21 personally, that is going to continue, I know it will.  
22 And as a young person, I want to know that in the

1 future when I go to the supermarket I want to know  
2 what's safe. And it's not an issue that's just today.  
3 This will continue, and whether we endorse it today or  
4 next year, at some point it's going to happen, and I'd  
5 rather it happened sooner than later. (Cheers and  
6 Applause)

7 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

8 Delegate at mic No. 1.

9 SISTER NAYLOR: Hi. My name is Natalie Naylor  
10 with OPEIU Local 3.

11 And speaking as a young person who has  
12 dedicated the past 10 years of my life to the Labor  
13 Movement and will continue to do so, propositions like  
14 this, when Labor comes out with no recommendation  
15 really hurt how Big Labor looks to young people.  
16 (Cheers and Applause)

17 And speaking as a representative trying to  
18 make my peers and the people who are even younger than  
19 me see the value of the Labor Movement and understand  
20 the value of the Labor Movement in this country. And I  
21 really would encourage us to vote yes on this.  
22 (Applause)

1           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

2           Delegate, mic No. 3.

3           BROTHER HIRSCH: Fred Hirsch. I'm a delegate  
4 from Local 393.

5           The sister talked about Proposition 32 being  
6 the fight of our life and we shouldn't be diverted.  
7 Well, we shouldn't be diverted, and we shouldn't be  
8 diverted to lose the support of the environmental  
9 movement, to lose the support of workers who have to  
10 just look at the labels on the food they buy. They  
11 have no other way of keeping themselves from being  
12 poisoned by corporations. I support yes on this  
13 measure, no on the recommendation of the Executive  
14 Council. (Applause)

15          PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

16          Would the maker of the motion like to speak?

17          EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Based  
18 on the discussion that we had and the vote that we had  
19 at the Executive Council, hearing from the affected  
20 union, I would urge a yes vote on the recommendation.  
21 (Cheers and Applause)

22          PRESIDENT LEYVA: All right, sisters and

1 brothers, we've had much discussion on this issue.

2 That was our last speaker. I'm sorry.

3 All those in favor of the recommendation of  
4 the Executive Council signify by saying aye. ("Aye.")  
5 Opposed no. ("No.") Motion fails.

6 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: On  
7 behalf of the Executive Council I move a yes vote, that  
8 is yes, in support of Proposition 37. ("Second.")  
9 (Applause)

10 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Sisters and brothers, you  
11 have a motion before you for a yes vote on  
12 Proposition 37. All those in favor signify by saying  
13 aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. ("No.") Motion carries.  
14 Thank you. (Cheers and Applause)

15 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:  
16 Proposition 38, Tax for Education and Early Childhood  
17 Programs. After discussion, the Executive Council  
18 recommends, and I move a vote no on Proposition 38.  
19 ("Second.")

20 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion  
21 and second before you. All those in favor signify by  
22 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.



1 Thank you.

2 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:

3 Proposition 39, Tax Treatment for Multistate  
4 Businesses. It's important for us to say here -- this  
5 is background before I -- this is an issue where we  
6 think this is a good thing. But the Speaker of the  
7 Assembly has a bill similar to this which he's trying  
8 to get passed and it's very hard to do.

9 And so we want to be supportive of the  
10 speaker, and that's why we want to put this off for a  
11 period of time to see if he can pass it through the  
12 legislature before we decide and look into this.

13 So in that spirit, on behalf of the Executive  
14 Council I move that we refer this matter to the  
15 Executive Council for action in the near future, and I  
16 so move. ("Second.")

17 PRESIDENT LEYVA: You have a motion and second  
18 before you. All those in favor signify by saying aye.  
19 ("Aye.") Opposed no. ("No.") Motion carries. Thank  
20 you.

21 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Who  
22 was that?

1           BROTHER GANDFLO: Glen.

2           EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Of  
3 course. That was Glen Gandflo Of course.

4           BROTHER GANDFLO: Well, you got it wrong on  
5 the food. (Applause)

6           EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI:  
7 Touche.

8           Next item, Proposition 40, Redistricting. We  
9 like this. Urge a yes vote, and I so move.

10 ("Second.")

11           PRESIDENT LEYVA: You have a motion and a  
12 second before you. All those in favor signify by  
13 saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.

14           EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: Madam  
15 Chair, we go back now to the one we set aside for the  
16 moment, Proposition 32. Brothers and sisters, I move  
17 what I hope will be a response that is a fist-pounding,  
18 table-banging, foot-stomping declaration by this body  
19 abomination to defeat this abomination. I so move.

20 ("Second.") (Cheers, Fist-pounding, Table-banging,  
21 Foot-stomping)

22           PRESIDENT LEYVA: Delegates, you have a motion

1 and a second before you.

2 And we have a delegate at mic No. 2.

3 BROTHER HARRINGTON: Mickey Harrington,  
4 President of the Butte-Glenn Central Labor Council,  
5 member of the IBEW 1245.

6 I arise to support the board in their decision  
7 to defeat 32. So you don't have to worry about that.

8 What I'm rising is that we're putting an awful  
9 lot of load on the Federation for the cost to run this.  
10 And I really believe that we all should kick in a  
11 little bit to help them do a good job better.

12 So if it's okay with the President, I'd like  
13 to approach the podium.

14 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Yes, please.

15 (Brother Harrington presents President Leyva  
16 with a check.)

17 (Cheers and Applause)

18 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Always in order to approach  
19 the chair which a check, which will be turned over to  
20 the secretary-treasurer to defeat Proposition 32.  
21 Thank you, delegate. (Cheers and Applause)

22 Delegate at mic No. 1.

1           BROTHER MOWERY: Mike Mowery, IBEW  
2 9th District.

3           I'm not here to grandstand, but we do have a  
4 war plan. The State Fed has recommended \$5 per member  
5 from each local union. And I believe that we need to  
6 fund this war that we're going to engage in. So I  
7 would encourage all the local unions, all the  
8 affiliates to contribute so that we can defend.

9           Thank you. (Applause)

10          PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

11          Delegate at mic No. 2.

12          BROTHER PELOTE: Madam President, Willie  
13 Pelote again representing the American Federation of  
14 State, County and Municipal Employees.

15          We'd like to second the comments made by our  
16 Brother Mowery. You had a presentation today that  
17 walked you through every element of what we have to do  
18 to be victorious come November the 7th. You all  
19 applauded. You just showed your strong support a few  
20 seconds ago in support of defeating Prop 32.

21          They told us what we need to do as leaders to  
22 send out letters to your members, to register all of

1 your members to be prepared to vote, either by absentee  
2 ballot or at the polling places. They talked about  
3 what we have to do when we hit the precincts.

4           And I submit to you, it's not only union  
5 members that should be walking precincts, bring your  
6 families, your friends, your uncles and your aunts,  
7 your nieces and your nephews and your grandparents and  
8 let them walk with you.

9           They talk to you about what we need to do in  
10 order to make sure we don't let the corporations come  
11 into the great state of California and take away the  
12 basic fundamental rights of working families in this  
13 state.

14           But that cannot be a reality if you don't open  
15 up your pockets and put your money where your mouths  
16 are.

17           Brother Pulaski will tell you, President Conny  
18 Leyva will tell you, they're not cheap. But we have a  
19 fundraiser in order to make sure that we can support  
20 the program that they talked about today that you  
21 wholeheartedly support.

22           We can't go after 2 million more voters if we

1 don't have the funds to do that. We can't do the  
2 central labor council device within the framework of  
3 the California Labor Federation if we don't have the  
4 funds to do that.

5           You just applauded when the brother walked up  
6 to hand up that check. Go back to your membership and  
7 your leaders and tell them that they don't need to send  
8 50,000, they should be sending a million, because  
9 that's what it's going to take to defeat the enemy.

10           We can't defeat the enemy if we don't have the  
11 dollars to do so. This is it, the last time in the  
12 Labor Movement that people stand together and be proud  
13 to put our money on the table to defeat this.

14           When you leave here today in this great  
15 movement, let's start seeing it unfold as we step back,  
16 let's move forward. Because the state of California  
17 belongs to the California Labor Federation, it does not  
18 belong to Grover Norquist, it does not belong to Carl  
19 Rove.

20           It is our state, and the billionaires in this  
21 country need to hear from us. It is going to take  
22 money for us to do that. (Cheers and Applause)

1 Brothers and sisters, this is your time to  
2 lead. Lead with pride and lead with your heart. Trust  
3 God and believe in him and put your money up. We're  
4 going to need the money. Pulaski needs \$5 million.  
5 Ensure that he's going to get it. Are you with us  
6 today? ("Yeah!") Are you with us today? ("Yeah!")  
7 God bless you.

8 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Thank you, delegate.

9 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: We  
10 have yet to vote on this proposition, brothers and  
11 sisters. And I recommend we stand up, stand up, stand  
12 up; raise your arms, raise your fists, and declare,  
13 yell in unison, "No On 32." I so move. ("Second.")

14 PRESIDENT LEYVA: All those in favor signify  
15 by saying aye. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Motion carries.

16 (Musical interlude.)

17 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER PULASKI: We  
18 have not adjourned this convention. We have to thank  
19 the sergeants at arms that kept peace today. (Cheers  
20 and Applause) They include Johanna Hester, Luz Bacio,  
21 Amber Baur, Mel Breshears, Nick Celona, Judy Dishaw,  
22 Paul Doolittle, Keith Gibbs, Robert Gibson, Dave

1 Harrison, Jerry Hunsucker, Tom Lemmon, Barbara Liddy,  
2 Ruth Rhodes, Adolfo Soto, Lance Wren. I want to thank  
3 you. They have stayed alert all this time, and they  
4 had to keep their eyes on you. You kept them busy.  
5 You're a tough crowd.

6 So as the gavel goes down, I would move that  
7 we dismiss the sergeants for their service.

8 ("Second.")

9 Let me say this. You are the best leaders of  
10 labor anywhere. You have the best members of unions  
11 anywhere. You have the best unions in America. We are  
12 about to embark together on a campaign that will  
13 soundly defeat the lying conspirators who attempt to  
14 destroy your union.

15 We're going to talk to every single member,  
16 every single member, to beat this thing back. And then  
17 we're going to make those conspirators with their sorry  
18 asses regret that they ever decided to take the Labor  
19 Movement on. I move we adjourn. Thank you very much.

20 ("Second.")

21 PRESIDENT LEYVA: Motion to adjourn. All  
22 those in favor. ("Aye.") Opposed no. Let's go kick



1 some ass. Thank you, delegates.

2 (Proceedings adjourned at 12:56 p.m.)

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