

SECOND DAY

Monday, September 9, 2013

MORNING SESSION

The Convention was called to order at 8:31 a.m., Secretary-Treasurer Shuler presiding.

SECRETARY-TREASURER ELIZABETH SHULER: Good morning, everyone. Thank you for being here on time.

Let's give it up for the band for greeting us this morning, Enderby. Thank you.

(Applause)

Please take your seats. The convention will now come to order.

Now for our invocation. Are you ready? We are joined by Rabbi Jonathan Klein, executive director of Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice, CLUE, of Southern California; Shakeel Syed, executive director of the Islamic Shura Council of Southern California; and Minerva G. Carcano, resident bishop of the Los Angeles Episcopal Area of the United Methodist Church.

Please come to the dais.

INVOCATION

RABBI JONATHAN KLEIN

Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice

Good morning, and welcome to everyone who's gathering here this morning. We are very excited to join you as a faith community that has had a long history of working together here in Los Angeles. All of us in the faith community have really committed ourselves to partnership to bring about a better, more just, more sacred society. So we are so honored to join you. We pray.

Dear God, we gather as a loving family of justice seekers who are keenly aware of an unjust world. We pray together as more fully developed human beings whose eyes are committed to remaining wide open to the suffering of our neighbors and who shout out and scream, *(addressing convention in Hebrew)*, "We will not stand idly by the blood of our neighbors."

You taught us, O God, to put our faith into action, to pray with our feet, to open our hearts, to serve you in truth. While the opponents of compassion may organize against us, let our conviction, our zeal, our love, be a powerful force against their callousness, and may we bring all hands on deck to change the hearts of our opponents so that one day, speedily in our days, every man will stand with dignity, every woman celebrate with song, all of us praising with joy your Holy Name.

(Addressing in Hebrew)

Blessed are you, Adonai, our God, ruler of the universe who gives us life, sustains us and brings us together at this auspicious time.

SHAKEEL SYED

Islamic Shura Council of Southern California

In the name of God, the most compassionate, the most merciful and the creator of all of us, we thank you, dear God, and we glorify you for bringing us together for a cause that's greater than all of us.

We ask for your grace, for the delegates and the unions, for our allies and partners, that they remain united in pursuit of the common good. For our brothers and sisters working in factories and in schools, in hospitals and in hotels, may they be driving taxis on the street or flying planes in the sky.

At the time when fairness and equity has become an exception, we ask that you bless us with courage and with steadfastness, to reverse this exception to a norm.

Dear God, we ask that you open the hearts of our politicians and the policy makers, of our business owners and the corporate executives, to look at each worker as a priceless human being and not merely a number and a name.

Dear God, we know that you do not ask for any papers from anyone, but the ungodly people do. We pray that you guide our leaders to fully repair our completely broken immigration system, and they do it today and not tomorrow.

Dear God, grant us your wisdom and empower us to go back to our communities and keep on working and keep on fighting to build a world that shares and that cares for all people. Amen.

MINERVA G. CARCANO

Los Angeles Episcopal Area of the United Methodist Church

And, finally, O Creator God, we thank you for this day of life and pray that we may use it wisely in ways that are pleasing unto you. As these men and women, our brothers and sisters, gather to advocate for and protect the rights of workers who serve across this country, we pray that you would guide them with great wisdom. May their efforts look beyond personal interest to the common good, may they look within their efforts and strengthen their commitment to justice for all workers, men and women workers, young and old, workers of every race and every culture, native-born and immigrant workers.

In a time of ongoing recession, joblessness and underemployment, we come before you, O God, asking that you would give courage to these union leaders that they may speak the word of truth. The truth that there is indeed enough for all of us, enough food and enough work and its benefits, enough for all of us if we will but be just and compassionate towards each other.

Out of the work done in these days of this AFL-CIO National Convention, do bring forth courageous leaders who will speak for the right of every person to a job at a living wage, the right of every man and woman to work with the assurance of physical and mental safety, the right of every worker to grow in knowledge in their field and be able to bring their creative ideas to the workplace, and every worker's right to rest and renewal from their labors.

Above all, we pray that we may all be a people of justice, committed to the sacred value and worth of each person above economic profits.

Be merciful, O God, to these, your sons and daughters who labor day in and day out. Be their comfort. Be their strength. Be their joy on this day and always. Amen and amen.

(Applause)

SHULER: Thank you for that inspiring start to our day.

I'd like to now call on the vice chair of the Credentials Committee, Fred Redmond, to give a credentials report. Fred.

REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE (Resumed)

VICE PRESIDENT FRED REDMOND, United Steelworkers: Thank you, Liz. Good morning.

Since the Credentials Committee last reported, 39 additional delegates and eight additional delegates whose credentials had previously been approved by the Credentials Committee have registered.

In addition, in the interest of full participation at this convention, the committee has approved the credentials of four delegates whose credentials were received late. The Credentials Committee recommends the additional delegates and alternates be seated. The complete list of delegates and alternates is being submitted for the record at this time.

On behalf of the committee, I move adoption of the Credentials Committee report.

...The motion was seconded by several unidentified delegates.

SHULER: Thank you, Fred.

It is moved and seconded to adopt the report of the Credentials Committee. Is there any discussion?

The chair seeing none, the question is on the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee.

Those in favor of the report, say aye. Those opposed, say no.

The Credentials Committee report is adopted. Thank you, Fred, I appreciate it.

So is everybody ready for another good day? All right. Yesterday we got a good start, and here we are again this morning.

We have important business to take up, and we'll start by hearing from our president, Richard Trumka, and meeting some inspiring workers from the front lines of our movement.

We will then turn to the Committee on Community Partnerships and Grassroots Power and consider a resolution geared toward deepening our relationships with allies and strengthening our movement at the state and local level.

After that, the Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action will present resolutions from our discussion on opening up our movement's doors and large-scale organizing.

Again and again in our pre-convention listening sessions, we heard how important it is for the future of unions and working people to find new ways to broaden and expand our labor movement. As one person said, and I quote, "We will have to change our structures just in order to survive as meaningful working-class institutions. We need a labor movement that can engage all working people."

How we do that is our primary topic for this morning.

To introduce our next speaker, I'd like to welcome one of the emerging leaders in our movement. I'm so proud to see one of our young workers here today, Keith Richardson of APWU, Chicago Local 1.

Keith. *(Applause)*

KEITH RICHARDSON
Postal Workers Local 1, Chicago

Good morning, delegates. My name is Keith Richardson. I'm a clerk in the United States Postal Service and a proud member of the American Postal Workers Union. I also serve my local union as the clerk craft director of the Chicago-area Local No. 1.

Any other Postal Workers in the house? *(Applause)*

Now, if you follow the news lately you probably heard a lot about Chicago, and I bet it hasn't all been good. You probably heard stories of violence among young people, youth that are uneducated, probably about kids that simply don't care.

Well, I've lived in Chicago my whole life and I'm here to tell you a different story, a story where my mother who before me served in her union, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local 743, first as a shop steward and later as an E-Board member, in a city where it's possible that a young, black man like myself with only a high school diploma in hand managed to carve out a niche for myself. How did I do it? I had the support of organized labor.

Organized labor instilled in me that for the value of a fair day's pay you have to earn it, fighting for what you believe in. It's through the union that surrounded me with men and women who care about bringing up the next generation. It's through the union that I'm fortunate enough to have crossed paths with individuals like Secretary-Treasurer Liz Shuler, who with her vision to start the Young Worker program made it possible for me and others to serve on the Young Workers Advisory Council.

It's through the union that I've had the opportunity to get advice and guidance from Executive Vice President Arlene Holt Baker.

I'm fortunate to have been able to have crossed paths with folks like President Jorge Ramirez and Secretary-Treasurer Rob Reiter of the Chicago Federation of Labor who make it possible—and they insist—that young workers be activists and they encourage them to be leaders. With their support, the Chicago Young Workers, of which I'm a founding member, the Chicago Federation of Labor supports us 100%.

How cool is it when my friend and my brother, **Eric Clinton**, a fellow Young Worker, is already the president of UNITE HERE Locals 362 and 737 in Orlando, Florida? He was already doing a tremendous job in his community but he wanted something more, he wanted to make more of a difference. He recently ran for the central labor council of the Central Florida AFL-CIO and he was successful. And congratulations to Eric. *(Applause)*

And, of course, I'm fortunate for the support of my union, the APWU.

Last, but certainly not least, I'm fortunate to have met the man I have the privilege to introduce to you today, President Richard Trumka. I'm supposed to tell you a little bit about Brother Trumka, but what can I say that you probably haven't already heard?

I could say that he's a mineworker from Pennsylvania who went on to lead his union through thick and thin.

I could say that he supports the DREAM Act.

I could say that he's been at the forefront in supporting comprehensive immigration reform.

I could say that he's been a champion—no, I could say he's been a warrior—by tackling the student debt crisis that has plagued our youth and their parents.

Yes, I could say all of those things.

Brother Trumka has been vocal against five-day delivery and has stood up for postal workers against the way the postmaster general has tried to dismantle the networks that we Americans rely on daily, and Brother Trumka has supported us in the fight to reform the way the Postal Service pre-funds their pensions so that it doesn't continue to cripple the system.

Brother Trumka is wholly invested in expanding my Chicago, where, no matter what your education level, your race, you can have a chance at a good union job with an opportunity to grow and ultimately retire comfortably to any city within our United States.

He knows the strength and vitality of our labor movement is dependent on the activism of each and every one of us.

I can say that with his hard work, his vision, his fight, it inspires me—and I hope it inspires every one of you—to get up every day, do our jobs well, and work with our union brothers and sisters to build a future that works for all of us.

It is my extreme pleasure and honor, on behalf of my mother, my union, my city and on behalf of all young workers, I give to you the president of the AFL-CIO, Mr. Richard Trumka. (*Standing ovation*)

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

RICHARD TRUMKA President, AFL-CIO

Thank you. First of all, thank you, Keith, for that very kind introduction, and thank you more for what you do every day for working people. Thank all of you for being here together and in solidarity.

Now, brothers and sisters, I would like for you to look around this great hall right now. Look at the power represented in this hall.

So the real question for this week is: “What are we going to do with it?” Do we intend to build an American future, a future for the 99%, a future for our children and grandchildren that doesn’t just seek to restore the best of our past, but seeks to outdo all that we’ve done before?

First, let’s be very clear about where we are today. You know, we used to say that what made America special was if you worked hard and you did your part, you had a real, real good shot at reaching the middle class, and that the working class was the middle class. You might work in a coal mine or a hotel laundry, but your children could do anything if they worked hard enough.

Now, this is the story of my life. My grandfathers went into the mine hungry. My father helped build our union and fought for our country. Together, with help from our union, my parents and I were able to earn the money to send me to college and to law school.

Now, I talk to a lot of people as I go around the country, as many of you in this hall do. It’s clear that something’s changed. The truth is, who your parents are—no, really, what your parents have, matters more than it once did. The people I talk to don’t say, “I’m in the middle class” so much anymore. They say, “I work, if I can find a job.” They say, “Middle class? That’s what my parents were.”

So what makes somebody middle class in America? Well, a good job, a job that pays a living wage with health care and retirement security. A safe job, a job that leads somewhere. It’s that simple. But the working class is not the middle class anymore.

Here’s the truth that we live every day. We work harder, we work longer hours, we create more, more goods, more services, more of everything, and yet, most of us earn less. Less than we earned five years ago. Less than we earned 15 years ago. Barely more than we earned 35 years ago.

Our biggest employers, Walmart and McDonald’s, well, their whole business model is about keeping the people who work for them poor. Wall Street cheers them on.

But this is a rich country. So where's all the money going? Now, think back over the last 15 years, think of all the work you did, all your members did, all the work your friends and your neighbors and your family did. Now understand that all of the wage increases over all those years, not some, not the majority, not the vast majority, but all went to the top 10%. Incomes of the rest of us, 90% of America, went down. Those who did the best were those at the top already, the top 1%.

Now, this is an America that is upside down. Since 2009, the pay of America's corporate CEOs has gone up nearly%. Now, imagine for a second what our country would be like if the ordinary people's income had increased like those CEOs. Think about that. Almost no one would live in poverty.

You see, it's time, my friends, to turn America right side up. (*Applause*)

To turn America right side up, we need a real working-class movement.

If that's going to happen, we, our institutions, have to do some things differently. We must begin here and now, today, the great work of real wakening, a movement of working people, all working people, not just the people in this hall, not just the people that we represent today, but everybody who works in this country. Everyone who believes that people who work deserve to make enough to live and enjoy the good things in life.

Now, we can come together at this convention and shout all day long about how corporations and the rich and Wall Street did this to us; about the Koch brothers and their war on working people; about nasty little conspiracies like the American Legislative Exchange Council; about the Supreme Court and its war on democracy. It's true, there are powerful forces in America today who want our country to be run by and for the rich, forces that have systematically stripped workers of power and pushed wages and benefits down.

But greed and privilege and hate have always been with us.

The question is, what are we going to do about it? You see, we are 13 million strong, and we are today, as we have been since the time of Abraham Lincoln, the biggest, the strongest, the best organized force for economic justice in America. (*Applause*)

But we're a small part of the 150 million Americans who work for a living. See, we can't win economic justice only for ourselves or for union movements. It is just not possible right now. All working people will either rise together, or we will keep falling together.

What is true for America is doubly true around the world. A global economy means all workers in all countries are bound together. Now, think about this. We've always had the same hopes and the same dreams, and now we have the same employers, the same vastly powerful global corporations, the same borderless financial firms, the same union-busting lawyers and management consultants, the same right-wing political operatives. They'll never stop pitting us against each other until we stop letting that happen. (*Applause*)

Shared prosperity around this beautiful world is truly within our grasp, but only, only if we link arms.

We have to start here at home. Because the AFL-CIO and the unions that make up this federation, well, we exist to make real the promise of America for all working people.

If, instead, workers create more and earn less, our children go homeless while housing sits empty. Our bridges fall down while bridge builders sit idle. Then we must ask ourselves, how must we change? How must we reignite our movement? Not so we can have bigger unions, but so we can together make all working people's lives better. (*Applause*)

You see, brothers and sisters, this convention, not me, not the Executive Council, this convention, is the ultimate governing body of the AFL-CIO. It is in our power here in this hall

to move forward and to build a movement. A movement strong enough to raise up the values that built this country.

This is America. It's time we value work, not wealth, not greed, but we value work and the people who do that work in this country. (*Applause*)

Four years ago in Pittsburgh, you elected Liz and Arlene and me. And we knew we faced great challenges, but we didn't know how great they would be. We knew we faced rising unemployment, but we didn't know that mass unemployment would still be with us four years later. We knew the Republican Party had become more hostile toward working people. We didn't realize that we'd be facing a concerted effort to destroy collective bargaining and wipe out our unions, all of our unions, private and public sector, in state after state after state.

Though these battles are still raging, we haven't been dealt the death blow that people like John Kasich wanted. In these four years of almost constant battle, we've learned to fight smarter and we've learned to ask more of ourselves. In state after state and city after city, we came together and we beat them back. (*Applause*)

But we didn't win every fight. Our movement as a whole is still shrinking, as it was before anyone had ever heard of Scott Walker or Rick Snyder. So if we're going to succeed in our great task of lifting up America's working people from a generation of wage stagnation, our labor movement has got to change.

Because the success of our movement is not measured in the members that we organize, or the politicians that we elect. It's measured by the progress of working people, all working people, by the lives we lead, by the hopes and the dreams that we together make real.

So as we approached this convention, we knew that we didn't have all the answers. We thought that we should ask you, the leaders and the activists of our movement, and the working people that we all represent, how should we change? And we wanted to involve everyone who shares our values and cares about what happens to America's workers. So we held hundreds of conversations and listening sessions at every level of the labor movement, with academics and with our friends and with other allies.

One union member put it better than I could. He said, "The working class is not shrinking, it's our wages and benefits that are shrinking."

And another said, "We need a union culture shift that will turn the labor movement back into a movement that fights for the interests of all working people."

Now, we heard that all over America. Workers are organizing in all kinds of different ways, and they call their unity by all kinds of names. Some call it workers' unions, others associations or centers and networks.

We heard that people want to be part of our movement, but it's too hard to join. We have to make sure that we open up our movement for all of those people. You see, the stories of many of the workers that we will meet later—see, we heard that we have to change to reflect the times. That the AFL-CIO merged some 50 years ago, before the jumbo jet, before the cell phone and before the Internet. We need to organize ourselves in ways that fit the jobs the people do now and how our economy works now.

Finally, we've heard we have to make real our unity with action. We have to be able to organize on a large scale for the workplace and in our political life, quickly, efficiently, decisively, and with a strong, strong independent voice.

In everything that we do, we have to join together with our partners and our allies who share our visions and our values for America. An America of shared prosperity. An America where you don't surrender your humanity, your dignity, your rights when you come to work.

An America where we honor each individual, while understanding that connecting with each other, supporting each other, solidarity and community are what give life meaning. *(Applause)*

See, my friends, it's time for a new and a stronger movement. What we've done yesterday cannot limit what we do tomorrow. Now is not the time to settle for small steps.

If we're going to move forward, we have to challenge ourselves.

You see, throughout history, the energy and the hopes of young workers have powered progress. If we're going to move forward, we must truly open our doors to the next generation.

If we're going move forward, we must make our movement and our leadership as diverse as the workforce that we speak for.

If we're going to move forward, we must move forward together, immigrants and the children of immigrants. Politicians and employers want to divide us; they try it every single day. They want to tell us who can be in our movement and who can't, and we can't let them.

You see, our answer to Scott Walker and Walmart and the Koch brothers and every other apostle of greed who seeks to divide us must not just be "No," it must be, "Hell no!" *(Applause)*

If you work for a living in this country, our movement is your movement.

Sisters and brothers, it's time to tear down the barriers, to remove the boundaries between workers. It's time to stop letting employers and politicians and all the others tell us who is a worker and who isn't, who's in our movement and who isn't. Working people alone should decide who is in our labor movement, and that is exactly what we will do. *(Standing ovation)*

In the three and a half days that we'll spend together, we're going to hear workers' voices from around the country and around the world. Brothers and sisters so brave they will bring you to tears.

Now, we have a full agenda of action, of change. As I said yesterday, we set up three special committees just for this convention. We asked rank-and-file workers and community allies and academics to join us. We also set up special committees on resolutions and governance and finance.

We asked members of the Executive Council to lead this work, and we asked a lot. I want to express my thanks to everyone in this hall who served on a convention committee, because we couldn't be where we are today without all of your hard work. So in the days to come, we'll take up resolutions that change the way that this federation works, resolutions that will open our doors and make us stronger and better able to give voice to all working people. Then we'll take up resolutions that will lay out how we'll use the power that we have to build and to make the lives of all working people better.

Everything that we do—everything that we do this week will be part of a strategy for winning broadly shared prosperity. Because the power to shape the economy is in our hands, right here in this room, because the economy is not the weather. The wealth we make every day can build a future of shared prosperity, but only if we build the bigger, broader movement that can wrest the future from those who seek to simply make the rich richer.

There can be no shared prosperity while 11 million aspiring Americans have no rights. *(Applause)*

There can be no shared prosperity while 20 million people look for work and can't find it. There can be no shared prosperity while politicians terrify our parents and grandparents with threats to cut Social Security and Medicare benefits—the economic security that they have earned. *(Applause)*

There can be no shared prosperity while millions of young men, disproportionately African American, labor in prisons instead of in school or at work. *(Applause)*

There can be no shared prosperity while mayors and governors of both parties close schools and libraries in our poorest communities. *(Standing ovation)*

Shared prosperity means building a country that can compete in the 21st century and lift up nations and people around the world, investing in infrastructure and education and our manufacturing base. *(Applause)*

Shared prosperity means insisting that the rich, the powerful, the privileged and the connected pay their fair share. And it means no more tax deals for companies that outsource jobs. *(Applause)*

Shared prosperity means health care for all and retirement security for all. *(Applause)*

Shared prosperity means sick days for all. Shared prosperity means a global economy built on raising pay for all who labor and an end to trade deals that treat corporations better than people. *(Applause)*

And shared prosperity means an economy built from the middle out, not the top down. *(Applause)*

But hear this: Shared prosperity is nothing but a dream until we have democracy, until we have the right to organize and bargain collectively with employers, until we have the right to vote and have that vote counted, the right to govern together with our fellow citizens and be free of the power of concentrated wealth.

These are the ideas behind each of our convention actions. Yet, these resolutions are nothing more than pieces of paper if we don't change what we actually do.

And that's why I'm asking more of you. Asking more. I'm asking you to take what we say and do, these next few days, take them into your heart. Go home, not satisfied with what we've said, but hungry for action. Hungry for action everywhere you go and in everything you do.

Brothers and sisters, our voices, the voices of everyone who works in every language, must be clear. We build this country. We build this country every single day, and it is time for America to value the work of all workers in this country, from domestic workers to Ph.D.s and everybody in between. *(Applause)*

You see, we do the work of America. We heal the sick, we fight the fires, we build the bridges, we clean the homes, we write the software and teach the children. We mine the iron and coal and forge the steel. We build the trucks and drive the buses. We design, fly, repair and clean the airplanes. We keep the lights turned on and the Internet connected. We keep the trains moving, the water flowing to your tap, and the movies playing in your multiplex theater.

You see, our movement is as old as our nation, and yet, it's as new as the immigrant hotel worker or the apprentice or the new teacher coming to work for the first time.

So at the end of the day, it's on us. It's on us to build a movement, not for the 99% but of the 99%. *(Applause)*

Not just the 11% that we are now, the 99%. *(Applause)*

More than 50 years ago, Dr. Martin Luther King spoke to the fourth AFL-CIO Constitutional Convention, and he said this to us. He said, "We're confronted by the powerful forces telling us to rely on the goodwill and the understanding of those who profit by exploiting us." He said, "They deplore our discontent, they resent our will to organize, so that we may guarantee that humanity will prevail."

Dr. King didn't hold a union card. He was not a member of any affiliate. But he walked down a line of National Guard bayonets with us, and he died in Memphis with our union brothers and sisters in the "I Am a Man" strike, summonsed by their discontent and their will to organize.

Here's our question. What about us? What about you and what about me? What about our discontent? What about our will to organize? Are we ready to say, "No more working harder for less"?

Are we willing to say, "No more jobs you can't live on"?

Are we willing to say, "No more sitting on the bench while our bridges are falling down"?

Are we willing to say, "No more politicians in hock to Wall Street"?

"No more closed classrooms while our country cries for education"?

Are we willing to say, "No more"?

Are we willing to say, "No more"? (*Shouts of "Yes!"*)

You see, it's time to turn America right side up. It's time to build the working class movement that can do it. And here's what I want you to do. Look around you right now. Ask yourself, where else in America do teachers sit with electricians? Firefighters with actors? Engineers with laborers? Look around you. Because this hall—this hall—is filled with working class heroes. And all across our country, all across our world, people with the will to organize are ready. They are ready to join us. Together we will turn America right side up. Together, like the courageous members of UNITE HERE at Hyatt hotels who made one of America's largest companies value their work. Some of them are here. Come on up with me, please. (*Applause*)

Together, like the taxicab workers in New York and dozens of other cities, they said the law says they can't organize, but they're building power together every day in the National Taxi Workers Alliance. (*Applause*)

Together, like the brave workers from OUR Walmart campaign, their fight is our fight and together we'll win. (*Applause*)

Together, with 3 million working men and women of Working America. Together, with our veterans—talk about working-class heroes—here with us today are veterans in the Air Force and the Marines in Iraq. Now thanks to the Building Trades' Helmets to Hardhats Program, they are plumbers. Together, with our children's teachers, they serve our country, too, from Head Start to high school. Together with day laborers who are forming solidarity on street corners with domestic care workers, caring across generations and organizing the world. (*Applause*)

Together with the Dreamers, whose struggle for a fair and just immigration has inspired the entire nation. (*Applause*)

Together with AFSCME members who worked to organize the EMTs, strengthening vital public services. (*Applause*)

Together with carwash workers organizing justice for some of the lowest paid in our country, because the American dream lives in all of us. (*Cheers and applause*)

Together with our brothers and sisters, like the Steelworkers working every day for safe and healthy workplaces, like the UAW members fighting to preserve the middle class in manufacturing in America. (*Applause*)

Together with courageous new Americans. Here with us are father and son who fled the violence of Colombia and won U.S. citizenship with the help of the Orange County CLC. (*Cheers and applause*)

Now they are working to fight for all of us.

Together with young workers like OPEIU members organizing hopes for a new generation. *(Cheers and applause)*

Proud workers like retired mineworkers fighting for a fair and a decent retirement after a lifetime of work. *(Applause)*

Brothers and sisters, I am so proud to stand with the working men and the working women gathered here, and I am honored to serve together with all of you.

Look around you. This is America's soul, this is our future—future as a movement and as a nation. And our challenge, our responsibility, yours and mine, is to join together with millions more like this and build real power, and that is what we will do. We will take back America for the American worker. *(Standing ovation)*

...Chants of "Sí, se puede!"

Our job is to create a new working-class movement strong enough to lift all workers in this country. And I just want to ask you, will you do it together?

(Shouts of "Yes!")

Will you do it together?

(Shouts of "Yes!")

Will you do it together?

(Shouts of "Yes!")

You see, the way that we honor these American heroes, brothers and sisters, is not with talk but with action, with innovation, and I know we're ready to get started. So let's give these workers one more round of applause to show them how much we appreciate them. *(Standing ovation)*

OK. Now let's turn to action. You see, the stories of many of the workers that we just met underscore the importance of community partnerships in improving workers' lives. And that's what we'll talk about now, because I'd like to turn to the Committee on Community Partnerships and Grassroots Power.

I noted over many months now that we've been asking people to contribute their ideas and share their experiences so that we can learn from each other and grow our movement together.

See, we charged this committee with developing a strategy to build power at the grassroots level and to engage our community partners in doing so. And we're truly fortunate to have three great leaders chairing the committee, and each of them has broad and deep experience building community partnerships with their unions.

To report on Resolution 16, let me recognize them at mike 1: Randi Weingarten, president of AFT; Jim Boland, president of the Bricklayers; and Tefere Gebre, executive director of the Orange County Labor Federation.

Randi.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE 3: THE COMMITTEE ON COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS AND GRASSROOTS POWER

VICE PRESIDENT RANDI WEINGARTEN, AFT: Thank you, President Trumka. We are going to do it together?

TRUMKA: Hear, hear!

WEINGARTEN: So Jimmy Boland, Tefere Gebre, and I have been privileged to chair what over the past few months has simply become known as Committee 3. And what we want to do is just scroll down the members of the committee, many of whom are standing behind us, who have contributed to the two resolutions that you have or that you will have before you.

We are proud to have been working with such a broad group of unions and community partners—and we're also proud to be joined by so many of our community members here in the convention hall, and I'm going to ask a couple of them, three of them, in fact, to speak in a moment.

Committee 3 brings two resolutions to this convention. This morning we put before you Resolution 16, "Building Enduring Labor Community Partnerships." And later this week we'll come back to address the issue of mass incarceration, which is crushing large segments of our society, particularly our communities of color, as well as the brutal consequences of a privatized for-profit prison system. That will be later.

Now on building community labor partnerships, I can speak from my own union's experience. I think what Rich wanted us to do is really take what his amazing message was and make it real on the ground every day.

Public education is under assault by those who want for ideological reasons to call one of America's greatest accomplishments, public education for all, a failure. These are people who aren't in education to make a difference, they're in education to make a buck. But with our community allies all across this country, the AFT is fighting back. We are building deep and lasting partnerships, independent partnerships, independently with others, with people in the communities we serve.

Our interests are the same. We're united in a common cause. We are reclaiming the promise of public education to ensure that all our children have the opportunity to dream their dreams and achieve them—to do so in great neighborhood public schools that are safe, welcoming places for teaching and learning.

But it's not just public education that is under assault. As Rich just said, as you live every day, our nation is facing deep divides and deep inequalities.

For the past 30 years, the wealthiest and the most privileged in our society organized in corporations and hedge funds and banks, politics, country clubs. They've created an America in which a child born in poverty is likely to stay poor. They've created a society in which millions work hard but never earn a living wage, never can imagine the American Dream that our grandparents worked so hard to achieve.

Why is this? Because since the 1990s, it's the top 10% who's captured all the income gains in our country. Families in our country face declining wages, a housing crisis and fewer social services, not to mention retirement security. And what does our country offer young people as they join our society as adults? Welcome to a world of low-pay jobs and not enough jobs and plenty of debt.

We've had 30 years of budget cuts and austerity, 30 years of privatizing for the sake of profit rather than for service, 30 years of de-professionalizing our work and rampant union busting. Yet, in this profoundly unequal America, the vast majority of us are in the same boat, and that's what Resolution 16 is all about. These times require a broad, progressive coalition to turn this country around, wresting the future for a vision of shared prosperity.

These times demonstrate that the struggles of all of us in this room, the struggles of our members, are inexorably linked to the struggles of community. We and community are one.

So Resolution 16 proposes a broader way of programs, initiatives and actions in which labor and community work as partners in the struggle for social and economic justice and for an enduring democracy.

Through partnerships with community, independent entities come together as partners; partnerships built on shared values, partnerships built on strategic analysis, partnerships built on shared power and shared responsibility. Through partnerships with community, we can build a powerful movement to turn around 30 years of failed economic and social policies. *(Applause)*

You think we care about this one, what do you think?

This resolution is about a shared and righteous fight to achieve real economic and social justice and opportunity for all—justice and opportunity at the voting booth and in our legislative halls, justice and opportunity at our schools, justice and opportunity at our workplaces, justice and opportunity in our communities.

So, brothers and sisters, this resolution is about constructing a collective, progressive movement that can build power so we can lift living standards and nurture democracy. A movement that creates an environment that welcomes, not fights, collective bargaining and worker voice. A movement that builds power in the workplace, in our communities and in our ballot box. A movement that builds power so we can lift living standards for all who make America their home, regardless of who you are, who you love or where you live. A movement that builds power to assure that the democratic process is not bought and sold by the highest bidder. A movement, brothers and sisters, a movement that ensures that those in power are deeply responsive to the collective voices of communities.

We seek the day when labor lifts its voice and speaks as a proxy for all working men and women, whose aspirations are like those of the generations before us, whose aspirations are like those of the people we represent today, whose aspirations are nothing short of being enabled to grab hold of opportunity and the American Dream; to live, as Rich said, for shared prosperity, to build from the middle out and not from the top down.

So, as I turn this over to Jim and to Tefere and all of Committee 3, let me just say loud and clear, union and community together, that is our new density. Union and community together, that is our new density.

And let me call on my co-chair, Jim Boland, to address the first part of the resolution. Thank you very much, brothers and sisters. *(Applause)*

RESOLUTION NO. 16

Building Enduring Labor and Community Partnerships

VICE PRESIDENT JAMES BOLAND, Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers: Good morning, brothers and sisters. Welcome, guests, and welcome to California.

I'm proud to be a delegate on behalf of my union, the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craft Workers.

So now Resolution 16, "Building Enduring Labor and Community Partnerships," commits the AFL-CIO to deepening relationships within the community, and we will build ongoing partnerships with our community allies on issues of mutual interest, strengthening our links with the civil rights and social justice community, the religious community, the environmental community, women's rights organizations, worker centers, immigrant rights advocates, the LGBTQ community, retiree organizations and the student and young worker

community. Now we pledge to become more of a learning organization at every level, staying in continuing conversation with constituents and allies.

The resolution lays out plans for a new voluntary internship and exchange program that will place union leaders, members and staff at community organizations, and community leaders at state federations and area and local labor councils as interns.

We'll also continue to hold union community leadership institutes and joint training to gather and share best practices. And we commit to develop with community groups a shared economic analysis that we can all use to influence public policy and to mobilize grassroots activists.

We also will create a community of union volunteers, both online and on the ground, that recognizes our members are also active members of the communities. This online community will provide opportunities for union members to volunteer and become activists.

At the same time, we'll work to provide community members opportunities to be represented by unions and to promote collective bargaining and collective action.

Under Resolution 16, we pledge to work vigorously on issues raised by our partners that reflect our shared values. We will work together on a common agenda for full employment and good jobs for all workers and help one another on joint projects and campaigns for social and economic justice.

Because so many issues disproportionately affect people of color, especially women of color, we'll undertake locally targeted campaigns to lift up these groups. We'll also work with the AFL-CIO youth representative and Young Worker organization on shared issues and priorities.

Additionally, at every level of the AFL-CIO we'll work with community partners, affiliates and worker centers to develop a strategy on implementing immigration reform designed to bring aspiring American citizens out of the shadows and assist them in participating in the political process and exercising their workplace rights.

So now I want to turn the program over to our vice chair. He's the executive director of the Orange County CLC. His name is Tefere Gebre.

My good friend Tefere. *(Applause)*

TEFERE GEBRE, Executive Director, Orange County Labor Federation: Thank you, Jim. Thank you, Randi. All the committee members worked day and night to come up with this, what I believe is a great resolution.

So the heart of the AFL-CIO's connection to our communities lies in our state federations and area local CLCs. Enabling them to truly expand and deepen the partnership will require resources. To make sure our state and local organizations are able to do this work, we will assign a task force of the AFL-CIO State Federation and Central Labor Council Advisory Committee to help identify and disseminate best practices, provide peer coaching and mentoring, and develop criteria for evaluating a community outreach program that was required by the AFL-CIO Executive Council at its February 2013 meeting.

Because every community and every community group is unique, we recognize there cannot be a one-size-fits-all approach to our work. Instead of seeing that as a hindrance, we will celebrate the many possible ways to go about our work.

While the AFL-CIO budget is determined by the Executive Council and affiliated unions, the committee recommends the AFL-CIO prioritize this work and allocate resources to

support labor-community partnerships. The committee also recommends several fresh ways to make this possible.

One is establishing a labor-philanthropy fund modeled on the Labor Innovation Fund for Twenty-First Century, or otherwise known as the LIFT Fund, to identify collaborations that could be attractive to funding sources. Another recommendation calls for pooling voluntary union contributions to support labor-community partnerships and establish ways to guide charitable contributions to the United Way toward support of community-based partnerships.

Finally, the committee recommends that a portion of the Solidarity Grants that go to the state feds and CLCs be dedicated to community-labor partnership projects that are well designed and that receive matching funds from philanthropies and other unions.

Now, let me turn this back to our fearless leader, Randi. *(Applause)*

WEINGARTEN: So before we proceed, you know, we are very proud of the work that we have collectively done. And Jim and Tefere and I have spent a lot of time together, and you can see from our excitement about this, but I'd ask the permission of the chair to ask a couple of our community partners to say a few words before this resolution is moved to debate.

TRUMKA: Absolutely.

WEINGARTEN: Thank you.

So, first, I would ask Kim Bobo, who is the director of the Interfaith Worker Justice center, to speak. And then I'd ask Ruben Garcia, who is a professor from the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, to speak. And then third, Terry O'Neill, who is the president of the National Organization for Women.

Our community partners were as engaged as our brothers and sisters within our movement, and we all very proudly present this resolution.

Kim.

KIM BOBO
Interfaith Worker Justice

All religions believe in justice. Interfaith Worker Justice strongly supports this resolution proposed today.

Faith and labor share core values. Do unto others as you would have others do unto you. An injury to one is an injury to all shared value.

Faith and labor want deep relationships. We don't want dial-a-priest, rent-a-collar or perfunctory opening prayer relationships. We want long-term, deep and honest connections. Like, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, we want to go into the fire together.

Faith and labor must tell the truth. We need shared prosperity. The economy isn't working. Thou shall not steal wages. Walmart, to whom much is given, much is expected. *(Applause)*

And workers need these partnerships. Workers don't organize just for money, they organize for respect, for dignity, for God's spirit and presence in their lives. Workers need us to work together.

So today, like a tree that's planted by the water, faith and labor will work together, sharing core values, building deep relationship, speaking the truth and standing with workers. Amen. *(Applause)*

RUBEN GARCIA

Professor, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Good morning and thank you for the opportunity to address you.

I have been so proud to serve on this committee with so many fine union and community leaders and other members of the academic community.

I hope that all the delegates support this resolution, because I think it simply reaffirms what has already been going on in the labor movement for years and, indeed, from the beginning of the history of the movement, and I believe it will continue to go forward in the future.

Labor and community partnerships have been the bedrock of this movement, and you have seen already today in this convention examples of this, and you will see more. And our committee and the listening session showed numerous examples of these community partnerships throughout the country.

The listening sessions also showed a hunger for collaboration on both sides of the labor and community equation. So we saw numerous examples of unions opening their doors to community groups, and community groups supporting union efforts at the bargaining table.

This resolution will take this work to the next level. And as the resolution states, the work must have a scale potency and exuberance that will advance our common cause.

Brothers and sisters, I hope you will support this resolution.

Thank you. *(Applause)*

TERRY O'NEILL

National Organization for Women

Good morning. I am so proud and thrilled to have worked with our longtime friends in the labor movement to produce this resolution.

The war on women is all too real. And it is not just a war on our access to reproductive health care services, it is equally a relentless assault on women's economic security.

Nowadays—yeah. *(Applause)* Nowadays, women participate in the paid labor force at about the same rate that men do. In fact, more than half of women are either the sole or an essential part of their family's income. But women make up two-thirds of minimum wage workers. These are workers who don't have health care, or retirement security, or paid sick days, or equal pay.

As the president of the National Organization for Women, I know that economic justice for women lies in our collective action, not leaning in as individuals, but leaning together to demand good wages. *(Applause)*

Good working conditions, and equal pay for work of equal value.

As partners, the women's movement and the labor movement will achieve our shared vision for economic and social justice.

Brothers and sisters, I urge you to approve this resolution.

Thank you. *(Applause)*

WEINGARTEN: Thank you, Kim, Ruben and Terry.

Finally, before the chair entertains debate on the motion, let me share a little video, or short video, so that you see the kind of work that Ruben was talking about and that many in this room are already doing.

Roll the tape.

...A video presentation was shown to the delegation.

WEINGARTEN: So, Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of Resolution 16.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister Randi.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution 16. Discussion?

The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

JOHANNA PUNO HESTER, AFSCME: Good morning, President Trumka. I am the national president of the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance and an international vice president of AFSCME, representing home care providers for the United Domestic Workers AFSCME Local 3930. *(Applause)*

We believe strongly that we must work with the community. We live in the community, we are the community. In California, we are working with our community partners to make sure that people who are limited-English proficient have access to medical interpreting services they need.

Right now, too many people walk into a doctor's office and can't get good health care because they can't communicate with the doctor.

Imagine being a teenage boy whose 5-year-old brother has fallen ill, and interpreting for your mother who speaks little to no English. Five days of back-to-back visits to the doctors and your brother has died. No one should live with this.

There are many more stories like this and we are working to change that.

We're standing and fighting side by side with our community partners to make sure they have certified interpreters who speak their language and help them access health care. And our partners are helping us make sure those interpreters have good jobs with collective bargaining rights, able to bargain for wages and benefits.

We all need to build more partnerships like this and that is why we support Resolution 16. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

HENRY NICHOLAS, AFSCME: Good morning, Mr. President. I'm a delegate from AFSCME and I am from the birthplace of the American labor movement in Philadelphia, where at this moment both of the major organizations, a part of the national federation of labor, are under attack. Both AFSCME and the American Federation of Teachers are in a war for their lives.

It is not an accident that they've come to Philadelphia. We are working to build a new movement that embodies both the community and organized labor.

We cannot let the labor movement die at the birthplace of this movement. We must use Pennsylvania as a testing ground until we get the change that we seek.

Right now as we gather here, in Philadelphia last Monday at the Labor Day parade, we had the largest turnout in the history of that movement in the rain that was coming down above your knees, but we were there, nothing was going to stop us.

We call on the labor movement to take this opportunity, not just to talk about the suffering of the people, but to create policies and programs to alleviate the suffering of which we speak. But we cannot do that if the labor movement does not move swiftly now.

We must turn the tide. We cannot continue to go down the road that we're headed. This is the labor movement's defining moment. No greater time than now to take back a voice for working people in America.

Sisters and brothers, when we leave this convention, all of us must go to our churches, our neighborhood organizations, and join hands and let's rebuild this movement.

The next generation depends on us. This is the most important time in our entire lifetime and I'm calling on all of us, let us come together, work together, unite together. Let's build a single movement, both in community and organized labor. No one can stop us now.

Let us start moving now. Thank you so very much.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Henry. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

JANELL HAMPTON, AFT: I am from AFT Local 1603. I teach English. Today I rise proudly in support of Resolution 16, "Building Enduring Labor and Community Partnerships." Resolution 16 embodies the biggest ideal of labor, bringing people together.

Resolution 16 asserts that we will solidly build "ally-ship" between labor and community based on mutual interests and winning collective objectives.

Together with community, we will build powerful momentum towards social and economic justice. Brothers and sisters, Resolution 16 commits to building partnerships rooted in mutual respect, shared analysis and information, and pooled power. This resolution identifies practical ways to move forward with our community to accomplish our goals.

But it's not limited to internships, common analysis, online volunteer systems and joint trainings. It is also dynamic. Resolution 16 includes flexibility so it can be tailored to serve the identified mutual needs of your communities and your organizations.

There are concrete plans in this resolution, but that flexibility makes it work for all of us. Resolution 16 calls for incentivizing this path forward together, labor and community, moving forward together.

Before I close, I'd like to quickly share some of my own experience in joining labor and community. Wall Street banks used interest rate swaps to bleed my district dry. It has led to the layoff of teachers, cutting hours of staff, decimating services for students and the hurting of communities all over our district.

I looked around at this destitute situation and it was clear as day that the way forward is together with people afflicted by this aggressive swap campaign. With the support of my union, AFT, and the California Federation of Teachers, the Peralta anti-swap coalition came together, brought together faculty, staff, community partners and students. We focused on multiple issues, we moved and executed multiple actions, all towards enduring democracy and towards the crushing of social and economic injustices.

This movement and these actions isn't tiring, it is inspiring. Millions of community members plus millions of laborers cannot be defeated. Together, we move forward, knowing that the biggest change we can make is moving forward together opening our doors.

Thank you. Support Resolution 16. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

GUILLERMO PEREZ, USW: Good morning. I rise in support of Resolution 16. I'm a proud member of the United Steelworkers. *(Applause)*

I live in Pittsburgh, the birthplace of both the AFL and the CIO.

I rise to speak on behalf of this resolution because, for us as labor activists, we've always been about community. Our activists are not just labor activists, they are community activists. In fact, many of them serve as community leaders in their schools and houses of worship.

Our lifeblood as a movement is collective bargaining. That's what we do. And at the Steelworkers, we are always down for a fight, and we are fighting like hell to maintain our standards.

But we owe it to our active members to broaden this coalition. We are losing our density, we are losing our leverage. The way forward has to be expanding this concept of collective bargaining. We as a movement bargain a social contract in this country, and we cannot bargain it successfully alone. We must have partners, we must be part of a broad, progressive coalition to bring power to working people in this country.

In Pittsburgh there is a lot of talk about how deindustrialization has not devastated us because we've come back, we have a new economy, it's all about eds and meds. But the jobs in eds and meds are poverty-wage jobs. We are fighting back in Pittsburgh, we are going to organize eds and meds. We are going to restore the middle class in those sectors, but we will not do that without community partners. It won't happen without a deep and broad coalition.

The fight for immigrant rights is a labor fight. The fight for women's rights is a labor fight. The fight against student debt is a labor fight. *(Applause)*

For those of us who are students of labor history, I would just remind you there was a great debate here once, 80 years ago, over the future of the labor movement. There was an argument for something called industrial unionism. It demanded a broad, broad coalition of women, people of color, immigrants, across crafts, across trades, across ethnicities. We came together and built the most powerful movement for social and economic justice the world had ever seen. Let this be the convention where we leave—

TRUMKA: Brother, your time is expired.

PEREZ: —with a new and renewed commitment to do just exactly that again. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: You bet. Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

CAROL LANDRY, USW: Thank you, Brother Chair. I'm an international vice president at large with the United Steelworkers, and I'm also a very proud Woman of Steel. *(Applause)*

I stand in support of Resolution No. 16. Sisters and brothers, I have to ask you, how do you separate the place our members work from the communities in which they live? As a labor movement, our work cannot and should not stop at the plant gate. Sometimes we have to stop and connect the dots and help our members connect the dots.

In the workplace we negotiate good wages, good benefits, health and safety working conditions, and all of these things spill out into the communities in which we live. They support small businesses, which in turn creates good jobs. We pay taxes for our schools and hospitals.

And we know that for every good job on a worksite, we have two, three, four indirect jobs in the community.

We also know—and unfortunately we have experienced this—when one of our Steelworker plants goes down, the whole community is impacted and suffers as a result.

But sisters and brothers, we have to dig further into our communities. We have to build more community partnerships, engage and mobilize around grassroots movements and activities.

In our union's hometown of Pittsburgh, we are privileged to do our life's work. We get to fulfill our mission of being trade unionists and answer our calling as community activists in the place where we live and work. We have returned to our roots. We show up for our friends and neighbors when it matters, to keep community hospitals open, to save jobs at bigger hospitals, to provide food and shelter to the most vulnerable, and to fight for clean, green communities, and community and family-supporting manufacturing jobs.

One such program I want to tell you about this morning is the Breaking the Chains of Poverty program, which is in Pittsburgh's Hill District, a largely African American neighborhood where deindustrialization has left a trail of tragedy and struggle. This program is a partnership between our union, APRI, the local housing authority and other groups. The mission is to provide life skills and job training to minorities to keep them on a path that takes them and their families out of poverty once and for all.

TRUMKA: Sister Carol, your time is expired.

LANDRY: Sisters and brothers, thank you for your support, and I ask everyone to support Resolution 16. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

THO DO, UNITE HERE: Thank you so much. I'm the international general vice president of the proud union UNITE HERE. *(Applause)*

On behalf of our union, I really want to say and register our strong support for Resolution 16. I just want to take a little bit of time to talk a bit about my own experience.

Before I came to the union, I spent 10 years working at a community organization. The last 24 years in the union, I understand the value of labor, community and religious organizations working together for a better, common agenda. *(Applause)*

The majority of my time I spend working with nonunion workers, who so often doesn't have a lot of recourse, the law or the right protected under the labor law. So often we are relying on community and religious community to stand with our workers to be able to beat back entire nonunion campaign.

We also understand in 2004 in my local in San Francisco, where 4,000 of hotel workers locked out from their job, and we won that lockout because of the whole San Francisco community and religious leader organizations standing with our workers and being able to beat back and beat back the lockout. *(Applause)*

In our union, across the country, whether we're in Arizona working in partnership with our community allies, our religious organizations, to take on the anti-immigrant terrorizing of the sheriff under the program of "Adios Arpaio," or in Hawaii, our union is creating a program that is called AiKea, where we work with community allies to keep the jobs, hospital jobs, in

Waikiki so that all these millionaire corporations doesn't turn it into condominiums and make fast money.

For all those reasons, we really are here to urge you all, the delegates, to work to vote and really making the Resolution 16 to become reality. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

PIERRETTE "PETEE" TALLEY, Ohio AFL-CIO: Good morning, Mr. Chairman. I'm the secretary-treasurer of the Ohio AFL-CIO and a member of the committee that is bringing forth Resolution 16. *(Applause)*

When public-sector workers in Ohio came under attack in 2011, we all understood that the fight would not be won if labor's voice was the only voice speaking out against Senate Bill 5. And we knew we needed to mobilize beyond our ranks.

We got very quickly that we needed the help of the community—the community who is our family, our neighbors, members of places where we worship, civic organizations, civil rights activists, immigrant rights advocates, environmentalists and retirees. We knew we needed to engage students and young workers—the LGBTQ community and young workers—if we were going to restore the collective bargaining rights that the tea party legislators stripped away.

Sisters and brothers, we didn't need to look further than within our own ranks to our own brothers and sisters who are active members and giving voice within the broader progressive community through the AFL-CIO Young Worker Organization, the union's Veterans Council, and our very strong and effective constituency groups.

This resolution continues to support labor's original bridges to our communities: the A. Philip Randolph Institute, APRI; the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance, APALA; the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, CBTU; the Coalition of Labor Union Women, CLUW; the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, LCLAA; and Pride at Work.

Sisters and brothers, we are the community, the community is us. I urge all of the delegates to support this resolution. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister Petee. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

CHARLES WOWKANECH, New Jersey State AFL-CIO: Mr. Chairman, I'm president of the New Jersey State AFL-CIO, representing 1 million workers. *(Applause)*

I'm also a member of this distinguished committee and a second-generation Operating Engineer.

I'm very proud to be here today to say a few words in support of this resolution. But first I want to congratulate and thank you for your leadership and your vision on this subject, because if we truly are going to grow and survive, this is going to be one of the most important decisions we make in this labor movement.

I wanted to give all of you, all of my brothers and sisters, a couple of tangible, real-life examples of union and community and how it works.

For 13 years in the state of New Jersey, we tried to pass the best form of social insurance called paid family leave and join our brothers and sisters here in the state of California. For 13 years—or 10 years or so—we thought we could do it as the New Jersey State

AFL-CIO. But when we got smart and joined with the community in the 13th year, we passed it, and we became the second state in this great nation to have paid family leave. *(Applause)*

Secondly, one of the things our coalition, which is now some three years old and strong, is working on is increased electoral participation in communities which have high numbers of unregistered voters.

In our state's largest city, Newark, New Jersey, over the past six months—working with over 200 community allies—we registered 21,000 new voters that will vote in 57 days from now for the minimum wage bill that's on the ballot after our governor vetoed it.

And lastly, and lastly, one more example that we are also very proud of, with your assistance. We had this operation come to the same city in Newark, it was called Walmart, they spread all the dough around, in the churches, in the communities, and they said you can't stop this.

We got together with over 200 groups and, let me tell you something, we sent Walmart packing. We got a union store there that's not only going to be run union but it's going to be built union, and that's what you do when you work with the community. *(Applause)*

Mr. Chair, Mr. President, if we truly are going to build a workers' movement, then we must act and we must act now and change the direction of social and economic justice for the middle class.

So I raise my voice in support of Resolution Number 16 and I hope and I pray that we honor those workers that stood on the stage with you and we pass this this morning in a unanimous fashion. God bless you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Charlie. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

MICHAEL COMPTON, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers: Mr. President, brothers and sisters, I'm a representative of the IBEW to this great convention.

I rise in support of this resolution but I ask for your consideration of item No. 5, worker centers. I ask that we consider the longstanding tradition of the building trades referral systems and hiring halls and that work centers not interfere with that process.

I believe the best way to achieve lasting justice is to bring workers at the worker centers into our unions and our trades. *(Applause)*

I ask that you consider this when the discussion of worker centers takes place.

Respectfully, thank you very much.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

The chair, seeing no other discussion, the question is on the adoption of Resolution Number 16. The committee recommends that you vote for Resolution 16.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.

The motion carries unanimously. *(Applause)*

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

[[INSERT TEXT OF RESOLUTION 16]]

(End Resolution No. 16)

TRUMKA: Before we move on, I really want to thank the members of that Committee on Community Partnerships and Grassroots Power. And I especially want to thank the chairs for the hard work that they did in bringing everybody together and bringing this resolution forward. Please give them a very, very, very warm round of applause. (*Applause*)

Why, brothers and sisters, do we build deep community partnerships? Well, ultimately it's to give workers and every person in our neighborhoods and our communities the backing to stand up and the opportunity to live together, live better. No effort has come to symbolize that goal more than the campaign by workers at Walmart—the world's largest company. I can't say it any better than they do, so take a look at this video, and I think you'll agree that these Walmart workers speak for workers everywhere.

...A video presentation, "Stand Up, Live Better," was shown to the delegation.
(*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Stand up, live better.

Brothers and sisters, our next two resolutions are about bold moves to help workers stand up for better living. And to report on Resolutions 5 and 2, I'm going to call first on Lee Saunders and then on Larry Cohen, co-chairs of the Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action.

María Elena Durazo, vice chair of the committee, is also up here with us. But we'll start with Lee.

Lee. (*Applause*)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE 1: GROWTH, INNOVATION AND POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

VICE PRESIDENT LEE SAUNDERS, AFSCME: Wake up out there. You OK? Let's make some noise. (*Applause*)

All right. You know, the labor movement has always been one of the greatest forces for social and economic justice in our nation. We are built on the idea that those who contribute to America's prosperity must share in our prosperity—and that's not happening today. Therefore, our movement must have the wherewithal to strengthen workers' voices and build workers' power.

That was the context for the Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action's work. Now, before I go further, the members of the committee, the union leaders, community leaders and academics, I want to thank them. They put so much time and thought into what we're about to discuss.

So would the committee members please stand so we can all give them a round of applause. (*Applause*)

It took a lot of thinking and a lot of fresh ideas to get these resolutions to where they are today. So I'd also like to thank the thousands of people across the country and from every walk of life who shared their ideas in the listening sessions.

In those sessions, people opened up about what they're facing and what they see on the horizon for all workers. They talked about the rising inequality that's become a feature of American life. They talked about the need for stronger labor laws to protect workers who want to form unions. They shared their concern that the labor movement—as the last line of defense

for working families—must be invigorated with new ideas and new energy to be the stronghold it needs to be.

We've heard from many workers who want to be part of our movement, whether or not they have a clear path to organizing a union at their workplace. And with this resolution we are saying to all of them: The door is open to you. The Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action worked to shape resolutions to address all of these needs.

RESOLUTION NO. 5

A Broad, Inclusive and Effective Labor Movement

SAUNDERS: The first resolution we'll take up is Resolution 5, "A Broad, Inclusive and Effective Labor Movement."

I'd like to start by reading to you part of it, which I think expresses very well the resolution's goal:

"The labor movement cannot be confined within bargaining units defined by government agencies or limited to workplaces where a majority of employees vote 'Yes' in the face of a ruthless campaign by their employer to deny them representation. The labor movement consists of all workers who want to take collective action to improve wages, hours and working conditions."

Brothers and sisters, this resolution issues the invitation to every worker in the United States to join the movement for economic justice—either through an AFL-CIO affiliate or through Working America.

And to enable people to act on this invitation, this resolution commits the AFL-CIO, in close collaboration with affiliate unions, to expand existing forms of membership and create new ones so that membership is truly open to anyone who wants to be covered who may not be covered by a collective bargaining agreement, part of a union or included in an affiliate's organizing plans. We need to experiment and learn continuously.

Membership, even if it is outside collective bargaining, must be meaningful and include education about workplace rights and assistance if those rights are violated. We will enable Working America to expand and to develop creative forms of workplace representation and advocacy where workers have not achieved collective bargaining. And we will seek to extend benefits through Union Privilege to members who don't have collective bargaining arrangements.

This resolution calls for the AFL-CIO and affiliates to deepen our relationships with worker centers and similar innovative organizations advocating for workers, to explore additional affiliations of these organizations and to assist them with our research and expertise.

It also calls on us to expand our work with campus-based student organizations and advocate on their central issues, such as accessibility of college education and student debt relief, and to recognize that all campus workers, from undergraduates working in the dining halls to professors, have a right to organize and engage in collective bargaining.

The bottom line—the bottom line, sisters and brothers, is that the choice to belong to this labor movement must belong to workers. The freedom to choose to be part of this movement must be a freedom available to every worker.

And to tell us more about what we're doing and what must be done to join this movement in new ways would mean to one group of workers, let me introduce Carlton Smith.

Carlton, where are you? Where is Carlton?

Come on, Carlton. Let's go. Let's go. How are you doing, Brother?
Let's give him a round of applause.
Carlton Smith. *(Applause)*

CARLTON SMITH

Walmart Employee

Good morning, sisters and brothers. First of all, I'd like to thank President Trumka and President Saunders for allowing me the opportunity to address the convention delegates and community partners.

My name is Carlton Smith. I'm a husband of 27 years, a father of three, a grandfather of four grandsons and one on the way. *(Applause)*

I'm a 17-year associate of Walmart, Store No. 2110 in Paramount, California. I'm here today to speak out about the injustices that we Walmart associates face daily.

Yes, I've been a member of OUR Walmart since October 2011. Yes, I was the first to go out on strike. Yes, I was one of the first to do an open door at the home office in Bentonville, Arkansas. *(Applause)*

Yes, I participated in the largest strike in southern California. Yes, I called on the head of human resources globally, Ms. Karen Casey, to end retaliation at Walmart's 50th anniversary shareholders' meeting.

Yes, I am the 99%. *(Applause)*

Yes, I am one of the strikers that went to Bentonville for the first-ever prolonged strike.

Yes, I called on head CEO of Yahoo, Marissa Mayer, who sits on Walmart's Board of Directors, to speak out about associates' issues and concerns.

We, as Americans, believe in speaking up when something is wrong, and the freedom to act together to make things right. But when me and my other co-workers came together to protest Walmart's attempt to silence us, Walmart responded by firing and disciplining us. It's wrong for Walmart, America's largest private employer, that made \$16 billion in profit last year, to punish us for exercising our legally protected rights.

For more than a month, we asked the members of Walmart's Board of Directors to tell Walmart to reinstate us fired workers and to remove the unfair disciplinary actions, but they remained silent.

Last Thursday, hundreds of Los Angeles supporters joined me and my co-workers in a nationwide day of protest. Twenty-three Walmart associates and clergy were arrested in the street. *(Applause)*

We called for better wages, affordable health care, sufficient hours, and to end the attempts to silence workers who are standing up and speaking out for better living for our families and to stop the retaliation for doing so.

We should not be fired for striking and for standing up and speaking out, for trying to support our families, and to contribute to our local economies. It's a shame that many of us are struggling just to feed our families.

I am proud to be here today supporting this resolution. It tells me and the rest of OUR Walmart sisters and brothers that we are part of this labor movement by our choice.

Thank you for your support and supporting Resolution Number 5. Thank you and God bless you all. *(Applause)*

SAUNDERS: Give him a round of applause. He's risking everything. He's fighting for what he believes in. Give Carlton a round of applause. (*Applause*)

Now, we're going to go a little off script. We're going to go a little off script, and this is what we're going to do. This is what we're going to do. Now, how many of you know what an altar call is? You know what an altar call is, don't you? We're going to have a little church here this morning, OK?

The altar call is when the preacher turns to his congregation and says that I want you to make some commitments, I want you to make some commitments. So we're going to have our own AFL-CIO altar call right here in this hall this morning. Is that OK? (*Applause*)

We're going to have an altar call to support those Walmart workers. So I'm going to ask you some questions, and I hope you give me the right answer.

Will you march, will you march together, rally together, sing together to support Carlton and his Walmart associates? Will you do that?

(*Shouts of "Yes!"*)

Will you do that?

(*Shouts of "Yes!"*)

Will you organize, will you mobilize, will you educate your communities about the evil policies of Walmart? Will you do that?

(*Shouts of "Yes!"*)

Will you do that?

(*Shouts of "Yes!"*)

Will you join, will you join in solidarity with the Walmart workers in the OUR Walmart campaign in community after community after community across this country to support the Walmart workers? Will you do that?

(*Shouts of "Yes!"*)

Will you stand up? Will you stand up with Carlton? Will you stand up with the Walmart workers? Will you raise a little bit of hell? Will you raise a whole lot of hell to support the Walmart workers? Will you do that?

(*Shouts "Yes!"*)

I didn't hear you. Will you do that?

(*Shouts of "Yes!"*)

OK. OK, church is over. (*Laughter*)

Thank you, sisters and brothers.

You know, in recent years we have seen groups of workers like OUR Walmart workers who won't and don't have the benefits of union membership but nonetheless come together and take collective action to improve their lives and working conditions.

Another model of this involves worker centers. Now, to talk about the labor movement's partnership with one worker center in particular, I'd like to recognize Christina Tzintzun of the Workers Defense Project, and Richard Shaw, secretary-treasurer of the Harris County AFL-CIO and president of the Fey y Justicia Worker Center. That's in Texas. It's one of the most hostile states, as we all know, one of the most hostile states to organized labor, yet they've been winning significant gains for construction workers. They are a leading example of the power that we can have when community and labor stand together.

Christina. Where are you, Sister? Coming up?

Mike 2, OK.

CHRISTINA TZINTZUN, Workers Defense Project: Sorry about the confusion, everyone.

Richard and I are working in Texas, and we love organizing in Texas, because if you like organizing, you know you like a fight, and that's what we have in Texas. *(Applause)*

We fight for nearly 1 million construction workers that labor in Texas and work in one of the most hostile, anti-union, anti-worker states in the country. And I'm sure everyone knows Rick Perry and that he's been parading around that Texas has undergone an economic miracle.

But the workers that we fight for know that it's been a nightmare for them under his leadership. More workers die in Texas on construction jobs than in any other state. And at its peak, a worker was dying every two-and-a-half days in Texas just two years ago.

And in other parts of the country, construction jobs are good, blue-collar jobs. But in Texas, wage theft is rampant in the industry. And our right-wing legislators are proud of the fact that Texas is the only state in the country that doesn't even require workers' compensation coverage to protect a worker if injured on the job.

Being in a place like this has forced us to be creative and it's forced us to work together and it's proving to be a winning strategy.

RICHARD SHAW, Harris County (Texas) Central Labor Council: Unions and worker centers together have won ordinances at the local level for rest breaks and safety training, legislation at the state level, beating back attacks on prevailing wages and project labor agreements, and we're moving forward with pro-worker policies for wage theft laws and misclassification laws. We're taking on major developers and we're forcing them to the table to sit down with labor and community. Developers like Trammell Crow, Apple, Inc. and Marriott. We're raising the floor for all workers and leveling the playing field for union contractors.

Christina.

TZINTZUN: And the gains we've achieved, I think, are significant for any part of the country, but they're particularly significant for Texas, and we've done that by working together. If we can win these gains in place like Texas, then we can do it anywhere.

Our strength, we recognize, is in our unity. The fact that we brought union and nonunion, undocumented and documented, black, brown, and white workers to stand shoulder to shoulder together, to march together, and to fight together—that's the way that we can win.

We want to continue to deepen our relationships. In Texas we work with every building trade in the state and have brought them together and are changing how we work.

We want to continue to deepen our relationships and see Resolution 5 go forward so that we can take back Texas and the country for the workers that we represent.

Thank you.

SAUNDERS: Thanks, Cristina. Thanks, Richard.

One of the people in our listening sessions told us "I would like the AFL-CIO to create an organization that everyone can join." Well, that's what we did with Working America.

Working America is 10 years old. Now is the time to make it as big and bold as America needs. So let's hear from Working America member Silvia Bly, joined by some of her fellow members. Silvia.

SILVIA BLY
Working America

Thank you. My name is Silvia Bly, and I am a Working America member from Cleveland, Ohio.

I'd first like to say how incredibly wonderful it is to be here with such passionate and kindred spirits. It's rough out there. It's so easy to feel beaten down and overwhelmed. Being here is empowering, and for that, we thank you.

I worked at a manufacturing plant for 13 years, but a new owner bought the company and my office job was outsourced.

I've never been in a union. But I've always wanted to be in a union.

I've seen firsthand what a difference a union can make. The United Steelworkers helped my husband through a shutdown and helped him get the good job he now has.

But good jobs like his are few and far between these days.

I didn't think there was anything I could do about it until a Working America organizer came to my door.

Now I guess you'd have to say I'm a super activist.

I'm talking to my friends and even to total strangers about how we can make things better. I'm working with other budding activists in Cleveland.

I'm excited about the new direction for Working America. We've been organizing working people in their communities, but now we'll start building that community power in workplaces.

We'll use this community power to fight for good jobs and a real democracy. I believe people have had enough.

It all starts when we understand we're all in this together. Here's what I mean.

...A video presentation was shown to the delegation. (Applause)

SAUNDERS: Thank you, Silvia.

Everyone here can build the labor movement. Affiliates are remaking our movement by reaching out to the unorganized in their sectors and building pathways to stronger collective bargaining, and we all should take part and encourage this action. State federations and central labor councils are taking up the cause, supporting organizing and the public policy campaigns that unite us with our communities. As individuals, each of us can be an everyday organizer by spreading the word about Working America to your friends and family who don't have the benefit of unions in their lives. You can find out more about how by stopping by the Working America booth in the plaza right outside these doors. Start tomorrow's labor movement today.

Brothers and sisters, on behalf of the committee, I move the adoption of Resolution 5, "A Broad, Inclusive and Effective Labor Movement."

The committee recommends and I turn it over to you. OK. Well, what are you sneaking up behind me for?

TRUMKA: Ah, sneak up behind you, OK. Used to be no one could sneak up behind you like that.

The committee recommends that Resolution 5 be adopted.

Is there any discussion?

Before I call on anybody, I see that there's a lot of people lined up at the mikes, and we want to hear from all of you, so if you could be as concise as you can, it would be very much appreciated.

The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

MIKE MULLANE, International Association of Fire Fighters: Mr. Chairman, I'm an international vice president of the Fire Fighters union. I'm also a vice president of the Massachusetts AFL-CIO, and a 43-year member of the Boston Fire Department.

I come from the city of Boston, where when the terrorists attacked, we closed the city down, and union police officers and union firefighters and union EMS took care of that incident. *(Applause)*

There were 18 amputations and 264 people tragically injured, and they were transported by union EMS and every one of them lived. Every one of them lived. It was a remarkable thing—*(Applause)*—by our union. And the site was cleaned up by AFSCME, by members of the AFSCME, City of Boston. *(Applause)*

So we know about union and we know about—we think we are the Working America, the AFL-CIO.

I understand, and I only want to raise some caution, Mr. Chairman. I'm not against the resolution, I just want to raise some cautions, because we know how devious the other side is when it comes to these issues.

We passed a policy here, this is very comprehensive, and I dare say it, I'm only a high school grad, but it was a little difficult to read this morning. I know the leadership has been working on it for some time.

There's some things that need to be—at least when you implement this, when it passes, Mr. President, that you need to look at, you need to be careful of. But I don't speak for the building trades, and I don't speak for—I speak for firefighters only.

But some of the questions that I have is what happens if a union decertifies because they're not happy with their union, their local union, can they join this organization?

That's a question, Mr. Chairman.

TRUMKA: Those questions have been asked and answered at the committee, Brother. This is your three minutes and you have about a minute left.

MULLANE: OK. So we're not going to get any answers here, I guess?

TRUMKA: Go to any of the committee members, they're here.

MULLANE: Well, I wasn't at the committee, Mr. Chairman, I'm here. I'm asking the question.

TRUMKA: Thank you, sir.

MULLANE: I mean, there's a lot of things that—I don't have—this concept is perfect. I don't have no trouble with that. I just think that we need to cautious that—and I know the building trades are here. They can speak for themselves. But I know contractors in Massachusetts and in Boston who will sign up, if they can, for this and avoid paying project labor agreements and other things. We've seen it.

By the way, and I'll finish my one minute with: In Boston we didn't let Walmart in.

TRUMKA: Brother, your time has expired.

MULLANE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

TRUMKA: Thank you, sir. We appreciate you, Brother.
The chair recognizes delegate at mike 2.

JEFF CROSBY, North Shore (Mass.) Labor Council: I'm the president of the North Shore Labor Council in Massachusetts, and also a member of the Communications Workers of America; also, like Mike, a vice president of the Mass AFL-CIO.

By the way, I was on the committee, and my answer to Mike would be, no, we're not going to let scabs come into our organization in any way, shape, or form. (*Applause*)

My labor council has initiated both a worker center and we're building a Working America chapter. So I'm glad for a chance to speak here on Resolution Number 5.

I got a call last week about a friend of mine, a woman named Mariola Perez. She had been picked up for turning right on a yellow light, and has a deportation hearing on the 17th of this month.

She came across the border in Arizona seven months pregnant, and was actually kidnapped in Arizona. Had to get ransom from some gangsters. Finally got to Lynn and works two jobs there now, delivering papers at 4:30 in the morning and cleaning houses to take care of her child, Ernesto, who is now about three-and-a-half years old.

Mariola does not have a union to go to. So that's why we created a worker center in Lynn, Massachusetts, so if she has a problem on the job, or with immigration, or something else, she has somewhere to turn. That's why we're trying to help keep her in country right now, so she doesn't get torn from the arms of her child.

Now, I don't think there's anybody in this room that has a heart so hard that they wouldn't hear the moral argument that I just made. But I also want to make a pragmatic and practical article in support of Resolution 5.

You cannot raise the roof in the house of labor if the floor is caving in. We have tried exclusion in the past; it has failed us.

My father was navigator on a B-17 over Germany in World War II in a segregated Army Air Corps.

My grandfather was a member of a union that excluded African Americans until 1964. By the way, excluded them by arms.

The civil rights anti-job discrimination language that finally passed in 1964 was actually originally written by Senator Wagner in the Wagner Act in 1935. It was taken out because the then-AFL said they would withdraw support for the Wagner Act if they did not take that language out.

We have tried exclusion, it has failed. It has brought us to this bitter point in our history.

We need a renewed labor movement. I'm proud to be a part of the committee that worked on this.

TRUMKA: Jeff, I'm going to ask you to close out.

CROSBY: I urge your support. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Jeff. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

ELIOT SIEDE, AFSCME: Mr. Chairman, I'm the executive director of AFSCME Council 5 in Minnesota and international vice president of AFSCME.

I rise to support Resolution Number 5, and specifically, the support and growth of our affiliate Working America.

The resolutions today have a common theme, to make our movement the voice of all workers, not just the voice of our members.

Sisters and brothers, we're in a crisis. Our membership is less than 12% of the American workforce. We must be the voice for the other 88% as well.

We cannot continue to build powerful workers unless we reach out to all workers.

Working America is a key mechanism to reach out to all workers.

In Minnesota, Working America has been critical to the fight to push back against the tea party, ALEC, the Koch Brothers and the extreme right.

Working America reaches out to all working people in Minnesota. Working America now has 250,000 members in Minnesota who are workers who do not have collective bargaining relationships with their employers.

Working America canvasses door to door talking to workers about values and issues that bring all workers together, to find what unites all workers in the struggle for human dignity and respect.

Working America tests our polled messages with real conversations, with real workers about the values we share and the issues we care about.

Working America is connected with a broad group of workers who are not currently in unions, but who, given the opportunity, want to connect with the labor movement.

And now AFSCME in Minnesota is talking with Working America about how we can experiment together to reach out to workers as a foundation for organizing the unorganized.

With the help of Working America, we defeated the tea party-run legislature and elected a pro-worker legislature to work with our pro-worker governor, Mark Dayton.

Together with Working America and the quarter of a million workers they reach, we did the following: We raised taxes on the wealthy, increased aid to education from early childhood to higher ed, and froze tuition in public colleges and universities. We increased aid to local governments for the first time in a decade, and we passed legislation for the largest expansion of collective bargaining rights in 40 years so that child care providers and personal care attendants can now organize and join a union.

With Working America Minnesota, sisters and brothers, we are reaching out to all workers to build a voice for all workers. With Working America, we share the message: If there is dignity in all work, why isn't there dignity for all workers? As Paul Wellstone, our late senator in Minnesota, said, "We all do better, sisters and brothers, when we all do better."

Let's support Resolution 5 and support Working America. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

BARBARA BYRD, Southeastern Oregon Central Labor Council: Brothers and sisters, I'm the secretary-treasurer of the Oregon AFL-CIO, and I'm here representing the Southeastern Oregon Central Labor Council.

We're working hard in Oregon to organize right now. We have a leadership group from our affiliates who are helping us figure this out; it's not an easy proposition right now. We have help from the national AFL-CIO's Organizing Department, and we have great help from our longstanding Working America chapter.

But one of the things that we've learned over the last year and a half or so is that traditional organizing efforts are not going to be enough. We've organized cab drivers, we've organized para-transit drivers and Head Start workers, but these are small numbers. To really grow our movement in Oregon, we have got to find nontraditional ways to reach out. We have to look at new organizing models. We need to find partnerships with the community and student organizations and advocacy groups that represent immigrant workers, and we have to find new ways to use the great resources available from Working America.

We think we can do this; our affiliate leaders are ready to help us and guide this program. This resolution is an important first step in this effort, and I urge you all to support it. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

KEN ALLEN, Clatsop County (Ore.) Central Labor Council: I, too, am from Oregon, from the Clatsop Labor Council, and the director of Oregon AFSCME. *(Applause)*

Working America is our most important partner in Oregon for organized labor. They've doubled our density from 125,000 AFL members to 250,000 members. They vote at the same performance levels as our AFL-CIO members. They've made the difference when we've beaten paycheck deception, elected a great U.S. senator and a governor.

More importantly, Working America has now canvassed in our targeted communities. They provided dozens of organizing leads to our unions for successful campaigns. They do more in-depth canvassing. These Working America canvassers are ready to do house calls and become our next generation of organizers.

This is the most important organization that we have to build our movement. It's our organization. How much do we believe in Working America? Our council in Oregon provides enough funding to put out an extra canvassing team year round.

We believe in this group. We hope that you support them. They are going lead us to a bigger future for our movement. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

JEFF JOHNSON, Washington State Labor Council: Thank you. Mr. Chair, sisters and brothers, I'm president of the Washington State Labor Council, AFL-CIO, and a proud member of AFSCME Local 443. *(Applause)*

I am proud to rise in support of Resolution 5. This resolution helps us to operationalize Resolution 16.

We are at a crossroads. We have the opportunity to go down the path of shared prosperity. It is within our grasp to determine the standard of living for all workers and what our communities should look like, but we cannot do this alone. We must and can only do this by building a broad and inclusive working-class movement. We do this, as President Weingarten said, through building labor and community density.

Resolution 5 describes how we must do everything we can to support Working America, organizing workers into new forms of representation and advocacy. We are working in our state to get a chapter of Working America in place by January of next year.

Also, Resolution 5 talks about how we need to support and expand worker centers to build this working-class movement.

In Washington State, Casa Latina is our worker center. They have been affiliated with us since 2009. I'm proud to say they were the first worker center affiliated with the state federation.

In this short period of time, we've done some great work together. Casa Latina, the labor movement and the building trades passed an ordinance to criminalize wage theft and the misclassification of workers in our largest city of Seattle. *(Applause)*

We passed an ordinance to criminalize wage theft in our largest county, King County. We brought a national CEO of a janitorial company from Tennessee out to the state of Washington to fire his subcontractor, who was exploiting immigrant janitors in the grocery stores, and to hire another contractor that would follow the rules of the game.

We are now working on a statewide wage theft and misclassification law.

We've worked together with our worker center on comprehensive immigration reform, and I'm proud to say this past August we turned one of those House Republicans needed to pass CIR.

We're working on a Caring Across Generations initiative. This initiative would allow disabled and the elderly to get the quality care they need with dignity in their homes by well-trained and well-paid home care union workers.

We're working to organize domestic workers in fighting for their full and equal rights under the law.

Sisters and brothers, we will rebuild the labor movement with our community partners so that the working class is restored to the middle-class income, and we will restore the American dream based on the premise that work is valued over profits and greed, and we start down this path by passing Resolution 5. Thank you for your support. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

MARIA SOMMA, USW: Thank you, President Trumka. I am a woman, I am a person of color, I am an immigrant and I am a proud Woman of Steel of the United Steelworkers. *(Applause)*

I feel privileged to be able to stand up here in support of this resolution. This resolution is about workers, all workers. We know that we are stronger together, and it is the bosses' strategy to divide and conquer. We in the union movement know how to battle that plan: by solidarity.

We will be the ones to show the bosses that we will not be divided, that we'll not be pitted against each other. Workers will be united in this country no matter how much they don't want us to be. We in the Steelworkers are partners with Voces de la Frontera in Milwaukee fighting the bosses at Palermo's Pizza, where workers have had their fingers cut off because the bosses don't care about their lives.

We are working with Arise Chicago, working with the car wash workers who have had tens of thousands of dollars stolen from them by the bosses. We are working with CLEAN Carwash in Los Angeles because the bosses don't care about their working conditions. We

created the Boston Taxi Drivers' Association because the law says that they are not able to unionize. Well, we are tired of the bosses and the politicians telling us what we can and cannot do.

The members of these organizations have two things in common: they are workers and they are being abused by their bosses. The labor movement has always been there for workers, and this resolution is just another tool that allows us to help the workers.

We want to stand with workers no matter if they are members of unions or members of worker centers. Because, after all, our ultimate goal is for them to be members of both.

We support this resolution, and I ask this body to loudly pass this resolution. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

JOSLYN WILLIAMS, Metropolitan Washington (D.C.) Council, AFL-CIO: Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, Bishop Saunders—*(Laughter)*—I am the president of the Metropolitan Washington Council and a member of AFSCME. *(Applause)*

Mr. Chairman, as I stand here, I wonder what A. Philip Randolph, on the 50th anniversary of the March on Washington, would say about our discussion today. And it occurs to me that his answer would be, "It is about time."

It is about time that this organization recognizes its true mission, and its mission is to bring dignity, not only to the workplace, but to our community. We cannot bring dignity to the community by just thinking that our mission is to bring dignity to those who carry a union card.

America's labor movement is a social movement. It is defined as a collection of many for the benefit of all.

A collection of many, Mr. Chairman, for the benefit of all. Not a collection of many for their own benefit. *(Applause)*

I would remind us that to reject any of these resolutions that the leadership has brought to us would be to fly into the face of what history has defined for us.

Mr. Chairman, I urge us to pass Resolution Number 5, not because it is solely of our own interests, but because it is what we need to do to make America strong. We are a patriotic organization, and to turn our backs on those that are the least among us is for us to be least among the patriots.

Mr. Chairman, I urge passage of this resolution. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Jos. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

LOU PAULSON, IAFF: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm from the IAFF, president of the California Professional Firefighters, vice president of the California Labor Federation, chairman of the "No on Proposition 32" campaign.

Mr. Chairman, we in California are familiar with working with other groups. We understand that. We in the IAFF rise in support of this resolution, but with caution. To be bold and innovative, but also to be an experiment tells us to lead with caution.

The IAFF has over a third of its members, over a hundred thousand firefighters, today working with no collective bargaining rights, no recognition at the table or by their employer. So we are concerned that as we move forward with this experiment, that we do not undermine

the work that we have currently done or that we've been doing since 1918 to organize folks that are unorganized.

We believe partnership is important. We understand the value of it. But we also are concerned, and we recognize that, yes, the floor is caving in for organized labor. And, yes, we do need to be effective, bold, and innovative. But we don't want the walls knocked down as we are trying to fix the foundation. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Lou. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

NORWOOD JEWELL, UAW: I'm a regional director with the United Autoworkers. I hail out of the proud city of Flint, Michigan, home of the Sit-Downers, 1936-'37. *(Applause)*

We believe, as our longest-serving president, Walter Reuther, to our current president, Bob King, that we are a social movement. If we truly believe we are a social movement, we understand we cannot do this alone. We must build coalitions, and the best-built coalitions come from those from within.

We need to look to our cities, to our states, and talk with other groups and bring them in. We need to be inclusive, not exclusive. And what's the most important thing that we can do? We need to build power to win justice through politics. We cannot elect candidates and take over the legislature without the help of our communities, without the help of social groups.

It is so vitally important that we grow from within and grow to be inclusive and not exclusive, to where every American feels like they have the support that our members feel like they have from the groups that we represent. While we try to build the coalitions amongst each other, let's reach out and bring in these other groups and be as one.

Brother Chairman, I rise in support of this resolution and urge all the delegates to enthusiastically do so. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

DAVIDA RUSSELL, Ashtabula County (Ohio) AFL-CIO Labor Council: President Trumka and delegates, I am the delegate from the Ashtabula labor federation and the new secretary-treasurer of the North Coast Area Labor Federation, and the state vice president of the OAPSE/AFSCME Local 4, and a very proud member of AFSCME. *(Applause)*

We know the challenges we face in the labor movement because of declining union membership. We must expand in order to have the influence to counter the right-wing forces through our political and legislative campaigns. Working America has been at the heart of the expansion by bringing millions of like-minded citizens and voters into the ranks.

In Ohio, through the Working America voters, we have been better educated and have turned out record numbers, along with union members, supporting candidates and supporting workers and middle-class families. Working America has proven they are the worthwhile Working America time and time again. In the position to help us grow the labor movement, they have knocked on hundreds and thousands of doors through our Senate Bill 5 and SB-194, voter suppression campaign.

I urge all the delegates here to support Resolution 5. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

BHAIRAVI DESAI, National Taxi Workers Alliance: Good morning, President Trumka. I'm with the National Taxi Workers Alliance, and I rise in support of this resolution. *(Applause)*

I'm a little nervous because this is our first convention.

You know, taxi drivers are independent contractors. The reason that I rise in support of this resolution is to say that the millions of workers that we are talking about recognizing are people like taxi drivers or domestic workers or, you know, construction workers, workers who, with no regard of their own, are excluded from the right to organize. There are millions of workers who don't belong to unions simply because the National Labor Relations Act does not recognize our right to stand up for ourselves and have democracy in the shop.

What this resolution does is it says clearly, strongly and loudly that we as a labor movement will define for ourselves when we build a union. We will not let the NLRB, which does not have the moral authority over working people when they have turned their backs on millions of workers throughout history, to be the ones to define whether or not we are a union.

And so for every person in this room who believes that workers define our destiny, we choose our own home. You must stand in strong support of Resolution 5.

Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Sister, I've seen you face down the owners of taxicab drivers and shop owners out on a picket line. I can't imagine you being nervous among your brothers and sisters. *(Applause)*

Seeing no further debate, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 5. The committee recommends that you vote for Resolution 5.

All those in favor of the motion, signify by saying aye. All those opposed, no. Resolution 5 is adopted. *(Applause)*

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

[[INSERT TEXT OF RESOLUTION 5]]

(End Resolution No. 5)

TRUMKA: Committee Co-Chair Larry Cohen will report the next resolution. Larry.

RESOLUTION NO. 2

Assisting All Workers to Organize

VICE PRESIDENT LARRY COHEN, Communications Workers of America: OK, so this is Resolution 2. It actually fits with the next one, which will be Resolution 1. In our union, I often say that this is hard but not hopeless. Hard but not hopeless. This resolution, "Assisting All Workers to Organize," and everything we've done here this morning fits together.

As we just heard, on the one hand, we have to define what it means to organize. We can't let the worst labor laws of any democracy in the world—and we have international guests here that could attest to this—hold us back. We can't let, as Senator Warren said to us yesterday, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, with their 40-year plan, hold us back.

We can't let Walmart hold us back. We can't let any of these large employers—understand full well, sisters and brothers, no one here on this committee is saying we turn our

back on our age-old fight to make capitalism human. This is not just about forming organizations that anyone can join, but it is about forming organizations that anyone can join.

It's also about putting every employer on notice, whether a small anti-union construction company or a giant like Deutsche Telekom and T-Mobile USA, or anything in between, that this federation is going to dig even deeper to develop an organizing plan in every union, in every labor council, in every state federation, in every conversation we have with workers, whether they are in our unions or not. That's why it's hard but not hopeless.

Because if we focus only on collective bargaining rights and we look at the last four years, as Brother Rich described earlier today, you could easily come up with the conclusion that it is hopeless. Bargaining rights have been under attack, worse than ever, in the last four years.

Whether we're a public sector or private sector, or industrial or building trades, whether we work in the mines or the mills, these attacks have taken us back to collective bargaining levels not seen since the 19th century in this country and we're in the 21st century.

Many of our unions here have tremendous resources, great organizers, amazing members—we're hearing from them all today. We need a combination of that pride and also enormous humility to take us through Resolution 2 and Resolution 1. We can't assist all workers to organize, as this says, somewhat traditionally, if we don't also stand up and fight back like we never have in a hundred years or more against the worst greed, the worst management and clearly the worst U.S. Chamber of Commerce—that this year saw them take on yet a new battle to eliminate the National Labor Relations Board. Make no mistake about it, we would have lost the fight to have three Democrats on that board if that was only our fight. As much work as my union did and others in this room, without the allies at a national level that helped us mobilize 2 million people for all the president's nominees at that time, the eight, we wouldn't have had three Democrats on the NLRB. Yet, we do have three Democrats now on the NLRB. *(Applause)*

We're prepared, with them and with this movement that we're talking about here today, to stand up and fight back and move forward.

Now, this resolution is not about what the federation does, although it is about how the federation provides support. This resolution says that every affiliate here will submit a plan to our brother president about how they'll organize.

Now some will say, "It's too hard. We've been shut down, we've tried to organize, we need to just do political work." Well, the political work, which we'll hear about later this afternoon, is linked to this. It's workers in motion joining new and different kinds of organizations like OUR Walmart, or like the TU. Our organization that we're building with is Verdi, the German union. New organizations without collective bargaining, without rights, but those workers standing up and fighting back and often getting fired, they provide the fuel for us all.

So that's what we're voting on here. We're voting on a resolution that says every one of us, every year—every one of us, every year—every local, every union, every labor council, every state fed will have a plan. Those plans will be turned in to the AFL-CIO.

This means less competition between unions. A share of the Organizing Committee of this federation, I'll tell you, there's still too much of that. It means that there's 80 million unorganized workers in this country; we need a plan to reach them all. Whatever that plan is for each union, we are going to reach out to 80 million workers—not 8,000 or 800,000—but every unorganized worker in this country. *(Applause)*

Now we're going to hear a couple of examples of organizing that are going on, then we'll hear from you.

And I encourage you when you take the mike, talk about what you will do, not what somebody else will do. If you're in a union or a labor council that has not had a plan, there's other unions here that have those plans. The idea is that we will work together, and we'll build the kind of mass movement, a movement of at least 50 million Americans, that can fight for economic justice and democracy.

Now, we're going to hear in a couple minutes—first we're going to see a video—from a group of workers who have rhythm and can dance. Imagine that, if we could all do that. As I told Galen yesterday, my idea of dancing, having grown up in the '60s and '70s, was that you jump up and down. I wouldn't make it into the Dancers Alliance.

So let's first watch this video, and then we'll introduce Galen Hooks and hear from her. Roll the video, please.

...A video presentation was shown to the delegation.

COHEN: And now we have Galen with us, and she'll speak more about this campaign, what it means to the dancers, and she herself—this is the third time I've introduced her, by the way, and I've yet to see her dance I told her earlier, so maybe that time will come, too.

An incredibly accomplished dancer and choreographer herself, you can see her work in movies, television, music videos. She's worked with Janet Jackson, Justin Bieber, Usher and Miley Cyrus, among others.

Most importantly for us, she's a trade unionist, the chair of the Dancers Alliance, affiliated with SAG-AFTRA. Galen is at microphone 3.

Hey, Galen, there you are again. *(Applause)*

GALEN HOOKS, Dancers Alliance: Unfortunately, I won't be dancing today, or fortunately for me.

That piece of paper that I was holding, crying about, in that video was a union contract for music videos. For 30 years since their inception, they were nonunion. *(Applause)*

I'm incredibly proud to be representing an example of how this community organizing is actually working. In our case, it's through Dancers Alliance organizing nonunion work into union work, speaking the language of our demographic. By nature, our workforce is young workers; by the time you're 30, your dance career is pretty much over.

So we speak their language by using social media. We use Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, YouTube. Our Twitter has over 10,000 followers for Dancers Alliance. The last event we threw was at a nightclub in L.A. with over a thousand people in attendance from ages 18 to 25, dead silent, in a room listening to me talk about serious issues like health and pension. They actually care because we have gotten them to care.

Our next mission is to organize tours. When you go see a concert and you see Lady Gaga or Beyonce or Madonna performing at a concert, those dancers, singers and musicians who perform with those artists are not covered under a union contract. They deserve a union contract the same way any worker anywhere across the nation deserves a union contract. *(Applause)*

We plan on achieving that by using the exact same out-of-the-box thinking to make sure that all performers, whether union or not, are involved in and empowered by the labor movement. Thank you. *(Applause)*

COHEN: Just one more example before we hear from all of you.

Another strategic focus campaign is AFSCME's campaign to support workers who are EMTs in private companies. To hear more about that, please welcome Joe Manganello, a paramedic who works for First Responder in Sacramento, and a paramedic at AMR.

I'm not sure where we're going to hear from Joe, but I know he's here.

2, there you are. Joe, let's hear it.

JOE MANGANELLO, AFSCME: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. I'm actually an EMT for First Responder in Sacramento, California. *(Applause)*

It's a private company that provides medical services to the community.

A month ago my co-workers and myself voted to be represented by AFSCME.

(Applause)

I want to thank President Cohen for allowing me to speak today, and I just want to start out with I love my job, I love helping people, and I'm proud of what I'm able to do in the community by providing this valuable service with my co-workers, brothers and sisters.

I'm also very proud of my co-workers for together, working as a team in everything we do, our job is to save people's lives during medical emergencies, and that can be stressful work at times. We have to make split-second decisions that can make the difference between life and death. And if we couldn't rely on one another, we could not succeed.

We also work together as a team when it comes to improving our work lives. Together we formed a union at work. And I stand here as a proud member of AFSCME, we are proud of that great union, and this is part of a great labor movement.

When we organize, we learn some valuable lessons. I know we can't improve our lives, our wages, our benefits, our job security, our health and safety without a strong union. We know that until workers in our industry are part of a labor movement, we won't succeed.

AFSCME stands arm and arm and beside EMS, emergency medical personnel, and will not rest until all of us have the benefit of a union.

I stand before you today, but there are thousands of us who want to be a part of a union movement who are looking for union support to succeed.

I want to thank you, President Saunders, for making this commitment and supporting us.

We know Resolution 2 is an important part for all workers. Employees want to have a voice and we need you to make organizing a Number One priority. We need to organize every worker in this industry and build power and secure justice. Thank you again. *(Applause)*

COHEN: Thanks, Joe.

So these kinds of plans are what we want to see from all of us, and hopefully we'll hear from many of us now.

I'll just mention that in our union, in most years we're reaching out to 100,000 unorganized workers. And what we talked about, partly as a result of the work of the last six months, is that we will step that up, and whether it's collective bargaining or the kinds of organizing we heard about in Resolution 5, our union will reach out to over a million workers a year in the five major industry groups where our members are. And that's what we're challenging all of us to do. We have to reach out to more than 80 million workers who don't talk to us right now, and we can do that if we do it together.

Brother President, I turn the podium back to you. The committee wholeheartedly supports this Resolution 2. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 2, “Assisting All Workers to Organize,” be adopted.

Is there discussion? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

DAVID HECKER, AFT: Thank you, Brother. I’m president of AFT Michigan, vice president of the AFT, and proud to co-chair our National Organizing Committee, and rise in support of Resolution 2.

At the national level, AFT’s Organizing Committee has adopted a number of elements in Resolution 2. We developed strategic priorities aimed at building density by industry, occupation and geography. We developed a best practices model and a training program to help people with it. We’ve identified opportunities for interunion cooperation and joint campaigns, and we put a great emphasis on community engagement and coalitions.

In Michigan, our successful organizing program is because we also use the elements of our national organizing plan. We do strategic analysis. We target. About 14 years ago, we targeted higher education, and we have organized tenured, non-tenured track faculty, grad assistants at universities and community colleges, thousands and thousands over the last 12, 13 years. We’ve invested much resources, thanks to our national union, and the state as well. And we collaborated with and gained the assistance of other unions and community.

You know, Michigan is no worker paradise, now being a “right to work” state. But since “right to work” was passed, AFT has organized almost a thousand workers in our state, 800 non-tenured faculty at a suburban Detroit community college. And the largest chartered school in the state of Michigan, the Cesar Chavez Academy, is now union. (*Applause*)

We would not have won that campaign at the Chavez Academy without tremendous work with our community partners. We wouldn’t have had the depth of support in southwest Detroit if not for the incredible solidarity and support of UAW Vice President Cindy Estrada, without letters of support from UFW President Arturo Rodriguez and co-founder Dolores Huerta, and great work by the Michigan and Metro Detroit AFL-CIO.

We need to plan, invest, coordinate and cooperate, and we need to trust each other. That’s a big part of solidarity, so we share our plans, help each other, don’t duplicate.

The actions outlined in Resolution 2 provide the right approach. We organize, we take back this country. So let’s organize. I heartily urge the body support. Thank you. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Dave. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

RON COLLINS, CWA: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Proud CWA member for 32 years.

I rise in support of Resolution No. 2. I personally spent years in the field attempting to organize unorganized workers.

We all know that this isn’t working. Every year we get the reports and the American labor movement continues to shrink. If we continue to do the same thing, we’re going to get the same results. We must push in the same direction at the same speed at the same time.

All of us see those results year after year after year. And if we don’t do something different, we’ve got to figure out what’s going to happen with this American labor movement

and what's going to happen to the workers that have a voice, and what's going to happen to the workers and the other community groups that we help and they help us? Everything is at risk.

About 12 years ago I was in the district, CWA District 2, and we recognized the need to form a partnership with the immigrant community and we organized CASA of Maryland. It's a Latino community group based in Silver Spring, Maryland. And today both organizations are still benefiting from that. We work together on each other's issues. *(Applause)*

CWA is currently working with other unions on large-scale organizing.

Sisters and brothers, this can't be just about the numbers of your union increasing. This has got to be about the survival of the American labor movement. *(Applause)*

I ask your strong support for this, and I ask what the other brother said is that we have to work and trust and love each other and we have to move this forward. And it's not just about organized labor and it's not just about union members. It's about taking back this country from the right-wing pigs in this country. *(Applause)*

Mr. Chairman, I stand in support of Resolution No. 2. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Ron. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

TOM CHAMBERLAIN, Oregon AFL-CIO: Sisters and brothers, I'm president of the Oregon AFL-CIO and a proud member of the fighting IAFF.

I stand in support of this measure. We do a lot of things very well and we do some things not so well. We do a really good job in politics, we work together, we pool our resources. But when it comes to organizing, at least at the state fed level, everyone does their own thing. There isn't a lot of cooperation.

Since 2005, the Oregon AFL-CIO and its affiliates have tried to change that paradigm. Coming together over the last two years, we formed a committee that changed organizing in our state. Because we work together, CWA now has 60 cab drivers in a union co-op. Because we work together, AFT has 300 Head Start workers.

You know, when AFT came to the table and said, "We're going after Head Start," AFSCME could have said, "That's our turf." That's not what they said. They said, "Are you ready to go? Do you have the resources and how do we help?"

That's how we change the labor movement and that's why we need a plan for every state fed in every CLC. Because we have a plan, we have card-check, binding arbitration for first contracts at the new convention center hotel for UNITE HERE.

We can change the paradigm as it comes to organizing in this country, but it starts at the grassroots level. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Tom. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

DOUG MOORE, AFSCME: Good afternoon, Brother Chair, sisters and brothers. I'm the executive director of UDW/AFSCME Local 3930 here in California. We represent 65,000 home care providers here, and I'm also an international vice president of AFSCME.

Sisters and brothers, I just have to say it straight, that's the only way I can say it. We can no longer do business as usual if we expect to grow. We can no longer do business as usual if we expect to grow.

The status quo just won't work, it's not going to get it. It's just not going to get it. Our organizing has to be big, bold and inclusive if we expect to grow on a large scale.

We can't afford to be a servicing union anymore. If we expect to grow, we just can't focus on servicing existing members, we have to figure out how to grow our membership.

And in order to do that, we have to be more proactive and commit ourselves to organizing. If we do this, we can organize on large scale, and I urge all delegates to support this resolution. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Doug. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

BOB LaVENTURE, USW: I'm the District 12 director, United Steelworkers, Southwest, West, Northwest, Alaska and Hawaii.

I rise in support of Resolution No. 2. We just recently negotiated a new agreement with AMR in Rancho Cucamonga, California. We recently organized, with the help of the Oregon AFL-CIO, some emergency medical workers in Astoria, Oregon. We continue to fight to organize the CLEAN Carwash campaign in the city of Los Angeles, and we work with the cab drivers in the city of Las Vegas.

Those without the voice need our voice. They need us to fight for them, and we must do so in a unified manner. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

SOMMA: I rise in support of this resolution and to highlight some of the work that we've been doing. Like all of my brothers and sisters here who have said that we can no longer do business as usual, that is true. So our union proudly supports this resolution.

One of the campaigns that I would like to highlight is the Adjunct Faculty Association, which is an organizing drive that we have done at the Duquesne University located in the proud city of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. But they are adjunct faculty. We don't think about adjunct faculty sometimes needing a union. But they came to us, they wanted the support, they need the support. They want to organize. Our job, as part of the union and labor movement, is to help them provide that way and that vehicle for strength in their workplace.

So we rise in support of them for all of the adjuncts and the part-time and the temporary employees and the undocumented workers, workers everywhere who want to organize and who will organize if we give them that same opportunity.

Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister Maria. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

VICE PRESIDENT J. DAVID COX, AFGE: Mr. Chairman, I'm president of the American Federation of Government Employees, also vice president of the North Carolina AFL-CIO.

I rise in support of this resolution. Standing beside me today is Hydrick Thomas, president of AFGE Council 100, our transportation security council.

Brothers and sisters, yes, with your help we did it. Our union made the commitment that this resolution talks about. Today, 45,000 transportation security officers are represented by AFGE, AFL-CIO. *(Applause)*

Even more important, because of that commitment, these 45,000 TSOs have the benefit of a union contract negotiated by AFGE, their union.

These 45,000 officers demonstrated why we need this resolution. We began our organizing drive before TSOs had any collective bargaining rights. We signed up over 11,000 dues-paying members in this unit when we did not have recognition, did not have bargaining rights and did not have a contract. We had people with a desire to have a union and be a union member. *(Applause)*

We understood the importance of organizing this whole employer, which in this case is the industry. For AFGE, this meant organizing at every single airport across the United States of America at more than 450 locations.

AFGE could not have accomplished this on our own, brothers and sisters. We needed your help and the support of the state feds and the central labor councils.

And brothers and sisters, please, this resolution, I am calling upon you to support this resolution, which has already proved the success that it can provide, and together working through our state feds, our CLCs and all of AFL-CIO together, we will organize, organize, organize and grow this movement entirely too big to fail. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Is there a delegate at mike 3? Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

CESAR LARA, Monterey Bay (Calif.) Central Labor Council: Good afternoon. My name is Cesar Lara and I'm with the Monterey Bay Central Labor Council.

Anybody in our community that asks what the Monterey Bay Central Labor Council does, this is what I say: We represent 35,000 union members and, more importantly, we represent working families in our area.

When we do the work that we do, we do it in four areas: policy, politics, solidarity and organizing.

In this convention, the work that we did prior to this has set the groundwork for this resolution, Resolution 2.

With the Diversity Conference we had yesterday, with all the work we've done here today, it sets the footprints that many labor councils have already been doing it, but it wraps it together, and it says that when we do the work that we do, we do it for working families and our union members.

We should support this resolution, move it forward, and work at it. Because, as we know, in this new generation of young workers, of immigrant workers, we, at the labor councils, at the state federations, and the AFL-CIO, must bring the voices together for working families.

So I support Resolution 2.

Thank you, President Trumka.

PRESIDENT TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Thank you.

Seeing no further debate, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 2, the committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.

Resolution No. 2 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

[[INSERT TEXT OF RESOLUTION 2]]

(End Resolution No. 2)

TRUMKA: I'm going to call on Brother Larry Cohen again for a report from the Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action on enacting labor laws America's workers need. Thank you. Larry.

RESOLUTION NO. 1

Laws That Address the Needs of All Workers in the United States

COHEN: OK. So this is where this hard versus hopeless sort of really comes in.

So many examples here that I know of, of unions around this room. Cecil, we've talked about the Cannelton miners 10 years ago in West Virginia. Lost their jobs, won the case at the region of the NLRB, they still wait. Or the taxi drivers we heard about.

From our union, there's an example of this struggle that people won't give up. There's a video we're about to see, and in the last few weeks since this video came out, everything in this video was done by these Cablevision workers.

Who's here from Brooklyn, New York? Nobody?

All right, so you guys know about the fight at Cablevision in Brooklyn, right?

Cablevision's owned by a guy named Jim Dolan who's worth \$3 billion he inherited from his father. He owns the Knicks. He owns the Rangers. He owns Madison Square Garden. He owns the Rockettes. He owns Radio City Music Hall.

I want to thank the musicians union in particular for standing with mostly immigrant and African American workers who are the technicians for Cablevision. You'll see how amazing they are in a minute.

But for me, these workers, incredibly strong, and you'll see this in this video, inspire me on my the worst days that it isn't hopeless, because they don't think it is. They voted for a union, our union, two years ago. They're still battling for that first contract.

They call this video and the music with it "Where the Papers At?" And some here are not familiar with hip-hop, although I know even the seasoned people, as we call them, are, this will move a little fast. But even if you don't catch the words, you'll see Dolan playing his guitar and trying to play golf. You'll see that every worker in this video is a cable technician. They wrote every word of this.

Let's roll the video.

...A video presentation was shown to the delegation.

COHEN: Let's hear it for the Tech 22. *(Applause)*

Yeah, that's right, that's as close to that as I'll get, Leo.

So you also saw they were there at the march last week, and it brings this all together. Because there really is no labor law for Jerome, and he is a Musicians union member as well as a tech, plays the trumpet. There is no labor law for Paul or for Gertrude, who chairs that bargaining committee, the daughter of immigrants.

But they know that with the support of this movement and our sisters and brothers around the world, who in many of our campaigns are standing up for our rights as we do as well, that that fight for real rights in this country will go on whether in the private sector for them, whether in the public sector where we've lost ground in the last four years. And this mass

movement that we're building will link together these fights. And our allies, whether civil rights or faith-based, or green, or students, will understand that in this movement we're building, workers' rights guaranteed by law, public sector or private, is a key part of it.

We all remember that the law that would have guaranteed to all fire fighters and correction guards passed the House four times in 2009 and 2010, and because of the Senate rules, never got debated for one second on the floor of the U.S. Senate, despite having bipartisan and overwhelming support.

We all know that many times in the recent decades, in a similar way, labor law reform of one type or another passed the House of Representatives and never got discussed for one second on the floor of the Senate, including in 2009 and '10, when the Employee Free Choice Act, that so many in this room did so much for, twice passed the House of Representatives, never got discussed for one second on the floor of the Senate, even though it had overwhelming majority support.

So, again, we see, and that's what this resolution is about—we'll hear the rest of our committee report this afternoon—about the link to political action; that as we fight for workers' rights, we also need to fight for a democracy that links together the rights of immigrants and the rights for all of us here for collective bargaining that would put us in the mainstream of the 21st century global economy and not at the bottom.

So it's with great conviction and passion, Mr. President, that I present to you on behalf of this committee Resolution 1. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 1 be adopted. Is there discussion? Chairman recognizes a delegate at mike 3.

BERNIE LUNZER, The Newspaper Guild-CWA: Newspaper Guild-CWA.

My message is simple. The video said it all too well. We cannot give up on labor law reform.

The Chamber of Commerce doesn't give up. The Koch Brothers don't give up. The evil "right to work" organizations don't give up. So we cannot give up on this. Let's not.

Thank you.

TRUMKA: Hear, hear, Brother. Is there a delegate at mike 2? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

VICE PRESIDENT CECIL ROBERTS, United Mine Workers of America: Mr. Chairman, thank you. I'm president of the United Mine Workers of America.

I couldn't let this go by since Brother Larry mentioned it. I'd just like to tell you the story of the miners at Cannelton briefly, if I might. Cannelton Mine was signatory to the United Mine Workers contract probably in the neighborhood of 70 years.

Ten years ago, Cannelton went into bankruptcy, Chapter 7, and a person by the name of Don Blankenship, that most people in this room probably are familiar with, the CEO of then-Massey Energy, bought this company out of bankruptcy.

After 75 years of this operation being unionized, he made it his business to make sure that it would never be union again. He put out applications for employment. Out of the hundreds of coal miners that worked there, Mr. Chairman, 17 were given jobs.

The United Mine Workers of America filed NLRB charges because of his bias against union miners.

We filed old age and discrimination cases against this company and won about \$8 million for these employees. They lost their health care, but the union was able to get their health care back through legislation and negotiations with other employers.

Over the past 10 years of this fight, Mr. Chairman, we know four of these miners will not return to work because they passed away while they waited for justice. Justice will not come to these four families.

As this drags on, this is a complete failure of the system we work under, Mr. Chairman. This system cannot be allowed to continue.

Don Blankenship, if you don't recall the name, also owned the coal mine that exploded in 2010, killing 29 miners. These families are about mourning their loved ones as we gather here today. Don Blankenship is a multimillionaire living in Kentucky, blogging as we speak, about us and about our union.

I just wanted to stand for these miners for a moment, Mr. Chairman. The conviction of these miners of Local 8843 amazes me. They've been to every single rally that we've had fighting for these workers at Patriot. Every single time we look out there, there they are.
(Applause)

TRUMKA: Brother Cec, as much as I love you, I have to say your time is up. You need to wrap up.

ROBERTS: I realize that. Let me just say—

TRUMKA: You've got it, Brother.

ROBERTS: —in closing. I want to thank you. But I want to give a special thanks to the president of CWA, Brother Larry, for his fight, for organizing an injustice for the workers in this country.

And thank you and God bless you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

Thank you for all you do and all you stand for.

Further debate?

The chair seeing none, the question is on the adoption of Resolution No. 1. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

Those in favor of the resolution, please signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no. Resolution 1 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

[[INSERT TEXT OF RESOLUTION 1]]

(End Resolution No. 1)

TRUMKA: I want to thank you, Larry, and thank the entire Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action, and we'll hear more from them a little while later today.

Now, it's time to hear from our secretary-treasurer, Liz Shuler, for announcements. Liz.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SHULER: Wow. You're still hanging in there. OK. So I have just one footnote and an apology.

Yesterday, when we were announcing the unions in the room, of course, we missed one. The Transport Workers Union, and so, we want to just welcome them and recognize them right now. Let's hear it, TWU. (*Cheers and applause*)

OK. We see you back there.

For those of you who requested tickets to tomorrow night's ball game, are you listening? If you say, "What did she say?" after I say it, this is the information you're going to need, so pay attention.

The tickets are available for pickup at the registration desk located in the south lobby of the convention center from 1 p.m. to 6 p.m. today, and 7:30 a.m. until 4:30 p.m. tomorrow. You got that?

Buses to Dodger Stadium will start loading tomorrow at the south lobby entrance at 5 p.m. So we look forward to seeing you at the game.

The first action sessions are starting in a few minutes and we have an amazing lineup out there. A lot of people have worked hard on these action sessions, so I hope everyone is ready to attend.

Please be aware that there have been some schedule changes on the action sessions since your program was printed in your convention bags. So one example is "Harnessing History" is actually today, not on Wednesday. So take note.

Aflcio2013.org is the place where you can go for the most up-to-date action session schedule. So if you're confused, just look at that website.

To make sure that you can get lunch when you leave here, you can purchase a special grab-and-go lunch in the exhibit plaza, outside the plaza to the left. So look for lunches there. Food outlets are set up where you can buy the lunch quickly and take it to your action session with you, or you can pick one up after the action session.

I'm going to run through today's action sessions, so it's going to be a very quick barrage of 17 action sessions that are happening right when we leave the hall.

Ready? Okay. "Audacity over Austerity: Ten Years of Raising Wages and Workers' Rights in Brazil," that's happening in Room 403B.

"Don't Be a Stranger: Labor-Management Partnerships in the Global Age," Room 402A.

"Expanding the Pie: How Unions Can Partner With Foundations," Room 404A.

"Infrastructure, Jobs and Reducing Emissions: Upgrading Natural Gas Distribution Systems," in 406B.

"Pop Ed 101: Using Popular Education for Social Change" on the Solidarity Stage 2.

"What's Digital Strategies?" Boots Online digital booth is where that's taking place.

"Who is Trying to Steal Our Democracy and What Can We Do to Stop Them?" That's in Rooms 306A and B.

"Winning for Texas Workers," Room 408A.

“Ask Me About the Future: Young Workers Speak Up!,” in Room 403A. I’ll be going to that one.

Again, I said “Harnessing History” is happening today.

“Innovative Responses to a Changing Capitalism, in Room 301A.

“Privatization: Collaborative Strategies for Fighting Back,” Room 405.

“Anyone Can Join, Everyone Should: Models for Alternative Membership,” in Room 402B.

“Power Partnerships: Labor/Community Campaigns That Build Worker Power,” Room 308A and B.

“Art and Activism 101: The Creative Power of Arts and Culture as a Catalyst for Action,” that’s on Solidarity Stage 1.

“Deepening Faith Engagement: Best Practices for Collaboration,” in Room 406A.

“Gearing Up for the Fall Budget Battles,” Room 408B.

“Lessons from the State Battles,” Room 404B.

The convention is now recessed until 2:30 p.m. sharp. We will start promptly at 2:30, so please be here on time.

Thank you so much, and enjoy your lunch and action sessions.

(At 12:03 p.m., the convention recessed, to reconvene at 2:30 p.m.)

SECOND DAY

Monday, September 9, 2013

AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention reconvened at 2:30 p.m., President Trumka presiding.

PRESIDENT RICHARD TRUMKA: Good afternoon, brothers and sisters. The convention will now come to order.

At lunchtime today in the South Hall lobby around 12:30, a sister was helping someone during a medical emergency and another person accidentally picked up her purse.

Now, our Good Samaritan would be very, very grateful if the purse could be delivered back to her as soon as possible to the convention registration booth in the South Hall lobby. OK? Thank you.

This afternoon we'll discuss the political program of the AFL-CIO, and we'll start it off by recognizing some of the political volunteers who provide the people power that fuels labor's political program. I think that will put us just in the right mood to hear from the Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action and consider an important resolution about building democracy and ensuring voter rights. This afternoon we'll also hear a report from the Resolutions Committee on public employee collective bargaining and on other issues. And we'll hear by video from our president, Barack Obama.

Now, President Obama intended to be here, but because of the situation in Syria, he had to send us a videotaped message instead. I know we were all looking forward to hearing from him in person, but I think that we can truly understand the gravity of what he and Congress are considering and see that he needs to remain in Washington, D.C., at the moment.

We'll also take a moment for a special tribute to someone we all love and respect, our outgoing Executive Vice President Arlene Holt Baker.

Finally, we'll hear the report of the Constitution Committee.

Now, we've been hearing about just how far companies will go to block workers from forming unions. Sometimes it seems like politicians are getting their talking points directly from those companies. Watch this video to see what I mean. Watch this.

...A video was presented to the delegation.

TRUMKA: Right now, Lee has another important resolution on Committee 1, for the Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action.

Lee. (Applause)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE 1: GROWTH, INNOVATION AND POLITICAL ACTION (Resumed)

RESOLUTION NO. 3

Exercising Our Civil Rights to Rebuild Our Democracy, Expand Workers' Rights and Strengthen Workers' Organization

VICE PRESIDENT LEE SAUNDERS, AFSCME: OK! AFSCME! AFSCME!

Well, good afternoon. I'm back, I'm back, OK? Thank you, Rich.

Brothers and sisters, politics is the single-largest component of what the federation does because it is central to everything else. Through our political mechanism, we can overcome the Koch brothers, the Chamber of Commerce, ALEC and the array of right-wing organizations that coordinate and carry out vicious assaults on workers. They are well-resourced. When we are unified and coordinated, we can beat them—and we have.

In Massachusetts, instead of Senator Scott Brown, we now have Senator Elizabeth Warren, one of the most articulate advocates for working families in years. *(Applause)*

Why? Because we ran the best labor operation Massachusetts has ever seen. In Ohio, the Buckeye State, we waged a campaign for Sherrod Brown that was a textbook example of political coordination and organization. He was the Number One target of the Chamber of Commerce. But we came together early and we counterattacked. We put together independent expenditures, led by the federation, keeping him in the game. We coordinated an outstanding ground operation. We've done this repeatedly in big and small states from Montana to Missouri. We've stopped "right to work" for less either by electing the governor or flipping the statehouse.

Instead of Mitch McConnell taking over the Senate, we actually had a net gain. But 2014 is right around the corner, and we face uphill battles across this country. It's a huge re-election year for governors that we've been battling—boo. Boo that man. Such as John Kasich. Boo. Boo that man. *(Booing)*

John Kasich. *(Booing)*

Rick Snyder. *(Booing)*

Rick Scott. *(Booing)*

Tom Corbett. *(Booing)*

And Scott Walker—dirty dog. *(Booing)*

If we can defeat any of them, our members will get a measure of security, and we'll send a strong message. And beyond the governors I mentioned, just about any state could be the next place where the Koch brothers strike.

2014 is a make-or-break year for us. The affiliates that haven't signed up for Workers' Voice, don't wait any longer. Put your cash and resources on the line. We have to play big, and we have to win big.

There's nothing the corporate right, the right wing, would like better than to guarantee we could never again elect an Elizabeth Warren or a Sherrod Brown next year or any year.

Resolution 3, "Exercising Our Civic Rights to Rebuild Our Democracy, Expand Workers' Rights and Strengthen Workers' Organizations," calls for us to do in 2014 and beyond more of what we've been doing, and retake our democracy.

Under this resolution we will support a democracy agenda that includes protecting the voting rights of every citizen, reforming Senate rules to win genuine majority rule, reforming campaign finance to cleanse our elections of the corrupting influence of money, and reprioritizing state and local elections.

With our allies, the federation will continue to support the democracy initiative and to oppose the voter suppression laws that are modern-day poll taxes. We will support pro-worker candidates of either party and hold all politicians accountable.

At every level—at every level—we'll link political and organizing campaigns to win greater protections for workers organizing and collective bargaining rights.

On behalf of the Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action, I move the adoption of Resolution 3.

...*The motion was seconded by several unidentified delegates.*

TRUMKA: The committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 3. Is there discussion? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

CLAUDE CUMMINGS, Communications Workers of America: To the chairman, delegates and guests, I'm the vice president of the Communication Workers of America, District 6. I rise in support of Resolution 3. Last week some of us watched on TV, others participated, in the re-enactment of the march of 1963. In 1963, labor leaders, religious groups, community activists and others marched and spoke on the need for jobs, economic justice and civil rights. So here we are again, 50 years later, labor leaders, community activists, progressive organizations, now elected officials marching for economic justice, civil rights, immigration reform, along with voting rights and the rights for workers to organize without retribution.

We're trending backwards, and it must stop. Not only that, but we, labor, elected a president, majority in the Senate and the House. Whoever envisioned what would happen, that we would not get the Employee Free Choice Act.

I believe the definition of insanity has been defined as doing the same thing over and over again expecting different results. I'm not suggesting any of us are insane, but we must start to hold accountable elected officials we continue to support with our dollars and our feet that won't stand with us on legislation that protects our civil rights, our human rights, our rights to fair wages, our rights to economic justice, immigration reform, our right to have decent jobs. We need to get rid of those that won't stand with the 99%.

Finally, we need to get rid of those that will not stand for our right to vote.

They're either with us or against us. And if they're against us, we need to remove them from office and elect someone else, especially those who claim to be Democrats when they're running for office but vote like Republicans when they get elected. *(Applause)*

We need to make them accountable, like my president Larry Cohen and other leaders here, when we demanded that the Senate confirm the five NLRB appointees.

It would have been a sad Labor Day had we not got those appointees confirmed. But we didn't do it alone. We did it because we formed coalitions with other groups. And with an 11% organized workforce, we must leave here with the determination to build a coalition with progressive groups, religious groups, community activists, constituency groups and any group in this country that will stand and fight with us to protect our democracy and the middle class, the 99% in this country.

Dr. Lawson at the Diversity Conference yesterday quoted from Proverbs 29 and 18. He said, "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

I would like to take that a little further.

TRUMKA: I'm going to have to ask you to wrap up, sir.

CUMMINGS: Write it down, make it plain. It has been written down, it's plain. Let's support Resolution 3. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

VICE PRESIDENT JAMES ANDREWS, North Carolina State AFL-CIO: Thank you, Mr. President. I'm president of the North Carolina State AFL-CIO. I'm also a proud member of the Office and Professional Employees Union.

Delegates, I rise in support of Resolution 3. Voting rights and the right for every vote to be counted must always be a part of our core values, the core values of our movement.

Brothers and sisters, allow me to give you an example of our work in North Carolina. This work mirrors the work of other state feds and central labor councils across this country.

Over the years our coalition in North Carolina put forth an agenda to change our election laws in North Carolina; issues such as early voting, young folks voting, public financing, and we're proud of those changes we made under this mighty coalition.

This coalition went on to make those changes. But now we are in a fight-back mode against the Republican tea party, those folks who are saying they're going to take our right to vote and our right for our vote to be counted away from us.

This legislature, this tea party legislature, this governor, have put forth a vote of suppression. Let me just give you a snapshot of what's in this bill, probably the most restrictive bill in the country in terms of a photo ID bill. Let me just tell you, whipped back early voting. No same-day registration where we could go right on up to Election Day, register and vote at the very same time, took that away. No out-of-precinct voting. No teenage preregistration. Observers and poll watchers to intimidate voters, increase the number of observers and poll watchers to intimidate voters when they get to the polls.

Brothers and sisters, I don't have time to tell it all, but even took away the public financing, the nationally known public financing we went through.

So our coalition went into fight-back mode. I am so proud to say to you, I stand here today and say that our leader, Al Moses, and Reverend Dr. Barber have led this coalition for six or seven years now. And some of you have heard of Moral Mondays. I am so proud that I, Dr. Barber, and some of your members decided to take on nonviolence civil disobedience, and more than 900 of us went to jail, Mr. President and delegates. There are some things worth going to jail for. *(Applause)*

Taking away voting rights is such an act.

And I say to you, Mr. President, and members, we will never resolve the issues we are professing in this convention unless—

TRUMKA: James, your time is expired, I have to ask you to wrap up.

ANDREWS: We will never resolve those issues unless we are able to commit ourselves to make sure we protect our right to vote.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

PAUL BOOTH, AFSCME: Let me take you back for a little history to a week in June in 1963. On June 11th, President Kennedy had to federalize the Alabama National Guard in order to force Governor George Wallace to open the door to let Vivian Malone and James Hood enroll at the university.

The next day in the afternoon, as he pulled his car into his driveway, the voting rights leader Medgar Evers was assassinated. On the 14th, two days later, I met with my friends from

the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee who went that morning to meet with our strongest supporters on the Judiciary Committee, resolved to assure that Medgar would not have died in vain and determining then and there to craft a comprehensive civil rights law far beyond the one that President Kennedy had proposed, the law that is now the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The movement I joined then did that. We marched, we went to jail, we were attacked, we were beaten, we were spied upon, we were spat upon; and yes, some of us were shot and killed. So much sacrifice to attain the simple right to vote and those basic civil rights.

And what was the role of the AFL-CIO? Well, initially the AFL-CIO did not endorse the March on Washington 50 years ago. That was a mistake, one that will never be made again.

TRUMKA: Hear, hear.

BOOTH: But it was this organization, it was a young organization—you know, it was only 10 years old—that led the campaign in Congress for those laws, for the Civil Rights Act in '64 and the Voting Rights Act the next year, that led the lobbying, that forged the coalition—Andrew B. Miller, Kenneth Young.

Today the right to vote is in peril from today's George Wallaces. They're named McQueary, they're named Walker, Perry, Scott. They've put on Wallace's shoes, and their sidekicks in the U.S. Supreme Court boldly seek to strip millions of the vote.

The voting rights we won in 1965 created the majority that enacted Medicare, Medicaid, clean air, clean water, OSHA, federal aid education, immigration reform, public broadcasting, motor vehicle safety, drug safety, the Equal Pay Act, and it created an environment not just for racial equality but for gender equality and sexual preference.

Today's George Wallaces want to roll all of that back. And guess what? Their largest obstacle is us. *(Applause)*

So I say, let the AFL-CIO resume its leadership role from the '60s. Let us issue a challenge to Congress and to every state, "Hands off the right to vote." And then let us march and let us vote and let us go to jail and let us use every nonviolent tactic that we've ever used before. And we will restore the Voting Rights Act and we will block voter suppression in every state, and we will achieve universal voter registration. And then we will use our new majority to vindicate the great hopes that are in all the other resolutions that are before us today and tomorrow and Wednesday.

I have been in this fight for 50 years, President Trumka, and I will not stop until we win. Thank you very much.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

JUDY BEARD, American Postal Workers Union: I'm with the American Postal Workers Union and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

I had an opportunity to go to South Africa during Nelson Mandela's election, as an observer. Guns were pointed, bombs were going off, all for the right to vote.

I did not come back to this country to have my rights taken away or the rights of other brothers and sisters.

It is imperative that we support this resolution, not only for today's workers, but for tomorrow's workers as well. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister.

Seeing no more debate, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 3. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no. Motion carries. Thank you.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

[[INSERT TEXT OF RESOLUTION 3]]

(End Resolution No. 3)

TRUMKA: Now, you saw the right-wing clips in a video a little earlier, and did you believe that? “Divide and conquer. Unions are the problem. I’ve taken on union bosses before. I’m happy to take them on again.” By the way, “Hey Mitt, how’d that work out for you this last election,” you know? *(Cheers and applause)*

It didn’t work out for well for him. Because when this movement works together, we get things done.

When this movement works together, we win.

People power is the only true counter to anti-worker, right-wing zealots.

People power, the power of working people together, is what we showed this past election.

In 2012, together, we made 5.5 million phone calls.

We knocked on 3.25 million doors.

We completed more than 100,000 volunteer shifts.

We spoke to literally millions of nonunion workers through Workers’ Voice.

That’s how we kept Mitt out of the White House.

That’s how we elected real champions for working families, like Elizabeth Warren, Sherrod Brown, and Tammy Baldwin and John Tester and Tim Kaine and so many others. With people power.

At this convention, I wanted to honor the people who make us who we are. So let me introduce you to two of the truly amazing people behind the people power, who came to my attention especially because of their political activism.

One is Betty Pecha Madden and also Pilar Arellano. They’re at mike 1 right now.

Now, Betty is a member of IATSE Local 892, that’s the Costume Designers Guild. She was first exposed to politics at the age of 7.

Her first job was on the production of “The Mickey Mouse Club.” Since then, she’s been working with some of the most famous entertainers, including Michael Jackson. In fact, she designed the famous shoes that he wore in “Smooth Criminal” that allowed him to walk and lean at a 45-degree angle. But despite her busy successful career, she’s most proud of being an activist.

Whether being arrested alongside hotel workers fighting for a living wage, or organizing phone banks with her co-workers to elect warriors for working people, or protesting anti-worker attacks in Wisconsin, she’s there.

And all I can say is Betty, can you say a few words to us?

BETTY PECHA MADDEN, IATSE Local 892: For 30 years I asked, “What can the IATSE do for me and the Costume Designers Guild 892?” Today, I asked, “What can I do for the IATSE to help Matt Loeb and 892?” and “How can I help to organize workers across America and throughout the world to end the atrocities in Bangladesh?”

“*Sí, se puede.*” Together we can. We can do this.

Thank you. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thanks, Betty. Not just for being here today, but thanks for all of those hours and all the activism and all the inspiration that you provide for all of us. Thank you.

And let me tell you a bit about Pilar. Pilar came from Chihuahua, Mexico. She started her work as a labor organizer for the Teamsters, and she never forgot her experience organizing workers at a recycling facility, where they were later fired. But after the yearlong fight, they were victorious.

She then spent a few years as a home care worker, and since 1999, has been spending her so-called free time as a near full-time volunteer with the L.A. County Fed and the Laborers Council Community Services.

Whether it’s organizing the Thanksgiving food drive, coordinating other volunteers, working the political program or just filling in at any job, you can always count on Pilar. In addition to her countless contributions to campaigns and programs, she has the time to take in stray dogs, and she doesn’t give them up until she finds them a good home.

Our sister, Pilar. (*Applause*)

PILAR ARELLANO, Labor Community Services: I want to say thank you to everybody, but I feel like I need my team here with me, [sp? Armando Alevas, [sp? Taros Sodiva, Marguerita, and Crystal]. They belong to community services, and I need them here with me, please. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: You know something? Volunteers like these two are really the heart and the soul of our movement.

So let me ask you, are there any other supercharged political activists in the house besides Betty and Pilar? (*Cheers and applause*)

Now, do we have any boots on the ground here at this convention? I want to see that. So did anyone here share a workplace flyer or two in 2012? If you did, stand up and stay standing, right? Give them a round. (*Applause*)

Now, anyone who sent local union mail on campaigns, you stand up, too, and keep standing.

Did anyone here talk to family, friends, neighbors, co-workers about what this election meant to working people? Stand up.

Now, how about door knocking? Did any of you knock on any doors for working family candidates? Please stand up. (*Applause*)

Now, is anyone here who volunteered at a phone bank in 2012? Stand up so we can thank you, and keep standing. (*Applause*)

Did anyone here attend the rally or stomp outside the offices of an opposing candidate to make our voices heard? Stand up and remain standing.

Now, I want you to look around. This is how we win, brothers and sisters. We win with people power because all of us are in, all of us, and I want to thank you each and every one of you. Give yourselves a round of applause because you got it the old-fashioned way, you earned it. (*Cheers and applause*)

...Shouts of "Sí, se puede!"

ARELLANO: Yes, we can. Thank you.

TRUMKA: God, I love this labor movement.

You know, brothers and sisters, as I mentioned earlier, we had thought at this point that I would be introducing President Barack Obama in person. But as I mentioned, the duties of his office have kept the 44th president of the United States from our convention. So he sent us a message in a video instead.

Sisters and brothers, never before has a president done more with so little cooperation from his opponents, sometimes even from his allies. As for the Republican Party's leadership, never have politicians been a greater obstacle to progress than they have been over these last five years, and in doing so, sought to undermine the office of the president itself, and the future prospects of our great nation.

Yet, our president has remained true to himself and his vision. He's remained faithful to his resolve. He has found ways to move forward. Even when our own relationship with the White House has been difficult, it has always been honest, and it has always been respectful, because this president understands that we are stronger together. And the president's values are America's values, the values of working family.

I'm honored to share with you this message from our president, Barack Obama.

...President Barack Obama addressed the delegation via video as follows:

THE HONORABLE BARACK OBAMA **President of the United States**

Hello, AFL-CIO. I was hoping to be with you in person today as you guys know, but I'm staying in Washington so I can work with Congress to address the situation in Syria.

But I wanted to say two things. First, thank you for all you've done for decades on behalf of the working men and women of America. This country owes you a debt of gratitude for your efforts to make sure that everyone who works hard has a chance to get ahead, whether they're in a union or not.

Second, I wanted to share my commitment to that fight. Because it's more important than ever. If I'm someone looking for a good job with good wages that lets me build some security for my family, then I'd join a union, because I'd want a union looking out for me.

Next week marks the fifth anniversary of the financial crisis that almost turned a recession into a depression and made a hard decade for the middle class that much worse. But with strength, resilience and your help, the American people have fought our way back.

Over the past three-and-a-half years, our businesses have created seven-and-a-half million new jobs. We sell more products made in America to the rest of the world than ever before. We locked in tax cuts for middle-class families, and our deficits are falling, in part, because we asked the wealthiest to pay a little more. Our manufacturing sector is rebounding, led by an American auto industry that is back.

Now, I don't have to tell you that we're not yet where we need to be. Our economy's more stable, but middle-class families deserve to feel more secure. We're a better country than one where those at the top do better year after year, while everyone else works harder and harder just to get by.

That's why we need to keep fighting for good jobs that let folks support their families, whether you work in a skyscraper or a shipyard, a factory or a fast food restaurant.

As we celebrate the 75th anniversary of the Fair Labor Standards Act, that means the right to overtime and a minimum wage that keeps pace with the times so families aren't left behind. We need to keep putting our construction workers back on the job rebuilding America's roads, rails and bridges. Keep fighting for a safe workplace, where your health isn't endangered by exposure to things like silica dust or hazardous chemicals, because no one should have to risk their life to make a living.

We need to keep fighting for a true right to organize, where workers are free from discrimination and intimidation on the job. That's why, with your help, I pushed to get the National Labor Relations Board back to full strength for the first time in a decade.

We need to keep fighting to prepare our children and our workers for the global economy, to fix our broken immigration system in a way that's fair to workers and grows our economy. We need to give every family in America the chance to buy quality, affordable health care of their own.

None of this will be easy. Fighting for America's workers has never been easy. But unions like yours were built to give America's workers a better shot in tough times.

Thanks to folks like your president, Rich Trumka, our new labor secretary, Tom Perez, and all the men and women of the AFL-CIO, I'm confident we'll keep rebuilding an economy that grows not from the top down, but from the middle out; an economy that gives everyone who works hard the chance to get ahead.

Thanks, everybody, and have a great convention. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Now we're going to take a moment to honor and to thank a sister who's enriched all of us and, quite frankly, our whole movement and far beyond that.

Arlene Holt Baker has decided not to seek another term as the AFL-CIO's executive vice president and devote more of her time to her wonderful family.

We know that she well deserves the new time in her life, but we also know that she'll never stop working for the causes and the passions that are at the center of her life and on our best days of this labor movement.

I'd like to share a brief video that will remind us of just a few of those passions and Arlene's contribution.

...A video presentation was shown to the delegation. (Standing ovation)

TRUMKA: Now, Arlene got her start in our movement in 1972, in Los Angeles, and since then she's taken on so many critical roles it's hard to boil her history down. She rose through the ranks of AFSCME as a grassroots organizer and an area director for California, where she led a brilliant campaign for equal pay for clerical workers. She worked on AFSCME's political program in the state.

She worked to elect a new leadership team at the AFL-CIO in 1995, and then became executive assistant to then-Executive Vice President Linda Chavez-Thompson. She played

essential roles in defeating California Prop. 226 and in organizing the labor movement's support for migrant workers who pick and process strawberries in California.

She was the first director of the AFL-CIO Voice@Work campaign. She ran the federation's member education and get out the vote effort in Philadelphia in 2000, and later coordinated the AFL-CIO's Count Every Vote activity in the Florida recount.

She stepped away from the AFL-CIO in 2004 to serve as president of the nonpartisan voter education and mobilization effort Voices for Working Families, and then returned back home to the federation in 2006 to lead the AFL-CIO's Gulf Coast Recovery effort. In 2007, she was elected the first African American executive vice president of the AFL-CIO. *(Applause)*

But I've got to tell you it's one thing to talk about what Arlene has done. It's another to talk about who she is. Anyone who knows Arlene knows how much her character is founded on the belief that winning respect for everyone and helping others is a person's highest calling. That shows in the way that she treats other people.

And don't get me wrong, Arlene is a very, very strong leader. She expects excellence and she gets it because she lifts up the people around her. She leads by example and with deeply engrained moral authority. She always has a generous word and a helping hand.

Arlene will always walk the talk, and I can say that literally, because she walked 54 miles from Selma to Montgomery. She was arrested at a protest rally against Peabody Coal. She wouldn't ask anybody to do anything that she wouldn't do herself. That's just another example of who she is.

But perhaps most of all, Arlene can bring people and organizations to do what otherwise would seem impossible. Impossible is not a word that she knows.

Now, I want to ask some of the core members of Team Arlene to join me up here. With me here is President Emeritus John Sweeney, who chose Arlene as part of his leadership team in 2007. I'd like Secretary-Treasurer Liz Shuler to join us. Liz first met Arlene on their successful Prop. 226 campaign in California and has served with her since Liz joined our leadership team in 2009.

And Linda Chavez-Thompson, our executive vice president emerita, whom Arlene worked closely with as her executive assistant.

And now, for the pride of her life, her family. I want to ask them to join me.

Willie, Willie Baker. Willie is Arlene's husband and soulmate. Please come up and join us. *(Applause)*

Angela and son-in-law Chad. Please come and join us. *(Applause)*

And Arlene's pride and joy, two young ladies that I think could become very spoiled, Logan and McKenzie. Are they the most beautiful kids you've ever seen?

And join me, Dr. Eugene and Linda Adams. That's Chad's parents. And Arlene's longtime close personal friend, Ms. Gwen Green, you're family, too. Come on up.

Arlene, I can only say that you have a beautiful family. You have a devoted union family here in this room and in towns and cities all across this country—indeed, all across this world.

Brothers and sisters, our sister, a lady we love, Arlene Holt Baker. *(Cheers and applause)*

ARLENE HOLT BAKER
Executive Vice President
AFL-CIO

Usually I can keep it together, and this isn't one of those days.

No, Logan, it's not one of those days that Nana can keep it together.

But standing on this stage this afternoon, and being in this hall surrounded by all that symbolizes the stages of my life—the doors that were opened and in some cases the doors that were kicked open—surrounded by community, allies that are so important to me. All of this makes me so humble.

You represent what grounded me and gave me my being. When I listened yesterday to the passionate message from our domestic leader, Myrtle Witbooi, I thought of my own mother, a domestic worker, who made less than poverty wages in then-Jim Crow Texas where she had to pay poll taxes in order to vote.

You see, when you grow up on a dirt street where most were poor— except the widow of the Pullman porter—when you grow up where schools were segregated and you yourself had to ride in the back of the bus and drink from the colored water fountain, and know the pain of your disabled little brother being delayed access to the state school because of the color of his skin, you decide early that you want to make the community and your world a better place.

(Applause)

Antipoverty programs, affirmative action, grants and the ability to go to work for a union like AFSCME where the commitment is not to just organizing workers, but social and economic justice, propelled me to a stage where I could be part of organizing public workers in California, but it also gave me the space to work with and support the community because I and my union knew the importance of union and community.

And that is why having Lee Saunders, the president of AFSCME, and the former secretary-treasurer of AFSCME Bill Lucy, who are part of my labor history being in this room, along with the rest of my AFSCME family from California and the rest of my AFSCME family around this country, mean so very much to me. *(Applause)*

Rich, you talked about some of the work that I have been privileged to do over these nearly 40 years, but it's been more than a labor of love, because I know the only way for our country to be the best that it can be is for all of us to have a voice at the ballot box and a voice at work, and all of us—and I mean all of us—to be treated equally and have the opportunity for the shared prosperity that we know is needed.

When you have known poverty like I did as a child, and when you've seen up close the inhumane conditions of immigrant farm workers in California and North Carolina, and on the other end of the spectrum you've seen workers who you helped to organize 30 years ago be able to buy homes and provide a higher education for their children, I only have to call to mind those experiences and I know that every day that I have spent doing this work has been worth it.

John Sweeney, Rich Trumka and Linda Chavez-Thompson. First coming to Washington as part of your executive New Voice team put me on a stage that provided further opportunities to continue to fight on a national stage for workers' rights and social and economic justice.

Linda, my fellow AFSCME and Texas sister, it was an honor to be your executive assistant. I, and the women and people of color in this movement, owe you a great debt.

(Applause)

President Sweeney, you know how much I love and respect you, and your humility. And I thank you for the privilege of this daughter of a domestic worker to serve with the son of a domestic worker on your team as the executive vice president of the AFL-CIO. *(Applause)*

Rich, Rich Trumka, my brother—and we truly are brothers and sisters because sometimes we fight. *(Laughter)*

I love him and he loves me. He's my brother. To have been part of your team and be elected along with you and the youngest secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, my sister, Liz Shuler. *(Applause)*

Yes, it was a history-making moment, but I'm proud we used our history-making moment to help further our movement. We said together we can and together we will, Rich and Liz and I. I am so proud that over the course of this convention, together with Rich and Liz, we have been on a stage where we have seen our movement begin to move in new and innovative way to build worker and community power and recommit ourselves to diversity.

Rich, the one thing I know is the next Trumka team will continue to move us to a stronger federation—I'll say it again—a stronger federation, because we've got to be a stronger federation and a stronger movement.

To every one of my union sisters and brothers on the Executive Council, I will miss your voices at the Executive Council meetings. Some of your voices I will miss more than others, and you know who you are. *(Laughter)*

But I will always have with me your commitment to our movement, and I will carry with me forever your support for social change in this country. I thank you personally for every social change project that I brought to you that you supported.

To the wonderful women and men who lead our state and local bodies, I will miss being with you and engaging with our rank-and-file members around the country. I may be retiring, but if you need me to knock on some of those doors in 2014 and 2016, you can count on me. But one thing you just have to give me a little time, a head start here because I'll be able to get the seasoned person's airline ticket discount. *(Applause)*

To all of the staff at the AFL-CIO, but especially my office, past and current—Kim, Marge, Lisa, and my fabulous executive assistant, Jane McDonald—thank you for making my days easier and bringing a smile to my face when, you know, Rich and my family says I would have that “look,” and some of you guys know that “look.”

Now, as this seasoned labor activist and your executive vice president, it is time for me to move to another stage and to go through what I refer to as another gate—not the golden gate, I hope, because I'm not ready, not quite yet, for that, Kim Bobo, but I am ready to go home to spend more quality and quantity time with my family.

With my dear husband, Willie, who helps me be grounded because he shares the same values that I do; to spend more time with my son, Arthur, who isn't here today because he works one of those retail jobs where he couldn't get off. Sound familiar?

With my daughter, Angela, and my son-in-law, Chad. But all of you know one of the real driving forces for me to move through this new gate is two little girls named Logan and McKenzie who have given me the best title of all, and that's Nana. *(Applause)*

I will leave you with an ask, because you know we never leave a meeting without an ask, do we? So my ask of you, all my brothers and sisters, keep on fighting. Keep on fighting so that all of our children and our grandchildren, won't have to ask, “Where is the contract?” And won't have to be marching 50 years from now for jobs and freedom. That's my ask, that's my hope, and that's my dream.

I love you all. And thank you for this privilege to have served you. *(Standing ovation)*
Peace and power.
Peace and power. Power to the people. *(Laughter)*

TRUMKA: Wow. When I was hugging Arlene, she whispered in my ear and she said, “You better keep this thing going or I’m going to give you the look.” *(Laughter)*

Arlene, we want to thank you for everything that you have done and I know that you will do. And I know you love those granddaughters. They’re beautiful.

Now it’s time for a report of the Resolutions Committee to consider Resolutions 41, 49, 26 and 38. So we’ll hear from its chair, Harold Schaitberger.

Harold.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

RESOLUTION NO. 41 Collective Bargaining

VICE PRESIDENT HAROLD SCHAITBERGER, International Association of Fire Fighters: Thank you, Rich. S-C-H-A-I-T-B-E-R-G-E-R.

First resolution we’ll take up is Resolution 41, “Collective Bargaining,” submitted by IUPA.

This resolution states that the AFL-CIO supports, endorses and continually advocates for the Employer/Employee Cooperation Act, which guarantees basic human right to bargain collectively for wages, hours and working conditions for public safety employees, which include firefighters, law enforcement and correctional officers.

And just before I offer that resolution for recommendation, I’d just like to point out a little bit of history. This resolution will be very easy I understand to support. It’s the core of what we all are committed to do, and that is to assure that workers have the right to collective bargaining where it doesn’t exist.

But I want to point out that I believe this resolution stands for more than just the goals and the principles of what we are trying to pursue. I also want to point out that it is simply one of the symbols of great disappointment from foes and so-called friends.

We’re going to be doing a lot of discussion during this convention. I know that we’ll be considering resolutions concerning political action. We’ll be discussing and voting on resolutions that say that we should not be simply one party oriented but to try to be biparty or nonparty in our political work.

But I want to point out that too many times we allow to get in our way of the act of those that would take our money, take our boots on the ground, take our votes, use our endorsements, want photos with us at their rallies, and then find a way to oppose us and—in the kindest way I can put it and the fact of the matter is too often—double-cross us.

It’s easy to find the enemy that tries to prevent workers from having these fundamental rights, which right now for us exist in 21 states, 21 states where I’ve got over 100,000 members strong that don’t have a right to sit at a table and negotiate an agreement, are not permitted to work under a collective bargaining agreement that sets out their wages, hours and working conditions.

And I look at this resolution and think what some of the history I believe it stands for that is, I guess, my message I want to take this moment to remind us of.

It's so easy for us, and it's certainly easy for me—I've been at this a while—to point out those that attack us, right-wing ideologues, those who want to strip our bargaining rights away, silence our political voice, take us out of the process of electing those that really have the power in our country, destroy our pension plans that we've all worked for decades and decades to build, and impose so-called "right to work."

They're pretty easy to find. Governors like Walker, Kasich, Scott, LePage, Snyder, Haley. There's plenty of senators to come along there, too—Cruz, McConnell, Hatch. The names could go on.

But the fact of the matter is, that we also too often have those that suggest they're our friends who don't help to lift, don't help to move a proposal.

I'm old enough to remember with some of my building trades brothers and others in the private sector, the late 1970s when we tried to pass Common Situs Picketing and Labor Law Reform. And it wasn't the right-wing who killed those proposals, it was, quite frankly, a Democratic president who behind the scenes helped to kill it and deny us those rights.

My brother Larry Cohen this morning reminded us of a United States Senate with fundamentally a super majority that we couldn't even get the Employee Free Choice Act heard or considered.

This bill, embodied in Resolution 41, was on the floor of the United States Senate in December of 2010 after being passed by the House of Representatives four times with 59 Democratic members in that caucus. And the truth of the matter is, three of them that claimed to be our friend voted against us, and that bill died, never to be heard or considered.

And as wonderful as it is, and I hope you'll be supporting this resolution, the likelihood is that it will be a long, long time before it actually gets any true consideration.

So I hope that as you're considering this resolution, a resolution that I think goes to the fundamental right that every single worker—as we've been talking about all week—in every single sector, in every single job, no matter where in the social economic scale they find themselves, should be able to have a country that guarantees that they have the right to bargain and work under a collective bargaining agreement. And we shouldn't be just celebrating those across the world, as we should, fighting for those rights when we watched our own PATCO employees just 30 years ago in shackles, in handcuffs, walked off to jail.

So it's my privilege on a resolution that we certainly spent so much time and effort on to ask that on behalf of the Resolutions Committee we will move adoption of Resolution 41 and look forward to your support. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 41 be adopted. Is there any discussion?

Brother, unless it's a point of order, I'd ask you to wait until after the vote and then I'll recognize you.

VICE PRESIDENT JAMES CALLAHAN, International Union of Operating Engineers: I would ask for special privilege, Mr. President.

TRUMKA: We're in the middle of a vote. As soon as the vote is over, I'll recognize you. Thanks, Brother Jim.

Is there any other discussion? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

RICKY WALSH, IAFF: Thank you, Mr. President. I'm a proud member of the International Association of Fire Fighters. I'm elected from Fire Fighters in the states of Washington, Idaho, Montana and Alaska to serve as a 7th District vice president, and today I rise in support of the Resolution 41.

Everyone in this room supports bargaining, and it was clear that a majority of Congress supported bargaining as well. Yet, this bill failed and its prospect for passage any time soon is very dim. Why? Because of politics. Our enemies on the Hill, they fight hard. And what's unfortunate is our friends lavish us with praise and they laud our service, but when push comes to shove they didn't prioritize this issue for us.

The passage of the Public Safety Employee/Employee Cooperation Act would be the greatest expansion of bargaining rights since President Kennedy's executive order granting federal employees bargaining rights.

In all fairness to Congress, the bill passed the House three times in the 111th Congress. Nancy Pelosi and George Miller, they stood tall and they delivered, but the Senate was another question.

We actually had nine GOP co-sponsors, nine of them, and passing the bill with 59 Democrats and nine Republicans should have been a slam dunk, but it wasn't. The Democratic leadership brought this bill to the floor at a time when the GOP was stopping everything that wasn't budget-related. And so our GOP co-sponsors stood with their leadership, the evil Mitch McConnell, rather than with us, the Fire Fighters. So they are to blame. But so was the Democratic leadership who chose to bring the bill up knowing it would be blocked.

And then to further add insult to injury, three Democrats actually voted against cloture, Mark Warner out of Virginia, a Demo in name only. Bennett out of Colorado, the current chair of the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee. And Kay Hagan from North Carolina. They all turned their back on us.

And, by the way, Kay Hagan will be running this year, and I'm sure that she's already asked for support of labor, and everybody should remember what she did.

This is about accountability and picking sides. If providing workers a voice in the workplace is a priority, our friends need to step up their game and show they are friends in deed and not just word. The politicians want our money, they want our resources, and they want our grassroots efforts. And I want them to earn it, and collectively this room, we should demand it. After all, in spite of what they think, we do have choices every single election. Thank you, Mr. President. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Hear, hear, Brother. Well said. Delegate at mike 2.

MAHLON MITCHELL, IAFF: Thank you, Mr. President. I'm a delegate with the International Association of Fire Fighters, also the state president of the Professional Fire Fighters of Wisconsin and a proud AFL-CIO Executive Board member in our state of Wisconsin. *(Applause)*

You guys are going to have to stop clapping because I only have three minutes. *(Laughter)*

The IAFF began this effort in 1994 and had garnered bipartisan support from the beginning, with Dale Kildee from Michigan, Democrat, and Jimmy Duncan from Tennessee,

Republican, co-sponsoring this bill, a bill that at one point had over 300 co-sponsors in the House with over 60 Republicans signed on.

We were joined by the House of Labor: AFL-CIO, IUPA, CWA, Teamsters, AFSCME, to name a few. The bill would have provided recognition and basic bargaining rights for about 70,000 firefighters and 100,000 police officers.

In Wisconsin, we know what happens when collective bargaining is under attack. In Wisconsin we had a fight, Act 10, to kill collective bargaining for public-sector employees. And they told us as firefighters and police officers that we can sit this one out. We don't want to see you at the protest, we don't want to see you at the rallies. Our governor said it will be all over in about two weeks. Everybody will go home and realize their lives are better because of Act 10 and getting rid of collective bargaining.

Well, I don't scratch my head if it doesn't itch, and I don't dance if there's no music.
(Laughter)

We will not be intimidated. No, we told him that we—we not only said, "No," but we said, "Hell no," when we came out and marched with our brothers and sisters in labor.

(Applause)

And we will continue to have this fight, because we're not only under attack in Wisconsin—Issue 5 in Ohio, paycheck deception in Florida, Prop 32 right here in California, attacks on collective bargaining in New Hampshire, so-called pension refunds all across this country, and the list goes on and on and on. It gets me fired up, but I've only got three minutes.

So I rise in support of this resolution because the workers who make our fire trucks have collective bargaining. The workers who make our helmets have collective bargaining. The workers who make our radios have collective bargaining. And every firefighter should have collective bargaining in the United States and should be able to talk about hours, wages and working conditions, because everyone should be able to sit down with their employer and talk.

But we cannot stop this fight. We didn't start this fight. But if it's a fight they want, it's a fight they're going to get it and we've got to bring it to them. So that's why we have to support this resolution. We cannot be intimidated, we cannot be deterred, we cannot stop fighting for employee rights for everybody, to sit down and talk about hours, wages and working conditions. And we have to continue to ask the question, "Where are the papers at?"

(Applause)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Delegate at mike 3.

GARY MOORE, Tennessee AFL-CIO Labor Council: Thank you, Mr. President and fellow delegates. I'm a proud 34-year member of the IAFF Local 140. I also happen to be a founding member of the Southern Federation of Professional Fire Fighters, where the majority of those that do not have the right to sit at the table reside. Most of these people that do not, those members that do not have the right to negotiate are from the southern states.

But let me say this, with the Southern Federation, it was their Number One objective to make collective bargaining a priority objective with the IAFF as their legislative agenda. And I'm proud to say they took that initiative and they ran with it.

The IAFF leadership, as has already been mentioned, got the football down to the goal line but unfortunately could not push it in. I would ask you to support Resolution 41 and stand by those individuals that do not have the right to negotiate or to sit at the table.

Having served as vice president, president, secretary-treasurer of my own local, we sit at the table. And I have sat across from the city leaders who look me in the eye and said, “Before we start negotiations...”—let me rephrase that. They wouldn’t even call it negotiations. “Before we start discussions, let me tell you that we don’t have to be here. We don’t have to be here.” And I said, “Neither do we.”

So I’d ask you to stand with those who do not have what most of you in this room have. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

Seeing no further debate, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 41. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no. Resolution 41 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

[[INSERT TEXT OF RESOLUTION 41]]

(End Resolution No. 41)

TRUMKA: Brother Callahan was at mike 3, asked for a point of special privilege.

CALLAHAN: Yes, sir, thank you.

TRUMKA: State the nature of your special privilege, Brother.

CALLAHAN: Good news, Brother.

TRUMKA: I could tell you this, we can always use good news. Please go ahead.

CALLAHAN: Thank you for letting me interrupt this important deliberation.

In a decision issued today by Judge John M. Seida of the Indiana Lake Superior Court, it was a declaratory judgment declaring Indiana’s “right to work” law unconstitutional. *(Standing ovation)*

TRUMKA: Hey, Jim, for the record, please state your full name and your affiliation.

CALLAHAN: My name is James Callahan. I am the proud general president of the Operating Engineers, 382,000 strong.

TRUMKA: Thanks, Buddy.

CALLAHAN: If I may just continue.

The ruling was the latest development in a lawsuit filed by the IUOE Local 150, Chicago and Indiana. The lawsuit claimed that the law was in violation of Article 1, Section 21

of Indiana's Constitution, which states, "No person's particular services shall be demanded without just compensation."

Local 150 argued Indiana's "right to work" law is unconstitutional because it makes it illegal for unions to collect fees for services that are federally required to be provided.

This is a victory for the middle class. These laws are nothing but thinly veiled tools to weaken unions, and this is a big win for workers who rely on unions to provide decent wages and benefits.

Indiana Supreme Court Rule, Section A, Section B gives exclusive jurisdiction to the Supreme Court for appeals for final judgment, declaring the state statute unwhole or in part unconstitutional. The judgment is subject to mandatory review within 30 days.

Thank you for your time. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

And when you said you wanted to provide good news, you weren't kidding. Thanks, Jimmy.

Harold.

RESOLUTION NO. 49

Include Union Label Identification in Contract Language

SCHAITBERGER: The next resolution is No. 49, submitted by the Union Label and Service Trades Department.

Resolution 49 is a resolution to "Include Union Label Identification in Contract Language." It resolves that affiliated unions are encouraged to negotiate language in collective bargaining agreements that requires a union label.

On behalf of the Resolutions Committee, I move the adoption of Resolution No. 49.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 49 be adopted. Is there any discussion?

Seeing none, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 49. The committee—
For what purpose does the delegate at mike 1 rise?

RICH KLINE, Union Label and Service Trades Department: To speak on Resolution 49.

TRUMKA: Proceed.

KLINE: I'm president of the Union Label and Service Trades Department. I'm a proud member of the GMP.

I simply want to say that we've got a great brand in the union label and too often it isn't evident. What we hope to get here is the means to give consumers the opportunity to spot our brand at the point of purchase, and we call for passage of the resolution. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. *(Applause)*

Seeing no further debate, the question is on adoption of Resolution 49. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.

Resolution 49 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

[[INSERT TEXT OF RESOLUTION 49]]

(End Resolution No. 49)

TRUMKA: Harold.

RESOLUTION NO. 26

Develop a Southern Organizing Strategy

SCHAITBERGER: Thanks, Rich.

The next resolution to consider is Resolution No. 26. That resolution is to “Develop a Southern Organizing Strategy.” It’s submitted by the Savannah Regional Central Labor Council.

It calls on the AFL-CIO to adopt as one of its top priorities a southern strategy that includes a long-term commitment and investment in organizing the South and urge every affiliate to adopt the same long-term commitment and investment.

On behalf of the Resolutions Committee, I move the adoption of Resolution 26.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 26 be adopted. Is there any discussion? Delegate at mike 3, please.

YVONNE ROBINSON, Central Georgia Federation of Trades and Labor Council: Good afternoon. I’m the secretary-treasurer of the Georgia State AFL-CIO and a proud 25-year member of AFSCME. *(Applause)*

I rise to speak in favor of Resolution 26. Our union has a proud history of fighting oppression across the country and specifically in the South. I am proud to say that in 1968, Dr. King stood with workers and gave his life for 1,300 striking sanitation workers in Memphis. These workers organized for the basic recognition, voice and human dignity that comes with union recognition. Through this struggle they were recognized as members of AFSCME 1733.

Fast forward to today. We are still seeing the same attacks today on workers in the South. AFSCME members and all working families have withstood the struggles under the “right to work” for less culture of Georgia, Texas, Florida, Louisiana and other states across the South.

The facts are clear. Workers in the South have been denied their share of the American dream. Workers earn an average of \$5,680 less than states that are not right to work. Some 26.7% of jobs are below poverty, compared to 19.5% in other states.

People in “right to work” states are likely to be underinsured. All the workers are suffering from the race to the bottom. AFSCME is committed to organizing the South through partnering with unions and coalition partners.

In January of this year, President Saunders spoke at the unity breakfast and committed to providing resources in the South. AFSCME has created a Southern region to successfully

start organizing in the South and including broad partnerships. This resolution will coordinate the support for broad-based workplace and political organizing.

I am urging the convention to support this Resolution 26. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The Chair recognizes delegate at mike 1.

ANDY MADTES, South Florida AFL-CIO: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm the president of the central labor council in Miami, South Florida. I'm also the secretary-treasurer for UNITE HERE in South Florida.

I stand here today in support of Resolution 26. Organizing can be done in the South, and if you put the resources that we need into it, we can grow. The workers deserve it. Every working man and woman in South Florida, throughout the South, deserves the right to organize and to have the support to organize. Thank you, sir. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Hear, hear, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate the mike 2.

BRETT HULME, Savannah Regional Central Labor Council: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm a dues-paying member of the Office and Profession Employees Local 277. I'm representing the Savannah Regional Central Labor Council, whose delegates authored this resolution.

The reality for everybody is the center of the American auto industry is now the Southeast United States. Already in production: Mercedes and Honda facilities in Alabama, BMW in South Carolina, Nissan in Mississippi, Kia in Georgia, Toyota has plants in the Southeast, and Tennessee has the Volkswagen plant.

In the aerospace industry, Boeing has come to South Carolina. That's what's already in place currently being manufactured.

What's coming? A huge Caterpillar plant east of Atlanta with 1,200 potential jobs; the Elba Island natural gas facility expansion in the hundreds of millions of dollars.

The Gulf Coast, which is multiple states, oil and natural gas expansion.

Sunday, September 1st newspaper "Made in the USA" article cited Apple, making their desktop Mac, assembled in Texas, components from Florida, equipment from Kentucky.

GE has pledged \$1 billion for U.S. appliance business.

Our friends over at Walmart—joke *(Laughter)*—\$50 million worth of U.S. goods in the next 10 years. Google's Motorola Mobility, first smartphone designed, engineered and assembled in the U.S.

Last week, in the Atlanta Business Chronicle, Beretta, the gun manufacturer, has five sites short-listed, all five located in Georgia, which already houses the Glock facility. Kumho Tire announced last week they will be building a facility in Macon, Georgia. SpaceX, private money that has partnered with NASA, has short-listed two sites, either in South Georgia or North Florida, to launch satellites.

But ironically, it's not just manufacturing. All these building trades jobs have potential. We have an industry coming to Georgia that has passed through but is now setting down roots in the entertainment industry. Pinewood Studios outside of Atlanta, Meddin Studios, broke ground outside of Savannah, Georgia, in a \$90 billion project.

These jobs and more will demand consumption of public goods and services allowing an increase in public-sector unions. Nobody's exempt from these opportunities, brothers and sisters. A southern organizing strategy will result in increase in union density, and these ponds

of blue that have been identified in this sea of red we live in in the South can be directly correlated to union density.

TRUMKA: Brother, I'm going to have to ask you to wrap it up. Your time's expired.

HULME: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I urge the body to support this resolution for us and for all workers. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

Seeing no further debate, the question's on the adoption of Resolution 26. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

For what purpose does the delegate at mike 2 rise?

JEANETTE WYNN, AFSCME: I rise in support of the resolution. I am president of AFSCME Florida Council 79.

TRUMKA: Please proceed.

WYNN: "Right to work" hasn't been all that we could look forward to in the state of Florida. It has been the norm. However, we have continued to fight the fight, and this resolution makes it just what is needed in the South. This is what we need in the South. We need to get rid of the "right to work" resolution.

TRUMKA: Hear, hear.

WYNN: That "right to work" resolution has extended to dues deduction, our suppression of dues deduction, suppression of pensions, and suppression of all those state benefits that state employees have earned throughout their career.

I say to you, Convention, deny the "right to work" by supporting this resolution.
(Applause)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Seeing no further discussion, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 26. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

Those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.
Resolution 26 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

[[INSERT TEXT OF RESOLUTION 26]]

(End Resolution No. 26)

TRUMKA: Harold.

RESOLUTION NO. 38

Resolution That Reynolds American, Inc., Establish a Process with FLOC That Guarantees Freedom of Association and Worker Representation for Tobacco Farm Workers in the Tobacco Supply Chain

SCHAITBERGER: The next resolution will be Resolution 38. It's submitted by the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, FLOC.

The resolution provides that Reynolds American Inc. to establish a process—will establish a process with FLOC that guarantees freedom of association and worker representation for tobacco farm workers and the tobacco supply chain.

It resolves that the AFL-CIO renew its support for justice for tobacco farm workers and FLOC. It calls on Reynolds American to provide FLOC with a written agreement that establishes a written process that guarantees freedom of association and worker representation, and it resolves that the AFL-CIO will take a variety of specific steps to support FLOC's efforts, including communicating directly with British-American tobacco and bringing customer pressure on retailers.

On behalf of the Resolutions Committee, I move the adoption of the Resolution 38.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 38 be adopted. Is there discussion? Delegate at mike 2 is recognized.

VICE PRESIDENT BALDEMAR VELÁSQUEZ, Farm Labor Organizing Committee:

I'm president of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, also a proud executive board member of the Ohio AFL-CIO, and an executive committee member of the Greater Toledo AFL-CIO Central Labor Council.

I speak in favor of this resolution that was drafted by our membership from North Carolina. It's really an action resolution of all those 1 to 6, Resolution No. 8, and the recent one that I worked on, 26, organizing in the South.

Agricultural workers have long been overlooked across the United States. César Chávez is no longer with us. Dr. Martin Luther King is no longer with us to fight these fights, but we've got a next generation of fighters that are out there every day signing up workers, pushing to organize these forgotten tobacco workers in the deep South.

We have an action planned for next summer to sign up 5,000 tobacco workers. And the support we've gotten from the Federation right now, that we've gotten in Europe and here throughout the United States, has allowed us, then, to push Reynolds Tobacco to finally talk with us. For five years they said they would never talk to us.

President Trumka got a letter from BAT saying they'll talk to you, but they won't talk to FLOC. They'll talk to everybody and their mother except the farm workers. But we believe that farm workers have a right to speak for themselves, and we thank you for your support in backing us, and now Reynolds Tobacco decided they'll talk to us after all. *(Applause)*

Now, we're pushing them to recognize freedom of association, and I'm glad to report that as of two weeks ago, they've decided that they would look at figuring out to talk with us about how to defend freedom of association in their supply chain.

Now, we're not done there. We're not over the hump. We have to keep up the pressure against their retailers and British American Tobacco. But with your help, we can bring this victory home so that farm workers once and for all can join the labor movement and win the

rights that are long overdue to them, along with the domestic workers we presented earlier in this convention.

It's time to include agricultural workers and domestic workers in the mainstream of the democratic process to be able to speak for themselves, to live, eat, regulate and bring the rights to feed, educate and clothe our own families.

Brothers and sisters, I ask you to support this resolution. Thank you. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Baldemar.

Seeing no further debate, the question is on adoption of Resolution 38. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.

Resolution 38 is adopted. Thank you.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

[[INSERT TEXT OF RESOLUTION 38]]

(End Resolution No. 38)

TRUMKA: I want to thank you, Harold, and thank you, again, for the whole committee for the great work that you did.

And now, we will hear from Ed Hill for a report from the Constitution Committee.

Ed.

REPORT OF THE CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

VICE PRESIDENT EDWIN HILL, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

Good afternoon. Good afternoon.

DELEGATION: Good afternoon.

HILL: Thank you very much.

Before I start, I would like to take a moment of personal privilege just say to my sister, Arlene, thank you very much for a lifetime of dedication to working men and women. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

I'm here with two of my colleagues on the Constitution Committee, Mike Sacco and Kinsey Robinson, to give the report of the Constitution Committee.

We'll start with two amendments that directly relate to the theme of inclusion that we talked about yesterday afternoon.

Before I summarize those amendments, I want to thank all of my other colleagues on the Constitutional Committee: Rose Ann DeMoro, Barbara Easterling, Pat Eiding, General Holiefield and Mary Mahoney. Thank you very much for all your work.

The first amendment we're recommending is Amendment No. 1 in your books. It picks up on the resolution that the convention adopted yesterday concerning young workers: The critical importance of young workers to the future of the labor movement.

Before getting to that amendment, let me just say how proud I am of the work done by Liz Shuler and what she's doing to—you can clap that's fine. Thank you. *(Applause)*

Liz is doing reaching out to young workers. You know, she came into office four years ago pledging to build this program, and she's done a terrific job in building the program with a strong guiding hand and welcomed sense of humor.

AMENDMENT NO. 1

Expanding the General Board to Include Young Workers

HILL: The amendment before you, Amendment No. 1, is called “Expanding the General Board to Include Young Workers.” This amendment, for the first time, formally incorporates young workers into the governance structure of the AFL-CIO.

The amendment gives a seat on the AFL-CIO's General Board to a representative of the Young Workers Advisory Committee that Liz created and led over the last four years. Two of those young leaders you heard from yesterday.

With this change, young workers in the YWAC formally become part of the AFL-CIO governance structure. The amendment ensures that the young workers will have a seat and a voice at the table.

They'll be invited to all Executive Council meetings, and the committee believes our movement will benefit from their participation, their energy and, most importantly, their ideas.

The amendment also urges that consideration be given to young workers when the Executive Council is filling vacancies on that council. These important changes bring young workers into our movement, give them a formal voice, and help us build for the future.

The Constitution Committee unanimously endorses Amendment No. 1 and, on behalf of the committee, I move its adoption.

...The motion was seconded by several unidentified delegates.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends adoption of Amendment No. 1. Is there discussion?

The question is on the adoption of Amendment 1. The committee recommends you vote for the adoption of the amendment.

All those in favor of Amendment No. 1, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no. Amendment No. 1 is adopted.

(The text of the amendment as adopted by the convention follows.)

[[INSERT TEXT OF CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT 1]]

(End Constitutional Amendment No. 1)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 9

Welcoming All Workers to Our Movement

HILL: Thank you very much.

The second amendment we're recommending this afternoon is Amendment No. 9. It also involves inclusion. It would add a gender identity and gender expression to the AFL-CIO Constitution in the existing clause where we encourage all workers, regardless of race, creed,

color, origin, national origin, religion, disability or sexual orientation, to join the labor movement.

This amendment makes an important statement about the federation's support for transgender workers and the fact that they're welcomed in our movement.

It shows that we're a broad and inclusive movement that welcomes all workers.

The Constitution Committee was unanimous in support for this amendment. On behalf of the committee, Mr. Chairman, I move its adoption.

...The motion was seconded by several unidentified delegates.

TRUMKA: It's been moved and seconded to adopt Amendment No. 9. Is there discussion?

Seeing none, the question is on the adoption of Amendment 9. The committee recommends adoption.

All those in favor of Amendment 9, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no. Amendment 9 is adopted. (*Applause*)

(The text of the amendment as adopted by the convention follows.)

[[INSERT TEXT OF CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT 9]]

(End Constitutional Amendment No. 9)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 2

Updating and Streamlining Convention Procedures

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 11

Executive Council Authority

KINSEY ROBINSON, Roofers and Waterproofers: We will now turn to Amendments 2 and 11.

The committee recommends adoption of these amendments. Amendments 2 and 11 make technical changes in the AFL-CIO Constitution.

Amendment 2 eliminates unnecessary steps in dealing with late-submitted convention resolutions and amendments. It also eliminates the approval by the convention of convention committees, which by the time of the convention have finished their work.

Amendment 11 makes the language of the retirement plan for executive officers consistent with the Constitution, giving the Executive Council the authority to amend the plan.

On behalf of the Constitution Committee, I move adoption of Amendments 2 and 11.

...The motion was seconded by several unidentified delegates.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends adoption of Amendments 2 and 11. Is there discussion?

Seeing none, the question is on the adoption of Amendments 2 and 11. The committee recommends that you vote for these amendments.

All those in favor of the amendments, signify by saying aye. Those opposed no. Amendments 2 and 11 are adopted.

(The text of the amendments as adopted by the convention follow.)

[[INSERT TEXT OF CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT 2]]

(End Constitutional Amendment No. 2)

[[INSERT TEXT OF CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT 11]]

(End Constitutional Amendment No. 11)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 10

Executive Council Membership

VICE PRESIDENT MICHAEL SACCO, Seafarers International Union: The committee also recommends approval of Amendment 10, dealing with the terms of office for Executive Council members.

The amendment gives an affiliated national union the power to ask the AFL-CIO Executive Council to declare a seat vacant if an Executive Council member from that union ceases to hold office because of retirement or defeat in an election, or other reasons.

Now, if a union asks, the council will oblige and declare the seat vacant, but it's up to the national union whether or when to ask. So if a union wanted to have more time from when the officer stopped holding office until that officer was no longer on the AFL-CIO Executive Council, the amendment would accommodate that, but the affiliate controls the timing.

On behalf of the committee, I move the adoption of Amendment 10.

...The motion was seconded by several unidentified delegates.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends the adoption of Amendment 10.

Is there any discussion?

Seeing none, the question is on the adoption of Amendment 10. The committee recommends that you vote for the amendment.

All those in favor of the amendment, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.
Amendment 10 is adopted.

(The text of the amendment as adopted by the convention follows.)

[[INSERT TEXT OF CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT 10]]

(End Constitutional Amendment No. 10)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 12

Size of Executive Council

HILL: Finally, on behalf of the committee and the Executive Council, I'd like to recommend the adoption of Amendment No. 12, the "Size of Executive Council."

Excuse me. I'm sorry. The amendment establishes the size of the council at 55 seats, that's its current size. The Constitution says that the council was 51 seats, but the number has

grown due to re-affiliations and expansion for diversity, both very good things. The council voted unanimous to recommend Amendment No. 12 for adoption.

Amendment No. 12 subsumes Amendment No. 8, which put every union with 10,000 members or more on the Executive Council. So in adopting Amendment No. 12, the convention will take no action on Amendment No. 8.

On behalf of the committee, I move the adoption of Amendment No. 12.

...The motion was seconded by several unidentified delegates.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends the adoption of Amendment 12. Is there discussion?

Seeing none, the question is on the adoption of Amendment 12. The committee recommends that you vote for the amendment.

All those in favor of the amendment, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no. Amendment 12 is adopted.

(The text of the amendment as adopted by the convention follows. The amendment covered by it appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

[[INSERT TEXT OF CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT 12]]

(End Constitutional Amendment No. 12)

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 3

Supporting AFL-CIO Unions Subjected to Raids by Non-Affiliated Unions

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 4

Prohibiting Article XX Protection to Non-Affiliated Entities

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 5

Supporting a New Generation of Leaders

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 6

Repeal of Article XX

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 7

Executive Council and Executive Committee Voting

HILL: The committee also voted to refer Amendment Nos. 3, 4, 6 and 7 to the Executive Council, and take no action on Amendment No. 5.

Amendment Nos. 3, 4 and 6 concern Article XX on raiding. On Saturday, the Executive Council adopted a statement calling for the review of Article XX on raiding and included raiding by unions that held solidarity charters. The review will be completed no later than February of 2014.

Mr. Chairman, this concludes the report of the Constitution Committee. Thank you very much.

(The texts of the referred amendments and the amendment without action appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

TRUMKA: But it was a constructive Constitution Committee. I can tell you that.

Thanks, Ed, and to the other members of the committee. Great work.

And before I move on, I want to recognize Sito Pantoja, I think at mike No. 2. Sito.

SITO PANTOJA, Machinists: Thank you, Brother Chairman.

Before I get into my remarks, they will be very brief, I'd just like to ask a question for clarification.

TRUMKA: Yes, sir.

SANTOJA: It's my understanding that there will be no debate or voting on this amendment. Is that correct?

TRUMKA: That's correct, sir.

SANTOJA: Thank you, Brother.

Brother Chairman, I rise to speak on the three articles that were just—the three amendments that were mentioned regarding Article XX. As you know, and most of the delegates in this room know, Article XX is one of the most important articles of our Constitution. Why? Because it provides for a means of solidarity between affiliates. It provides for protections for small unions against big unions that have an economic financial gain. More importantly, it provides for the protection against raids from other affiliates. It also provides—well, let me back up a little bit.

It provides protection against raiding. Raiding, Brother Chairman, is the poison pill that destroys the labor movement.

TRUMKA: Hear, hear. *(Applause)*

SANTOJA: Brother Chairman, raiding is the betrayal of solidarity, Brother Chairman.

Brother Chairman, raiding is not acceptable. It should not be acceptable in the House of Labor. Not in this house. *(Applause)*

Brother Chairman, I stood up and I applauded you this morning because you spoke so eloquently. You spoke from your heart like I am now. You spoke about the ultimate power, the ultimate power that does not belong to the Executive Council, the ultimate power that does not belong to the committees, but it belongs to the delegates of this federation. *(Applause)*

Brother Chairman, hundreds of delegates are here today. They traveled thousands of miles so that they could discuss and debate these amendments in a democratic way, a democratic way that we always endorse.

I'm upset because we will not have the ability to do that today.

I stand up and I'm standing on our rights today to fight for democracy. I ask that this committee does not hijack these amendments from the delegates who are empowering this delegation, and to bring those amendments back for a vote and a debate.

Thank you, Brother Chairman, for the opportunity to speak with you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Sito. Brother Sito, I couldn't agree with you more about raiding.

When we represent 11.3% of the membership and 89% of the members are not organized in this country, it makes little sense for us to be fighting over the 11½% and letting the other 89% go by.

We are going to address those issues in a very deliberate, analytical way, and I promise you that you and President Buffenbarger, and anybody else who wants to talk on that subject, will get more than the opportunity so that we can amend all the documents that we have, Article XX and XXI, as well as solidarity charters, and we can do it in a comprehensive way.

I appreciate your sentiment. I appreciate your good will, Brother.

And for our report from the Committee on Community Partnership and Grassroots Power, we will now hear from Brother Jim Boland. Jim?

REPORT OF COMMITTEE 3: THE COMMITTEE ON COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIP AND GRASSROOTS POWER (Resumed)

RESOLUTION NO. 17

Prisons and Profits—The Big Business Behind Mass Incarceration

VICE PRESIDENT JAMES BOLAND, Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers: Brothers and sisters, mass incarceration has become one of the travesties of our time. Is anyone surprised that the population in our correctional system has exploded since the business of for-profit incarceration was born? The soaring rate of incarceration has had a disproportionate impact on people and communities of color.

Today, one out of every 36 Hispanic men and one in every 15 black men is incarcerated. In many of the largest U.S. cities, more than half of the young black men are either incarcerated or released but now stigmatized with a criminal record.

The surge in incarceration stems largely from increased penalties for non-violent and minor crimes, such as the possession of small amounts of drugs and lengthy or even lifetime incarceration as a result of three strikes sentencing laws.

The private prison industry has lobbied for these laws and for stricter incarceration policies for undocumented immigrants. Their business model depends on growing the correctional system for the sake of profit without any regard to justice. Their need to maximize profits results in cutting corners on basic services for medical care to clothing and food.

In addition, privately run correctional facilities are not adequately staffed, and the jobs that they do provide come with low pay, little training, and they jeopardize the staff themselves, the incarcerated, and those who live in the communities with jails and prisons.

Mass incarceration has led to dangerous levels of inmate overcrowding in many of our jails and detention facilities, resulting in increased prison violence that victimizes staffs and inmates alike. The impact of mass incarceration is felt by neighborhoods and families and individuals.

As a result of mass incarceration, already impoverished neighborhoods have lost thousands of working-age men. Family relationships are strained, income earners are lost, and parents and children are separated, and those who have been released from the correctional system face discrimination that prevents them from voting, serving on juries, obtaining student

loans, and receiving public benefits and other services and, indeed, often from finding employment.

Make no mistake, there is a school-to-prison pipeline that pushes young people, especially children of color, out of school and into the criminal justice system.

In Resolution 17, the AFL-CIO states its firm belief that the operation of our criminal justice system is an inherently governmental function, and we will support ending the privatization of correctional facilities and services.

The resolution commits the AFL-CIO to support efforts to ease prison overcrowding, pass fair criminal sentencing policies, and reforms that speed the justice process and eliminate unnecessary pre-trial detention time.

We support training, education, probation and parole strategies that assist in reintegrating people who have served their time into our communities, and a public policy focus on the treatment of users of illegal drugs, and supports treating drug use as a public health issue.

We also call for restoration of full citizenship rights for those convicted of nonviolent offenses once they have completed their prison sentences. (*Applause*)

The AFL-CIO will work with affiliates and allies to support legislation and policies that help schools and communities develop and fund programs to reduce the number of young people who drop out of school and are suspended or expelled, and will support programs that work with law enforcement officers to educate rather than penalize young people.

Now I'd like to invite Dr. Steven Pitts from UC Berkeley to share his comments on this resolution. I believe he's at mike 2. Dr. Pitts.

STEVEN PITTS, University of California, Berkeley: Thank you. I'm incredibly happy to be speaking here in support of this Resolution No. 17. It is so important that as we talk about deepening the connection between labor and community, the convention speaks to an issue that severely affects so many lives and so many working families.

For the slogan of "Prosperity for All" to have meaning, we must examine the specific pathways of poverty, and then organize to block those pathways. Just as working without a collective bargaining agreement is a pathway to poverty, just as working in the shadows without papers is the pathway to poverty, so, too, is leaving communities shaped by massive incarceration a pathway to poverty.

Due to an earlier era of globalization over a hundred years ago, economic elites transformed economies throughout the world and drove workers from China to build railroads in America, drove workers from Europe to work in the mills in America, and drove workers from the U.S. South to work in factories up north. The elites' response to the social dislocation they caused was to build sweatshops and slums. Our response was, there's a better way. We built unions.

During this recent era of corporate globalization, the academic elites have once again transformed economies throughout the world, this time driving workers from Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America and Asia to Europe and the United States.

The elites' response to this social dislocation they caused was to build a two-tier labor market that kept new immigrants in low-wage jobs and kept immigrant communities in terror of deportation raids. Our response was, there's a better way. We're fighting for justice and a decent system.

But too often we ignore another impact of corporate globalization, the resulting desocialization and the climbing tax basis have devastated our cities and destroyed dreams for

many residents. Their response to this dislocation was to build a system of mass incarceration which has a disproportionate impact on communities of color. Our response is that, once again, there's a better way. Let's end mass incarceration.

It impacts members who work in the system, often toiling in terrible working conditions, which is the flip side of inmate conditions prisoners live in. It impacts members who work in public agencies where budgets have been cut as tax dollars are used to fund prison construction. Most importantly, it impacts members themselves that have been incarcerated, or have family members who are incarcerated.

So I strongly speak in favor of this resolution as my way to strongly support the federation as it takes its first steps to end the system of mass incarceration, a system that stands in the way of building economy for prosperity for all. Thank you.

BOLAND: Thank you. Now, sisters and brothers, this resolution is recommended by the Resolutions Committee, and I move its adoption.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

Before we begin debate, I'd like to say a few things about this issue.

You know, what does it say about a country that we abandon our communities, fail in our mission to educate our children, ship good jobs to other shores and then lock up the people who get left behind?

Now, I know crime is an unfortunate evil of our society and that law and order is an important part of any democracy. But you see, the first time I toured a prison, the most striking thing I saw, and I already knew the statistics but it's a whole different thing to see with your own eyes, was how absolutely packed our prisons are with young black men and young brown men.

See, we're not locking up individuals as much as we're locking up demographics. And that right there is the result of bias. It's the result of prejudice. And it is absolutely wrong. *(Applause)*

See, America does not now need, and never has needed, to imprison so many of our young people, especially young men of color. Too many who fill our prisons right now are nonviolent, come from low-income households with little access to jobs and with little or no opportunity or hope.

We've seen that pattern before. A hundred years ago a common crime sending black men to work on the prison chain gangs was vagrancy.

In some states the crime was not to have a job. Now, this isn't much different. The truth is, as a nation we punish people for being brown and for being black, and it has to stop. We can't write people off. *(Applause)*

We can't write them off for being an addict. We can't write them off for making a mistake. We can't write people off for dropping out of high school. And we can't let the color of a person's skin or their economic status determine how they are treated by our justice system.

Like so many other problems in America today, there's a big money industry driving it. America has a runaway for-profit prison system that is immoral and wrong, a system that profits from misery, a system that does not dispense justice but denies it.

The evidence is overwhelming and its conclusions are inescapable. Mass incarceration is a betrayal of the American promise. The practice hurts our people and our communities. It

keeps wages low. It suppresses democracy, and we can't afford to imprison so many people nor can our families, our communities or our country afford the loss of productivity of these people.

This resolution is emphatically not a comment on the difficult, invaluable and all-too-often underappreciated work of our prison guards. These men and women do hard jobs in dangerous conditions. As a nation, we can and we must do better. We must do better and we will do better.

These prisons aren't solving anything, they're only making matters worse. And it's time for us to replace the school-to-prison pipeline with good jobs and a voice on the job, which have always been the best way to break the cycle of poverty and to lift our communities up rather than to throw them in jail. *(Applause)*

We've got to stop investing in private prisons and start investing in working people. *(Applause)*

Brothers and sisters, adoption of Resolution 17 has been moved and seconded. Do I hear debate right now? Delegate at mike 3.

ROXANNE BROWN, United Steelworkers: Mr. Chairman, I'm a proud member of the United Steelworkers Union.

I rise in strong support of Resolution No. 17.

"What does labor want? We want more schoolhouses and less jails, more books and less guns, more learning and less vice, more leisure and less greed, more justice and less revenge. We want more opportunities to cultivate our better nature."

The AFL-CIO's first president, Samuel Gompers, said that more than 100 years ago.

Sisters and brothers, our union supports Resolution No. 17 because more than 125 years later we are still fighting for more schoolhouses and less jails. In the United States, we spend six times more money on prisons than we do on education.

According to the National Dropout Prevention Center, the average cost to care for an inmate is \$55,000. America ranks Number One in the world in incarceration rates. With more than 2 million people incarcerated, we outrank Russia, Cuba, Germany, Libya and every other nation around this Earth.

People with no criminal or violent history are serving sentences of 20, 30, 40 years or more for small drug crimes.

A disproportionate number of these people are people of color. Blacks make up half of the state and local prisons jailed for drug crimes. Black children are 10 times more likely to be arrested for drug crimes than white children, despite higher rates of drug usage among white children.

Sisters and brothers, these are not things we are proud of. We should not be proud of being the best at imprisoning our children, stripping them of their voting rights and the ability to ever lawfully provide for their families. *(Applause)*

Sisters and brothers, that's why this resolution is so important, because we are still fighting for more schoolhouses and less jails. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

JOSHUA PECHTHALT, AFT: Thank you, Chairman Trumka, I'm the president of the California Federation of Teachers and a proud member of the Executive Council of the AFT.

I rise in support of this resolution and urge the sisters and brothers today to vote in support.

I had a long list of reasons to give you why we should vote for this, but I think the sister who just spoke and Professor Pitts eloquently explained the details.

One detail that I will give you is that in the last 30 years, the prison population in this country has jumped from about 2 million to 7 million people, an incredible increase. We have a higher percentage of people imprisoned in this country than in any industrialized country in the world. That's a shame on us as a country.

But now I want to set my notes aside actually and tell you about what this has meant to me personally. I was a high school teacher for more than 20 years and taught at a high school less than two miles away from this convention center, a high school by the name of Manual Arts. Manual Arts is a high school with 100% of the students on free or reduced lunch. On hundred percent of the students are students of color, African American and Latino students.

What I witnessed in my more than 20 years in the classroom at Manual Arts was a systematic defunding of our school, class size increase, the elimination of electives, the elimination of after-school programs for kids so that they had a place to stay after school while their parents worked.

What we saw in these 25 years was the loss of jobs in the community so that teenagers, like I was at one point, could get a job after school and put some money in the bank and feel good about myself. The kids at Manual Arts, very few of them had after-school jobs. Very few of them had the opportunity, because there are few jobs in this community, and especially no jobs for young people.

And so it's not a surprise that when all else fails, the only pipeline for kids is to do stuff they shouldn't be doing and end up in our prisons.

Sisters and brothers, we can do better than that. And this resolution is a resolution that says this body and the AFL-CIO goes on record saying we've got to change our priorities for the people of our country, particularly in communities that need help.

So I urge you to vote for this resolution. I urge you to vote for the students at Manual Arts and other urban schools that need a hand to make a decent life and not end up spending a lifetime in our prisons. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

ROLAND JETER, Amalgamated Transit Union: I want to know whether it's in order to add an amendment to this resolution, and that amendment would be to oppose criminal background checks. As we talk about all of these brothers and sisters that come in and out of these prison systems, what's evolving is criminal background checks. It's still denying them the right of employment.

If that happens, they are going to end up right back into the prison system. So I would ask that we add that amendment to this resolution.

TRUMKA: The delegate asked to amend the resolution, Resolution 17. Is there a second?

...The motion was seconded by several unidentified delegates.

TRUMKA: The debate right now is on the amendment itself. The amendment is to add eliminating background checks.

JETER: Oppose criminal background checks.

TRUMKA: Oppose criminal background checks. Can you say where, Brother.

JETER: Throughout the country.

Right now in Washington, D.C., it's coming up. We just left our convention, and there were delegates in that convention saying in their city the same companies, different companies, the older and transportation companies are bringing these criminal background checks against employees. They may employ them, and while they are employing them and they are in their probationary period, they go back and do the background checks on them.

TRUMKA: Brother, can you give us the exact wording of your amendment, what you would like to amend?

JETER: I would like to add an amendment that said that this delegation is opposed to criminal background checks for the hiring of employees or the dismissal and termination of employees.

TRUMKA: It's been moved and seconded that we amend Resolution 17. A "yes" vote is to amend Resolution 17 to oppose background checks. A "no" vote is to keep the resolution as it currently is.

All those in favor of the amendment, signify by saying aye.

All those opposed, signify by saying no. The amendment is defeated.

We are now back on regular debate of Resolution 17.

Seeing no further debate, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 17. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. All opposed, say no.

Resolution 17 is adopted. (*Applause*)

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

[[INSERT TEXT OF RESOLUTION 17]]

(End Resolution No. 17)

Now, that wraps up our work for today. So, once again, we'll hear from Secretary-Treasurer Liz Shuler for announcements. Liz.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SECRETARY-TREASURER ELIZABETH SHULER: OK, everyone. We're in the homestretch for today, and I have a number of announcements as usual.

Remember that it's time for the Workers Lift Up the City Cut-Out Action. You've probably been seeing the cut-outs out in the lobby. We're going to gather as soon as we leave this room at Solidarity Stage 2, and then we'll head out to join local union members and community partners to place those beautifully painted cut-outs of workers all around the city.

At 6:30 this evening we have the “Bread and Rosie Reception—Creating a Movement that Matters to Women.” That’s taking place at the Westin Hotel out at the Pool Deck Plaza. Sisters, you do not want to miss this event. Shuttles will be available from the convention center to the Westin.

Tomorrow morning at 7:30 in the atrium, which is right downstairs, right as you walk into the convention center, there’s an immigration rally and press event. So come show your support and call on Congress to pass immigration reform with workers’ rights activists and citizenship activists.

Tomorrow afternoon, as you know, we will have nominations of the officers for the AFL-CIO, and, if needed, those elections will be held Wednesday morning.

For those of you who are going to the baseball game tomorrow, we will be leaving right from the convention center. You will not have time to go back to the hotel to change, so bring your baseball gear, bring your T-shirts, your ball caps, your mitts if you’re going to catch some of those fly balls—and Rich is bringing his pitching arm to the game. So bring all of that with you tomorrow morning because you will not have time to go back to your rooms.

One final ask I have this afternoon. We were all moved yesterday by Sister Myrtle Witbooi and the International Domestic Workers Network. Right now we can actually support them. If everyone could take out their phones, take out your mobile device, and I’m going to do this as well.

If you take your phones out right now and text the word “dignity” to 235246—I’m calling it up now. So type in 235246 and text the word “dignity,” D-I-G-N-I-T-Y for those of us who are spelling challenged.

235246. The word “dignity.” That will sign you on to the petition that’s asking California Governor Jerry Brown to sign the California Domestic Workers Bill of Rights. We are right on the cusp, so you can help protect the dignity of domestic workers right now by taking out your phone and texting the word “dignity” to 235246.

Thank you for bearing with me. The convention is now adjourned until 8:30 a.m. tomorrow morning. We will see you in the morning. Thank you.

(At 4:48 p.m., Monday, September 9, 2013, the convention was recessed, to reconvene at 8:30 a.m., Tuesday, September 10, 2013.)