

THIRD DAY

Tuesday, September 10, 2013

The convention was called to order at 8:33 a.m., President Trumka presiding.

PRESIDENT RICHARD L. TRUMKA: The convention will come to order. Thank you.

Now, yesterday we heard the good news that a judge has ruled that the Indiana “right to work” law violates the state’s constitution barring for services. *(Applause)*

I want to acknowledge the hard work of our sister, Nancy Guyott, president of the Indiana State AFL-CIO, on the state’s “right to work” fight. Thank you, Nancy. *(Applause)*

Now, we have a packed morning before us, taking up several resolutions from the Committee on Shared Prosperity in the Global Economy about critical steps that we must take to make the national and world economy work for working families, not just the wealthy and not just the powerful corporations. We’ll cover the topics of good jobs and economic security, rising wages, tax fairness, safe jobs, retirement security, and bankruptcy and financial regulation.

And we’re very fortunate to have two distinguished guests this morning—Nobel Laureate Joseph Stiglitz and our new Secretary of Labor Tom Perez. I know we’re anxious to hear from both of them.

So, right now, it’s time again to hear the report of the Credentials Committee, and I would like to call on committee member Matt Loeb to report.

REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE (Resumed)

VICE PRESIDENT MATTHEW LOEB, Theatrical Stage Employees: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. If you would indulge me, before I give the report I would just like to take the liberty to recognize the fine IATSE stagehands and technicians who are doing the sound, lights, camera and AV work in the hall for us this week. You don’t see them much, but if you do, give them a pat on the back. Thank you.

Since the Credentials Committee last reported, 32 additional delegates and 12 additional alternates whose credentials who 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 two alternate 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.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that the report of the Credentials Committee be adopted. Is there any discussion?

Seeing none, the question is on the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee.

All those in favor of the report, signify by saying aye. All those opposed, nay. The report’s adopted. Thank you.

Matt, Credentials Committee, thank you.

Now, the labor movement is all of us who work, creating America every day, united, as one. Our movement is building a world where we value work, where all those who work share in the wealth that we create and where our nation prospers because we prosper together.

Today, as we gather in convention, the working people of the world create this world, create through our labor wealth such as has never been seen in human history. And yet, we live in the world of mass unemployment and growing inequality, a world where the power of global corporations is growing, and the principles of democracy are everywhere under assault by the power of money. Nowhere is that more true than right here in America.

We, the people who do the work of America, are fantastically more productive than we were just a generation ago. Yet a few people in our country have systematically taken the wealth all of us create.

As I said yesterday, over the last 15 years, all of the wage increases in this country have gone to the top 10% of us. All of it. That one fact tells you all you need to know about what's wrong.

Today's agenda is about the kind of country and the kind of world that we want to build. Today is about what we do when we're organized. Today we're going to take up a set of resolutions that will define what the labor movement is about for the coming years.

As part of the planning for this convention, the AFL-CIO established a Committee on Shared Prosperity in the Global Economy, co-chaired by Leo Gerard of the Steelworkers and Roberta Reardon of SAG-AFTRA, with Chicago Federation of Labor President Jorge Ramirez as vice chair.

Today, that committee has an extraordinary presentation. First, we're going to see a video of working people and experts talking about our hopes for shared prosperity and our determination as a labor movement to make shared prosperity real.

Let's see the video.

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

TRUMKA: Now, the message of that video couldn't be clearer. As we said yesterday, we've got our priorities upside down, but we have the power to turn America right-side up.

Because, brothers and sisters, the global economy is not the weather. We can change it through the power of solidarity. And we must, because a world run by and for the 1% is not just wrong, it doesn't work.

You know, we are always told that greed is good, that we can't afford to care about each other, that we can't afford to raise up the poor, that we must always give more to the rich and powerful or otherwise somehow the world will just stop working.

Those are lies. The truth is greed and inequality do not work.

Now I want to call to the podium a man who, as much as anyone in the world, has shown that in this global economy, the only prosperity is shared prosperity.

That man is Professor Joseph Stiglitz of Columbia University—a winner of the Nobel Prize in economics, economic adviser to presidents and governments all over the world, and champion of the poor in the corridors of power, from the White House to the IMF to the United Nations.

I have to tell you, Joe is a man of real courage. Joe spoke truth to power at the World Bank when the Bank was pushing austerity on the poor, and the World Bank fired him for it. When we were handing out money to banks and foreclosing on families, Joe told the president of the United States our priorities were upside down.

Joe, we are very, very honored to have you with us. Please welcome our friend, Joseph Stiglitz. *(Standing ovation)*

PROFESSOR JOSEPH STIGLITZ
Columbia University

Thank you very much, Rich, for that introduction. And thank you for inviting me to address you today.

The point that you just raised that the only prosperity, the only sustainable and real prosperity is shared prosperity, is the essential message I want to talk about today.

I'm an economist—I study how economies work and don't work. Like a doctor, we try to understand why our patients sometimes are sick and what we can do about it. One of the reasons it's been so sick is inequality, and I decided to write an article and a book about it.

Two years ago, I wrote an article for *Vanity Fair*—not the usual place for academics to publish, but it did get more readers than my earlier articles in *Econometrica*. (*Laughter*)

The title of the article was “Of the 1 Percent, For the 1 Percent, and By the 1 Percent,” which really got to the gist of it. For too long, hardworking, rule-abiding Americans have seen their paychecks shrink or stay the same, while the rule-breakers raked in huge profits and wealth, and made our economy sick and our politics sick, too.

You know the facts. While the productivity of America's workers has soared, wages have stagnated. You've worked hard—since 1979, your output per hour has increased 40% but pay has barely increased. Meanwhile, the top 1% take home more than 20% of the national income.

The Great Recession made things worse. Some say that the Great Recession ended in 2009. But for most Americans, that's simply wrong. Ninety-five percent of the gains from 2009 to 2012 went to the upper 1%. The rest, the 99%, never recovered.

More than 20 million Americans who would like a full-time job still can't get one. Incomes are still lower than they were a decade and a half ago, wealth in the middle is back to where it was two decades ago. Young Americans face a mountain of student debt, and dismal job prospects.

We have become the advanced country with the highest level of inequality, with the greatest divide between the rich and the poor. We used to pride ourselves—we were the country in which everyone was middle class. Now that middle class is shrinking and suffering.

The central message of my book, “The Price of Inequality,” is that all of us, rich and poor, are footing the bill for this yawning gap. And that this inequality is not inevitable. It is, as Rich just said, and he said yesterday, it's not like the weather, something that just happened to us. It's not the result of the laws of nature or the laws of economics. Rather, it is something that we create, by our policies, by what we do and what we don't do.

We created this inequality—chose it, really—with laws that weakened unions, that eroded our minimum wage to the lowest level, in real terms, since the 1950s, with laws that allowed CEOs to take a bigger slice of the corporate pie, bankruptcy laws that put Wall Street's toxic innovations ahead of workers. We made it nearly impossible for student debt to be forgiven. We underinvested in education. We taxed gamblers in the stock market at lower rates than people who work for a living, and encouraged investment overseas rather than at home.

Let us be clear—our economy is not working the way a well-working economy should. We have vast unmet needs, but idle workers and machines. We have bridges that need repair, roads and schools that need to be built. We have students that need a 21st century education, but we are laying off teachers. We have empty homes and homeless people. We have rich banks that are not lending to our small businesses, but are instead using their wealth and ingenuity to manipulate markets and exploit working people with predatory lending.

It is plain that the only true and sustainable prosperity is shared prosperity. If we could ensure that everyone who wanted a job and was willing to work hard could get one, we could have an economy and a society that is both more equal and more prosperous.

To achieve that, we need to grow our economy. But we can't do that when paychecks aren't growing, and while insecurity is growing, with looming cuts to Medicare and Social Security. Nor will we achieve it if we have regulators or a Fed chief who protect bankers' jobs and bonuses rather than jobs and rights for all Americans.

We won't achieve it through mindless cutbacks in public spending, whether in schools or hospitals, police or firemen. These are ways to keep our economy sick. And an economy in which 95% of the growth goes to the top 1% can only be called that: Sick.

What we do need is investment in our future—in education, technology and infrastructure.

Our problems are deeper than weak growth. We are losing the ability to call ourselves the land of opportunity. It used to be that what an American could achieve in life was a result of how hard she or he worked. Today, it depends a lot more on the family we are born into, their income and educational attainment. And it's worse in America than in almost any other advanced country. We are losing the American dream.

If we became the land of opportunity again, we could find our way to being more equal, more dynamic, more prosperous, fairer.

But to achieve this, we need markets to work like they are supposed to. We can't let monopolists and the 1% use their power to siphon off more of the country's income away from ordinary Americans.

Our democracy is in peril. With economic inequality comes political inequality. We have a Supreme Court that declares that corporations are people and should have unchecked rights to spend money to influence politics. At the same time, our unions are being curbed. Rather than a people's government, we are becoming a government of the 1%.

On paper, we may still uphold quality, and the principle of one person, one vote. In reality, some voices are heard more loudly, much more loudly, than others. As a result, we have heard far too much from Wall Street, and not enough from Main Street and America's workers. *(Applause)*

Rather than justice for all, we are evolving into a system of justice for those who can afford it. We have banks that are not only too big to fail, but too big to be held accountable.

One hundred sixty-five years ago, Abraham Lincoln said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." We have become a house divided against itself, divided between the 99% and the 1%, between the workers and the those who would exploit them. We have to reunite the house, but it won't happen on its own.

It will only happen if workers come together. If they organize. If they unite to fight for what they know is right, in each and every workplace. *(Applause)*

In each and every community, and in each and every state capital and in Washington. We have to restore not only democracy to Washington, but to the workplace. *(Applause)*

It will only happen when workers realize that they own much of our country's capital through the pension funds, but that we have allowed this capital to be managed in ways that exploit workers and consumers alike. *(Applause)*

We academics can describe what is going on in statistics, but it is you who know what is going on by what you see and experience every day.

The challenge facing you has seldom been greater. You are still a small fraction of America, but you are the largest group representing the vast majority of Americans who work hard and play by the rules.

You must get others to join you, to work with you, to organize with you, to fight with you. It is only you who can raise the voice of ordinary Americans and demand what you have worked so hard for. *(Applause)*

Together we can grow our economy, strengthen our communities, restore the American dream and re-establish our democracy, a government not of the 1%, for the 1%, and by the 1%, but a government of all Americans for all Americans and by all Americans.

Thank you. *(Standing ovation)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Joe. We're truly honored to be fighting this fight together and with you here today. Let's hear it for Joe Stiglitz one more time, please. *(Applause)*

Now I'm going to turn the podium over to Leo Gerard and Roberta Reardon, the co-chairs of the Committee on Shared Prosperity in the Global Economy, to lead us in our discussion of how we take action to build shared prosperity that Joe was talking about. Leo?

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SHARED PROSPERITY IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY (Resumed)

RESOLUTION NO. 6

Shared Prosperity

VICE PRESIDENT LEO W. GERARD, United Steelworkers: Thank you, Rich.

We owe a great thanks to Professor Stiglitz as well for his remarks. He goes all over the country and often all over the world showing the dysfunction of our global economy and how it really is hurting working people, and he challenges that power every day. So I also want to thank Joe.

Let me say before I get started, I really want to thank Roberta Reardon and Jorge Ramirez for the terrific work we did and the team that we put together with the AFL-CIO. I hope that they're going to scroll the names. They're scrolling the names of our committee.

We had a huge committee that took into account people from academia, people from other movements, the labor movement, a cross-section, there were listening tours all over, and we think that we've managed to put together, with the help of all of these people, some pretty good resolutions that are going to show us the distance that we have to go.

Our committee's work on Resolution 6, we have a long distance to go before we get to that shared prosperity that we're talking about. Throughout the world, the values of shared prosperity are being knocked out, they're under conflict, they're under attack by the financial elites and by global corporations. But in the end, this conflict is self-defeating.

A world of radical inequality doesn't work. We see what's happening in America with radical inequality. We see that we have more poverty than ever. We see that our democracy itself is under attack, all driven by the 1% and their radical approach to economics.

What will it take to make our shared vision of real prosperity come to pass with rising wages, thriving communities, quality and a true democracy that doesn't try to suppress workers' rights, minority rights, students' rights, seniors' rights to vote, and job security and retirement and health care security?

Brothers and sisters, we know what it will take. The global labor movement and our allies know what it will take—many of whom are with us today and you will hear from, and some of you have already met them—a global movement of working people united in a common purpose to improve for everyone.

In Resolution 6, we pledge ourselves to working to build a future of shared prosperity, the shared prosperity in a nation and a world in which no one, no one, no one, is left behind.

I want to take a moment to introduce someone to you. How many of you believe that that video that was released that showed the disdain that Romney had for working people that came to be known as the “47% Video,” how many of you have seen that? Raise your hands.

How many believe that that had an influence on the outcome of the election? Raise your hands.

Well, let me take this moment to introduce the guy who did that video, he’s in the hall. I’d like him to stand. **Scott Prouty. Give Scott a hand. (Standing ovation)**

I am proud and humbled to say that Scott Prouty now works in our international union’s political department, and when this is over, he’s getting his ass out to Virginia to help pull in the vote.

When I talked to Scott, he said, “Leo, when I had that video, I spent a week trying to figure out what I could do with it, or what I should do with it,” and he said, “I decided I had to stand up.”

Well, sisters and brothers, we believe on our committee that the resolutions that have been drafted are giving us the tools to stand up and fight back.

So on behalf of the committee, I would like to move adoption of Resolution 6, and I’d like to say it’s time that we stand up and fight back the way Scott did. Thanks, Rich.

TRUMKA: Thank you. OK. The committee recommends that Resolution 6 be adopted. Is there discussion? Discussion?

Question is on adoption of Resolution 6. The committee recommends that you vote for it. For what purpose does delegate at mike 3 rise?

ROXANNE BROWN, USW: Mr. Chairman, I’m a proud member of the United Steelworkers. I rise in strong support of Resolution 6.

TRUMKA: Proceed.

BROWN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As an immigrant to this country from Jamaica, the very hope of shared prosperity that America offers is what brought my family to this country and what brings millions of other immigrants and their families to this country as well; the very promise of the American dream that Mr. Stiglitz just talked about: Good jobs, home ownership, good schools, access to good health care and then maybe one day after long years of working hard and honorably, enjoying a retirement. That’s why we come here.

My family has been very lucky in that we’ve really reaped some of the great benefits that this great country provides for immigrants. But we’ve seen in the 40 years that we’ve been here those very benefits being eroded at every single step. We’ve seen it in states across the country. We see it in Washington, D.C., every single day.

Brothers and sisters, we have to raise our collective voices and we have to fight back. We have to push against every single action to take away the hopes and the dreams that not just

immigrants, but Americans have about a shared prosperity for all of us, a future for all of us, not just for the 1%, but for all of us who make up the 99%.

We have to push against corporations and unscrupulous members of Congress and policy makers across the country whose only goal is to make sure that the 1%cent thrive at the expense of the rest of us.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly support Resolution 6. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Chair recognizes that delegate at mike 2.

PATRICK GALLAGHER, North Coast (Ohio) Area Labor Federation: I'm president of North Coast Area Labor Federation, president of North Shore Central Labor Council, and also a proud member of the United Steel, Paper and Forestry, Rubber, Manufacturing, Energy, Allied Industrial and Service Workers International Union for 37 years. *(Applause)*

I had the pleasure of an experience with the Steelworkers to travel to visit our brothers and sisters in *Los Mineros* in the Republic of Mexico, and visited them and shared some of the their sacrifices and battles. They had a strike down there where four members were murdered by the company that owned the plant.

When we went down there on the plant tour to visit the steel mill owned by Arcelor Mittal, they held us outside the gates for over two hours. We thought about rushing into the plant ourselves, but when we noticed the guards had AK-47s, we decided we better wait our chance to get in with their OK.

Once we got in the plant, the first thing we noticed, there was new equipment everywhere. Every worker had new safety equipment, new personal protective equipment. There were machine guards, guardrails with wet paint, brand-new. They knew that when we come in there, we could force them to increase the safety for those people.

In the way that the *Los Mineros* have fought, they have doubled their wages in the last 10years. So we can come back for global prosperity, but we need to fight because I've seen where the 1% wants to take us, and we don't want to go there.

So stand up, fight back, and support this resolution. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. I told Leo he should give you a raise just for being able to recite from memory the entire title of the Steelworkers. *(Laughter)*

I'm sure you will.

The question is on adoption of Resolution 6. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Oh, come on.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Thank you. Opposed, no. Resolution 6 is adopted. *(Applause)*

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

[[INSERT TEXT OF RESOLUTION 6]]

(End Resolution No. 6)

RESOLUTION NO. 9

Good Jobs, Economic Security and Tax Fairness

GERARD: I was shocked that at Pat Gallagher's age he could actually remember the whole name of our union. (*Laughter*)

Brothers and sisters, something has gone terribly wrong with our economic policy makers. It seems they've convinced themselves that good jobs, economic security for working families, decent pensions, health care aren't necessary for America to be successful anymore. But we know better.

In Resolution 9, "Good Jobs, Economic Security and Tax Fairness," we demand three things: good jobs, full employment and investments in infrastructure, public services to build pathways to the middle class, economic security and tax fairness to make these things possible.

Our vision of a sound economic policy calls for a repeal rather than replacement of—as Elizabeth Warren said—the stupid, stupid job-killing sequestration.

I'd like to now hear from someone who is living the effects of that sequestration: Patty Viers, local president of AFGE Local 1148 in Columbus, Ohio.

Patty, are you at mike 2?

By the way, hang on.

Rich said you guys have been really quiet. He figures somebody has a hangover. Everybody, we haven't asked you yet. Good morning!

DELEGATION: Good morning.

GERARD: Louder. Good morning!

DELEGATION: Good morning!

GERARD: Patty, it's all yours.

PATTY VIERS, AFGE Local 1148: Thank you very much, sir.

Brothers and sisters, I stand before you as a third-generation civil servant. My father was a federal employee, my grandfather was federal employee, I've worked for the federal government for 35 years as a customer account specialist on the Army Industrial Team, and I'm AFGE proud. (*Applause*)

This nation and this economy used to value public servants like me. After all, our job is literally to help our fellow Americans. But now we're told we can't afford quality public services, that we need to cut government jobs and public-sector pay and benefits. But don't believe it.

For years Wall Street and the wealthiest Americans have refused to pay their fair share in taxes. At their instigation, their allies in Congress have forced dumb policies like austerity and sequestration on America's workers. The sequester furloughs caused me to lose the equivalent of a full mortgage payment each month. As a single parent to one daughter and grandmother to her daughter, these cuts hurt a lot.

I've made do. I've stopped contributing to my retirement plan, I've cut my expenses, but many of my co-workers have been relying on charity and other assistance just to survive. No one knows what's in store for next year, which is why this resolution is so important. In a time of economic crisis, with high unemployment, low wages and no growth, we know what to

do: create jobs, invest in infrastructure and public services, strengthen the safety net, reform the tax code to make sure those who profit most in America contribute their fair share back to this country. *(Applause)*

If dumb ideas like cutting Social Security benefits in order to pay for tax cuts to millionaires stay on the table, it's not just public servants who lose, it's all of us who will be harmed by an unsustainable, unbalanced stagnant economy. *(Applause)*

We are not a poor country. The economic elite want us to believe we are so that we'll keep our expectations low and settle for less than we deserve. But we're the labor movement and we know how to fight back. Thank you. *(Applause)*

GERARD: Thank you, Patty.

Brothers and sisters, Resolution 9, "Good Jobs, Economic Security and Tax Fairness," also calls for major jobs legislation, a higher level of public investment, and rebuilding America's manufacturing and industrial base. To make economic security real, we will continue to strongly oppose any cuts in Medicare, Social Security, Medicaid benefits, no matter what form they take and who proposes them. Instead of cutting Social Security benefits, we should be raising them across the board. Increasing them with cost-of-living adjustments and lifting the taxable earnings cap for Social Security. *(Applause)*

It's time that we understand that the rich and powerful meet their Social Security cap at five minutes after midnight, while my secretary has to pay all year long. As others have said, that should not be acceptable. We need to make sure that we fight and make Medicare a model for a single, high standard of care, and that cares for everyone.

We reject the tax on workers' pensions.

I want to pay a compliment to the Mine Workers and to their union for the stand that they made showing the kind of stupidity that happens when you attack workers' pensions after 30 years. We should all thank the Mine Workers for standing up and fighting for pensions for everyone. *(Standing ovation)*

After 20, 30, 40 or even 50 years of work, no one should be able to steal your damn pension or your health care through some phony bankruptcy model that corporations are using. We reject the attacks on workers' pensions, unemployment benefit cuts, public services—public services that are now turned over to for-profit corporations that provide less service at more cost.

Further, we demand that all workers access training and career counseling they need to achieve secure employment.

Sisters and brothers, we need to make our tax system fair for working men and women. We must demand that Wall Street and the wealthiest Americans—as Patty said—pay their fair share and insist on the elimination of tax incentives.

Let me say this personally. In the Steelworkers union we've lost dozens upon dozens upon dozens of jobs, thousands of jobs to corporations who got a tax break to move their jobs from Ohio to Beijing or to move their jobs from Baltimore to Beijing. I don't know any other society on the planet that would pay companies to move their jobs off shore. We need to make sure that that business gets taken care of, and taken care of soon. *(Applause)*

Any tax reform that's being considered must encourage manufacturing in the United States and cannot absolutely continue to tax middle-class health care benefits and must absolutely preserve tax expenditures that are important to the middle class, including the tax deduction for state and local taxes and the tax exclusion for interest on municipal bonds.

On behalf of the committee, I, with all my power, recommend the adoption of Resolution 9 , Rich.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 9 be adopted. Is there discussion? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

MIKE FOX, AFSCME: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm a 41-year member of AFSCME. I'm an international vice president, and I stand in strong support of Resolution No. 9.

Each of the major provisions of this resolution must be adopted and are necessary in order to change the debate that is currently going on at the federal level, the state level and the local level. And that is a debate that seems to be centered around the importance of cutting and not investing. Investing, Mr. Chairman, is what we need to be doing.

The budget debate in Washington has gone crazy. And to use a statement of yours, we have to turn this debate right-side up. We have to turn this debate in a direction towards investing in our citizens, in our jobs and to make life better.

You have those in Washington, and also at the state level, that are willing to hold the American citizens hostage, are willing to allow others to threaten to shut down government, that would reduce and put at risk Social Security payments, Medicare payments, payments to our veterans. It would remove millions of dollars from an economy that is now sputtering.

We need to pass this resolution because we need good jobs, and we need to be looking at investment. The biggest secret in this nation—because it's talked about very little—is that under President Obama the deficits have actually come down. So spending is not our problem. Spending is not our problem. Cutting is our problem. *(Applause)*

In the public sector—it's been mentioned earlier—we have lost 750,000 jobs across this country since 2009. Had those jobs not been cut, had those jobs been filled, we'd probably be at an unemployment rate close to 6% instead of over 7%. People forget that those jobs are good, family-sustaining jobs with good benefits, with good pensions. They are people who contribute to the communities in which they live. They buy goods and services that create jobs in the private sector. They provide services that are important to the quality of life of this nation.

If we don't have more teachers in the classroom, it is harder for our students to learn. If we don't have trucks on the highways, snow builds up. If we don't have workers helping process the Medicare and Medicaid payments, our seniors do not get what they have earned and deserve.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in urgent support for the passage of this resolution. We are way upside down in this debate, and we need to turn it right-side up, we need to be debating investment, not cutting. We need to be debating the creation of jobs, not sending them overseas. We need to pass this resolution and pass it loud and clear.

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

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

DONNA EDWARDS, Central Maryland AFL-CIO: Thank you, Mr. Chair. Good morning, sisters and brothers. I'm the secretary-treasurer of the Maryland State and District of Columbia state federation and a lifetime member of that great Green Machine AFSCME. *(Applause)*

I strongly support the "Good Jobs, Economic Security and Tax Fairness" Resolution 9. Each of the major provisions of the resolution is vital to a sound and just economy for all.

The budget debate, if we can call it a debate, in Washington is just insane. They should not be holding the government and the American people hostage and allowing politicians to do the bidding for the 1% to threaten the government shutdowns or threaten the full faith and credit of the United States.

I am tired of Wall Street and the 1% telling me and the rest of the working taxpayers that we can't afford public investment in good jobs and in social insurance programs to provide more economic security and shared prosperity for all.

We need good jobs, not harmful, job-killing cuts. Spending isn't the problem. The problem is that not enough Americans are working and not enough Americans are able to find work. Austerity does not work.

The public sector, as you've heard, has lost over 750,000 positions. That's just not 750,000 jobs. That's millions and millions of Americans who will go without services and assistance and help. That's what we're losing in this country.

Mr. Chair, I strongly support this resolution, and I challenge all of us to put this resolution into practice every day in our work.

We must change the capitalist mantra, "What's good for business is good for America," and make that, "What's good for workers creates better jobs, better businesses and rebuilds America." Thank you. (*Applause*)

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

CONNIE MABIN, USW: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm a proud third-generation Steelworker.

I rise in support of Resolution No. 9, in particular the demand to rebuild American manufacturing. I am living proof that when we make it in America, Americans make it. My granddad dropped out of school at sixth grade to go to work in the local steel mill. He could barely read or write. But because of our union, his union and his good job, he was able to support my mother and her three brothers and sisters. They were able to support us. I'm the first person in my family to go to college. I came home to be a Steelworker because those are my values. And I want my 2-year-old daughter to be able to be the fourth generation of Steelworkers.

We can only do that if we make things in America. We must have an economy based on making real things.

When we have one good manufacturing job in our community, it supports four other jobs in that community—the local restaurants, the teachers, the firefighters, the car dealerships, the lawyers, the accountants, on and on. Manufacturing is the key to strong communities. It's the key to a strong economy. And I believe it's a key to a strong future for my daughter and all of our kids and grandkids. Thank you. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Delegate at mike 2.

BHAIRAVI DESAI, New York Taxi Workers Alliance: Good morning, President Trumka.

We represent a workforce that doesn't have pensions, we don't have Social Security contributions, we don't even have access to unemployment insurance. And it's for that very reason that I stand in support of Resolution 9. Because, you see, when that ceiling gets held up for the entire working force, then those of us who are at the very bottom, we have a shot to

shoot up. But when that ceiling crashes down, that floor comes down even further, and people like us get crushed.

We understand that the struggle of public-sector workers of today is the very struggle that we fought 30 years ago, and we lost that struggle. And because of that loss, we deeply understand the significance of the fight to hold up collective bargaining and the other rights that we are talking about in this resolution.

I'd like to speak specifically to the issue of Medicaid. It is the one public benefit that many of our members and their families can still access. When our members are injured on the job and their families are in danger of losing their health care and other benefits, Medicaid is the one that people can rely on.

And so I strongly urge that in the passage of this resolution that we also talk about the public benefits, like food stamps and Medicaid, the very public benefits that the vast majority of the poor and the working poor rely on. Because many of the other benefits, like Social Security contribution and pensions, millions of the poor do not have access to any of this.

And so I hope that in the spirit of this resolution what we are really talking about is crushing poverty. It's about looking at income inequality, not only in the form of contracts that are negotiated, but about the very social issues that keep the millions of workers who are non-unionized, or even if they are unionized, do not have access to many of these benefits. We as a movement make an uncompromised commitment to holding social programs that support the poor every day in this country.

Thank you. *(Applause)*

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

FRANK SNYDER, York-Adams County (Pa.) Central Labor Council: Good morning, Mr. Chairman. I am the secretary-treasurer of the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO. Thirty-five years ago I joined the Steelworkers of America.

I rise in support of this resolution because, as my brother from Pennsylvania and AFSCME, Mike Fox, indicated, you cannot have a strong public sector without a strong private sector. Manufacturing has been and must be the engine of America. We have partnered to bring jobs back, not just to Pennsylvania but also to America, through different academics and universities throughout the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

What's most important as we leave here today and we leave here this week is that we go back and we implore our lawmakers, we implore all the different sectors within our movement—the building trades, the public sector and the private sector—because this certainly has a clear impact on every one of them.

So as we go home and we leave here in just a few days, Mr. Chairman, I hope that everybody goes back to their respective states and continues to fight for the real engine of America, solid manufacturing jobs. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Frank.

Seeing no further discussion, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 9. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye.

All those in favor, signify by saying aye. All those opposed, no.

Resolution 9 is adopted.

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

[[INSERT TEXT OF RESOLUTION 9]]

(End Resolution No. 9)

TRUMKA: Leo.

RESOLUTION NO. 10

Raising Wages is the Answer

GERARD: We'll now deal with Resolution 10, "Raising Wages is the Answer."

We all know there's something fundamentally wrong with our economy. As Richard has said, it's upside down. Four years after the end of the Great Recession, unemployment remains at recession levels, and wages—well, wages have been dead in the water, stagnant or falling.

Resolution 10 spells out what is wrong with our economy and lays out an action plan for fixing it.

The reason why our economy is still broken is because Washington has been pursuing a low-wage economy strategy for the past 30 years, a strategy that has done exactly what it was designed to do—lower wages and increase profits.

Let me encourage all of you to go on the Internet and look up an article by Lewis Powell called "The Powell Manifesto." Since 1972, when he laid out that direction for a corporate America for the Chamber of Commerce, they have not deviated from an attempt to overcome the labor movement and drive down wages. But guess what? That does not work. When you lower wages, when you minimize and shrink the middle class, families are no longer having the buying power to fuel the economy the way they once did. This is why the Great Recession happened in the first place, and it is a big reason why the economic recovery has been so slow.

Resolution 10, sisters and brothers, says that if we want to fix our economy, we have to abandon this failed strategy of low-wage economy and replace it with a high-wage strategy for shared prosperity. We tried to lay out what that means, and what does it mean? It means reversing the policies that were designed to lower wages. It means restoring workers' ability to bargaining collectively.

It means the ability to organize a union without the boss sticking his nose in our business. As was said yesterday, you can join the National Rifle Association without having to go through that rigmarole. You can join the Democratic Party, the Republican Party. You can join anything that you want except the labor movement where the boss sticks their nose in.

So, sisters and brothers, strengthening labor standards and employment protection for all workers will come as we build a stronger labor movement with our allies, making full employment the central objective of U.S. fiscal and monetary policy.

We need to forge a new model of engagement with the global economy so that when we make things in America again, as was said by previous speakers, we will eliminate the trade deficit.

Let me again give you some raw statistics. Some of you may know this, some of you may not. Since the signing of PNTR with China a little over 10 years ago, our accumulated

trade deficit with China is in the neighborhood of \$7 trillion. You want to talk about deficits? Talk about that one. So far this year, just China, we're heading towards an almost \$400 billion trade deficit with China on manufactured goods. So that has to be one of the challenges, because I don't expect steelworkers in any sector of the economy, nor should you, expect anybody you represent to have to compete with China.

We have to tackle our bloated financial sector. Once again, we have to make that financial sector serve Main Street and not the crony capitalists of Wall Street.

Resolution 10 also lays out a concrete action plan to reverse that wage stagnation, with special emphasis on increasing workers' bargaining power and strengthening labor standards for every worker in America.

A campaign to raise wages and labor standards for working people must include efforts at the federal, state and local levels—efforts such as restoring, again workers' freedom to form a union, bringing immigrant workers out of the shadows and providing meaningful labor protection for them, raising and indexing the minimum wage for all workers, including those workers who work for tips, who sometimes go home with hardly nothing.

We need to look at the misclassification of employees as so-called independent contractors, protecting and expanding overtime protections, ending wage theft that we hear so often, and ensuring equal pay.

Finally, we must fight for equal pay for women, negotiating in community benefit agreements. *(Applause)*

It can't be acceptable. It can't be acceptable in 2013 or any year, past, present or future, that women doing the same job get paid less. It can't be acceptable that immigrants have to hide in the community in the shadows and get exploited by their bosses, and then threatened with discharge if they try to form a union.

We need to support local labor standards. We need to work for helping all of our sisters and brothers in every sector of the economy.

So sisters and brothers, the labor movement, working with our community partners, we must provide the force to turn around the terrible wage stagnation that has inflicted us for the last 30-plus years.

So on behalf of the committee, I enthusiastically move adoption of Resolution 10.
Brother Chairman.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 10 be adopted. Is there discussion? There is. Start with mike 2. Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

ASTRID ZUNIGA, Central Labor Council of Stanislaus and Toulumne Counties (Calif.): Good morning my brothers and sisters. I'm a home care provider. I'm with the Stanislaus and Toulumne Counties Central Labor Council. I am also a proud member of the United Domestic Workers of America, AFSCME 3930.

I rise in support of Resolution No. 10. There's a bullet point, the 12th one down, that endorses fair pay for home care providers.

Home care providers are the lifeline to our communities' most vulnerable—the elderly, the blind and the disabled. The work is physically demanding, intensely personal in nature, as the work is often in assisting in toileting, dressing, bathing, feeding our consumers, constant supervision.

While it is undisputed that this work is invaluable, and the individuals of our nation need home care providers, the wages for this work have been suppressed for far too long— (*Applause*)—due to how the Department of Labor has put us on the same footing as babysitters. The wages that home care providers receive keep them and their families nearly at poverty levels. More than half rely on public assistance, like, Medicaid and food stamps.

I know a majority of my members, and there are 65,000 in the state of California alone, rely on food banks, rental assistance, utility assistance and the absence of federal and wage and the hourly protection for home care providers puts those that depend on them at risk.

It is long overdue. Home care providers deserve basic federal and wage protections.

While we appreciate and are proud of President Obama's efforts by saying it's time to be fair, but it's time for us to put pressure on them to make this more than lip service.

We deserve rules, regulations and legislation that gives home care providers a living wage. Thank you. (*Applause*)

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

CLAYOLA BROWN, A. Philip Randolph Institute: Good morning, Mr. Chairman. I'm president of the oldest constituent group inside of the AFL-CIO, the A. Philip Randolph Institute. (*Applause*)

I rise this morning to speak for this resolution for a number of reasons. They say when you start your sentence with "I can remember," that's an admission that you are old. That's OK with me. Because what I want to say this morning is I want us to remember something.

In 1941, the president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, Asa Philip Randolph, was raising his voice in support and pressuring the standing government on this very issue that this resolution speaks to.

In doing so, he brought his message to the president of the United States and insisted that there not be disparity in wages that went to those in munitions. To make that happen, he asked for an executive order, and that did happen, whereby, the wages of workers who were disproportionately impacted by low wages were lifted immediately.

We are fighting the same fight today that we were fighting then. We continue to talk about the disparity in wages across the country. We know what it takes to have a sustainable wage. We know what it takes to raise our families, and most of us have gotten into this bad habit of liking to eat, and we can't do that on some of the wages that we are earning today. (*Applause*)

We deserve a living wage. We deserve a sustainable job. We deserve to be paid a fair and equitable wage for the work that we are doing.

So then the word was from that president, "Make me do it." The same kind of mannerism is coming from this president, and I love him dearly, but if we don't give him a pass on this, and make him do it, we will be able to lift ourselves to where we need to be, and with the stroke of a pen, bring 2 million people out of poverty instantly, who are working poor, not anybody looking for a handout. (*Applause*)

So I say to us today, we can love this president, but we must make him accountable and ask for those things that we are entitled to.

On that note, Mr. Chairman, I say let's make this happen for the workers of America. Thank you very much. (*Standing ovation*)

TRUMKA: Chair recognizes delegate at mike 1.

GARY KELLY, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers: Good morning, Mr. Chairman, and brothers and sisters. I am business manager of IBEW Local 22 in Omaha, Nebraska, and a proud member of the IBEW delegation. *(Applause)*

I rise in strong support of Resolution 10. The resolution is comprehensive and looks at the big picture of what has happened to wages in America and how we can get back on a path of growth.

Whenever we talk about collective bargaining or a social program to benefit everyone in the community, the right wing screams about redistribution of wealth. What they don't say is the real wealth in this country has been redistributed from the poor and the middle class to those at the top. That's a real effect of keeping wages down.

My local is a construction local. We and the other trades work hard to keep up standards in our industry. The resolution speaks clearly on the need to safeguard the federal and state prevailing wage loss, to make sure that government projects live up to community standards as well as project labor agreements that foster quality and stability on construction jobs.

We have been able to communicate our messages that these laws and agreements help build strong communities by making sure that jobs go to local residents, thus building the tax base and supporting local business. We've also reached into the community to recruit young men and women into our apprenticeship programs and to show nonunion workers, and sometimes their employers, too, that working union is the way to go.

In construction the difference between union and nonunion is stark and is something we deal with every day. As my colleague said yesterday, the best long-term way to get justice for all is to bring all workers from our industry in our unions. That's how we're doing our part to raise wages.

I urge everyone to support Resolution 10. Thank you. *(Applause)*

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

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

So I rise in strong support of Resolution 10. These are the high-wage policies and quality labor standards that will help us towards the path of shared prosperity. But my question is this. Is there any objection to the friendly amendment to insert a new bullet at the end of the section on federal legislation that reads as follows: "**Fair Wages for Workers with Disabilities.** We will support legislation ('Fair Wages for Workers with Disabilities Act') to stop allowing employers to pay disabled workers a sub-minimum wage." *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: The chair determines that the proposed amendment is friendly. Is there any objection to the amendment?

Hearing none, the amendment is adopted into the resolution.

JOHNSON: Thank you, Mr. Chair. *(Applause)*

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

MARIA SOMMA, USW: Thank you, President Trumka. I'm standing up here to ask this body to support this resolution. There are many, many, many important parts and all are vital, but I am here to highlight the part-time worker component part in paragraph 3, "The abandonment of full employment as a central objective of U.S. economic policy."

I mentioned briefly yesterday the organizing campaign with the adjunct faculty at Duquesne University. Well, over the past 30 years, tuition in this country has increased 1,120% over 30 years. We talk about the skyrocketing cost of health care, but over that same time period the cost of health care only rose 600%. So tuition has doubled that.

At the same time, these institutions where tuition has skyrocketed, they have increased their use of part-time faculty.

Now adjuncts make over 70% of the workforce and they get paid by piecework. Our members have not gotten a raise in over six years before they started to organize. The university somehow in the midst of this drive found money to give them raises over the past two years—in fact, they've gotten two raises.

They make about \$2,500 a class per semester. This small pay includes all of the hours they spend preparing for the classes, teaching the classes, grading and student counseling. All of that for \$2,500 for three months' worth of work. At this school they were limited to two classes per semester, so they have to work in two or three different places in order to make ends meet.

They are teaching the future generation of this country; in fact, they are inspiring the future generation of this country, and they can't even afford to feed their families. If they are running off from job to job, how long will they be able to continue to do good work?

If tuition has increased over 1,000% and yet the universities have decreased the hiring of full-time employees, our question is, where has all the money gone? Some of our members are on food stamps, some of our members are working at three or four schools to make ends meet.

Duquesne University is a Catholic institution. I stand here as a lifelong Catholic, and my question is, "Would Jesus do this?" I don't think so.

So I stand up and ask this house to strongly support this resolution on behalf of all the part-time workers who want full-time employment. Thank you. (*Applause*)

TRUMKA: Thank you, sir. The Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

VICE PRESIDENT LARRY COHEN, Communications Workers of America: Two things. So raising wages. How many people here remember the last time they got an actual increase that was more than inflation?

Well, yesterday we did a workshop with the Brazilian labor leaders. They've doubled pay after inflation over the last 10 years. This is not just about fighting poverty, as important as that is. We've got to think deep about why that can happen in Brazil and other places, and why that seems out of reach here, and what we do.

Obviously, the key is that in Brazil, 60%—60 % percent—of workers in the formal sector have collective bargaining coverage, and we know the numbers here. So yesterday when we talked about organizing and reaching out to partners in new ways, it directly links into, "How do we turn this economy around, raise wages?" It's about our bargaining rights, public or private.

But then second, I want to give a shout-out to the labor councils and the state federations, because every one of these almost desperate bargaining fights that we have, those labor councils and state federations stand up for every one of us. And we need to recognize what they are up against and stand up for them. *(Applause)*

When we played that video yesterday on Cablevision, that I love so much, I should've said that without the New York City Central Labor Council and without the New York state federation of labor, those 300 workers at Cablevision would have no chance. But with that federation and with that labor council, they have every chance, and they will stand up and fight back until they have those papers from Dolan.

Thank you. *(Applause)*

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

VICE PRESIDENT BILL LUCY, AFSCME: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My name is Bill Lucy, a 44-year member of the American Federation of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and a proud three-year member of the American Postal Workers Union, and a 60-year member of this American labor movement. *(Applause)*

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing me to say a word or two on behalf of some 2 million or more underpaid, exploited workers, trapped in an inefficient and unrewarding system of exploitation. Millions of workers, while earning a full salary, still qualify for numerous programs considered and operating as public aid and public assistance program. Workers who work full time ought not need to have public assistance to survive. *(Applause)*

Mr. Chairman, the federal government is our largest low-wage employer. Through their contracting processes, they create poverty every single day. Enormous profitable industry has been built on the backs of low-wage workers and American taxpayers.

Let's take a look at the makeup of this workforce of poverty. Fifty-eight percent are women, many of them single parents and heads of households. Forty-six percent are Latinos, 40% are African Americans, 9 percent are white, male and female. Two percent, Asian. Seventy-four percent, Mr. Chairman, work at or near minimum wages. Fifty-eight percent receive no job benefits. And 56% on a monthly basis cannot meet their monthly obligations, not because they don't want to, they simply don't earn enough to do it on a monthly basis.

Mr. Chairman, Washington, D.C., is ground zero for income inequality, where the lowest 20% of households earned less than \$9,500 a year in 2012. Yet, the federal contractors earn \$400 billion delivering services for the American government and employees receiving nearly minimum wages.

While some studies continue to show the increasing cost of the federal government through the contracting process, the White House has, as Sister Clayola Brown has pointed out, has the capacity to make this system fair. Simply issue an executive order demanding that federal contractors pay those who are employed by them a living wage. *(Applause)*

I, too, am a partner of the president, but our partnership ends when he refuses to abide by laws of decency. *(Applause)*

Workers who work at the Smithsonian, Union Station, the American Indian Museum, the Museum of Natural History, these workers ought to receive a living wage. *(Applause)*

There is precedent for this. President Johnson in 1965—

TRUMKA: Brother Bill, your time's expired. I'm going to have to ask you to wrap up.

LUCY: I have expired. *(Laughter)*

PRESIDENT TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. *(Standing ovation)* The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

BILL CAMP, Sacramento (Calif.) Central Labor Council: Mr. President, brothers and sisters, I'm the executive secretary of the Sacramento Central Labor Council and a proud member of OPEIU Local Number 29. *(Applause)*

I rise in support of this resolution, but I want to make a special point. If you look at Bullet Number 4, it takes the position that we support legislation to increase the minimum wage to \$10.10. I understand this is a bill that's in the Senate that we want to support, but \$10.10 is not a minimum wage.

There's no way that we will raise the American economy by raising the minimum wage to \$10.10. We know that every time we've ever created a social safety net, we did it through state legislation and state initiatives, on unemployment insurance, on workers' comp, on all the fundamental rules.

So I call on our central labor councils and our state federations to move forward with an increase in the minimum wage far above \$10.10. Not only do we put the pressure on the federal government, but we give our union members and the working class something to really fight for.

It's good that the national AFL-CIO pushes Congress, but our job is to push the people of the United States of America to get out of our comfort zone and to make 11, 12, 13, 14—that's the minimum wage. We have to index it, but we've got to start much higher.

We know we can do this. When you poll the people who go to vote in November of 2014 across this nation, they want an increase in the minimum wage.

I would like to remind our delegates, this is not about our job at the state and local level; this is about the national law. But our job is to push much higher. I believe the way we pass immigration reform is to give working-class people a reason to go vote. An increase in the minimum wage done through an initiative will give working class people in these Republican districts who won't vote for a path to citizenship a reason to show up and send them packing.

So I rise in support of the resolution, but I want us to make sure our job is to reach much higher if we want to create an economy that works for everyone.

Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Well said, Brother.

The question is on adoption of Resolution 10. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.
Resolution 10 is adopted. *(Applause)*

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

[[INSERT TEXT OF RESOLUTION 10]]

(End Resolution No. 10)

TRUMKA: Now, the unfairness of the bankruptcy system to working people can be summed up in one comparison. Students who rack up tens of thousands of dollars in student debt but can't find a job are not able to discharge their debt through the bankruptcy process, but companies that owe the students' parents and grandparents pension obligations can.

Now, we could show how obscenely unfair the system is with one look at what's happening to tens of thousands of retired miners who toiled and risked their lives and their health for Peabody and Arch Coal. We can see what happens when the government follows the corporate low road to shedding pension obligation in the faces of Detroit government employees and retirees.

To report on our next resolution, I'd like to call on Committee Co-Chair Roberta Reardon. Roberta. *(Applause)*

RESOLUTION NO. 14

One Law for Workers, Another for Bankers—Bankruptcy Abuses and the Unfinished Business of Financial Reform

VICE PRESIDENT ROBERTA REARDON, SAG-AFTRA: Good morning. Our next resolution is Resolution 14, "One Law for Workers, Another for Bankers—Bankruptcy Abuses and the Unfinished Business of Financial Reform."

Brothers and sisters, in every industry we've seen mismanaged corporations that would rather jeopardize the retirement security of their workers than withhold fat bonuses from their executives. Corporate bankruptcy, it seems, is becoming a profitable game. Wall Street corporate executives and bankruptcy attorneys are abusing the current bankruptcy laws and looting the futures of the loyal workers who make our economy strong.

This resolution's goal is to ensure that no worker or retiree ever—ever again—has to face what people like Patriot coal miners and Detroit city employees and retirees are facing.

Now, I'd like to invite up United Mine Worker retiree Shirley Inman from West Virginia, a tireless advocate for her fellow mine workers, who's traveled to Kentucky, Missouri, D.C., and even Wyoming to protest Patriot Coal's attempt to rob workers of their retirement benefits.

Shirley, who is 70, has been arrested twice during this struggle and plans to get arrested as many times as it takes to get justice from Patriot Coal. She is at microphone No. 2.
(Applause)

SHIRLEY INMAN, United Mine Workers: Thank you, brothers and sisters. I stand before you today as a potential victim of our nation's bankruptcy laws.

Bear with me, I get emotional.

After almost 19 years as a proud United Mine Worker, I was forced to retire from Arch Coal due to a spinal injury I received at work. I would have liked to keep on working, but at least I could count on the pension and health care benefits my union secured for me.

But now those benefits are at risk. Patriot Coal, which was spun off from Peabody Energy and bought some mines that used to be owned by Arch, is using the bankruptcy laws to go back on contractual promises made to thousands of current and retired miners like me.

Because my union fought back, me and my brothers and sisters who were affected by this bankruptcy still have the pensions and health care we earned. We don't know for how long.

I can tell you firsthand, I need those benefits. I am a cancer survivor, I have coronary artery disease with three stents, arthritis, and I may soon need surgeries on my knee and shoulder. I don't know what I'll do if Peabody and Arch steal retirement security from me. The way bankruptcy laws are written, workers get nothing. But we are the ones who do the work to make our companies profitable—not the banks, not Wall Street—us.

We need laws that reflect the true importance of workers to the success of the company. If an employer makes a promise to us, it should be required to live up to that promise, just as it is required to live up to a promise to pay back loans from a bank. When Big Banks come before real people, something is wrong.

Our government must stop breaking the system in favor of the already powerful. We have to force our government to stand with us.

Thanks to all the brothers and sisters for standing with us in this struggle. I especially want to thank President Cecil Roberts for his leadership in saving our health care.

I also want to thank the other labor leaders who have joined our fight in St. Louis, Kentucky and West Virginia.

As you vote on this resolution, I hope you think about me and all the other workers in America who put in a hard day's work every day and simply expect to receive what we bargained for. Thank you. (*Standing ovation*)

REARDON: Shirley, thank you for bringing the Patriot story to life. We really appreciate your openness and your activism.

The labor movement demands reform of our nation's bankruptcy laws, one law for both workers and CEOs, bankers and retirees, homeowners and hedge funds, corporations and creditors and communities. We absolutely have to ensure that companies and CEOs do no better than ordinary workers in bankruptcy proceedings, and that employers cannot use bankruptcy to abolish collective bargaining agreements at will.

Sisters and brothers, we need to make banking boring again. We must end our country's 30-year experiment with financial deregulation—and enacting a new Glass-Steagal Act to return banking to its proper role in our economy is a great place to start. (*Applause*)

We call for ending “too big to fail” once and for all by ending concentration of banking power and ensuring that when a too-big-to-fail financial institution does fail, it may be unwound without triggering a systematic financial crisis.

We need passage of new legislation that implements a financial transaction tax to make Wall Street pay its fair share.

With these reforms, we can prevent Wall Street from ever again threatening Main Street with financial Armageddon, and we can put workers on an even footing with corporations and CEOs once again.

On behalf of the committee, I move the adoption of Resolution 14.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends Resolution 14 be adopted. Is there discussion? The chair recognizes delegate at mike 3.

GREGORY WYNN, CWA: Thank you, Chairman. Welcome, delegates, retirees and guests.

I rise in support of this resolution. We cannot allow them to destroy and take what we've earned and worked for over the years. Detroit is not a city that just went into bankruptcy over a matter of 10, 20 years. This is a systematic challenge, a systematic plan that Governor Snyder has put in place and he picked up for years. If we allow this to go on, it will come to a city near you, it will come to your state.

Don't forget the hard work that Detroiters have done to put this country on the map. I again rise in support of this resolution. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

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

LARRY ROEHRIG, Greater Flint (Mich.) AFL-CIO Council: Thank you, Brother Trumka, I'm a delegate from the Greater Flint AFL-CIO, secretary-treasurer of Michigan AFSCME Council 25, international vice president of that great union, and a proud dues-paying member of the City of Flint Employees Local 1600 in the devastation zone called Flint, Michigan.

I rise in support of this resolution. But first of all, I must do one thing that I do every time that I get a chance to talk and say praise God from whom all blessings come. Amen. *(Applause)*

I said Amen.

DELEGATION: "Amen."

ROEHRIG: Thank you.

I was reminded this morning by the Reverend Bishop Saunders that I couldn't use certain language to spice up my comments about this topic today. Even though it's not close to Sunday, he reminded me to clean it up. *(Laughter)*

And I've done that. I can't make any inappropriate anatomical references to the human orifice which best describes Michigan Governor Rick Snyder. No, I'm not going to do that. *(Applause)*

But what I will do is urge you, beg you, implore you, plead with you, protect the American labor movement, protect it from the most insidious device that we've seen in decades, and I'm referring to bankruptcy.

In Michigan, the anatomically unmentioned governor has manipulated a new emergency manager law which allows them to destroy collective bargaining, ignore contracts, raise taxes, charge fees, sell off assets, charge people for services they don't receive and then sell the equipment to their buddies for pennies on the dollar. And, oh, by the way, then come to our retirees and say, guess what, we're taking it all from you, too, because you really didn't work that hard anyway. I say that is wrong and you better have this in mind, hope must spring eternal.

Demand that Dodd-Frank be enforced. Make Wall Street pay its fair share through a transaction tax. Demand relief for excessive loans on our students. And reform corporate municipal bankruptcy. Don't help the carpetbaggers, send them packing without our resources and without our retirement.

Please support Resolution 14. Thank you.

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

MABIN: Hi. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm a Steelworker and a proud member of our next generation Young Members program.

I rise in support of this resolution because of the debt, the crippling, paralyzing debt that's facing our young workers and the unfair different set of laws for them versus corporations.

But, more importantly, I rise to make a promise to Sister Shirley and all our sisters and brothers at the Mine Workers, all of the Steelworkers, like my granddad and my dad, I rise to promise to you that as the next generation, we will fight to make sure that you get what you deserve. *(Applause)* Thank you.

We know that we have much of what we have because of those who came before us. And I just want you all to know that we support this resolution and, more importantly, we'll be with you to make sure that our promises are kept. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister Connie. Delegate at mike 2.

VICE PRESIDENT DAVE DURKEE, BCTGM: Good morning, I'm the president of the Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union. I'm a proud member of this union for 40 years. I'm a fourth-generation baker, and I'm proud to stand in front of you today. This is my sixth AFL-CIO convention.

With me is Joyce Alston, the president of Local 53, New York City, and a General Executive Board member. And Felipe Lopez, who runs our large local in Los Angeles, Local 37.

We rise in support of Resolution 14 and we wish to tell our story regarding federal bankruptcy. One of our largest employers was Hostess Bakeries, a company with 35,000 workers; 10,000 of those were our members.

Prior to 2004, they had 55 bakeries and it was a very healthy, multibillion-dollar corporation. In 2004, they filed bankruptcy. And what happened was, our union, the Machinists Union, the UFCW, the RWDSU and the Operating Engineers went into negotiations and came up with a package to save the company \$110 million. In 2009, Hostess emerged from bankruptcy, but they merged with new owners—a private equity company and two Wall Street hedge firms.

When they came out of bankruptcy, they came out with hundreds of millions of dollars of more debt than they went into bankruptcy with. Remember the \$110 million that we saved the company? Not one penny was reinvested in the company. Wall Street took every penny.

In 2012, they filed bankruptcy again, but this time they did it different. They also filed something called an 1113. They asked the judge to give them the right to abrogate all the union contracts. When they do that, they create leverage to try to squeeze the workers.

This is what they wanted from the workers on the second go-around. No more pension, and we will leave your Taft-Hartley pension fund with \$980 million withdrawal liability. Concessions from all workers ranging from 24 to 32%. Eliminate all retiree health care. Eliminate all retiree health care savings, and no more eight-hour day. They were asking us to have jobs and receive food stamps.

During the negotiations, the CEO took a 300% raise for himself and his top 10 lieutenants took raises of 35 to 80%, including the chief operating officer.

We had six CEOs in eight years. Now, I was at the Maritime convention with Mike Sacco a few days ago and he introduced us to the CEO of Crowley Maritime. Crowley Maritime has had three CEOs in 121 years. That's the way you run a company. *(Applause)*

In November of 2012, the hedge funds took over negotiations, which is illegal—

TRUMKA: Brother Dave, the chair does not wish to be an anatomical orifice on the scale of the Michigan governor, but he must warn you that your time has expired and ask you to please wrap up.

DURKEE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. November 2012, the hedge funds took over negotiations and they said, "Listen, we're not negotiating with you anymore. You vote to take these exceptions or we'll liquidate." What we did, we voted that. Six thousand members all over the country voted and they could vote to take the concessions or they could vote to liquidate the company. That's what the ballot said. Ninety-two percent said liquidate. These people were willing to strike and give up their jobs than put up with the Wall Street bullshit. *(Applause)*

Now, I just want to remind everybody we fought at Wall Street—we have a multibillion-dollar pension fund—and we didn't prevail on that fight. And we fought in the federal bankruptcy courts. We spent \$3 million in legal fees and we didn't prevail. And no one in this room is going to prevail in the federal bankruptcy courts unless something changes.

So we took Wall Street for a walk down Main Street, and we struck them and in 28—

TRUMKA: Brother Dave, the chair will have to be an anatomical orifice on the scale of the governor, you must please close out, your time is expired.

DURKEE: Thank you, Mr. Chair. We stand with the workers, the Mine Workers and Peabody—I refuse to call it Patriot Coal, that's not what it is. We stand with the workers from Detroit. It's the same law firm. And we support the resolution.

President Trumka, we want to thank you for your support, Secretary-Treasurer Shuler, Arlene Holt Baker, for your support in the Hostess strike. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Now, there's a lot of people in the hall that don't remember old 45 records and 33 and 78. And I really appreciated, Brother Dave, the way you went from 45 to 78 those last couple of minutes. *(Laughter)* The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 3.

VICE PRESIDENT FRED REDMOND, USW: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Believe me, I will be brief. I'm vice president of the United Steelworkers Union.

As everybody in this hall, we all applaud the United Mine Workers for their victory at Patriot Coal and for the fight that they put up to protect the integrity and the dignity of their retirees.

My union has gone through so many bankruptcies. We went through bankruptcies going back 20 years ago through the steel industry and in every industry that we represent. We see this common phenomenon surfacing in companies throughout this country.

The mere premise of the bankruptcy laws in this country, to walk into bankruptcy court and our members who made these companies profitable over the years being classified as unsecured creditors, is an insult to every worker that put in their sweat to make these companies profitable. The premise is wrong.

Then we see more and more employers using the bankruptcy courts in order to walk away from their commitment to the people who made them profitable, our retirees.

So brothers and sisters, we need to really, really take this resolution serious. We need to do everything that we can to see to it that the bankruptcy courts work for our members, offer fairness to our retirees. And we have to fight to make sure the corporations do not use the bankruptcy systems in this country to walk away from our retirees.

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

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother Fred.

The question is on adoption of Resolution 14. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Opposed, no.
Resolution 14 is adopted.

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

[[INSERT TEXT OF RESOLUTION 14]]

(End Resolution No. 14)

TRUMKA: The next issue that we'll take up as part of our efforts to ensure shared prosperity in the global economy is "Retirement Security for All." Resolution 11 subsumes Proposed Resolution 45.

We'll hear, again, from Committee Co-Chair Roberta Reardon.
Roberta.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE 2: SHARED PROSPERITY IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY (Resumed)

RESOLUTION NO. 11 Retirement Security for All

REARDON: Thank you, Rich.

To begin our discussion of this resolution, I would like to call on Tom Rankin, the treasurer of the California Alliance for Retired Americans and past president of the California Labor Federation, and Rob England of the Kern, Inyo and Mono Counties Central Labor Council and a CWA member. We know that retirement security is a concern that spans the generations.

Tom and Rob are at microphone two. Tom?

TOM RANKIN, California Alliance for Retired Americans: On behalf of the Alliance for Retired Americans, I rise in support of Resolution 11, "Retirement Security for All."

ROB ENGLAND, Kern, Inyo and Mono Counties (Calif.) Central Labor Council: Tom, on behalf of American young workers, I rise in support and join you.

RANKIN: Thanks, Rob.

You know that retirement security in this country basically came out of the New Deal. The New Deal came out of the recession, or the Great Depression, rather, and we had, at that time, 50% of seniors in this country were in poverty, 25% of workers were unemployed, and the people responded. There was a movement created and the government responded to that movement. The result was the New Deal.

The Social Security Act was a part of the New Deal. It now covers almost 60 million Americans, retired Americans, 62 and over, disabled workers, their spouses and the children.

I'm one of those children who benefited, because my father died when I was about 11 years old. My mother got Social Security, that's why I can be here today.

So it's a great program that's been expanded over the years and improved, but now it's under grave attack.

The other part of the New Deal which helped with retirement security, brought it for a lot of people, including me, was the Wagner Act, which gave us the right to organize and collectively bargain.

Over time, we bargained defined-benefit pensions at one point for about 40% of the private work force.

ENGLAND: Well, today's young workers don't hear about those successes. We're constantly told not to expect to receive any Social Security benefits, and that defined-benefit pensions are more endangered than a tea partier with a conscience.

RANKIN: But you know, Rob, that that's not true.

ENGLAND: Of course. That's why young workers across the country have been fighting for retirement security.

It's not a seasoned worker's issue. It's not a young worker's issue. It's simply a worker's issue.

Now, we live in a rich nation, and we don't believe the lie that we can't afford a decent and healthy retirement for America's workers anymore. The question before us is not how best to cut Social Security and Medicare, the question is how to create a retirement system that delivers adequate and secure retirement income for everyone, not just the lucky few.

I and young workers across the country are ready to work with you in this fight.

RANKIN: Thanks, Rob. We stand ready to work with you.

We're not going to fall victim to the great propaganda machine that's been created by billionaires, like Pete Peterson, to undermine Social Security and Medicare and pensions of all kinds, public and private. So we're going to work together and build a great coalition as this whole convention has been dedicated to building and save retirement and expand Social Security, and bring Medicare in the end to everyone.

REARDON: Thank you.

Today's retirement system places workers' interests beneath those of employers, the financial services industry, and even foreign bondholders. And as a result, more than half of U.S. households are at risk of being unable to maintain their standard of living in retirement.

In Resolution 11, “Retirement Security for All,” we commit to leading a movement to ensure retirement security for all—this generation, our parents and grandparents, and our children and grandchildren as well.

The retirement system we envision operates solely in the interest of workers and retirees. It is a retirement system in which Social Security, employer-paid pensions and individual retirement savings all have important roles to play, and economic security in retirement is a shared responsibility of employers, individuals and government. In the retirement system we will push for, adequate benefits are earned and enough money is contributed throughout everyone’s working years, with suitable portability; risk is well managed and benefits last a lifetime.

To create that system, Resolution 11 commits us to opposing any reduction in Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid benefits, no matter how cuts would be accomplished or who proposes them. We should be improving Social Security benefits instead, as well as repealing laws and regulations that threaten private pensions and protecting public employee pensions from political attacks. We will fight employers’ manipulation of bankruptcy law and use of restructuring to escape their benefit obligations to workers and retirees, whether in the private sector of companies like Patriot Coal or in municipalities like Detroit.

Workers have more than \$9 trillion in government, corporate and multiemployer pension funds, and that money must be invested reasonably and free from conflicts of interest.

The changes we’re talking about are big. They won’t come quickly and they won’t come easily. The AFL-CIO commits to doing what it takes to attain retirement security for all.

On behalf of the Committee on Shared Prosperity in the Global Economy, I proudly move the adoption of Resolution 11, “Retirement Security for All,” and I so move.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 11 be adopted. Is there debate? Chair recognizes delegate at mike 1.

GLEN MIDDLETON, AFSCME: Good morning, Mr. Chairman.

TRUMKA: Good morning, Brother.

MIDDLETON: I’m out of Maryland. I’m a rank-and-file member of AFSCME, President Lee Saunders and our Secretary-Treasurer Laura Reyes. I’ve been a member of AFSCME over 35 years. Today I stand proudly in support of Resolution 11.

Across this country, our great country that we built, mayors and elected officials we fought hard to get elected are turning their backs on all of our members and attempting to balance the budget on the backs of our children and workers throughout this country.

Baltimore City is no different. Our current mayor, Stephanie Rawlings-Blake, who actually is the secretary of the National DNC, the Democratic National Committee, has decided to follow the path of turncoat Democrats like Philadelphia Mayor Nutter. (*Booing*)

She is targeting workers and the vital services that we all provide for the city of Baltimore. She is working hard to implement a 10-year plan to nowhere. It’s going to divide the city into two cities, one for the haves and one for the have-nots. We have to stop this immediately with all your help.

Mr. Chairman, fundamentally, this 10-year plan to nowhere puts taxes on our earned leave, our sick leave, vacation leave and leave to care for our loved ones. We have already suffered years of pay freezes and furloughs.

Further, she has attacked our retired brothers and sisters who have retired on fixed incomes through increases in their health care.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, having attacked current and retired city employees, this mayor, Stephanie Rawlings-Blake, her plan now targets those who have yet to join the union in January. All new hires, there will be a new pension plan that's going to be a 401(k) that only benefits Wall Street. It only benefits the rich. It doesn't benefit the future of the city of Baltimore.

So like other mayors and other elected officials around this country, it's time for us to stop these kind of elected officials and draw that line in the sand.

It's important that we stop the ultra-rich from benefiting, and large developments from making money on the backs of the working poor.

As I close, Mr. Chairman, I stand today because we have to watch this mayor so it doesn't travel to other cities and states around the country, and that we can fight for our hard-won benefits and stand together and fight, and if we have to, un-elect her because we draw that line in the sand, and then we say you're either with us or against us.

I hope you all will support this resolution because it builds the future for the next generation. Thank you. (*Applause*)

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

SALVATORE LUCIANO, AFSCME: I'm a proud AFSCME member. Our sisters and brothers, as you heard earlier, in the private sector are on the front lines in the attacks on their retirement security. Now public workers are also facing an unrelenting assault. We have a growing retirement security crisis in America that threatens all working people.

Americans are less prepared for retirement today than in the last four decades. The overwhelming majority of people are anxious about their ability to retire.

Older workers are working longer and delaying their retirement, which means younger workers have far fewer opportunities for jobs and advancement. Most workers are simply scraping and struggling to survive, let alone put aside money for the future. Women, low-income workers and people of color are particularly hard hit by the crisis. This is not an accident nor is it the will of God. This is bad policy driven by sadistic and greedy CEOs who are indifferent to workers working until their bodies break down, indifferent to elderly living in privation and want.

Sisters and brothers, this is what plutocracy looks like. Older people are the most vulnerable to poverty, usually needing more money to do things we all take for granted, such as preparing meals, cleaning or simply getting around.

The union movement has to be the driving force that makes retirement security a key political and policy issue in the coming years.

At the national level, AFSCME is building a coalition to fight for retirement security for all. We currently have more than 30 different groups that range from faith and community organizing networks to AARP to the National Council of La Raza to Health Care For America Now, to the AFL, to the AFT, and many other unions sitting here.

I hope you will join us in the fight for retirement security for all. Getting old often means a loss of independence. Don't let it also mean a loss of security and dignity. Support this resolution. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Chair recognizes delegate at mike 3.

BARBARA WHITE STACK, USW: Thank you, Chairman. Good morning, brothers and sisters, workers, and union members.

TRUMKA: Good morning.

WHITE STACK: I'm a proud member of the United Steel, Paper and Forestry, Rubber Manufacturing, Energy, Allied Industrial and Service Workers International Union. *(Applause)*

I am also a proud former member of The Newspaper Guild-CWA. My brother is a Machinist. My father and his father were union carpenters. My mother was a union teacher. And my father-in-law was a Steelworker.

I am the product of union families, and I have benefited from unions' historical demand for retirement security, so I rise in support of this resolution.

Both of my parents lived middle-class lives in retirement because of good union pensions and good union-provided retirement health care. Thank you all for that.

By contrast, do you recall the photos of those aged and infirmed Soviet area pensioners sweeping streets in frigid weather? Is that what we want? Is that where we want to go? No. We demand retirement security for all.

Do you recall the cat food area in the United States before Medicare, when our own pensioners ate cheap pet food so that they could afford their heart pills? Do we want to go back there? No. We demand retirement security for all. That includes solid Social Security, solid medication and good employer-provided pensions for all.

Let's talk about Social Security for just a minute. You keep hearing it's gone bankrupt; right? Well, it's not. Every day, all day long, every year, you pay 6.2% of your income into Social Security. But the rich don't do that. They pay 6.2% on their first \$113,700, and then they stop. They don't pay anything after that. It's called the Social Security cap. It benefits the rich and it screws everybody else.

Is that cap just? No. Is it just that the rich pay a lower percent than everyday workers do? No. Do we want Wall Street bankers and multinational CEOs, all of the millionaires, to pay a smaller tax than workers? No. We demand retirement security for all.

Kill the cap. Please pass this resolution. *(Applause)*

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

HOLLY HART, USW: Hello, Mr. Chairman. I am a delegate from the United Steelworkers. I have to confess, I cannot remember the full name of my union.

TRUMKA: We're going to have a quiz on that later.

HART: I rise in support of Resolution No. 11. I want to speak from a personal perspective.

My father died when I was 16 years old. He worked as a sales representative for a U.S. furniture manufacturer. My mother didn't work. She was a stay-at-home mom. His employer was kind enough to pay her his salary for a year. Without that charity and the help provided by Social Security survivor benefits, my family would not have survived.

My mom was lucky, that charity that his employer wasn't required to give gave her the time she needed to find a job. She later remarried, and she was lucky enough to marry a man who had a union pension and union-sponsored health care. She's fine now. She's living a nice, middle-class, dignified retirement.

Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid are more than just retirement security, they're family security. Lawmakers right now on Capitol Hill have the absolute gall to tell people, like my 83-year-old mom, my sister who works her ass off as a respiratory therapist in a hospital without a union and without a pension, and a friend of mine who's a house painter that has late-stage colon cancer and is surviving on Medicaid, that he's going to just have to give a little more. All in the guise of strengthening these programs. That's why we all have to commit to the strong support of this resolution and all the action points today and going forward.

Why should those workers that make over a hundred thousand dollars a year not have to continue to pay their fair share for Social Security and continue paying taxes?

Anyway, I rise in strong support of this resolution and ask the body to support it. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister Holly. Chair recognizes delegate at mike 2.

KATHLEEN DONAHUE, AFT: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm a proud delegate and vice president of the American Federation of Teachers, and a vice president of the New York State United Teachers. I stand in support of the Resolution 11, "Retirement Security for All."

Today, 84% of Americans are worried about their ability to achieve a secure retirement, and they should be. The current retirement income deficit gap is between what they can expect to earn in retirement and what they need. That gap is \$6.6 trillion.

Young and middle-aged Americans have been losing pension protection, home equity, 401(k) value and jobs in the recession. This is creating a fast-approaching retirement income crises for people who are in their 40s and 50s. These are the baby boomers, and according to a recent New York Times article, their generation will be the first to do worse in retirement than their parents.

We must change the debate from an attack on Social Security and pensions to guaranteeing retirement security for all. Social Security is an earned benefit over a lifetime of work, and we have to recognize its importance as the foundation of financial security and retirement.

Two-thirds of eligible beneficiaries rely solely on Social Security for half of their income in retirement. Social Security, foundational life insurance, disability insurance and retirement savings are the most efficient, comprehensive, fair and effective protection that's available.

Social Security is a principal insurer against family impoverishment, disability or death of a worker. Pension plan investments can and are helping to build America's infrastructure through projects such as a smart electrical grid, expanded access to high and wireless communications and a high-speed rail system.

Pension plans can put Americans back to work and make the USA more competitive in the 21st century global economy. This resolution supports retirement security for all. It calls on the AFL-CIO to bring the full weight of its strength—

TRUMKA: Sister, I have to ask you to wrap up. Your time's expired.

DONAHUE: Yes, sir.

We have a responsibility to secure the dignity of our families and ourselves. We have the responsibility to secure that retired workers can afford to live in the middle class. And we have a responsibility to all workers to fight for their retirement. Please support this resolution. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister.

Seeing no further debate, the question's on the adoption of Resolution 11. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.
Resolution 11 is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolution covered by it appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

[[INSERT TEXT OF RESOLUTION 11]]

(End Resolution No. 11)

TRUMKA: For our next discussion we have Committee Vice Chair Jorge Ramirez. Jorge. *(Applause)*

RESOLUTION NO. 13

Safe Jobs—Every Worker's Right

JORGE RAMIREZ, Chicago (Ill.) Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council: Thank you, President Trumka. I'd like to say thank you to Co-Chairs Reardon and Gerard for the fine work that they have done getting us to this point. Thank you very much for your leadership.

The next issue we will take up as part of our efforts to ensure shared prosperity in the global economy is "Safe Jobs—Every Worker's Right," Resolution 13.

The safe jobs resolution links the battle for workplace safety here in the United States in construction, in coal mines and Walmarts and hospitals to similar battles around the world, such as the great fight for legally binding, independently enforceable worker safety and workers' rights standards in Bangladesh.

On April 24th, 2013, an eight-story commercial building known as Rana Plaza collapsed in the capital city of Bangladesh. The death toll was 1,200 workers, and more than 2,500 injured people were rescued from the building alive. It is considered to be the deadliest garment factory accident in history as well as the deadliest structural failure in modern human history.

Unions and workers' organizations are leading the call for justice for these workers and holding the global garment corporations accountable for the sweatshops that they support. One person at the forefront of the fight for workers' rights, safe jobs and corporate accountability is Kalpona Akter from the Bangladesh Center for Worker Solidarity.

When she was just 12 years old, Kalpona started working in Bangladesh's garment factories. She worked 14-hour days for just \$6 a month. Fired and blacklisted for organizing at the sweatshop factory where she worked, she joined with other former garment workers to launch the Bangladesh Center for Worker Solidarity. Internationally respected, the center is a grassroots organization that protects the human and labor rights of workers and children in Bangladesh.

Brothers and sisters, Kalpona Akter. (*Applause*)

KALPONA AKTER

Bangladesh Center for Worker Solidarity

Good morning. Brothers and sisters, I bring greetings from the many Bangladeshi workers who are trying to organize unions, improve working conditions and better their lives and those of their families and children. I know firsthand the problems workers face in unsafe workplaces.

As a child, I worked in garment factories under dangerous conditions. I witnessed horrible injuries and saw many Bangladeshi garment workers die in fires and building collapses. I see how unsafe work makes many workers prematurely age due to excessive hours in unhealthy workplaces.

In April, Bangladeshi workers suffered the worst garment industry disaster in history. Rana Plaza, a building that included many garment factories, collapsed, killing over a thousand mainly women workers, with hundreds more injured. Before that, 112 Bangladeshi workers died in the Tazreen garment factory fire in November 2012. There were no fire escapes and exits were locked.

These preventable massacres have finally brought worldwide attention to the fact that millions of Bangladeshi workers risk their lives every day simply by going to work. At Rana, managers and owners forced workers to enter the building even though everyone saw large cracks in the walls. We feel that workers would not have returned to the building if they had been in a union.

Since 2005, we have lost 1,834 workers to fires and building collapses. And this is only in the garment industry. Many also die, mostly boys and young men, in the **ship-breaking industry**. In the United States you had events like the Triangle Shirtwaist fire that happened over a hundred years ago. You still have workplace disasters, but you have made it clear here that industry does not have to be that way. If workers organize unions and know their rights and laws, and government does its job, industry can be held accountable. Workers can produce without risking health and life. The economy can grow and workers can share in this prosperity.

We want work, but we want safe, dignified work in healthy conditions. We demand the right to refuse work that is unsafe. We must be able to create unions in our factories to hold accountable the managers, factory owners and multinational companies like Walmart and Gap, and our government, that have failed for decades to improve these conditions. (*Standing ovation*)

This is why we have worked with unions and allies in Bangladesh and around the world, including U.S. unions, to negotiate a binding agreement that makes corporations provide safe working conditions. The Accord on Fire and Building Safety in Bangladesh has been signed by over 80 companies, the majority of which are not in the U.S. Many U.S. corporations, like Gap and Walmart, still refuse to make a real commitment to binding safety regulations in their supply chain.

It is time for the empty promises of our government, our employers and the big international companies to stop. *(Applause)*

After every disaster, factory owners, the government, and the companies in U.S. and Europe all say they are not the ones to blame, or that that they will ensure another workplace disaster does not happen.

Then, in a matter of weeks or months, we see more death and injuries.

We are working to organize unions and to make employers and multinationals provide compensation for dead and injured workers and their families. Global companies that have drawn decades of profit from these workers, paying the lowest wages in the world, now do not want to compensate workers who have paid the highest price.

As workers here and elsewhere, we demand safe workplaces and corporate accountability, we demand our right to unite and defend ourselves in our union. Today, as a Bangladeshi worker, I speak in support of this resolution to ensure safe and healthy workplaces for all workers worldwide.

Please support Resolution 13. Thank you. *(Applause)*

RAMIREZ: Thank you, Kalpona, for all the work you do on behalf of workers in your own country and worldwide. Your work is leading to changes not only on health and safety issues but taking on the way global corporations profit from these kind of death trap-like workplace conditions.

We know here in our own country there are also death traps and unsafe working conditions for workers, from the deadly explosion at the West Fertilizer Company in Texas to the dangers facing firefighters who continue to fight the blaze close to Yosemite park. Health and safety is the key to good jobs. This resolution also makes clear the link between the right to safety and the right to organize and bargain collectively.

Finally, the resolution calls out the Office of Management and Budget of the Obama administration for delaying many key worker protection rules, costing lives. The resolution commits us to fight to enact much-needed health and safety rules, including the silica and coal dust rules, to oppose deregulatory employer efforts, to educate workers on health and safety issues, and to oppose efforts to use trade agreements to weaken workers' safety rules.

On behalf of the committee, I move the adoption of the Resolution 13. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: So the committee recommends that Resolution 13 be adopted. Is there debate? There is. The chair calls on the delegate at mike 3.

TIM WATERS, North Alabama Area Labor Council: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I rise in support of Resolution 13, but I wanted also to say just how much our union respects Kalpona and the work that she's done in Bangladesh. *(Applause)*

And also the work of the unions over there that struggle daily just to exist. In Bangladesh, unions are not like unions we know here, like us. They have no right to

collectively bargain, they have no right to bargain for safe workplaces that are so desperately needed.

As Kalpona said, the death toll from this disaster has reached 1,134. Some 2,400 survivors, hundreds are still hospitalized, missing arms, missing legs, hands, head injuries. Suffering from post-traumatic stress. They and their families never will be the same.

But also there are still 330 missing in this collapse. The families still stand outside this disaster waiting to see and get some word about their loved ones.

Workers there, as we learned from a delegation that President Gerard sent to Bangladesh, workers there were working 13- to 14.5-hour shifts, six and seven days a week, 14 to 26 cents an hour. Kalpona mentioned the Triangle Shirtwaist fire disaster that happened in New York City in 1911. Accounting for inflation, Mr. Chairman, the wages today when this building collapsed, when these folks were caught in this disaster, are one-tenth—allowing for inflation—one-tenth of what workers were making in 1911 in the U.S.

We've gone backwards in time, Mr. Chairman. I won't take any more time, but if I have any time, I would give back the balance and ask, if it's the pleasure of the chair, that you would ask for a moment of silence for the workers and their families and the ones that are still missing. Thanks.

TRUMKA: The delegate has asked for a special privilege, that special privilege being a moment of silence for those workers in Bangladesh. The chair grants that request.

We will please stand for a moment of silence.

...A moment of silence was observed.

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

HOLLY HART, USW: Thank you Mr. Chairman. I rise in strong support of Resolution No. 13. I work in an office. My eyes get blurry from my computer, I have carpal tunnel syndrome. But I work for a union that represents workers that risk their lives every day when they go to work.

I rise in support, Mr. Chairman, for our member Alan White, who stood with Secretary Perez just two weeks ago, I believe, or last week when the administration released the silica standard—a standard that took 40 years to improve. Unfortunately, due to his silicosis, Alan White doesn't have 40 years. In fact, he might have only 15 to 20 years left of his life, cut short by his job that he goes to every day at a foundry.

I rise in support of this resolution for all the workers that risk their lives every day at refineries, in mines, on construction sites, in public service, and in sweatshops and garment factories around the globe that our lax trade agreements have allowed to proliferate. I urge swift action on this resolution. Thank you. (*Applause*)

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

DAVID GRAY, AFT: I rise in support of Resolution 13. Every worker has a fundamental right to a safe and healthy workplace free of recognized hazards. Yet, every year thousands of workers are tragically killed on the job in preventable disasters.

Case in point: Over a thousand Bangladesh garment workers were killed in a building collapse this year.

Case in point: 29 coal miners died in an explosion at the Massey Energy Upper Big Branch Mine in 2010.

Case in point: Six educators and union members and 20 children they loved and cared for in Newtown, Connecticut, were victims of violence on the job.

Most workers' deaths, however, are one by one on the job. Every year at least 4,500 workers die on the job from injuries, while another 50,000 die from work-related illnesses. Over 2 million workers across the globe die from work-related injuries. These are not, by and large, accidents as the press portrays them, but evidence of blatant employer negligence.

So the labor movement's advocacy has been responsible for improving working conditions in reducing these numbers since passage of OSHA and MSHA.

However, years of Bush administration hostility at OSHA and MSHA, fortified by the anti-regulatory agenda of the current Republican majority in the House of Representatives, have weakened enforcement and worker whistleblower protection.

Workers need more safety and health protection, not less. We need better, up-to-date OSHA standards to protect workers from toxic chemicals and emerging hazards such as pandemic influenza. We need continued funding from the National Institution for Occupational Safety and Health for research and professional training. We need universal public employee OSHA coverage.

So we must join allies, health and worker activists, families of injured workers and others to demand stronger laws in OSHA and MSHA standards to cover all workers.

We need to challenge employer retaliatory efforts and policies to discourage reporting. We need to educate workers and union members about their rights to a safe and healthy environment. We need to fight efforts to use international trade agreements to lower safety and health standards. And we must hold global corporations accountable for their chronic neglect of workers and safety.

I urge adoption of this resolution. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. Delegate at mike 3.

BOB LaVENTURE, USW: I'm the director of District 12 with the United Steelworkers and a proud member of that union for over 43 years.

Last weekend I traveled with a group of USW activists and USASS, the United Students Against Sweatshops, to a demonstration in front of a North Face store in Beverly Hills. When we entered the store, it was amazing to me to see all these mannequins that had no face. It reminded me immediately of the workers in Bangladesh that must toil every day in sweatshops and have no face. We as the leaders of organized labor have an obligation and a duty to put a face on those mannequins.

We as leaders of organized labor must fight what we can do to give those workers their due respect. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

It's ironic that as we debate the very issue, I just received news, breaking news that there's been an accident at St. Paul; that there has been a partial building collapse at Lowertown Ballpark, and at least one construction worker was killed. Case in point.

Delegate at mike 1.

VICE PRESIDENT JAMES BOLAND, Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers: Mr. Chairman, sisters and brothers, I'm the president of the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers. And together with my BAC brothers and sisters I rise in support of Resolution 13.

People join unions to make their lives better. The reasons I joined my union 40 years ago were simple—union masonry jobs were cleaner, safer and better paid than nonunion jobs. Now, I still believe that improved safety and health protections are among the most significant ways as a union movement we can make the lives of working people better. As President Obama said yesterday, no one should risk their life to make a living.

Building and construction trades workers, including the members of BAC, face danger every day on the job, and they die on the job in numbers greater than in any other industry. For over 2 million American workers, immigrants, guest workers and those born right here, one of the greatest and most insidious dangers on the job is silica dust. As they build better lives, as they build a better America, workers are falling ill and dying by the hundreds and thousands from diseases caused by the dust they breathe every day—diseases that are irreversible, but they're entirely preventable.

The problem isn't new. Silica kills today and silica has killed construction workers for centuries. Silica has killed multiple generations of our members, and sometimes within single families. Sons and daughters who watch their once-strong parents suffocate and slowly wither away, agonize, knowing that their children will likely suffer the same grief, or worse, suffer the same fate.

And that's why, for more than four decades, we have been fighting for a stronger silica standard. And finally, on Friday, August 23rd of this year, OSHA released its proposed silica standard, which will save thousands of lives.

Rich, my brother, we would not be at this point without you as a champion of the revised standard. *(Applause)*

I know you fought for us on this issue each and every time you spoke to the administration over the past several years. On behalf of the trowel trades, craft workers everywhere, including myself, I thank you.

But our work on the standard is not yet done. American workers desperately need the newly issued silica standard to be finalized. Just two days ago Valerie Jarrett told delegates that the administration is committed to making that happen. BAC is committed to bringing all our resources to bear in order to get this done. The Building and Construction Trades Department and the building trades unions are committed. Community partners are committed. Brothers and sisters, we are now asking this convention to likewise commit the labor movement as a whole to seeing this through. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

BOLAND: In closing, I ask you this, if even a few dozen investment bankers or Wall Street executives were dying from an easily prevented, toxic workplace substance every year, would there be any delay in fixing the problem?

No. We all know the answer.

But I also know and this convention knows that the life of a construction worker isn't worth any less than a CEO of Goldman Sachs.

TRUMKA: Hear, hear.

BOLAND: Silica kills. We can stop it and we will stop it. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, all.

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

VICE PRESIDENT CECIL ROBERTS, UMWA: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm the president of the United Mine Workers of America. I'm also the chairman of the AFL-CIO Health and Safety Committee.

I want to stand before this delegation today and thank the AFL-CIO Executive Council, and I want to thank you and your fellow officers for standing for health and safety every single day.

I want to pay a special tribute to Peg Seminario for the fine work that she does with all of our unions. We have a valuable resource there.

Since we last gathered in convention—and I want you to think about this, we're not talking about some other country, I'm talking about the United States of America—we have lost 200,000 workers in this country from occupational illness. That's black lung, white lung, brown lung and cancer. We have also lost, Mr. Chairman, approximately 18,000 workers in this country since we last gathered in convention. That is unacceptable in the greatest country on Earth. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Hear, hear.

ROBERTS: One year after we left convention, we had two tragedies that we all remember. One was the Upper Big Branch explosion, and the other was BP in the Gulf Coast. And I appreciate the work that my fellow brother, Leo Gerard, did and the Steelworkers did in bringing that to our attention and in defending those families.

But I've got a cure for some of this, Mr. Chairman. We need strong unions in all the workplaces in America to protect these workers. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Hear, hear.

ROBERTS: We need one other thing. We talked about mass incarceration on this floor yesterday of our brothers and our sisters in the inner communities of this country, people of color. But Don Blankenship was the CEO at Upper Big Branch. He knew what was going on there. If there was justice in America, the U.S. Marshals would be going to his home this morning, putting him in handcuffs, putting him in leg irons and marching his sorry ass off to jail. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Strong message to follow. *(Laughter)* Thanks, Cec. Delegate at mike 2.

DESAI: Many taxi tycoons also need to be arrested and belong in jails for the unbelievably unsafe conditions that taxi drivers face in this country day after day after day.

A partition would save a life by over 80%. And it costs less than \$300 to purchase and install. Yet, in the vast majority of the cities in our country, taxi drivers labor 60 to 70 hours a

week completely unprotected. And because we are independent contractors, we're not even covered by OSHA. OSHA does not even investigate when a driver is killed on the job. And we know too many, brothers and sisters. We had a sister in Florida who was gang raped by her passengers, tied, bound up, left in the trunk of her cab.

We had a taxi driver who during an apparent road rage was assaulted, left bleeding on the ground, was in a coma for over three years, died in that hospital bed. And the only thing that the taxi company wanted to know from his wife and his three daughters was, when they were going to pay the lease for the rest of that week. That is a true story.

This is an industry that is so deeply inhumane because we continue to live in an economy that is too deeply inhumane. And we as a labor movement must send a strong message that it does not matter the classification of that working person. Every single worker has a right to come home safe at the end of a grueling shift. *(Applause)*

That's right.

I also stand before you as a daughter, a proud daughter of a factory worker, and a woman who knows that her mother got leukemia because of all of the toxic fumes that she inhaled for over 25 years on her job so she could continue to feed her family.

The right to safety is at the heart of this movement. Because tied up in all of it is economic inequity. It's where bosses get to believe that their right to profit is somehow greater than our right to live. And we as a movement cannot stand for that. Thank you. *(Applause)*

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

MICKEY HARRINGTON, Butte and Glenn Counties (Calif.) AFL-CIO Central Labor Council: I'm the president of the Butte and Glenn Counties Central Labor Council and a 53-year member of IBEW 1245.

I just want to make a point that our international was formed because there were so many accidents. We have improved, but still it's dangerous out there, and we have to keep an eye out and protect each other, and that's something that we do every day. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother.

Before I call the question for adoption of Resolution 13, I'd just like to make one observation.

Many of us have been personally affected by occupational diseases, injuries and actually deaths. In my family, nearly all the males have died from black lung or pneumoconiosis. And I offer you this little way of understanding how bad the disease is. If you want to know what someone who has black lung, white lung, brown lung, yellow lung, asbestosis, silicosis or pneumoconiosis goes through every day, here's all you have to do. You tape your mouth shut, tape one of your nostrils shut and run up and down a flight of stairs 10 times and then try breathing. And that's how they breathe every minute of every day. And that doesn't have to be in a country that knows how to eliminate these diseases.

Our brothers and sisters have eliminated black lung in Australia. Haven't had a new case of black lung in over 10 years because they decided to do it. Our country can do the same. Our country must do the same to protect those workers. So that the next time we come together in convention, more of our brothers and sisters aren't totally disabled from those diseases or, worse yet, have expired because of those diseases.

Now, the question is on the adoption of Resolution 13. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no. Resolution 13 is adopted. Thank you, brothers and sisters. *(Applause)*

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

[[INSERT TEXT OF RESOLUTION 13]]

(End Resolution No. 13)

TRUMKA: Now it's my honor and privilege to introduce a special guest. Now, Tom Perez may be new to his position as our secretary of labor. But in many ways, he spent his whole life on the job helping working people and fighting for civil rights.

Tom and I have spent some time together in person and on the phone since his nomination in March. And when the Republicans started gearing up their attack machine for him, I let Tom know that the labor movement had his back, and I think it worked. We all know Republicans were attacking Tom because of what he stands for—that's vigorous enforcement of the law, standing up for fairness and standing up for opportunity for all.

Tom has shown time and time again—not recently, but his entire life—that he is on the side of working families.

In Maryland he pushed a law to crack down on employers who cheat their workers by misclassifying them as independent contractors.

At the Department of Justice, he stood in the way of states like Florida and Texas when they tried to adopt voter suppression laws. And that's why the Republicans went after him. And that's also why he will be a great, great secretary of labor.

Tom grew up in Buffalo. He knows the value and the dignity of work. He shares our values. He never backs down from a fight when he knows he's right.

Please join me in welcoming our secretary of labor, Tom Perez. *(Applause)*

THE HONORABLE TOM PEREZ

U.S. Secretary of Labor

Hey, how are you? Good morning. Hard to follow Cecil Roberts. Thanks, a lot, Rich. Appreciate that.

It is truly an honor to be here with you. Good morning. It's just a remarkable place to be. I've seen so many friends. It's been old-home day here at the convention. So, Rich, thank you for your very, very gracious introduction and your strong support and your tireless leadership. Your relentless efforts on so many fronts have made an enormous difference in the lives of so many people who are trying to climb the ladder of opportunity.

Arlene, I can't believe this is—I missed your tribute yesterday. I remember the first time she came in to see me, it was to talk about voting rights, because she was seeing what was happening around the country, and on behalf of labor she wanted to express her concerns. So thank you so much. You've always been in the trenches. You've worked in the finest tradition of Bayard Rustin and A. Philip Randolph and so many others. So thank you so much.

(Applause)

To Liz Shuler and everyone else in this room, thank you for the energy you bring to the struggle to advance the interest of the middle class and working families. Thank you to everyone, by the way, starting with Mr. Trumka, for all of your efforts to restore a fully functioning NLRB. It's about time. *(Applause)*

Ten years. Took 10 years to get a fully staffed NLRB, better late than never, and it would not have happened without your leadership and the leadership of so many people in this room.

You know, President Obama, you heard from him yesterday, and he is very, very sorry that he can't be here with you today. I know you understand that he needs to be in Washington to focus on the situation in Syria and to prepare to address the nation. I'm very glad that you were able to hear from him by video, and in person a few days ago from Valerie Jarrett, who has certainly been a wonderful friend and strong ally in our efforts to build an opportunity society.

I'll tell you, one of the main reasons I feel so excited to be here is because, you know, I feel at home. You know, I grew up in Buffalo, as Rich said. I'm around so many people.

The Maryland crowd here somewhere? *(Applause)*

Yeah, I've been in a few foxholes with these folks from Maryland. Good morning, Patrick. How are you, sir? Oh, and we have our AFSCME folks right in front of me. *(Cheers and applause)*

It's great to see all of you. You know, when you're around people with whom you share values, that's what it's all about.

Those values that you've taught me, those values I've learned, have really informed everything I've done in my career, and they will inform my work as the U.S. secretary of labor.

Like so many of you and others in the movement, I'm the child of immigrants. My parents came here from the Dominican Republic, and they taught me and my four siblings to work hard, aim high and always make sure that the ladder is down for others.

I am so pleased, Rich, that you have so many international partners here at this conference, because the struggle for labor rights, you know, is a global struggle. So I'm so happy to see so many of you here.

You know, those of you who are from Buffalo, New York, or similar cities, you know Buffalo is a gritty town. I'm still a Buffalo Bills fan, and I'm proud to tell you that. There isn't a phony person in Buffalo, New York. Bless you.

Bless all of you, by the way. I should just start out by doing that. It's really a place—and the reason I loved growing up there—is it exemplifies the values that we all care about: hard work, fair play, commitment to family and community and the values that we instill in all of our children. It's also a union town. You know, my dad was a veteran.

Let me note for a moment and say thank you to the union movement for all you're doing for veterans, Helmets to Hardhats, Sean McGarvey, so many others, who played a leadership role in making sure our veterans have pathways to opportunity and upward mobility.

My dad was a vet. Every time we help a vet, I think of my dad and I think of my uncles, who served this nation with distinction in the military. He served with pride in the U.S. Army.

My parents had to flee the Dominican Republic because of the brutal dictator. After my dad served, he moved to Buffalo, New York, because the weather there was very similar to the weather in the Dominican Republic. *(Laughter)*

So it was just a seamless transition to Buffalo, New York. He worked there, and he worked there until 1974, when, unfortunately, when I was 12 years old, that's when my father

passed away suddenly. You know, it wasn't our best year, to state the obvious; kind of a kick in the butt. But you know what? One thing I learned is that Buffalo is indeed the city of good neighbors.

I had a village of family members who helped me. I had a village of friends and neighbors who helped me. Every time there was a father/son breakfast in high school, I had five fathers who were offering to take me there. So I felt like a million dollars, even though money was a little bit tight. One of my best friend's fathers became kind of a surrogate dad to me. He had, roughly, a 9th, 10th grade education. But you know what? There's a distinction between knowledge and wisdom some ways. He was the wisest person I ever knew, and he taught me so much.

He was a Teamster. He was a union man. He taught me the value of hard work. He taught me the dignity of hard work. When their families fell on hard times, what I observed through him was the power of the union movement to help them during that very, very critical time of need.

As a result of all the help that I was able to get, I was able to get Pell grants, was able to get other assistance to get through college. I learned to work hard. I worked in a number of different places. I worked at Sears, I had three paper routes, I worked on the back of a trash truck, and I was proud to do all of that work, and I was proud to know and learn the dignity of work and how important it was.

I chose a career in public service after school because my parents taught me that to whom much is given, much is expected. I feel like a charmed man because I always challenge my students, when I used to teach in law school, I want you to love every day of your job. I want you to love every job you've had. I feel like I can look you in the eye and say I have loved every job I've ever had.

I've had the opportunity to work in local government, work in state government, work in the federal government. At every stop, I have been passionate in my pursuit of basic fairness and opportunity for everyone.

I've had incredible mentors throughout the way, including, but not limited to, the late great Senator Ted Kennedy, one of the most tireless champions for working families and organized labor ever in the history of this United States. (*Applause*)

I will tell you what I learned from Senator Kennedy, I learned many things from Senator Kennedy, but one thing I learned from Senator Kennedy, one thing I learned from my surrogate father, one thing I learned from growing up in Buffalo, New York, is that the labor movement is one of the greatest forces for middle-class economic security in the history of this country.

President Obama's vision of an economy that grows from the middle out can only be achieved if we continue to have a dynamic and empowered labor movement in America.

You know, Senator Kennedy taught me something else very related to this, which is that we can only have strong unions when we protect the right of collective bargaining, plain and simple.

A right that you know well and good has come under withering attack in recent years.

You know, when I was on the Montgomery County Council, serving in local government, I learned an important lesson about the lengths to which some folks will go to thwart unions. There was an organizing campaign going on, it was led by CWA. They were attempting to organize Comcast workers. They came to me when I was on the council—hey, good morning CWA. How y'all doing—and they came to me, and they asked, "Would you

write a letter to Comcast asking them to stay neutral to allow the vote to occur, not to put their thumb on the scales of justice.” I said, “Of course, I will.”

I wrote that letter. The response I got from Comcast was a subpoena in connection with some actions they took, firing a—firing one of the workers who was involved in the organizing campaign.

You know what? When I got that subpoena, what I did I do? I called The Washington Post. They wrote about it. I then got a call from Comcast withdrawing the subpoena and apologizing. I think they may have even invited me to a game over at the Comcast Center. I turned that one down. *(Applause)*

But you know what? I wrote that letter because I truly believe in the power of workers organizing for a greater good. I truly believe, as Senator Kennedy and others taught me, that the direct relationship between the health of the middle class and the health of the labor movement is not speculation. It is indeed historical fact.

When the highest proportion of workers chose union representation, wages and productivity rose together. Middle-class workers shared in the prosperity of their employers, but as union density declined, so did the growth in wages, even as productivity and corporate profits continued to rise.

A coincidence? No. I can give you a two-word answer to that, but I’ll stick to a one-word answer to that, because we know from history that strong unions reduce inequality and build the middle class.

You know, at the same time, though, I think it’s important to note that the president’s support and my support for a strong labor movement, this isn’t some exercise in nostalgia or desire for the glory days; this is about what we need today.

We are not going to restore the middle class if workers fear for their jobs if they organize. If they face harassment and delays that make their legal rights a hollow promise. Workers’ rights to join together and form a union improve lives, and that remains an essential part of a thriving middle class, and together we must defend that right and you have my word that I will do our best to defend that right in the Department of Labor. *(Applause)*

You know that vision has to include people who are working in the public sector, which has been such an important steppingstone to the middle class for so many people in this room and across America.

I am so grateful for all the work that our school teachers and firefighters and police officers and others do on the front lines. I’m so appreciative of that. But here’s a statistic from this recovery. This is the first economic recovery in American history in which government jobs haven’t come back. The government jobs that have been lost have been primarily teachers, para-educators, police officers and firefighters. Those are the jobs that have been lost.

If state and local government had simply held steady, and if the Congress had adopted the American Jobs Act, provisions that would have enabled teachers to keep class sizes low, and do all those other important public safety considerations in police and fire, we’d have an unemployment rate that would be well below seven. That’s fact. That’s an absolutely fact.

So I want to say thank you to all of our public-sector employees in this room and across America for the fantastic work that you do on behalf of our children and our communities. *(Applause)*

You know, a couple of weeks ago many of us in this room and across America had an opportunity to participate in the activities commemorating the 50th anniversary of the March on Washington, and one of the most compelling aspects of that march was to remember how much

of that march was about economic justice as well as civil rights. That march, for me, was a culmination of my life's work because, you know, I'm a student of the civil rights movement, student of the labor movement. But when you hear about those field generals, like Bayard Rustin and A. Philip Randolph and so many other heavyweights, and you see those generals and what they did, and you see people like John Lewis and the sacrifice they made, it inspires me and motivates me to continue that unfinished business of America.

I'll tell you, what I loved about what the president said was that he reminded us that it wasn't simply a march for civil rights, it was a march for both jobs and justice. He spoke eloquently about the unfinished business of that struggle. As he put it, and I quote, "It's along this second dimension of economic opportunity, the chance through honest toil for people of all races and backgrounds to advance one station in life, where the goals of 50 years ago have fallen most short."

So who's going to make up that ground where we've fallen short? Who's going to play a key role as we confront the challenges of income inequality, secure a better bargain for the middle class, ensure that our workplaces are safe, building our ladders of opportunity with sturdy rungs that all people can reach? Everybody in this room will play a role in that, and workers across America will play a role in that.

Friends, I am here to tell you, in no uncertain terms, that the Department of Labor can, must, does and will continue to play an active role in securing a better bargain for the middle class. *(Standing ovation)*

What do we do at the Department of Labor? You know, when you get down to brass tacks, the Department of Labor is the department of opportunity. As we emerge from the worst recession of our lifetime, I will make it our top priority to expand opportunity in so many different ways. We will expand opportunity by making sure that every worker has the skills to compete for today's and tomorrow's jobs, and that every employer has access to the workforce that will enable it to grow.

The Labor Department is the quarterback of our workforce system with a lot of teammates in the huddle. I've worked with many people in this room, my friend Fred Mason from Maryland, Andrew, where's Andrew, who flew out here, flew back to Maryland yesterday, Andrew Larson, to attend a skills summit, and came back out here. So many people who have played the lead role.

One of the best examples of partnership has been in the apprenticeship programs, where the building trades have leveraged \$750 million a year in private-sector money to provide state-of-the-art training that helps so many people find good work.

We must expand opportunity, and we will expand opportunity by enforcing laws designed to ensure a level playing field for workers. We're cracking down on Davis-Bacon violators so that construction workers and contractors can receive the local prevailing wage instead of being undercut and undermined.

Nationally, we're doing four times as much work in the Davis-Bacon context now as we were in 2008. We're debarring egregious violators who don't play by the rules. *(Applause)*

We can, will, have and will continue to be a credible deterrent in this area. We expand opportunity when we combat the unfair illegal practice of misclassifying employers as independent contractors.

You know, when I was in Maryland we worked on this issue, and we worked together with responsible employers. We worked together with workers. We worked together with all the key stakeholders who wanted a level playing field.

When I first heard the description of the word “misclassification,” I must confess, Patrick, and you may remember this, I didn’t like that word. Misclassification sounds like a paperwork error. You know, you put it in this drawer instead of that drawer.

Let’s talk about what misclassification is. It’s fraud. It’s cheating. (*Applause*)

That’s what it is. That’s exactly what it is. It’s cheating that has three victims, the worker, him or herself who doesn’t get the wages and job benefits that he or she is entitled to, the employer who’s playing by the rules.

I spoke to a restaurateur, I remember, in Maryland, who paid his workers the right wage. He paid all their workers’ comp benefits, all of their UI benefits. But down the road, the restaurant was paying everybody under the table. That’s not fair to employers who are playing by the rules, and that leads to a race to the bottom.

Finally, there’s a third victim. It’s Uncle Sam; it’s the tax collector who does not get access to those UI taxes and other workers’ comp taxes. That’s why this issue is so important and that is why we will continue to work so hard in this area.

Expanding opportunity also means ensuring a level playing field for workers and employers in every industry through fair and aggressive enforcement of our wage and hour laws.

Last year alone we recovered over \$280 million in back wages, \$280 million, the largest amount recovered in the history of the department. We will continue to make use of all of the tools in our arsenal, including, but not limited to, liquidated damages in cases involving egregious violations. We will be a credible deterrent, I guarantee you. (*Applause*)

And we will not hesitate to create opportunity by using our regulatory authority to ensure that workers—including, but not limited to home health workers—have the full protections of wage and hour and overtime laws. (*Standing ovation*)

We’re also working on the issue of health security, making sure that people have access to affordable health care. This is an important fall, as you know, for the Affordable Care Act. I want to thank you on behalf of the president for all that you have done to ensure that every American can get access to the coverage they need at prices they can afford.

I’m well aware that challenges remain, and those challenges continue, and although those challenges remain—as should be expected when we’re resolving and working through a challenge as big as this—we remain committed to continuing to work with all of you in good faith, to hear your concerns and identify workable solutions. Thank you for bringing everything that you have brought to our attention, and I continue to look forward to working with all of you.

Now, I heard some very, very compelling stories, and I heard Rich Trumka talk earlier today about the most recent incident involving a fatality in St. Paul. Some of the most compelling work that we do to expand opportunity is the work we do to make sure our workplaces are safe, and that is the centerpiece of our opportunity agenda.

I remember, Rich, the first time I met you, talking about your father, talking about the industry that your father worked in. You talked with such pride. You know what? There’s not a person working in this country that should have to choose between his or her job and his or her health. That is a false choice that we should never have to make. (*Standing ovation*)

I want to thank the Steelworkers because, you know, I’ve had some remarkable meetings in my brief tenure on the job, and there are many that are in my memory banks. But I’ve got to tell you, there was one meeting that still is in my head with great frequency, and that’s when I met Alan White.

It's in my head for a number of reasons. Number One, he's a native of Buffalo, he lives in Buffalo. Number Two, he's just about my age; I'm a couple years older than him. He's a member of Local 593 in Buffalo of the Steelworkers. He has kids, just like I do. He has hopes and dreams for his kids, just like I do. But he has silicosis.

And I asked him, "How far can you walk?"

"Well, if I walk a half a mile I got to sleep 13 hours." That's what he told me. I remember it vividly. 48 years old.

You know, if you get on our website, you will see language and a video of a woman named Frances Perkins, the gold standard of labor secretaries. *(Applause)*

In 1930, Secretary Perkins convened a conference on silica. In 1930, she warned of the dangers of silica. The National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health recommended 40 years later—so that would be 1970—that we take action. The issue has been studied and studied and studied, and Alan's fear is that, in his case, the issue will be studied quite literally to death. I don't want that to happen.

That's why I'm so proud that recently we issued the notice of proposed rule-making and we're taking those issues and we issued that rule—the proposed rule—on silica that would limit silica exposure and ultimately—and this is what it's all about—if fully implemented, would save lives and make our workplace safer.

In the coming months we'll be hearing from a wide array of stakeholders, and we've already heard from a wide array of stakeholders, and that's what we want to do. We always want to listen and learn from everybody who has concerns to raise and a perspective to bring.

And you know what? I've spoken to a lot of responsible employers who categorically reject the false choice between job growth and job safety. They recognize that the most important asset is their human capital, their workers, that nobody should have to choose between their health and their job. And they recognize that when employers cut corners, it not only is penny-wise pound-foolish, but it can have fatal consequences. There was no economic development going on in the aftermath of UBB when that explosion occurred. There was a catastrophe, and that's what we need to avoid.

That is why you see us in the silica context, that's why you see in the coal dust context tangible progress being made. Because as we move forward on job safety, we will continue to reject those false choices. We will continue to work to implement solutions that promote job growth and promote and ensure job safety because that is how it should be. That's the right thing to do in the United States of America. *(Applause)*

You know, I've seen so many wonderful partnerships across this country and, as we move forward talking about false choices, another false choice we should put in the scrapheap is this false choice that you can only satisfy either your shareholders or your workers. I think that is a false choice. We do not need to grow this economy under the business model of low-wage workers with no benefits. That's why this president and I strongly support an increase in the minimum wage. *(Applause)*

It's long since overdue. We've seen and I've seen—I went out to Nevada. I went to the culinary academy. I saw workers, employees being trained, business and labor coming together around a remarkably robust partnership that enabled people who are sweeping floors or people who are cleaning rooms, people who are porters in the service industry, in Las Vegas, to make a living wage, to make a decent wage with health benefits, and employers and large businesses, smaller businesses, alike, to have a return on investment for their employees. We do not have to

choose one or the other. We can have both. We are committed to working our level best to raising the minimum wage because here's what it's all about. *(Applause)*

Nobody who works a 40-hour week should have to live in poverty. That is the bottom line. *(Applause)*

I keep reading these alleged studies that it will drain job growth. Study after study has debunked that myth. Let's put that myth in the scrapheap for good. You know what? Here's why it's a myth. Because when a minimum wage worker sees his or her wages increase, you know, they're not stashing it in some overseas bank account, they're spending it. When they spend it, then other businesses grow because they are having their products brought.

You know, there was a guy named Henry Ford who actually understood this in 1914. When he raised the wages of auto workers, you know, people were wondering, "What are you doing?"

And he said, "People need to be able to afford to buy my cars. And when you have worker prosperity, you have economic prosperity." And you know what? He was right. So we're going to keep moving forward. There are so many other businesses today who recognize that, and I applaud their efforts because that's what we need to do.

I want to take a moment if I could, Rich, to thank the many nonprofits who are in this room who have been guests of the AFL-CIO in this conference because you have done so much to give voice to the needs of low-wage workers in the taxi industry, restaurants, domestic, home health and other industries with high concentrations of low-wage workers.

Because I had a great privilege of working not only with the labor movement in local, state and now the federal government, but I also had the privilege of working on the board and being the director of the board of an organization called CASA Maryland. CASA is very much like the organizations I met with yesterday. *(Applause)*

It started out as a shoestring immigrant assistance organization in the basement of a church. Today it's a multimillion-dollar advocacy organization that doesn't simply provide fish but teaches people how to fish.

CASA partnered very, very carefully and closely with labor unions and labor leaders on many worker rights issues, and we learned so much from each other. So many of the union leaders help us to understand how best to organize. What we did at CASA, and what so many nonprofits in the labor movement do today, is we all define success, not simply in terms of the number of people with union cards, but the number of people that we're helping move up the economic ladder.

As we work together with our nonprofit brothers and sisters and our union brothers and sisters, we will grow the movement and we will grow the middle class as well. That's what so much of this partnership is about.

I also want to commend you for inviting international partners into the labor rights movement here today, because I've had a chance to meet a number of them as well. Creating opportunity in an increasingly global economy means ensuring that workers have basic rights overseas. When they suffer and die from dangerous working conditions, when they are harassed or fired or even killed for organizing, that affects American workers, too. I'm so proud of the work that we're doing at the Labor Department to help build capacity of governments to enforce their laws and of unions to represent their members. It's why we encourage supply chain initiatives with real participation for workers and real accountability for companies. It's why we work for strong labor protections in our free trade agreements. These policies help all

workers everywhere enjoy that basic dignity at work, and they create more demand for goods made here in the United States. So I am so proud of the work that they are doing there.

Now, folks, it's time to move on. We've got a lot of work to do. We had a jobs report last Friday. First Friday of the month I spend a lot of time talking about the jobs report. We've had 42 months consecutive of private-sector job growth. Some 7.5 million jobs have been created. I'll tell you, the auto industry is coming back big time thanks to many people in this room and thanks to an investment that the president made. He believed in you, and you returned that belief with a vengeance, and I want to thank you for your work there. (*Applause*)

But make no mistake about it, there's so much more we need to. So, we need to pick up the pace of this recovery, we need to fight harder to create a better bargain for the middle class, and that's precisely what the president is doing. Every day, day in and day out, that is our focus, helping to up-skill people, helping to make sure the through the laws we enforce we create access to opportunity. Rewarding those innovative partnerships between labor and management that are helping to grow the middle class. We have so much more we can do.

Rich, I want to thank you for your partnership in the immigration context, because the labor movement has recognized that immigration reform is indeed a reality. It is indeed an economic imperative, a moral imperative, a national security imperative. Your partnership with business in this area has been so critically important.

You know, I mentioned that my dad died when I was a kid, and I remember that was a bad year. It was a bad year for Richard Nixon, 1974, bad year for Tom Perez and family in 1974, for different reasons to state the obvious.

But let me tell you a little story about my mom, because it really animates how I think of this. If you had taken a survey of my family January 1, 1974, and said, "One of your parents is going to die," there would have been unanimity in our family that it was going to be my mother. Because she had chronic problems with her health, she had to go to New York City to have some major surgery in February or March that year, and she continued to have chronic problems. Shortly after my dad died unexpectedly, my mom went back into the hospital.

What sustained her during that challenging summer and during the months and years ahead was her faith. Every night I'd go to bed. "Good night, Mom. See you tomorrow."

There's a saying in Spanish. She said it every night. "*Si Dios quiere*." "See you tomorrow." What "*si Dios quiere*" means is "if it's God's will." She had a great faith that animated her and helped all of us during difficult times.

But as I grew older and older, I must confess, that I started to take issue with what I used to call the "*si Dios quiere*" mentality because as I worked professionally doing civil rights work and doing labor rights work, I grew to conclude that it's not possibly God's will that people working a 40-hour week should live in poverty. It's not possibly God's will that people showing up in the coal mine were not going to get to see their children graduate, not get to their grandchildren's wedding. It was impossible to me that it was God's will that women are making 77 cents on the dollar. It was impossible to me that it's God's will that 11 million people are living in the shadows, immigrants, who should be in the sunshine with the passage of comprehensive immigration reform. It was impossible to me that we just simply had to expect and accept the fate of Alan White and so many others suffering from illness as a result of unsafe workplaces.

So you know what? I don't think it's God's will. All of these challenges that I've described are human made, and they will be fixed by humans. They will be fixed by Americans, people in this room, people in this presidential suite, people across America who will come

together. Because I know that God told me that we are our brother's keeper, we are our sister's keeper. The labor movement is our brother's keeper, the labor movement is our sister's keeper. As we work together, we will build a better America. As we work together, we will bring the middle class to thrive again. As we work together, we will make sure that everybody has the ladder of opportunity to climb. We will make sure that those rungs between the ladder are short; that you can climb them. That no matter who you are, no matter where you came from, no matter how much you love, you can make it here in America.

That's why I'm optimistic about America because I've seen it work. I've seen your stick-to-it-iveness, I've seen your spirit, and I know this president. He's here for you. We may not always agree on everything, but we always talk it through, we always resolve it, because our values are the same, and our values are about growing the middle class, growing a better America, and we'll do it together, so help me God. Thank you. *(Standing ovation)*

TRUMKA: One more time for Secretary of Labor Tom Perez. *(Standing ovation)*

We've come a long way with the secretary of labor. Used to be they couldn't say the U, U, U word.

Before we do anything else, Cecil was gracious enough to mention Peg Seminario, who heads our Safety and Health Department, who has spent a career fighting for the rights of workers on the job to protect their health and safety. I just wanted to present her to you so we could say thank you for all that she's done. *(Applause)*

Time for some action sessions and a little bit of lunch. But first I'll ask Secretary-Treasurer Shuler to let us know about some important announcements and the list of action sessions for today. Liz.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SECRETARY-TREASURER ELIZABETH SHULER: Talk about a buzz kill. Sorry about that.

First, the baseball game this evening—I'm sorry to say there aren't any more tickets available and more people would like to go. If you aren't planning on using your tickets tonight, please turn them in to the convention registration desk.

Second, Rich mentioned the action sessions. The action sessions yesterday were a real highlight. Hopefully everybody attended some of them.

There was high attendance and there was a high level of engagement. So in case you need a little added incentive to spend your lunch hour today strategizing about next steps for the labor movement, you can attend and win prizes. Yesterday we randomly selected some winners, and I'm about to announce them.

So if you were at an action session yesterday, pay close attention, I might be calling your name. You can pick up your prize after I call your name by the entrance to the plenary space where the artist is working.

Yesterday's winners are—drum roll, please—Steven VanSlooten, Becky Turner. *(Applause)*

OK, some excitement here. Michael Frenna, Patty Rose, Bernard [sp? Alenza, and Mike Gallagher. Congratulations. And you, too, can win tomorrow if you attend the action session today.

We have a great lineup. Remember, the most up-to-date listing is at aflcio2013.org. I'm about to run through all the action sessions, so hang in there with me.

"Alt-Labor: Building Union-Worker Center Partnerships," in Room 408B.

"Bangladesh Fire and Safety Accord: A New Standard in Global Framework Agreements," in Room 405.

"Fighting for Health Care in the Age of the Affordable Care Act," Room 408A.

"Global Approaches to Building Worker Power," in Room 306A and B.

"How the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a Supersized NAFTA, Will Impact You as a Worker and What You Can Do About It!," in Room 404B.

"Lessons in Women's Leadership: 'Leaning In' the Labor Way," in 301B.

"Link up with China's Workers Around Common Issues in the Global Economy," in Room 406B.

"Mass Incarceration and the Labor Movement," in Room 406A.

"Organize the South: Why the South Matters to the Future of Labor," in Room 308A and B.

"Organizing Workers and Immigration Reform: A Strategy Session," in Room 403A.

"Power Through Diversity: Strategize With Constituency Groups for a More Inclusive Labor Movement," on the Solidarity Stage 2.

"Show It, Don't Say It! Ten Ways to Change How People See Unions." I'll see you there in Room 402A.

"The Labor Movement's Campaign to Raise Wages," in Room 403B.

"This is NOT What Democracy Looks Like: The Democracy Initiative," in Room 402B.

"Twitter 101: Getting Started," at the Boots Online Digital Strategies Booth in the Plaza area outside the hall.

And "Workers' Voice: An Independent Movement to Elect Progressives," in Room 404A.

Whew, OK, the convention is now recessed until 2:30 p.m. Please be here right at 2:30 p.m., because we have a lot of work to do this afternoon.

Thank you, and we'll see you then.

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

THIRD DAY

Tuesday, September 10, 2013

AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2:32 p.m., President Trumka presiding.

PRESIDENT RICHARD TRUMKA: The convention will now come to order. Please take your seats. Thank you.

I hope everybody here took advantage of the fantastic program of action sessions that just concluded, and I hope you plan to attend another one tomorrow.

This afternoon we will take up three resolutions from the Resolutions Committee on foreign policy issues. The Committee on Shared Prosperity and the Global Economy will return to lead our discussion about global organizing and the new approach that we need to trade and globalization. Then we will nominate officers of the AFL-CIO.

But before we start our discussion on immigration workers and organizing, I'd like to present to you DREAMer Hareth Andrade-Ayala.

I hope she is coming on up here. Hareth worked in Washington this summer as a part of Dream Summer, part of our Union Summer program. Hareth is going to share a poem with you that she wrote.

HARETH ANDRADE-AYALA

DREAMER

How's everybody doing?

We can do better than that. How we doing?

Good. So, before I begin, I want to share a little bit. Actually I was supposed to do my poem before President Obama spoke with the hopes that I may ask him to stop my father's deportation. But then I realized after hearing the artist who inspired us with the cutouts saying actions speak louder than words, and looking at the tables, together we are stronger. So I said, "Together we are stronger."

So I'm going ask, if you want to tell President Obama to stop my dad's deportation, please stand up. (*Standing ovation*)

"America, we need to talk.

Don't be afraid and stand because we believe this is the year.

The year that the dreams of my parents will be realized and the dreams of millions who came across borders unimaginable to reach the land of opportunities.

A story comes to mind of a little girl's dream to become a spokesperson, and she did not mean to take anything let alone make a scene.

She was just trying to fit in.

Yet by age 15 treated like she was a sin, illegal.

Placed in a category, a shelf, a cell incarcerated in the word, sentenced without conviction, alone she would crumble, yet the dream kept her humble and she built a suit of armor to join the fight.

Empowered by the liberation, we the people must build the suit.

Let's go on and tell them while they will have the power to sit, separating us as they see fit.

But my father's hands blister from work all day he didn't feel like he has a say.

As this nation dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal rises with 11 million dreams, America, we are liberated by the pain.

So let's talk.

Because America's home, a land of dreams, for all dreamers."

Thank you. (*Standing ovation*)

TRUMKA: If you want to see a copy of that poem, there's a framed copy in my office that I look at every day.

I want to thank you, Hareth, for not only sharing that and beginning the discussion with the reminder of that story. The story of immigrants in America is really not a story about numbers, it's about people.

To lead our discussion of Resolution 4 on immigration reform and immigrant worker organizing, which subsumes proposed Resolutions 23 and 31, we'll hear from María Elena, vice chair of the Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action.

María. (*Applause*)

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

RESOLUTION NO. 4

Assisting Immigrant Workers to Become Citizens and Exercise Their Workplace Rights

VICE PRESIDENT MARÍA ELENA DURAZO, Los Angeles County (Calif.) Federation of Labor: Good afternoon. Sisters and brothers. Every day more than 11 million aspiring citizens contribute to our communities, our economy and our country, but they are still denied fundamental rights. The immigration system is broken and it is breaking the lives of innocent, hardworking people all around us.

Let us look at a video of what I'm talking about.

...*The video titled "Butterflies" was shown to the delegation.*

DURAZO: Sisters and brothers, a strong democracy cannot function this way—with the ability to fully participate and exercise rights limited by skin color or by your immigrant status. The way we treat aspiring citizens reflects the values that define what it means to be Americans.

We have fought long and hard for a road map to citizenship for those whose aspirations—and, frankly, our demand for their labor—bring them to these shores. We fought hard to adopt that principle in the Senate. But House Republicans are saying "No." They want to chop the bill up until the sum of its pieces is the status quo—or even worse.

We know working people cannot be strong when any group of workers is exploited—and our movement is strongest when it is open to all workers. (*Applause*)

Immigration reform is key to our organizing program. Let me give you an idea about a way to connect immigration reform with organizing. This May, the LA Federation of Labor launched the immigrant organizing project. We hired a group of young organizers, many of them DREAMers, who had been undocumented themselves, to reach out to nonunion members

across Los Angeles and get them to sign up and get active on immigration reform. For many of them, it is their very first experience with the labor movement.

Let me introduce a few of them to you: Teresa Contreras, Fernando Hernandez, Sergio Dominguez, Marlene Montanez, Jaqueline Luna. *(Applause)*

And let's hear three of their stories.

JAQUELINE LUNA DREAMer

Hello. My name is Jaqueline Luna. I've been signing up Ironworkers right in front of this building. My team goes out at 5 in the morning and we talk to workers. Often they rush past us to get to work on time. But one morning a worker told us that we should come back during their lunch. We weren't sure they would all come out, but they all did. They talked about immigration reform. What they talked to us about the most was the working conditions. Every single one of them signed a card for immigration reform. And I hope that one day they can all be part of the Ironworkers union. *(Applause)*

FERNANDO HERNANDEZ DREAMer

Hello, everybody. My name is Fernando Hernandez. I've been signing up carwash workers. One day we went out to a carwash and I approached a carwasher to sign a card for immigration reform. He didn't want to talk to us at all. But once he started talking, he wouldn't stop. In fact, he even missed his bus.

He was from Yucatan, Mexico, and has been working at the carwash for 35 years. He told us how the managers regularly steal wages from his paycheck, and that his co-workers wanted to speak up but were afraid of being fired.

He was just waiting for someone to hear his story. And I know that when the Steelworkers organize his carwash, I will be proud that the first conversation he had with an organizer was with me. *(Applause)*

TERESA CONTRERAS DREAMer

Hello. My name Teresa Contreras and I'm a proud DREAMer. There are many stories I could tell, yet there has been one housekeeper that has stood out from the rest. When I talked to her, I saw a lot of fear in her eyes, and in many ways she reminded me of my own mother.

She worked at a hotel in downtown LA, very close to here, for more than 15 years. And when we talked about the immigration reform, she felt that there was simply no more hope for her. The hotel managers had brainwashed her and mistreated her so bad that she felt helpless and, most importantly, she felt insignificant.

When we talked about my story as a DREAMer and how I myself had worked at a factory under the table, her eyes came to life. There was no more fear. She was willing to take action. And most importantly, perhaps soon she'll be able to be a member of UNITE HERE. Thank you. *(Applause)*

DURAZO: Sisters and brothers, because of these great activists, this project has been a huge success. Just imagine what would happen if we had an army of these young people organizing immigrant workers all across the country? *(Applause)*

Resolution 4 calls for recruiting and training this kind of an army, an army that will reach out to call center workers with CWA, Larry; to manufacturing workers for the UAW and Machinists and Steelworkers—to the building and construction workers, to home care workers, with AFSCME and others.

Immigration reform is also key to our political program, that we have seen and proven here in California and in other parts of the country.

In key states the AFL-CIO will mount citizenship, voter registration and get out the vote efforts that will change the political environment for the benefit of all of us, for the benefit of all working people.

The way that AFT plans to do to take back the state of Texas. *(Applause)*

Finally, let me say that the resolution also calls for the AFL-CIO, for our unions, state federations and local labor councils to partner with our allies, open up our union halls, provide support to immigrant workers, from workers' rights training to processing the applications for citizenship.

The labor movement will do what the Irish immigrants did in the last century. They led and joined with Italians and Jews and other immigrants. And remember Tammany Hall. The Irish and others who were treated subhuman, but they turned it all around and they used their power, their new political power to create good, middle-class jobs, and to get access to those jobs.

Sisters and brothers, this is a campaign that we can win. It's a campaign that we must win. Now, already there are some pundits who are saying forget about it. They are trying to tell us that other things are suddenly more important. Well, they are wrong. No excuses, no excuses.

We say and we demand a vote now. Pass immigration reform with a path to citizenship with workplace organizing rights right now.

Sisters and brothers, we need you to step up. We need the resources. We need you to march on October 5th. This is our moment. No more waiting. No more putting us under the pile. We have to fulfill our mission as a labor movement.

So, sisters and brothers, on behalf of the Committee on Growth, Innovation and Political Action, I move adoption of Resolution 4. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 4 be adopted. Is there discussion? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

GEORGE GALIS, International Union of Painters and Allied Trades: Mr. Chairman, I serve as the general secretary-treasurer of the International Union of Painters and Allied Trades. I'm the son of an undocumented worker who was deported and believed so in the American dream that he returned and persisted until he finally achieved his dream of citizenship.

During that time, he had to work every day in fear that he would be deported again. As an organizer from my union, I've spoken to many immigrant workers who wanted to join the union for decent wages, a safe workplace, health insurance, pension, for training, for dignity, but they feared working on the books, they feared standing up, because they were threatened by

their employer. This flawed system must be reformed. We must stop the corporate plan to create a workforce that can be exploited without recourse.

For my father, for the millions who are being denied fairness in the workplace due to their immigration status, I support and urge passage of this resolution. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother George. Delegate at mike 2.

VICE PRESIDENT LAURA REYES, AFSCME: Sisters and brothers, I am secretary-treasurer of the Great Green Mighty Machine, AFSCME.

(Addresses the delegation in Spanish.)

I stand here and rise in support of Resolution 4. Why does a union primarily composed of public employees care so much about immigration reform? There are hundreds of reasons, sisters and brothers. Thousands of us are first-generation Americans working in public services of every kind. Thousands of us work providing public services to immigrants in schools, in public safety and in health care. Thousands more work in public services that are threatened by privatization.

When we look under the rocks, sometimes we discover that the privatizers are bidding low because they are exploiting a workforce of undocumented workers. Then there are the big-picture motivations. There has never been a fight for justice and equal rights that hasn't engaged us, and this one, sisters and brothers, is no different.

If we win a path to citizenship for the millions who seek it, one day they will be voters, too. *(Applause)*

Voters. Voters who can change the politics of Texas, Arizona, Georgia and North Carolina. *(Cheers and applause)*

So that in those states one day it will be open to legalizing collective bargaining for their public workers.

There's one more reason. All of us here come from immigrants. However our ancestors got here, whether on a slave ship in shackles, on a steamship in steerage, or in a modern airplane, or even if they walked over a land bridge from Asia to North America, we are all connected to the immigrants who built this country and who founded our unions, just as we are connected to the 11 million neighbors who want a chance at the American dream.

Together—together, sisters and brothers, we can pass immigration reform with them and for them. I encourage you, too, to rise up in solidarity and support Resolution 4. *(Applause)*

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

GUILLERMO PEREZ, United Steelworkers: I'm a proud member of the United Steelworkers. *(Cheers and applause)*

I rise in support of this resolution. I should also say I'm a member of the executive board of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, the national board. I sit as a representative of the Steelworkers.

LCLAA, those of us who are active in LCLAA, have been engaged in the struggle for immigration reform for a long time. I just want to personally thank President Trumka for the leadership role he's played in fighting this battle.

Historically, our movement has not always been pro-immigrant. This is a change that I know was not easy, but it was the right thing, and this is a righteous fight. The federation put resources and energy into this struggle like nothing—it was extraordinary.

So we had a breakthrough, we had a bill in the Senate, comprehensive immigration reform with the path to citizenship. As I said before, this was the right thing to do. This speaks to our values as a labor movement. We all know that workers are workers whether immigrant, native born, whether they have papers or not. They are workers and they need to be part of our movement.

So this is the right thing to do, but it's also the smart thing to do. The future of our economy will depend on immigration; for a dynamic-growing, job-creating economy, we need immigrants. We all benefit by the work that immigrants do, both documented and undocumented.

But unfortunately, we also suffer spiritually by the rampant exploitation and abuse that so many immigrant workers, and especially undocumented workers, suffer. The solution, of course, is not to attack the worker, the solution is to organize the worker.

So the fight is still before us and the work that the federation has done on this is extraordinary. And my union, the Steelworkers, we organized a May Day march that brought out 700 union members and allies to the streets of Pittsburgh. I'm pretty sure the last time they had an immigrant rights march was in the 19th century.

So we're updating the immigrant struggle in Pittsburgh. We're doing it with the leadership of AFL. We would just ask this: Let's remember that the bill will still leave out millions of undocumented. We have to struggle and continue to fight for something that really reaches millions more. Thank you.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. *(Applause)* Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

TERRENCE MELVIN, AFSCME: Brother Chairman, I serve as the secretary-treasurer of the New York State federation of labor. I also serve as the president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. I am a proud 33-year member of the Green Machine, AFSCME. *(Cheers and applause)*

I stand before you this day in support of Resolution 4 to remind all of us that we are all immigrants, except the native Americans. We all came on different boats, but God knows we're all in the same boat now.

The founding documents of this country say that we hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they're endowed by our Creator with certain inalienable rights, and among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

I tell you, I come from New York State and we have the Statue of Liberty, which says give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free.

Immigrant workers ought to be able to breathe free. To breathe free means to be free from oppression and free from depression. Free to come out of the shadows and to be full members of our society. Not in 15 or 20 years, but now. Free to be citizens of this great country that we live in. Free to join and form unions. Free to not be oppressed by these employers that would just take away their rights, that are using them to just make profits. Free to get a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. Free. Free not to be exploited by anyone.

Let us stand together as the United States labor movement and ensure that 11 million people can breathe free. Let us pass this resolution and not just pass it, but when we leave here, let us make this resolution a reality. Thank you. *(Applause)*

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

YVETTE HERRERA, Communications Workers of America: Good afternoon. I'm a proud CWA member and an immigrant. I want to thank María Elena Durazo for leading us in our stand for a moral immigration reform with a path to citizenship. María Elena is an authentic and relentless voice for our movement who has the respect and trust of the Latino community and the immigration partners and allies.

I also wish to thank Rich Trumka and the AFL-CIO for making passage of CIR a priority.

....Delegate Herrera addressed the delegation in Spanish.

I came to this country when I was 4 years old. My parents, like so many immigrants who have been given the opportunity to become citizens, became citizens the minute they were eligible—the minute—and I have greatly benefited from that, and my daughter is a first-generation American.

There was no prouder American than my father, who passed away this July. I, like so many, have been inspired by the DREAMers, by the courage these young people have shown—risking everything, their freedom, deportation, never seeing their family again—to bring about justice.

These 18-, 19- and 20-year-olds are standing up and declaring, “I am the face of the undocumented, and I am not afraid.” *(Applause)*

There are two things I know to be true. First, the undocumented are just like me. They are just like us. They are workers, they are not CEOs, they are not bankers, they are not wealthy. They are workers, mothers, fathers, daughters and sons.

Second, we have the same enemies. Those who would have us work long hours under inhumane conditions for low pay with no rights, no benefits, no security or voice, are the same enemies that we have.

Getting CIR with a path for citizenship is going to be a tough fight, but we will take our lead from the courage of the DREAMers and demand with them unafraid justice for the undocumented because we know that—

....Delegate Herrera addressed the delegation in Spanish.

—only together can we move forward. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. The Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 23.

LIZ McELROY, Philadelphia Council of the AFL-CIO: Thank you, Mr. Chair. Good afternoon. I'm the secretary-treasurer of the Philadelphia AFL-CIO. I'm also a proud member of the American Federation of Teachers.

I rise today to support Resolution 4 with all of my heart, and I use that sentence deliberately, because I'm not sure I would have put it quite that way just a month ago. It's not because a month ago I didn't believe that immigration reform was needed or the right thing to do, or that I didn't believe that the right to organize for all workers wasn't a vital, fundamental right.

But in earlier August I had the chance to travel to North Carolina and visit Camp Solidarity with the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, and there I met with tobacco workers. There I met a man about my age, he was in his thirties, who hadn't seen his mom in 16 years because he can't go home. He said he doesn't even call home often anymore because all she does is cry.

I also saw the living conditions of workers in some of the fields, the tobacco fields and the farm fields, many of whom are undocumented, although not all of them. There were six cots to a small room. Group showers, toilets without dividers between them, as if to drive home the point that they lacked full rights as citizens.

What these workers might lack in rights, brothers and sisters, they more than make up for in voice. We heard from the DREAMers and we know that immigrant workers are raising their voices in organizing all over this country.

It's our responsibility in this labor movement, I believe, to help them amplify that voice, and passing Resolution 4 will do that. I'm standing before you in my "Proud to Be Union" T-shirt, and I am every day of my life. But I will be even more proud when this body soundly passes Resolution 4.

Thank you for the opportunity. *(Applause)*

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

VICE PRESIDENT JOSEPH HANSEN, United Food and Commercial Workers Union: Thank you, President Trumka. I am the proud president of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union. *(Applause)*

This issue is not only an important issue for all of us in this room, this is an important issue for our country. It's a simple fairness issue. It's a fairness issue for working families that just want to have a better life.

Immigrants come to America, they want democracy, they want the ability to earn a living, to raise their children, to live out a decent life. They come into jobs, agriculture, domestics, and tens of thousands of them come into the meatpacking and poultry industries in our union.

I'm proud of the UFCW history on this issue; it's been an issue for us for decades. I'm particularly proud that 12 years ago the discussion on immigration and the AFL-CIO's policy started in this city. I am really, really proud about the fact that I, Terry O'Sullivan, John Wilhelm and a few others authored the resolution that the council passed that changed the direction of the AFL-CIO regarding immigrant workers. That was a proud moment for this federation.

We supported and we participated in the Freedom Rides that took place all across the country that María Elena did such a wonderful job on. And in 2006, thousands of our members were incarcerated in their work places in the Swift plants by our government in an unconstitutional raid by the ICE people.

We responded. We formed a commission. We held hearings. Many of you participated around the country. Secretary Vilsack was one of our leaders in that. We sued the government, we sued the president.

So, very briefly, it is our issue but it is an issue for all of us. What immigrants want and what they give up should be dear to all of us. I've talked to many of them. They gave up lives

as teachers, lawyers, professionals, tradesmen and women to come into this country, to start at the bottom just so they could have an opportunity.

The journey they made was often dangerous; sometimes they don't make it. They don't live to get here to get the dream. They come from all over the world, not just from Mexico and Central America. If there is a war someplace or there is a repressive government someplace, people come to America because of what we stand for. We are the promised land, and all they want is what our parents and grandparents and ancestors wanted—an opportunity.

So, brothers and sisters, now is the time to pass comprehensive immigration reform. Not next year. The time is now.

I support this resolution, my union supports this resolution. But what we do after we support this resolution is more important. We have to continue our work in the community, we have to continue our work in Congress, and we have to remind our leaders that we will remember in 2014 whether they supported a fairness issue, a democracy issue, an issue for working families in this country.

So, brothers and sisters, it's not over today, it will not be over tomorrow, but we will get comprehensive immigration reform, and the labor movement will be the path to the path for citizenship for all these deserving people. Thank you. (*Applause*)

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

MARIA NEIRA, AFT: President Trumka, I'm a delegate and vice president of AFT and vice president of the New York State United Teachers.

I get up today to support the resolution in front of us. I'm not going to repeat what has been said because I do believe that the DREAMer's poem this afternoon captured the voice of everyone in our communities. It is time to fix the immigration system now. It is also time to remind Congress, as it returns from its summer vacation, that we demand common sense in this reform.

Most of the 11 million undocumented immigrants have lived in America for more than 10 years. They are our neighbors, they make up our communities, they make up our faith-based organizations. They are our friends and our family members.

I will just share with you, as an educator, I can tell you many of my students, our DREAMers, who do, not from their own fault, go through our school system and do everything they are requested to do and are not able to pursue the American dream of a higher education.

I invite you, brothers and sisters, to allow me as an educator to be able to deliver the promise that I make to my students that if they do well, follow the rules, they will succeed. Let's bring our 11 million undocumented workers out of the shadows. It is integral for the prosperity of all workers. I urge this body to support the revolution—it is a revolution, actually (*Applause*)—this resolution. And let our *hermanas y hermanos* know that the labor movement believes and, "*Sí, se puede!*" (*Applause*)

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

TRAVEN LEYSHON, Green Mountain (Vt.) Labor Council: I'm secretary-treasurer of the Vermont AFL-CIO. And, yes, Sister, this is a democratic revolution. Yes, this is a human rights revolution.

So I rise in support of Resolution No. 4 and subsumed Resolution No. 23. I'm so proud that we're taking on these hard issues.

We in the Vermont AFL-CIO, we're working with our strategic partners at Vermont Migrant Justice. We're working with the Vermont Workers Center to fight for a fair and comprehensive immigration reform that meets human rights standards. And I want to share with you some of the organizing on the ground and the victories that we've begun to win. And I say only begun to win because we know this is going to be a long road.

When we put Vermont on the road to universal health care, we defeated the attempt to divide us by excluding undocumented workers. We said, "Universal means universal," and we won. *(Applause)*

We organized and won the right to drivers' licenses for undocumented workers. *(Applause)*

We fought against the implementation of the anti-immigrant SCOM, the so-called safe community laws, and it's essentially null and void in the boundaries of Vermont. *(Applause)*

We have a moral obligation and an obligation to our brothers and sisters and to ourselves to stop the mass deportations that are going on at a record rate now that violate human dignity and divide families.

We should be organizing for a humane road map, not contingent on some repugnant border security measures.

And we've got to ensure that any reform, any real reform guarantees full labor and workplace rights for all workers.

Finally—and we know this—we need to reverse the root causes of forced migration, trade policies that say to our brothers and sisters, start at home or come here. *(Applause)*

We know this isn't going to be won just in this Congress, it's going to take the kind of mass mobilization that takes the labor movement to play a leading role along with our brothers and sisters who have proven, who have proven with their mass mobilizations, that they're willing to put themselves on the line. We can win this, we will win this. I thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The rules of the convention state that we will have a maximum of 30 minutes debate on every resolution. We have about three minutes left on this debate time. The chair calls on the delegate at mike 1.

VICE PRESIDENT D. TAYLOR, UNITE HERE: I'm lucky. I'm the last one, then, I guess.

I don't have any script. I want to thank Rich for his leadership on this and María Elena Durazo so much, but that's not why I'm up here.

We're going to support this resolution unanimously. That's not the question, in my opinion. The question is what are we going to do in the next two months to push the House to pass comprehensive immigration reform? That's what we have to do. *(Applause)*

I think we've got to challenge ourselves. For the last few days we have said we have to involve ourselves with the community to push for social and economic justice. There is no better example of social and economic justice than passing this bill and getting people out of the shadows.

So I propose, President Trumka, in February you challenge the Executive Committee to have every union to give money to help the AFL-CIO to run a campaign to pass comprehensive immigration reform. We're halfway there. Halfway there. We need to go after about 25 or 30 of these House Republicans with a paid political ground game so they pay the price for what they

have said before. We have got to do that in order to win. We're going to hold the Democrats accountable. Let's get these Republicans off the fence. Let's pass comprehensive immigration reform and change this country. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Brother. The chair calls on the delegate at mike 3 for a minute and 22 seconds.

JOSIE CAMACHO, The Alameda (Calif.) Labor Council: I'm secretary-treasurer of the Alameda Labor Council, proud first VP of the APALA and also a proud member of CWA 39521.

So I just wanted to echo what the brother from UNITE HERE just said. We are only at the beginning of the threshold of a breakthrough for the working class in this country. The faces and the demographics of working people have changed. That's why the Republicans started listening to the fact that numbers count. When the votes happen, they saw that APIs, Latinos and all other immigrants voted in high percentages for President Obama. That's why they lost.

We're at a juncture now where we cannot have our people subjected to the terrorism of E-Verify, of being stopped at the borders, of increasing border patrols for every thousand feet. I mean, that's next to ridiculous, the amount of money that is going from our taxpayers' monies, including the funds that the working people, the undocumented, have to pay into to hang themselves.

So I just want to say in conclusion: Are we ready to fight? Are we ready to fight?

DELEGATION: "Yes."

CAMACHO: Are we ready to make sure that DREAMers actually have a future? Are we ready to make sure that working men and women, cab drivers, taxi drivers, domestic workers, home care workers, all of our undocumented brothers and sisters that have stood in the shadows far too long, have a pathway to citizenship, have a human dignity right to be able to take care of themselves and their families. And if you agree with me, I want you to stand up right now and I want you to shout, "Sí, se puede! Sí, se puede! Sí, se puede! Sí, se puede!"

DELEGATION: "Sí, se puede!"

CAMACHO: Is my time up, President Trumka?

TRUMKA: Thank you.

The question is on the adoption of Resolution 4. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Oh, we can do better than that.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. No?

All those opposed, say no. None.

Resolution 4 is adopted. Thank you. *(Applause)*

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

[[INSERT TEXT OF RESOLUTION 4]]

(End Resolution No. 4)

TRUMKA: Now I'd quickly like to turn back to Leo Gerard for a report on Resolution 12, "Global Organizing." Leo.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE 2: SHARED PROSPERITY IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY (Resumed)

RESOLUTION NO. 8

Global Organizing

VICE PRESIDENT LEO GERARD, USW: Before we begin, we're a little crunched for time, let me share a video with you. Play the video, please.

...The video presentation, "What is the Impact?," was shown to the delegation.

GERARD: Brothers and sisters, U.S. trade negotiations over the past 25 years have created a global economic system governed by multinational corporations. With no counterbalance or check on growing corporate power, the wages of American workers have been suppressed, our living standards have been lowered, our air, water and fundamental labor rights have been threatened.

The three major trade agreements are currently being negotiated are the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the Transatlantic Trade & Investment Partnership and the Trade in International Services Agreement. We call on U.S. workers to stand together with our international brothers and sisters to force our governments to choose a path, and a much different path.

We know that we cannot create this different path without our partnerships with key labor movements from around the world. From the fight over NAFTA to the current fight over TPP, our partnership with the Canadian Labour Congress has proven to be key in that fight. We face many of the same attacks as our brothers and sisters to the north, and by working together we can build a broader movement for more than just pro-worker trade policies.

Ken Georgetti, my friend, became president of the Canadian Labour Congress in 1999, after a quarter-century of union activism in British Columbia. He first went to work in the giant smelter of Cominco in British Columbia, and became an active member of the United Steelworkers American Local 480. He rose through the ranks to become president of that local in 1981.

He is a key partner to the U.S. labor movement, and joins us today in the struggle against TPP.

Please welcome my friend, my brother, eh, Ken Georgetti, eh.

KEN GEORGETTI
President, Canadian Labour Congress

Thank you so much, Brother Gerard, president of my union.

Let me just say that workers throughout the world are facing coordinated attacks that are designed to implement a low wage and a profit strategy driven by global enterprises and implemented by their friends in government. This strategy, my friends, pits worker against worker, enabling a race to the bottom of social equity issues.

Through relocation strategies these multinationals continue to push for lower wages and labor standards, as well as an end of collective representation and collective bargaining. They do this to enhance their investments and increase their profit margins. They also want less regulations and fewer trade barriers.

Today, these multinationals are hell-bent on manipulating the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a free trade agreement bigger than North American Free Trade Agreement, so as to secure a hold over the entire global economy. If they get their way, everything from your rights at work to the price of your prescriptions to the safety of your child's toys will be severely influenced.

It will be easier to relocate your jobs overseas, disregard clean air and water regulations, and carve out special corporate privileges that ignore health and safety regulations.

You know, government trade representatives are being vigorously lobbied daily by these multinationals. Before the TPP is finalized at the end of this year, my friends, they also need to hear from workers and their families.

We up in Canada at the CLC are asking our Canadian government to include a strong labor chapter in this Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement that would protect core labor rights, such as collective bargaining, and give it teeth by including the power to suspend trade benefits to multinationals in countries that don't comply. *(Applause)*

National governments should have the right to protect vital services and resources for the public good, we argue, and no corporation, not one, should have the right to sue a country for protecting the interest of its citizens.

We stand—*(Applause)* Thank you. We stand with you and workers around the world to get trade deals that actually help raise the bar for all workers, not force a race to the bottom. Because we all know, sisters and brothers, that when working people stand together, our society always ends up a better place for all of us. Thank you. *(Applause)*

GERARD: As we talk about our need to have allies across the world, I feel really honored and humbled to be able to ask the next speaker to come up. She's been a friend for a long time. As you heard the other day, when she was here at the Diversity Conference, she's the first woman to lead the ITUC as general secretary.

I would like to ask Sharan Burrow to come up and say a few words. Sharan. *(Applause)*

SHARAN BURROW
General Secretary
International Trade Union Confederation

Rich, delegates, let me bring you greetings from your family, 175 million workers around the world, the biggest democratic force on Earth, the family of working people.
(Applause)

This convention's been inspiring: the messages, organizing, building workers' power, reaching out, taking control of who is in our movement, not letting others do that. They are critical.

I'm sorry, Leo, Larry, those of our global organizing partners, that I can't be with you for the global organizing debate tomorrow morning. But let me say TPP is one of those challenges.

If we don't aggregate our organizing capacity around the world, these trade agreements will simply drive more and more of the impoverished global supply chain model that is exploiting workers everywhere.

So it's a very good example. I can tell you there are 2.9 billion workers in the global economy, give or take one or two or three; 60% of them are in the formal sector. But guess what? More than 50% of those don't have any secure contract of employment, or they're in some vulnerable or precarious work.

Then we have 40% of our brothers and sisters, you saw some of them this week—the domestic workers, the day laborers—in the informal sector, who actually don't have any rules; the sector of desperation. Well, TPP and other corporate agendas will simply drive more informal work, more attacks on workers' rights, less security, less wage justice, less safety; all of the things you've guaranteed to stand up and fight for.

I'm very proud, Richard, that the AFL-CIO is one of the members of the global family, a member we can always depend on.

Larry, I have a special message for you. We have a commitment to actually driving T-Mobile into union-land. I've seen the fear, with Larry in Charleston firsthand, of the terrible bullying of workers. When young women say to me that leaving a call center in T-Mobile and joining a unionized call center is equivalent to leaving an abusive relationship, we don't stand and rest until that company, every company, driven global solidarity, is organized in union-land.

TPP, global organizing, we can do it. You can do it, you're doing it right here in America, and with you, we'll do it globally. Solidarity.

Richard, you're going to get re-elected. (*Applause*)

GERARD: Richard just got the support of the Australia Trade Union, so he may make it a squeaker today, but we'll make it. (*Laughter*)

Sisters and brothers, we call for a people-centered trade policy. One that will create shared gains for workers whose labor creates society's wealth while protecting the environment and the freedom to regulate in the public interest.

The trade policy that levels the playing field is one that is flexible, responsible and negotiated openly, not in secret, but negotiated democratically. It sets the rules for fair compensation, addresses the currency manipulation that affects global markets and depresses wages, and allows nations to stimulate their economies through domestic infrastructure and spending programs.

The fair trade policy we call for in Resolution 12 will also protect the rights of government to choose the scope and level of public services and to secure the integrity and stability of their financial systems. It will also protect intellectual property in a fair and balanced manner, and protect the unique U.S. transportation regulatory and legal structure.

To create this new model of trade policy, we need to educate our members and all workers about the effects of our trade policies, and show that an alternative that leads to higher standards of living is not only possible but needed. But we also go beyond education and organization, and we must go to mobilization.

We will work with our partners in the international labor movement to shape trade policies that meet a pro-worker agenda, that ensures that U.S. policies make U.S. producers and their employees more competitive in the global marketplace.

We will hold countries accountable to protect labor rights, demand transparency and inclusiveness in creating U.S. international economic policies, and organize our members and community allies to demand that trade create shared prosperity, prosperity in trade agreements currently under negotiation and any future trade agenda.

We will fight any trade agreement that fails to prioritize the needs of working families and advance shared prosperity, and we will hold our elective representatives accountable for their trade policies in action.

On behalf of the Committee on Shared Prosperity, I strongly recommend adoption of Resolution 12, but again, remind you of the numbers I talked about this morning. I can put another number out there for you: the Steelworkers claim 850,000 members. Had we not had these rotten trade policies, we'd have over 1.2 million active workers.

Now, those jobs were lost to rotten trade policies. Those jobs were family-supporting jobs. Those jobs had pensions. Those jobs had health care. Those jobs had health and safety rights. We need to stop the exodus of our jobs to rotten trade policy. We need to stand up and fight back for fair trade.

Richard, on behalf of the committee, I so move.

TRUMKA: The committee recommends that Resolution 12 be adopted. Is there discussion? Start at mike 2, the delegate at mike 2, please.

JAMES CONIGLIARO, Machinists: Thank you. I'm from the International Association of Machinist and Aerospace Workers.

I rise to support Resolution 12. From the battle over the WTO with Seattle to our FTA fight in Miami, the IAM continues to demand 21st century trade agreements that put working families first, not multimillionaires, CEOs and their corporations who have no loyalty to the men and women who built them and made them so rich.

We know all too well that NAFTA and trade agreements that followed with countries like South Korea and Colombia have cost our members and the members of North American unions billions and billions of jobs. We know that secret trade agreements that have been negotiated in secret make it easier for corporations to ship our jobs overseas, giving international corporations the power to challenge our domestic laws.

We know that despite our efforts, these trade agreements pay only lip service to our labor rights.

How else could trade agreements be signed with Colombia, a country where 2 million trade unionists have been murdered, and thousands more have been beaten and tortured?

Resolution 12 repeats our demand for a new kind of trade agreement, a kind of trade agreement that is clearly based on fundamental human rights, like the rights to form a union and engage in collective bargaining.

Resolution 12 also demands that future trade agreements cannot be negotiated in secret and calls for an end to past Fast Track procedures.

And Resolution 12 also makes it absolutely clear that currently negotiated TPP does not meet any of our demands, and that we as trade union families must come together and fight against it with all of our strength and unity.

TPA/TPP is our last stand. If this agreement is implemented, we can say goodbye to U.S. manufacturing and thousands more jobs in the private sector. We can also say goodbye to hundreds of thousands of jobs in the public sector, since no one will be left to pay any taxes.

The IAM calls on all of our sister and brother affiliates to join us in opposing TPP and all trade agreements that are negotiated for Wall Street and that leave the world's workers out in the cold. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. *(Applause)*

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

TIFFANEY LEWIS, USW: I am a third-generation Steelworker from Local 3267 in Pueblo, Colorado. I'm a proud member of our Next Generation Young Workers program, a local union officer and a Mommy of Steel. *(Applause)*

I'm a single Mommy of Steel to two beautiful children—Luke, who is 6, and Jennifer, who is 3. I rise in support of Resolution No. 12 for a lot of reasons, but the most important reasons of all are the two of them, because when we have and enforce fair trade laws, it means good jobs for people like me. It means I can go into Everest Steel Mill every day, along with 1,200 of my sisters and brothers, and earn a decent wage that gives them a decent life.

I am able to allow my children to play soccer and baseball, to do gymnastics and get regular checkups at the doctor. We aren't wealthy, but I don't have to worry about where the next meal will come from or how I'm going to keep the lights on for another month.

It means that my community can support a good school system and provide jobs for my family and my neighbors at the local café, the community hospital, the police and the fire departments and so on. When we make things in our country, we make a future for our kids and grandkids. When we have fair trade laws, we all do better, not just the corporate elite.

Sometimes we overcomplicate this issue. Sometimes we split hairs over language or get lost in the sea of acronyms when we're talking about trade. NAFTA, TISA, TPP, but it's really not that hard. I rise in support of Resolution No. 12 because the most important acronym to me in the fight for fair trade and jobs is MOMMY. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister. Delegate at mike 1.

CHRIS HARRINGTON, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers: Brothers and sisters, I'm a delegate of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Resolution No. 12 is a comprehensive statement of everything that is wrong and everything that needs to be fixed in the world of corporate trade, where the unbounded arrogance of capital does its greatest damage.

On Sunday, Senator Elizabeth Warren recounted how she's heard members of the Senate say that trade agreements need to be negotiated in secret, because if the details were made public they would be defeated by an overwhelming popular consensus.

In your keynote address, President Trumka, you said that it's time to put an end to trade deals that treat corporations better than people. A few weeks ago, before we arrived here, my International President Ed Hill, along with IAM President Tom Buffenbarger, wrote an op-ed published in The Hill newspaper that called for an end to secrecy in the negotiations over the Trans-Pacific Partnership.

In that op-ed, they cited the tragic shutdown of the IBEW-represented Phillips lining plant in Sparta, Tennessee, a few years back. Phillips outsourced to Mexico only one year after the plant was named one of the 10 best in the U.S.

It was another of tens of thousands of lethal hits from the lingering residue of the North American Free Trade Agreement, NAFTA. More than 100 other manufacturing plants have shut down in the region surrounding the Phillips plant. In a scene repeated time and time again, brothers and sisters, in cities and towns across the U.S., a stable community is now besieged by joblessness, poverty and meth labs.

Brothers and sisters, nearly every problem and challenge we have discussed during our days here in L.A. is in some way connected to the need to erect a new structure of global fair trade that is so well presented in this resolution.

We have great allies in the Citizens Trade Campaign and other groups that do the research and build the platform for engaging our members and our communities in the fight for fair trade.

Our trade experts at the AFL-CIO are second to none, but few of us in this room truly tap the help we are offered. Too few of us sound the alarm when we have the opportunity to expose the regressive and reactionary corporate agenda that is now playing out in three new trade agreements. We all must do better, and that starts with passing this important resolution.

But then it means going home to act. It means going home to demand trade that creates shared prosperity, not the horror of more joblessness or more youth incarceration, or more deregulation or more privatization, or more poisoning of our food and our children's toys and the very democracy that we cherish.

That is what is at stake if we fail to win the approach to world trade and globalization that is so well presented in Resolution 12. We urge the adoption. (*Applause*)

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

TIM BURGA, Ohio AFL-CIO: Mr. Chairman, I am president of the Ohio AFL-CIO, and proud to be a third-generation Steelworker.

On behalf of hundreds of thousands of working families in Ohio that lost their good jobs and have had their lives turned upside down because of unfair trade, I stand in full support of this resolution. For too long, the terms and conditions of globalization have been written, interpreted, executed and enforced by multinational corporations which have destroyed lives, wrecked our local communities and devastated our overall economy.

In Ohio alone, so-called "free trade" as we know it has cost us 350,000 manufacturing jobs, one-third of all manufacturing jobs in the state.

Mr. Chairman, in 2008 I was proud to join my brother and predecessor at the state fed, Joe Rugola, as he walked across and through the state of Ohio from town to town stopping to mark the site where a factory had been closed due to unfair trade.

Now, you see, Mr. Chairman, Joe walked over 300 miles, and I was proud to join him on some of those legs. And when you do that, sisters and brothers, you see up close and personal the devastation to our neighborhoods and the desperation and hopelessness in the faces of those that just want to work and have a chance to realize the American Dream.

With each new so-called "free trade" agreement, NAFTA, CAFTA, PNTR with China, in particular, we lose more good jobs and our national trade deficit continues to spiral out of control.

These flawed trade deals fail to meet the test of ensuring that labor law, human rights, environmental and monetary standards are in place and in force, which simply sets the stage for exploitation of workers here and abroad.

We must unite, Mr. Chairman, to reverse Fast Track authority and reposition our trade process to ensure it is worker-centered. Until this happens, Mr. Chairman, we're simply perpetuating a reward system from multinational corporations in the investor class at the expense of working families, the middle class and our economy.

Mr. Chairman, I urge adoption of this resolution.

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

CAROL LANDRY, USW: Inequality, physical, sexual abuse, violence, stolen youth and a dark, very bleak future. These are all words that can describe what globalization means for so many women and children around the world.

Try to picture a workplace where it's a common experience to be assaulted, to be raped, to suffer sexual assault, beatings, workplaces where young girls are locked in cramped, dangerous warehouses for a few pennies for each hour they work, sometimes forced to work 16, 18 hours a day.

Worse yet, sisters and brothers, imagine your son or daughter forced to work in such a workplace and you can't do anything about it because you need the few pennies they're going to earn every day. This is the face of globalization for so many working families.

Working with my union on our international programs has given me the opportunity to network with women around the world. I have been able to experience firsthand what globalization means to these women and their families as I visit other countries.

Yesterday and today we talked about what we want for our children and our grandchildren here in the United States. And of course we're going to fight for that.

But sisters and brothers, we have to make sure our fight is also for those other children and the women who are not able to fight for themselves and who don't have a voice. We have to be their voice.

The multinationals who profit from these terrible abuses in other countries are the same corporations who are leading the attack against workers and working families right here in the U.S.

We, the labor movement, are the only thing that stands between our workers and their families and the absolute atrocities happening in other parts of this world. Those corporations would do the same thing to us if it weren't for our labor movement.

Sisters and brothers, we can never step down. We will continue to stand up and fight back for women and children everywhere. And we make this commitment on behalf of my union, United Steelworkers, our Women of Steel, and our next generation. We support this resolution and we commit to be the voice for women and children everywhere.

Thank you, Brother Chair.

TRUMKA: Sister, before you leave the microphone, can you state your name and your affiliation for the record?

LANDRY: I'm sorry. Carol Landry, USW.

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister.

LANDRY: Thank you, Brother.

TRUMKA: Delegate at mike 1.

LARRY WILLIS, Transportation Trades Department: Good afternoon. I'm secretary-treasurer of the Transportation Trades Department of the AFL-CIO.

I rise in strong support of Resolution 12. And in particular, I want to highlight the section of the resolution that calls for the protection of our aviation and maritime interests in any new international trade agreements.

For our aviation sector, we know that foreign interests have long sought to own and control U.S. airlines. And when these foreign airlines and other companies get control, we know what will happen. The jobs of our members—pilots, flight attendants, mechanics and other ground workers—will be outsourced to the lowest bidder. Their goal is simple: to access the lucrative U.S. aviation market but to do so at bargain-basement wages and working conditions, and we cannot allow that to happen.

Already U.S. carriers exploit the global marketplace to outsource 30% of the maintenance work to foreign repair stations. These facilities are not held to the same safety and security standards as our government demands of work done in this country.

We've made a lot of progress in this area, but more must be done. And the last thing we need to do is enter into new trade agreements that will actually enhance outsourcing of aviation jobs. This is not a new idea. The Bush administration tried this in 2005. It was soundly rejected by Congress, and it was done to get a trade agreement. But those who tried that effort are back again in TTIP and other places, and their efforts must be defeated.

On the maritime side, its workers face the same type of threats in TTIP and must be kept out of those talks. The goal of our European trading partners is again clear and transparent, to gut longstanding protections that this industry depends on.

The Jones Act has been a successful part of our nation's national security and economic policy and sustains over 500,000 good-paying jobs and jobs that generate \$100 billion in annual economic output. This law has ensured that the U.S. continues to have a reliable source of domestically built ships and competent American crews to operate them.

The U.S. maritime has played a vital role in supporting our armed forces, delivering food and other aid around the world, and supporting our trade objectives. We should be promoting the growth of the U.S. Merchant Marine, not pursuing changes in our policies through bad trade deals that weaken this vital segment of our transportation. Thank you.
(*Applause*)

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

LYNNE DODSON, Thurston-Lewis-Mason Counties (Wash.) Labor Council: Thank you, President Trumka. I'm secretary-treasurer of the Washington State Labor Council and a proud member of the American Federation of Teachers Local 1789.

Sisters and brothers, who is negotiating these agreements? Multinational corporations, investors, not us, not workers, not the representatives of workers. Yet workers around the world

are impacted. Our work, our environment, our access to medication, our labor rights, our services are not exempt.

We've had 20 years of NAFTA. We see what it's done to the world's workers and to us in the United States: job loss, depressed wages, forced migration.

The TPP is being bargained in secret and it's headed for a fast track in Congress. We could have good trade agreements, but we haven't seen them yet. We must oppose Fast Track. We must work with workers across the globe. We have to participate in these discussions on trades. We must shape the future of our global economy.

Sometimes these trade issues seem too hard to grasp, too impossible to change. But, sisters and brothers, change them we must. We must stand up and speak out.

Resolution 12 speaks to our values, our issues and exactly the kind of fair trade, fair trade agreements that we need.

I urge your support. Thank you. *(Applause)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Sister.

The question is on the adoption of Resolution 12. The committee recommends that you vote for the resolution.

All those in favor of the resolution, signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no. Resolution 12 is adopted.

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

[[INSERT TEXT OF RESOLUTION 12]]

(End Resolution No. 12)

NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS

TRUMKA: Brothers and sisters, it is now time to nominate candidates for our constitutional positions of president, secretary-treasurer, executive vice president and 55 vice presidents to four-year terms that will begin upon their election.

This process is outlined in Rules 20 to 28 of the Convention Standing Rules.

First, Vice President Mike Sacco, the senior vice president of the federation, who has notified the chair that he does not intend to make or second a nomination for executive office, will conduct the nominations for the office of president.

Brother Sacco will next conduct the nominations for the office of secretary-treasurer, and then for executive vice president in that order.

Nominations for each office will close before nominations begin for the next office. Any delegate may make a nomination for any of these three offices and may speak for five minutes in support of the nomination.

There must be two seconders in order to make a nomination. Each seconder may speak for three minutes. If there is only one nominee for an executive office position, the nominee will be declared elected.

After the executive officers are nominated, the president of the AFL-CIO will conduct nominations for the 55 vice president positions. Under the rules, there are two methods for nominating a vice president. First, a signed nomination and two signed seconders for either a

single nominee or a slate of nominees up to the total of 55 vice president positions may be submitted before the beginning of today's session. Or, nominations may be made and then seconded twice from the floor this afternoon.

The secretary-treasurer first will read the submitted written nominations and then the floor will be open for further nominations.

No speeches will be made in support of any nomination for vice president, whether previously submitted in writing or made from the floor.

Again, a delegate may nominate any number of individuals up to 55 for the office of vice president. A nominator may also designate his or her nominee as part of a slate.

Before any election ballot is printed, nominees who are slate-designated will have to notify the election officer in writing that they are, in fact, running as a slate. If there are no more than 55 nominees for vice president, the nominees will be declared elected.

If there are more than 55 nominees for vice president, an election will be conducted tomorrow morning, Wednesday, from 7 a.m. to 8:30 a.m. in Room 304. That election will be conducted by Election Officer Jimmy Williams.

Before the convention adjourns today, he will explain the procedures for the election, which are set forth in Rules 29 through 47 of the Convention Standing Rules.

I'll now turn over the chair to Vice President Mike Sacco to conduct the nominations for president. Brother Sacco.

NOMINATIONS—OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

VICE PRESIDENT MICHAEL SACCO, Seafarers International Union: Wow, what a convention.

Brothers and sisters, nominations are now open for the president of the AFL-CIO, and the chair recognizes Cecil Roberts, president of the United Mine Workers. Cecil. There he is, the handsome guy in the green shirt.

VICE PRESIDENT CECIL ROBERTS, United Mine Workers : Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I rise today to nominate my best friend of the past 40 years, a person we all know well, our current president, Richard L. Trumka, to be the president of the AFL-CIO for another four years. *(Applause)*

Rich and I come from a union that's been blessed by the almighty hand of God itself. Along this way 105,000 coal miners have died in the mines, another 105,000 have died choking to death from black lung. Along the way, Rich and I have lost some of our best supporters. But the three best we've lost is Rich's dad and mom and my father. So I stand today on behalf of my dad and Rich's dad and Rich's mother to do what they would want us to do.

Our members have been blown up, burned up, covered up, enslaved, beaten, murdered, evicted and jailed. Coming from company houses and company towns, but we still stand here today proud to be members of the United Mine Workers and the AFL-CIO. *(Applause)*

We have given this movement some of its greatest leaders: Phil Murray, first president of the Steelworkers, the second president of the CIO; William Green, president of the AFL-CIO; Mother Jones and John L. Lewis; and yes, Richard Trumka. *(Applause)*

John L. Lewis in 1935 told us, "Heed this call that comes from the hearts of men. Organize the unorganized."

Rich Trumka has told us over the last two days: Heed this call that comes from the hearts of the young. Heed this call that comes from the hearts of the immigrants. Heed this call that comes from the hearts of women. Heed this call that comes from the hearts of the people of color. Heed this call that comes from the hearts of the poor. Heed this call that comes from the hearts of our retirees. Heed this call that comes from the hearts of the unemployed. Heed this call that comes from the hearts of the uninsured.

Heed this call that calls out that every worker who does not have the benefit of a union, and he says to those workers: If you want higher pay, join a union. If you want to be in the middle class, join a union. If you want health care, join a union. If you want a safe workplace, join a union. If you want a healthier workplace, join a union. If you want a better America, join a union. If you want more democracy, join a union. If you want to be able to stand up and fight back, join a union.

Brothers and sisters, this is about all of us. This is not really about nominating our next leaders. This is about lifting those leaders up and standing with those leaders once you elect them.

I say on behalf of the farmers that fed the nation, the teachers that taught the nation, the nurses that healed the nation, the firefighters that saved the nation, the police officers that protect the nation, the steelworkers and the building trades that built this nation, the communications workers that connected this nation, the electricians that wired this nation, the auto workers that moved this nation, the coal miners that energized this nation, the public employees that make this nation work.

We leave here today forward by hope, not backward by fear. But it is time, brothers and sisters, to get off our asses and get on our feet and get out the door and hit the street. (*Standing ovation*)

Brothers and sisters—brothers and sisters, on behalf of every union member in this hall and every union member across this country, and every union member that we can think of across this world and everybody that works for a living in this country, I proudly submit Richard Trumka again to be the next president of the AFL-CIO.

And then, brothers and sisters, in the immortal words of Dr. King, “We’ll be free at last, free at last. Thank God Almighty, we’ll be free at last.” (*Standing ovation*)

SACCO: Yeah, yeah. Brothers and sisters, Richard Trumka has been nominated for the office of president. Is there a second? The chair recognizes Lee Saunders, president of AFSCME. Lee.

VICE PRESIDENT LEE SAUNDERS, AFSCME: Good afternoon, delegates. I think I’m going to yield my time so we can hear more from Cecil Roberts. How is that? (*Applause*)

Now that Cecil Roberts has preached the word for us, it is my honor, my honor to be in the Amen corner and have the privilege of seconding Rich Trumka’s nomination as president of the AFL-CIO. (*Applause*)

In all the years I’ve known Rich, he’s been a powerful advocate for the principles we all stand for. He speaks, he speaks from the heart about the issues that matter most to working families all across this country.

And whether he’s on camera or at a podium, his words are eloquent, forceful, unapologetic and passionate.

Rich is a true believer in the bedrock principle that folks who work hard, folks who play by the rules, should be able to live and retire in security and with dignity. Rich believes in that.

This belief, this belief is based on his own experiences in what he learned growing up in a family of hard workers who never, ever, ever expected to get rich but did expect and had the right to expect economic security and fairness.

Rich's loyalty to his principles makes him an outstanding leader. He doesn't tell us what we want to hear, but what we need to hear. You know what he thinks because he says it. You know what he believes because he lives it every single day. And you know what he stands up for. He never, ever lets working families down.

You know, Rich Trumka is consistent in his beliefs that he can go easily from the White House to the board room to the picket line. But I know Rich, and I know that Rich would always prefer being on that picket line supporting working families every single day. *Applause*)

There's a stanza from the poem "If" that sums up Rich Trumka:

"If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,
Or walk with Kings—nor lose the common touch,
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,
If all men count with you, but none too much."

All working men and women count with Rich Trumka, and he has shown this to us time and time and time again. You know, sisters and brothers, leading this federation, it's not easy. It's tough. Because the issues are tough and the labor movement is made up of diverse unions. But we share the same goals. We often have different ideas, but we do share the same goals, and we try to achieve those goals together.

Rich has the fortitude and he has the skills for this job. Rich wakes up every morning ready to fight like hell for his members and fight for working families all across this country, and he goes to bed each night to rest up. He goes to bed each night to rest up so he can fight like hell once again the next morning.

Rich Trumka, he reminds us that he believes this, that everyone in this room, our members all across this country, we are the crusaders, we are the game changers, we are the agitators, we are the revolutionaries. We are the Freedom Fighters, we are the troublemakers in this country. *Applause*)

That's who we are. *Applause*)

That's who we must be. *Applause*)

When we come together, like we are coming together like never before this week, we come together. And we're leaving this hall and we're marching together. We're rallying together. We're singing together. We're making our voices heard together. And together we will win this fight, sisters and brothers.

And we're going to win?

(Shouts of "Yeah!")

Are we going to win?

(Shouts of "Yeah!")

Are we going to win?

(Shouts of "Yeah!")

I am so proud, so proud, and on behalf of the 1.6 million members of the Green Mean Machine AFSCME—*Applause*)—I am so proud, it's my privilege and honor to second the nomination of my friend, to second the nomination of my brother, to second the nomination of my president, Rich Trumka.

God bless you, Brother. (*Cheers and applause*)

SACCO: Richard Trumka has been nominated and seconded for the office of the president. Is there another second? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2, María Elena Durazo, executive secretary-treasurer of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor. María Elena.

DURAZO: Yes, thank you very much. Sisters and brothers, I rise proudly to second the nomination of our brother, Richard Trumka, for president of the AFL-CIO. (*Cheers and applause*)

On the great battlefields of the American labor movement, Richard has led the charge—from the coal fields of Virginia during the Pittston strike, to the hot sidewalks of Las Vegas during the six-and-a-half-year-long Frontier hotel strike.

But the most difficult struggles aren't always with our adversaries in corporate America. They are within our own ranks. During tough times, when it's easy for workers to be divided and pitted against each other over issues of race, language or nationality, a real leader rises to the challenge.

I remember so vividly during the presidential campaign in 2008 the beautiful and candid address Richard made to the Steelworkers convention. Richard said in that address, "There's one really bad reason to vote against Barack Obama. He's not white."

It's with equal courage and candor that Richard Trumka has taken up the cause of immigration reform and a path to citizenship for millions and millions of undocumented immigrants in this nation.

Again, Richard has not forgotten the roots of the miners in his own hometown, the Italians, the Polish and the Slovak. It's on behalf, sisters and brothers, of the new generations of immigrants and workers that I proudly second the nomination of Richard Trumka for the office of president of the AFL-CIO.

We love you, Brother Richard Trumka. (*Cheers and applause*)

SACCO: Thank you, María Elena.

The nomination of Richard Trumka for the office of president has been properly made and seconded twice.

Are there any further nominations?

Are there any further nominations?

Seeing no delegates who wish to be recognized, the chair declares nominations for the office of president closed. (*Cheers and applause*)

In accordance with the rules of this convention, Richard Trumka is declared elected president of the AFL-CIO. (*Standing ovation*)

NOMINATIONS—OFFICE OF SECRETARY-TREASURER

SACCO: Nominations are now open for the office of secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO. I don't see anybody at the mike. (*Laughter*) There he is, my chairman. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2, Ed Hill, international president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Ed.

VICE PRESIDENT ED HILL, IBEW: Good afternoon, brothers and sisters. Thank you.

I have standing next to me a proud, proud father who watched a beautiful daughter rise to great heights. Lance, thank you for standing here with me and for being with the IBEW here. *(Applause)*

You know, trying to keep my praise for Liz Shuler to a few minutes is a challenge, and I don't have that kind of speaking enthusiasm, if you will, that my good friend has from the Mine Workers. I'd probably have a stroke if I did that. *(Laughter)*

It's a challenge anyway, but I'll give it my best shot.

You know I promise not to get emotional this year, or this time. The last time I had a little choke-up because I was losing a very, very close friend and someone I counted on.

Four years ago I had the pleasure of introducing Liz Shuler to the labor movement. She was already well-known in the IBEW. She was already seasoned, but that was the first time that many of the delegates had an opportunity to even see her in person. I was well aware that there was some skepticism in the room as to why Richard Trumka had chosen a relatively unknown, in the eyes of some, inexperienced young woman to hold the federation's Number Two job.

Well, well, well, well. To paraphrase an old song, brothers and sisters, "How do you like her now?" *(Applause)*

By now, by now, everyone knows that I wasn't blowing smoke around when we were in Pittsburgh. I said that the movement was getting an individual capable of getting our financial situation under control with a sharp and a very critical eye. She has worked so very hard to get that done. I say we're getting, number two, an officer capable of projecting a positive image for the labor movement, to serve as a visible role model and a leader for younger workers. She has done that.

I said we're getting a leader to be able to carry the task of rebuilding our movement from the ground up, winning back those who were skeptical about labor's role in their lives. She's doing that every day.

Liz Shuler. Liz Shuler has been the IBEW's gift to the trade union movement. *(Applause)*

Liz Shuler has defied stereotypes, smashed glass ceilings since her days with the IBEW Local 125 in Portland, Oregon. She's done it with intelligence, she's done it with competence and poise under fire—a very rare combination of talents—and Liz has them.

When the AFL-CIO needed a new secretary-treasurer to connect with union members and interject a new energy into the movement, who better than Liz Shuler?

When Richard Trumka needed a point person to spearhead a new movement among young workers, who better than Liz Shuler?

When we needed a fresh face to tell labor's story in a way that connected our basic values with a larger audience, who better than Liz Shuler?

When I nominated Liz in 2009, I had no doubt of her ability, her dedication, her commitment to our great cause, and now you all know as well, because she has fulfilled every promise she made that day and then some. But this election is not about what Liz Shuler has done in the past. Believe me, brothers and sisters, it's about what she will do in the future.

I, for one, don't expect more of the same from Liz. I expect fresh thinking, new thinking, new ideas, more innovation, progress and repositioning our movement. I expect those things because everything about Liz Shuler's career has made me believe that this is what she will do. I expect it—I expect it, because she has been a friend, she has been a sister and a leader to all of us over the past four years.

That is why, brothers and sisters, I stand here with pride, with honor to place the name of Elizabeth Hope Shuler in nomination for secretary-treasurer of the AFL. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

SACCO: Thank you, Ed. Elizabeth Shuler has been nominated for the office of secretary-treasurer. (*Applause*) Is there a second? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2, Roxanne Brown, assistant legislative director of the United Steelworkers.

ROXANNE BROWN, USW: Good morning—well, good afternoon, excuse me.

My name is Roxanne Brown, and I'm a proud member of the United Steelworkers. I also don't have the amazing speaking prowess of Brother Cecil and Brother Lee, but I promise you that I speak from my heart as I'm about to second this nomination. I come with an army of people who also support this amazing woman.

When I first met Liz, she worked as a lobbyist for the IBEW. I had just been promoted to lobbyist in my union, and I remember going to the first legislative committee meeting at the AFL-CIO and looking around the room of mostly seasoned men.

Despite what President Hill just said, you weren't seasoned then, you're not seasoned now. You're still a young worker.

And it was amazing for me to see you, Liz, in that room.

So many people in this movement look to you, Liz, as an inspiration. Women like me. Because they are not a lot of people who look like me in this movement. So you and Arlene and so many others serve as inspirations every single day for people like me, and I thank you. (*Applause*)

Like me, Liz came up in a union that helped shape the history of our movement and has been a powerful force in our federation for a long time. I am a Woman of Steel. Our sister, Liz, is a sister in the Electrical Workers. Liz has made a concerted effort to look forward to include our future leaders and ask tough questions like how to engage young people, and women, and has been clear-eyed about the challenges in front of us.

My hope for Liz Shuler's next four years is that she continues to push for more plain talk and solution-driven leadership, more energy and attention on young worker issues and other inclusion efforts, and more steady, dedicated leadership on our finances.

With Liz Shuler, what you see is what you get. A strong labor sister who has the optimism, the energy, the work ethic and the toughness that we need to make a difference for working people.

I strongly and proudly second the nomination of Liz Shuler for secretary-treasurer because she's leading us forward to the next generation of the labor movement. Thank you, Liz. (*Standing ovation*)

SACCO: Thank you, Roxanne. Elizabeth Shuler has been nominated and seconded for the office of secretary-treasurer. Is there any other second? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2, Lynne Dodson, secretary-treasurer of the Washington State Labor Council. Lynne.

DODSON: Thank you. I'm also a 20-year member of the American Federation of Teachers, Local 1789. It's my pleasure and honor to rise to second the nomination of Liz Shuler for secretary-treasurer. (*Applause*)

I felt like I knew Liz before I met her. My sisters and brothers in the IBEW would regale me with stories about their homegrown sister from Portland, watching her rise up the ranks, a shining star, smart, hard working. They told me she had a vision but that she was also practical; she dreams big and she does what it takes to get there.

It wasn't long before I got to meet this sister I heard so much about, and she was just like they said and, also, very charming, unpretentious, humble, and completely committed to the labor movement and to all of us.

But a great personality is only a part of what makes a great leader. And it's really her get-it-done spirit that inspires me to so heartily support Liz Shuler.

I know financial health and transparency aren't usually the issues that make it into big speeches. Sort of like, "What do we want?" "A clean balance sheet!" (*Laughter*)

"Solid revenue, lean expend—"—no, I don't know. Not exactly the stuff to rile up the crowd.

But it's critical work and Liz quietly and effectively oversees our finances. Her integrity and oversight build our confidence and demonstrate the high standards we have in the labor movement for fiscal responsibility. As a result, we're in a better place than we were four years ago.

We've always supported bringing young people into the movement, but Liz has taken this work to a whole new level; intent not only on supporting and training young workers, but mostly on giving them voice and leadership. It helped that she had the credibility of being the youngest officer ever elected to the AFL-CIO. But it was hard work, plus a good sense of humor, liking fun, that built the network of young workers we have today.

In Washington when we started our Young Worker Group, YL, Liz's support, her willingness to come out to the very early events, her encouragement helped YL build an organization that activates hundreds of our young workers across the state.

Liz Shuler is a true sister. She worked her way up. She'd rather give other people credit than take it for herself. She puts us first. She knows the job is not about her. She's here to represent workers, give them a voice on the job, give them a voice in politics, and make sure that every single one of us has the opportunity to succeed.

I also admire Sister Shuler's work on telling the story of who we are: The union members work hard and work well, that we're everywhere in the community, that we're the ones who fight against the exploitation of workers here and around the world. We are the ones who hold elected officials accountable. We are the ones who build this country and strengthen the economy. We are the most powerful force in the world for social justice and democracy. We do the work.

We can see from this convention where she's headed for the next four years. Making our movement more inclusive, making it more dynamic and more powerful, and making sure we have the resources and financial plan to put our big ideas into practice.

This is such an exciting moment in our history and I fully endorse this great leadership team and enthusiastically, enthusiastically second the nomination of Liz Shuler for secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO. Thank you. (*Applause*)

SACCO: Thank you, Lynne. The nomination of Elizabeth Shuler for the office of secretary-treasurer has been properly made and seconded twice.

Are there any further nominations?

Are there any further nominations?

Seeing no delegates who wish to be recognized, the chair declares nominations for the office of secretary-treasurer closed. (*Applause*)

In accordance with the rules of this convention, Elizabeth Shuler is declared elected as secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO. Congratulations, Liz. (*Standing ovation*)

NOMINATIONS—OFFICE OF EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

SACCO: I now open nominations for the office of executive vice president of the AFL-CIO. The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2, Joseph Hansen, international president of the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union. Joe.

HANSEN: Thank you, Mike. I am so proud to nominate my brother, my friend, and a proud Local 324 UFCW member, Tefere Gebre, as executive vice president of this great AFL-CIO.

It is an honor to make this nomination. I want to tell you a little bit about this wonderful man.

Tefere is a UFCW member who took a struggling Orange County CLC in a Republican-dominated county and turned it into a powerhouse for working families. (*Applause*)

Tefere is a change engine, and Tefere embodies exactly why the UFCW is now affiliated with the AFL-CIO game-changing leadership. (*Applause*)

As executive director of the Orange County CLC, and an organizer at heart, Tefere takes the CLC door to door, day after day, talking about the needs of working families and signing up voters.

In the first political cycle of his leadership, his efforts registered—listen to this—20,000 voters, and literally flipped the political landscape countywide. (*Applause*)

Tefere's leadership quadrupled the political capacity of the Orange County CLC, led to successful living wage and big box campaigns, and won the confidence in solidarity of not just labor, but a broad group of allies.

He demands that political endorsements come only after candidates pass the CLC's candidate academy, a program that makes sure that union members' support only goes to elected officials who actually understand and commit to our issues.

During that proud fight last year in California against corporate America's Prop 32, Tefere and the Orange County CLC brought in the third-highest "no" vote in the state. This is in Orange County, the stronghold, supposed stronghold of the right wing. (*Cheers and applause*)

He set a new bar and new model for making CLCs a true force for progressive change in their communities.

Tefere also got tired of working people taking a beating in the local right-wing attack rag posing as a newspaper, the Orange County Register, so he pulled laborers and allies together to start up an independent news agency that would report fairly on the lives of working families. Now, The Voice of Orange County has replaced that other paper as the source for real news for the Associated Press.

But there is much, much more to the story of Tefere. Tefere has known hard work his whole life. At the age of 14, he rose up and walked across the desert, out of his native country of Ethiopia, which was controlled by a repressive government, into Sudan. He was attacked by bandits. He survived and he made his way to a refugee camp.

He came to the United States as an immigrant and a political refugee without his family. He worked hard. He studied hard. He ran hard. Tefere made his way to college with scholarships from extreme success as a distance runner. But while at college, Tefere worked. On the job as a UPS worker, Tefere learned immediately that having a union means that someone has got your back.

From that experience, Tefere committed himself to supporting and strengthening the labor movement. After working for the famous progressive California Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, Tefere organized, he strategized and built coalitions with the AFL-CIO, with the Laborers, the California state federation and the Orange County CLC.

He was twice elected president of the California Young Democrats, making him the first African American and first immigrant to hold that position.

Tefere is a remarkable story. He is smart, he is energetic and his work for labor has just begun. Tefere embodies the American dream. He is a labor leader that deserves our support.

So I proudly nominate Tefere Gebre, a union builder, a game changer, an innovator and a UFCW member, who will help shape our movement and build our future.

Thank you very much. *(Cheers and applause)*

SACCO: Thank you, Joe. Thank you. Tefere Gebre has been nominated for the office of executive vice president. Is there a second? The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2, Doug Moore, executive director of the United Domestic Workers/AFSCME. Doug.

DOUG MOORE, United Domestic Workers/AFSCME: Good afternoon, sisters and brothers. I'm the executive director of UDW Local 3930, an AFSCME affiliate, representing 65,000 home care providers here in California. *(Cheers and applause)*

I'm also an international vice president of AFSCME, and I've been in the labor movement for well over 30 years.

Today, I proudly and strongly rise to second the nomination of my brother, my friend, Tefere Gebre. *(Cheers and applause)*

You know, in my lifetime I've met many passionate, hard-working and talented people who dedicate not just their careers, but their heart and souls to their fellow workers and the labor movement. Tefere is an outstanding example of that kind of person I'm talking about, and a role model. Anyone looking to shake up things and make positive change for labor, it's Tefere.

As executive director of the Orange County Labor Federation, Tefere has more than doubled the federation's membership and quadrupled his political mobilization capacity.

Under his the direction, the federation has increased its program staff from two to 15, and registered more than 69,000 new voters, dramatically changing the electoral landscape of the county. *(Cheers and applause)*

The federation also has become the driving force for policy change in the county by passing a living wage ordinance in the city of Irvine, work and retention policies in the city of Santa Ana and leading the fight in Anaheim to gain voting rights for Latinos.

Most importantly, Tefere's passion for empowering underserved communities has influenced how the labor federation engages with community organizations, and has become the go-to hub for community building and civic engagement.

As a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, I know that he will bring the same level of enthusiasm and a vision for a better and stronger future for American workers while still staying true to his passion for empowering the disempowered.

Sisters and brothers, this is why I am so pleased, so honored, to second the nomination of Tefere Gebre. Thank you. *(Cheers and applause)*

SACCO: Thank you, Doug. Tefere Gebre has been nominated and seconded for the office of executive vice president. Is there any other second?

MARYBE McMILLAN, North Carolina State AFL-CIO: Yes.

SACCO: The chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2, MaryBe McMillan, secretary-treasurer of the South Carolina State AFL-CIO. Mary.

McMILLAN: Mr. Chair, I'm an Operating Engineer and I'm secretary-treasurer not of the South Carolina AFL-CIO, but the North Carolina State AFL-CIO.

SACCO: Well, I got the north and south a little mixed up, maybe, huh?

McMILLAN: Maybe so. I proudly rise to second the nomination of Tefere Gebre as executive vice president of the AFL-CIO.

I am surrounded by my brothers and sisters from state feds and CLCs across the country, and I speak on their behalf when I say that we are so, so proud to have one of our own as part of the national leadership team.

Tefere understands the joys and the difficulties of building a strong local labor movement. He took the struggling Orange County Labor Federation, a CLC in the most conservative part of California, and he transformed it into a political powerhouse that wins real victories for workers. *(Cheers and applause)*

Tefere knows that despite any challenges, building a strong local labor movement is not only worth the effort, it is absolutely essential if we want a stronger movement nationwide.

Tefere understands that the future of the labor movement depends not on what happens in Washington, D.C., but on what happens in the places we call home. *(Cheers and applause)*

For us to win shared prosperity for everyone, we have to fight back in Wisconsin and Ohio. We have to organize workers in New York and Chicago. And we must win the hearts and minds of workers in the most conservative places, places like Orange County, California, and my hometown of Hickory, North Carolina.

Tefere understands that. He knows that for this movement to grow, we must offer workers hope wherever they are, whatever their struggle. I can think of no one who can offer more hope to workers than a man who left Ethiopia and walked three months in pursuit of freedom. A man who came to America and now works tirelessly in pursuit of justice.

Brothers and sisters, Tefere is the leader our movement needs at this moment. He is not afraid of long odds or a long fight. He sees not obstacles but possibilities. He does not question whether our future will be brighter. He knows that together our future is the brightest it has ever been.

Tefere is such an inspiration, not only to me, but to immigrant workers who are struggling for citizenship, to young workers who are fighting for recognition as leaders, and to all workers who want a voice at work and a shot at the American dream.

With the leadership team of Rich Trumka, Liz Shuler and Tefere Gebre, we will build a working-class movement from California all the way to North Carolina, and we will win justice for all workers whatever their struggle, wherever they call home.

Brothers and sisters, let's bring some hope and inspiration to workers. Let's elect Tefere Gebre as our next executive vice president. (*Cheers and applause*)

SACCO: Thank you, MaryBe, secretary-treasurer of the North Carolina State AFL-CIO.

The nomination of Tefere Gebre for the office of Executive Vice President has been properly made and seconded twice.

Are there any further nominations?

Are there any other further nominations?

Seeing no delegates who wish to be recognized, the chair declares nominations for the office of executive vice president closed.

In accordance with the rules of this convention, Tefere Gebre is declared elected as executive vice president of the AFL-CIO.

Tefere, congratulations. (*Standing ovation*)

TRUMKA: Now in compliance with Convention Standing Rule 27, I have submitted to the Convention chair signed nominations of a slate of 55 members of the AFL-CIO for the 55 positions of vice president.

Each of these nominations has been seconded twice by Liz and Tefere. Secretary-Treasurer Shuler will now read the nominations to the crowd.

NOMINATIONS—OFFICE OF VICE PRESIDENT

SECRETARY-TREASURER ELIZABETH SHULER: All right. The 55 nominees for vice president are:

James Andrews, North Carolina State AFL-CIO.

Stuart Appelbaum, RWDSU/UFCW.

James Boland, Bricklayers.

R. Thomas Buffenbarger, Machinists.

James Callahan, Operating Engineers.

Larry Cohen, CWA.

J. David Cox, AFGE.

Harold Daggett, International Longshoremen.

Rose Ann DeMoro, NNU.

Bhairavi Desai, National Taxi Workers Alliance.

María Elena Durazo, LA County Federation of Labor.

David Durkee, BCTGM.

Patrick Finley, Plasterers and Cement Masons.

Roy Flores, AFGE.

Leo Gerard, USW.

Michael Goodwin, OPEIU.

James Grogan, Heat and Frost Insulators.
Cliff Guffey, Postal Workers.
Lawrence Hanley, ATU.
Joseph Hansen, UFCW.
Edwin D. Hill, IBEW.
William P. Hite, Plumbers and Pipefitters.
General Holiefield, UAW.
Ken Howard, SAG-AFTRA.
Lorretta Johnson, AFT.
Newton B. Jones, Boilermakers.
Gregory Junemann, IFPTE.
Bob King, UAW.
Michael Langford, Utility Workers.
James C. Little, Transport Workers.
Matthew Loeb, IATSE.
Sean McGarvey, BCTD.
Lee Moak, Air Line Pilots.
Joseph Nigro, SMART.
Terry O'Sullivan, LIUNA.
Fred Redmond, USW.
Laura Reyes, AFSCME.
Kenneth Rigmaiden, Painters.
Paul Rinaldi, NATCA.
Clyde Rivers, CSEA.
Cecil Roberts, Mine Workers.
Fredric Rolando, Letter Carriers.
Michael Sacco, Seafarers.
Lee Saunders, Green Machine AFSCME.
Robert Scardelletti, TCU/IAM.
Harold Schaitberger, Fire Fighters.
Veda Shook, AFA-CWA.
Bruce Smith, Glass, Molders.
DeMaurice Smith, NFLPA.
D. Taylor, UNITE HERE.
Baldemar Velásquez, FLOC.
Randi Weingarten, AFT.
Walter Wise, Ironworkers.
Nancy Wohlforth, OPEIU.
Diann Woodard, School Administrators.

Thank you. (*Cheers and applause*)

TRUMKA: The slate of 55 members whose names have just been read has been properly nominated and seconded.

Are there any other nominations?

Are there any other nominations?

Are there any other nominations for the office of vice president?

Seeing no delegate who seeks to be recognized, the chair declares that nominations for the office for vice president are closed. And in accordance with the rules of this convention, I further declare that the 55 nominees just read are elected as vice presidents of the AFL-CIO.

Congratulations, all. (*Standing ovation*)

Brothers and sisters, the new executive vice president of the AFL-CIO, Tefere Gebre. Tefere. (*Applause*)

TEFERE GEBRE **Executive Vice President, AFL-CIO**

Thank you. Thank you, brothers and sisters. I know you have a baseball game to get to, so I will be quick.

I want to thank President Joe Hansen, MaryBe and Doug for your moving nominations.

Let me also express my deeply felt gratitude and thank Rich and Liz for having the confidence in me and inviting me to lead this movement I love. A movement, without a doubt, moving in the right direction. A labor movement positioned to speak, fight and win for all workers.

I also want to recognize my family, some of whom traveled from far to be here. They are sitting over there. (*Applause*)

My mother, who doesn't speak English, 81 years young and still a fighter. My sister Nisihit, and my nephew Yonathan. My mother-in-law and sisters-in-law, who came from Wisconsin to be here with me today. Thank you. And to the rest of my family too long to list.

And to my beautiful wife, Jennifer, who is my best friend, and is the greatest trade unionist that I have known so far. Thank you for being you, baby. (*Applause*)

To my union and nonunion family from Orange County, a lot of you are here today. You are in my heart. You will always remain in my heart. Together, we have built a labor movement in a county no one ever imagined possible.

Thirty years ago, as you heard, as a 14-year-old child from Ethiopia, not only did I dream of America, but I started a journey to live out my dreams. That's when a few friends and I decided to escape the horror of war and the brutal military government and walked for weeks across the desert of the Sudan.

I lived in a Sudanese refugee camp until I was given a once-in-a-lifetime chance to come to America as a political refugee. At the tender age of 15, I started a brand-new life in this City of Angels.

I graduated from high school not far away from here from this convention center, at Belmont High School. To say life as a teen in Los Angeles without having a parent, or a relative, was not easy would be an understatement. I had to work a full-time job in a liquor store, getting paid cash under the table. I studied to be the best student I could be, trying every sport possible in the hope of getting an athletic scholarship. I was lucky, I became a good distance runner, good enough to gain a full track and field scholarship.

This is not just my story. It's a story of millions who proudly call America home. Documented and undocumented, the immigrant story is what makes this place so special. (*Applause*)

Once in college, at Cal Poly Pomona, I took a night shift job at UPS. That's where I got my first chance to work my first union job, a job where my rights at work were respected, where I learned I had a protective shield called collective bargaining.

And so, I stand before you today. I stand before you knowing no political party is our salvation. Our salvation won't come from political consultants or polling firms. Our salvation comes from our solidarity. Our salvation comes from the work we do with those who share our common values in the community.

Brothers and sisters, I'm ready to go to work with Rich and Liz. I'm ready to work for an America that I dreamed of, for an America that values work and honors those who do the work.

You see, the America I dreamed about expands voting rights, instead of going back to the dark days of systemic discrimination. My beloved America does not value the First Amendment rights of corporations anymore than a coal miner in West Virginia or a car wash worker in Los Angeles. *(Applause)*

And my beloved America does not fire workers for wanting to have a voice and for wanting to have a union at their workplace. *(Applause)*

So today, I pledge to you to follow the lead of our great leader Rich Trumka and to fight not for what is convenient, but to fight for what's right. *(Applause)*

To my brothers and sisters in the local labor movements, state federations and CLCs, I am one of you. *(Applause)*

I know how hard your work is, I know how important a role you play. You see, each of us has the responsibility to convene the labor movement in our communities, across unions and across sectors, to work in a real partnership with allies in the community. That is what we do. And when we are at our best, the labor movement can lead. We need to be at our best, and I pledge to you today, CLCs and state feds, to be there for you, to listen, to advise, so that you can become the best that you can be. *(Applause)*

Yesterday we saw a moving video chronicling a life of one of my heroes. I am being asked to fill the shoes of my hero, Arlene Holt Baker. *(Applause)*

Arlene, thank you for being so strong. Thank you for a life of service, not only to the labor movement, but to all who seek justice.

You have been a great ambassador of our movement. I know you're not going away, and we are all lucky that you will be around leading, teaching and fighting for voting rights, workers' rights and everything in between. Thank you again, Arlene. *(Applause)*

This is not about me. It's a call from a new labor movement unmistakably saying no matter what your accent, no matter what your skin color, no matter how far away you were born from this country, not only join the labor movement but come lead it. Today that call has become real.

Thank you, Rich. Thank you, everybody. Let's go to work. Thank you. *(Standing ovation)*

TRUMKA: Thank you, Tefere.

And now, brothers and sisters, the secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, Liz Shuler. Liz. *(Standing ovation)*

ELIZABETH SHULER
Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO

Thank you. Thank you all so much.

Brothers and sisters, it is a true joy to stand before you today, and I proudly accept the honor of serving as your secretary-treasurer for another four years. *(Applause)*

Before I do anything else, I want to say thank you to Ed Hill. You cried last time, I'm crying now. As was the case four years ago, I can think of no other person that I'd rather have nominate me again today than you. You're a visionary leader, a genuine mentor and a true friend. Thank you. *(Applause)*

And thanks to my sisters in solidarity, Secretary-Treasurer Lynne Dodson of the Washington State Fed and Roxanne Brown of the United Steelworkers. Thank you, thank you, thank you.

And thank all of you for the journey we're about to undertake together building a new day for the labor movement. And we're going to do it according to the first principle of solidarity: Together. Together. *(Applause)*

Four years ago I stood before you and pledged that my stewardship of the AFL-CIO's money—your money, the money of our members—would be carried out with a renewed commitment to transparency and accountability. We knew that we were not insulated from the pain of a troubled economy. Working families, our members, took the biggest hit as the recession gnawed away at their jobs, their health care, their very security, and on top of this, relentless political attacks on collective bargaining. We knew our affiliates were tightening their belts and that ours would have to be taken in a few notches as well. We got it, and we acted accordingly.

So we scrutinized our finances to the smallest detail. We made tough choices and we set priorities. The result is, as of the last fiscal year, we have a balanced budget. *(Applause)*

The result is a \$22 million turnaround in our net assets. *(Applause)*

The result is that our finances are being handled in accordance with the highest professional standards. *(Applause)*

That's right.

As secretary-treasurer, this is my Number One commitment to you. And thanks to the good work of the Finance Committee, together we have met our responsibility, and we will not let up on our efforts. *(Applause)*

I hear affiliates clapping.

Our improved financial situation is a major step forward, but it is not a signal to relax our vigilance or loosen our standards. As we have heard throughout this convention and in Rich's rousing keynote, the AFL-CIO is on the move, tackling the most vital issues of the day. And we are better positioned now financially than we were four years ago.

Of course, we are nowhere near out of the woods. We all know there will continue to be challenges ahead, and we recommit ourselves to the principles of transparency and accountability that have gotten us this far.

Four years ago, I also talked about the need to redefine how the public sees unions. To put it plainly, we have an image problem. Rich asked me to lead the effort to change the perception of the labor movement in the hearts and minds of the public. I don't need to tell you our opponents have done a great job creating a disconnect between what labor unions do and what the public thinks we do. It's gotten to the point where our message rings hollow in the ears of those who need to hear it the most. The answer isn't just to get frustrated with the people outside our movement who just don't get it and don't automatically understand our value. The

answer is to engage those people where they live—(*Applause*)— to help them see that our core values are the same as theirs. Values like equality and fairness, patriotism, hard work. Our answer is to show them that work connects us all. Work connects us all.

We've made a strong start identifying eight principles to drive the project, strategies that work, and creative partnerships with Univision and online social sharing works like Upworthy and Blogger and Jezebel to get us into the conversations where they are actually happening.

We did things that work spectacularly and things that didn't work so well. But the bottom line is we have to try new things. We knew going into this that it would be a long-term initiative. It took decades to lose public confidence, and we're not going to regain it in a week or a month or even a year. This will be a sustained and dedicated effort, and we must keep it moving forward. (*Applause*)

The last area we talked about in Pittsburgh is the critical need to engage young workers in the labor movement, to listen to their concerns and give them a sense of belonging and ownership. This has probably been the most rewarding part of the job and the most challenging. You seasoned folks know what I'm talking about, right? OK. (*Laughter*)

Our Next Step program has created new paths, new networks and, yes, new Twitter feeds for young workers to engage in their unions and their local labor federations. It has sparked young people's imaginations and given them the tools and the skills they need to organize and lead the fight for their future.

I don't have words to fully describe the feeling when you see a light in a young person's eyes when they realize that their desire to be part of something bigger than themselves is within reach, when they see that they have the power. Let's harness that power and bring the old school and the new school together in solidarity. (*Applause*)

I will go anywhere and talk to anyone who will listen about the energy and optimism of young workers and their critical role in the next wave of our movement. I'm proud to do this work with the Young Workers Advisory Council, with so many of our affiliates, and with dozens of young worker groups across the country.

Through all of this work I'm drawn again and again into conversations about how we can stand up for working people in new and different ways. With young people it's often about new forms of communication, tweets and texts, not phone and email.

With women it's about new forms of labor standards like paid sick days, or different models of leadership development.

With unions, more generally, it's about how we can use technology to our advantage. Not looking at it as a threat, but let's think about old challenges in new ways.

My hope for the next four years is to identify and promote these kinds of innovations that put the labor movement on the leading edge of workplace change.

Above all, it has been a great honor to be a part of a leadership team that has given working people a new and stronger voice. It has been my privilege to stand together with my teammates.

Rich, your passion for this movement inspires me each and every day. Thank you, my brother. (*Applause*)

Arlene, there you are. I'll miss you, my sister. Thank you for your support and, simply put, you are a giant. (*Applause*)

I look forward to working with Tefere Gebre. I know his great work in Orange County, and I can't wait to have his energy and creativity in Washington, D.C. (*Applause*)

Time, of course, doesn't allow me to do justice in giving thanks to all those whose love and friendship and support made it possible for me to stand here today. My loving husband, who's sitting over there, David. *(Applause)*

He's my rock and my partner in all things, including staying up with me until all hours of the night fine-tuning speeches—ahem—I feel so lucky to be together with you on this journey.

My parents, Lance Shuler and my late mother Joyce, who together instilled the values of hard work and compassion in me and whose love made me the person I am today. *(Applause)*

My sister, Anna, and her husband, [sp? Onsys], and my sweet nephews, who may or may not be over there because I heard some crying earlier, Roland and Lance. I am so grateful for your support and advice and a gentle shove when needed.

My IBEW family, you know who you are. And I love you. Thank you. *(Applause)*

Brothers and sisters, the road is long and we all know the challenges ahead, but we are armed with the greatest tool of all: the truth. The truth of justice and dignity and solidarity. So let us continue the journey. Let's go forward from Los Angeles and bring our truth to all those who work for a living and hope for a brighter day. Thank you. *(Standing ovation)*

Now it is my great honor to present to you AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka. *(Standing ovation)*

RICHARD TRUMKA **President, AFL-CIO**

Thank you. Thank you very much. I am truly honored by your support. I'm humbled, truly humbled, by your faith in me.

What can I say about my brother and my nominator, Cecil Roberts? Cec, I just want to say thank you, and I learn from you every single day. As you know, I am now and I always will be UMWA and proud to have you as my president. *(Applause)*

I owe a debt of gratitude also to my sister and the leader of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, María Elena Durazo. Thank you for your second, thank you for your heart, thank you for your compassion, thank you for your drive and thank you for your leadership.

And, Lee, my brother, you know, we've been around for a long time. We've worked together for a long time, and I want to thank you. Thank you for your leadership. I want to thank you for your friendship. I want to thank you for your tenacity, your willingness, your drive and your vision. I want to thank you for being a great, great friend and a great brother. Thank you, my friend. *(Applause)*

I'm honored to serve with an outstanding team with Secretary-Treasurer Liz Shuler and Executive Vice President Tefere Gebre. I want to thank them for all that they have done and all they will do, because we have a lot of work in front of us.

I especially want to thank my family—over there somewhere—that are with us today. I want to thank you for your support. I definitely want to thank you for your patience and your understanding, and I want to thank you for always—I mean always—being there for me, with me. I couldn't do it without you. I just have to say, thank you for the love that you share with me. *(Applause)*

You see, brothers and sisters, if we can see far or do good things, or achieve lofty things—any of us—it's because we stand on the shoulders of giants who have come before us. Think of all the giants whose shoulders that we stand on.

I'm just one example that a man or a woman can be carried very far by those who came before. I think of my grandfathers, who were organizers with the UMWA, my union. I think of my father, who was a 44-year miner and an officer in our great union. I think of my union brothers and sisters who showed me the ropes, who taught me about life and unionism, who stood strong with me and for me and with me when I was too young to even know what it meant to stand.

All of us—all of us here—are very, very fortunate, even lucky, because we have all of this. We have these unions of the AFL-CIO, this legacy. And it's a gift. It's a gift that we can only repay by giving it all and more to those who come along with us and after us. That's why we're building a stronger, broader, labor movement.

You see, we have a responsibility to lift others up and to give to those in need in this generation and future generations what has already been given to us, and more.

See, brothers and sisters, tonight in America, a child will be going to sleep with a stomach aching with hunger. And right now, a young person with not enough education and no hope of a job is gearing up to break the law. Right now a proud but scared college graduate is wondering how on earth she'll pay her college loans. Right now a hard-working immigrant who has done nothing wrong but seek a better life is sitting behind bars waiting to be deported.

Right now a father is falling out of the middle class, facing the fact that he can't earn enough to raise the family the way he wants. And a mother is struggling under the weight of life as a minimum wage earner right now.

The question is: "Who will speak for them? Who will fight for them?" And the answer is, we will. We will be the movement that America needs us to be, because we must speak for all of those and each and every person who gets up and makes this country run every single day. *(Applause)*

You see, right now, brothers and sisters, we will reach our brothers and sisters, our working families, our communities, right where they are. So that every kid can get a fair shake for an excellent education and a good job, so that we can eliminate the mass incarceration that stunts the lives of so many families and costs our society and our people so dearly. So that we can all share in the prosperity that we create.

My friends, we're a nation of immigrants. Immigrants are vital to the American dream, and we must walk with today's immigrants every step of the way to comprehensive immigration reform with protections of workers' rights, including a real and a workable path to citizenship for every last one of those immigrants.

You see, we're a nation of working people, and together we'll stand tall. We'll lift each other up until we rise as one and we speak as one because we are one people, one movement, working together, fighting together, building together. Together we will march in solidarity to take back from the corporations and make it a nation once again of the people, by the people and for the people.

That's the future that we can have and will have and must have. That's the nation that we live for and reach for and strive for. Brothers and sisters, we will not stop until we can say without any doubt that America works for the people who work. That's why we're here together and that's why we call ourselves the AFL-CIO. We will not be denied until that kind of country is in our hands.

Thank you very much. God bless you. *(Standing ovation)*

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SHULER: All right. As per usual, I get to close out the session with the riveting announcements.

OK. So anybody ready for a ball game? *(Cheers and applause)*

I didn't hear you. Any baseball fans out there? *(Cheers and applause)*

Buses are loading on Figueroa Street outside the South Hall lobby.

Thanks for those who returned baseball tickets that they couldn't use. We now have availability for those who still want them. You can pick them up at registration on your way to the buses if you're still interested in going to the game.

But before you go, please note that the Executive Council will meet in executive session tomorrow morning at 7:15 a.m. in Room 304, Room 304 at 7:15 a.m., Executive Council members.

The convention is now adjourned until 8:30 tomorrow morning. Thanks everybody.

(At 5:31 p.m., Tuesday, September 10, 2013, the convention was recessed, to reconvene at 8:30 a.m., September 11, 2013.)