

# **ADOPTED RESOLUTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS**





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*Notes*

*Proposed Resolution 21 was subsumed in Resolution 25. Proposed Resolution 22 was subsumed in Resolution 20. Proposed Resolutions 23 and 31 were subsumed in Resolution 4. Proposed Resolution 45 was subsumed in Resolution 11. Proposed Resolutions 24, 30, 32, 43, 44, 46, 48 and 50 were referred to the Executive Council.*

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*Notes*

*Proposed Constitutional Amendment 8 was subsumed in Constitutional Amendment 12. Proposed Constitutional Amendments 3, 4, 6 and 7 were referred to the Executive Council by decision of the Constitution Committee. Proposed Constitutional Amendment 5 was not reported out.*

# **ADOPTED RESOLUTIONS**



## Resolution 1

# ENACTING LABOR LAWS THAT ADDRESS THE NEEDS OF ALL WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES

ENACTED IN 1935, our nation's basic labor law, the National Labor Relations Act, no longer fulfills its promise to U.S. workers. The law of the land still eloquently declares it "to be the policy of the United States" to encourage[e] the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and...protect[] the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing, for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of their employment or other mutual aid or protection." But the law no longer furthers that policy. Immediately after the law was enacted, millions of workers exercised their newly achieved rights to build the American labor movement and the American middle class, but as the economy evolved and employer opposition became more virulent and sophisticated while the law stood still, that progress stalled and then reversed.

In fact, from its inception, the law left vast numbers of employees outside its protection.

Progress toward expanding the right to organize and bargain in the public sector that began in 1959 in Wisconsin and continued through the 1980s recently has been halted, if not reversed, in the face of a well-funded effort to blame government workers for the fiscal ills of the public sector brought on by the recent recession.

Today, federal labor law no longer fits the economy, the employment relationship or the workplace and, after almost 80 years of practice, employers, aided by the Taft-Hartley amendments of 1947 and a multibillion-dollar industry of "union-avoidance" consultants, have nearly perfected the subtle and sometimes not-so-subtle exercise of the very economic power the act was designed to counterbalance to "persuade" employees to remain unrepresented.

Employers increasingly interpose various forms of intermediaries between themselves and the employees whose labor is essential to the enterprise in order to escape legal obligations to those employees and avoid any duty to bargain with their chosen representative. While exercising control over their livelihood, employers even characterize employees as independent contractors, in an effort to deprive them of the right to organize and bargain collectively.

Twice in the last 40 years, a majority in both houses of Congress and the president have supported labor law reform legislation, but in both cases the reform was blocked by a minority in the Senate through a filibuster or threatened filibuster. More recently, a minority in the Senate frustrated with the National Labor Relations Board's carrying out of its "responsibility to adapt the Act to changing patterns of industrial life," blocked confirmation of members in a deliberate effort to deprive the board of a quorum, casting the protection of workers' rights into a state of legal limbo for a period of almost two years. It took a coalition led by the labor movement to force an end to the obstruction of executive branch administration of not only labor law, but consumer and environmental protection laws as well, clearing the path for Senate confirmation of a full five-member NLRB for the first time in a decade.

The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions together with a broad coalition of progressive allies must embark on a multiyear political and legislative campaign to obtain fundamental changes in our nation's labor laws. The campaign should be founded on the principle that vibrant organizations of working people and electoral and governance reforms are both critical components of economic prosperity and a democratic revival in

the United States, and that the former cannot be realized without the latter.

The AFL-CIO urges the introduction of a labor law reform bill in Congress as soon as possible to address the failures of the current law. Labor law reform should remedy employers' increasingly sophisticated and well-funded evasion of the intent of the original act to redress "inequality of bargaining power" and also the growing misfit between the NLRA and the modern economy and employment relationship. The reforms should speak to the critical place of labor organizations and collective bargaining in redressing growing income inequality and the resulting imbalance in our political system.

Specifically, the reforms should ensure that all workers have the right to organize and engage in collective bargaining. The protections of labor law should extend to employees who lack significant supervisory authority; workers who have been classified as independent contractors, but who have no real economic independence from the employers they serve; all government workers; and all agricultural workers. Public safety personnel and others who serve the public and those who labor in the fields should no longer be treated as second-class citizens when it comes to their workplace rights. Reform at the federal level should be coupled with reform at the state and local levels to ensure such comprehensive coverage.

The reforms should ensure that all workers and all employers know their rights and obligations by requiring that all covered employers physically or electronically post a balanced notice describing employees' rights under the applicable labor law as they are required to do under other laws.

The reforms should create a fair process through which workers can exercise their right to "representatives of their own choosing," including permitting access to the workplace by union representatives so they can speak to workers,

requiring more prompt provision of a complete eligibility list, prohibiting compelled attention to campaign speech, expediting elections and routinely remedying interference with a fair election by substituting other, reliable evidence of majority support.

The reforms should guarantee that all workers who choose to be represented enjoy the fruits of that representation in the form of a first contract by providing for supervised bargaining, mediated bargaining and, as a last resort for any remaining issues not otherwise resolved, binding interest arbitration.

The reforms should ensure that the entity that holds the real authority over workers' terms and conditions of employment, even if it is not the workers' direct employer, comes to the table in bargaining.

The reforms should ensure that the National Labor Relations Board, the Federal Labor Relations Authority and all other bodies essential to the enforcement of our nation's labor laws maintain a quorum and are fully able to enforce the law at all times.

The reforms should eliminate the one-way exception to the sweep of federal labor law pre-emption that permits states to adopt so called "right to work" laws that undermine the principle of majority rule, but bars states from creating additional paths to recognition based on majority support similar to those adopted by several states for public-sector employees.

The reforms should create stronger and timelier remedies for unfair labor practices.

The reforms should not simply reaffirm a right to representation and to work under a collectively bargained agreement that is never realized by the vast majority of U.S. workers, but should expressly encourage the exercise of that right and include sufficiently strong substantive changes to make the right meaningful and real for all workers.



## Resolution 2

### ASSISTING ALL WORKERS TO ORGANIZE

THE MOST RECENT REPORT from the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that the percentage of workers in the private sector who have the benefit of union representation has fallen to 6.6%—a level not seen since before the passage of the National Labor Relations Act in 1935. And public employees' half-century of progress toward equal rights to organize and engage in collective bargaining has stalled. The decades-long decline of union membership and collective bargaining has led directly to increasing levels of income and wealth inequality, has strained the labor movement's resources and has hindered unions' ability to achieve a greater measure of social and economic justice. Unions currently operate in an environment in which they have fewer members in most industries where collective bargaining exists and few members and little bargaining density in growing sectors of the economy.

At the same time, multinational corporations continue to control a greater share of global capital and increasingly set the wages and benefits of workers around the world. Within our own borders, well-financed employer opposition to workers seeking to form unions is brutal and unrelenting and is aided increasingly by politicians operating at the behest of corporations and the wealthy.

Against this backdrop, the labor movement's efforts to assist workers must be commensurate with the obstacles they face. We have demonstrated that we can win for working families. Well-researched, well-executed strategic organizing campaigns built on the foundation of workers' desire to act collectively to improve their conditions and supported by their communities have proven successful.

We must look forward together, research together, plan together, work together, combine our resources

and organize together. We must focus our efforts within communities and industries. We must re-dedicate ourselves to our mission of assisting workers to form unions and engage in collective bargaining.

The AFL-CIO has an important role in promoting, fostering and supporting organizing efforts and should increasingly focus on large-scale and, where appropriate, multiunion efforts. Specifically, the federation should convene affiliates to pursue collaborative strategic organizing initiatives directed at specific industries or sectors and geographic areas. The federation should convene and coordinate large-scale efforts at the request of affiliates that have made significant commitments on their own and, to maximize success and create economies of scale, seek additional union affiliate partners. The federation should promote multiunion, industry or geographically focused efforts where strategic analysis dictates the efficacy of such an approach. The federation should expand and deepen its strategic campaign research capability. And the federation should enhance focus on creative use of policy initiatives at all levels, but especially at the state and local levels, where such initiatives historically have proven successful to assist workers seeking to form unions without employer interference.

National union affiliates are hereby required to submit on a confidential basis organizing plans to the president of the federation beginning on Jan. 1, 2014, and on an annual basis thereafter each Jan. 1. These plans: (1) will include areas of focus, resource commitments, strategies and tactics and projected timeline; (2) will be used to prioritize strategic and material assistance; (3) will be used to identify potential interunion conflicts; and (4) will be used to identify opportunities for multiunion collaboration. The details of this requirement and attendant

procedures—including incentives for compliance—will be specified by the president, in collaboration with the Organizing Committee, subject to the approval of the Executive Council.

To promote and foster successful large-scale, multiunion organizing efforts, the president of the federation is authorized to address potential interunion conflicts in advance of their escalation into public disputes. To the extent this authorization requires written policies, they will be developed by the president, in collaboration with the Organizing Committee, subject to the approval of the Executive Council.

The AFL-CIO's Future of Worker Representation Initiative shall continue its investigation of data concerning the evolution of the character of work as well as occupational, sectoral, demographic

and geographic projections, and shall issue a report setting forth the findings. The president, in consultation with the Organizing Committee, shall review the information and produce a set of recommendations for the Executive Council.

As part of their strategic plans, state federations and central labor councils, in conjunction with affiliates, will: (1) develop and implement a state legislative, local ordinance and policy agenda that supports workers' ability to organize; (2) develop political campaign plans that support workers' ability to organize; (3) hold elected officials accountable for their positions on workers' ability to organize; (4) build and execute a political campaign structure to support workers' ability to organize; and (5) improve communication about local and national organizing initiatives and increase support—as appropriate—for such initiatives.

## Resolution 3

# EXERCISING OUR CIVIC RIGHTS TO REBUILD OUR DEMOCRACY, EXPAND WORKERS' RIGHTS AND STRENGTHEN WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS

SINCE THE AFL-CIO'S LAST CONVENTION in 2009, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the Koch brothers, their political allies and other corporate special interests have waged a full-scale, multibillion-dollar war on workers' democratic rights. Corporate-backed state governments have revoked public employees' collective bargaining rights in Wisconsin, have passed so-called "right to work" laws to reduce workers' bargaining power in Michigan and Indiana and have erected new obstacles to voting and political participation in no less than 24 states. Nationally, corporations direct their political allies to use the antiquated and undemocratic rules of the U.S. Senate to block votes and even debate on progressive legislation. Now more than ever, it is crucial for workers to hold Democratic and Republican politicians accountable when they back the corporate agenda. And now more than ever, it is crucial that our political action maximize the potential for workers to organize and bargain collectively.

Therefore, to promote vibrant organizations of working people and realize workers' rights and aspirations, the AFL-CIO supports reforms of our democracy that include voting rights, Senate rules reforms and campaign finance reform. Specifically, the federation will continue to support the Democracy Initiative and provide regular education on the attack on our democracy and encourage central labor councils and state federations to support the Democracy Initiative work in coalition with our allies. In addition, the federation will continue and expand its work, together with our allies, to achieve the goal of universal voter registration so every eligible voter is registered to vote and carries his or her registration with him or her. We will work through our state

organizations and our allies to enact state legislation to expand registration and voting opportunities, including Election Day registration, expanded early voting, vote by mail, online registration and other such reforms. We will actively support measures to restore voting rights to ex-offenders. We will vigorously oppose voter suppression legislation such as strict photo ID laws, proof of citizenship requirements and cutbacks on early voting. We will actively support legislation to overturn the devastating Supreme Court decision in *Shelby County v. Holder*, which gutted the Voting Rights Act at a time when it is needed more than ever to protect the right to vote. We will work with our allies on a voter protection program at election time to ensure that the electorate is informed about its rights and the right to vote is protected. Finally, the federation will continue to push for rules reforms leading to a functioning Senate.

The federation will ask all state federations, local labor councils and affiliates to add the following to their candidate questionnaires:

- "Do you support universal registration, including eliminating all barriers to registration until universal registration is achieved?"
- "Will you oppose any obstacle to voting and support promotion of greater voter participation, including early voting? And will you support the right to vote regardless of economic condition or race?"

The federation and workers must hold the political parties accountable. We must promote pro-worker candidates in primaries to hold Democrats and Republicans accountable for their votes and to elect

more progressive officials, which includes training, developing and assisting pro-worker candidates, especially union members. We must also promote the formation and strengthening of pro-worker progressive caucuses in national and state legislative bodies and political party organizations. We must commit greater affiliate resources to Workers' Voice, which will build our independent capacity and our ability to hold officials accountable once they are elected. Finally, we must demonstrate that we are not a one-party organization and will support Independent and Republican legislators if they consistently stand with workers against the corporate agenda, and we will work to defeat Democrats who betray workers.

Further, we should increase the federation's emphasis on state and local races. Especially with gridlock in Washington, policies undertaken by states and cities currently have the greatest impact on workers' fortunes—for better and for worse. Moreover, such efforts will strengthen local organizing.

Finally, we must more directly and consistently link politics to workers' ability to organize and bargain collectively through greater alignment of political and organizing campaigns at the national, state and local levels, and through the execution of the foregoing recommendations.

## Resolution 4

# ASSISTING IMMIGRANT WORKERS TO BECOME CITIZENS AND EXERCISE THEIR WORKPLACE RIGHTS

EVERY DAY, more than 11 million aspiring citizens contribute to our communities, our economy and our country—yet they are effectively not covered by our fundamental labor law and are denied essential rights in our society.

A strong and vibrant democracy cannot function unless all men and women living and working within its borders, regardless of their skin color or their place of birth, can participate meaningfully in the political process with full rights and equal protections.

The union movement recognizes that the way we treat aspiring citizens reflects our commitment to democracy and the values that define us.

Working people are strongest when no group of workers is exploited, and the union movement is strongest when it is open to all workers regardless of where they were born.

Comprehensive immigration reform will contribute to shared prosperity and will help improve productivity and quality; limit wage competition; strengthen labor standards, especially the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively; and provide social safety nets and high-quality, lifelong education and training for workers and their families. To achieve this goal, immigration reform must fully protect U.S. workers, reduce the exploitation of immigrant workers and reduce employers' incentive to hire undocumented workers rather than U.S. workers. The most effective way to do that is for all workers—immigrant and native-born—to have full and complete access to the protection of labor, health and safety and other laws. This approach will ensure that immigration does not depress wages and working conditions or encourage marginal low-wage industries that depend heavily on substandard wages, benefits and working conditions.

The labor movement remains unified in support of a framework for immigration reform developed with the assistance of former Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall, which has five major interconnected pieces: (1) An independent governmental body to assess and manage future flows, based on labor market shortages that are determined on the basis of actual need; (2) A secure and effective worker authorization mechanism; (3) Rational operational control of the border; (4) A road map to citizenship for the current undocumented population; and (5) Improvement, not expansion, of temporary worker programs, limited to temporary or seasonal, not permanent, jobs. America's unions remain committed to working together on the side of justice for all, along with our community partners and civil rights, human rights, immigrant rights and faith-based organizations, to pass fundamental immigration reform that encompasses these principles and strengthens our democracy.

The federation, its state, area and local bodies and its affiliates are working and will continue to work side by side with immigrant workers, their families, our allies and community partners to pass comprehensive immigration reform consistent with that framework and to implement its provisions. We will continue to play a leading role in the movement for reform that is backed by the majority of the public. Our strategy shall take into consideration the labor markets in which these aspiring citizens are likely to be employed and the needs of workers in those labor markets, as well as the social and educational needs of aspiring citizens and their families, including affordable health care. We will identify new opportunities for aspiring citizens to participate in the political process in partnership with unions and to exercise their workplace rights.

Specifically, the AFL-CIO will promote organizing of immigrant workers who seek to have union representation at their workplace. Through the Organizing Institute, the AFL-CIO will work with affiliate unions to recruit and train organizers from the immigrant community and organizers with the necessary language skills to assist workers in communities with many monolingual workers. The AFL-CIO will coordinate its training and outreach initiatives with affiliates, focusing on areas and industries in which affiliates are actively organizing.

Further, the AFL-CIO will partner with allies to provide citizenship and workers' rights instruction and general assistance with processing applications for work

authorization and naturalization. The AFL-CIO will open up its state federation and central labor council halls and urge affiliate unions and their locals to open their halls for citizenship and workers' rights classes in partnership with allies or, where appropriate, as a labor movement initiative. The AFL-CIO will work with Union Privilege to assist with outreach to the immigrant community and engage in other experimental initiatives, including providing low-interest loans for application and processing fees. Finally, the AFL-CIO will identify key states and mount citizenship, voter registration and get-out-the-vote efforts that will change the political environment for labor and enhance workers' ability to organize.

## Resolution 5

### **A BROAD, INCLUSIVE AND EFFECTIVE LABOR MOVEMENT**

WORKERS REPRESENTED BY UNIONS are part of a broad majority of the American public who seek a better life for hardworking families.

But union members are a minority among America's workers as well as among voters in most elections, and that increasingly has been so for more than a half-century. The popular majority, of which union members are a key part, is fragmented in the face of global corporations and the 1% that controls a vast and increasing amount of wealth and threatens to seize control of our democracy.

The labor movement must be broad and inclusive. The labor movement cannot be confined within bargaining units defined by government agencies or limited to workplaces where a majority of employees votes "Yes" in the face of a ruthless campaign by their employer to deny them representation. The labor movement consists of all workers who want to take collective action to improve wages, hours and working conditions. Our unions must be open to all workers who want to join with us. The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions must continue to innovate and experiment with new forms of membership and representation to achieve the ultimate objective of assisting all workers to bargain collectively through an affiliated union.

In the last several decades, as immigrant workers have come under attack and been subject to increased exploitation, as public services have been cut and as union representation for purposes of collective bargaining has been difficult to achieve in certain sectors and locations, a diverse group of organizations has emerged to meet the urgent needs and advocate on behalf of the unrepresented, particularly low-wage and immigrant workers. The

labor movement must be open to these new forms of worker organization and advocacy and the AFL-CIO and affiliated unions will continue to work with worker centers and other advocates for workers' rights, both to ensure that minimum standards are enforced and to prevent employers from using any workers to undercut the standards we have achieved through union representation and collective bargaining. Our goal is to lift up all workers' standard of living and we can achieve it by working in solidarity.

Students have stood alongside trade unionists at the forefront of every social movement. On campuses across the country, students are organizing in support of workers around the world, from factory workers in Bangladesh to workers at Verizon and Walmart to domestic workers in our own homes. And the labor movement continues to stand with students in support of a first-class system of public education, in defense of their rights of free speech and association and in opposition to a crushing burden of debt. The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions must continue to strengthen our ties to the student movement.

For these reasons:

- The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions should expand existing forms and create new forms of membership to make membership available to any worker who wants to join the labor movement and who is not already covered by a collective bargaining agreement, a member of a union, represented by a union or included in an affiliated union's organizing plan. Many affiliates have created such forms of membership as part of a long-term commitment to help employees of particular private-sector employers obtain the right to bargain collectively, as well as in public-sector jurisdictions where the right to bargain collectively has not yet been

established. The AFL-CIO has created another form of membership in Working America. The AFL-CIO will continue to experiment with this form of membership in close cooperation with affiliates and without undermining affiliates' current collective bargaining relationships or organizing plans and with the ultimate objective of enabling workers to obtain representation for purposes of collective bargaining through an affiliated union.

The AFL-CIO hereby invites every worker in the United States to join the labor movement either through an affiliate or through Working America.

To make these new, expanded and open forms of membership meaningful, democratic and self-sustaining, the AFL-CIO, affiliates and Working America shall:

- o Develop forms of workplace representation and advocacy that can benefit members outside collective bargaining by educating them about their workplace rights, providing assistance when their rights are violated, and encouraging concerted action to redress workplace problems and by other lawful means.
- o Seek to extend non-collectively bargained benefits to those members who are not represented for purposes of collective bargaining in cooperation with Union Privilege.
- o Provide members with education, training and leadership development opportunities.
- o Mobilize these new members in electoral and other political efforts and in support of organizing drives and collective bargaining campaigns.

Working America is authorized, in consultation with the president of the AFL-CIO and subject to approval by the Executive Council, to (1) develop forms of workplace representation and advocacy, in collaboration with affiliated unions, that can benefit members outside of collective bargaining (as explained above); (2) adopt a dues structure or structures and/or other financing mechanisms that

make this new form of membership self-sustaining, in keeping with the AFL-CIO's historic status as a fully independent trade union movement; and (3) to create a student membership. The president of the AFL-CIO is authorized, subject to approval by the Executive Council, to specify criteria under which Working America members who are not represented for purposes of collective bargaining but for whom Working America pays regular per capita to the AFL-CIO can further participate in the governance of the AFL-CIO, in keeping with the AFL-CIO's status as a democratic trade union movement. The president shall also work with affiliated unions to accomplish these same objectives.

- The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions should deepen their relationship with worker centers and other emerging organizations that advocate for workers who are not covered by a collective bargaining agreement, not union members and not represented by a union in order to better further the common objective of expanding the labor movement and raising workers' standard of living.

To do so:

- o The AFL-CIO should continue and expand its partnerships with national associations of worker centers and its issuance of certificates of affiliation with state federations and central labor councils to individual worker centers under the terms of the August 9, 2006, Executive Council statement, its Worker Center Advisory Council and its work with foundations to seed union-worker center collaboration.
- o The federation is encouraged to deepen and broaden the connections and collaborations with the worker center movement and work to eliminate concerns about possible undermining of standards established by unions. If that effort leads the president of the AFL-CIO to conclude that a form of local, state or national affiliation not authorized by the policies adopted in 2006 by the Executive Council would be mutually beneficial, supporting and advancing organizing and collective bargaining while also lifting up



unrepresented workers, and would further the goal of broadening the labor movement and thereby raising workers' living standards, the president shall, after considering the views of national union affiliates in the sector(s) most affected, and providing all other national union affiliates notice and an opportunity to object, propose the affiliation to the Executive Council for review and approval.

- o The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions should lend their expertise to worker centers as they address the critical issues of economic sustainability and worker participation in the worker centers' own governance.
- o The AFL-CIO, in cooperation with worker centers and national associations of worker centers, should expand and update existing research describing in detail the operation of worker centers and documenting examples of union-worker center collaboration.
- o The AFL-CIO, in cooperation with worker centers and national associations of worker centers operating in specific industry sectors, should work directly with the trade or industrial department of the federation in that sector and appropriate affiliates to provide opportunities for worker center members to become members of such affiliated unions.

- The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions should renew and strengthen their ties to students, recognizing that students have a vital interest in working with union members to ensure that the workplaces they are about to enter are just, fulfilling and rewarding.

To do so:

- o The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions will expand their work with existing, progressive, national, state and campus-based student organizations, including but not limited to, the United States Students Association, United Students Against Sweatshops and Student/Farmworker Alliance, and seek to develop new, more continuous and more mutually beneficial relationships with these organizations.
- o The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions, in cooperation with students and student organizations, will continue to advocate on issues of importance to students ranging from the accessibility of a college education to debt relief and free expression on campus.
- o The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions will continue to recognize that campuses are both sites of learning and worksites, and that all campus workers, from undergraduates working in the dining halls to graduate teaching and research assistants to professors, have a right to organize and engage in collective bargaining.

## Resolution 6

### SHARED PROSPERITY

THE LABOR MOVEMENT is all of us who work, creating America every day, united, as one. Our movement is building a world where all those who work share in the wealth we create, where our rights are honored in the places where we work, and where our nation and our world prosper because we prosper together.

Our movement is open to all who work in America, to all who know two great truths—that when each of us leaves our homes and goes to work, we remain all day long a human being—not a commodity, not an input—but a human being, with rights and dignity, deserving of respect and a voice and a share of the great wealth we together have created. And that while we each are unique individuals, we are not alone—that we live, work and dream together—and when we come together, at work, at the polling place, in the public square, we are strong—stronger than the power of money, stronger than the power of hate, strong enough to build a future of shared prosperity for our country and our world.

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

Our movement is as old as our nation, and as new as the immigrant hotel worker, the apprentice, the new teacher coming to work for the first time. Some of us collectively bargain with our employers to ensure we see the fruits of our labor. Powerful corporations use unfair laws to keep too many of us from the bargaining table. But we all make our voices heard—through organizing committees, associations, workers

centers, in our communities and at the polls. Our movement is greater than any particular organization. It is a movement of all who work and all who seek social and economic justice.

We are connected by the daily work we do in our communities and in a global economy that links us across borders and around the world with all others who work. Our vision of shared prosperity is global—it must apply as much for the worker sewing shirts in Bangladesh as for the worker who wears that shirt in Boston or Brussels.

What does shared prosperity mean?

Shared prosperity means:

- a secure job that pays a living wage in a safe workplace for all who seek one;
- a voice at work—through our unions and through collective bargaining with our employers;
- health care from the newborn wail to the last breath that also covers all the moments in between;
- aging with dignity, peace of mind and quality of life;
- jobs that applaud and support us being with our families—our children, our parents and our grandparents—when our families need us, while providing the living wage our families need; and
- ensuring our children are cared for in safe and nurturing environments that provide a foundation for lifelong learning and good health; that our children all have equal access to high-quality public education—and that all of us can pursue advanced education and learning we need to lead full and prosperous lives without sinking into lifelong debt.

Only through democracy will we achieve shared prosperity. We seek a country where:

- we all have a voice at work—no matter when or how we came here, whether we work in offices, or factories, or fields or homes, no matter whether our employer is a private company, a nonprofit organization or a government agency, no matter whether our employer calls us an independent contractor or an employee;
- we are all able to vote, without interference, without intimidation, without waiting all day or far into the night; and where
- one person, one vote, not \$1 million, one politician, is both the law and the reality of our nation's public life.

Democracy and solidarity—in the workplace and in public life—is the only cure for the power of concentrated wealth, the power of concentrated finance and global corporations. Democracy in the workplace and in public life means when we are more productive we live better. Democracy means we all contribute to and share in the good things in life—the schools, the parks, the roads and bridges—that make civilization possible. When we together make the investments our country needs, we build a more prosperous future than any of us ever could do alone. Without democracy at work, without collective bargaining, we work harder and create more, but instead of leading better lives, a handful of people hoard ever more wealth and power, becoming so powerful that in the end they threaten the very foundations of our country.

We seek above all good jobs and rising wages for all as we build America's future. Six years into the great economic crisis, America remains a land reeling from the impact of mass joblessness, of foreclosed homes, of stolen pensions. Corporate power has kept wages flat for longer than most Americans can remember. The top 10% have captured all of the income gains in America since the 1990s. Communities of color have suffered the most in this new radically unequal America. African American and Latino families' median net worth is now less than the value of a

decent used car. And yet in the executive suites and the Wall Street boardrooms, the good times keep on rolling. This is not what America is supposed to be—neither our economy nor our society can prosper as the power of economic elites pushes us further and further apart.

The labor movement is how we build a different and a better future—an end to mass unemployment, to CEOs and speculators getting rich while the people who do the work, who create the wealth they take, lead lives of increasing insecurity and diminishing possibility. The labor movement is about ending workplace discrimination, about a future when there is no pay gap between men and women. We are about stopping the practice of filling American workplaces with permanent “temporary” workers, about an end to employers telling workers they are now “independent contractors” without rights because their lawyers say they can get away with it. We are about an America where paths to the middle class are open, where we all can rise. Together, we will reverse the radical inequality that has marked our time in America, put an end to the “you're on your own” society and replace it with a country where we are all in this together.

We may work in a thousand workplaces, but we all live in communities—communities where we make our homes and raise our families. The labor movement is about building the power to create strong communities, where local public schools prepare our children for the future, where the parks are open and fun places to play, where those in need are fed and clothed and brought in from the cold—and where the people who provide these vital public services are treated as we would want to be treated. Together, we pledge to invest in our communities, to repair the damage done by years of politicians using the excuse of the economic crisis to dismantle our social and economic fabric. We pledge to offer the hand of partnership to employers and government to build a future of shared prosperity—of stellar educational institutions, 21st century infrastructure, and most of all an America where no one is kicked to the curb or left behind.

Yet none of these things will happen until we stop believing the myth that we are too poor to afford a civilized society. The reality is the opposite—some have become so rich that they rig the system so they can take what we produce and give little or nothing in return. The labor movement will not be fooled—we demand corporations and the wealthy pay their taxes, just as we honorably and proudly pay ours. We cannot have shared prosperity so long as we give publicly financed handouts to companies that lay off Americans to accelerate profits. We cannot have shared prosperity when we do our duty and pay taxes when we buy and sell our houses and cars, but speculators buy and sell trillions in financial assets every day without paying a penny in taxes.

And in return for what we ask of employers, we offer the hand of partnership. We offer to work together to make the investments that will make America more competitive, to help train the workforce employers need, and perhaps most of all, to be the customers employers require for their products and services.

A future of shared prosperity requires we think seriously about the future itself. In America, a generation of government by and for the rich has condemned millions of our young people to a future with too few jobs and too much debt. This is unacceptable. Politicians who trade in hate exclude young immigrants who know no other home from full participation in our national life. This is unacceptable. We have inherited the greatest legacy in the history of the world, in the form of our public schools and universities, our roads and bridges and ports, our water and power systems—and yet politicians beholden to the rich have let trillions of dollars in maintenance go undone, while the rest of the world invests in the technologies of the 21st century. This is unacceptable. The labor movement is building a different future—where there is work for our young people, a road map to citizenship for all who are here in America, and where together we make the investments America must make to compete and for all of us to prosper in the global economy of the 21st century.

For we do indeed live in a global economy, where our fate as workers in America is bound up with the fate

of workers across the world—in Brazilian steel mills, Bangladeshi garment factories and Egyptian cotton mills, on Chinese docks, in Mexican and Canadian mines and in German machine shops. We are part of a larger global labor movement advocating for an economic agenda that addresses the challenges of a changing global economy. We will strengthen global alliances with workers and their unions across the world. We know we share the same dreams, negotiate with the same employers, have the same hopes for democracy and see the same threats to our rights. And we know that together, across the world, we will defeat the threat of austerity driven by financial interests.

And we live on the only planet we have. We reject utterly the idea that we must choose between jobs and prosperity and caring for our only planet. All across America today, people are looking for work who have the skills we need to fight global warming—construction workers who could retrofit our buildings and our power plants, auto workers who could build new fleets of high-mileage vehicles, railroad workers who could build and staff high-speed trains, factory workers of all kinds who could make the capital goods of the future. Re-engineering must mean putting in place solutions so we can keep the good jobs we have while fighting climate change—carbon capture and sequestration technology, nuclear power and better, more efficient pipelines. We must fight climate change by putting America back to work re-engineering our economy.

Throughout the world, the values of shared prosperity are locked in conflict with the agenda of financial elites and global corporations. But in the end this conflict is self-defeating. A world of radical inequality is not in anyone's long-term interest. That is why we seek a global economy where worker rights and the environment are protected, an economy where global finance is regulated and put to work to increase shared prosperity. We want global trade rules that allow countries to protect workers and the environment, that do not trade food and product safety for market access. For too long, capital has written the rules of trade and has benefited at workers' expense. Global trade and investment agreements must benefit not just shareholders of

multinational corporations but workers and citizens in all the countries that sign the agreement. And there is no way to achieve these goals until the processes of negotiating international agreements are open and transparent.

In every generation, America's workers have had to fight and win again the fundamental right to be heard in our society. In cotton mills in Massachusetts in 1840, in Pennsylvania coal mines in 1900, in Michigan's auto plants in 1936, in the streets of Memphis in 1968, and the streets of Los Angeles in 1988, and today all over this country—in Walmart's stores and warehouses, in fashion shows and taxi dispatch yards, on street corners where day laborers gather, in the kitchens of McDonald's and Burger King—this fight is on.

But more is at stake than the fate of each group of us who stands up for our rights, our dignity, our very humanity. Each time working people stand together for a better future, the future of our country and

our world grows a little brighter—a future of shared prosperity, a future worthy of the great promise of America. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. gave his life in the cause of the dignity of working people, and every day when workers across America follow in his path, we honor his memory and build the America and the world he dreamed.

Because when Nissan workers from Japan and Nissan workers from Mississippi sit together, when Steelworkers and Mine Workers demand their brothers and sisters in Mexico be freed and their union respected, when German and American Deutsche Telekom workers jointly demand that all that company's workers be treated fairly—then we are a little closer not just to shared prosperity in the global economy, but to a global economy that can sustain prosperity for all. And that has been the dream, and the real life goal, that makes out of millions of very different people who work, one labor movement.

## Resolution 7

### THE CONVERSATION ABOUT ECONOMICS WE NEED TO HAVE

THE ECONOMY IS NOT THE WEATHER. It does not just happen to us. The economy is all about the wealth we create every day at work. Without our labor, there is no economy.

But while we do the work, we do not control the economy we create. For a generation, the wealthiest among us, organized through the corporations they control and the government they influence, have rewritten the rules of the global economy so that they take a larger and larger share of the wealth we create.

And as they are busy changing the rules to benefit themselves, the 1% have told us for a generation that this fundamentally unfair economic order is the only way we can create wealth. Corporate-dominated media continues to tell this story even as it becomes clearer and clearer that the 1% have built an economy that does not work even on its own terms.

It's time for a different conversation. A conversation about how the global economy really works, about how political and economic power shapes economic reality, about what has gone wrong in the global economy in the last generation, and what we can do here in America to set our country and the world on the path to shared, sustainable prosperity.

It's time for a conversation about how, together, workers can build countervailing economic and political power, through creating strong, democratic, independent labor movements and by developing economic strength through collective bargaining.

This is a conversation we have to have together—in our workplaces, in our union halls, online and in our homes. It's a conversation we need to have not just with our fellow union members, but with our allies,

with economists and journalists, and with elected officials. But it's a conversation that can't get started unless we start it in the labor movement.

The AFL-CIO will, in the weeks and months to come, develop a comprehensive economics education program—Common Sense Economics. This program will provide educational tools so that we can educate each other, so that we can spark conversations that are informed by serious economic thinking, not by the failed dogmas of neoliberalism, or the self-interested lies of the billionaires that control so much of the economic conversation of America's TV talk shows.

Our goal is a curriculum that can be taught by workers to workers and that can be taught both online through social media and in person. The curriculum will use economic analysis, narrative teaching tools and participatory exercises to bring to life the economic history of the last 30 years and the economic challenges faced by workers in our country and around the world.

The initial modules of Common Sense Economics will address issues such as Why America Needs Rising Wages (tentative title), the Economic Impact of Immigration Reform and the Role of Corporations in the Global Economy. In the weeks and months to come, we will develop a comprehensive curriculum that addresses how our economy came to be in crisis—looking at the attack on workers' rights and collective bargaining and on the public sector, the hollowing out of American industry, the destruction of the progressive tax system, the rise of Wall Street and the attack on full employment.

But Common Sense Economics will be about more than an analysis of what went wrong. We will draw

on Yale Prof. Jacob Hacker’s work on Prosperity Economics to develop a curriculum designed to spark conversations about how to build an economy based on shared prosperity. The curriculum will look at how to build an economy based on full employment, economic security and democracy—and the critical role played by an organized workforce in achieving these goals.

**Action Items:**

1. Develop, in conjunction with community allies, a comprehensive Common Sense Economics curriculum, in the form of modules that make economics accessible and encourage conversations about the direction of our country.
2. Share the curriculum at every level of the labor movement and with allies.
3. Conduct train-the-trainer sessions for local union leaders and community partners so that they can lead conversations about how we can build sustainable, shared prosperity.



## Resolution 8

### GLOBAL ORGANIZING

WE ARE PART OF THE global labor movement and have an important role to play in it to improve workers' rights, and working conditions and terms of employment for all. Working with our sisters and brothers in unions—and those who want to be in unions—we have much to learn and some things to teach. We cannot limit our work or our dreams to the nation's borders.

Corporate-driven globalization continues to threaten the rights of workers worldwide. Globally, workers face stagnant or shrinking wages, weaker social protections and greater job insecurity. As multinational corporations employ more of the global workforce and increase their power, workers and the labor movement face continuing attacks and challenges.

Globalization reaches beyond private enterprise production, manufacturing and employment into such traditional public services as education, health care, transport and communications, to the detriment of the people and communities who rely on them, the accessibility and quality of service, and the professional and working conditions of the direct providers of such services. Characterized by pursuit of profit and the stripping away of professionalism and collective voice and representation for public employees, global privatization leaves in its wake inequality, substantially reduced funding and resources for those who need them most, disenfranchised communities, unaccountable decision making, and a general abdication of government responsibility and accountability for the provision of vital public services.

Globally, only 7% of the formal workforce is unionized into independent unions. Our labor movement nationally and globally has to focus on raising that

number. As American workers in a global economy, our lives and struggles are connected to workers across the world. The global workplace connects us across borders and around the world. Steelworkers in Bahia, Brazil, work for the same multinational as their counterparts in Beaumont, Texas. Woodworkers in Danville, Va., are part of the same global workplace as furniture makers in Sweden. Workers sewing clothes in Vietnam are linked to their counterparts selling those clothes in retail stores. Telecommunication workers in Charleston, S.C., work for the same multinational as their German counterparts. Teachers and education workers in the United States, Chile, Ghana, New Zealand, South Korea, the United Kingdom and across the world share the same struggles to preserve and improve public education as the engine of democracy and economic growth. The interconnectedness of workers globally requires increased education regarding globalization and the impact on workers.

In the United States, it is all too common for corporations to take advantage of weak labor laws and promote an anti-worker and anti-union culture. Multinational corporations with headquarters in Europe, Japan, Korea, Brazil and other countries often come to the United States with the practice of respect for workers' right to organize and collectively bargain. Unfortunately, once in the United States they often adopt the worst practices modeled by U.S. corporations, including union busting, fear and intimidation of workers and firings and reprisals for workers who try to organize and join a union. Despite adhering to higher worker rights standards in their own countries, these multinational corporations take the United States' low road model for worker rights. We will work collectively with U.S. corporations and multinationals that adhere to a high standard of worker rights and strongly campaign against those



that undermine workers' rights and decent working conditions. As part of the global labor movement, we must work with our partners to ensure that the U.S.-led anti-union model does not become the corporate model around the world.

Given the changing global economy and the strategies used by multinational corporations to degrade work and workers' rights, we commit to building strategic alliances with unions and partners worldwide. We will ensure that ILO core labor standards, including the right to freedom of association, will be the foundation for strong national labor laws that are effectively enforced. We will fight for decent work and against the growing use of informal work arrangements that undermine worker rights and good working conditions. Global supply chains require increased research capacity to understand how work is organized globally, how work moves from place to place, and the strategies needed to build worker power from the community level to the global workplace.

Our work with the global labor movement strengthens our organizing capacity at the community, national and global levels. By developing a shared analysis of global supply chains and the threats facing workers worldwide, we can develop effective, strategic campaigns that increase our ability to organize in our workplaces. We commit to working with the global labor movement to develop joint global bargaining strategies and new forms of cross-border representation with workers connected by the same supply chain and working for a common multinational corporation.

### **Action Steps:**

1. Support the collection and sharing of information on select multinationals operating in the United States, including collective bargaining agreements, effective Global Framework Agreements, European Works Council agreements and other standards applicable to the global operations of the corporations.
2. Support the collection and sharing of information between and among international unions and national and global union federations regarding

the activities of multinational companies and organizations and international financial institutions in the promotion of privatization of public services and in the restriction of labor rights.

3. Promote worker-to-worker exchanges that support a greater understanding of the global labor movement and strengthen strategic organizing and campaign strategies.
4. Develop training on the structures of the global labor movement and encourage the use of innovative tools to facilitate discussions on campaigning for stronger and more effective mechanisms for implementation, application and enforcement of international labor standards throughout the world.
5. Develop new strategies to build worker and community power to defend public education and other vital public services from the negative impacts of globalization and privatization, while ensuring a more equitable distribution of the benefits of globalization.
6. In cooperation with international and national union partners and global union federations, convene working groups, foster meetings, and develop training with respect to privatization masquerading as "reform" and the sharing of policy research and best practices for preserving and improving the quality and responsiveness of vital public-sector services.
7. Develop a network of supportive researchers and academics nationally and internationally with expertise in priority sectors and campaigns.
8. Support the ongoing training of campaigners, lead organizers and strategic researchers working on campaigns developed through the ITUC Global Organizing Academy. Send experienced trainers to both classroom and mentorship trainings on one-to two-week rotations during crucial moments of priority campaigns.

## Resolution 9

# GOOD JOBS, ECONOMIC SECURITY AND TAX FAIRNESS

THE ENDLESS BUDGET BATTLES in Washington are essentially disagreements over what kind of society we want to be and what kind of economy we want to have—now and in the future.

Wall Street and the wealthiest Americans are refusing to pay their fair share in taxes, even if it means condemning the rest of America to high unemployment, bad jobs, low wages and economic insecurity. And they are demanding cuts to Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security benefits to pay for lower tax rates.

Working people have a very different vision for America's future. We are demanding: (1) good jobs, full employment, and investments in infrastructure and public services to build pathways to the middle class; (2) economic security; and (3) tax fairness to make these things possible.

### Good Jobs

If we want good jobs and full employment, we must first make the right budget choices. For several years, U.S. budget policies have failed to focus on the greatest economic challenge facing America—the jobs crisis—and have instead made the crisis worse. Economic growth would be higher and millions more people would be employed if Washington had not turned to budget cutting in 2011, when the economy still had not recovered from the Great Recession.

By keeping unemployment high, budget austerity has also kept wages low. In addition, high unemployment and growing economic inequality undermine the programs that provide economic security for working people.

We cannot allow short-sighted budget austerity to prevent us from fixing the economy. The AFL-CIO therefore resolves to do the following:

- **Demand repeal—rather than replacement—of “sequestration.”** Across-the-board budget cuts will hold back economic growth for the next decade, while repealing these cuts would boost employment and growth. There is no economic need to replace these cuts with other harmful cuts.
- **Demand jobs legislation.** Congress must pass jobs legislation that invests in infrastructure, education, manufacturing and energy, and helps state and local governments avoid layoffs of educators, first responders and other public service employees.
- **Demand higher levels of public investment.** These productive investments will not only put people to work, but also lay the foundations for long-term economic growth.
- **Demand that rebuilding U.S. manufacturing and the industrial base be made a national priority,** and that Buy American laws be strengthened and fully enforced.

### Economic Security

Even before the Great Recession, working people were faced with growing economic insecurity: less job security; fewer defined-benefit pensions; the inadequacy of 401(k) plans; lower wages that leave less money to put away toward retirement; higher health care premiums; more cost-sharing for health care; fewer unemployment benefits; and the loss of vital public services. The Great Recession made all these problems worse.

The appropriate response to the increase in economic insecurity is to bolster programs that provide economic security, such as Social Security, Medicaid, Medicare, Unemployment Insurance and quality public services. Working people need more economic security, not less.

Bolstering economic security does not require us to choose between the young and the old, or between public investment and social insurance. We need higher levels of public investment to achieve good jobs, full employment and quality public services; we need stronger social insurance programs to provide more economic security; and we need all of these things for the benefit of young and old.

Wall Street and the wealthiest Americans would have us believe that these things are unaffordable, yet they constantly demand tax cuts that diminish our ability to afford them.

They would also have us believe that outsourcing public services to banks and for-profit corporations will somehow improve the quality of services or reduce costs. On the contrary, outsourcing has led to higher costs and lower quality, as well as less transparency, accountability, shared prosperity and competition.

The AFL-CIO therefore resolves to do the following:

- **Continue our absolute opposition to any cuts in Medicare, Social Security or Medicaid benefits—no matter what form they take or who proposes them.**

We will oppose proposals to lower Social Security cost-of-living increases; raise the Social Security retirement age; raise the Medicare eligibility age; increase income-related Medicare premiums; shift costs to Medicare beneficiaries through higher deductibles, co-pays and coinsurance; or reduce federal Medicaid payments to the states.

- **Demand an across-the-board increase in Social Security benefits**, which would be especially meaningful for low-income seniors.
- **Demand higher Social Security cost-of-living increases**, to reflect the higher share of seniors' incomes that goes to health care and housing.
- **Demand an increase in the taxable earnings cap for Social Security**, so income greater than \$113,700 is taxed.

- **Demand improved Medicare benefits**, so Medicare can serve as a model for a single high standard of care for everyone, sometimes called "Medicare for All."
- **Oppose attacks on workers' pensions under the guise of deficit reduction.**
- **Oppose proposals to reduce unemployment coverage, benefit weeks or amounts.**
- **Oppose outsourcing proposals that wrongly put public services in the hands of for-profit companies, weakening accountability and transparency.**
- **Demand that all workers have access to the training and career counseling they need to achieve employment security.**

## Tax Fairness

Making the wealthiest Americans and Wall Street pay their fair share in taxes would generate large amounts of new revenues that could be used to make necessary investments in infrastructure, education, manufacturing and the transition to a clean energy economy.

The AFL-CIO therefore resolves to do the following:

- **Demand that the wealthiest Americans pay their fair share.** We will support (1) higher tax rates on income greater than \$1 million; (2) reducing or eliminating the tax preference for capital gains and dividends; (3) restoring a robust estate tax; (4) establishing a minimum 30% tax rate for millionaires; and (5) ending the "carried interest" tax loophole for Wall Street investment managers.
- **Oppose any reduction in tax rates for the wealthiest Americans.** We will oppose "revenue neutral tax reform" that uses up all new tax revenues on wasteful rate reductions.
- **Demand that Wall Street pay its fair share in taxes.** We will support a "Financial Transactions Tax" to discourage destabilizing high-volume trading and encourage long-term productive investment.

- **Demand the elimination of the tax benefit of sending jobs overseas.** Making corporations pay current U.S. taxes on their overseas income the same way they pay taxes on their domestic income would raise \$583 billion over 10 years.
- **Insist that “tax reform” encourages manufacturing in the United States.** Eliminating or limiting tax expenditures that encourage production in the United States would harm workers in America, even if the corporate income tax rate were lowered.
- **Oppose a “territorial tax system” that reduces U.S. taxation of overseas corporate profits,** which would increase the tax incentive to send jobs overseas.
- **Oppose “tax reform” that taxes middle-class health benefits.** Taxing health benefits would lead employers to drop coverage and shift more health care costs to workers.
- **Demand that “tax reform” preserve other tax expenditures important to the middle class,** such as the tax deduction for state and local taxes and the tax exclusion for interest on municipal bonds.
- **Demand a level playing field for e-commerce,** so online retailers cannot avoid collecting the same sales taxes that brick-and-mortar retailers are required to collect.

We are not a poor country. We are, however, a country in which economic inequality has risen to alarming levels; economic elites have grown increasingly indifferent to the well-being of their fellow citizens; multinational corporations have grown increasingly disconnected from the economic interests of the people who actually live and work in America; Wall Street and the wealthiest Americans have gained outsized political influence in our democracy; and economic policy makers have convinced themselves that good jobs and the economic security of working people no longer are necessary to our economic success. These are the things that cry out to be changed.

## Resolution 10

### RAISING WAGES IS THE ANSWER

THERE IS SOMETHING FUNDAMENTALLY WRONG with the U.S. economy. More than four years after the end of the Great Recession, economic growth is still weak and unemployment is still higher than its peak in the previous recession. The heart of the problem is the stagnation of wages and the lack of middle-class buying power. The solution is to replace the failed low-wage economic strategy of the past 30 years with a high-wage strategy for shared prosperity.

The low-wage economic strategy of the past 30 years consisted of at least five elements: (1) a sustained war against workers' freedom to bargain collectively; (2) a sustained attack on labor standards and employment protections for all workers; (3) the abandonment of full employment as a central objective of U.S. economic policy and declining investment in infrastructure; (4) the relocation of U.S. manufacturing production to other countries, accompanied by chronic U.S. trade deficits; and (5) Wall Street's takeover of the real economy.

The upshot of this low-wage economic strategy was that wage growth for most workers became delinked from productivity growth in the late 1970s. The real median income of working-age families fell from 2000 to 2007 and has continued falling since the Great Recession. The wage crisis has had an especially harmful impact on people of color and their communities.

The failure of this low-wage strategy was responsible for the weakness of the U.S. economy before the Great Recession, which was temporarily papered over by a bubble in real estate prices. Today the U.S. economy is still struggling to recover from the collapse of the real estate bubble.

The failure of this low-wage strategy shows that we no longer can rely on household borrowing, real estate bubbles, tech bubbles or stock bubbles to fuel economic growth. We must rely instead on higher wages to restore middle-class buying power and create healthy domestic markets for U.S. businesses. Higher wages are not a luxury that can be postponed until the crisis has receded; they are the only way out of the crisis and the basis for sustainable growth.

A high-wage strategy for shared prosperity must include: (1) restoring workers' ability to bargain collectively; (2) strengthening labor standards and employment protections for all workers; (3) making full employment the central objective of U.S. fiscal and monetary policy; (4) forging a new model of engagement with the global economy so that we make things in America again and eliminate the U.S. trade deficit; and (5) shrinking our bloated financial sector and making it serve the real economy.

The AFL-CIO resolves to construct and implement a Raising Wages Campaign, including the following efforts at the federal, state and local levels to raise wages and labor standards for every worker in America and make every job a good job.

#### FEDERAL LEGISLATION

- **Freedom to Form a Union.** We will support legislation to restore workers' ability to form or join a union (Committee 1).
- **Comprehensive Immigration Reform.** To support labor standards for everyone who works in America, we will support legislation to provide a path to citizenship and meaningful labor protections (Committee 3).

- **Immigrant Workers.** We will work to improve wages and standards in all foreign temporary worker programs, including the H-1B, H-2A and H-2B visa programs.
- **Raise and Index the Minimum Wage.** We support legislation to increase the minimum wage to \$10.10 and to ensure it rises annually, and to increase the minimum wage for tipped workers to 70% of the regular minimum wage.
- **Employee Misclassification.** We will support legislation (“Fair Playing Field Act”) to combat the misclassification of employees as independent contractors, which undermines labor standards.
- **Equal Pay for Equal Work.** We will support legislation (“Paycheck Fairness Act”) to protect workers against gender discrimination.
- **Protect Overtime for Private-Sector Workers.** We will oppose legislation (“Comp Time”) that excuses some employers from the obligation to pay a cash premium for overtime work.
- **Protect Overtime for Computer Professionals.** We will oppose legislation (“Computer Professionals Update Act”) that strips overtime protection from computer programmers, software engineers and other tech employees.
- **Compensation for Federal Employees.** We will oppose pay cuts and benefit cuts for federal employees, which undermine labor standards, and support a living wage for federal employees.
- **Paid Sick Days.** We will support legislation (“Healthy Families Act”) to allow workers to earn up to seven paid sick days per year.
- **Family and Medical Leave.** We will support legislation to apply the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) to smaller businesses and to provide for paid leave through general revenues.
- **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.

## FEDERAL REGULATION AND ENFORCEMENT

- **Minimum Wage and Overtime for Home Care Workers.** We will work for a regulation to clarify that wage and hour protections apply to home care workers.
- **Living Wage for Federal Contract Workers.** We will urge the administration to issue an executive order requiring federal contractors and subcontractors to pay a living wage.
- **Index Overtime Eligibility to Inflation.** We will work for a regulation to update and index the \$455/week salary threshold for overtime exceptions.
- **Prevailing Wage.** To keep the government from undermining labor standards, we will work to improve the process for determining prevailing wages under the Davis-Bacon and Service Contract Acts.
- **Project Labor Agreements.** We will work to promote and consistently apply project labor agreements (PLAs) to support labor standards on publicly funded construction projects.
- **Transit Workers.** We will work to maintain Section 13(c) protections for public transportation workers, which ensure collective bargaining rights and protect wages, pensions and other conditions of employment.
- **Railroad Workers.** We will work to preserve and enforce existing labor protections for freight and passenger railroad workers, which uphold collective bargaining, wages, benefits and other worker rights.
- **Wage Theft.** We will work toward a federal regulation to require employers to provide employees with information about hours worked and wages earned.

## STATE AND LOCAL LEGISLATION AND ACTIVITY

- **Non-Pre-emption of Local Labor Standards.** We will oppose state legislation that prevents counties and municipalities from setting labor standards higher than state standards.



- **“Right to Work.”** We will oppose “right to work” legislation, which lowers labor standards for all workers.
- **Minimum Wage.** We will support legislation to increase and index the minimum wage, and increase the minimum for tipped employees.
- **Prevailing Wage.** We will support legislation to keep publicly funded projects from undermining labor standards.
- **Employee Misclassification.** We will support legislation to combat the misclassification of employees as independent contractors.
- **Union Organizing Campaigns.** We will support efforts of workers to bargain collectively.
- **Wage Theft.** We will support legislation and ordinances to keep employers from underpaying or failing to pay their employees.
- **Outsourcing.** We will oppose outsourcing proposals that wrongly put public services in the hands of for-profit companies, weakening accountability and transparency.
- **Compensation for Public Service Employees.** We will oppose pay cuts and benefit cuts for public service employees, which undermine labor standards.
- **Farmworkers.** We will support legislation to guarantee overtime, collective bargaining rights and other employment protections to farmworkers.
- **Domestic Workers.** We will support legislation to guarantee minimum wage, overtime and other labor protections for domestic workers.
- **Accountable Development.** We will support legislation to require public contractors and recipients of state and local subsidies to create good jobs in the United States that meet wage and benefit standards.
- **Community Benefits Agreements.** We will work with unions in various sectors, municipalities and community partners to negotiate agreements with developers and contractors to support labor standards, provide benefits to the community and utilize union apprenticeship programs.
- **Collective Bargaining Rights.** We will support legislation to extend bargaining rights to workers who do not have them and oppose legislation that impairs existing rights.
- **Fair Share Revenue.** We will support legislation to raise tax revenue from the wealthy to avoid loss of vital public services.
- **Unemployment Insurance.** We will support state legislation to address the financial crisis of the UI system and oppose proposals to reduce benefit weeks or amounts.
- **Living Wage.** We will support ordinances to establish living wage standards.
- **Paid Sick Days.** We will support earned sick day ordinances and legislation.

## Resolution 11

### RETIREMENT SECURITY FOR ALL

FOR TOO LONG, our national retirement security discussion has been about everything but the interests of workers and retirees. We are told we must boost the confidence of foreign bondholders; keep taxes low for the top 1%; minimize employer cost and risk; protect financial services industry profits; and cut benefits because of the latest reports from discredited credit ratings agencies. Meanwhile, workers and retirees must do with less, bear more risk, and go it alone.

Most Americans' prospects for a decent retirement are shrinking. Over half of households are at risk of being unable to maintain their standard of living in retirement, up from fewer than one in three in 1983. Two-thirds of Social Security beneficiaries 65 and older rely on its modest benefits for half or more of their income. The number of workers fortunate enough to have a traditional pension continues to drop: Just 14% of private-sector workers have one today, compared with 45% in 1975.

While the now-dominant individual retirement savings accounts are touted as superior substitutes for pensions, just three in five of those closest to, or just into, retirement have been able to save anything at all, and the typical balance is \$100,000. This translates into just over \$330 in monthly retirement income. The failure of these plans should come as no surprise given the backdrop of stagnating compensation and sharply increasing economic inequality.

It is time for our country to commit to moving from retirement security for just a lucky few to retirement security for all. Getting there will require expanding Social Security; strengthening our existing pension systems; and creating new ways for workers to build

retirement security when employers are unwilling or unable to do what is necessary.

Retirement security for all begins with Social Security. It provides a fundamental base of financial security and dignity for Americans in retirement, those unable to work due to a disability, and to young children when a working parent dies. If Social Security has a weakness, it is that its benefit levels are too modest. Its benefits must be increased across the board. Moreover, Social Security's cost-of-living (COLA) adjustments should be higher to reflect the larger share of seniors' incomes that goes to health care and housing.

On Capitol Hill, however, the Social Security debate has focused on how "best" to cut benefits. Astonishingly, cuts are justified as necessary to "strengthen" the program and avoid any tax increase on the wealthy. We oppose any reduction in Social Security benefits, as well as in Medicare and Medicaid benefits, be it through "indexing benefits for longevity" (i.e., increasing retirement ages), "updating" the annual COLA calculation (i.e., cutting cost-of-living adjustments), or any other euphemism for cutting benefits.

Cutting benefits is not required to address Social Security's modest long-term funding needs. As a variety of recent proposals show, raising the cap on wages subject to the payroll tax is essential to any solution. We also reaffirm our longstanding position that mandatory coverage of all public employees has no place in any funding plan and support proposals to bring fairness to public-sector retirees by addressing any inequities created by the Government Pension Offset and Windfall Elimination Provision.



Besides improving Social Security benefits, we must fight for workers' pensions in the face of persistent attacks by those who would cut, freeze or eliminate them for private-sector workers; state, local and federal employees; and rail workers. Defined-benefit pensions are the cornerstone of our retirement system outside of Social Security. But despite the fact that they remain the soundest and most cost-effective vehicles for building and safeguarding retirement income security—with their professional asset managers, lower investment fees and better returns—traditional pensions are subject to continued assault by employers and politicians. Accordingly, we affirm the labor movement's unwavering commitment to:

- Repeal the federal law and regulations that have enabled the assaults on private pensions. In particular, we must replace the 2006 Pension Protection Act with new funding rules that will support and grow defined-benefit pension plans.
- Advocate for sensible accounting rules, for both private and public plans, that promote vibrant pension systems rather than the current hostile regulatory environment.
- Work with a broadened coalition of allies to protect state and local workers' pensions against political attacks that seek to take advantage of government fiscal pressures, capital market weaknesses and the failure of some government employers faithfully to make required contributions to employee plans.
- Fight against employers' manipulation of bankruptcy law and use of restructuring to escape their benefit obligations to workers and retirees, whether in the private sector at companies like Patriot Coal or in municipalities like Detroit.
- Call on the federal government to support the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation, so that single-employer and multiemployer programs are in better financial condition.

Union members have a big stake in the success and integrity of our retirement system. They have chosen, through collective bargaining or other means, to defer a substantial portion of their wages into pensions

and other retirement plans. Retirement savings are the primary way union members invest in the capital markets, and their retirement money is their biggest financial asset.

To aid in the creation of a sound economy, an essential condition for a secure retirement, we should invest the more than \$9 trillion in government, corporate and multiemployer pension funds in economically productive ways. Pension funds need sustainable, long-term returns, and our economy needs patient, responsibly invested capital for broad-based prosperity. Meeting these objectives requires consideration of environmental, social and corporate governance (“ESG”) standards.

The labor movement's long and successful track record of promoting responsible investing includes labor-invested real estate funds that have created good union construction jobs and affordable housing; worker-friendly private equity funds that have saved jobs from bankruptcies; and activist public equity funds that have encouraged greater corporate accountability. Through our participation in the governance of multiemployer and public pension funds, we will continue to promote new private and public infrastructure investment products designed to produce competitive returns while creating jobs, but we reject the notion that the investment necessary for a competitive economy requires the privatization of public infrastructure. The experience of the last 10 years is that privatization enriches Wall Street, while leading to losses for investors, higher fees for the public and, ultimately, inadequate investment in infrastructure.

While acknowledging our successes, we must scale up for the challenge of creating an economy that works for all. We strongly believe pension funds must be invested for the exclusive goal of providing workers with a secure retirement. Consistent with that, we encourage pension funds covering our members and retirees to update their investment policies and practices to address ESG standards and put at least some of their portfolio in responsible investments; use their voice as investors to promote sustainable business practices; encourage the

disclosure of sustainable performance indicators; and promote the investment industry's acceptance of ESG standards. To support these goals, the AFL-CIO will develop model policy language on responsible investing and collaborate with other capital market participants to promote ESG standards.

Ensuring that workers' retirement assets are invested in their best interests also means rooting out the conflicts of interest of many financial advisers and other professionals. We call on the federal government to use its clear authority to expand prohibitions against conflicts of interest whenever financial professionals are providing advice on the investment of retirement money.

Protecting what remains of the pension system, however, will not be enough to achieve retirement security for all. Too few workers even have a pension or a retirement savings plan that will produce enough for a decent retirement. And all other workers are at risk, as employers and politicians continue their push to cut or eliminate retirement benefits.

For those for whom the existing system falls short, we must create a new path toward retirement security. For most of America, a secure retirement means you are lucky enough to have a retirement plan with low-cost investments delivering decent returns; to earn enough to contribute to the plan; to live through a time when the markets return historically average or better returns and do not drop precipitously at the wrong time; and to live not so long that your money runs out.

A retirement system that delivers adequate and secure retirement income to everyone, not just the lucky, is one in which:

- Social Security, employer-paid pensions and individual retirement savings all have important roles to play;
- Economic security in retirement is a shared responsibility of employers, individuals and government;
- Adequate benefits are earned and enough money is contributed throughout everyone's working years, with suitable portability;
- Retirement plans appropriately balance, manage and pool capital market risks for workers' core retirement income;
- Benefits are focused on delivering retirement income that is secure and lasts throughout retirement, with provision for survivor benefits; and
- Plans are operated solely in the interest of workers and retirees.

Change of this magnitude will not come quickly, and it will not come at all if we do not start now. Likely, change will proceed in many steps, big and small, and require building an aggressive, broad-based movement to challenge the status quo. The AFL-CIO commits itself to leading that movement to achieve retirement security for all.

## Resolution 12

# AMERICA AND THE WORLD NEED A NEW APPROACH TO TRADE AND GLOBALIZATION

THE UNITED STATES is in talks regarding three new trade and globalization agreements—and more are being developed all the time. Over the past 25 years the United States negotiated trade agreements that both reflected and promoted the rise in corporate power at the expense of working people. It has created a system of global governance—by global corporations—with no counterbalance or check on growing corporate power. These agreements have fueled the profits of companies that have outsourced and offshored, but they have suppressed American workers' wages and their standard of living.

Global enterprises seeking to suppress wages, pollute our air and water and violate our fundamental labor rights must no longer be the architects of trade policy. Instead, trade policies must empower workers to organize and act collectively to ensure their work is safe, secure and fairly paid; that they have adequate access to education, recreation and decent housing; and that their elected representatives work to advance the general welfare rather than substituting corporate interests in their place and hoping for some trickle-down benefits.

Because trade and globalization agreements encompass these important policy issues that go far beyond tariff reductions, we strongly support increased congressional consultation, participation and oversight in trade policy formation and increased public participation and scrutiny both during the negotiation process and after implementation. Twentieth century-style “fast track” trade promotion authority, which we continue to strongly oppose, was undemocratic and wholly inadequate to provide the transparency, accountability and oversight necessary to the task, and was part of the reason working families have been left behind by these agreements.

The trade agreements currently being negotiated are:

### **TPP (The Trans-Pacific Partnership)**

The United States and 11 Pacific Rim nations—Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore and Vietnam—are negotiating the TPP. While at the outset of negotiations, the agreement had great potential to set down rules for people-centered trade, it now seems likely to be yet another in a long string of trade agreements that elevate corporate interests at the expense of working people. It appears unlikely the agreement will rectify the mistakes of past trade policy, particularly in the areas of currency, rules of origin, procurement, deregulation, labor rights, public services, investment, access to medicines, environmental protections or financial services.

### **TTIP (The Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership)**

In 2013, the United States and the European Union began talks on a Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). Increasing trade ties with the EU *could* be beneficial for both American and European workers but, as with all trade agreements, the rules matter. Generally speaking, both regions have advanced economies, high national incomes and well-developed legal and regulatory regimes designed to protect the environment and defend workers' rights. And in many respects, the European nations' social programs to protect families and the environment exceed those of U.S. laws and regulations. Therefore, the TTIP must employ a people-centered approach and not be a tool to promote deregulation and downward harmonization of standards. Nor should the TTIP be a vehicle for lowering U.S. standards for government procurement or public services.

## **TISA (The Trade in International Services Agreement)**

In 2012, the United States began negotiating the Trade in International Services agreement with Australia, Canada, Chile, Chinese Taipei (Taiwan), Colombia, Costa Rica, the European Union, Hong Kong China, Iceland, Israel, Japan, Korea, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Switzerland and Turkey. The agreement's biggest risks are rules that promote privatization of public services and restrict the ability to regulate in the public interest.

In the TPP, the TTIP, the TISA and any other new trade and economic commitments, the United States and its trading partners have the opportunity to deliberately choose a different set of policies, but they will not do so voluntarily. Promoting shared prosperity in the global economy requires the free exercise of labor rights globally and reforms in trade and economic policy to create demand-led, worker-focused growth.

Workers must stand together globally to force our governments to choose a different path.

A people-centered trade policy will:

- **Create shared gains for the workers whose labor creates society's wealth.** Trade agreements must require nations to adopt, maintain and enforce universally recognized labor standards, as set out in the ILO core conventions and their related jurisprudence, so that workers are empowered to act collectively to ensure they can share the gains of trade and raise their own standards of living. The labor provisions must cover all workers regardless of sector or national origin and must be fully and effectively enforceable—using trade sanctions if necessary—in a timely manner. Labor provisions must clearly establish a floor, not a ceiling on labor rights—and these rights must not be open to challenge by investors who wish to avoid obligations to their workers.
- **Strengthen protections for the environment.** Companies must not use trade rules to pit one country's environmental rules against another, as they seek the lowest-cost place to produce. That approach creates a significant threat to the world's

ability to address serious environmental threats and to worldwide public health. Environmental provisions must be as strong and enforceable as the commercial commitments.

- **Protect the freedom to regulate in the public interest.** Trade agreements must not be thinly disguised tools to make it easier to increase shareholder profit by poisoning workers, polluting the environment or hiding information from consumers. Working families must be able to keep and expand upon public interest protections—and trade policies must protect, not degrade, these protections.
- **Set rules for fair competition.** Workers of a nation must not be unduly disadvantaged by unfair economic competition resulting from choices about how to organize their economies. Choices about state-owned and state-supported commercial enterprises (collectively, SOEs), value-added taxes, the use of industrial or manufacturing policies, economic development, procurement and social justice policies should be made democratically by the citizens of a nation. However, the rules of international trade and globalization must also allow for mechanisms that level the playing field so that these choices cannot be used as weapons in an effort to achieve growth through a “beggar thy neighbor” approach.
- **Include strong rules of origin so that trade agreements are not merely a conduit to ease the global corporation's race to the bottom.** Weak rules of origin give global companies a free pass to locate production in nations that have not made reciprocal promises as part of a trade agreement to raise standards and abide by agreed rules. Weak rules of origin can decrease, rather than promote, shared prosperity.
- **Not provide extraordinary privileges to foreign investors.** While foreign investment can be beneficial, rules that promote it by offering foreign businesses greater procedural and substantive rights than domestic investors, including the right to bypass state and federal courts, are unjustifiable and destructive. Investor-to-state dispute

settlement procedures must not be included in any future trade agreement. These extreme private property protections jeopardize efforts to create shared prosperity.

- **Effectively address currency manipulation.** Current trade agreements have allowed other countries to engage in strategic currency manipulation that supports their exports and unduly disadvantages U.S. exports. A people-centered trade policy will provide mechanisms to address this abusive practice and ensure a level economic playing field for workers and industries in all countries party to an agreement.
- **Retain the ability for all nations to stimulate their economies through domestic infrastructure and spending programs.** Trade agreements must protect “Buy National” policies. Trade agreements should not constrain federal and sub-federal procurement rules that serve important public policy aims such as local economic development and job creation, environmental protection and social justice—including respect for human and workers’ rights and promotion of disadvantaged business enterprises.
- **Protect the right of governments to choose the scope and level of public services to provide.** Trade agreements must not include regulatory restraints or disciplines that would lower the quality of public services, reduce access to them, adversely affect working conditions or promote privatization of those who provide such services. Public services, designed by the society to provide a minimum level of services for all, must not be undermined by any trade agreement.
- **Protect intellectual property (IP) in a fair and balanced manner.** IP protections—designed to promote innovation and serve the public interest—are critical to creating and maintaining domestic jobs, as well as to increasing exports. The U.S. economy produces many products for which IP is critical, from movies, television shows, sound recordings and documentary productions to software, medicines, fiber optics, specialty steel and countless other products. In particular, the

creative arts economy is a significant contributor to economic growth, the gross domestic product of our nation and our rich cultural heritage. All working people prosper when we promote and protect the unique and original artistic and cultural contributions of American artists and entertainers. Trade agreements must support the livelihoods of the creators of intellectual property while also promoting legitimate competition—particularly in the area of generic medicines. A people-centered trade agreement puts the public interest first and does not create rules that advantage and reward anti-competitive behavior.

- **Protect the unique U.S. transportation regulatory and legal structure.** Foreign interests have long sought and are continuing to seek increased access to the U.S. aviation and maritime markets by weakening U.S. regulations and laws in international trade agreements. These industries and their workforces should not be subjected to the regulatory interests of foreign governments and corporations. Rather, the existing network of laws and bilateral transportation-specific negotiations should be preserved in order to best protect the interests of the U.S. transportation workforce and promote competitiveness in the international marketplace.
- **Protect the right of governments to secure the integrity and stability of their financial systems.** The global megabanks have attempted to promote financial deregulation through trade agreements—this destabilizing practice must end. In particular, financial services provisions of trade agreements must protect the right of nations to institute capital controls and employ prudential measures as necessary to stabilize the financial system.
- **Be negotiated in an open, democratic and accountable manner.** Sunlight is the best disinfectant. Only when working people know what rules are being negotiated in their names can they exercise their rights as citizens—their rights to organize, mobilize and advocate for rules that put the common good over narrow, private interests.

- **Be flexible and responsive.** Nations must be free to change the rules of trade when they discover that the rules in place are not achieving shared prosperity, a healthy living environment or a sustainable economy.

Therefore, we commit to:

- Educating our members—and all workers—about the causes and effects of the current model of globalization, that there is another way, and that we need to act collectively to achieve a higher standard of living.
- Reporting and publicizing to members and the general public the results of existing trade agreements and trade policy on the quality of life for U.S. workers, including the impact on jobs, wages and bargaining power.
- Ensuring strong enforcement of trade agreements and trade remedy law, including by working to ensure sufficient funding for the Interagency Trade Enforcement Center.
- Ensuring that U.S. trade agreements reflect a people-centered policy by recommitting our opposition to 20th century-style “fast track” trade promotion authority that allows trade and globalization agreements to become law with limited debate, no amendments and no opportunity to send the administration back to the table to achieve the principles laid out above.
- Continuing our work to use the labor provisions of the Generalized System of Preferences and various trade agreements to hold countries to their obligations to protect labor rights.
- Demanding greater transparency and inclusiveness in creating U.S. international economic policies, consistent with democratic principles.
- Organizing our members, community allies and all workers to demand better—to demand trade that creates shared prosperity in the TPP, TTIP, TISA and any future trade agenda.
- Developing and executing joint strategies with partners in the international labor movement to shape a pro-worker agenda for trade policies.
- Utilizing all available strategies, including social media, to go beyond education and accomplish organization and mobilization.
- Ensuring that the U.S. policies reflect reforms needed to make U.S. producers and their employees more competitive in the global marketplace, including:
  - Enacting the currency legislation that ensures the administration can treat currency manipulation as a countervailable duty;
  - Enacting expanded and enhanced skills training for all workers, not just those whose jobs have been displaced by trade;
  - Increasing federal funding to upgrade and rebuild ports, airports, railroads, roads, schools, water systems and other critical public infrastructure so that the United States does not lose private investment due to its old and crumbling public facilities; and
  - Strengthening trade enforcement and anti-dumping remedies.
- Fighting to defeat any trade agreement that fails to prioritize the needs of working families and advance shared prosperity in the global economy.
- Holding our elected representatives accountable for their trade policies.
- **TPP:** So long as the TPP appears poised to promote the rights of the 1%—rather than shared gains from trade—we, along with our international labor movement and civil society partners, will oppose its adoption and implementation, devoting resources to create a national campaign.
- **TTIP:** The AFL-CIO is committed to partnering with the ETUC, other European national union centers and civil society allies to ensure the TTIP does not go the way of prior trade agreements, which have promoted corporate benefits at the expense of workers. We will develop and execute a joint

strategy that reflects our principles. We will devote resources to ensure that members of the labor movement are educated, informed and active in the strategy.

- **TISA:** With international labor movement and civil society partners, we will develop and execute a joint strategy to shape the TISA into a positive vehicle for shared prosperity, and together devote resources to ensure that members of the labor movement are educated, informed and active in the strategy.



## Resolution 13

### **SAFE JOBS—EVERY WORKER’S RIGHT**

THE RIGHT TO A SAFE JOB is a fundamental worker right. All workers—coal miners, construction workers, health care workers and garment workers, whether they live in the United States, Bangladesh or China—should be able to go to work and return home safely at the end of the day. But in too many workplaces around the world, employers’ push for production and profits and disregard for workers’ safety puts workers’ lives in danger.

This past April, we witnessed the worst garment factory disaster in history—the horrifying collapse of the Rana Plaza in Bangladesh, which housed five factories making garments for U.S. and European retailers. Cracks in the building had been discovered, due to illegal and shoddy construction, making it unsafe. But workers were told to return to work or lose their month’s pay. Soon after, the building collapsed, killing 1,129 workers, mostly women, and injuring hundreds more. Just months earlier, 112 Bangladeshi workers were killed in a fire trapped behind locked doors at the Tazreen garment factory, another producer for global retail chains.

And here in the United States, the same kind of push for production and lack of safety protections costs workers’ lives. In 2010, 29 coal miners died in an explosion at the Massey Energy’s Upper Big Branch mine in West Virginia, a company with a history of serious mine violations and deaths. A few weeks later, an explosion at the BP Gulf Coast oil well killed 12 workers and caused one of the worst environmental disasters in U.S. history. This past April, 15 people died in an explosion at a West, Texas, fertilizer plant that processed and stored highly dangerous chemicals. The plant was small and not covered by many chemical safety regulations and had never been inspected by OSHA. And in June, 19 firefighters

died in a massive wildfire in Arizona when they were trapped behind the fire line when the wind shifted; with no way to escape. This was the worst firefighter tragedy since the collapse of the World Trade Center in the September 11, 2001, attacks.

Those are the stories that made the news, but every day, workers in the United States and around the world are injured, killed, maimed or sickened while simply trying to earn a living. Most workplace deaths and injuries are not the result of catastrophes; they occur one by one. These deaths are just as much of a tragedy to these workers and their families. The overall toll of these workplace deaths, injuries and diseases is enormous. Globally, according to the ILO, each year, 2.0 million workers die from injuries and 321,000 workers die from occupational diseases. In the United States, in 2011, 4,693 workers died from workplace injuries and more than 3.8 million workers were injured. Another 50,000 U.S. workers are estimated to die annually from occupational diseases.

In this country, the union movement’s decades-long efforts have improved working conditions and made jobs safer and healthier and strengthened workers’ rights. We’ve won safety laws and safeguards that have reduced exposures to workplace hazards like asbestos, lead and benzene and saved workers’ lives. Since the passage of the landmark Occupational Safety and Health Act and Mine Safety and Act, the job fatality rate has been cut by more than 80%.

Eight years of neglect and hostility under the Bush administration brought progress in protecting workers to a halt, but under the Obama administration we have once again moved forward. Strong, committed advocates have been appointed to lead the job safety agencies. Both OSHA and MSHA have stepped up



enforcement, particularly for employers who have a history of serious and repeated violations. The agencies have increased focus on protecting workers' rights with enhanced whistleblower protection programs and policies to protect workers who report job hazards or job injuries from retaliation. And education and outreach, particularly for vulnerable workers, has been expanded to help workers exercise their legal rights.

But progress on needed new protections has been dismal. The 2010 election of a Republican majority in the House of Representatives brought a renewed anti-regulatory fervor, with business groups and Republicans launching a major assault on regulations and the regulatory system. In the face of this attack, the development of many important safety and health rules stalled, with the White House Office of Management and Budget (OMB), which is responsible for reviewing draft rules, blocking needed protections. The most egregious case has been the delay in OSHA's silica rule, which has been held by OMB for 2½ years. Shamefully, at the end of its first term, the Obama administration record on issuing major final OSHA rules was even worse than the miserable record of the Bush administration.

The same anti-regulatory push has been seen globally, with employers and some governments seeking to roll back and block protections and to reduce oversight, claiming that safety and health regulations are excessive, unnecessary and costing jobs. They are also attempting to use international trade agreements as a means to challenge and undermine proposed and existing safeguards in individual countries.

Workers need more safety and health protection, not less.

In too many countries, safety and health laws are nonexistent, weak or ignored. There is no meaningful government oversight and enforcement and workers have no right to organize and bargain collectively.

Here in the United States, the OSH Act and workplace standards, particularly those for toxic chemicals, are out of date. Millions of workers, including many

state and local public employees, have no OSHA coverage, major hazards remain unregulated and unacknowledged and enforcement tools are too weak. Regulation does not keep pace to effectively respond to imminent and emerging hazards such as pandemic influenza and nanotechnology, the manipulation of particles on an atomic scale, which holds great promise in medical and other applications, but may pose great risks to exposed workers.

More than a decade after OSHA's ergonomics standard was repealed, there has been no progress to protect workers from musculoskeletal disorders, which account for more than one-third of all workplace injuries. On the contrary, the Department of Agriculture has proposed poultry inspection rules that would cut back government poultry inspections and allow line speeds to increase, putting poultry workers at greater risk of injuries and threatening food safety. The AFL-CIO strongly opposes this wrongheaded harmful proposal and has joined with unions, consumer groups and other allies to stop the final adoption of this rule.

Our system of safety and health protections remains fragmented and underfunded. The Obama administration has proposed to cut funding for the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), the federal job safety research agency, eliminating all funding to train new safety and health professionals. The Chemical Safety Board (CSB), also underfunded, has failed to issue findings on many major chemical disasters and recommendations on how future disasters can be prevented. And the Department of Energy's (DOE) modest efforts at self-regulation and oversight to protect workers at the DOE weapons plants are under attack by contractors and some members in Congress.

Changes in the workforce, work, technology and the economy have brought even greater challenges. Many groups of workers, including immigrant workers, are at much greater risk of injury and death, working in some of the most dangerous jobs and vulnerable because of immigration status and lack of union representation. A growing number of workers in the public and private sector confront the hazards

of working in a deteriorating infrastructure—poorly maintained systems and buildings—that increase their risk of injury.

Workers across all sectors face increased risks due to downsizing, short staffing and increased work demands. Growing violence in society is impacting workers, with workplace violence a major threat for teachers, health care workers, social service workers, prison guards and other security personnel. The growth in contracted and temporary work arrangements has fragmented employment and responsibility, making it more difficult to protect workers and hold employers accountable. Globalization has created additional pressures and greater dangers, with employers looking to cut costs, increase production, reduce wages and benefits and avoid any new requirements.

Addressing these challenges has become much more difficult as employers' ideological opposition to worker rights and government action has intensified and corporate political power has grown.

We must move forward. But we can't win these fights on our own.

The union movement must join with allies—safety and health activists and advocates, family members, worker centers, public interest organizations—to seek stronger safety and health protections and rights for all workers. Together we will:

Strengthen the OSHA and MSHA laws to cover all workers and all work arrangements, toughen enforcement and provide stronger worker rights and anti-retaliation protections, seeking improvements both federally and at the state level.

Continue to push the Obama administration to issue needed rules on silica, coal dust, combustible dust, infectious diseases and other hazards, taking legal action when necessary to protect workers' safety on the job.

Continue to challenge employer policies and practices that discourage or retaliate against workers for reporting injuries or hazards and shift blame and responsibility to workers, and instead push employers to reduce exposures to workplace hazards.

Oppose the industry assault on regulations and corporate legislative efforts to dismantle our system of regulatory safeguards that protect our health, safety and environment and financial security.

Educate workers and union members about job hazards and safety and health rights, and support efforts to organize and take action to improve working conditions.

Fight efforts to use international trade agreements to lower safety and health standards and protections, and instead seek to use these agreements and their enforcement as means to raise standards and improve working conditions for all workers.

And we must and will stop corporations' endless worldwide drive for cheaper production, lower wages and resulting exploitation of workers. With the global trade union movement and our partners, we will seek strong laws that protect workers' safety and health and workers' rights no matter in which country they live or work. We will hold global corporations responsible for their actions and production on their behalf and demand binding enforceable industry agreements that provide workers fair wages, safe working conditions and the right to organize.

## Resolution 14

# ONE LAW FOR WORKERS, ANOTHER FOR BANKERS— BANKRUPTCY ABUSES AND THE UNFINISHED BUSINESS OF FINANCIAL REFORM

OUR NATION'S BANKRUPTCY LAWS are rigged against working people. We confront one side of this reality when employers file for bankruptcy as a strategy to tear up collective bargaining agreements. Too often this means for retirees, as well as workers, lost health care and lost pensions.

We see the other face of bankruptcy when young workers who face high unemployment rates after graduation struggle to pay down student debt, and learn that unlike the pension obligation owed to their parents and grandparents, their student loan debt cannot be discharged by filing for personal bankruptcy.

Meanwhile, the bankruptcy system protects the interests of Wall Street investors, corporate executives and their attorneys. Bankruptcy law shields financial engineering deals by leveraged buyout funds that leave companies more vulnerable to bankruptcy. In bankruptcy, corporate executives move quickly to replace their own compensation arrangements with new, lucrative incentives that insulate them from economic dislocation. And corporate bankruptcy attorneys often charge more than \$1,000 an hour, racking up millions in fees that receive preferential payment over other creditors.

The labor movement has long stood for the principle that the financial decline of a corporation should not mean that workers' retirement security should be put in jeopardy. After auto workers at the Studebaker-Packard Corp. lost their pensions in 1963, the labor movement fought for the Employee Retirement Income Security Act to require protections for vested

pension benefits. After workers at Enron lost all of their retirement savings in 2001, the labor movement fought for the Sarbanes-Oxley Act's restrictions on company stock in 401(k) plans. But today, bankruptcy law is being abused by corporations to "reorganize" by terminating pensions and retiree health benefits like United Airlines did in 2005. Workers across entire industries such as steel, mining and the airlines have seen their retirement erased in corporate bankruptcy.

Recent bankruptcy cases show the fundamental unfairness of our nation's bankruptcy laws. The giant coal companies—Peabody and Arch Coal—created Patriot Coal to shed their obligations to tens of thousands of retired miners and their families. Then Patriot filed for bankruptcy and sought to stop paying these benefits altogether. The miners whose health care had been stolen from them had worked for decades for Peabody and Arch Coal to earn their benefits at significant risk of workplace accidents and occupational diseases like black lung. Most of these workers never worked a day for Patriot Coal, a company created by Peabody Energy to spin off its unionized operations and avoid \$1 billion in such "legacy" liabilities. And after this maneuver, Peabody and Arch have gone on as profitable businesses.

And then there is the heartbreaking bankruptcy story of Hostess. On two separate occasions in the 2000s, Hostess workers, represented by the Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union, made tremendous sacrifices to help the company emerge from bankruptcy. Yet, management did not reinvest those wage and benefit concessions back into the company. In fact,

Hostess came out of bankruptcy with more than \$1 billion in debt, more than it had when it first filed for bankruptcy in 2004. Struggling with unsustainable debt levels, the company improperly diverted workers' pension contributions to fund its operations and gave its CEO a 300% pay increase. When it became clear union members were going to fight these maneuvers, the company declared bankruptcy in 2012 and used Section 1113 of the U.S. Bankruptcy Code to rip up its collective agreements. Despite the threat of liquidation, BCTGM members fought back against Wall Street by striking the company—their only viable option in a bankruptcy system rigged against workers.

Now anti-worker politicians are using these same corporate tactics to betray government employees and retirees. In Michigan, Republican Gov. Rick Snyder authorized a bankruptcy filing for the city of Detroit. He appointed an emergency financial manager who is a bankruptcy attorney from the same law firm that represents Peabody Energy. Despite severe concessions by workers to keep the city afloat, the emergency financial manager forced the city into bankruptcy in a blatant attempt to end-run the Michigan constitution, which protects the pensions earned by public employees.

The labor movement demands reform of our nation's bankruptcy laws in order to protect workers from disproportionate economic sacrifice. Reform must provide better protection for unpaid wages and benefits and grant workers a separate claim in bankruptcy court for lost pension benefits. Bankruptcy reform should curb executive pay largesse by ensuring that executives do no better than ordinary workers in bankruptcy and by limiting management "incentive" compensation programs. Personal bankruptcy law should be amended to help young workers facing crushing student debts and homeowners facing foreclosure with underwater mortgages. Finally, reforms must prevent employers from using bankruptcy to abolish collective bargaining agreements at will.

The treatment of workers in corporate bankruptcy stands in stark contrast to the way "too-big-to-fail" financial institutions are treated when they

face bankruptcy. During the 2008 financial crisis, the federal government ran to the rescue of Wall Street by providing \$700 billion in bailout loans. For example, after A.I.G. received \$180 billion in taxpayer loans, the company paid hundreds of millions in bonuses to executives in the business unit that was responsible for the firm's collapse. At the time, some argued that to not pay these executive bonuses would abridge the "sanctity of contracts."

We vow to remember the lessons of the 2008 Wall Street financial crisis that created the worst economic recession since the Great Depression. The labor movement strongly supported the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act that enacted many measures to curb abusive and speculative activity by Wall Street. However, many of its provisions remain to be implemented by government regulators. We continue to call for the full implementation of the Dodd-Frank Act, and we urge government regulators to reject the delaying tactics of Wall Street lobbyists.

The creation of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau is perhaps the Dodd-Frank Act's most visible contribution to protecting working people from the rapacious greed of Wall Street. Since its establishment, the bureau has received more than 175,000 complaints from consumers, sought to halt predatory practices by mortgage lenders, ordered credit card companies to return \$425 million to consumers and investigated shady lending practices on college campuses. We congratulate the CFPB on its work, and commit to fight any effort by Wall Street to undermine the independence and effectiveness of the bureau.

The labor movement places a high priority on implementing the remaining provisions of the Dodd-Frank Act. We strongly believe that all executive pay reforms called for by the Dodd-Frank Act must be swiftly implemented, including the disclosure of CEO-to-worker pay ratios. The SEC must act to close existing loopholes and to ensure that financial professionals providing investment advice, including brokers, owe a duty to act in the best interests of the investors for whom they are working. Regulation of the derivatives markets must be put into place as

soon as possible to prevent risky derivatives trading from once again threatening the health of the real economy. Finally, bank regulators must establish an orderly liquidation process that is both workable and credible so that when a too-big-to-fail financial institution does fail, it may be unwound without triggering a systemic financial crisis.

The best way to prevent future government bailouts of too-big-to-fail financial institutions is to end too-big-to-fail once and for all. Since the financial crisis, our banking system has become even more concentrated, as failing firms have been gobbled up by big banks. Between 1935 and 1990 the three largest banks held, on average, 10% of total bank assets. Today, the three largest banks hold more than 40% of bank assets. This concentration of banking power places our entire financial system at greater risk and increases the likelihood that government will bail out Wall Street banks again in the future.

We need to make banking boring again. During the Great Depression, the Glass-Steagall Act was adopted to separate commercial banks, which take deposits and make loans for consumers and businesses, and investment banking, which entails more risky and speculative activity. The Glass-Steagall Act prohibited banks backed by government deposit insurance from engaging in overly risky activities. During the 50 years after passage of the Glass-Steagall Act, bank failures were rare and our economy generated the longest period of broad-based prosperity in our nation's history.

In the 1980s, Wall Street lobbyists pressured financial regulators to erode the firewalls between commercial and investment banking, and critical provisions of the Glass-Steagall Act were repealed entirely in 1999. It is time to end our country's 30-year experiment with financial deregulation, which has resulted in historic income inequality and stagnant economic growth. This starts with enacting a new Glass-Steagall Act to return banking to its proper role in our economy. We also need to limit concentration of the banking industry and break up too-big-to-fail financial institutions. To this end, we commend the work of Sens. Sherrod Brown, Maria Cantwell, Angus King,

John McCain, David Vitter and Elizabeth Warren to reform our banking system.

But financial reform cannot be limited to overhauling our banking system. Government regulators must also provide greater oversight of the "shadow banking system" of complex financial instruments, including credit default swaps and other derivatives, hedge funds, repurchase agreements and structured investment vehicles. This shadow banking system mimics the role of banks in our capital markets without the same level of regulatory oversight. It is the fabric that binds countless financial institutions to one another and creates the interconnections that can cause systemic crisis.

Finally, it is time to rein in excessive speculation in the financial markets. Broad-based prosperity requires long-term investment, not speculative trading. We need to require Wall Street speculators to pay their fair share of taxes by implementing a financial speculation tax. A small tax on sales of stocks, bonds and complex financial instruments will raise needed tax revenue that can be invested to create jobs by rebuilding America's infrastructure. Moreover, a financial speculation tax will deter the type of casino capitalism that has become too rampant in our capital markets.

Everywhere we look in our capital markets, we see stark differences between the treatment of those with wealth and power compared to working people. The fight to restore our economy to health requires that we reform our bankruptcy laws and financial system. Workers who have played by the rules and helped create value for their employers deserve a fair shake when their employers file for bankruptcy. And we cannot ever again allow Wall Street to threaten Main Street with financial Armageddon. With these reforms, we can provide a shared prosperity for all.

#### **Action items:**

1. Launch a campaign to reform corporate and municipal bankruptcy law to protect workers' retirement security and collective bargaining agreements, and to prevent looting by corporate executives, bankruptcy attorneys and Wall Street.

2. Work with our community allies to demand personal bankruptcy relief for excessive student loans and underwater home mortgages by permitting bankruptcy judges to modify the terms of these loans just like other forms of debt.
3. Use our political voice to demand strong implementation of the Dodd-Frank Act, passage of new legislation to break up too-big-to-fail banks, and implementation of a financial transaction tax to make Wall Street pay its fair share.
4. Educate ourselves so that we do not forget the devastating consequences of lax Wall Street regulation, and to expose the unfairness of a bankruptcy system that favors corporations and creditors over workers and communities.



## Resolution 15

### PROTECTING AND EXPANDING MEDICARE BENEFITS

FOR MORE THAN 45 YEARS, Medicare has delivered stable, reliable health care to seniors and people with disabilities and has done so in a more cost-effective manner than private health plans. We reaffirm our support for Medicare and our ironclad opposition to any and all proposals to cut Medicare benefits or shift costs to beneficiaries.

Today, Medicare is under relentless attack by a do-nothing Republican Congress bent on reducing its benefits and sacrificing the health and well-being of seniors and people with disabilities on the altar of deficit reduction. While they may say otherwise, Republicans want to cut Medicare benefits and shift costs to patients, to pay for tax breaks for Wall Street and the richest 2% of Americans.

We must continue to defend Medicare from these unwarranted attacks and proposals to replace its guaranteed benefits with premium support or voucher payments that would effectively end Medicare as we know it and hand it over to private insurance companies.

We will continue to oppose efforts to shift costs to Medicare beneficiaries in other ways—such as increasing premiums, raising co-payments, taxing supplemental coverage or raising the Medicare eligibility age. Proposals of this kind only impose burdensome new expenses on households of modest means.

Workers and retirees are faced with a flood of proposals to address rising health costs by shifting those costs directly onto individuals. Proponents of these plans argue that if individuals have more “skin in the game” through higher out-of-pocket spending, patients will use less unnecessary care and bring down health cost growth. Medicare beneficiaries

already have plenty of “skin in the game” as they spend 15% of their income on health care, on average, and more than \$38,000 out of pocket during their last five years of life. Premiums and cost-sharing for Medicare already account for one-fourth of the average Social Security benefit and eventually will eat up more than one-third of those modest benefits if cost growth in the health care system is not brought under control.

Instead of cuts and cost shifting, we call for improvements to Medicare. Doing so is an essential prerequisite to establishing it as a model for a universal, single-payer system. Its benefits have long been less comprehensive than typical employer-sponsored insurance, leaving beneficiaries vulnerable to large, uncapped, out-of-pocket costs. Any such improvements must not be designed to cut benefits or shift costs to beneficiaries. Medicare beneficiaries have modest incomes and high health care needs. Asking this group—half of whom have annual incomes below \$22,000, less than 200% of the federal poverty level—to pay more is simply unconscionable.

We also need to ensure that seniors and people with disabilities have access to affordable long-term services and support in the most appropriate setting. In addition, the workers who provide this care deserve to be covered by the same labor and health and safety protections afforded any other profession.

According to official projections, the United States is facing severe health care cost growth throughout our public and private health care system that is unsustainable for families and businesses. The right way to contain health care cost growth is to deliver care in more cost-effective ways and to treat this challenge as an economy-wide problem, not just a Medicare problem, a shortcoming of Medicaid or

a flaw in employment-based or individual plans. Medicare and Medicaid have been and continue to be more cost effective than private insurance.

Instead of cuts to benefits and services, just closing the loophole that prohibits Medicare from negotiating lower drug prices with drug companies or applying the Medicaid rebate to drugs for low-income Medicare beneficiaries could save hundreds of billions of dollars. Creating a robust public option that offers premiums 5% to 7% lower than private

health insurance and partners with Medicare to implement cost-saving reforms, and expanding Medicare competitive bidding to all health products and all other health programs, could add much more in savings.

Instead of looking for ways to destroy Medicare, which has been a leader in improving our dysfunctional health care system, we must build on its experience as a single-payer program, demonstrating that single payer is the most cost-effective and equitable way to provide quality health care.



## Resolution 16

### **BUILDING ENDURING LABOR-COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS**

THE AFL-CIO HAS AS A FOUNDING IDEAL the assembling of a broad progressive coalition for social and economic justice.

But over the past decade, broad macroeconomic transformations have put communities around the country at risk, threatening the economic security of all and accelerating deep divides and inequalities in our society. These circumstances demonstrate that the struggles of workers are inextricably interwoven with the struggles of communities.

Unions must work hand in hand with community partners and allies to reverse these economic trends and to create opportunities for all while building a robust democratic and participatory society, strong and safe neighborhoods and racial, ethnic and gender equality.

While our unions have a long history of working with communities and that tradition continues today, to achieve our ideal of social and economic justice and an enduring democracy, the relationship between the labor movement and community must have a scale, a potency and an exuberance that can successfully advance our common cause.

For community-labor collaboration to reach such range and strength, our partnerships need to be rooted, dynamic and abiding; and, we must extend the frontiers of our relationships, building upon the values we share. Thus, the AFL-CIO and our affiliates hereby commit to be better partners with community. We pledge to engage in a process of shared analysis with community partners and build programs, support broad and inclusive policies and work to strengthen our democracy based on that analysis. We pledge to work with community partners to educate ourselves and each other on the issues that impact

those whom we serve. We pledge to share power and build power together. We pledge to build invigorated organizational structures that are strong, effective, democratic and inclusive. We pledge to be innovative, energetic and committed long-term partners with community.

The AFL-CIO and our affiliates believe that when we build—together with community—this lasting, powerful movement for social and economic justice and an enduring democracy, our collective voice will be heard and our collective purposes will be achieved.

Therefore be it resolved, that the AFL-CIO and our affiliates will:

- Deepen relationships and programs with community;
- Work vigorously on the issues raised by our partners that reflect our shared values;
- Ensure that state federations and central labor councils are well situated to build enduring partnerships with community; and
- Establish ways in which the AFL-CIO can incentivize the development of shared agendas and promote best practices.

To realize these four goals, we commit ourselves to the following:

#### **Deepen Relationships and Programs**

##### **1. We commit to being a “learning organization.”**

The AFL-CIO should be, in effect, an ongoing learning organization, which shall be in constant and continuing conversation with its constituents and allies—unions, state federations, central labor councils and community partners. State federations and central labor councils should likewise be learning

organizations as they develop sustained partnerships with community allies.

**2. We will establish an internship and exchange program.** The AFL-CIO and our state, area and local bodies shall develop new voluntary internship and exchange programs, where practical, that are open to people of all ages from community organizations and affiliates. Such programs shall create ways for union leaders, members and staff to serve as interns at community organizations and for community leaders to serve as interns at the AFL-CIO and our state, area and local bodies. Lessons learned from this program shall be periodically shared with all AFL-CIO affiliates and participating community groups.

**3. We will build a shared economic analysis and advocacy materials.** The AFL-CIO shall invite community groups to construct a shared analysis of the current economic climate and to develop an economic agenda consistent with AFL-CIO policy that can be put forward in videos and other materials to influence the development of public policies and grassroots mobilizations.

**4. We will hold union-community leadership institutes and joint training.** Recognizing that building trust and a united approach can be facilitated by a common training experience, the AFL-CIO hosts union-community leadership institutes. The AFL-CIO will continue to hold such institutes as well as to gather best practices from joint community and labor training initiatives to share with community partners and affiliates.

**5. We will recognize our brothers and sisters within the labor movement as our own community within a broader progressive convergence.** The AFL-CIO and our affiliates pledge to build ongoing partnerships with our community allies on issues of mutual interest, including but not limited to the civil rights and social justice community, the religious community, the environmental community, women's rights organizations, worker centers, immigrant rights advocates, the LGBTQ community, retiree organizations and the student and young worker community. We recognize the importance of continuing to build

and grow partnerships between unions and worker centers. We also appreciate our own diversity and efforts to ensure that we reflect the broad diversity of our membership in our leaders. And we note that within our labor community, we must educate ourselves about our trade union brothers and sisters and their work and engage with each other as grassroots partners. Further, we pledge to support the AFL-CIO's young worker organization, the Union Veterans Council, and the AFL-CIO's constituency organizations as they strengthen our community partnerships and engage our union members in this process. Those constituency groups are the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement and Pride at Work.

**6. We will create a community of union volunteers to promote and encourage the work of our members.**

The AFL-CIO will create an online community of union volunteers where union members can share with other union members their experiences. Through this online community, the AFL-CIO will promote the joint identity of many union members—that of trade unionists as well as community activists. The AFL-CIO also will seek to increase opportunities for union members to be volunteers and advocates within the civic and social life of their communities and within community organizations. Further, working with our community allies, we will ensure that there are opportunities for all working people to be represented by a union and to promote collective bargaining and collective action.

## **Community Issues**

**1. We recognize that union members, as well as all workers in this country, have faced one of the worst economic downturns in a lifetime.** The effects of our lagging economy continue to be felt by workers who are struggling to get back on the job but remain unemployed and underemployed in large numbers. Structural unemployment harms workers and their communities. We will work with community allies and partners on a shared agenda of full employment and good jobs for all workers.

**2. We will assist in the development of joint projects and campaigns.** The AFL-CIO shall assist in developing joint projects and campaigns among the AFL-CIO and our affiliates and community allies. These joint campaigns will be tailored to each locality and mutual interests will be identified through local analysis. We recognize that often the issues we will tackle may arise from specific circumstances in a community or that a matter may first be advanced by a community partner. As a guiding principle, we dedicate ourselves to joining with our partners in the fight for economic fairness and social equity for all communities and we pledge to pay special attention to efforts to address injustices, disparities and inequalities faced by specific communities or groups of people.

**3. We will assist aspiring citizens.** The AFL-CIO and our state, area and local bodies, working with community partners, affiliated unions and worker centers, shall develop a strategy to implement immigration reform, which will bring millions of aspiring citizens out of the shadows. The plan shall be developed cooperatively by the AFL-CIO, affiliates and organizations representing immigrant workers, and will take into consideration the labor markets in which they are likely to be employed, the needs of workers in those labor markets and the social and educational needs of the immigrant workers and their families, including affordable health care. In addition, the plan will identify opportunities for these aspiring citizens to participate in the political process and exercise workplace rights in partnership with unions, among other concerns.

**4. We will work with community allies to take on issues and undertake campaigns that advance African American, Asian, Latino and other communities of color with recognition that women of color are often disproportionately impacted by these issues.** The AFL-CIO shall develop programs aimed at connecting with communities of color, including joint intensive workshops with community leaders of color on issues of mutual importance such as jobs, education, health care, voting rights, a functioning immigration system and

mass incarceration, among others. The AFL-CIO recognizes that Latinos account for more than half of the nation's growth in the past decade and will require new, focused outreach. The AFL-CIO shall also develop strategic communications capacity, including culturally appropriate bilingual materials, and leadership development programs tailored to building connections to communities of color. These efforts will be locally tailored to fit the needs of local labor organizations and their respective allies.

**5. We will engage young workers.** We will work in conjunction with the AFL-CIO's designated youth representative and young worker organization to take on issues relevant to young workers and coordinate that work with community groups and allies that have youth groups that are working on shared issues and priorities.

## **Role of State Federations and Central Labor Councils**

**1. We will expand the union-community leadership institutes and other forms of joint training and hold them at a grassroots level.** The AFL-CIO and its affiliates shall develop training models and best practices on how to identify and map community stakeholders, develop engagement processes, foster deep partnerships and plan and execute mutually designed and implemented campaigns and build effective political programs.

**2. We will ensure state federations and central labor councils have support, clear direction and accountability to assist in the building of partnerships with community.** The AFL-CIO Executive Council in February 2013 charged that every state federation and central labor council shall develop and implement a community outreach program. To facilitate success in these endeavors, the AFL-CIO shall task a subcommittee of the AFL-CIO State Federation and Central Labor Council Advisory Committee to help collect and circulate best practices and examples, peer coaching, provide mentoring and guidance, develop criteria for evaluating lasting and ongoing community outreach programs and provide other forms of assistance.

**3. We will honor the uniqueness of every community and every community group.** Recognizing that state federations and central labor councils are established in states and local communities, we acknowledge that there is no “one size fits all” approach. Rather, we celebrate the multitude of ways we can arrive at our shared goal with community of social and economic justice and an enduring democracy.

### **Incentivizing this Work**

To ensure that labor-community partnerships are enduring and not merely transactional, the AFL-CIO, together with affiliated unions, shall energetically work toward proper funding so that those partnerships are properly resourced and that they are structured in a way that advances these goals. The committee recognizes that a changed emphasis for the AFL-CIO on community partnerships will require that current federation work and resources be prioritized to reflect and address this change. While the determination of the budget is the responsibility of the Executive Council and affiliate unions, the committee recommends that within the federation’s budget, the AFL-CIO will allocate appropriate resources, as determined by the officers and the Executive Council, to support these labor-community partnership efforts. Acknowledging the process for resource allocation, we have proposed a number of recommendations, including but not limited to:

**1. The AFL-CIO shall establish a labor-philanthropy fund, modeled on the Labor Innovation Fund for the Twenty-First Century (LIFT) Fund, to support labor-community collaborations.** The president

of the AFL-CIO is authorized, subject to rules adopted by the Executive Council, to establish the fund so that it does not compete with other labor-philanthropic partnerships and to identify the kinds of collaborations for funding, which may include organizing and issue campaigns, policy fights, joint training and leadership development and combined communications programs, among other activities.

2. The president of the AFL-CIO is authorized, subject to rules adopted by the Executive Council, to establish a mechanism to pool union contributions of those organizations that choose to participate and guide those contributions in a manner that supports emerging and established labor-community partnerships.

3. The president of the AFL-CIO is authorized, subject to rules adopted by the Executive Council, to establish a mechanism to guide contributions of those organizations that choose to participate through the United Way partnership and other programs to community-based organizations that are partners in the struggle for social and economic justice and an enduring democracy.

4. The AFL-CIO president, as part of the federation’s overall strategic priorities, shall direct that a significant percentage of Solidarity Grants be used to provide grants to central labor councils and/or state federations based on well-designed grant proposals that include matching funds from philanthropy and/or unions to resource collaborations among unions and community-based organizations.

## Resolution 17

### **PRISONS AND PROFITS—THE BIG BUSINESS BEHIND MASS INCARCERATION**

IT IS NO COINCIDENCE that the total population in the United States' correctional system has exploded in the decades since the business of for-profit incarceration was born. Between 1980 and 2011 the number of people incarcerated grew from 500,000 to 2.2 million. The rise in the rate of incarceration has had a disproportionate impact on individuals and communities of color. According to a 2008 study from the Pew Center on the States, one out of every 106 white males ages 18 or older is incarcerated, one out of every 36 Hispanic males ages 18 or older is incarcerated and one in every 15 black males ages 18 or older is incarcerated. In many of the largest cities in the United States, more than half of young black men are either in the correctional population or released but now stigmatized with a criminal record.

For-profit prison companies benefit from rising rates of incarceration that stem in large part from changes in laws and procedures that require increased penalties for nonviolent and minor crimes, such as the possession of small amounts of drugs, and lengthy or lifetime incarceration as a result of "three strikes" sentencing laws.

The private prison industry has lobbied for such laws as well as stricter incarceration policies for undocumented immigrants. Their business model depends on growing the correctional system for the sake of profit without regard to justice. Private prison corporations even insist on "bed guarantees" in their contracts with states, demanding that 90 percent and even 100 percent of their beds be filled, sometimes for decades. The for-profit prison industry lobbies for privatizing all aspects of the criminal justice system, including juvenile detention, health care and other services for the incarcerated, the operation of all prisons and jails as well as probation and parole services. But the facts show that the privatization of correctional facilities and services leads to inhumane

conditions for the people who work in prisons and jails as well as those who are incarcerated. The need to maximize profits results in cutting corners on basic services—from medical care to clothing and food. In addition, privately run correctional facilities are not adequately staffed and the jobs they do provide come with low pay and little training, thus jeopardizing the staff themselves, the incarcerated, and those who live in the communities in which jails and prisons are located. Mass incarceration has also led to dangerous levels of inmate overcrowding in many of our jails and detention facilities, both public and private. Overcrowding results in increased prison violence that victimizes staff and inmates alike. In California, overcrowded conditions have led to a court-ordered release of over 9,000 inmates, including some who have been convicted of violent crimes.

The impact of mass incarceration can be felt on neighborhoods, families and individuals. The majority of people in the system live in a subset of neighborhoods in the major cities of each state. When people who have been in prison or jail, or on parole or probation, return to civil life, they return to these same neighborhoods. As a result of mass incarceration, these already impoverished neighborhoods have lost thousands of working-age men. For families, relationships are strained, income earners are lost and parents and children are separated. Those who have been released from the correctional system face institutionalized discrimination, unable to break free of the stigma. Various state and local laws and policies institutionalize unfairness, preventing those reintegrated into society from voting, serving on juries, obtaining student loans, and receiving public benefits and other services. Returning to neighborhoods long suffering from economic divestment, high unemployment, poor infrastructure and isolation, those re-entering civil society also have few opportunities for advanced education and good jobs.



Another factor in the historic high numbers of people in the correctional system is the “school-to-prison pipeline,” a phrase that describes the policies and practices that push young people, especially children of color, out of school and into the criminal justice system. Contributing to this path toward incarceration are overly harsh disciplinary policies, budget cuts that have left schools without resources to support students and families, zero-tolerance policies and increased school-based arrests. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund reports that black young people are more likely to be expelled, suspended or arrested than their white peers for similar conduct. The disproportionate effect of the school-to-prison pipeline on young people of color is demonstrated in these statistics: In 2000, African Americans represented 17% of public school enrollment, but 34% of all suspensions. Similarly, in 2003, African American young people made up 16% of the juvenile population but accounted for 45% of the juvenile arrests.

Of the discrimination faced by those coming out of the criminal justice system, the loss of the vote symbolizes our nation’s failure to provide former offenders with opportunities to participate in our democratic society. An estimated 5.85 million Americans are disenfranchised because of legal barriers to their voting rights. Among the disenfranchised, about 45%—2.6 million people—have completed their sentences. According to The Sentencing Project, 13 states disenfranchise inmates only. Five states disenfranchise inmates and parolees. Nineteen states disenfranchise inmates, parolees and probationers. Eleven states extend disenfranchisement to ex-felons. Only two states have no restrictions. Many states make the restitution of voting rights a complicated and cumbersome process, making the right to vote a fiction rather than a practice. The end result of this pattern of discrimination is that 7.7% of African American adults are disenfranchised, and in some states that level is much higher (Florida 23%, Kentucky 22% and Virginia 20%).

In short, our nation’s profit-driven justice system is producing a level of mass incarceration that is anything but just.

RESOLVED,

- The AFL-CIO believes that the operation of our criminal justice system is an inherently governmental function. The AFL-CIO will support legislation, policies and practices that end the privatization of correctional facilities or services.
- The AFL-CIO will support efforts to alleviate prison overcrowding by advocating for adequate staffing for correctional institutions and the conversion of privately operated prisons to public operation.
- The AFL-CIO will support criminal sentencing policies that ensure punishments are fair, commensurate with the crime and consistent with public safety requirements. The AFL-CIO will oppose legislation and policies that require inappropriately long mandatory sentences for nonviolent crimes.
- The AFL-CIO will support reforms—including adequate staffing of our criminal justice system—that accelerate the justice process and eliminate unnecessary pre-trial detention time.
- The AFL-CIO will support the effective use and full funding of training, education, probation and parole strategies that assist in reintegrating people who have served their time into our communities.
- The AFL-CIO will support a public policy focus on the treatment of users of illegal drugs and supports treating drug use as a public health issue.
- The AFL-CIO will support the restoration of full citizenship rights for those convicted of nonviolent offenses once they have completed their prison sentences, including the right to vote, the right to serve on a jury, and full access to government services such as financial aid for education, housing and employment assistance.
- The AFL-CIO will work with affiliates and allies to support legislation and policies that support schools and communities in developing and funding programs to reduce the number of young people who drop out of school or are suspended or expelled and will support programs, such as DARE, that work with law enforcement officers to educate rather than penalize youth.

## Resolution 18

### **AFL-CIO WOMEN'S INITIATIVE: SHARED VALUES, SHARED LEADERSHIP, SHARED PROSPERITY**

“WOMEN HOLD UP HALF THE SKY.” Women are half the workforce and two-thirds of the caregivers in our families. Women believe we are stronger if we stick together than go it alone. Most women see that corporate CEOs have too much influence. Women have moved into roles in civic and economic life that were out of reach not long ago.

But despite more than a century of struggle and tremendous gains, women still don't have equality. As workers—along with men—women continue to fight for good jobs, a just economy and family values at work. And as union members, too few women are recognized as leaders.

We stand with women and insist on: Equality in pay and opportunity for all; the right of women to control their own bodies and be free from violence; and the right of every woman to meet her fullest potential and the opportunity to serve—and lead—her community. Nothing less.

Women's equality is a shared struggle. More women belong to the labor movement than any other membership organization. We recognize women's issues as shared values. We work toward shared leadership to represent the makeup of our membership. And we will demand, over and over again, shared prosperity for all. Nothing less.

Over the next four years, a core set of values will drive the labor movement's agenda and define our strategy for women's equality:

#### **Equal Pay for Equal Work**

From the beginning of our movement, we fought for fair pay, building a middle class through collective bargaining and the fight for a minimum wage. But

women still only make 77 cents of every dollar paid to men; despite educational gains, two-thirds of all minimum wage workers are women, especially women of color; and women are the majority of workers in the lowest-paying occupations. Those are problems for all of us—in the decades leading up to the financial crisis, worker productivity increased substantially, but wages for men and women have remained stagnant.

*Therefore, be it resolved:* Each one of us should get fair pay for a day's work. The AFL-CIO will continue its fight to raise the minimum wage and close the wage gap between men and women. We commit to expanded job training and educational opportunities, including opportunities for women in non-traditional sectors. And we support policies and programs to make wage and benefit standards across industries more transparent, so we all know what's fair.

#### **Respect for Work, Family and Community**

Americans are working harder and longer than ever before. Women joined the workforce in large numbers over the past 30 years—serving as primary caregivers and increasingly as primary breadwinners. Families are stretched thin through a combination of low pay, high student loans, limited health care and retirement benefits, unfair work schedules and limited access to paid sick days and paid family and medical leave. Every day men and women are forced to choose between their families, their health and their responsibilities at work.

*Therefore, be it resolved:* We should all be able to meet our responsibilities on the job, at home and in the community. In addition to the labor movement's longstanding support for Social Security, health care and a strong social safety net, we will increase our

support for paid sick days campaigns at the local, state and federal levels; be a leader in the fight for paid family and medical leave; support families by making quality child care affordable and relieving student debt; continue our stand for contraceptive equity and respect for women's choices; and ensure fair schedules alongside a fair wage.

### **Joining Allies on a Shared Agenda**

These problems can seem overwhelming—working women and families are struggling to make it all work and too often bear the burden of these challenges alone. But together—as unions, as communities, as a nation—we can come together and make change. Cities and states across the country are responding to the needs of working families through increased access to paid leave and fair scheduling; men and women are coming together to stop violence in the workplace and at home; domestic workers are asserting the value of care work in the home and in the global economy, building new kinds of power and global alliances; and the majority of the nation supports a path to citizenship to keep families together and end exploitation on the job.

*Therefore, be it resolved:* We are not alone. Partnerships between community allies and the labor movement are essential to achieving social and economic justice for women. The labor movement must continue to invest in inclusive, enduring alliances locally and on the international stage, tackling structural, cultural and policy barriers that stand in the way of equality.

### **Building a Movement**

When we come together, we have the potential to transform an economy that has favored corporate interests over people, built wealth for the very, very few and lowered expectations for what's possible in America. Through action—on the job, in the economy,

in social movements and in government—we can transform fear and hardship into shared hope, collective action and shared prosperity. And through shared leadership—with women fully represented at all levels of our movement—we can build shared power and transform our movement.

*Therefore, be it finally resolved,* as the AFL-CIO develops its strategy for shared prosperity, women's equality and leadership as articulated in this resolution and the mission statement of the Executive Council Committee on Women Workers will be front and center in our effort to grow the labor movement, revitalize democracy, respond to the global economic crisis and build durable community partnerships.

- At the national, state and local levels, our labor federations will integrate women's issues in every key strategy to grow the movement, develop leadership, build community partnerships and improve the lives of working people.
- Women should be engaged at all levels of the federation in the strategy, outreach and implementation of political, organizing and issue campaigns, especially those that have a particular impact or relevance to women and women workers.
- Public policy and legislative efforts will prioritize issues such as equal pay, paid family and medical leave, workforce development or other key priorities identified above.
- Political campaigns and mobilization will include women's issues such as paid sick days as a measure of commitment to labor's priorities.

Women's issues are our issues. Women leaders are our leaders. The women's movement is the labor movement.



## Resolution 19

# INVESTING IN OUR FUTURE: YOUNG WORKERS AND YOUTH ENGAGEMENT

AT THE 2009 AFL-CIO CONVENTION, delegates unanimously passed Resolution 55, “In Support of AFL-CIO Programs for Young Workers.” The resolution was a bold statement that the continued strength and vitality of the labor movement depends heavily on the ability of younger union members to develop into strong and effective labor leaders. The resolution expressed that a powerful labor movement can be built only through recognition and inclusion of the full diversity of the labor force, including workers of all ages. The resolution called for the AFL-CIO to actively develop initiatives and programs aimed at bringing young workers into the labor movement at the national, state and local levels, and dedicate resources to the leadership development of younger union members throughout the country.

The AFL-CIO used Resolution 55 to bring together a diverse group of young union members and activists to help lead this effort. The AFL-CIO’s Next Up program and its Young Workers Advisory Council have been the driving force behind Resolution 55, advancing leadership training, policy development and facilitating a network of young workers groups across the country that provide a place and a voice to young workers to deliver on the goals of advancing social and economic justice.

Resolution 55 resulted in dozens of startup young worker groups across the country; two successful national summits that attracted and engaged hundreds of the most committed young workers, activists and community partners; a Young Worker Leadership Institute that developed deeper skills for young workers to build capacity and run programs in their communities; and an electoral program that reached out to young workers as part of the Labor 2012 Political Program. These young worker groups

have worked political programs, participated in direct actions, won legislative victories and begun the important work of establishing mentorship and development programs for a whole new generation of labor leaders. The AFL-CIO must take this opportunity to support their continued growth as they seek to further engage young workers in the efforts to rebuild the labor movement.

Given the dismal state of the economy and the outsized impact it has on young workers, the AFL-CIO must build on the foundation laid by Resolution 55 and commit to an even more robust young worker initiative. Indeed, as union membership among young people continues to decline, it is of paramount importance to the future of the labor movement that young workers receive support in their efforts to organize and build partnerships to address their unique generational concerns. Therefore, the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions must recognize and support youth-oriented strategic initiatives and partnerships developed nationally, in workplaces, on campuses and in concert with a broad array of like-minded student, youth, advocacy and community organizations to help expand and strengthen the labor movement and build a just economy for all generations.

We therefore commit to:

- Recognize that today’s young workers are part of the largest generation to enter the workforce since the baby boomers, that people born between the late 1970s and today also make up the most diverse and technologically savvy generation in America’s history; however, young workers suffer the nation’s highest unemployment, and have the fewest job opportunities in today’s economy. This generation of young workers is active, engaged and ready to reverse economic and

social injustice. The continued strength and energy of the labor movement depends deeply on the ability of younger union members to develop into effective labor leaders. A powerful, innovative and global labor movement can be built only through recognition and presence of the full diversity of the workforce, including workers of all ages.

- Recognize that the Young Worker Program will lead a diverse and vibrant young labor movement made up of rank-and-file union members, progressive allies, community groups and students that will advance social and economic justice and ensure that all people have the opportunity to secure a better future.
- Recognize the importance of building young worker programs and policy at all levels of the federation, including national, state and local initiatives.
- Recognize the Young Worker Advisory Council as the “Young Worker Organization” of the AFL-CIO; and that the mission of the Young Worker Organization, as recognized by the AFL-CIO, shall

*be to empower the next generation of labor leaders to challenge, inspire, build and organize around issues that directly affect their generation.*

Therefore, be it resolved that the Young Worker Organization shall be the representative of all young workers on the General Board and shall be charged with advising the Executive Council on the education, empowerment, organizing and mobilization of the next generation of union members and young workers. In consultation with affiliate unions, the Young Worker Organization will develop a new process for electing young workers to the Young Worker Organization by February 2014, prior to assuming a seat on the General Board.

And, be it also resolved that the Young Worker Advisory Council will partner with the AFL-CIO State Federation and CLC Advisory Committee to fold young worker development into state federation and CLC strategic plans, with the goal of tripling the number of local young worker organizations over the next four years.

## Resolution 20

# BUILDING A DIVERSE AND INCLUSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT NOW AND FOR THE FUTURE

THE LABOR MOVEMENT STANDS AT A CROSSROADS. Membership in unions is declining, but unions and collective worker power are needed more than ever to address record income inequality and unfair, arbitrary treatment on the job. Extreme politicians and their corporate backers are attacking unions and workers with an intensity not seen in decades. Yet workers across the United States have shown real resilience and courage, facing down these attacks and standing together to form unions, build power, and bargain with their employers for a better life and fairer treatment on the job.

As the labor movement debates strategies for revitalizing and building a broader, stronger movement for the future, diversity in the labor movement at all levels must be made an even higher priority than ever. A diverse and inclusive labor movement is essential to connecting with and representing the workforce of the future, where women workers, workers of color, LGBT workers and young workers are the clear majority. With the workforce getting ever more diverse, it is more important than ever that the labor movement redouble its efforts to build diversity within its ranks.

From 1983 to 2012, employment of African Americans grew from just under 9 million to just under 15 million, and Latino employment rose from nearly 5 million to 20.1 million. The number of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in the workforce—currently nearly 7 million workers—is 20 times higher than in 1960. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, between now and the year 2020, the U.S. workforce is projected to become more diverse, with white workers making up a decreasing share of the labor force while African Americans, Latinos and Asian Americans become an increasing share of the workforce. Women, who composed 48% of the

employed workforce in 2012, are expected to have proportionately greater growth in the workforce between now and 2020 compared with men.

Fortunately, this growth in the workforce corresponds with groups that are more likely to be union members and to have positive views toward unions. While African Americans are 11.7% of the workforce, they constitute 14% of union members. According to a new poll by the Pew Research Center for the People, African Americans hold very positive views toward unions—69% positive, compared with 51% for the population as a whole. They are 19% more likely to join unions, according to recent research by Dr. Steven Pitts of the University of California at Berkeley.

Latinos are 14% of union members, up from 6% in 1983. As with African Americans, Latinos hold a very positive view of unions, with 58% of Latinos expressing a positive view in the recent Pew Research survey.

Over the years, membership of women in unions has increased significantly, such that now 45% of union members are women, compared with 33% just 30 years ago. The Pew research found that women, too, hold positive views of unions (55% positive), demonstrating both the importance and the potential of women in the labor movement.

And while their percentage of union membership is the lowest at 4.2%, young workers (i.e., people younger than 30) have very positive views of unions (61% positive), according to the Pew study.

At the past several AFL-CIO conventions, delegates have endorsed wide-ranging and ambitious measures to promote and build diversity within the labor

movement. The last two resolutions—Resolution 2 in 2005 and Resolution 7 in 2009—were far-reaching resolutions calling for action in all parts of the labor movement to build diversity in our movement. These initiatives have had a real and positive effect in moving forward the federation’s programs and work to support diversity.

The 2009 convention also took the historic step of electing two women to AFL-CIO executive officer positions, meaning that for the first time ever, the AFL-CIO’s executive officers were majority female.

In 1995, the convention adopted governance changes to ensure representation of women and people of color on the AFL-CIO’s governing bodies, and those provisions were strengthened and expanded in 2005. Today, women hold 20% of the seats on the AFL-CIO’s Executive Council, compared with 12% in 1995 and 2005. People of color hold 23% of the seats on the AFL-CIO Executive Council, compared with 22% in 2005 and 20% in 1995.

In 2005, the convention also adopted constitutional language requiring union delegations to the AFL-CIO convention to generally reflect the racial and gender diversity of the union’s membership. This mandate helps to ensure that the delegates making key decisions about the labor movement’s policy priorities and actions represent the diversity of the membership of the AFL-CIO’s unions. In 2009, the first year the mandate was in effect, 43% of the delegates to the AFL-CIO convention were women or people of color—a true measure of success in implementing this important change. The 2009 convention adopted additional reforms aimed at ensuring that delegates from state, area and local central bodies are diverse. These measures will be in place for the first time at the 2013 convention and will add even greater diversity to the labor movement’s highest governing body.

Similarly, the convention resolutions encouraged the AFL-CIO’s state, area and local central bodies to make conscious efforts to build diversity in their organizations—at the leadership level and in the hiring of key staff. Today, 24% of state federation officers

are women and 16% are people of color, up from 17% and 15%, respectively, in 2005. Twenty-three percent of CLC executive board seats are held by women, and 16% by people of color. These numbers show some improvement since 2005, when Resolution 2 was passed.

At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that progress in diversifying leadership seems to have stalled at the national, state and local levels, making it that much more important to reaffirm the federation’s commitment to diversity and redouble our efforts so that we can continue to move forward and make progress.

State, area and local central bodies have taken action to bring the AFL-CIO’s constituency groups into their organizations, including onto their governing boards. These efforts have helped ensure representation and involvement by active chapters of the constituency groups in the work of state and local labor movements and helped link the constituency groups to the programmatic priorities of the AFL-CIO’s state and local organizations. And dozens of state and local labor movements now have young worker committees or programs, helping to ensure that the energies, issues and concerns of young workers are reflected in the work of our movement.

The AFL-CIO has emphasized diversity when recruiting and training new organizers and leaders. In 2005, the AFL-CIO’s Leadership Institute set a goal of ensuring that half of each class be women or people of color, and the institute has met or exceeded that goal. In the most recent class, more than half (53%) of participants were female, more than half (53%) were under 40, and 41% of the class were people of color. This emphasis on and success in diversity, in training emerging leaders, is essential to building diversity in our movement now and for the future.

Similarly, the AFL-CIO’s Organizing Institute, which trains new organizers, and the Union Summer program, which provides summer organizing internships to college students and others, have consciously worked to ensure racial and gender diversity in their classes. Two-thirds of Union Summer

participants from 2010–present have been female, and 60% have been students of color. Forty percent of participants in the Organizing Institute’s three-day training program have been women, and 40% people of color.

The labor movement’s lawyers have demonstrated their commitment to building diversity in the ranks of union lawyers. The AFL-CIO’s Lawyers Coordinating Committee, an organization of 2,000 union lawyers across the country, has undertaken an ambitious Diversity Initiative, including a Minority Outreach Program for law students of color, to recruit and retain law students and lawyers of color to ensure that the lawyers representing working people and their unions reflect the diversity of the workforce and our movement.

The AFL-CIO’s commitment to diversity at all levels and in all parts of our movement must be deep and enduring. We must continually review our programs and efforts to ensure that we are doing all that we can at all levels to build diversity in our movement. This commitment to diversity is part of who we are as a movement and also recognizes what we must be as a movement if we are to connect with the workforce of the future and build a stronger, broader, more inclusive movement.

Therefore, be it resolved that this convention endorses and reaffirms the provisions of Resolutions 2 and 7 and urges active efforts to continue the progress made under these resolutions.

The federation must prioritize and deepen its commitment to, and investment in, leadership

development in order to equip a diverse group of future leaders with the skills and background to succeed.

The AFL-CIO itself must lead by example, in its hiring, promotions, leadership development opportunities, purchasing practices and decisions about resource allocation, to ensure that building and retaining diversity in our movement is a top consideration.

We must actively engage in legislative and policy advocacy on issues of importance to diverse groups of workers to demonstrate our commitment to these communities. The labor movement’s engagement on issues like voting rights, mass incarceration, student debt, paid sick days and the Employment Non-Discrimination Act shows the labor movement’s commitment to issues important to our members and our allies. We are also committed to addressing racial profiling, which continues to be an egregious form of discrimination in this country. It is essential that we address these and other critically important issues as we work to broaden the labor movement.

While the labor movement’s work in these areas continues, the AFL-CIO shall conduct a comprehensive review of diversity in the labor movement—the AFL-CIO itself, its state and local central bodies, the role played and value added by the constituency groups and efforts by affiliate unions. As part of this review, the AFL-CIO should commission any necessary studies and reports and engage in outreach and discussion with affiliates, allies and other sources. This review should be completed no later than July 2014 and should produce a series of recommendations to be considered by the AFL-CIO Executive Council at its summer 2014 meeting.

## Resolution 25

### **INTERNATIONAL LABOR SOLIDARITY IS MORE THAN A SLOGAN**

IN THE WAKE OF the departure of U.S. military forces from Iraq at the end of 2010, Iraqi workers have experienced increasing repression. The government of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki has ignored the provision of the new Iraqi constitution that calls for respect of worker rights to organize and collectively bargain. It continues to enforce the 1987 law imposed by Saddam Hussein that made it illegal for public workers and employees of public enterprises to organize and bargain, and has enacted additional anti-union decrees. The Iraqi parliament has failed to adopt a basic labor law as called for by its constitution.

The U.S. military occupation of Iraq may have ended but the war on workers there has not. The attacks on worker rights in Iraq are being visited on workers around the world, including in the United States, by both governments and multi-national corporations. This year, the al-Maliki government escalated its attack on the Iraqi labor movement by attempting to criminalize the routine activities of unions and their leaders. The Ministry of Oil filed a criminal complaint against Hassan Juma'a Awad, President of the Iraq Federation of Oil Unions. South Oil Company, for which he works, charged that he undermined the Iraqi economy by instigating strikes and work stoppages by oil workers who were protesting unresolved grievances, broken promises, safety violations, privatization of Iraq's oil industry and refusal to respect worker and union rights. Heavy fines have also been imposed on a number of other union leaders by the Ministry of Oil in retaliation for their union activities.

In reaction to this attack on basic labor rights, the AFL-CIO Solidarity Center, the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), IndustriALL, U.S. Labor Against the War and the Iraq Civil Society Solidarity

Initiative launched an international campaign to demand that the charges be dropped and that a labor law be enacted that conforms to International Labor Organization standards for the protection of worker rights.

The global labor movement responded. More than 150 international, national and local labor organizations and NGOs from 24 countries signed an open letter calling on the Iraqi government to drop the charges and respect the right of all workers, public and private, to organize and bargain.

After months of delay and repeated postponements, a hearing on these charges was finally held on July 1st in a Basra Court. The judge ordered management to produce evidence to support its claim that the Iraqi economy had been damaged by actions taken by oil workers. The company attorney could produce no evidence, but claimed that the strikes had caused "moral damage" to the economy. The case was dismissed.

Labor solidarity has always been organized labor's strongest weapon for defending the interests of working people. In an era of ever greater globalization and in the face of a growing employer assault on working conditions and labor rights, labor solidarity across national borders becomes even more critical.

RESOLVED that the AFL-CIO is proud to have participated in the campaign to support Brother Hassan Juma'a Awad and congratulates him on this important victory.

FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO reaffirms its commitment to defend the rights of Iraqi workers and unions and to the principle and practice of international labor solidarity, and to actively involve

its affiliates in solidarity with Iraqi and other workers  
in our common struggle for dignity, respect of labor

and union rights and a decent standard of living for  
the working people of every country.



## Resolution 26

### RESOLUTION TO DEVELOP A SOUTHERN ORGANIZING STRATEGY

WHEREAS, the US labor movement has never successfully developed a concerted and coordinated effort to organize workers in the 11 Southern states making up the Southern Region, allowing the most conservative political forces in the South to operate without effectively being challenged by organized workers; and

WHEREAS, Corporations in the South have not only exploited Southern workers but have also been responsible for the negative environmental impacts on many working class communities, especially the African American, Latino, Native American, Asian and poor white communities; and

WHEREAS, Billions of dollars in tax breaks and incentives are being given to corporations at the expense of these struggling communities; and

WHEREAS, The main strategy of the corporations in the South has been to divide the working class and the oppressed peoples in every way possible; and

WHEREAS, The South has reemerged as a major player in the new global economy, and has become a haven for US manufacturing, foreign investments and finance capital, and because of this reemergence is now playing an integral role in shaping US labor and social policies; and

WHEREAS, Anti-immigration bills are being introduced and are rapidly moving through Southern legislatures for the sole purpose of creating another source of worker exploitation that is based on race, ethnicity and fear; and

WHEREAS, acknowledging the shortcomings of the US labor movement to organize the South is in no way meant to suggest that workers in the South have not been organizing and resisting these attacks for decades; and

WHEREAS, organizing and campaigning in the South have been localized and not connected to a Southern or national movement, thus discouraging sustained efforts to organize unions in the South; and

WHEREAS, a successful Southern organizing strategy must include Southern people familiar with local culture and customs; and

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the Twenty-Seventh (27th) Convention of the AFL-CIO adopts as one of its top priorities a Southern Strategy that will include a long-term commitment to organize the South; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO strongly impress upon every one of its affiliates to adopt the same long-term commitment necessary to sustain a strong and viable workers' movement in the Southern Region of the United States.



## Resolution 27

### RESOLUTION ON HONDURAS

WHEREAS, a military coup kidnapped the democratically elected President of Honduras on June 28, 2009, and overthrew the government;

WHEREAS, labor unions, teachers, students, farm workers, LGBT activists, indigenous groups and human rights organizations have formed a resistance movement that has led the struggle for a return to democracy;

WHEREAS, tens of thousands of Hondurans have taken to the streets in nationwide demonstrations of resistance and have maintained their struggle for three years despite a continuing human rights crisis that has left hundreds of activists murdered;

WHEREAS, a substantial opposition party was born out of the resistance movement and is participating

in the national elections at the end of November 2013. The LIBRE Party is running ahead of the oligarchy's pro-coup parties, but its candidates and supporters are the targets of violence and intimidation;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that Central Labor Councils of the AFL-CIO will urge their Members of Congress to contact the Department of State and urge the Secretary of State to demand that national elections in Honduras be run free of threats, coercion, or intimidation of candidates, their supporters, or voters; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO will encourage affiliated unions to consider sending or supporting observers for the November 2013 National Election in Honduras.

## Resolution 28

### **SOLIDARITY, EFFECTIVENESS AND ACCOUNTABILITY AT THE GRASSROOTS: STATE FEDERATIONS, CENTRAL LABOR COUNCILS AND AFFILIATES**

THE LABOR MOVEMENT is present in every state, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico. The AFL-CIO's affiliates come together across the country in the AFL-CIO's state and local central bodies. Today more than ever, effectiveness on the state and local levels is essential for two reasons: First, the right-wing (Kochs, ALEC, Americans for Prosperity, the Chamber, etc.) has made a priority of state-level attacks on unions and worker rights; second, while federal labor law reform is still a much-needed priority, state and local politics present immediate opportunities for the expansion of workers' rights.

The success and survival of the labor movement requires our state federations and central labor councils to innovate and operate at a higher standard than ever before. Elected leaders, staff, key partners and affiliated unions working together must develop forward-thinking plans and hold each other accountable for execution.

Through action taken at the February 2013 meeting, "Winning for Working Families: Building Grassroots Power," the AFL-CIO Executive Council and the State Federation and Central Labor Council Advisory Committee determined that state federations and large central labor councils need to hire qualified campaign managers and develop and implement strategic plans, including community engagement programs. The plans must have clear deliverables and metrics to measure success, whether for legislative, issue, political, organizing support or other campaign activities. The council also directed that accountability programs, affiliation strategies and tools would need to be developed to strengthen our state and local councils to meet the challenges faced by our affiliates and the federation. In furtherance of that goal:

After the AFL-CIO Convention, the president of the AFL-CIO will appoint and charge a special subcommittee of the Executive Council Committee on State, Local and Community Partnerships and the State Federation and Central Labor Council Advisory Committee with developing and monitoring the performance of the state federations, labor councils and their affiliate unions and in developing recommendations for appropriate amendments to the Rules Governing AFL-CIO State Central Bodies for Executive Council adoption to expand the president's authority to take appropriate action to carry out the purposes of this program. In consultation with the Executive Council Committee on State, Local and Community Partnerships, the president will select 10 states each year to undergo a thorough affiliate and federation peer review. A delegation of national affiliate designees, along with AFL-CIO staff and a select state federation leader and central labor council leader from other states, will perform an in-state qualitative and quantitative review of state performance. The review committee's findings and recommendations can highlight well-run state and local programs, as well as identify places where performance has fallen short. The review also should include an assessment of the level of affiliation, participation and performance on the same metrics by the local affiliates, as well as the national unions and national AFL-CIO.

The review can result in a number of recommendations to the president, including but not limited to:

- A recommendation for re-prioritization of the per capita resources to accomplish the goals;
- A recommendation for a reorganization of the state federation or central labor council structure to accomplish the goals;

- A recommendation for greater affiliation and resources to support the work of the state federation or central labor council; and
- A recommendation for a redirection of resources if it is determined that this is the best way to ensure the labor movement's goals are accomplished.

In addition to the establishment of standards and metrics and accountability reviews, the committee also shall oversee the commitment of the federation

for the expansion of leadership development training and tools to help ensure effective programs in our state federations and labor councils.

The goal of this entire "Solidarity, Effectiveness and Accountability at the Grassroots" program is to strengthen the effectiveness of our state and local organizations and to ensure that affiliates and federation bodies have shared responsibilities and mutual accountability.

## Resolution 29

### IN SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MUSEUM

WHEREAS, The American Labor Museum/Botto House National Landmark is based in the Borough of Haledon, Passaic County, New Jersey; and

WHEREAS, Haledon served as a haven for free speech during the 1913 Paterson Silk Strike, an epic labor struggle in which over 20,000 IWW silk mill workers rallied outside of the Botto House; and

WHEREAS, The Botto House opened as The American Labor Museum in 1983 as a learning center which teaches thousands of children and adults about the contributions of workers, immigrants and organized labor every year; and

WHEREAS, The American Labor Museum offers changing and traveling exhibits, monthly cultural and annual special events, free labor arts classes, on and off-site tours (through videoconferencing), a free public library, a speakers' bureau, research assistance and more; and

WHEREAS, The year 2013 marks the 30th anniversary of the American Labor Museum and the 100th anniversary of the 1913 Paterson Silk Strike; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO recognizes that the American Labor Museum is a national landmark that stands as a Labor Museum and Learning Center; and be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO recognizes the American Labor Museum for educating the general public, preserving the historic landmark, conserving collections of immigrants, workers and unions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO encourages its affiliates to support the activities of the American Labor Museum by becoming members, borrowing traveling exhibits, scheduling classes and/or touring on site or through videoconferencing, utilizing its library of books, dissertations, films and music, inviting speakers to meetings, shopping in the Museum Store, participating and/or sponsoring fundraising events and promoting the museum's website ([www.labormuseum.net](http://www.labormuseum.net)) and Facebook page.

## Resolution 33

### GATEWAY PACIFIC TERMINAL

MAY IT BE RESOLVED

- WHEREAS, the Gateway Pacific Terminal will be built and operated by union labor in one of the most financially challenged counties in the State of Washington regrettably marred by high levels of unemployment; and
- WHEREAS, the construction and successful operation of the Gateway Pacific Terminal will provide meaningful long term employment for the labor movement that will support family wages, high benefit jobs; and
- WHEREAS, the Gateway Pacific Terminal will include and utilize the most advanced environmental technology available that will set a standard for terminals throughout the world and will demonstrate that family-wage job generation and protection of the environment are indeed compatible; and
- WHEREAS, the **United States Army Corps of Engineers** has publically clarified the position of the federal government that the Gateway Pacific Terminal and other similar projects are independent of each other and that their environmental impacts are not related but will be subject to a rigorous review; and
- WHEREAS, the **Northwest Washington Central Labor Council** has unanimously adopted a resolution and recognized that the construction of the Gateway Pacific Terminal is consistent with land use and shoreline policies for the area; and
- WHEREAS, the **Northwest Washington Building and Construction Trades Council** has conveyed its views to the Governor of Washington and urged that responsible agencies perform a timely, rigorous, fair, and objective review of the Gateway Pacific Terminal application; and
- WHEREAS, the **Seattle/King County Building and Construction Trades Council** has made its views known to the Governor of Washington that the Gateway Pacific Terminal will provide opportunities to bring back industrial and manufacturing jobs to Washington State and that it cannot be overlooked that millions of new tax dollars that will annually follow into public schools and social programs; and
- WHEREAS, the **Washington State Building & Construction Trades Council** and its brothers and sisters have demonstrated the knowledge and skills necessary to build the most complex of projects and fully supports family wage jobs generated by this project that will improve communities and contribute to the vitality of our nation's economy; and
- WHEREAS, the **Washington State Labor Council** has enacted a resolution calling on the Local and National AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Departments, and the AFL-CIO Executive Committee to support the Gateway Pacific Terminal project in every way they can, and
- WHEREAS, the **Transportation Division of SMART**, on behalf of the men and women working in the rail industry, unequivocally support this investment in infrastructure that would generate long term employment opportunities and facilitate the rail movement of commodities through the Gateway Pacific Terminal; and
- WHEREAS, the **Maritime Trades Department, AFL-CIO**, composed of twenty-one unions

representing nearly five million members, as well as the **Puget Sound Ports Council**, strongly supports the Gateway Pacific Terminal and the contribution it will make to expand port infrastructure; and

- WHEREAS, the **President of the AFL-CIO** has written the Governor of Washington and stands in solidarity with our brothers and sisters in the labor movement and has noted that privately financed projects like the Gateway Pacific Terminal provide a tremendous opportunity to increase the nation's port infrastructure with minimal environmental impacts, and it creates hundreds-upon-hundreds of new good paying jobs; now, therefore, be it

- RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO publicly support the Gateway Pacific Terminal; and furthermore
- RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO calls on all coal companies that will ship coal from the Gateway Pacific Terminal, such as Peabody Energy, Arch Coal and others, to fulfill their moral obligation to their retired workers by keeping the promise of providing health care these companies made to their workers for decades; and be it finally
- RESOLVED, that the President of the AFL-CIO communicate this support to the Governor, the Washington State congressional delegation, and relevant federal government agencies.

## Resolution 34

### **AFL-CIO CONVENTION RESOLUTION ON BIPARTISAN POLITICAL ACTION**

WHEREAS, the American labor movement was built on the need to protect the common interest of workers and on the belief that workers hold more power if they work collectively and in collaboration to achieve mutually beneficial goals; and

WHEREAS, the labor movement is charged with using all of its resources to advance its members' interests in respect to job creation and the availability of sustainable wages, benefits, and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, the American labor movement has been known historically to work across party lines to ensure that the interests of its members and the American workforce at large are empowered and protected on the job; and

WHEREAS, our members benefit and the American political system is most successful when petty party politics are put aside and efforts are advanced that try to find common ground on difficult issues that strengthen the country as a whole; and

WHEREAS, both the Democratic and the Republican parties have a compelling historical commitment to advancing efforts to protect and encourage fairness and equity for workers; and

WHEREAS, America's Building Trades Unions have acknowledged this indisputable history and successfully embraced and implemented a bipartisan approach to their combined political and legislative action programs; and

WHEREAS, former AFL-CIO President George Meany stated "we have a lot to do with the Democratic Party but we don't run them, and they don't run us";

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO embrace an approach for its political action program that seeks to foster greater political independence in order to become better inoculated against sudden shifts in the political winds; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO take practical steps, at every level of government, to cultivate and nurture relationships with members of all parties who are willing to put partisan politics aside and work to advance the interests of our members; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that in congressional districts where the politically drawn lines dictate that a Republican candidate has an upper hand, that the AFL-CIO will encourage moderate candidates who support fairness and equity for workers; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that it will now be the accepted policy of the AFL-CIO to view and conduct its endorsement process, political giving, political communications, independent expenditures, SuperPAC efforts, and voter and Election Day GOTV field mobilization efforts in a pragmatic, bipartisan approach that focuses primarily on candidates' positions on issues of direct importance to workers.

## Resolution 35

### RECLAIMING THE PROMISE OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

HIGH-QUALITY PUBLIC EDUCATION is an economic necessity, an anchor of democracy, a moral imperative and a fundamental civil right. Without the foundation a strong education provides, our other rights can never be fully realized. We believe in and stand ready to fight for public education because it is the means by which we help all children dream their dreams and achieve them.

All children—those who have abundant advantages, and those for whom every day is a struggle; those who worry about getting into a good college, and those who worry about their parents getting deported—deserve the opportunity to succeed. The people who work in schools—teachers, support staff, administrators—help students build lives of great purpose and potential by instilling essential knowledge and skills, including critical reasoning, problem-solving and the ability to work with others, and by promoting civic participation.

We are at a critical moment when we must reclaim the promise of public education—not as it is today or was in the past, but what public education can and should be if we are to fulfill our collective obligation to help all children succeed. Americans across the country are waking up to the fact that decades of top-down edicts, mass school closures, privatization, attacks on collective bargaining, high-stakes student testing with sanctions instead of support for teachers, and other “market-oriented” education experiments haven’t moved the needle—at least not in the right direction.

Reclaiming the promise of public education means fighting to ensure that neighborhood schools are safe, welcoming places for teaching and learning—and for the students, families and people who work

there. Reclaiming the promise means ensuring that teachers are well-prepared, supported, and given time to collaborate with their colleagues. Reclaiming the promise means enabling educators to teach an engaging curriculum that includes art and music and the sciences. Reclaiming the promise means making sure that kids have access to wraparound services that meet their emotional, social and health needs. We need to ensure that schools are accessible to families, and that parents are welcomed and supported as partners in the education of their children. Finally, we need to ensure that we keep the “public” in public education, and support schools as fundamental components of our communities’ infrastructure.

Taken together, these actions reflect our prescription for ensuring that all kids have the opportunities they need and deserve. This vision may look different community by community, but it has a few common elements. *Reclaiming the promise will bring back the joy of teaching and learning.* It’s the way to make every public school a place where parents want to send their kids, teachers want to teach and children want to learn. It makes our public schools the center of the community and fulfills their purpose as an anchor of our democracy and a propeller of our economy.

Our movement can be the centerpiece of this vision for our children. Not only are the individuals who work in schools and the education system members of AFL-CIO-affiliated unions, but union members are also parents, grandparents, school volunteers and active participants in their communities. In short, all of us are connected to public education. The AFL-CIO is uniquely positioned to join with our affiliates, parents, community and civic leaders.



Therefore, we resolve as a labor movement to meet the needs of all children and working families by:

- Fighting to ensure that all children have the opportunity to attend great schools that provide a safe and welcoming environment in their own neighborhood, and uniting local labor bodies with parent groups and others to oppose mass school closings that seem to target our most impoverished communities. We will stand together to oppose the failed strategies of so-called market-oriented reforms of privatization, de-professionalization and profit seeking, and instead stand in support of efforts to fix, rather than close, schools; work for safe schools and communities by backing initiatives to reduce gun violence and prevent bullying; and advocate for environmentally healthy buildings that are equipped to support the integration of technology in instruction.
- Educating union members and working families about the importance of engaging curriculum by promoting a greater understanding of the Common Core State Standards and what they mean to their children's education; mobilizing our members to advocate for implementation of the standards in a way that is fair and fully supported at the federal, state and local levels; raising awareness around the obsession with high-stakes testing and test preparation and the negative effect it is having both on students and on the quality of the overall curriculum; and expanding existing union programs that provide curriculum supports, such as Share My Lesson and First Book.
- Advocating for investment in the teaching profession to ensure that teachers are well-prepared and supported—by working for comprehensive teacher development and evaluation systems that do not deny teachers their due process; increased opportunities for ongoing professional development so they can improve their skills; and providing fair compensation systems.
- Educating our members about the role of community schools and joining with education unions and others to increase the number of community schools—places that bring together wraparound services to help meet the social, emotional, health and nutrition needs of students and families.
- Advocating for a comprehensive, multi-provider system that ensures voluntary access to high-quality, affordable early childhood education and care from birth forward, so our youngest children are ready to succeed when they enter school; and advocating for equitable wages for the early education workforce.
- Mobilizing our members to fight for federal, state and local legislation, policies and funding that ensure our children have the great public schools they deserve.
- Encouraging all unions to seek contract provisions that enable parents and guardians to participate fully in their children's education, including family and parental leave to attend school meetings and to volunteer in schools.

## Resolution 36

# ADDRESSING THE INCREASING BURDEN OF STUDENT DEBT AND SUPPORTING HIGH-QUALITY PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION

A COLLEGE EDUCATION has been one of the stepping stones for entering the middle class, a dream that many have worked toward for themselves and their children. Our institutions of public higher education have been there to help them fulfill this dream. Now, when the United States needs a highly educated workforce to remain competitive in the global market, it is imperative that we ensure attaining a higher education degree is equally affordable and accessible to all.

The public higher education system in the United States, from community colleges to flagship research universities, is a public good that plays a key role in everything from providing new skills and retraining opportunities for incumbent workers; to training future professionals in fields like medicine, engineering and education; to producing groundbreaking research that has improved the lives of countless Americans and provided them with economic opportunities. Public higher education benefits not only those who access it but also our communities: Studies have found that higher education leads to better health outcomes, less reliance on social safety net programs, an expanded tax base, and higher rates of civic participation and volunteerism. Unfortunately, massive and ongoing state disinvestment in our institutions of public higher education has shifted the burden of financing higher education onto the backs of students and their families through skyrocketing tuition and fees. Despite these increases in tuition, public colleges and universities are cutting academic programs, slashing the support services that are crucial to student success, and increasingly relying upon a contingent academic workforce.

Most students in postsecondary education have to rely on loans to finance their education. Outstanding student loans will exceed \$1.2 trillion in 2013. According to the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, Americans now owe more on student loans than on credit cards.

The rise of for-profit colleges has accelerated this crisis. While for-profit colleges make up only 10 percent of the total postsecondary student population, they take in 25 percent of all Pell Grants, the primary federal financial assistance program, and they produce 44 percent of the total number of student loan defaults.

Increasing numbers of students, especially low-income students and people of color, see their educational opportunities curtailed by the specter of long-term debt. Predatory lending has been rampant in higher education, just as it has been in the housing loan sector, with banks and colleges preying on young adults, many of whom have little financial literacy. This massive debt burden creates a drag nationally on our recovery from the Great Recession, while it also creates barriers for individuals to participate in the economy, preventing them from investing in homes and families, due to the drain caused by servicing these debts.

President Obama has called for an aggressive strategy to address student debt relief. Public Service Loan Forgiveness, Income-Based Repayment and other loan repayment assistance programs need to be supported to help deal with this crisis.

The AFL-CIO resolves to:

- Support legislation and policies at the federal level that will help reduce the burden of student debt by: reforming bankruptcy laws to allow student debt to be discharged through bankruptcy, requiring institutions to counsel students who have not exhausted their federal financial aid and loan options before they certify private loans, introducing refinancing options for existing loans, consolidating loan forgiveness programs into one similar to the federal Pay As You Earn Repayment Plan (which allows loan forgiveness after 20 years with monthly payments equal to 10 percent of the borrower's discretionary income), and allowing borrowers to swap private loans for federal loans with more-favorable repayment conditions and options;
- Demand that private student loan lenders increase flexibility in repayment options for borrowers of private student loans, including loan forgiveness and income-based repayment options;
- Support legislation and policies at the federal and state levels that increase funding and access to needs-based aid; simplify the process for applying for this aid; provide financial and academic support to first-generation students, low-income students and students of color; and give undocumented students who have graduated from high schools in the United States access to federal financial aid;
- Encourage its state and local affiliates to support state legislation and policies that will increase public investment in instruction and student support services at public colleges and universities, and that will decrease the financial burden for students and their families rather than restructure and prolong the burden, as policies such as "Pay It Forward" may do;
- Support legislation and policies at the federal level that will curb and eliminate the frauds and abuses practiced by predatory lending institutions and unscrupulous for-profit colleges; and
- Assist and encourage affiliates to support expanding federal student loan forgiveness in proportional exchange for time spent working in the field of public service. This would provide a stimulating effect on the states' economies, freeing hundreds of thousands of dollars per month per affected individual for increasing spending, generating economic activity and creating jobs.

## Resolution 37

# PASSING THE EMPLOYMENT NON-DISCRIMINATION ACT: PROTECTING AMERICA'S WORKERS

AT THE 2009 AFL-CIO CONVENTION, delegates unanimously passed Resolution 7, “A Diverse and Democratic Labor Movement.” The resolution defined a union movement that welcomes and recognizes the imperative of full inclusion. In particular, it called for increased inclusion of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) workers in our society and our movement. Among the resolution’s many commitments was the following:

“The AFL-CIO supports the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) and will do all in our power to see that it passes.”

Only 17 states and the District of Columbia have laws prohibiting employment discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, and four more have laws barring employment discrimination based only on sexual orientation. Meanwhile, LGBT workers continue to face widespread discrimination and harassment in the workplace. Studies show that more than 1 in 5 LGBT workers report discrimination on the job.

For LGBT Americans, the remedy lies in ENDA, a bill that would prohibit employment discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity. ENDA does what no other law currently does: creates express protections for LGBT people in the workplace. These are similar to protections under existing federal discrimination laws that protect other classes of workers on the basis of sex, religion, race and ethnicity; ENDA would put in place uniform and comprehensive protections for LGBT workers in all 50 states.

Four years have passed since this convention made a commitment to do all in our power to see that ENDA

passes. Yet little movement has been made on this vital piece of legislation—until now.

### **Momentum**

The LGBT movement is experiencing unprecedented momentum. Last November, Maine, Maryland and Washington joined a growing group of states to pass full marriage equality. This year, Delaware, Minnesota and Rhode Island followed suit, bringing the total number of states to 13. One-third of the U.S. population now lives in a state with marriage equality.

These victories were compounded by a Supreme Court decision in late June that overturned the Defense of Marriage Act and gives same-sex couples married in states with marriage equality full protections under federal law.

An amicus brief filed, in part, by the AFL-CIO explained, “The Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), by intention and design, ensures that workers with same-sex spouses earn less money, are taxed more on their wages and benefits, and have available to them fewer valuable benefits and less economic security than their counterparts with different-sex spouses.”

The momentum of marriage equality, and the changing tide of public opinion, clears the way for the swift passage of ENDA.

### **Support Across Aisles and Movements**

Nearly 80 percent of Americans support LGBT workplace protections, many believing that these protections already exist. This support cuts across political party affiliation, with 81 percent of Democrats, 74 percent of independents and 66 percent of Republicans supporting these protections. Catholics and seniors solidly favor these protections

with 74 percent support and 61 percent support, respectively.

The most recent version of this legislation, which passed in the Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee, was introduced by Republicans and Democrats alike. The civil rights, human rights, business, religious, labor and LGBT communities are coming together in that same bipartisan spirit to make ENDA law.

### **Labor's Leading Voice**

Throughout our history, unions, particularly the AFL-CIO and its affiliates, have been leading advocates against discrimination in the workplace, however it manifests. We were instrumental in passing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that prohibits discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex or national origin. We fought for the Equal Pay Act, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act and the Americans with Disabilities Act—which all prohibit on-the-job discrimination.

Today, we are leading the way for LGBT protections on the job. Without ENDA, the only protection many

LGBT workers have is their union contracts. Union workers can be fired only with just cause and often have access to grievance procedures and arbitration. Additionally, many union contracts do what the law does not: protect workers against discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity.

### **The Time Is Now**

Now, we must work to win freedom from discrimination for all workers—union members and nonunion workers. We have the momentum. We have the support of the American people—from both Democrats and Republicans, and from a wide array of progressive movements. The time is now.

The AFL-CIO will redouble our support for the passage of ENDA and continue this work until every worker—gay or straight, transgender or not—is treated with dignity and respect on the job. We urge all national and international unions to join in the effort to pass ENDA and to use their influence to sway those members of Congress who will be instrumental in the bill's passage. As we did in 2009, let us commit to doing "all in our power to see that it passes."

## Resolution 38

# RESOLUTION THAT REYNOLDS AMERICAN INC. ESTABLISH A PROCESS WITH FLOC THAT GUARANTEES FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION AND WORKER REPRESENTATION FOR TOBACCO FARM WORKERS IN THE TOBACCO SUPPLY CHAIN

WHEREAS, Reynolds American Inc. (RAI), based in Winston Salem, NC, is the largest tobacco company in North Carolina;

WHEREAS, British American Tobacco (BAT), based in London, UK, owns more than 42 percent of RAI;

WHEREAS, tobacco farm workers suffer hardships such as long hours of stoop labor in the fields, abject poverty, miserable and squalid housing in their labor camps and are denied basic labor and human rights protections;

WHEREAS, many tobacco farm workers are recruited by criminal syndicates in Mexico, forced to pay thousands in extortionist fees and work without legal documentation, making them particularly vulnerable to exploitation;

WHEREAS, RAI does not directly employ the tobacco farm workers, but RAI effectively controls pricing and procurement processes with its contract growers, and in that capacity, RAI has the power to facilitate needed changes in the fields;

Whereas, while RAI asserts that exploitative conditions do not exist on farms supplying tobacco for its products, only guarantees of freedom of association and worker representation can ensure that workers have a safe and healthy workplace and receive fair compensation;

WHEREAS, a 2011 report by Oxfam America and the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, "A state of fear: Human rights abuses in North Carolina's tobacco industry," assessed the tobacco industry's impact on the human rights of farm workers in the tobacco fields of North Carolina, and found conditions in the tobacco supply chain that can best be corrected through the establishment of a process that guarantees freedom of association and worker representation;

WHEREAS, the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO (FLOC) represents thousands of migrant workers from Mexico employed under the H-2A guest worker program by members of the North Carolina Growers Association (NCGA), and FLOC has been engaged in a campaign since 2007 to gain dignity, respect and safe working conditions for tens of thousands of tobacco farm workers in North Carolina and the Southern Region;

WHEREAS, in 2012, RAI and FLOC began direct discussions about establishing a process that guarantees worker representation and freedom of association in the tobacco supply chain, meetings that were first requested in October 2007, and only came about as the result of organizations like the AFL-CIO, whose continuing support has been instrumental in achieving this breakthrough;

WHEREAS, RAI has yet to establish a process with FLOC that guarantees freedom of association and worker representation in the tobacco supply chain;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO renews and pledges its wholehearted and enthusiastic support for justice for tobacco farm workers and FLOC, and calls on Reynolds American to establish a written process that guarantees freedom of association and worker representation for tobacco farm workers in the tobacco supply chain;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the President of the AFL-CIO will communicate directly with British American Tobacco urging that BAT use its influence as a major owner of RAI to request that RAI establish a process that guarantees freedom of association and worker representation for tobacco farm workers in the tobacco supply chain, and that the AFL-CIO International Department continue its efforts to enlist the support of global labor networks in countries where BAT markets its products to communicate their support for FLOC to BAT;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO with a membership of 12 million members will bring consumer pressure on convenience stores such as 7-Eleven, WaWa and Kangaroo Express and other retailers that sell RAI products demanding that they directly communicate with RAI that their consumers want RAI to establish a process with FLOC that guarantees freedom of association and worker representation for tobacco farm workers in the tobacco supply chain;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO through its affiliates, state federations, central labor councils and area labor federations, constituency groups and allies will mobilize to exert consumer pressure at the local store level by participating in group visits to store managers, information activities outside of stores and other lawful actions which will demonstrate to convenience store and retail store management that consumers demand that they communicate with RAI until FLOC obtains a signed agreement;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO lend its support to FLOC's campaign to collect 5,000 union authorization cards from tobacco farm workers in the fields of North Carolina in June, July and August during the summer of 2014;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO assist FLOC with planning for the recruitment, deployment, logistics and training of fifty organizers that would be available to collect union authorization cards from tobacco farm workers during the summer of 2014;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO engage in these activities to support FLOC's campaign to bring justice to the tobacco farm workers of North Carolina and the South until FLOC informs the AFL-CIO that its goals have been achieved.



## Resolution 39

# REJECT ANY ATTEMPT TO PRIVATIZE THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY (TVA) provides top quality power and energy to consumers throughout the Tennessee Valley. Today TVA provides electricity and other services to more than 9 million people spanning over 80,000 square miles. Citizens in Tennessee, as well as millions of others in parts of Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina and Virginia are directly served by the TVA. While TVA is a federal government entity created by Congress in 1933 through the TVA Act, it is a fully self-sustaining utility provider completely supported by the millions of rate payers it serves.

### **TVA creation—an inspiring chapter in our nation’s history**

The creation and evolution of the TVA is an integral and inspiring chapter in our nation’s history. As our nation struggled through the Great Depression in the 1930’s, President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s administration moved forward with policies that both promoted worker rights and meaningful investment in public interest projects, including state and city governments, railroads and our energy infrastructure. Known as the New Deal, President Roosevelt’s plan was comprised of such landmark bills as the Wagner Act of 1935, which gave most private sector workers the right to organize; the Social Security Act of 1935 to help lift our nation’s seniors out of poverty; and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which created the 40-hour work week and minimum wage requirements. Also part of the New Deal was passage of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act (TVA Act) on May 18th, 1933, marking the birth of what many historians argue is one of the most successful public works projects in the history of America. Indeed, today the TVA is still going strong as the largest public utility in the nation.

### **TVA mission is also an economic engine**

TVA’s mission of providing inexpensive and reliable power services to those in the Tennessee Valley has also served as an incredibly successful economic engine for Tennessee and parts of the other six states it serves. With over 13,000 employees—many in family wage, union represented jobs—the TVA generates approximately \$11.2 billion in annual revenues. Since 2005 TVA has been responsible for saving and creating over 300,000 jobs and spurring \$32 billion in business investment in TVA serviced areas. TVA has 155 power distributor customers that they sell electricity to, and serves some 56 industries and federal entities. As Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee Chairman Sen. Ron Wyden said earlier this year, federally owned energy providers like the TVA and the Bonneville Power Administration, “have been a bedrock of local economies.”

What many outside of the Tennessee Valley are unaware of is that in addition to the energy it creates, the TVA also provides other services and is fueling new technologies and innovation in the energy industry. For example, the TVA manages and operates forty-nine dams along the Tennessee River (the nation’s 5th largest) and its tributaries. These federal functions, performed by TVA federal employees, are crucial for maintaining good water quality, promoting safe and enjoyable recreation, creating reliable and safe power generation, and ensuring the free flow of commerce by ensuring efficient navigation and flood control. TVA is also a leading innovator in the industry when it comes to new energy technologies. Right now Authority employees are working toward developing modular nuclear reactors and smart grid technologies that will lead to the production of more clean and reliable energy sources.



## **Effort to Privatize TVA under false pretenses**

Despite this great work performed by the TVA, and the reliable and inexpensive services that millions of families and businesses in the Tennessee Valley rely so heavily on, it was disappointing to see language in President Obama's Fiscal Year 2014 (FY14) budget that proposed to study the privatization of the TVA. This despite the fact that *no taxpayer money goes toward any of TVA's operation expenses*, which obviously includes TVA employee salaries, pensions and health care. Moreover, as a self-financing government corporation, TVA bonds are not a federal obligation; yet, its debts are inexplicably considered part of the federal deficit. While this smoke and mirror accounting gimmick has helped to serve as a false justification for undertaking an effort to privatize TVA, it will do nothing to obscure the simple truth that selling the TVA will not have any impact on the federal deficit, nor will it result in better services for TVA customers. As Tennessee Sen. Lamar Alexander pointed out in April following the release of the President's budget, "There is no assurance that selling TVA to a profit-making entity would reduce electrical bills in Tennessee, and it could lead to higher electricity rates."

Instead of pursuing the fiscally irresponsible approach of privatization, the more prudent course of action would be for the Obama Administration and the Congress to increase the TVA debt ceiling through the approval of a TVA reauthorization bill. After all, TVA's current \$30 billion ceiling was set by Congress some 34 years ago—back in 1979. With the retirement of some of the older power plants throughout the Tennessee Valley, and to meet the ever growing energy needs of its customers, TVA does require more capacity. However, while the need to increase the TVA debt ceiling should come as no surprise to the President or Congressional lawmakers, legislation to do so has yet to be introduced in the Congress, or pushed by the Obama Administration.

Both labor, and even Sen. Alexander, among others, have advocated for an increase in the TVA debt ceiling for quite some time. As Sen. Alexander correctly pointed out to the Chattanooga Times Free

Press on September 1st, 2011, "raising the \$30 billion, congressionally imposed limit on TVA borrowing might be appropriate given the growth in TVA and its power load." Increasing the TVA debt ceiling will give the Authority the flexibility it requires to sell bonds rather than taking the extraordinary step of selling its ownership rights in two Watts Barr Unit nuclear plants and the John Sevier Combined Cycle Plant gas plant.

In conclusion, the unions of the AFL-CIO believe that the logic used to support the privatization of the TVA is fundamentally flawed. We further believe that any effort to privatize the TVA will diminish the critical role that it plays not only as a provider of inexpensive electricity and economic development, but also as an environmental steward of the Tennessee River watershed. We believe it was the New Deal policies of labor protections, like those included in the Wagner Act, and investment in our nation's infrastructure through the passage of landmark legislation like the TVA Act of 1933, that are the very foundation that not only helped our nation recover from the Great Depression, but has also helped to build America's vibrant middle class. Unfortunately these very worker, wage and retirement security protections, along with an effort to privatize critical public services like the TVA, are now unjustly under attack.

The AFL-CIO therefore resolves to do the following:

- **To work with Congress in opposing any effort by the Obama Administration to undertake a study and/or move toward selling the TVA to private interests;**
- **To urge Congress to draft and pass TVA reauthorization legislation**—a bill to (1) Allow the Authority to expand capacity to meet future demand by increasing the \$30 billion TVA debt ceiling that has been in place since 1979; (2) De-link the TVA debt from the overall national debt, and; (3) Act on the 2003 GAO recommendation (which was referenced by GAO again as a part of their 2011 TVA financing report to Congress) to ensure that customer energy prepayments do not count against the overall TVA debt.

## Resolution 40

# A POSTAL SERVICE FOR THE 21ST CENTURY: INNOVATION AND GROWTH, NOT DOWNSIZING AND DECLINE

THE UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE (USPS) is perhaps the oldest national public institution in America, established in 1775 before the Declaration of Independence and specifically authorized by the U.S. Constitution (Article I, Section 8.). Yet it remains a vital component of this country's economic and communications infrastructure. In the past year, USPS handled and delivered 160 billion pieces of mail and generated more than \$65 billion in revenues, while receiving no taxpayer funding. Despite the rise of the Internet, almost one half of all bills are still paid by mail. The majority of bills and statements received by households are still delivered by mail. And the vast majority of magazines are delivered by mail. Meanwhile, the volume of packages is exploding.

Measured by employment, the Postal Service is the nation's second largest enterprise with more than 550,000 employees, and it plays a major role in the U.S. economy. Trillions of dollars in transactions move through the postal system every year. The mailing industry, which employs 8 million Americans, generates over \$1 trillion dollars annually, representing approximately seven percent of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Rural communities in particular, many of which do not have access to the Internet, remain dependent on the Postal Service for vital communications and for the shipment of goods. Many Americans, particularly elderly Americans, depend on the Postal Service for receipt of their prescription drugs. Voting by mail is now commonplace and will remain essential to our democracy. The nation needs to preserve its Postal Service.

Nonetheless, the Postal Service faces a severe crisis, largely stemming from the enactment in 2006 of the Postal Accountability and Enhancement Act (the PAEA). The PAEA has required the Service to set

aside over five-and-a-half billion dollars (\$5.5 billion) annually to prefund the health benefits of future retirees. At the same time, the PAEA set strict limits on the Postal Service's ability to raise rates. These legislative constraints, coupled with the impact of the 2008 recession and the long-term decline in first class mail volume due to electronic diversion, have caused the Postal Service to lose over \$40 billion since 2007. However, fully \$32 billion of these losses (80%) result from the retiree health pre-funding mandate, a burden that no other company, public or private, faces. Rather than investing in new products and upgrading its capabilities to handle growing parcel volume, the USPS has been drained of resources by this funding requirement and its management has adopted a doomed "shrink to survive" strategy.

The Congress of the United States created the crisis at the Postal Service and must now fix it. Unfortunately, rather than reducing or repealing the pre-funding burden and relaxing unreasonable price controls, legislation now before Congress retains these burdens and calls for radical cuts in services and jobs to help pay for them. Bills in both the House and the Senate target the elimination of at least 100,000 jobs by: eliminating Saturday service; slowing mail delivery by drastically downsizing its mail processing network and phasing out door-to-door delivery for 30 million households and businesses; and closing or sharply limiting local post offices. These destructive bills (H.R. 2748 and S. 1486) also pose a dire threat to the pensions and health benefits of postal employees by interfering with the postal collective bargaining process that has worked so well for more than 40 years.

Slashing service in order to pre-fund retiree health benefits decades in advance makes no sense—it will

simply drive more business away and prevent the Postal Service from building on its growing success in the booming e-commerce sector. And attacking the middle class living standards and bargaining rights of postal employees to address a financial crisis manufactured by Congress is simply wrong. At a time of massive unemployment, dismantling the Postal Service would further damage the nation's struggling economy.

The postal union affiliates of the AFL-CIO have worked to build broad public coalitions to resist more damaging austerity in the Postal Service and to build support for sensible reform. (See [www.apwu.org](http://www.apwu.org), [www.nalc.org](http://www.nalc.org) and [www.npmhu.org](http://www.npmhu.org).)

Such reform has been proposed in Congress: The Postal Protection Act of 2013—S. 316 in the Senate and H.R. 630 in the House. This legislation should be adapted and adopted to do the following:

- Stabilize the Postal Service's finances by reforming or eliminating unwise and unfair pension and retiree health financing policies that have crippled the Postal Service's finances since 2006;
- Strengthen and protect the Postal Service's invaluable mail processing, retail and last-mile delivery networks that together comprise a crucial part of the nation's infrastructure; and
- Free the Postal Service to meet the evolving needs of the American economy and to set its prices in a way that reflects the cost structure of the delivery industry while assuring affordable universal service and protecting against anti-competitive practices.

The Postal Service is a national treasure that can play an important role in our future. Its networks are invaluable and should be used to address pressing national problems. The universal geographical reach of its 30,000 post offices could be used to provide financial services to the 40 million Americans who lack access to basic banking services, provide low-cost remittance services to immigrant workers, finance a National Infrastructure Bank to help rebuild our nation and create millions of jobs, and provide public Internet access and other media and technology services to underserved communities. With a federal vote-by-mail statute, the Postal Service could be the answer to voter suppression across the country while boosting voter turnout the way it has in Oregon and other states that conduct elections through the mail. The Post Office can be re-imagined as a platform for state and local services in rural and inner city areas that lack access to services. We should not only save the Postal Service, but also reinvent it for the 21st Century.

The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions are called on to help mobilize the entire labor movement and our allies in the progressive community to defeat the forces of austerity and anti-unionism in the debate over postal reform. We must repeal the pre-funding mandate, free the Postal Service to diversify its services, and use the Postal Service's unique networks to address other national problems by enacting legislation that promotes innovation and growth, not downsizing and decline.

## Resolution 41

### COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

WHEREAS, collective bargaining is essential to the promotion of economic health and administrative protections for public safety employees; and

WHEREAS, collective bargaining is the most efficient manner in which to resolve workplace disputes; and

WHEREAS, employees of federal, state and local governments are among the only workers in America who do not have the right to collectively bargain; and

WHEREAS, public safety employees cannot engage in strikes or slowdowns without being accused of jeopardizing public safety; and

WHEREAS, collective bargaining without the right to strike is simply mandated communication between an employer and his employees, be it

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO supports, endorses and has continuously advocated for the Employer-Employee Cooperation Act, which guarantees this basic human right to collectively bargain for wages, hours, and working conditions for public safety employees.

## Resolution 42

### **NATIONAL LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS MEMORIAL FUND MUSEUM AND MEMORIAL**

WHEREAS, there are more than 900,000 sworn law enforcement officers now serving in the United States; and

WHEREAS, a total of 1,539 law enforcement officers died in the line of duty over the past 10 years, an average of one death every 57 hours or 154 per year; and

WHEREAS, the Memorial honors all of America's law enforcement heroes—those that have died in the line of duty and those who continue to serve and protect; and

WHEREAS, during Police Week, NLEOMF is a principal organizer of the annual tribute to those law enforcement officers who have made the ultimate sacrifice and to increase public support for the law enforcement profession; and

WHEREAS, the Museum's mission is to tell the story of American law enforcement through exhibits, collections, research, and education; and

WHEREAS, the Museum will give visitors an opportunity to walk in an officer's shoes and experience firsthand what it is like to make life-or-death decisions, solve crimes, protect our communities, and safeguard our freedoms, be it

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO endorses and supports the efforts of the NLEOMF to honor the law enforcement officers who have been killed in the line of duty by permanently etching their names on the Memorial and the Museum's effort to build mutual respect and foster cooperation between the public and the law enforcement profession.

## Resolution 47

### JUSTICE FOR SANTIAGO RAFAEL CRUZ

WHEREAS, on the morning of April 9, 2007, the body of Santiago Rafael Cruz, a union organizer for the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, was found in FLOC's office in Monterrey, Mexico. He had been brutally tortured and murdered, and his dead body was tied and left in the union office; and

WHEREAS, FLOC represents Mexican migrant workers who travel from Mexico to North Carolina to work under a U.S. guest worker program. Santiago defended the human and labor rights of Mexican farm workers going to the United States, and he paid the ultimate price. Santiago was thirty years old; and

WHEREAS, following Santiago's assassination, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights found sufficient evidence that the murder was politically motivated, and issued a protective order for FLOC staff and members in Mexico; and

WHEREAS, to date only one of the murderers has been captured and sentenced to prison, but three other suspects are still at large. FLOC is seeking justice for Santiago Rafael Cruz and his family, and punishment for those who are responsible for his murder; and

WHEREAS, union investigations have uncovered widespread corruption among Mexican labor recruiters who hire Mexican workers for U.S. agribusiness. Mexican workers covered by a FLOC contract are no longer victimized by unscrupulous

recruiters. Santiago Rafael Cruz's murder was a message to FLOC to back down. The staff and members of FLOC in Mexico cannot feel safe until all of the murderers of Santiago Rafael Cruz are found and punished; and

WHEREAS, the Inter-American Human Rights Commission has given protective status to FLOC, its staff and members in Mexico; and

Whereas, the state government of Nuevo Leon has done nothing to bring the assassins of Santiago Rafael Cruz to justice;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO call on the federal government of Mexico to take over the investigation of the murder of Santiago Rafael Cruz from the state of Nuevo Leon so that his assassins can be apprehended, and, after more than 6 years, be finally brought to justice; and

THEREFORE BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO call on the US State Department to advocate that the federal government of Mexico take over the investigation of the murder of Santiago Rafael Cruz, monitor the investigation, and report back on the progress of the Cruz case to FLOC; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO supports FLOC and its efforts to resolve the case of Santiago Rafael Cruz, and will assist FLOC's campaign to protect the labor rights and human rights of its staff and members in Mexico.

## Resolution 49

### **RESOLUTION TO INCLUDE UNION LABEL IDENTIFICATION IN CONTRACT LANGUAGE**

WHEREAS, many consumers, including both union members and non-union members, look for union made goods and services as a way to support good jobs with decent pay and benefits for the people who produce the ware and services that they purchase, and

WHEREAS, many of these consumers value the assurance of quality and value that union made goods and services offer, and

WHEREAS, employers under contract with unionized workers enjoy enhanced business because of the public's association of union made goods and service with higher quality, reliability and value, and

WHEREAS, it is too often difficult to determine whether goods are made in the United States, let alone made by union workers, and

WHEREAS, it is the responsibility of union workers and their unions to provide the public with information concerning whether products and services are union made, and

WHEREAS, the Union Label is a historic means that is widely recognized as an indicator of the union made nature of products and services,

BE IT RESOLVED that affiliated unions are encouraged to negotiate language in collective bargaining agreements that requires a union label verifying that products and services are made or provided by union workers.

## Resolution 51

### RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE RELEASE OF OSCAR LÓPEZ RIVERA

WHEREAS, Oscar López Rivera, a decorated veteran of the Vietnam War, returned to the Puerto Rican community of Chicago to become a successful community organizer and help improve conditions in education, housing, and employment;

WHEREAS, in May 1981, he was arrested, along with 14 other men and women, and was convicted of seditious conspiracy and related offenses, yet he nor any of his co-defendants was convicted of harming or killing anyone;

WHEREAS, in 1999, as a result of an international campaign for their release, President Clinton commuted the sentences of most of these men and women. The President offered to commute Oscar's sentence after he served another 10 years in prison. In solidarity with those not included in the commutation, Oscar declined;

WHEREAS, all those released are living productive, law-abiding lives. Oscar is the only one of his co-defendants still behind bars;

WHEREAS, at 70 years old, he is the longest-held political prisoner in the history of Puerto Rico. He has served more time than the South African leader Nelson Mandela;

WHEREAS, there have been many personalities and international organizations which have applied for his release over the past 32 years. That support includes several members of the U.S. House of Representatives, civic and religious leaders

throughout the U.S.; elected officials from New York, California, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Illinois; international figures from Haiti, Mexico and Australia among others; as well as many Puerto Rican and Latino communities throughout the United States;

WHEREAS, in Puerto Rico, several former governors, to include Rafael Hernández Colón, Sila María Calderón, Anibal Acevedo Vilá, and the current governor Alejandro García Padilla, have all requested in writing the immediate release of Oscar López Rivera. Both the current Puerto Rico Resident Commissioner to the U.S. Congress, Pedro Pierluissi, and the Mayor of San Juan, Carmen Yulín Cruz, have taken similar positions; and the Puerto Rico Senate and House of Representatives have also weighed in on the issue by passing resolutions in their respective bodies in favor of Oscar López Rivera's release;

WHEREAS, the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization has adopted resolutions annually, as recently as 2011, calling on the President of the United States to release Oscar López Rivera;

WHEREAS, AFSCME, LCLAA, and the Puerto Rico AFL-CIO have all passed similar resolutions in their respective conventions;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, the 2013 AFL-CIO Convention calls on the President of the United States to exercise his Constitutional power of pardon, and to grant the immediate and unconditional release of Oscar López Rivera.



## Resolution 52

# GOVERNOR CORBETT AND MAYOR NUTTER'S ATTACK ON PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC EDUCATION AND PUBLIC SERVICES

THOSE WHO WORK IN PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS, represented by the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, and those who provide the city's vital public services, represented by AFSCME District Councils 33 and 47, do so out of a sense of mission: they want to help kids, they want to care for those who are most vulnerable, and they want to ensure that the vital public services that keep our city moving are reliably provided to build a better Philadelphia for all.

But educators and public employees are under attack from forces intent on rolling back the promise of equal opportunity, basic fairness and responsive government.

Governor Corbett and his legislative partisans are leading the attack. While extending \$2.4 billion in tax breaks to corporate special interests and political donors, including expanded favors for energy and telecommunications companies, Corbett eliminated assistance to 69,000 financially distressed Pennsylvanians suffering from illness, disability or domestic violence; cut environmental funding by 20 percent and slashed more than \$1 billion from public education, including more than \$304 million from Philadelphia's schools.

Right now, Governor Corbett is holding hostage \$45 million in federal assistance targeted for Philadelphia schools. Holding back the money is part of his plan to boost his sagging poll numbers by manufacturing a crisis in which schools are starved, children are denied the education they deserve and teachers are blamed for the disruption.

Instead of standing up to Corbett and demanding the federal funds Philadelphia schools were promised and desperately need, Mayor Michael Nutter has joined Corbett in scapegoating hardworking public employees and educators, while continuing tax breaks for large corporations.

And even though Philadelphia teachers have offered substantial contract concessions by forgoing pay increases and making changes to health care benefits, the mayor dismisses these concessions and continues his push to eliminate the ability of educators to speak up for public schools and fight for the things students need—like a safe and welcoming school to attend, with a rich curriculum and extracurricular activities, where teachers have the support they need in order to improve their instruction and students receive the services they need in order to be ready to learn.

When Mayor Nutter wanted the support of city workers, he said he would work to negotiate a fair contract for public employees and improve public services for all Philadelphians. AFSCME District Councils 33 and 47 have demonstrated flexibility in working with the city, but the mayor has not kept his word. Instead, Nutter has focused on advancing the Corbett agenda, attacking public employees, cutting services and granting tax breaks to big corporations.

City workers in Philadelphia have now gone five years without contracts or wage increases, have paid significant increases for their health care and suffered relentless attacks from Mayor Nutter's administration. Under Mayor Nutter, the number of city workers living in poverty has doubled.

While both AFSCME DC 33 and DC 47 have attempted to negotiate a solution with the Nutter administration, he has gone to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court to impose a contract that means cuts to vital services, wages reductions and less retirement security.

Mayor Nutter's failed policies have cut vital services to the residents of our city. Because of his failures, library doors often remain locked and fewer people work in our recreation centers. It's time for Nutter to change course, stop putting the Corbett agenda and the interests of large corporations ahead of the interests of the people of Philadelphia, and negotiate a fair contract for educators and municipal workers.

The labor movement stands with neighbors, parents, students and community leaders in condemning these attacks on the schools and the vital services on which our city relies. We are united in calling on Mayor Nutter to reverse course and stand up for a better Philadelphia for all by:

1. Demanding the immediate release of the \$45 million in federal assistance targeted for Philadelphia.

2. Instructing the mayor's representatives on the School Reform Commission to demand the funding necessary for our schools to educate students, and shelve further plans for school closings, budget cuts and giveaways to market-based reformers.
3. Working with parents, teachers, students and community leaders to put politics aside, fix the damage already inflicted, raise additional revenues by eliminating unnecessary tax breaks for wealthy corporations, collect taxes which are overdue, and do what's right for Philadelphia children, families and public schools.
4. Immediately working with the City Council to identify and raise additional revenues in the form of fair-share assessments on wealthy tax-exempt Philadelphia institutions, such as the University of Pennsylvania.
5. Collaborating with teachers and city municipal employees to find fair solutions through good faith negotiations rather than using this manufactured fiscal crisis or the courts to attack collective bargaining and dismantle vital public services.

## Resolution 53

### **ASSURING SOUND PRIORITIES FOR NEW LABOR MOVEMENT STRATEGIES: ALIGNING VISION WITH ACCOUNTABILITY AND FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY**

OVER THE PAST SIX MONTHS, the AFL-CIO has led a strategic planning process to engage our affiliate unions, state and local labor bodies, and partners and allies, internationally and throughout the United States. Policies, programs and action plans relating to growth, innovation and political action; shared prosperity in the global economy; community partnerships; and the rebuilding of grassroots power have emerged from this process and will be taken up by the Convention, and implemented thereafter.

Even as this planning process has continued, examples of resilience, creativity and unity abound: An expansion and redirection of the labor movement's field infrastructure to drive year-round campaigns; a post-election budget fight that resulted in the repeal of Bush tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans and the preservation of Social Security benefits; a successful NLRB appointments campaign that gained a fully confirmed, worker-friendly National Labor Relations Board; a comprehensive immigration reform campaign that contributed to a Senate bill with a path to citizenship and protection of workers' rights; and most recently, the AFL-CIO affiliation of the United Food and Commercial Workers, under the "united we are stronger" banner.

Individual affiliates, too, are in many cases responding to the crisis with new, inventive and stronger programs—in politics, organizing and public policy, and defending the work they know best, from high-value construction to manufacturing and public education. At the same time, however, we all understand that these programs must be more effectively coordinated, so that we will collectively have the impact we need to emerge from this crisis and regain power for working families.

Now, more than ever, we must recognize the importance of a strong labor movement, with a "center of gravity" at the national, state and local level, with a defined common purpose and strategy, and with the necessary structures and adequate resources to achieve our collective goals.

We must at the same time also recognize that resources are scarce. The labor movement has been operating in an increasingly difficult economic environment, in which it has at all levels experienced painful budget cuts and other financial pressures. At the same time that affiliates are hurt by membership decline due to economic downturn, they face the challenge of political attacks which have sought to limit, even eliminate, collective bargaining rights, diminish union strength and reduce benefits. All have had to do more, with less.

While we have had many unions return to our Federation since 2005, the AFL-CIO, itself, has not had an increase in per capita tax in eight years, during which time the economy has experienced inflation of 19%. But the AFL-CIO is by no means alone in this regard; many of its national and international union affiliates, as well as its state and local central bodies, are facing rising costs while they have lost membership, and consequently dues revenue as well.

The federation has made notable progress in spending its resources more efficiently, and it needs to continue to seek and achieve economies of operation. It also needs to identify current programs of low priority that could be cut in order to refocus on the priorities set by the Convention.

How do we efficiently and adequately finance the strong central federation that is needed, while at the same time navigate economic realities? How do we provide adequate resources to the AFL-CIO in order to carry out a new strategic vision, while remaining aligned with the continuing expectation of accountability and fiscal responsibility? How can we assure that AFL-CIO programs, and the programs of organizations which are formal AFL-CIO partners, are the right programs for the times and function at high levels of effectiveness? These are sobering questions that can only be answered through a collaborative, transparent, inclusive and comprehensive process.

Therefore, we resolve that:

1. A process shall begin no later than October 2013, to be merged with the Executive Committee's 2013-14 budget and program review process. The president shall appoint a special committee, with the approval of the Executive Committee, to conduct a strategic evaluation of new and existing programs coming out of the Convention, including those of associated organizations, and to assess the financial needs associated with them and the priorities among them.
2. The special committee's evaluation will be reported to the AFL-CIO General Board at a meeting to be called during the AFL-CIO's February 2014 Executive Council meetings. If any recommendation of a per capita increase is proposed, pursuant to Article XVI, Section 5 of the AFL-CIO Constitution, the General Board may consider a per capita tax increase and, by a two-thirds vote taken pursuant to Article XI, Section 4 of the AFL-CIO Constitution, may increase the per capita tax.
3. Recognizing the key role that state and local central bodies must play in this process as well, the special committee shall review the inconsistent levels of affiliation at the national, state and local levels, and make recommendations to ensure a fair system for all, whether by enhancing the National Affiliation Fee Program or some other mechanism to apply a uniform, enforceable standard.

## Resolution 54

### AFL-CIO CONVENTION RESOLUTION ON THE AFFORDABLE CARE ACT

WHEREAS, in 2009, the AFL-CIO Convention passed two health care resolutions—Health Care Reform Now and the Social Insurance Model for Health Care Reform—which reaffirmed the labor movement’s commitment to health care for all, ultimately through a single-payer system. In 2010, Congress passed the Affordable Care Act (ACA);

WHEREAS, the AFL-CIO continues to support the ACA’s goal of securing high-quality, affordable health coverage for all Americans; three years after the passage of the Affordable Care Act, we reaffirm our commitment to the goal of affordable, quality health care for all but recognize that the ACA remains a work in progress;

WHEREAS, the ACA’s expansion of comprehensive health insurance to 25 million more Americans, support for affordability through expanded Medicaid eligibility and premium subsidies and insurance market reforms are clear gains for working families. The new law also has eliminated some of the worst insurance company abuses, cut costs for seniors, and appears to be contributing to lower rates for individual coverage in states like California and New York;

WHEREAS, the federal agencies administering the ACA have interpreted the Act in ways that are threatening the ability of workers to keep health care coverage through some collectively bargained, non-profit health care funds. Republican governors in many states have refused to participate in implementing the Act and are even actively blocking efforts to provide health care to all through Medicaid expansion;

WHEREAS, for decades before the enactment of the Affordable Care Act, such quality, affordable health

coverage has been provided to workers and their families through non-profit multiemployer health plans negotiated between unions and participating employers, including the approximately 20 million individuals covered by such plans today;

WHEREAS, the health coverage provided through multiemployer plans has met the goals of the Affordable Care Act by providing portable, affordable, high-quality coverage for workers who would otherwise be left out of typical employer plans, including participants in industries where employment is mobile or part-time;

WHEREAS, multiemployer health plans have been attractive to employers because they provide predictable, consistent and cost-effective long-term health coverage for workers;

WHEREAS, multiemployer health plans have been attractive to employees because they provide a consumer-oriented plan design, portability, stability and flexibility;

WHEREAS, contrary to the law’s intent, some workers might not be able to keep their coverage and their doctors because the federal agencies’ current implementation plans will be highly disruptive to the operation of Taft-Hartley multiemployer plans, substantially changing the coverage available for millions of covered employees and their families;

WHEREAS, the federal agencies tasked with implementing the law have unnecessarily imposed an interpretation of the Affordable Care Act which imposes additional costs and fees for which plan participants receive no benefit, unnecessarily driving coverage costs higher;

WHEREAS, in industries like construction, where 93 percent of employers are considered small under the ACA, the playing field is now even more tilted in favor of companies that shirk responsibility toward their workers;

WHEREAS, current negotiation of collective bargaining agreements setting the terms of health insurance coverage for plan participants are already demonstrating the adverse impact of the application of the Affordable Care Act to multiemployer plans;

WHEREAS, the multiemployer plan community, including the AFL-CIO and other labor organizations, has engaged the Administration since the passage of the Affordable Care Act to work toward a legally supportable regulatory approach that would enable multiemployer plans to continue to provide the valuable coverage they provide today and to allow participants to keep the coverage they have;

WHEREAS, unless changes are made, the ACA will effectively use taxpayer dollars to subsidize employers that refuse to take responsibility for providing their employees health care, placing more responsible employers at a competitive disadvantage, and destabilizing the employment-based health care system. At the same time, the ACA will be taxing non-profit worker health plans for the exclusive benefit of for-profit insurance companies. Employers will then have a financial incentive to drop coverage and force low-wage workers onto the exchanges, making it nearly impossible for those workers' plans to continue. The end result will be that millions more workers and their families will be forced onto the exchanges, increasing the costs of the exchanges to the federal government and undermining the finances of the ACA;

WHEREAS, the labor movement has pushed for a requirement in the ACA that all employers assume responsibility for contributing toward the cost of health care for their employees, either by offering health benefits or by making substantial contributions to a public fund to finance coverage for uninsured workers;

WHEREAS, the ACA includes a limited employer responsibility penalty that applies just to medium and large employers, and then only for employees who work 30 or more hours per week on average, it falls short of what is needed to prevent irresponsible employer behavior. Employers are preparing to avoid paying penalties by cutting workers' hours and pay, thereby creating a new underclass of less-than-30-hour workers;

WHEREAS, we must not shift costs to working families and retirees or endanger the quality of care or limit access to care by underfunding urban, safety-net hospitals and other critical providers. ACA's payment and delivery reforms are an important step toward lowering costs, but they should be implemented in a way that protects the availability of services for our communities. And the cuts in reimbursement to hospitals and other providers should be accompanied by stronger mechanisms to ensure the maintenance of safe staffing and effective care delivery;

WHEREAS, workers should not be penalized for negotiating good health care benefits by having them subjected to special taxation—particularly so long as the tax system as a whole is tilted so severely in the direction of the very rich;

WHEREAS, denying eligibility for health benefits to immigrants on the path to citizenship is not only cruel, but also short-sighted given the important connections between coverage expansion and controlling the growth of health costs;

WHEREAS, it has been a common practice for public unions in New York and elsewhere to build a benefit structure through three different plans: 1) a comprehensive basic health plan negotiated with the employer, providing hospital, medical and related benefits; 2) a per-employee cash contribution to a union-sponsored welfare trust fund that is used to provide supplemental benefits such as prescription drugs and other health care benefits; and 3) voluntary member-paid benefits, sponsored by the union or union trust funds for insurances like umbrella policies that cover catastrophic health care claims. Under

the current construction of the ACA, each separate insurer (or plan if the benefit is self-funded) will pay the Transitional Reinsurance (TR) and Patient Centered Outcomes Research Institute (PCORI) fees. This means that these fees will be levied three times on the same group of workers. These fees should only be charged once and only to the plan sponsor of the base health plan, as is the ACA rule for single employers;

WHEREAS, the ACA Excise Tax, Reinsurance Fee and other fees will drive the costs of collectively bargained, union administered plans, and other plans that cover unionized workers, to unworkable levels, resulting in pressure to shift costs to workers, cut wages, and to agree to unacceptable high deductible plans;

WHEREAS, the federal agencies have not provided a regulatory approach that provides a positive environment for all of our plans, including multiemployer plans;

WHEREAS, this resolution is not meant to be a comprehensive list of the benefits and the problems of the ACA;

WHEREAS, because of these factors and the impact on our members, many unions have called for changes in the Affordable Care Act;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO reaffirms the health care resolutions adopted by the 2009 convention, including the commitment to pursue health care for all ultimately through a single-payer system;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the ACA should be administered in a manner that preserves the high-quality health coverage multiemployer plans have provided to union families for decades and, if this is not possible, we will demand the ACA be amended by Congress;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that non-profit multiemployer plans should have access to the ACA's premium tax credits and cost-sharing reductions on behalf of working families, just as for-profit insurance companies will;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the employer responsibility rules should be fixed by applying a full employer penalty for failing to provide affordable comprehensive coverage to workers who average 20 or more hours per week and adding an employer penalty on a pro rata basis for employees who work fewer than 20 hours per week.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the employer responsibility rules should be fixed further by extending employer responsibility requirements to more employers, especially to construction companies with five or more employees as was provided by the Merkley Amendment included in the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that employers that attempt to shirk their responsibility in its entirety by dumping low-income workers into Medicaid should be penalized;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO will strongly oppose taxing workers' health benefits;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO supports the preservation of collectively bargained plans, union administered plans, and other plans that cover unionized workers, by eliminating the ACA Excise Tax, Reinsurance Fee and all other fees;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we call on the federal agencies responsible for implementing the Act to exempt supplemental welfare benefit plans from the PCORI and reinsurance fees.





**ADOPTED  
CONSTITUTIONAL  
AMENDMENTS**



# Constitutional Amendment 1

## EXPANDING THE GENERAL BOARD TO INCLUDE YOUNG WORKERS

THE AMENDMENT WOULD FORMALLY RECOGNIZE YOUNG WORKERS In the governance of the federation by authorizing the addition of a young worker representative on the General Board. This representative would be chosen by the Young Worker Advisory Committee in accordance with Resolution 19, “Investing in Our Future: Young Workers and Youth Engagement.” The amendment clarifies that members of the General Board must be members of an affiliated organization.

The amendment adds young members to the existing constitutional provision on filling Executive Council vacancies consistent with the federation’s commitment to diversity and broad representation of the labor movement’s membership.

a. Amend Article XI (General Board), Section 1 to read as follows:

***New language in bold and italics; [language to be deleted in italics and brackets]***

i. The General Board shall consist of all of the members of the Executive Council and the principal officer of each affiliated national or international union, the principal officer of each trade and industrial department, a representative of each national constituency organization, *[and]* allied retiree organization, ***and young worker organization*** recognized by the Federation, a representative of each chartered national community affiliate, and regional representatives of the state, area, and local central bodies selected by the Executive Council pursuant to a system promulgated by the Council.

b. Amend Article XI (General Board), Section 4 by adding ***“young worker organization”*** after “allied retiree organization.”

c. Amend Article VI (Elections), Section 4 to read as follows:

i. In the event of a vacancy in the office of Vice President by reason of death, resignation, or otherwise, the Executive Council shall have the power to fill the vacancy by majority vote of all its members for the remainder of the unexpired term, consistent with the Federation’s goal of achieving an Executive Council that is broadly representative of the diversity of the membership of the labor movement, including its women members, *[and]* its members of color, ***and young members***.

d. Amend Article XI (General Board), Section 1 by adding at the end of the Section ***“Each General Board member shall be a member of an affiliated organization.”***

## Constitutional Amendment 2

### UPDATING AND STREAMLINING CONVENTION PROCEDURES

THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT would eliminate a provision requiring convention approval of convention committees. This provision is unworkable given the length of time between conventions—four years—and the need for convention committees to perform the vast majority of their work in the weeks and months leading up to the convention, before convention delegates are selected or designated.

The proposed amendment would eliminate an unnecessary step in the process of handling resolutions and amendments that are submitted after the constitutional 30-day deadline. Under the amendment, late resolutions and amendments would be referred to the convention, which only would consider them if there was unanimous consent to do so. The amendment would eliminate the unnecessary step of sending the resolutions and amendments first to the Executive Council for the council's referral to the convention. This amendment was suggested by the AFL-CIO's convention parliamentarian.

a. Amend Article IV (Convention), Section 10 as follows:

*[language to be deleted in italics and brackets]*

i. The President shall appoint, in consultation with the Executive Council, prior to the convention *[and subject to the approval of the convention]*, such committees as are necessary to conduct the affairs of the convention. Such committees may meet before the convention and shall proceed to consider all resolutions, constitutional amendments, appeals, petitions, reports and memorials submitted to the convention, and shall report on them to the convention.

a. Amend Article IV Section 11(b) as follows:

*[language to be deleted in italics and brackets]*

i. All resolutions, constitutional amendments, appeals, petitions, reports and memorials received after the times stipulated in subsection (a) above or during the convention shall be referred to the *[Executive Council. The Executive Council shall refer all such proposals to the]* convention, which shall consider them only upon unanimous consent.

## Constitutional Amendment 9

### WELCOMING ALL WORKERS TO OUR MOVEMENT

Amend Article II: Objectives and Principles, Section 4, as follows.

Section 4. To encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color, sex, national origin, religion, disability, [or] sexual orientation, ***gender identity, or gender expression*** to share equally in the full benefits of union organization.

## Constitutional Amendment 10

### EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP

An individual must be a member of an AFL-CIO-affiliated organization in order to be elected to the AFL-CIO Executive Council as an AFL-CIO Vice President. Vice Presidents are elected and participate on the Executive Council as individuals, but, almost universally, at the time of their election to the Council they are incumbent officers of affiliated national or international unions, trade or industrial departments or state, area, or local central bodies. And, on the Executive Council they customarily speak for the affiliated organizations in which they hold office.

The proposed amendment would give national and international unions, trade and industrial departments, and state, area, and local central bodies the authority to request that the position of an AFL-CIO Vice President be declared vacant if that Vice President no longer holds office with the requesting affiliate. The Executive Council has authority to fill Executive Council vacancies pursuant to Article VI, Section 4.

Amend Article V (Officers), Section 2 as follows:

a. Each officer shall be a member of an affiliated organization.

***b. In the event a Vice President during his or her term ceases to hold office in the organization of which the Vice President is a member, the organization may request, in writing, that the position of that Vice President be declared vacant, and the Executive Council shall grant the request.***

# Constitutional Amendment 11

## EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AUTHORITY

**Article V, Section 5 is amended as follows (*New language in bold and italics*)**

### **Section 5**

**(a)** The President, Secretary-Treasurer, and Executive Vice President, or any one of them, after having served five years as an Executive Officer of the Federation and either having reached age 65 or having served in any capacity a total of 20 years with any organization affiliated with the Federation, and/or with the Federation, shall, upon leaving office, have the title of President Emeritus or Emerita, Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus or Emerita and Executive Vice President Emeritus or Emerita and shall render such service to the Federation in an advisory and consultative status as is mutually agreed to by the Executive Council and the emeritus or emerita officer.

**(b)** The President Emeritus or Emerita, Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus or Emerita and Executive Vice President Emeritus or Emerita shall, in consideration of their active service prior to leaving office, be afforded for life a pension, payable weekly, in an annual amount equal to 60 percent of either the highest annual salary received as an Executive Officer or thereafter paid to the corresponding Executive Officer, whichever is greater. If, after attaining eligibility for this pension, such Executive Officer shall die, either before or after receiving such pension, the Officer's surviving spouse shall be paid an annual annuity for life, payable in weekly installments, of 30 percent of either the highest salary received by such Executive Officer, as an Executive Officer, or thereafter paid to the corresponding Executive Officer, whichever is greater. The Executive Council is authorized and directed to enter into a legal and binding agreement with the President, the Secretary-Treasurer, and the Executive Vice President to make these retirement compensation and annuity benefits payable by the Federation for their intended duration pursuant to the terms and conditions of this Section. The Executive Council is also authorized to provide, after such benefits become non-forfeitable, for (1) the cash-out of a portion of these retirement compensation and annuity benefits (through accelerated payment of the present value thereof) where the officer will be subject to taxes on the value of benefits not yet otherwise payable, and (2) appropriate arrangements, including payment by the Federation, for payment of employment taxes attributable to these retirement compensation and annuity benefits. ***Notwithstanding the foregoing, the Executive Council is authorized to modify or eliminate the benefits provided in this section.***

## Constitutional Amendment 12

### SIZE OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

**Amend Article V, Section 1 as follows (new language in *bold and italics*)**

The officers shall consist of a President, a Secretary-Treasurer and an Executive Vice President, who shall be the Executive Officers, and ~~51~~ **55** Vice Presidents; provided that between conventions the Executive Council shall have the power in the event of either an affiliation with the AFL-CIO of a presently unaffiliated national or international union, or the arising of other circumstances that implicate the solidarity of the labor movement, to create one or more additional Vice Presidencies pending the next regular election of Vice Presidents and to select members to fill those positions until the next regular election; provided further that the number of such additional Vice Presidencies shall not exceed eight.





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