Efforts to create local “right-to-work” zones would have negative impacts on workers and state economies, according to a new report by the Illinois Economic Policy Institute (ILEPI) and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The report, The Impact of Local “Right-to-Work” Zones: Predicting Outcomes for Workers, the Economy, and Tax Revenues in Illinois, investigates the effects of adopting local “right-to-work” zones in Illinois, testing claims made by proponents of the ordinances.

Today, 25 states have adopted a “right-to-work” law (also called a “free-rider law”). However, in states where efforts to pass right-to-work have been pushed back by voters, a new strategy has emerged. Led by the American Legislative Exchange Council, the Heritage Foundation, and other conservative groups, five counties in Kentucky adopted local right-to-work ordinances in 2014, pre-empting Kentucky state law. In addition, new Illinois Governor Bruce Rauner has proposed permitting local right-to-work ordinances in the state.

The proposal for local right-to-work zones is based on the testable assumption that high union density hampers local economies. An analysis of economic data from the 102 counties in Illinois, however, finds that this presupposition is unfounded. The unionization rate is not correlated with employment growth, business openings growth, and household income growth in a given Illinois county. That is, a decrease in unionization would have no statistical impact on these outcomes.

The evidence that unionization raises unemployment is also weak. The unemployment rate in eastern Illinois counties is lower than in the right-to-work counties directly across the Indiana border. In December 2014, Illinois counties that “touched” Indiana experienced an unemployment rate of 5.7 percent while their counterparts in Indiana faced a 7.6 percent unemployment rate. Evidence does not support the claim that local right-to-work zones would be an effective way to put people to work.

The evidence is conclusive, however, in demonstrating that worker incomes are lower in economies with right-to-work laws. On average, right-to-work laws have been found to reduce wages by about 3 percent, reduce the share of workers covered by a pension plan at work, and increase the number of workers living below the poverty line. However, while these impacts increase the number of workers receiving government assistance through programs such as food stamps and the Earned Income Tax Credit, proprietor income increases in right-to-work areas. Thus,
WALK IN MY SHOES

Joli Tokusato
HOTEL WORKER, UNITE HERE LOCAL 5, HAWAI’I

Aloha! I’ve been a hotel worker and UNITE HERE Local 5 member for 24 years. I’m NOT a politician and I never dreamed of running for office, but I did it!

When I was first asked to run for a seat on the Honolulu City Council, my first thought was, “That’s crazy!” I’m not a politician! I don’t look or talk like them. I get my hair done at Supercuts and drive an old Ford. I’m not “connected,” I don’t have a fancy degree, and I definitely don’t have money.

But I thought about it. Why not me? I’m definitely more of a LEADER than they are.

While our politicians bend over backwards for developers who come to “invest” in our islands, I’ve been organizing and fighting for good jobs at my hotel, the Ilikai, and in the community. Honolulu has become a town run by corporations and developers who have no aloha for the local community.

So I ran. We got nearly 20% of the voters in my district. Not enough to win outright, but enough to demonstrate that a worker like me can run a viable campaign and force the politicians and the media to take notice.

We knocked on over 30,000 doors, and 5,000 voters joined us in less than 40 days! We’re on to something big. We are beginning to build a real worker movement. Hawai’i Can!

American Labor Movement Donates Fasanella’s “Corner Butcher” to Smithsonian

Former union organizer and famed artist Ralph Fasanella (1914-1997) painted hundreds of canvases depicting urban working life during the post World War II America. Fasanella was born in the Bronx and grew up in the working-class neighborhoods of New York. As an organizer he advocated for worker’s rights. His passion for social justice showed through his colorful and vibrant paintings.

On May 18, 2015 the Labor Heritage Foundation’s Fasanella Public Domain Project donated the “Corner Butcher,” an iconic painting depicting the skilled union craftsman clad in a heavy flannel shirt and apron, with his Union Card hanging on the wall behind him. The Foundation donated the gift in memory of David Gellios, who rose from working as a butcher in an Ohio meatpacking plant to become chief officer of the UFCW Local 911.

The donation was made possible through labor union funding and the sale of “Corner Butcher” posters.

You can view the “Corner Butcher” and Fasanella’s “Iceman Crucified” at the Smithsonian American Art Museum Folk Art Galleries. Posters can still be purchased through the Labor Heritage Foundation’s Fasanella Public Domain Project website at http://www.lawrencehistorycenter.org/fasanellaproject for $25.00 each, plus shipping and handling.

SPOTLIGHT THE LABEL

International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Allied Workers

The International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Allied Workers is affiliated with the AFL-CIO and the Canadian Labour Congress. The Insulators represent nearly 30,000 workers in a variety of construction trades. Today’s union insulator is skilled in the installation of mechanical insulation, fire stopping, asbestos and lead mitigation or abatement, sound attenuation and specialty fabrications required in custom mechanical insulation installations for commercial, industrial, medical, bio-technical, governmental and educational facilities among other customer types.

A journeyman insulator has completed a multi-year apprenticeship that includes classroom training and 1,600 hours of on-job-job training per year.
OUTDOOR PROTECTION
- Coppertone (USW)
- Bain De Soleil (USW)
- Chapstick (USW)
- Claritin (USW)
- Chlor-Trimenton (USW)

LAWN MOWERS/CONSTRUCTION/FARM EQUIPMENT
- John Deere 7000, 8000, 9000 series tractors (IAM and UAW)
- Amerequip Corporation (IAM)
- American Road Machinery Inc. (IAM)
- Ashland Industries (IAM)
- Beall Manufacturing (IAM)
- BLOK LOK (IAM)
- Bobcat of New York (IAM)
- CA Lawton Co. (IAM)
- Carmanah Design and Manufacturing (IAM)
- Caterpillar (IAM)
- Eagle Iron Works (IAM)
- Edwards Equipment Co. (IAM)
- Gledhill Road Machinery (IAM)
- Gradall Industries (IAM)
- Greenlee Textron Co. (IAM)
- H and H Manufacturing (IAM)
- MB Companies (IAM)

SPORTING EQUIPMENT
- American Athletic (Russell) portable and stationary basketball backboards (UAW)
- Bell Sports (UFCW)
- BARE brand (USW)
- Standard Golf (IAM)
- Winchester Ammunition (IAM)
- Savage Arms (IAM)
- Doughboy Pools (PACE)
- Aqua Chem pool care products (UFCW)
- Thermador (IBB)
- Charmers Choice (UFCW)

AIR CONDITIONERS
- Trane Air Conditioning (IAM)
Support good jobs. Look for the union label when you purchase goods and services. The 56 AFL-CIO unions listed here represent 12.5 million working people.
Support good jobs. Look for the union label when you purchase goods and services. The 56 AFL-CIO unions listed here represent 12.5 million working people.

- International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes, Moving Picture Technicians, Artists and Allied Crafts of the United States, Its Territories and Canada (IATSE)
- Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers International Union (GMP)
- Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC)
- Communications Workers of America (CWA)
- California School Employees Association (CSEA)
- Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen (BRS)
- Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union
- Associated Actors and Artistes of America (4As)
- American Train Dispatchers Association (ATDA)
- American Radio Association (ARA)
- American Federation of Teachers (AFT)
- American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME)
- American Federation of School Administrators (AFSA)
- American Federation of Musicians of the United States and Canada (AFM)
- American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE)
- Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU)
- Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA)
- Actors’ Equity Association (AEA)
- Canada (IATSE)
- Technicians, Artists and Allied Crafts of the United States, Its Territories and Canada
- The Newspaper Guild (TNG-CWA)
- Industrial Union of Electronic Workers (IUE-CWA)
- Association of Flight Attendants (AFA-CWA)
- The Guild of Italian American Actors (GIAA)
- American Guild of Variety Artists (AGVA)
- American Guild of Musical Artists (AGMA)
- International Association of Bridge, Structural, Ornamental and Reinforcing Iron Workers (Ironworkers)
- International Association of Fire Fighters (IAFF)
- International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Allied Workers (AWU)
- International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM)
- Transportation Communications International Union/IAM (TCU/IAM)
- International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers (IBB)
- International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW)
- International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers (IFPTE)
- International Longshoremen’s Association (ILA)
- International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America
- International Union of Allied Novelty and Production Workers (Novelty and Production Workers)
- International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers (BAC)
- International Union of Elevator Constructors (UEC)
- International Union of Operating Engineers (UOE)
- International Union of Painters and Allied Trades of the United States and Canada (IUPAT)
- International Union of Police Associations (IUPA)
- Laborers’ International Union of North America (LIUNA)
- National Postal Mail Handlers Union (NPMHU)
- Marine Engineers’ Beneficial Association (MEBA)
- Professional Aviation Safety Specialists (PASS)
- NFL Players Association (NFLPA)
- National Air Traffic Controllers Association (NATCA)
- National Association of Letter Carriers (NLC)
- National Nurses United (NNU)
- National Taxi Workers Alliance (NTWA)
- Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU)
- Operative Plasterers’ and Cement Masons’ International Association of the United States and Canada (OPCMA)
- Screen Actors Guild-American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (SAG-AFTRA)
- Seafarers International Union of North America (SIU)
- International Association of Sheet Metal, Air, Rail and Transportation Workers (SMART)
- Transport Workers Union of America (TWU)
- UNITE HERE
- United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada (UA)
- United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America International Union (UAW)
- United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (UFCW)
- United Mine Workers of America (UMWA)
- United Steel, Paper and Forestry, Rubber, Manufacturing, Energy, Allied Industrial & Service Workers International Union (USW)
- United Union of Roofers, Waterproofers and Allied Workers (Roofers and Waterproofers)
- Utility Workers Union of America (UNUA)
- Writers Guild of America, East Inc. (WGAE)

Affiliated Trade and Industrial Departments
I. Building and Construction Trades Department
II. Maritime Trades Department
III. Metal Trades Department
IV. Department for Professional Employees
V. Transportation Trades Department
VI. Union Label and Service Trades Department

Updated 4/2015
HOSPITALITY, TRANSPORTATION & TRAVEL

SUBMITTED BY UNITE HERE!

Please support the workers in these hotels by continuing to boycott the following properties:

- **ANCHORAGE, AK:** Hilton; Sheraton
- **CALIFORNIA:** Hilton LAX, Hyatt Regency Santa Clara, Hyatt Regency Sacramento, Hyatt Fisherman’s Wharf San Francisco, Hilton Long Beach, Embassy Suites Irvine, Le Meridien San Diego
- **RHODE ISLAND:** Renaissance Providence Downtown Hotel
- **SEATTLE:** Grand Hyatt Seattle and Hyatt at Olive 8 Seattle

SUBMITTED BY United Steelworkers (USW)

- **PALERMO PIZZA**

LEGAL

SUBMITTED BY American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees

- GLEASON, DUNN, WALSH & O’SHEA
- HARDIN, LAZARUS AND LEWIS, LLC
- MCDONALD, LAMOND, CANZONERI AND HICKERNELL

OTHERS

SUBMITTED BY Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacoo Workers & Grain Millers International Union

- **R.J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO CO.** Camel (cigarettes, snus, orbs, strips and sticks), Pall Mall, Winston, Salem, Doral, Kool, Misty, Capri, Santa Fe Natural Tobacco Co. is a non-union sister company of RJR producing Santa Fe Natural American Spirit cigarettes

SUBMITTED BY American Postal Workers Union

- **STAPLES** retail stores

The global Hyatt boycott has ended. However, there are a number of local Hyatts with continuing labor disputes.

To avoid current or future strikes, boycotts, and other labor disputes at Hyatts or any other venues, use the UNITE HERE Union Hotel Guide at unionhotelguide.com or download their iPhone App, which lists which hotels to patronize or avoid.

To avoid the prospect of labor conflict during your stay at a hotel, insist on protective contractual language when you make a reservation or organize an event. Suggested model protection language can be found on UNITE HERE!’s website at http://www.hotelworkersrising.org/media/modelprotectivelanguage.pdf

POLICY GUIDELINE FOR ENDORSEMENT OF AFFILIATES’ BOYCOTTS

The AFL-CIO Executive Council has developed policy guidelines that regulate how the federation endorses boycotts undertaken by its affiliates. To get AFL-CIO sanction, boycotts should be directed at primary employers.

THE GUIDELINES INCLUDE THESE PROVISIONS:

- All requests to the national AFL-CIO for endorsement must be made by a national or international union.
- Any affiliated union with a contract in force with the same primary employer will be contacted by the AFL-CIO to determine whether there is an objection to the federation’s endorsement.
- Affiliates will be asked to provide the AFL-CIO with background information on the dispute in a confidential information survey. Prior to endorsement of the boycott, the executive officers, or their designees, will meet with the national union’s officers, or their designees, to discuss the union’s strategic plan and timetable for the boycott, or other appropriate tactics, and to discuss the federation’s role.
- The national or international union initiating the boycott is primarily responsible for all boycott activities; the AFL-CIO will provide supplemental support.
- Boycotts will be carried on the AFL-CIO national boycott list for a period of one year, and the endorsement will expire automatically at the end of that time. National and international unions may request one-year extensions of the listings for actions where an organizing or bargaining campaign is actively in place.

(These guidelines were adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council in April 2011.)
right-to-work is mainly a transfer of income from both employees and taxpayers to owners.

Incorporating estimates from previous research, we perform “economic impact analyses” to predict the effect of adopting local right-to-work laws in 51 of Illinois’ counties, excluding Cook County. Half of Illinois’ counties were randomly selected to become right-to-work zones in order to provide a robust scenario that demonstrates the negative consequences of the proposal. In Illinois, if half of the state’s counties (excluding Cook County) became right-to-work zones:

- Total labor income would fall by $1.3 billion;
- The economy would shrink by $1.5 billion;
- State and local tax revenues would be reduced by $80 million;
- Labor unions would experience a loss of 200,000 members, a one-fifth decline in total membership;
- Racial income inequality and gender income inequality would both increase; and
- The number of workplace injuries and fatalities would rise.

In the seven integrated county economies with over 100,000 workers in Illinois, predicted impacts are generally similar. If local right-to-work zones were only passed in the Chicago six-county area, the regional economy would experience over 3,500 jobs lost and an economic contraction of $2.6 billion. Both businesses and workers would relocate to other parts of the state with better incomes and higher consumer demand. Similarly, local right-to-work laws would reduce total earnings in the Champaign-Urbana, Peoria-Bloomington, Quad Cities, Rockford, Springfield-Decatur, and St. Louis regions. Local right-to-work zones would eradicate good middle-class jobs, replacing them with low-wage employment openings and redistributing income from labor to capital.

The report concludes that local right-to-work zones would weaken the Illinois economy, but the movement for these ordinances has spread across the country. There has been a politically motivated playbook for elected officials who seek less influence for unions, less bargaining power for workers, and more wealth for the wealthy. First, collective bargaining rights are stripped from workers in state government with the stated goal of repairing public budgets on the backs of teachers and working families. Then, prevailing wages for public construction projects are weakened or repealed based on the unsubstantiated claim that lower labor costs will translate into lower costs for taxpayers, with no thought given as to how paying skilled construction workers less might affect worker productivity. Concurrently, right-to-work laws are introduced with the promise that they are “surefire” boosts to the economy. This playbook has especially been followed in Midwestern states.

Even if right-to-work advocates cannot “score,” the playbook calls for staying on the offensive. Efforts to create local right-to-work zones at the city or county level are likely to arise in any state that thrwarts full-scale implementation, despite the Kentucky and Illinois Attorney Generals both issuing opinions that local right-to-work ordinances are illegal under federal law. The result of this fight will be substantial legal costs that will ultimately fall on taxpayers.

Martin Luther King Jr. once gave the keynote address at the Illinois AFL-CIO Convention. He was unconditional in noting that the “labor movement was the principal force that transformed misery and despair into hope and progress.” Despite the good that unions had done, the leader of the civil rights movement scolded the nation by adding that, “it is a mark of our intellectual backwardness that these monumental achievements of labor are still only dimly seen.” Today, the achievements of labor are not only unseen, they are being undone. And local right-to-work proposals are a continuation of efforts to reverse the gains won by labor.

“The labor movement was the principal force that transformed misery and despair into hope and progress.”

Ultimately, economic analysis reveals that local right-to-work laws would empower wealthy employers at the expense of employees, the middle class, and the taxpayer. Local right-to-work regulations would lower worker earnings and reduce state and local tax revenues. The result would be weaker state economies across America.

Frank Manzo IV is the Policy Director of the Illinois Economic Policy Institute (ILEPI). He can be contacted at fmanzo@illinoisepi.org. The report can be accessed at http://illinoisepi.org/policy-briefs-countyside/.

NLRB EXAMINING

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second, should it adhere to or overrule its 1976 decision in Machinists, Local Union No. 697 (H.O. Canfield Rubber Co.), and subsequent rulings that deal with the same issue.

In examining the case the board is looking to determine if such fees were held lawful in principle, what factors they should consider to determine whether the amount of such fees violates the National Labor Relation Act. And, as an extension, what actions a union can lawfully take to ensure payment.

Interested parties have until June 1, to submit briefs.

Critics were quick to condemn the request, saying the federal agency was biased towards organized labor. Senate labor committee chair, Republican Lamar Alexander, vowed to “fight any effort by the NLRB to force workers to support a union and undermine state right-to-work laws.”

LABEL LETTER MAY–JUNE 2015 7
We are living in a time of crisis. Almost half of working people don’t earn a living wage. The problem of big banks, which are deemed too big to fail, indemnifies risky financial policies. Legislative lapdogs work to benefit corporations that fund their campaigns. The very richest Americans gerrymander the tax code. The money supplied to compliant officeholders and office seekers by the moneyed interests perverts our political system. Yet we look askance at other countries we say are under the sway of oligarchs.

You want to see oligarchs. We have plenty right here and they know how to get what they want.

One of the things they want is to extend the realm of the so-called right-to-work law to the half of the states that don’t have them. They want low wage at-will workers without a voice in the workplace. They want workers who don’t have a grievance procedure or a claim to workplace dignity. And they sure don’t want workers to have the right to strike, the last resort of an underpaid, mistreated workforce.

Everything we cite about the benefits of union membership is an affront, a threat, to the one percent, the richest, the oligarchs of business, banks, Wall Street, real estate, pharmaceuticals, insurance and the rest of the corporate-industrial complex.

Union members earn more, have healthcare, have a grievance procedure, have health and safety protections that workers in non-union workplaces don’t have.

Unfortunately, those benefits are enjoyed even when a worker chooses not to join a union at his place of work. Despite non-member status, the union is required to represent the non-member, the freeloader, the non-dues paying worker. Attempts to charge a fair share or to pay costs of specific union services have previously been forbidden. But now the National Labor Relations Board is reviewing this unfairness. Non-members who enjoy contractual benefits, such as negotiated wages and grievance representation, without paying a fair share are guilty of theft of services. The NLRB can rectify this wrong.

Right-to-work is a travesty. But the NLRB can reduce the harm it does.

“...we’re not purporting to prove that right-to-work produces superior economic performance.”

—Stanley Greer, National Right-to-Work Committee Spokesman